

The Dissent and Nonconformity Series

Number 10



# The Early English Dissenters

Volume 2 of 2

Champlin Burrage



***Non dilexerunt animam suam usque ad mortem.***

The Latin, *Non dilexerunt animam suam usque ad mortem*, translates, "... they loved not their lives unto the death." Revelation 12:11

**On The Cover:** *Massacres at Salzburg* took place in 1528 when Prince-Archbishop Cardinal Matthaus Lang of Salzburg issued mandates sending police in search of Anabaptists. Many were captured and killed. This engraving illustrates the sufferings and sacrifices these Dissenters endured when their government, in conjunction with established religion, attempted to coerce and impose uniformity of religious belief. Hence, this picture is a reminder of the cost of religious liberty and the ever-present need to maintain the separation of church and state. We use this art to represent our Dissent and Nonconformity Series.



THE  
**EARLY ENGLISH DISSENTERS**

IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT RESEARCH

(1550-1641)

VOLUME II

April. 4. An<sup>o</sup>. 1605.

21

Whereas almost 3 quarters of a year since  
I published a booke intituled, Reasons taken  
out of Gods word &c. I do heere faithfully  
promise to disperse no more of them, nor  
to be a meane that any other shall, but  
to hinder the dispersing of all that  
shall come into my power.

Also I do promise that I will not speak  
against y<sup>e</sup> Church-governm<sup>t</sup> & orders now a-  
mong vs established by Law, for the time  
of any being upon Saile & till I shall see  
sufficient reasons against my opinion will come  
forth within this halfe year. And if I  
shall perceave to be good & well grounded  
on Gods word, then I will speake for the  
said Church-governm<sup>t</sup> & orders now esta-  
blished.

Howsoever, I will allwayes hereafter behaue  
my selfe quietly, & as lowe carefull of the  
Churches peace, God assisting me.

Henry Jacob.

The first promise I may easily keepe, seeing I have  
none of those bookes left.

The second cometh a time viz. within this halfe year,  
wherein I forbear to speak against their orders, that in  
meane while my booke speaketh my minde & judgment  
most plainly every where.

Thirdly I will allwayes hereafter behaue my selfe quietly,  
well also I have bin allwayes herebefore, & praye God

FIRST PAGE OF HENRY JACOB'S COPY OF HIS SUBSCRIPTION,  
April 4, 1605. (Facsimile.) See Vol. I., page 285 and  
Vol. II., pages 151-3.

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**EARLY ENGLISH DISSENTERS**

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(1550-1641)

BY

**CHAMPLIN BURRAGE**

HON. M.A. (BROWN UNIVERSITY), B. LITT. (OXON.)

IN TWO VOLUMES

*Illustrated*

VOLUME II

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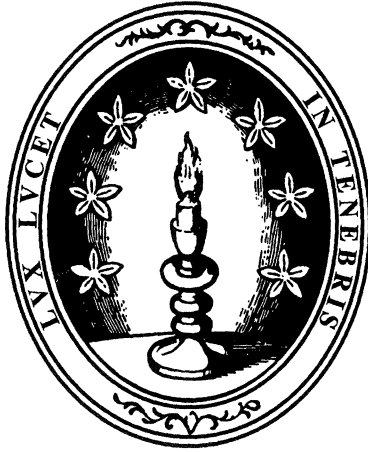
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Thou hast given a *standard* to them that fear thee;  
that it may be displayed because of the truth.  
-- *Psalm 60:4*

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**THE WALDENSIAN EMBLEM**

*lux lucet in tenebris*

“The Light Shineth in the Darkness”

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## PREFACE TO VOLUME II

THE documents herein brought together illustrative of the history of early English Dissent cannot of course claim the dignity of forming a complete "Corpus" of the literature relating to the subject, but they have been carefully selected from the mass of material now available for investigation. My aim in publishing these particular texts has been to present to the reader a number of the more inaccessible or historically valuable writings, many of which have as yet been only imperfectly or partially reproduced. Others have remained entirely, or almost entirely, unnoticed. The contents of this volume are likewise intended to supplement the narrative of volume I., as well as to illustrate it.

Such a selected Corpus has long been needed, for students, it is to be feared, have generally been much more familiar with what has been said by writers and historians of different points of view concerning this literature than with the manuscripts themselves, with resultant misunderstanding, or only partial understanding. Such papers, too, as are herein reproduced are all, with one exception, carefully located, whereas often in earlier works the location was not stated, thus sometimes requiring long search before the originals could be found. Further, in some cases only an imperfect translation of a document has up to this time appeared in print, so that students have been dependent for information upon the skill or candor of a translator.

Special mention should be made of the texts of a number of papers procured in Holland which are now for the first time reproduced in England as nearly as possible in their original form. Some of these were most difficult to decipher accurately even with the occasional help of the ablest Dutch manuscript specialists in the University Library, Amsterdam. No doubt my copies contain minor mistakes and imperfections which keen-eyed critics will be quick to detect. Even so, however, in case any injury should ever befall the originals themselves, approximately accurate texts of these manuscripts ought now to be preserved.

A typographical error may here be corrected. On page 309 *Boberti Baffam* should read *Roberti Baffam*.

C. B.

OXFORD,

16 *December* 1911.

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THE  
**EARLY ENGLISH DISSENTERS**

IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT RESEARCH

(1550-1641)

VOLUME II



# I

## HISTORICAL DATA RELATIVE TO THE ENGLISH CONVENTICLERS AT BOCKING AND FAVERSHAM IN 1550 AND 1551

[Various Depositions made about 1550.]

Here Folowithe the depositions  
of Iohn Grey william Forshall Laurence  
Ramsey and Edmonde Morres productid  
apon the firste x<sup>th</sup> and xj<sup>th</sup> articles /  
aforessaid./<sup>1</sup>

Iohn Grey:

Item Examyned apon the firste article  
Saythe that Cole of Fauersham apon /  
Lammes daye laste paste saide and affirmed  
that the doctryne of predestynation  
was meter for divilles then for *christian* men /

Item Examyned apon the x<sup>th</sup>. and xj<sup>th</sup>  
Articles saithe that henry harte aboute  
bartholomewetide laste saide and affirmed  
in the presence of divers that ther was  
no man so chosen but that he mighte dampne  
hime selfe Nether yet anye man soo /  
reprobate but that he mighte kepe goddes  
Comaundements.

He saide that Saincte paule mighte haue  
dampnid hime selfe if he listed  
And deposithe that harte saide that ~ /  
Learned men were the cause of grete errors /

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 421, fol. 133-34 verso, in the British Museum.

*Early English Dissenters*

Laurentius Ramsaye

Item Examyned apon the x<sup>th</sup> article  
saiethe that henry harte saide and affirmed  
as it is conteyned in tharticle that is  
that ther is no man so chosen or predesty  
nate. but that he maye condempne hime  
selfe. Nether is ther anye so reprobate but  
that he maye if he will kepe the *commande*  
*mentes* and be salvid *prout liquet* in suis  
*depositionibus*

Item Examyned apon the x<sup>th</sup> article  
saythe that harte saide that lernyd men  
were the cause of grete Errors /

Willelmus Forstall

Item Examyned apon the x<sup>th</sup> article he  
dothe agree in his deposalion withe the  
foresaide Laurence Ramseye

Item Examyned apon the xj<sup>th</sup> article  
saythe that henry harte saide the same tyme  
that his faithe was not growndid apon  
Lernyd men for all errors were broughte  
in by Lernyd men      ∞ ///.

The depositions of m<sup>r</sup> Thomas  
Broke Roger Lynsey and Rycharde  
Dynestake Clarke productid apon the  
xij and xiiij<sup>th</sup> articles of the Interrogatories  
aforesaid.

Item Examyned apon the xxj[?]<sup>th</sup> article  
he saiethe that aboute xij monethes Sythen  
George Brodebridge saide and affirmed  
that goddes predestynation is not retheyne  
but apon condytion &c

Item Examyned apon the xxxix<sup>th</sup> and  
xl<sup>th</sup> articles he deposite and saiethe that the  
contentes of those articles hathe byn affirmed  
amonge them for a generall doctryne

*The Conventiclers at Bocking and Faversham* 3

Item Examyned apon the xlv<sup>th</sup> and xlvj<sup>th</sup> articles he deposithe and provithe the congregation and the fame And ther goyng into Essex

Item Examyned apon the xlvj<sup>th</sup> article he deposithe that Cole of Maidestone saide and affirmed that children were not borne in originall Syne

Willelmus grenelande

Item in aunsweringe to the xl<sup>th</sup> article he saithe that to playe at annye game for money it is Synne and the worke of the Flesshe

Item in aunsweringe to the xlv<sup>th</sup> xlvj<sup>th</sup> and xlvj<sup>th</sup> articles he confessithe the congregation and their Meatinges at diuers places and ther going into Essex And also that he hathe contrybuted

Iohn plume de lenham

Item Examyned apon the liij<sup>orth</sup> and v<sup>th</sup> articles apon his othe Saithe that he beyng emonge the congregators he hathe herde it diuers tymes affirmed as a generall doctryne that they oughte not to Salute a Synner or a man whome they knowe not And that Luste after Ivill was not Synne, if that were not committed

Item Examyned apon the xlvj<sup>th</sup> and xlvj<sup>th</sup> articles he saithe that vmfrey Middilton beyng in Coles house at fauersham apon Lammas daye he saide that Adam was elected to be salved And that all men / being then in Adams Loynes were predestynate to be salvid and that ther were no reprobates and in his defence he alleaged the doctryne conteyned in the xlvj<sup>th</sup> article

Item Examyned apon the ix<sup>th</sup> article  
 he saithe that it is a generall  
 affirmation emonge them, that the  
 preachinge of predestynacyon is  
 a dampnable doctryne

Item Examyned apon the xvj<sup>th</sup>  
 article he deposithe and saithe that  
 Nicholas Yonge saide that they wolde  
 not comunycate w<sup>t</sup> Synners /

[Extracts from the "Privy Council Register" of 1550–1553  
 relating to the year 1551.]

A *Lettre* to the Lorde Chancellour to sende hither [Vpcharde]  
 the man of Bocking that was examyned by him<sup>1</sup>. [Under the  
 date Jan. 26, 1550/1.]

<sup>2</sup>Vpcharde of Bocking was brought before the  
 Counsaill tooching a certain assemble that had been made in his  
 howse in Christmas last who confessed that were [*sic*] certain  
 kenttishemen to the towne to ha[ve] Lodged with goode man  
 Cooke. And bicause Cookes wief was in Childebed, thei cam[?]  
 to this vpcharddes howse weare Cooke was th[en] at dinner and  
 by Cookes entreatie there thei were Lodged. And vpon the  
 morowe which was Soundaie[?] divers of the towne about xij of  
 the clocke came in and there thei fell in argument of thinges  
 of the Scripture, speciallie wheather it were necessarie to stande  
 or kneele, barehedde, or covered at prayer. whiche at length was  
 concluded in ceremonie not to be materiall, but the hartes  
 before God was it that imported, and no thing els, And bicause  
 it seemed suche an assemble being of lx persons or moo, shulde  
 meane some great matter, therefore bothe the said vpcharde  
 and one Sympson of the same sorte was committed to the

<sup>1</sup> "Privy Council Register 1550–1553", in the Public Record Office,  
 p. 205.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 206.

*The Conventiclers at Bocking and Faversham 5*

Marshalsie, till further triall were had, and order taken that *lettres* shulde be sent bothe into Essex and kent for thapprehension of these that arr accounted chief of that practise/. [Under the date Jan. 27, 1550/1.]

A <sup>1</sup>*Lettre* of sir George Norton knight Shrief of Essex tapprehende certein persons wose [*sic*] names were sent enclosed in a scedule and to sende them hither that none of them haue conference with other.

The parsons sent for, were of those that were assembled for Scripture maters in Bocking. viz

John Barrett of Stamphorde Coweherde

Robert Cooke of Bocking Clothier

Iohn Eglise of the same clothier

Richard Bagge

Thomas pygrinde

Iohn kinge.

. Myxsto

. Boughtell

Robert Wolmere

A like *lettre* to sir Edwarde wootton and sir Thomas wyat tapprehende and sende vp these persons folowing

William Sibley of lannams

Thomas yonge of the same

Nicholas Shetterton of Pluckley

Iohn Lydley of Asheforde

. Chidderton of Asheforde

. Cole of Maydestone *Sholemaster.* / [Under the date Jan. 27, 1550/1.]

This daie [Feb. 3, 1550/1]<sup>2</sup> william Sibley & Thomas yong of lenham Nicholas Sheterenden and Thomas Sharpe of Pluckeley

. Coole of Maydestone, appeared before the Counsaill, being of those that assembled at Bokyng in Essex. /

like wise vj others of Essex appeared the same daie bothe *which* being examyned confessed the cause of their assemble to be for talke of Scriptures, Not denyeng but thei had refused

<sup>1</sup> "Privy Council Register 1550-1553", p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 215.

the communion about ij yeres, vpon verie superstitiouse and  
erronyose purposes: withe Divers other evill oppynyons worthie  
of great punyshement. Wherevpon Boughtell Barrey

Coole william Sibley and Nicholas Shittrenden were  
commytted to

Iohannes Eglins, Thomas Myxer, Ricardus Blagge Thomas  
piggerell et Iohannes king de Bocking in Essex recognouerunt  
&c in x<sup>libras</sup> pro quolibet eorum.

The Condicion [*sic*] tappeare whan thei shalbe called vpon, and  
to resorte to their ordinarie for resolucion of their oppynyons  
in cace thei haue any doubtte in religion

The like Recognisaunce taken of Thomas Sharpe of plukeley and  
Nicholas Yong of lenham. /



## II

### INFORMATION CONCERNING THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF ROBERT COOCHE

[Part of a Letter of John Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, to Dr. Rodolphus Gualtherus, dated June 29, 1574.]

Magna nostra Comitia in 20 diem Octobris sunt dilata. Quo quidem tempore Thimelthorpus cogetur (vti spero) vnanimi omni consensu et Reginae et mihi satisfacere. Ante illud tempus nihil certi de illo possum pronunciare. De controuersijs nostris circa Ceremoniolas quasdam, de Roberto Coochaeo, et alijs rebus nonnullis, in superioribus meis litteris satis fuse scripsi<sup>1</sup>.

[Part of another Letter of John Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, to Dr. Rodolphus Gualtherus of Zürich, dated, Feb. 6, 1574/5.]

Robertus Coochaeus est vir valdè humanus, et in arte musica bene doctus. Cum ego in Aula Reginae Catharinae concionator essem, fuit ille in Cellam vinariam promus. Contrà hunc scripsit libellum (dum in viuis esset Edouardus Rex) clarrissimus ille medicus et doctissimus Theologus D. Gulielmus Turnerus, in quo illius sententiam de peccato originali refutauit. Perperam item tamen de baptismo infantum sentiebat. Insolita de Caena domini somniauit. Saepissimè Couerdalo et mihi in hisce controuersiis[?] negotium facessebat, ità ut illius nos taederet. Erat verboicissimus. Cum Iuellus et alii docti viri mei inuisendi gratia in Aulam venissent, is statim de hisce rebus cum illis agere caepit, nec finem loquitandi facere potuit.

<sup>1</sup> MS. in the University Library, Cambridge, Press-mark Ee. 2. 34 (23).

Nunc etiam in Aula Reginae mansitat. Et Reginae in bella est cantor ipse capella. Hec est illius conditio. Hanc quoque conditionem ferè propter tales opiniones ante paucos annos amisit. Sic enim dux Norfolciae cum viueret mihi narrabat. Palinodiam quoque tamen temporis cecinit, ut ex eodem duce audiui. Hactenus de Cochaeo. Non est respondendum stulto secundum stulticiam suam. vt doleo...<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. in the University Library, Cambridge, Press-mark, Ee. 2. 34 (20).

### III

DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO THE PURITAN PLUMBERS'  
HALL CONGREGATION AND TO THE SEPARATIST  
"PRIUYE CHURCHE" OF RICHARD FITZ, WHICH  
"SECEDED" FROM IT

[A List of the members of the Plumbers' Hall congregation  
taken prisoner on March 4, 1567/8.]<sup>1</sup>

Parsons fownde to gether within the *parishe* of  
S<sup>t</sup> martens in the felde in the howse of Iames  
Tynne gooldsmythe the forthe daye of marche  
1567 as here after Followethe &c

1	Lawrence Ryppleye dwellinge at Allgate	.
2	Wylliam yonge dwellinge in Temesstrete	..
3	margarette Sawyer of temestrete	..
4	Elizabethe[?] Langtone at Algate	.
5	Androw[?] Waterhowse at Dowgate	...
6	Wylliam Tomlyne at Charterhowse Lane	::
7	Alis Appletaste in Sowthewarke	::
8	Markes Golddinge in Smythfylde	:::
9	Wylliam Collingham in Dysstafe Lane	7
10	Roger Nycolls of S <sup>t</sup> martens in the fylde	8
11	Thomas Ludburte in Lyttell wodstrete	9
12	Myghell Bowyer in marke Lane	10
13	Bryane wylles in Charterhowse lane	::

<sup>1</sup> S. P., Dom., Eliz., Vol. 46 (No. 46). This valuable document was discovered several years ago by Dr F. J. Powicke, and the substance of its contents is given in his "Lists of the early Separatists", in the "Transactions" of the Congregational Historical Society, Vol. I, pp. 141-3. As the original document is much worn, a verbatim copy has now been made.

14	Annys Smythe at Crypplegate	11
15	Rowland Sclýforde at London stone	12
16	Ione Evanes in Holborne	13
17	Ione Edwardes at aldermaneburye	14
18	Randall partridge in olde fyshe strete	15
19	Thom[a]s Bowllande in temestrete	..
20	william whighte at S <sup>t</sup> Iones Strete [?]	16
21	Iohn Kynge at yslyngtone	17
22	Iohn Smythe at Dysstafe Lane	7
23	Robart Tod [?] in Dysstafe Lane	7
24	Thomas Hancoke in Aldersegate strete	18
25	Iames Irelande in Cheker allye in Sowthwark	∴
26	Edwarde Burdbye and his wyfe at S <sup>t</sup> gyles at ludgate	19
27	Elizabethhe Langtone in Swethen Lane	20
28	Elizabethhe Phennyxe at S <sup>t</sup> marye overies	21
29	Rob[e]rte Bonde and his wyfe at S <sup>t</sup> gyles at ludgate	19
30	Samuell Rodggers in Smythefelde [?]	∴
31	Symonde goldinge in Smythefelde [?]	∴
32	Wylliam Nyxson at quenehive [ <i>sic</i> ]	22
33	margerye Vennyne in Bred strette	23
34	mawdelyne Vennyne in Bred strete	23
35	Richard morecrofte and his wyfe in Aldersgat strete	18
36	Iohn Iohnsone in Bushopesgate strete	24.
37	Iohn Leonarde and his wyfe in holborne	13
38	Annys wrighte in Barmeseye strete	25
39	Alis Hassellwode in pater noster Rooe	26
40	Annys Lyttelcoate at Hoggesdone	27
41	Alis Vanes in the Tower	28
42	Ellyne Buggburte in hartestrete	29
43	Iohn Bovlte [Boulton ?] in S <sup>t</sup> martens	30
44	Annys Rowles in Holborne	—13
45	Anne Phyllipes at S <sup>t</sup> Thomas apostels	42
46	margarette Stockes in aldersgate [?] strete	18
47	George wayddye in flyt [?] strette [?]	31
48	Thomas Harysone at [illegible words]	23
49	Iames Andertone in Dysstafe lane	7
50	Annys Stalton in Cornwell	32
51	Annys Lacye in aldersegate strete	18

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52	Wylliam grenne and his wyfe in holborne	13
53	Ione Strynger at S <sup>t</sup> Androwes Vndershafte	33
54	Annys Ropper at S <sup>t</sup> androwes Vndershafte	33
55	Elizabethhe[?] Fawkener at S <sup>t</sup> Andros Vndershafte	33
56	Avis[?] Carye at Bysshopes gate	24
57	margaret Iones at S <sup>t</sup> myghells in Cornwell	32
58	margerye Browne in Burder Lane	34
59	Katheren Bawdwyne in aldersegate strete	18
60	Elizabethhe Bamford in Bowe Lane	35
61	<i>christofer</i> poorke in olde fyshe strete	15
62	Annys Hawkes at S <sup>t</sup> Antonyes	36
63	Katheren whighte at Ludburye	37
64	Cycillye Holtore[?] in aldersgat strete	18
65	Elyne Esecote in S <sup>t</sup> bennetes <i>parishe</i>	38
66	Ione Knowles in S <sup>t</sup> Bennetes <i>parishe</i>	38
67	Garrete Speker in S <sup>t</sup> Clementes <i>parishe</i>	39
68	Edde Burris in more Lane	40
69	Elizabethhe Turner in more Lane	40
70	Elizabethhe gylte in Lyttell wodstret	9
71	Elizabethhe Sclake at S <sup>t</sup> gyles at ludgate	19
72	Katheren Hassellwode in berebynder lane / <sup>1</sup>	41.

[“ A promyse made by William Bonam precher”, 1569, together with the names of twenty-four members of the Plumbers' Hall Congregation who were discharged from Bridewell on April 22, 1569.]<sup>2</sup>

*A promyse made by William Bonam precher.*

1569 Memorandum that I *William Bonam*, do Faiethfullie promise, that I will not at anie tyme hereafter vse anie publike prechinge or open readinge or expoundinge of the scriptures. nor cause, neither be *presente* at anie privat Assemblies of praier, or expoundinge of the scriptures or *ministeringe* the *communion* in anie howse, or other place, Contrarie to the state of religion nowe by publike authoritie established, or contrarie to the Lawes of this Realme of *England*, neither will I inuaie ageinste any rites or ceremonies vsed or Receaved by common auctoritie within this Realme. /

<sup>1</sup> Thus seventy-two persons from forty-two streets or localities.

<sup>2</sup> Lansdowne MS. xii., fol. 67-8, in the British Museum.

*Early English Dissenters*

This promise was read and declared by the said *William Bonam*, before M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Hinck Doctour of Lawe, and vicar generall to the right reverend Father in god *Edmond* Bishshop of *London*, at his howse in *pater noster Rowe* in *London*, the Firste daie of *Maie* i569 for the performauce, whereof the said *William Bonam* hath faiethfullie promised for to obserue the same./ Beinge also presente at the readinge therof, Thomas Iones deputie to m<sup>r</sup> *Bedell*, Clerk to the Quenes Maiestes Commissione<sup>rs</sup> for causes Ecclesiasticall //

- 1 *John Smythe*
- 2 *John Roper*
- 3 *Robert Hawkins*
- 4 *Iames Irelande*
- 5 *William Nyckson*
- 6 *Walter Hynckesman*
- 7 *Thomas Bowlande*
- 8 *George Waddye*
- 9 *William Turner*
- 10 *John Nayshe*
- 11 *Iames Anderton*
- 12 *William Wight*
- 13 *Thomas Lydforde* [*Ludburte?*]
- 14 *Richard Langton*
- 15 *Alexander Lacye*
- 16 *Iohn Leonarde*
- 17 *Robert Todd*
- 18 *Roger Hawkesworth*
- 19 *Robert Sparrow*
- 20 *Richard kinge*
- 21 *Christofer Colman*
- 22 *Iohn Benson*
- 23 *Iohn Bolton*
24. *Robert Gates* /

All theis persons before written wer dyscharged

*The "Priuye Churche" of Richard Fitz* 13

out of *Brydewell*, besides seven women also prisoners there the xxij<sup>th</sup> day of Aprell 1569, by a warrant dyrectid from the right reuerende father in god Edmond Bishop of London to the Governours there.

The trewe markes of Christes churche, &c.<sup>1</sup>

The order of the priuye churche in London, whiche by the malice of Satan is falselie slaundred, and euell spoken of.

**T**He myndes of them, that by the strengthe and workinge of the almightie, our Lorde Iesus Christe, haue set their hands and hartes, to the pure vnmingled and sincere worshippinge of God, accordinge to his blessed and glorious worde in al things, onely abolishinge and abhorringe all tradicions and inuentions of man, what soeuer in the same Religion and Seruice of oure Lord God, knowinge this alwayes, that the trewe and afflicted churche of oure Lorde and sauoure Iesus Christe, eyther hathé [*sic*], or else euer more continually vnder the crosse stryueth for to haue. Fyrste and formoste, the Glorious worde and Euangell preached, not in bondage and subiection, but freely, and purelye. Secondly to haue the Sacraments mynistred purely, onely and all together accordinge to the institution and good worde of the Lorde Iesus, without any tradicion or inuention of man. And laste of all to haue, not the fylthye Cannon lawe, but dissipyne onelye, and all together agreeable to the same heauenlye and allmighty worde of oure good Lorde, Iesus Chryste.

Richarde Fytz, Minister

[The Separatist Covenant of Richard Fitz's Congregation.]<sup>2</sup>

**B**Eyng thoroughly perswaded in my conscience, by the working and by the worde of the almightie, that these reliques of Antichriste be abominable before the Lorde our God.

<sup>1</sup> Printed in black letter on one side of a small leaf. S. P., Dom., Eliz., Addenda, Vol. xx (107. 1).

<sup>2</sup> Printed in black letter on one side of a small folio leaf. S. P., Dom.,

And also for that by the power and mercie, strength and goodnes of the Lorde my God onelie, I am escaped from y<sup>e</sup> filthynes & pollution of these detestable traditions, through the knowledge of our Lorde and sauour Iesus Christ :

And last of all, in asmuch as by the workyng also of the Lorde Iesus his holy spirite, I haue ioyned in prayer, and hearyng Gods worde, with those that haue not yelded to this idolatrouse trash, notwithstanding the danger for not commyng to my parysh church. &c,

Therefore I come not backe agayne to the preachynges. &c, of them that haue receaued these markes of the Romysh beast.

1. ¶ Because of Gods commandement, to go forewarde to perfection. Hebrew. 6. verse .1. 2. Corinth. 7. verse .1. Psalm. 84. verse .7. Ephesi .4 verse .15  
Also to avoyde them. Roma. 16. verse .17. Ephesi. 5. verse .11. 1. Thessal. 5. verse .22.
2. ¶ Because they are abominations before the Lorde our God. Deut. 7. verses .25. and .26 Deutero. 13. verse .17. Ezekieil. 14. verse .6.
3. ¶ I wyll not beautifie with my presence those filthy ragges, which bryng the heauenly worde of the eternall our Lorde God, in to bondage, subiECTION, and slauerie.
4. ¶ Because I would not communicate with other mennes sinnes. 2. Iohn. verses .9. 10. and .11. 2. Corinth. 6. verse .17. Touch no vncleane thyng. &c. Sirach. 13. verse .1.
5. ¶ They geue offences, both the preacher & the hearers. Rom. 16 ver. 17. Luke. 17. verse .1
6. They glad [*sic*] and strengthen the Papists in their errour, and

Eliz., Addenda, Vol. xx (107. 11). I think that Dr Waddington failed to see the significance of this paper. It evidently took the place of a church covenant, and was to be accepted by all the members of the congregation when they joined it. The document is not, therefore, a statement of the grounds whereby some one particular person justified his separation from the Church of England. It is rather a covenant (though the form of a covenant is more implied than manifest) with a statement of the grounds of separation added.



*The "Priuue Churche" of Richard Fitz* 15

greue the godlie. Ezekiel. 13. verses .21. and .22. \*Note this 21. verse. &c.

7. ¶ They doo persecute our sauour Iesus Christ in his members. Actes. 9. verses .4. and .5 2. Corinth. 1. verse .5. Also they reiecte and despise our Lorde and sauour Iesus Christ. Luke. 10. verse .16. Moreouer those labourers, whom at the prayer of the faithful, the Lorde hath sent furth in to his haruest: they refuse, and also reiect. Math. 9. verse .38.

8. ¶ These Popish garments. &c, are now become very Idolles in deede, because they are exalted aboute the worde of the almightie.

9. ¶ I come not to them because they shoulde be ashamed, and so leaue their Idolatrous garments. &c. 2. Thessal. 3 verse .14. Yf any man obey not our sayinges, note him. &c.

¶ God geue vs strength styl to stryue in suffryng vndre the crosse, that the blessed worde of our God may onely rule, and haue the highest place, to cast downe strong holdes, to destroy or ouerthrow policies or imaginations, and euery high thyng that is eralted [exalted] against the knowledge of God, and to bryng in to captiuitie or subiection, euery thought to the obedience of Christ. &c. 2. Corinth. 10 verses .4. and .5. &c, that the name and worde of the eternall our Lorde God, may be exalted or magnified aboute all thynges. Psalm. 138. verse .2.

¶ FINIS.

[“ B. of London. Puretans.”]<sup>1</sup>

O Englande, yf thou returne, returne vnto me, saythe the Lorde, Ierem[y ?] 4. [?] verse .1.

We the poore afflicted & your humble and obedient subiectes in the lorde most earnestly desyer, that the word of our god may be set to raygne, and haue the hiest place, to rule & reforme

<sup>1</sup> S. P., Dom., Eliz., Addenda, Vol. xx (107). This MS. was probably written by Harry Sparowe.

Dew. 31°.  
23. Iosua.  
1. verses.7.  
8. 9.

all estates and degrees [o]f men, to build and plante his holy sygnes and true markes, to cut downe, to roote out, and vtterly destroy by the axe of the same his holy word, all monumentes of Idolatry, to wit, that wicked cannon law, which is the onely roote, out of the whiche these abhominable braunshes do growe, as forked cappes, & tipetes, surplices, copes, starche cakes, [godfathers & godmothers]<sup>1</sup> popishe holy days, forbidding of mariages and meates which the holy gost our almighty calleth doctrines of devills as in the .1. timothie .4. verses .3. 4. more to destroy idoles [?] temples & chapels whiche the papistes or infideles haue builded to the service of their godes. Our god hath straytly commaunded & charged his people Israell chiefly the governours as in dewteronomie .16. verse .20. with the note. & so in them y<sup>e</sup> maiestrates of our tyme, not to vse in his service, the manners, fashions, or customes of the papistes, but contrary wyse vtterly to destroy them, to consume them, and abhorr them dewte .7. verse .26. whiche holy commaundement of the almighty our god yf it be not executed spedely, the lordes wrathe will surely breake out vpon this whole reallme of england as in numbers .25. verse .3. .9. & for such abominations our god will cause this land to spew vs out as in leuiticus .20. verse .22. the allmightie our god will not allway suffer suche dishonour to his blessed evangell, whiche for the sinnes and tryall of his people he suffreth the papistes and newters, faulse brethren, and domesticall enemies to suppress, to wrest, and abvse to serve their purposes, (as they perswade them selves) yet for all their policye and fyne pinnyng these abominations about named with many other, are no more able to stand in presence before the word of our god having the power of discipline, then dagon was able to stand before the lord his holy arke the power wherof threwe downe dagon twyse to the dust as in .1. samuell .5. verses .3. 4. Therefore according to the saying of the almighty our god mathew .18. verse .20. wher ij or iij are gathered in my name ther am I. so we a poore congregation whom god hath seperated from the churches of englande [?] and from the mingled and faulse worshipping

<sup>1</sup> The words in square brackets appear to have been added in another handwriting.

The "Priuye Church" of Richard Fitz 17

therin vsed, out of the which assemblies the lord our onely saviour hath called vs, and still calleth, saying cume [?] out from among them, and seperate your selves from them & touche no vnclen thing, then will I receyue you, and I wilbe your god and you shalbe my sonnes and doughters sayth the lord. 2. corinth .6. verses .17. 18. so as god geueth strength at this day we do serue the lord every saboth day in houses, and on the fourth day in the weke we meet or cum together weekely to vse prayer & exercyse dicipline on them whiche do deserve it, by the strength and sure warrant of the lordes good word as in mathew. 18 verses 15. 16. 17. 18. / .1. corinth .5. / but wo be vnto this cursed cannon Lawe the gayne [?] wherof hath caused the byshopes and clargi of england to forsake the right way and haue gone astray, folowyng the way of baalam sonn of bosor, which haue throughe their pompe and covetousnesse broughte the gospell of our saviour Iesus christ into suche sclauder and contempte, that men do thinke for the most part that the papistes do vse and hold a better religion then those which call them selves christians, and ar not, but do lye reuela. 3 verse .9. the holy gost sayth. I behold another beast cummyng [?] vp out of the earthe which had ij hornes lyke the lame, so this secrete and disguysed antechrist [?] to wit, this cannon l[a]w with [?] the braunshes and [?] their [?] maintayners thoughte not so openly, haue by lon[g]e imprisonment [?] pyned & kylled the lordes servantes (as our minister Rycherd fitz) thomas bowlande deacon / one partryge) & gyles fouler / & besydes them a great multitude, which no man could number of all nations and people and tounge as reuela. 7. verse .9. whose good cause and faythfull testimony though we should cease to grone and crye vnto our god to redresse suche wronges & cruell handelynges of his pore memberes, the very walles of the prisons about this citey, as the gatehouse, brydewell, the counters, the kynges benche, the marcialsey, the whyte lyon, would testifye godes anger kyndlyde agynst [sic] this land for suche iniustyce and subtyll persecucion.

.2. peter. 2.  
verse .15

mathew  
.23. verses  
.34. 35.

O Lord god almyghty graunte, for thy mercyes sake, that as Iehosaphat, in the iij<sup>th</sup> yeare of his raygne destroyed the hye

places and groves, out of Iudahe, and sent his prynces and priestes, and gaue them the boke of the lawe with them to reforme religion by, and so feare came vpon every citeye that they made not ware agaynst Iehosaphat So Lord we most humbly beseche the to strengthen the quenes hi[g]hnesse [*sic*] with his holy spirit that in the .13th yeare of her reygne [1571], she may cast downe all hye places of Idolatrye with in her land, withe the popyshe cannon Lawe and all the supersticion and commaundementes of men, and to plucke vp by the rootes all filthi ceremonies perteynyng to the same, and that her highnesse may send forth princes and ministers and geue them the booke of the Lord, that they may bryng home the people of god to the purity and trutheth of the apostolycke church, Then shall the feare of the Lord cume vpon every citeye and cuntrye, that they shall not make warre agaynst her highnesse, no the very enemies that be with out, shalbe compelled to bring presentes to her grace, thus olord [*sic*] graunt that her highnes may not onely haue a blessed, longe, and prosperous reygne, with peace of conscience in this life, but also in the lyfe to cum, her highnesse may enIoye [*sic*], by the merites and death of christ Iesus our onely saviour, lyfe everlasting, to whome with the father and the holy gost be all honour and glory for ever and ever amen.

in white  
Chappell  
streate

Ioane Abraham [mark] <sup>1</sup>	Ihon Thomas [mark]
Constance foxe [mark]	Annes. Evance [mark]
Eliz. slacke	Elizabeth Leanordes [mark]
Annes Hall [mark]	Ioane Ireland [mark]
Marg Race [mark]	by me Iasper weston
Helene stokes [mark]	Marten [?] tilmans [?]
Eliz. Balfurth [mark]	Ihon Davy [mark]
Sara Cole [mark]	edye Burre [?]
by me Harry sparowe.	Elizabeth Hill [mark]
By me Iohn King.	Ioane havericke [mark]
by me Iames awbynes	Mary wever
by me Ihon Leonarde.	Abraham foxe [mark]
by me George Hares. [mark]	Mary Mayer [mark]
	Eliz. Rumney [mark]

<sup>1</sup> The signatures in the original are irregularly arranged in four columns, but are here for convenience placed in two.

## IV

### MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE EARLY BARROWISTS

[The names of certain Brownists (Barrowists) taken at a Conventicle in Henry Martin's House, October 8, 1587, and examined in the Episcopal Palace, London, on the same day.]<sup>1</sup>

8<sup>o</sup> die mensis Octobris 1587.  
in palacio episcopali London.

Brownestes.	1	Crane a minister mad by 23 Grindall when he was Bushop of London, and before that he was a student in Lawe in the inner Chauncery—	} called for beinge at privat conven- ticles this daye in henry Martins howse in S <sup>t</sup> An- drewes in the war- dropp. /
	2	he saieth that all the booke (meaninge the comon booke, is not gospell)	
	3	Henry Martin / of the same secte. George Smells / of the same sect	
for beinge at [p]rivat conventles	4	Edward Boyce / of the same sect	
	5	Anne Iackson / of the same sect	
	6	George Collier / of the same sect	
	7	Katherin Owin [Onyon].	
	8	Roberte Lacy of S <sup>t</sup> Andrewes in holborne of the	
	::: ···· }	— same sect / he refuseth to take an othe. /	

<sup>1</sup> S. P., Dom., Elizabeth, Vol. 204 (10), in the Public Record Office, London.

- 9 Thomas Freeman of the *parishe* of S<sup>t</sup> Botulph with  
owt aldersgate of the same sect and a Brownest.
- io Edithe Burry of Stepney [?]/
- ii M<sup>r</sup> Greenwood *preacher* deprived of his benefice [?]  
in norfolke about 2 yeres past takin at the said  
privat conventicles in *martins* howse /  
he is comitted to the Clincke /
- 12 Margaret maynerd of Bredstreet she saieth ther  
is no church in England, she hath not bin at  
church theis x. yeres. / comitted to Bridwell
- 13 Alice Roe wydow. of S<sup>t</sup> Andrewes in the wardrop
- 14 Agnes Wyman of Stepney.
- 15 Roberte Griffith of the same sect
- 16 Iohn Chaundler of Stepney / of the same sect /
- 17 Edmond Thompson of Stepney / of the same sect
- 18 Henry Thompson *eiusdem praedictae* of the same  
sect
- 19 Roberte Redborne & } *servantes* to m<sup>r</sup> Boyce of  
the *parishe* of S<sup>t</sup> Brigittes  
20. Thomas Russell } in flet stret. /
- 2i Peter Allen servant to m<sup>r</sup> }  
Allen a salter of the *parishe* } of the same  
of S<sup>t</sup> Botulph nere Billingsgat) sect and at  
martins howse a  
foresaid at the  
conventicle /

vacat ~~Clement Gamble~~ servante to ~~Anne Jackson~~

[Information concerning the Barrowists in 1590.]

A briefe of the positions holden by  
the nevve sectorie of recusants [i.e., the  
Barrowists]<sup>1</sup>.

.....

6. That the Sacraments of Babtisme & the Lords supper, as  
they are administred now in the Church of England, be not  
true Sacraments.

<sup>1</sup> "A COLLECTION OF | CERTAINE SCLAVNDEROVVS | Articles  
gyuen out by the Bishops | ...", 1590 [p. 7].

7. That infants ought not to be baptised, according to the forme of baptisme ministred now in the Church of England, but are rather to be kept vn baptised.

[The experiences of the Barrowists at the hands of the Bishops were by no means pleasant.]

Now the course the BBs & their cleargie haue taken, to approoue themselues vnto all men to be no such deceitfull vvorkmen, their building to be no such vvood, hay, stubble, hath not bene to bring their vvorkes to the light, & to submit yt & themselues, to be measured by the golden reed of Gods word, therby iustifying themselues, conuincing and perswading others: But in stead of this, they first imprison all such as make anie scruple or question of their doings: yea all such as but speake against them, they shut vp in close pryson, there to continewe vvithout bayle or mainprice, all the daies of their life, except they submit & recant: Some they cast into most noisome & vile dungeons, without ayre, foode, bedds, or so much as strawe to lye vpon, keeping them from their vyues, children, trades labours, to the vtter vndoing & affamishment of them, their wyues, & children; Others they lade, with as manie yrons as they can beare; some others they a while produced to the Sessions, there indicting them as recusants vpon the Statute made for the Papists; publishing them by their prynt with priuiledg Anabaptists, Hereticks, Schismatics, Sectors, Donatists, Conuenticlers, seditious, turbulent; sparsing abroad through all the land certeine Articles of their owne deuising against them, to bring them into hatred vvith the vvhole land. vvherunto also they haue not spared their tongs, in their pulpits, where euery one of their priests might forge what opinion he lyst against them, & confute it with the same mouth, in their name: and all this, vvithout once producing them, to anie christian triall vvhere they might haue place giuen them, to defend themselues, & produce their reasons, or once endeoring to perswade or confute them by anie one place of scripture;.....<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "A COLLECTION OF | CERTAINE SCLAVNDEROVS | Articles gyuen out by the Bisshops | ...", 1590, sig. A<sub>j</sub> recto and verso.

[The names of the persons belonging to the imprisoned  
“nevve sectorie of recusants” are the following:—]<sup>1</sup>

James Forester	}	prysoners in newgate
Iohn Francys		
Robert Batkine	— —	in the Fleete
Thomas Freeman	}	in the gatehowse
Thomas Settel		
Iohn Debenham		
George Collier	}	in the Clynke
Iohn Sparowe		
Edmond Nicolson	}	in the Clynke
<i>Christofer</i> Raper		
<i>Christofer</i> Browne	}	in the Clynke
Quintan Smyth		
Androwe Smyth	}	in the Clynke
William Blakborowe		
Thomas Lemar	}	in the Clynke
Thomas Michell		
Anthonye Clakston	}	in newgate
William Forester		
William Denford	}	in newgate
Roger Waterer		
Edeth Burrowghe	}	in newgate
William Burt		
George Smels	}	in the Counter wood- street
<i>Christofer</i> Bowman		
Robert Iackson	}	in Count: woodstr.
Nycolas Lee		
Robert Andrewes	}	in Count: woodstr.
William Hutton		
Iohn Buser <sup>2</sup>	}	in Count: woodstr.
Iohn Fisser		

<sup>1</sup> “A COLLECTION OF | CERTAINE SCLAVNDEROVS | Articles  
gyuen out by the Bisshops | ...”, 1590, sigs. A<sub>iv</sub> verso—B recto.

<sup>2</sup> Could Iohn Buser have been Leonard Busher's father?



William Clarke }  
Richard maltusse } in Count: vwoodstr.

William Fouller }  
Richard Skarlet } in Count: woodstr.

Roger Rippine }  
Iohn Clarke } in Count vwoodstr.

Rowland Skipworth } in the Counter  
George Knifton } poultrye

Richard Hayward }  
Iohn Lankaster } in Count: poult.

Thomas Endford } in Count: poult.

Henry Barrowe }  
Iohn Greenwood } in the Fleete

Daniell Studley }  
Walter Lane } in the Fleete

Edmond Tomson }  
Iohn Nicolas } in the gatehouse

William Dodson }  
Iohn Barrens } in the gatehowse

Iohn Cranford }  
Richard vvheeler } in the gatehowse

Thomas Canadine—in the gatehowse

[Part of a letter from Iohn Smith to Dr. [John] Reynolds, dated February 20, 1592/3.]<sup>1</sup>

This daye it is reported the Baroists shalbe arraigned. yesterday m<sup>r</sup> smith [*sic*] & I dealt with half a score of them at y<sup>e</sup> gatehowse concerning our church, & [?] ther errours in refusing to say the L. prayer, & to eate any thing vpon the Sabboth. They denyed both at first, but at length yelded that thei held the former. The men be veye readye to ther poore [?] still, but as impudent, as obstinate, as proud & disdainfull as ever I talked with any; The L. geeve them humble & repentant hartes [?]...

London the 20<sup>th</sup> of Febr.

<sup>1</sup> Corpus Christi College Library, Oxford. MS. No. 318, present press-mark C. 3. 2 (fol. 143).

[The names of several Barrowists who were willing to conform and were evidently bailed some time after April 5, 1593.]<sup>1</sup>

The names of suche Sectaries, as vpon  
ther Conformitie the Commissioners have  
bayed.

John Hulkes [or Huckes] of Detford Shipwright. /  
William Mason of wappinge Shipwright. /  
william Curland of Detford Shipwright.  
Edward Gilbert apprentice to Isack Frees Taylor,  
of the *parishe* of S<sup>t</sup> Gregories neere powles. /  
Henry Brodewater of S<sup>t</sup> Nicholas lane Scrivenor.  
Thomas Mihilfield [*sic*] of S<sup>t</sup> Saviours Ioyner. /  
Thomas Farret servant to William Greene of  
Aldersgate streete.  
Henrye Withers of Detford Strand, Shipwright.

[Part of a Letter of Iohn Chamberlain to Mr Dudley Carleton at "Eaton", dated "From London", the "22<sup>th</sup> of October 1608".]<sup>2</sup>

only there was a nest or assemblie of Brownists [probably Barrowists] discovered on Sondag about Finsburie, wherof Fiue or sixe and thirty were apprehended with theyre preacher one Trundle that vsed to exercise at christs-church.

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 210.

<sup>2</sup> S. P., Dom., James I, Vol. 37 (No. 25), in the Public Record Office, London.

## V

### EARLY MANUSCRIPT INFORMATION CONCERNING THE MARPRELATE PRESS AND THE ACTIVITIES OF SOME OF THE EARLY PURITANS

In<sup>1</sup> the yeare 1588 came fourth those hatefull libelles of Martin Marreprelate, & much about the same tyme the *Epitome*, the *Demonstracion of discipline*, the *Supplicacion Diotrephes*, the *Mineralles*, *Have you any worke for a Cooper*, *Martin Iunior*, alias *Theses Martinianæ*, *Martin Senior*, *Moore worke for the Cooper*, all printed with a kinde of wandering presse which was first sett vp at Monsey [Moulsey?] neare Kingston vpon Thames, & from thence conuaied to Fawsley in Northamptonshire, from thence to Norton, from Norton to Couentry, from Couentry to Wollston in Warwickshire, from thence the Setters were sent to an other presse in or neare Manchester where the presse was discouered in printing of More worke for a Cooper, which shamelesse libell as like wise all the forenamed were fraught only with odious & scurrulous calumpniacions against the established gouernment & such reuerend Prelates as deserued honour with vprighter iudgements, some of the Printers whiles they were busied about the last libell, were apprehended, who with the entertainers & receauers of the presse were proceeded against in the Starre Chamber & their censured but vpon their submission, at the Archbishops humble sute were both deliuered out of Prison & eased of their synes. The Authors & publishers, were Iohn Penry and Iohn Vdall with others the cheefe dispersor was Humphrey Newman a Cobler (a fitt brooker for such southerly worke) of which three hereafter we

<sup>1</sup> Cotton MS. Julius F. VI, fol. 76 verso and 77 recto, in the British Museum.

shall speake more in a fitter place The factious Monsters of the pretended discipline hauing with these seditious libelles (as the forerunners & harbengers of their farther designes) made waie in the hartes of the vulgar who euer are apt to entertaine matter of Noueltie especiallie if it haue a shew of restraining the authoritie of their Superiours, they thought it the fittest time to prosecute their proiectes & while the one sorte of them, were maliciouslie busie in slaundering the state of the Church already settled, the other sor[t]e were as factiouslie eager in planting the discipline *which* they had newlie plotted Where vppon shortlie after Thomas Cartwright Edmond Snape, Andrew Kinge, Wilton Proudloue, Iohn Graine, Melanchton Iewell, Lord, Fennye, and Wright were called in question & proceeded withall in Starre chamber, for setting forth and putting in practise without warrant or authoritie a new forme of Comñon Praier & administracion of the sacramentes & presbiteriall discipline comprised in two bookes Intituled *Disciplina Ecclesiæ sacra Dei verbo descripta* and *Disciplina Synodica ex Ecclesiarum vsu* with other bookes and Pamphlettes of like nature, And so putt their reformation & Hierarchie in practise they held their assembles & Classis in sundrie places of this Realme viz: at London, Oxford, & Cambridge, Warwicke, Northampton, Ketteringe, Daintry where they corrected & altered diuerse imperfections conteyned in the said booke, treating allsoe & concluding of sundry Articles & decrees in allowance of the bookes & of the Matters therein viz:

That the Queenes authoritie ought to be restrained in causes ecclesiasticall. /

## VI

### SOME OF THE EARLY BARROWIST DEPOSITIONS

["Certen wicked sectes  
& opinions . marche  
1588 & 89 No 3i. Eliz."]<sup>1</sup>

Confessed by clement  
Gambell.

The Manner of thassemblie of  
the secret Conventicklers to-  
gethe<sup>r</sup> with some Collections of  
there opynions /

In the somer tyme they mett  
togethe<sup>r</sup> in the feilds a mile or  
more about london. there they  
sitt downe vppon A Banke &  
diuers of them expound out of  
the bible so long as they are  
there assembled

Confessed by Clemente  
Cambell

In y<sup>e</sup> wynte<sup>r</sup> tyme they assemble  
themselves by 5. of the clocke in  
y<sup>e</sup> morning to that howse where  
they make there Conventicle,  
for y<sup>t</sup> [?] Saboth daie men &  
woemen togethe<sup>r</sup> there they Con-  
tynewe in there kinde of praier  
& exposicion of Scriptures all  
that daie They dyne togethe<sup>r</sup>,  
After dinner make collection to  
paie for there diet [?] & what  
mony is left somme [?] one of  
them carrieth it to the prisons  
where any of there sect be  
committed.

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 83 recto—84 recto, in the British Museum.

Confessed by Iohn  
Dove<sup>1</sup>

In there praier one speketh and  
the rest doe grone, or sob. or sigh,  
as if they wold wringe out teares,  
but...not after...that praieth,  
there praier is extemporall

Confessed by Clemente  
Gamble /

In there conventicles they vse  
not the lordes praier, nor of any  
forme of sett praier, for the  
lordes praier, one, who hath ben  
A dalie resorte<sup>r</sup> [to?] there  
conventiclers [conventicles?],  
hath [*sic*] this yeare & a half on  
the Saboth daies, confesseth y<sup>t</sup>  
he neuer hard it said emongest  
them, And this is the doctryne  
of the vse of it in there pamph-  
lettes, To that which is alledged,  
that we ought to saie the  
lordes praier, Bycause our saviour  
Christ saieth when you praie  
doe yo<sup>n</sup> praie thus &c[?],...

. . . .  
. . . .  
. . . .

. . . .  
. . . .

for thuse of set or stynted praier  
(as they terme it,) this they teach  
that all stynted praiers & redd  
service is but Babling in y<sup>e</sup>  
lordes sight,...

Confessed by Clement  
Gambell

In all there metinges they teach  
that there is noe heade or  
supreme gove[r?]ment of the  
Church of god, but Christe,  
That the *Queene* hath no auc-  
thoritie to appoyn[t] mynisters  
in the Church nor to set downe  
any govermente for y<sup>e</sup> Church  
which is not directlie commanded  
in godes worde /

Taught in another of  
there wryting[es] taken from

To confirme there privat con-  
venticles and expounding there

<sup>1</sup> John Dove, M.A., who published at least half a dozen books.

the for[e]said Smyth,  
Confessed by Iohn dove /

they teach that A pryvatt man  
being A Brother may preach to  
begett faieth and nowe that  
thoffice of thapostles is ceaseth  
[sic] there nedeth not, publique  
mynistres but euery man in his  
owne calling was to preache the  
gospell.

confessed by Clement  
Gambell,

They condempne [?] it as vtterlie  
vnlawfull to comme to our  
Churches in england to any  
publicque praier or preaching of  
whome soeuer, for y<sup>t</sup> they saie  
as the Chirch [?] of england  
standeth they be all fals teachers  
& falce prophettes [?] that be in  
it, there reason is for that our  
preachers (as they saie) doe  
teach vs that the state of the  
realme of England is the true  
Church (*which* they denye) and  
therefore they saie that all  
preachers of england be fals  
preachers sent in the lordes anger  
to deceyve his people with lyes,  
and not true preachers to bring  
the glad tydinges of the gospell,  
and all that come to our Churches  
to publicque praier or sermons  
they accompt damnable soules

. . . .  
. . . .

. . . .  
. . . .

confessed by Iohn dove

. . . .  
. . . .

Taught in the same  
pamphlet taken from  
Roger Iackson

Confessed in m<sup>r</sup> Iohn  
Doves examinacion A  
m<sup>r</sup> of Arte who

. . . .  
. . . .  
. . . .  
. . . .

Those who haue ben of there  
secret Brotherhood and seing  
there errorrs do fall from them

was at one of the  
Conventyckles

Confessed by love  
who is the *partie*  
who[m] they so vsed  
& by m<sup>r</sup> dove who  
was present at this  
Accion and was the  
first man who  
reveled this /

Wydowe Vnyon one  
of there Chief  
Conventickler[s] her  
Child was Babtised  
in S<sup>t</sup> Andrewes in  
the wardrope

and Submytt them selves to be  
*partakers* of publique praier  
and hering of godes worde *with*  
vs they condempne[?] as ap-  
postates[?] and they saie it is A  
greater synne to goe to our  
Churches to publique praier then  
for A man to lye *with* his fathers  
wief /

And when as one of late forsoke  
there Conventickles they sent  
for him, and when he gave them  
many reasons whie he cold not  
hold there opynions for good as  
namelie that they reiected the  
lordes praier, That they were  
dissemblers in that two of them  
had made A deede of gyfte of all  
there landes to deceyve the  
Queene and A nombre of other  
reasons *which* he alledged to  
them when they sawe they cold  
not wynne hime they gaue hime  
*ouer* to thandes of Satan till he  
wold Submitt hime self to the  
Church agayne and they all  
kneling he that gave that sen-  
tence made A praier to desyre  
god to ratiffie that censure  
against hime

They held it vnlawfull to baptise  
Children emongest vs but rather  
Chewse to let them goe vn-  
baptized as in Somer 1588 A Childe  
of one of theres[?] beinge xij  
yeres of Age was knowne[?] not  
to haue ben baptized And when  
the pore infant desyred the



mother often that it might be baptized she and it was [*sic*] borne of faiethfull parentes which was enough for it which Child was by the Chauncelo<sup>r</sup> of london caused to be publicly Baptised, at a sermon made for that purpose the last sommer [?] and the mother ranne awaie for feare of puishmente

Confessed by  
Clement Gamble

It cannot be learned where they receyved the Sacramentes of the lordes Supper and one who neuer missed there metinges [?] of A yere & A half confesseth that he neuer sawe any min[i]stracion of the sacrement nor knoweth where it is donne

Confessed by  
Clement Gamble [?]

for marradges if any of there Chirch Marry together some of there owne Brotherhood must marry them as of late A Cople were married in the fleet

The *examinacion* of Abraham Pulbery of London free  
of the Cowpers of thage of xxv or thereabouts.  
taken vij<sup>o</sup> die martij 1592 as foloweth<sup>1</sup>.

Item hee saieth that hee was in Cheapeside when the dead Corps of Roger Rippon was caried thorowe the same, and saieth further that hee heard there publikely redde the paper which was sett vpon the Coffine but hee would not call the same a libell, And the same libell being shewed vnto him hee thinketh that it was in effecte the same hee heard redde in Chepeside /

And beinge examined of what opynion hee was touchinge the same libell he saieth that the mainteyninge of the Bishops of Englande as namely the ArchBishop of Canterbury & the

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 43 recto, in the British Museum.

rest of the Bishops. whom hee termeth to bee Antichristian Bishops as they are, that they are the mainteyners of Antichristian Authoritie sayeng further that the said Bishops haue their authorities as they are Bishoppes from Antichriste & not from her maiestie because there is noe suche authoritie in the word of god for any Princes to make such Bishoppes to overrule the Churches of god

And saieth further that when hee heard that paper redde in Chesepside hee heard allso then reported that they mente to carry the said Coffine to m<sup>r</sup> Iustice younges house

And hee saieth further that hee was vpon Soday laste in the morninge at a wood neere yslington with others that were there the nomber hee knoweth not and then & there had a sworde aboute himselfe, and denieth to aunswere how often hee had bene there before / and saieth allso that m<sup>r</sup> Iohnson was their expounder that daye. /

Item hee saieth that hee hath made a promise to the Lord in the presence of his Congregacion when hee entred therevnto that hee would walke with them as they would walke with the Lorde /

*Rychard young*  
Iohn Ellis

The examination of Iohn Nicholas of  
Smithfeild Glover taken before vs  
Henry Tounsend, *Richard yonge* and Iohn Ellis  
Esquiers the viij<sup>th</sup> of Marche 1592<sup>1</sup>

Item beinge tendred his oath to aunswere truly to such matters as should be demaunded of him concerninge the Quenes maiestie refuseth to take any oathe

Item beinge demaunded whether he were at newgate or in Cheepesid when the Coffin was carried to M<sup>r</sup> Yongs saith he was not, nor was preuye of the makinge of the said Coffin onely Rippons wyfe did tell him on Frydaye night (as he thinks that hir husband was deade

Item he saith he did not knowe of the makinge of the Lybells that were fixed on the Coffin nor did knowe whoe they were

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 61 recto, in the British Museum.

that made them beinge demaunded whether he knowes Pendred [Penry] or not saith he hath heard of him but knowes him not

Item he saith he knowes Abraham Pulbery /

Item he saith he knowes one Iones but hath not bene longe acquainted with him nor doeth he knowe where he dwells

Item this Examinee saith that he with his company were at the wood where they were nowe taken on sonday was a fortnight

Item he saith that the Lords prayer is noe praier for that (as he saith) Christ did not saie it as a praier

The Examinacion of William Clerke, a worker  
of Capps, of the parishe of St Buttolphes, taken  
before vs Henry Townsend Richard yonge  
and Iohn Ellis esquiers the vijij<sup>th</sup> of marche 1592<sup>1</sup>

Item he beinge tendred his oath to aunswere truly to such questions as should be demaunded of him on the behalfe of the Quenes maiestie refuseth to take any oath :

Item he saith he did knowe Roger Ryppon but was not with him duringe his imprisonment nor was at Newgate when the Coffyn was carried from thens, nor was previe of yt nor of the lybell fixed theron nor who wrote it /

Item he saith he *hath bene of the foresaid congregacion these Fower or Fyve yeres*, and made *promise to stand with the said Congregacion* soe longe as they did stand for the truthe and glory of god, beinge then of that Congregacion at that tyme present aboute twentie or there aboutes

Item beinge demaunded when he did see Pendred [Penry] denies to aunswere that Question /

And beinge demaunded whether he wold geve his consent to repaier to his parishe Church (as he is bound by the lawes of the Land) saith he maye not soe suddenly yeld there vnto but (soe that he maye be at libertye) he saith he will put in good securtye to be of good behaioure towards the Quenes maiestie and the state /

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 62 recto.

The examination of Richard Hawton shoemaker  
taken before vs Henry Townsend Richard  
yonge and Iohn Ellis esquiers the viij<sup>th</sup>  
of marche 1592<sup>1</sup>

Item he denyes to take any oath to aunswere to any question  
but will aunswere truly soe nere as he can

Item he saith he hath bene of the foresaid congregacion a  
fortenight or three weeks

Item he saith he hard noe notice of their meetinge at the wood  
but meetinge with a shoemaker whome he knowes not went  
with them /

Item he saith he knowes not Roger Rippon nor was at newgate  
nor in Cheepesid when the Coffin was carried from newgate,  
but he heard that a Coffin was carried throughe the streetes  
and that Libells were fixed on yt but was not previe of them  
nor knowes whoe wrote them

Item he saith he is nowe contented to repaier to his parishe  
Churche as he ought and will hereafter refraine the Company  
of that congregacion and will observe the Quenes maiesties [?]  
lawes

The examination of Iohn Barns tayler  
taken...the viij<sup>th</sup> of Marche 1592<sup>2</sup>

.....

Item he saith he did knowe Roger Ryppon and was at newgate  
in the morninge before he was carried thens but was not prevye  
of the carrynge [?] of the Coffyn to m<sup>r</sup> yongs, nor of the Lybells  
fixed thereon nor whoe wrote them

.....

Item he saith that at his first entringe into that societie he  
*made noe other vowe, but that he wold followe them soe farr  
forth as the word of god did warraunt him.....*

The examination of Daniell Bucke scrivoner of the  
Burughe  
of Southwarke taken the nyneth daye of marche  
[1592/3]

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 61 verso.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 67 recto. This MS. is an original.

before Henry Townsend Richard yonge and  
Iohn Ellys Esquiers And beinge required to  
be deposed vppon a booke refuseth to  
take any other oath then to protest before god  
that all his sayings were true<sup>1</sup>

Beinge examined whether he was with the Coffyn at newgate,  
denyes that he was there and that he did not see the lybell  
fixed on the said Coffin, but saith y<sup>t</sup> afterwards a straunger  
shewed vnto him the Coppie of the same at his owne shopp in  
Southwarke and denyes that he knewe the name of the  
straunger nor any thinge els of him, but that he was a  
Wiltshere man and came to see how he did /

And saith further that he was vppon sondaye last in thafter-  
noone in the Cunstables house in Islington where he did see  
amongst others of their fraternitie Penrhyn [John Penry] /

And saith further that George Iohnson was Reader there in  
the Cunstables house as aforesaid And saith alsoe that there  
were there aboue fortye of them together and diuers others that  
were not of their societie

And saith further that he was not in his *parishe* Church the  
xij monethes, bycause it is against his conscience vnlesse there  
were reformacion in the Church accordinge as they be war-  
raunted by the word of god

And as concerninge the Bushopps he thinkes that they haue  
noe spirituall auctoritie over the rest of the Clergie

Beinge asked what vowe or promise he had made when he  
came first to their socyetye he aunswereth and saith that he  
made this protestacion, That he wold walke with the rest of  
that congregacion soe longe as they did walke in the waye of  
the lord and as ffarr as might be warraunted by the word of  
god

Beinge demaunded whether there shold be any motion made  
by some of their fraternitie that they should goe some where  
in to the Cuntrye wherby they might be in more saftie denyes  
that he herd any such matters / but saith that he herd that one  
Myllers a preacher at St Andreas vnderashafte sayd that if

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6849, fol. 216 recto—217 recto, in the British Museum.

they did maynteyne the truth they should not keepe them selves in Corners but should shewe them selves forth publicly to defend the same, and he thought that vnfit lest it should be a meane to stirr a Rebellion

And further beinge demaunded whoe was their pastor and by whome he was Created saith that m<sup>r</sup> Frauncis Iohnson was chosen Pastor, and m<sup>r</sup> Grenewood docto<sup>r</sup>, and Bowman and Lee deacons, and Studley and George Knifton potticary were chosen elders, in the house of one Fox in St Nicholas Lane, London/about halfe a yere sithence all in one day by their congregacion, or at m<sup>r</sup> Bylsons house in Crechurche he remembreth not whether/and that the Sacrament of Baptisme was (as he called it) deliuered there to the number of vij persons by Iohnson, but they had neither god fathers nor godmothers, and he tooke water and washed the faces of them that were baptised: the Children that were there baptised were the Children of m<sup>r</sup> Studley m<sup>r</sup> Lee with others beinge of seuerall yeres of age, sayinge onely in thadministracion of this sacrament I doe Baptise thee in the name of the father of the sonne and of the holy gost withoute vsinge any other cerimony therein as is now vsually observed accordinge to the booke of Common praier B[e]linge then there presente the said Daniel Studley: william Sheppard, william marshall, Iohn Beche, Roberte Bray Thoma[s] Lee. Arthur Byllet Edmund Thompson Roberte Iackson william Mason, George marten, Thomas michell, Robert Abraham, henry wythers, Thomas digson[?], peter farland; william weber, dauy Bristoe, Iohn Nicholas, Iohn Barnes. George Smell[?], Christofer Raper, Christofer Sympkins, Christofer diggins Roger Rippon Christofer Boman, Thomas Settell Iohn Grenewood, aforesaid Edward Graue, william Collins, Abraham pulbery, Nicholas leye aforesaid George manners George Knyfton, aforesaid m<sup>rs</sup> Settell, katherine Onnyon[?], m<sup>rs</sup>, Boyes, margery daubin[?] Ellyn Rowe, Avis Allen, An homes, Ione pulbery, nicholas lee his wyfe, frauncis Iohnes, An Bodkyn, Elizabeth moore, Barbera Sampford, and others whose names he doeth not remember.

Beinge further demaunded the manner of the lordes supper administred emongst them, he saith that fyve whight loves or more were sett vppon the table and that the Pastor did breake the bread and then deliuered yt vnto some of them, and the deacons deliuered to the rest some of the said congregacion sittinge and some standinge aboute the table and that the Pastor deliuered the Cupp vnto one and he to an other, and soe from one to an other till they had all dronken vsinge the words at the deliuerye therof accordinge as it is sett downe in the eleventh of the Corinthes the xxiiij<sup>th</sup> verse

Beinge demaunded whether they vse to make any Collection or gatheringe amongst them said that there is a gatheringe of mony emongst them the *which* mony is deliuered to the deacons to be distributed accordinge to their discretion to the vse of the poore

And he herd saie that they did vse to marry in their congregacion

And further refuseth to *comm* to the Churche and obeye the forme of service *which* is vsed in the booke [?] of Common prayer sett oute by the Quenes *maiesties* [?] Iniunctions, bycause there is not a reformation accordinge to the word of god

Rychard Young

The*examination* of Iohn Penryn [Penry] taken

xxvj<sup>o</sup> marty 1593<sup>1</sup>

hee requireth that hee may haue a publike conference to bee allowed or appointed by her *maiestie* & the Lordes of the Counsell, if it so please their honours; or otherwise hee will not confere for this *present* hee saith that there was a petition deliuered & also there is a booke to bee deliuered into the Parliament, conteyninge his Faithe and opinions & hee expecteth to knowe their Censure thereof & allowance or disallowance of the same /

.....

The*examination* of sondry persons abidinge in the prisons in & aboute London taken before

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6849, fol. 204. This is apparently the original MS. of this deposition, signed by "Rychard young".

Doctor Goodman deane of westminster &  
others 11j<sup>o</sup>, 111j<sup>o</sup>, v<sup>to</sup>, et vj<sup>to</sup> April 1593<sup>1</sup>

Clinke Henry Broadwater scrivener in S<sup>t</sup> Nicholas Lane  
aged xxix yeares was committed to prison by the  
Bishop of London & others aboute vj weekes paste

.....

Newgate. Edward Grave Fishmonger of the parishe of  
S<sup>t</sup> Butulph in Thames streete aged xxv yeares was  
committed to prison a weeke paste /

Item hee saieth that hee hath bene of this opinion  
of the Sectaries this halfe yeare & was persuaded  
by the Sermons of m<sup>r</sup> Gardener and m<sup>r</sup> Phillips;  
who preached that men were bounde to heare & to  
bee ruled by their pastor Elders & deacons Hee...  
confesseth that hee had one of Barrowes his bookes  
of conference which hee lent to Pedar the shoe-  
maker,...

Christofer diggins weuer aged xxiiij yeares is  
seruaunte [?] to Nicholas haverenn<sup>2</sup> of the parishe  
of S<sup>t</sup> Olaves in Southwarke & was one of them  
that carried the Coffine to m<sup>r</sup> younges dore /

.....

Hee saieth that hee was in the Assemblies euery  
Lordes day by the space of two yeares now laste  
paste

Item hee saieth that hee hath seene one of Barowes  
his bookes in the handes of one Iohn wilkenson,

.....

Iohn Clerke husbandman of the parishe of wall-  
soken in the Countye of Norffolke was committed  
three yeares paste by the Sheriffes of London  
beinge taken in an assembly with Barrowes.....Hee  
saieth that hee will not goe to any churche nor to  
any Sermons /

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 32 recto—fol. 36 recto.

<sup>2</sup> This is apparently the name here written, but in these hastily penned depositions mistakes were likely to be made.



yt was thoughte good by the Commissioners  
that hee should bee sente to Bridewell. to  
grinde in the mill

Roger waterer haberdasher *servaunte* [?] to Robert  
Pavye [?] of the *parishe* of S<sup>t</sup>. Martens at Ludgate  
was committed to Newgate...three yeares and  
a quarter paste / & was neuer examined / The cause  
of his imprisonment (as hee saith) was for that hee  
wente not to his *parishe* church in three weekes  
& was fetched out of his masters house /  
hee saith hee was once at an assembly in a  
gardeyne house neere Bedlem where Iames Forester  
did expounde the Scriptures.

.....

William Marshall Shipwrighte dwellinge at wap-  
pinge aged xxxij yeares was taken in the wood...  
hee saith he hath bene of these assemblies halfe  
a yeare & was with them three tymes in the woodes.  
& yet was at church vj weekes paste /

.....

Thomas hewett borne in Swanton in the County of  
Leicester purse-maker of the age of xxx yeares &  
doth dwell at S<sup>t</sup> Martens le Graunde with Iohn  
Sutton & is his *servaunte* & was taken with the  
Reste in the wood

.....

George Knifton Apothecarye dwellinge in Newgate  
markett of the age of yeares [*sic*] saith that hee  
hath mett at the assemblies at Barnes his house at  
Billsons house & at Lees house & at the woodes &  
at Rippons house & at deptford wood, & hee is an  
Elder

Beinge demaunded whether hee will goe to Church,  
hee aunswereth that hee wilbee content to haue  
conference & before that hee will not goe to the  
churche, & refuseth to take an othe

hee is to bee sent to the deane of westminster  
to conferre

*Early English Dissenters*

william Mason shipwrighte of thage of xxj yeares was taken in the wood Hee saieth that hee hath bene of these assemblies since a little before Christmas laste & was persuaded by Roger Rippon & Edward Chaundler, & hath bene at there assemblies xj tymes viz in Nicholas Lane, at Daniell Buckes neere Allgate & at Nicholas Lee his house, & hee gaue vj<sup>d</sup> a weeke which the deacons receyued & hee saieth that Chaundler had Barrowes bookes & did reade them

Beinge demaunded whether hee will goe to the Churche, hee saieth he will & is bounde with his brother Richard Mason & Iames Tailor & so discharged /

Henry withers shipwrighte dwellinge at deptford Strande of the age of xxvj yeares was committed a moneth paste beinge taken at the assembly in the woodes /

hee saieth hee hath bene of the said assemblies this halfe yeare by meanes & persuasion of the Shipwrightes & they did assemble themselues euery Sabboth daye at dyvers houses

.....

Beinge demaunded whether hee will goe to Churche, hee aunswereth that hee is willinge to goe to Churche after that hee hath had conference /

Christofer Bowman goldsmithe of thage of xxxij yeares & doeth dwell in weste Smithfield & was Committed by [i.e., for] the Coffine & libells /

Hee saieth hee is one of the Confused [?]<sup>1</sup> Churche & is a deacon amongst them beinge chosen in September laste

hee saieth hee was imprisoned v yeares paste for puttinge vp a petition to the Queenes maiestie & continued in prison 11j yeares for the same /

<sup>1</sup> The writing of "Confused" is plain, but some other word was evidently intended.

hee saieth that the Forward preachers caused him to fall into these assemblies & that m<sup>r</sup> Chattertons printed Sermon was the cause that made him enter into this Action

.....

Hee [Christofer Bowman] saieth that hee hath beene at their assemblies as often as hee could have time & liberty viz at m<sup>r</sup> Billsons house, at Penryns, Lees; Rippons and Barnes there houses & in S<sup>t</sup> Nicholas Lane & in the woodes

.....

Beinge demaunded where hee was married, hee saieth at Penryns house, and Settle did pray & Grenewood was presente, & hee denieth to swaere or subscribe

Thomas Micklefield Ioyner of thage of xxxij yeares dwellinge in S<sup>t</sup> Mary Overies parishe was taken in the assembly in the woodes.....

hee confesseth that hee hath bene of the Company of these Sectaries this quarter of a yeare & was persuaded thereto by m<sup>r</sup> Phillips preachinge /

.....

Dauid Bristowe tailor of thage of xxx yeares dwellinge in S<sup>t</sup> Martens le Graunde was taken in the woodes.....

.....

hee hath bene in their company this halfe yeare & saieth hee cannot goe to any Churche but to that wherevnto hee hath Ioyned himselfe

Christofer Simkyn Coppersmith dwellinge in aldersgatestreete of thage of xxij yeares was taken in the woodes...

hee...saieth that hee hath not bene at his parishe churche these xvij moneths beinge thereto persuaded by hearinge m<sup>r</sup> Sparkes m<sup>r</sup> Cowper & others their Sermons,

.....

William Smithe of Bradford in the Comitatus [i.e.,

*Early English Dissenters*

County] of willshire mynister of thage of xxx yeares  
was made mynister by the Bishop of Couentrye &  
Litchfield

hee saieth hee was imprisoned viij weekes since...  
for the Carriage of the Coffine.....

.....

Arthur Billett borne in Flantelex<sup>1</sup> in the Comitatus  
[i.e., County] of Cornewall aged xxv yeares saieth  
that hee hath bene a Scholler & a Souldiour & was  
taken with Penryn and others at Ratcliffe aboute  
a fortnighte paste /

hee saieth that hee hath bene in[?] drawn into this  
Society these two yeares & hath bene three or foure  
tymes at the woodes & in dyvers houses. and  
receyued the Communion at Barnes house  
hee was the man that putt Barrowes & Greenwood  
their bookes to the printe at dorte & hee sawe one  
of the bookes in a Countrey mans handes.

.....

Iohn Parkes Clothworker of thage of L yeares was  
taken in the woodes & committed...aboute a  
moneth paste.

hee saieth hee serueth m<sup>r</sup> Livesey his sonne & hath  
meate & drinke of him & noe wages & hath no  
habitation

hee hath bene of this Secte a quarter of a yeare  
& hath bene at these assemblies vj tymes in sondry  
places,

.....

Iohn Penryn mynister of the age of xxx yeares or  
thereabouts

.....

The cause of his departure out of the Lande of  
Scotlande was for that hee putt vp a petition to  
the parliament & could not bee heard / & therefore  
hee departed /

<sup>1</sup> "Flantelex" is quite plainly written.

Leonard Piddar shoemaker of thage of xxx yeares dwellinge at blacke Friers was taken in the woodes.....

.....

William Curland Shipwrighte of thage of <sup>1</sup> yeares was taken in the woodes neere yslington

.....

William Giles Taylor aged xxij yeares *servaunte* to m<sup>r</sup> Cheryatt of walbroke was taken as hee was goinge to the assembly in the woodes

.....

Thomas Emery is his felowe *servaunte*  
Edward Gilbarte of thage of xxj yeares *servaunte* to Isaac Frize tronkemaker was taken in the woodes /

.....

Frauncis Iohnson mynister was so made by the Sectaries & chosen their pastor is of thage of xxxj yeares & is of noe certeine abode

.....

hee saieth that it is the power of their Church that they may excommuni[i]cate the Queene vntill shee acknowledge & confesse her selfe, and this is done to save her soule /

Hee [Francis Johnson] saieth that hee was committed the v<sup>th</sup> day of december 1592 by the Lord of Caunterbury & others, & hee hath bene examined two seuerall tymes by the Lord Chiefe Iustice at Sergeantes Inne

Item hee saieth that the Lordes prayer is a forme of prayer but not to bee vsed for the Apostles did not vse to saye it

Item hee saieth that hee was prisoner in Cambridge for a Sermon that hee made to this purpose for that hee would not take an othe foure yeares paste

Beinge demanded by whom hee was *persuaded* to these assemblies hee saieth by the Scriptures & worde of god /.....

.....

Edward Boys haberdashed [haberdasher] aged xxxij yeares dwellinge in Fleetestreete was committed xvj weekes paste by the Bishop of Caunterbury.....

<sup>1</sup> There is a blank space at this point in the manuscript.

Beinge asked how longe hee hath bene drawn from his parish Church, hee saith that hee hath bene of this Societie these three yeares. & was moued thereto by m<sup>r</sup> Egerton m<sup>r</sup> Cowper & M<sup>r</sup> wigginton their Sermons.....

.....

George Collier haberdashed [haberdasher] aged xxxviiij yeares of the *parishe* of S<sup>t</sup> Martens at Ludgate was committed by the Bishop of London & others v yeares paste

.....

hee saith that hee was taken with Grenewood & Crane & others & was neuer examined in all this time

Beinge required to goe to his *parishe* church & haue his liberty hee saith hee will not /

William denford Scholemaster of the age of L yeares lodged at mayres house in Fosterlane & was taken in the wood & committed...aboute a moneth paste.

hee saith that hee hath bene twice at the Assemblies in the wood & doeth vse to saye the Lordes prayer, but hee will not goe to Church vntill the *parishes* bee reformed / hee saith that the ministry is not duely called

.....

Thomas Settell mynister of the age of xxxviiij yeares hath bene in prison these xv weekes beinge committed by Sir Owen Hopton & doeth renounce his mynistrye / & was not examined since his committinge.

hee was taken in an Assembly at a Schoolehouse in S<sup>t</sup> Nicholas Lane.

Beinge demaunded how longe hee hath absented himselfe from the church of England hee aunswereth, about a yeare paste & hath not receyued the Communion these three yeares & hath bene againste the discipline of the Church of England these viij yeares; & refuseth to take an othe /

.....

hee also saith that hee was at the excommunicacion of Robert Stokes & the wordes were pronounced by Frauncis Iohnson their pastor & confesseth that hee hath prophesied in their assemblies

hee saith that hee did receyue the Communion in Barnes his

house in Smithfield in the Aforenoone, & hath persuaded the people to their assemblies /

.....

william wevar shoemaker of Grayes Inne Lane of thage of XL yeares servaunt to George Smith...was taken in the woodes...

Item hee saieth that hee hath frequented these assemblies these xvij monethes...

.....

hee saieth that hee hath made a Couenaunte to the Congregation to bee of their Societie & refuseth to goe to the churche /

Quintine Smith Feltmaker servaunte to his brother in Southwarke aged xxx yeares. was taken in the woodes...

hee saieth hee hath bene of these assemblies these two yeares

...

hee saieth that hee made a Couenaunte with the Assembly that as longe as they did walke in the lawes of god hee would forsake all other assemblies and onely folowe them /

.....

Katherine Onyon spinster dwellinge at Allgate, is willinge to goe to Churche, but shee is not able to putt in Suerties /

2. Aprilis. 1593. Thexaminacion of William Clerke of S<sup>t</sup> Buttolphes without Bushopps gate. aged xl. yeres, or ther aboutes,..<sup>1</sup>

First that he hath bene in prison in the Fleete this moneth. /

Item, that he was committed by the Bushopp of London, and othe<sup>rs</sup> highe commissioners beinge taken in the woode, beyonde Islington, wher he saieth they praied and exercised the word of god, and ther George Iohnson vsed the exhortacion and praier. /

...

Item, he saieth he hath refrained to come to churche but halfe a yere, but hath held his opinions these fyve yeres, beinge

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 55 recto.

drawen therto first by Greenwood, then in prison, and since  
by one Crane who died in Newgate, /

...

Concordat cum Original

...

[April 2, 1593.]

The examinacion of Iohn Nicholas of the  
parishe of St Pulchres London Glover aged  
xxxvj yeres or therabouts...<sup>1</sup>

...

First that he hath bene in Prison a monthe.

Item that he was comitted...beinge taken in the wood beyond  
Islington amonge diuerse others ther assembled /

.....

Item that he hath refrained from parishe churche assemblies  
thes fowre yeres, wherof he hath bene thre yeres and more in  
prison in the gate howse at westminster,...

Item beinge asked by whome he was drawen into his oppinions  
and when, sayeth by the word of god, and that he hath heard  
George Iohnson preache once or twice wherof once was in the  
wood, and hath heard Francis Iohnson preache once in S<sup>t</sup>  
Nicholas Lane /

Item he sayeth that they vsed to meete in ther assemblyes in  
S<sup>t</sup> Nicholas lane and in the woods beyond Islington wher he  
was taken /

.....

Item he sayeth that one of his sonnes named nathaniell[?]   
beinge five yeres of age was baptized by Francis Iohnson in  
S<sup>t</sup> Nicholas lane in the Scolehowse ther about Christmas last,  
and that he was never baptized before that tyme. /

.....

Concordat cum Original

...

2. Aprilis 1593. The examinacion of George Iohnson late  
Scholemaster in S<sup>t</sup> Nicholas Lane. London

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 63 verso.



borne in Richmonshire in the Countie of yorke.  
of the age of xxix. yeres,...<sup>1</sup>

First that he hath bene prisoner in the Fleete a monthe,  
comitted...for beinge taken in an assembye of people in  
a wood beyond Islington /

...

Item beinge demaunded by whome he was drawen into his  
opinions, saieth he was drawne therto, by the worde of god,  
and by hearinge of m<sup>r</sup> Egerton preacher, at his Sermons /

...

.1.

3. Aprilis. i593. Thexaminacion of Iohn Dalamore of the  
Cittye of Bathe brodeweaver of the  
age of xxv yeres...<sup>2</sup>

First that he hath bene in prison in Newgate this monethe  
being taken in the wood beyond Islington in thassembly ther...

.....

Item being asked by whome he was drawen in to his opinions  
sayeth by the word of god and that he hath hard one Smythe  
& others preache at Kensham [Keynsham] and other places in  
Sommersetshire. /

...

Concordat Cum Orignall [?]

...

.2.

3. Aprilis i593. Thexaminacion of Robert Abraham *seruaunt*  
to Thomas Rookes dwelling in S<sup>t</sup> Olives  
in Sowthewarke letherdresser of thage of  
the [*sic*] xxvj yeres...<sup>3</sup>

First that he hath bene in prison in Newgate this monethe  
being taken in the wood in the assembly...

.....

Item he sayth he hath not bene at any Churche this twelve  
monethes and hath bene of his opinions a yere & halfe

.....

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 63 recto.      <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 58 recto.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 57 verso.

Item being asked how often they haue vsed to meete in their assemblies saythe twyce a weeke commonly except they were otherwise occupied and saythe they mett somtymes at Smythfelde in an house by the hospitall allwayes earlye in the morninge And in the wynter about iij<sup>or</sup> or v a clocke in the morninge and somtyme by Algate besydes Christchurche and they met by such direccion as they tooke alwayes at ther last meetinges and somtymes about moregate [?]. they tooke their direccion for meeting as they met ther And sayth they received the Communion [?] but once *which* was in a house about Smythfyeld but he remembreth not the house and yt was at the handes of Francis Iohnson ther pastor. /

Item he confesseth that they met thre or fowre tymes at S<sup>t</sup> Nicholas Lane and once at Rippons [?] house in Southworke and in the field by Detforde somtymes and oftentymes in the feilds & woods by Islington. /

.....

Item he sayth they vsed to geve ther pastor every man accordinge to his abylytye. /

Concordat cum original

.....

3. Aprill. 1593. The *examinacion* of Abraham Pulburye of the *parishe* of Crichurche pursmaker by trade, but free of the *Coupers*, of the age of xxiiij<sup>or</sup>. yeares. / or their aboutes,.....<sup>1</sup>

First, that he hath bin in prison this moneth...taken in the Wood beyond Islington,...and saieth he had with him a Sworde at the wood. /

.....

Item, he saieth he hathe byn at some of their assemblies at diuerse places, viz. by Smythfeild, earlye in the mornynge, wher they continewed most *parte* of the daye, and sometymes by Crichurche, sometymes by Detford. /

Item, he saieth that Francis Iohnson, was their Pastor, Greenwood their Doctor, Studley and knyveton their elders, Nicholas Lee and Iohn [i.e., Christopher] Boweman their deacons. /

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 47 verso and 48 recto.

Item, he saieth their hathe bene baptised in their assemblies in Nicholas Lane, at one tyme, iij<sup>or</sup>. or fyve children, wherof some wear of fyve yeres ould, some of sixe yeares, and some of vij. yeres ould. /

.....

Item, he saieth he was about a twelmonth since, Commytted to prison in Sussex together with one william Collin, by the Bushopp of Chichester, and from him sent to Sir Henrye Goringe, and by him send [*sic*] to Arrundell, their to be kept, vntill the quarter Sessions/, beinge taken in Arrundell as suspected to be a Brownist, and then Continewed in prison vntill Thassises, wher he was Indicted, and Burned in the eare, for a vagabounde, and then prest for a souldier, which he saieth was done agaynst, all Lawe and Iustice. /

Concordat cum Original

...

3. Aprilis. *i593*. The *examinacion* of Roger Waterer late Servant to Robert Pavye of S<sup>t</sup> martyns Ludgate, haberdasher, aged xxij. yeres...<sup>1</sup>

First, that he hath bin in prison in Newgate, these three yeres, and a quarter,...and the cause of his *commitment*, was (as he saieth) for not Comminge to Church. /

.....

Item, he Confesseth that before he was Committed to prison, he was in an assemblie in a garden howse by Bedlein, wher Iames Forrester expounded, before ther Church was settled, and was *perswaded* to his opinions by one Coppye. /

.....

.....

The *Reexaminacion* of Robert Aburne [Abraham]; taken the thirde day of Aprell. 1593. before Doctor Goodman Deane of Westminster m<sup>r</sup> Townshend m<sup>r</sup> Dale, m<sup>r</sup> Barne, and m<sup>r</sup> yonge. /<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 51 recto.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 41 recto and verso.

He saieth he is by trade a lether dresser and *servaunt* to one m<sup>r</sup> Rooks of Southwarke, he saieth he hath not bene at his *parishe* Church this yere and a halfe,

he saieth the first that euer brought him into this Congregation was one William Howton deceased, whoe perswaded him to refraine his [*sic*] *parishe* Church, and brought him acquainted[?] with the rest of the bretheren of that Congregation, beyng at bridewell, and thether he went to see ther orders, beyng ther at at [*sic*] that tyme Studley, with others [*sic*] prisoners ther, wher he harde at that tyme, one Stanhopp preache, amongst them in the prison openlye, and then he this examinant, beyng amongst them, was receaved and admtyted into ther societie and congregation, without eyther examinacion, or further enquirie of his conversation. /

he saieth that sithens he hath met with the said Congregation diuers tymes, as well privately in howses, as openlye in feilds and woods, some tymes to the number of a hundreth, sometymes lx. [60] at the least, once they mett about halfe a yere sithence at Roger Rippons in Southwarke, two other tymes at Algate one [i.e., on] the left hand he knoweth not at whose howse, and that m<sup>r</sup> Iohnson was ther pastor when they wear in Southwarke, and after at an other howse at Smythfeild almost halfe a yere sithens but knowes not whose howse it was, and ther they Receaved the Communion, Iohnson ministringe vnto them, and mett once in S<sup>t</sup> Nicholas Lane, the said Iohnson beinge Pastor, & Greenwood ther teacher. /

They mett diuers tymes in the feild neere Detford, And about the woodsides neere Islington, and ther have hard yonge [George] Iohnson preache, sithence his brother the elder Iohnson, was in troble. /

He saieth that at ther meetinge in S<sup>t</sup> Nicholas Lane, when m<sup>r</sup> Yonge did take them ther, the[y] did then make Choyse of their Doctor Teacher Deacons and elders, and that Iohnson thelder then was chosen Pastor, Grenewood teacher, Studley and knyfton Elders, Lee and Bowman Deacons. /

He saieth that their Doctor and Pastor weare mayntained by Contribucion from amongst them euery one as his abilitie was, by Weekelie colleccion, / and that he for his parte hath

yealded his contribucion this yere and this halfe, / and that the collection beyng gathered was deliuered to the Deacons to be distributed amongst those of that congregacion, which they [the] said Deacons did thinke good, and most to stand in neede. /

He saieth that they did vse to excommunicate amongst them, and that one Robert Stokes, and one George Collier, and one or twoe more whose names he Remembreth not, wear excommunicated, for that they discented from them in opinion but in what poynte he Remembreth not, and that the said Iohnson thelder did denounce the excommunicacion against them, and concernynge ther manner of proceedinges to excommunicacion he saieth, that they the saide Stokes and the Rest beyng privatelye admonished of their pretended errors, and not conforminge them selves, and by Witnes produced to their congregacion, then the said Iohnson, with the Consent of the whole Congregacion, did denounce the excommunicacion, and that sithence they weare excommunicated which was a halfe yere and somewhat more sithence, they wear not admitted into their Churche /, And beyng demaunded whether he could be contented to forsake the said congregacion, and repaiere to his parishe Churche, or not, he saieth he knoweth not, nor can see any cause whye he should soe refraine the said congregacion. /

Concordat cum Original

...

[April 4, 1593.]

George Kniveton [Knifton] of Newgate market  
potecary of the age of xxiiij<sup>or</sup> yeres

.....<sup>1</sup>

First that he hath bene in prison this fortnight...taken in the company of Penry and others in the howse of one Lewes in Stepney. /

Item he confesseth that he is one of the elders of their congregacion

.....

Item he saythe he hath had conference with M<sup>r</sup> [Robert?]

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 76 verso.

Browne whoe *perswaded* him not to recive the Communion and synce hath had conference with Barrowe with Greenwood and with Penry and was made Elder about half a yere since and that he misliketh Cartwryghts plan[?] of Church government. /

Item he sayeth he hath bene at thassemblies most comonly vppon euery sonday and sometyme vppon the weeke dayes sometymes in S<sup>t</sup> Nicholas Lane somtymes at Nicholas Lees and somtymes at m<sup>r</sup> Bilsons by Chrichurch sometymes at the woodes by Islington and Detford and at Iohn Barnes his his [*sic*] howse by S<sup>t</sup> barthelmewes. /

.....

4. Aprilis. 1593. William Mason of Wappinge Shipwright  
of the age of xxiiij. yeres, or theiraboutes, ...  
.....<sup>1</sup>

First, that he hath bene in prison in the Counter in the Poultrye, ... beinge taken in the wood. /

.....

Item, that he was never at Church since Christmas last, and soe longe he hath held his opinions, *perswaded* therto by Edward Chandler a Shipwright, and went to the woodde, with Roger Rippon. / and hathe bene at ther assemblies about xij. tymes. viz. at Nicholas lane, at Roger Rippons howse, at Detford woodde, and at the woods by Islington, when he was taken, and at Daniell Buckes howse, a scrivenour by Algate. and hath seene diuerse children Baptised, and gave to the Deacons, vjd. a weeke when he had money.

.....

Concordat cum Original

.....

*bayled*

[April 4, 1593.]

Henrye Withers of Detford Strande,  
Shipwright, aged xxviij. yeres, or theraboutes,  
.....<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 69 recto.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 69 verso.

First that he hath bene in prison a month,...

Item, he saieth he hath held his opinions, but since *Michaelmas* last, and was drawn to his opinions, *perswaded* therto by the teachinge of Iohnson and Greenwood,

Item, he saieth he was most Comonlie, at ther assemblies, euerye Sondaie, sometymes at S<sup>t</sup> Nicholas lane, at the woods by Islington, at Rippons howse, and in Smythfeild at Lees howse, and at the wood by Detford, and sawe diuers Children ther baptized. /

.....

Concordat *cum* Original

.....

*bayled*

[April 4, 1593.]

Thomas Hewet of S<sup>t</sup> Martyns Le  
grand purse-maker aged xxx yeares

.....<sup>1</sup>

Fyrst he saythe he hath bene in prison a monthe...taken in the wood by Islington.

.....

Item he hath not bene at Churche this half yere and soe longe he hath held his opinions and will not shoue by whome he was *perswaded* to it but only by one Edward Hale a herteffordshire man. /

.....

Concordat *cum* original

.....

[April 4, 1593.]

*Christofer* Bowman of Smythfeld Gowldsmyth  
of the age of xxxij yeres,...

.....<sup>2</sup>

First, that he hath bene in prison in the Counter, in the Poultre, this v. weekes, comitted by m<sup>r</sup> yonge, beinge suspected to have knowledge whoe made the Libell, and about the Coffyn brought to m<sup>r</sup> yonges dore. /...

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 76 recto.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 70 recto and verso.

Item, he saieth he is a Deacon in the congregacion chosen in September last. /

Item, he saieth he hath not bene at Churche these fyve yeres last past, wherof he was <sup>ij</sup><sup>or</sup>, yeres in prison, and soe longe hath held his opinions, and was one of them that deliuered the Supplicacion to the Queenes Maiestie the last parliament, before this. /

Item, he saieth he was drawn to his opinions, by the course that the forward preachers tooke, and by a booke, and by a booke [*sic*] of a sermon vpon the xij<sup>th</sup>. of the Romans, made by master Chatterton, as he thinketh, and by the forward preachers, he saieth he meaneth one Snape, and kynge, with others, whose course made him enter into further searche of the matter of the reformatiō. /

Item, he saieth he hath bene at ther metings as often as he Could, beyng at libertie, and in health, viz. at m<sup>r</sup> Bilsons howse neere Chrichurche, at S<sup>t</sup> Nicholas lane, in the woods by Detford, and Islington, at Penries howse, at Lees howse, and at Rippons howse, and at Barnes his howse in Smithfeld by S<sup>t</sup> Bartholomewes. /

.....

Item, he saieth if ther nomber should never soe moche have encreased, they ment noe Reformatiō by stronge hande. /

.....

Item, beinge asked wher he was married to his last wief, saieth in Penries howse, wher m<sup>r</sup> Settle vsed praier, and that his opinion is that mariage in a howse without a mynister by Consent of the parties and frends is sufficient. /

Concordat *cum* original

.....

5. Aprilis. 1593 Thexaminacion of Iohn Penrie Clerke,  
of the age of xxx. yeres, or therabouts,  
.....<sup>1</sup>

First, that he was in or about London, the xix<sup>th</sup>. of marche, and that he and Edward Grave went that night to Hodsdon, wher they laie, at the Antelopp. /

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 86.



Item, beyng asked whether they went not from thence to one Iohn milletes howse in hertfordshere, saieth he will not saie... /

Item he saieth he came out of Scotland about September, last, in the Company of Iohn Edwards /, and came to london, and lighted at the Corke at longe lane end, and that night lodged at Stretford bowe. /

Item, he saieth he made, and caused to be printed in Scotland, a booke intituled a Reformation and noe enemye to her Maiestie and the State. / and a boke which he translated called Thesis genevencium. /

Item, beyng asked what other bookes he made and caused to be printed ther he Refuseth to answer. /

Item, he saieth the cause of his departinge out of this lande, was because he could not be in quiet here, for the ecclesiasticall state of the land. /

Concordat cum Original

.....

[Apr. 5, 1593.]

*Christofer* Simkins of Aldersgate strete  
Coppersmyth of the age of xxij yeres or ther  
aboutes examined before m<sup>r</sup> deane of Westminster  
m<sup>r</sup> dale m<sup>r</sup> Barne and m<sup>r</sup> yonge, the  
daie and yere aforesaid, refuseth to be  
sworne but sayeth <sup>1</sup>

First that he hath bene in prison this monthe, comitted by m<sup>r</sup> yonge and others, taken in the wood by Islington examined before m<sup>r</sup> Doctor Stanhop and others at his Comitment, and not since, and never indicted to his knowlege

Item he saieth he hath not bene at his parishe Church this yere and a half last past, and soe longe hath held his oppinions, and drawen therto by the preachinge of m<sup>r</sup> Sparkes and m<sup>r</sup> Cowper and other forward preachers. /

Item he confesseth he hath bene often at the assemblies and comonly every sabothe daye but refuseth to tell wher.

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6849, fol. 182

Item he refuseth to tell whether he hath had any of Barrowe or Penries bookes. /

Item he sayeth if ther nomber had increased they would not have donn [?] any other thinge but serve god /

Item he refuseth to come to his *parishe* Church, and sayeth he is ioyned to their congregacion from whence he will not departe. /

Concordat cum original

.....

5. Aprilis 1593

Francis Johnson minister, but by thassambles chosen to be a Pastor of the congregacion, beinge of the age of xxxj yeres or ther aboutes, examined before M<sup>r</sup> doctour Cesar, m<sup>r</sup> doctour Goodman deane of Westminster m<sup>r</sup> Barne and m<sup>r</sup> yonge. whoe refuseth to be sworne, but saith<sup>1</sup>.

First that he was first comitted to the Counter in woodstrete by the Sherif of London and m<sup>r</sup> younge, beinge taken in an assemblie in S<sup>t</sup> Nicholas Lane, and lastlye comitted by the L. Archbyshop of Canterbury and others, beinge taken in m<sup>r</sup> Boyses howse in Fletestrete, and hath bene twice examined before the L. Chief Iustice of England, and the L: Anderson viz. once before the L. Chief Iustice of England, and once before them bothe.

Item he saith he knoweth not that he is indicted for any offence.

Item beinge asked howe longe he hath held his oppinions saith he cannot definitely answer, but sayth he was comitted to prison iiij<sup>or</sup> [quatour] yeres agoe, vpon the makinge of a Sermon in S<sup>t</sup> maries Church [in Cambridge]. /

Item he confesseth he hath baptized diuerse children in their congregacion, and saith for mariage he doeth not accompt that an ecclesiasticall matter, nor laid vpon the minister of god as a dewetic of his ministerie, and also sayth they are not bound no<sup>t</sup> tied to the wordes of the Lordes praier, and touchinge the Communion of the Lordes supper he saith it maye be

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6849, fol. 181 recto and verso.

received, at any tyme of the daie or night, when the congregacion is assembled and prepared thervnto. /

Item beinge required to shewe in what places they vsed to meete in their conventicles and assemblies, refuseth to answer /

Item being asked whether he hath or had anye of Barrowe Greenwood or Penries bookes, refuseth also to answer but desireth he maye be accused. /

Item beinge asked whether he hath not labored and perswaded others to the assemblies and Congregacion wherof he is a Pastor, and howe manie he hath soe perswaded and drawen saieth he hath and must doe that *which* god laieth vppon him in dewtye accordinge to his worde, and otherwise refuseth to answer /

Item beinge asked whether he wilbe contented to reforme himself and come to Church refuseth directly to answer but sayeth he cannot Ioyne with this ecclesiasticall ministerie, in this estate of Archbishops Bishops Parsons, Vicars, Curates &c. /

Concordat cum Original

.....

[The deposition of Iohn Edwardes concerning John Penry probably made on April 5, 1593.]<sup>1</sup>

Iohn Edwardes came out of Scotlande with Penryn & laye by the way every nighte where hee laye, and saieth that Penryn was not banished out of Scotland, but there was banishment decreed againste him, and the mynisters euer stave the proclayminge thereof.

Hee saieth that Penryn was of this assemblie and was taken by the waye and broughte to the Conestables house and from thence hee escaped away on sonday nighte and named himselfe Iohn Harries, and there were two or three Countreymen comynge towards them wch were taken by the way and said they were goinge to waltham & therefore the Iustice discharged them

Hee saieth that one Iones was taken & wente home to dynner with Captein [?] Graye & was afterwardes broughte by him to the Iustice

Hee saieth that on Saterdag nighte hee this *examinant* walked

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 85 recto.

with Penryn alonge Cheapeside thorough Newgate & they wente to Nicholas Lees house & there this *examinant* lefte penryn & his wife aboute viij of the clocke hee knoweth not who should haue exercised that day, nor did not heare of any purpose that they had to goe into the Countrey /

His comynge out of Scotland with Penryn was in Nouember laste & they came firste to one m<sup>r</sup> yretons house besides Darby vj miles, and dynd there & came to Northampton to the house of Henry Godley who is father in lawe to the said Penryn, where the said Penryn lodged, & this *examinant* laye at the signe of the Bull; & the next day they came from thence to S<sup>t</sup> Albans [?] & lodged at the signe of the *Christofer* & the nexte day came to Stratford at bowe to the signe of the Crosse keyes [?] where Penryns wife was & had a chamber, and this *examinant* lefte them there & came to London & sawe him no more vntill a little before Christmas that they mett at a garden house at the dukes place neere Allgate, where Penryn did preache & (as hee doeth remember) Grenewood did preache there allso & this *examinant* wente downe into the Countrey & came not vp vntill Saterdag was Sevenighte & since hath laien at his brother Rochford his house, And vpon wensdaye or thursday morninge Penryn came to this *examinantes* chamber before hee was vp & was booted

hee saieth that hee did heare that Penryn was lodged at m<sup>rs</sup> Settles house

*Rychard young*

5. Aprilis. *1593*. William Smythe of Bradford in wiltshire minister of the age of xxx. yeres or therabouts, made a minister by the Bushopp of Litchefeld and Coventrie, and licenced to preache by the Bushopp of Sarum...

.....<sup>1</sup>

First, he saieth he hath bin in prison this viij. weekes, or ther aboutes, Comitted...for suspicion to be privie to the matters concerninge the Coffin caried to m<sup>r</sup> yonges Doore. /

.....

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 71 recto.

Item, he confesseth he hath bine at an assemblie, at Lees howse, by Smythfeld./

Item, beyng asked whether he be of that Church or Congregation wherof Iohnson is Pastor, refuseth to answear./

Item, he saieth he came of purpose to Lees howse to thassemblie there to heare and see ther orders in those matters./

.....

Item, he saieth he came vp to London to conferr with m<sup>r</sup> Iohnson, Greenwood, and others./

.....

Concordat cum Original

....

[April 5, 1593.]

Arthur Billet of llanteglos by Fowhey in  
Cornwell Scoller, of the age of xxv. yeres, or  
therabouts.....<sup>1</sup>

First, that he hath bene in Prison this fortnight,...who was in the woode by Islington, and afterwards taken in the Companye of Penrye and others,...

Item, he hath bene drawn to his opinzions, these two yeres, / perswaded by certen conferences in the Fleete, betweene m<sup>r</sup> Mullins, m<sup>r</sup> Hutchinson, and Barrowe and Greenwood./

.....

Item, he denieth that he hath or had any of Barrowes, Greenwoodes, or Penries bookes, but hath receivid some of the written Coppies, and caried them over into the Lowe Cuntries to be printed, and that he hathe seene one of Barrowes bookes, in Nicholas Lees howse.....

.....

Concordat cum Original

.....

6. Aprilis. 1593. Quintin Smyth of Southwarke Feltmaker of the age of xxx. yeres, or ther aboutes...  
.....<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 71 verso.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 79 recto.

First, that he hath bene in prison a moneth,...beynge taken in a wood by Islington,...

Item, he saieth he hath held his opinions about twoe yerres,...

Item, he sayeth he did covenant with the Congregation to walke with them in the lawes of god, soe longe as ther doinges, should be approved by the word of god, and soe longe would forsake all other assemblies /,

Concordat cum Original

....

[" 6. Aprilis. 1593."]

William Weaver of Grayes Inne lane  
Shomaker, of the age of xl. yerres, or  
therabouts,...

First, that he hath bene in prison a monthe,...beynge taken in the wood neere Islington,...

Item, he hath bene of his opinions, about a yeare and a halfe and somewhat more, / and hath bene often at assemblies, viz. twice or thrice at the wood wher they weare taken and once in Nicholas Lees howse in Cowe lane, and was drawn first to the assemblies, by Robert Bodkin, in Grayes Inne lane, Taylor. /

Item, he saieth that if their Nomber had greatly encreased, yet he thinketh thay ment nothings against the peace or estate [i.e., the State]. /

Item, he saieth that when he was ioyned to their congregacion, they caused him to vse words to this effect, that he should promise to walke with them, soe longe as the[y] followed the ordinance of Christ. /

.....

[" 6. Aprilis. 1593."]

Thomas Settle late of Cowelane,  
minister, made by Bushopp Freke, but  
nowe renounceth that ministrye, of the age  
of xxxviij. yeares or their aboutes,...

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 66.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 65 verso and 66 recto.

.....

Item, he Confesseth that he was present in the Congregation in a howse nighe Algate, within the Wall, when Robert Stokes was excommunicated, and that he was excommunicated by Francis Iohnson the Pastor, the rest of the officers and the Congregation beinge present and consentinge, which was done for his Apostacy. /

.....

Concordat cum Original

...

10 [?] Aprilis 1593 George Smelles of Fynchelane taylor of the age of xl yeares or thereaboutes...<sup>1</sup>

Firste he sayeth he hath ben in prison ever since sondaye laste...

Item he sayeth he hath his oppinions thes iiij<sup>or<sup>71</sup></sup> yeares perswaded thereto by an old man one father Grayves a Carpenter as he supposeth who is deceased

.....

Concordat cum Original

...

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 59 recto.

## VII

### DOCUMENTS OTHER THAN DEPOSITIONS RELATING TO JOHN PENRY

[An undated Petition of Helen Penry's to Sir John Puckering in her Husband's Behalf, written in April, 1593.]<sup>1</sup>

To the right honorable *Sir* Iohn Puckering Knight Lord Keeper of her *Maiesties* greate seale of England. /

In all humblenes beseecheth *your* honnour *your* poore supplicant Hellen Penrie in the behalf of her poore husband Iohn Penrie, That whereas *your* supplicantes poore husband is at this present kept close prisoner in the Counter in the Poultrie in London, none suffered to come to him to bring him such thinges as are necessary for the *preservacion* of his life and sustanaunce, he of him selfe being a very weake and sicklie man not hable longe to endure so hard and miserable imprisonment without hazard of his life, his allowaunce being nothing but bread & drinke, the keeper refusing to carry such necessaries as are sent vnto him for his sustenaunce, yf he were the veriest Traito<sup>r</sup> that ever was, if it is not her *Maiesties* pleasure that he shold be thus hardlie vsed, but how soeuer greate matters are laide to his charge, yet I hope he will prove him selfe an honest and good subject to her *Maiestie*. Most humblie therefore she beseecheth *your* honnour for *godes* cause in consideracion of her poore husbandes sicklie and weake estate, that it wold please yow to graunte her *your* honnours warrant that she maye have accesse vnto her poore husband, to administer such necessaryes vnto him as she may for the *preservacion* of his life, And *your*

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6849, fol. 207 recto.



poore Oratrice shall be bound daylie to praise god for so greate favour and Mercy shewed vnto her, w<sup>ch</sup> the Lord wold not see vnrewarded in yow. /

[A Note by John Penry in defence of Mr. Gittens, Keeper of the "Cownter in the Poultrie in London", dated April, 1593.]<sup>1</sup>

They doe m<sup>r</sup> Gittens injury who say that I have wanted eyther meat or drink competent sync[?] I was committed vnto his custody. I am lyklyer to starve for could then for want of meate. my wife in deed cannot bee permitted to come vnto mee, shee knoweth not how I fare. And therefore she may bee in feere that I ame in regard of meat and drinke hardlyer [?] vsed then I ame or have been.

the 4<sup>th</sup> moneth Aprill 1593.

John Penry.

[A Subscription of John Penry's concerning the Authority of the Queen, of the Privy Council, and of Civil Magistrates, and three other articles which he declined to subscribe.]<sup>2</sup>

That hir right excellent [?] maiestie, & the Lordes of hir honorable privy co[un]sell, yea the most inferiour civill magistrate [?] vnder hir highnes hath authority to call any church or churchman to give an account of the doctrine which they hould & not fynding [?] the same according vnto the word may punish [?] them for it.

John Penry

I stande to proue it out of ther owne writings [?] vpon my life that they allowe not the magistrates of whatsoever [?] place they be ether supreme, or inferiour, to haue any authoritie as they call it (*authoritatem Iuris*) in causes Ecclesiasticall, but only potestatem facti to execute that which their presbyterie or Synodes have decreed.

R. Vaughan.

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6849, fol. 206 recto.

<sup>2</sup> Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 93.

I hold. That the inferiour ciuill magistrate hath no authoritie to call the Church or any churchman to giue accounte of their doctrine (without expresse commandement from the supreme magistrate) by open & publike triall.

R. Vaughan.

I hold that the most inferiour magistrate hath nothing to doe to examyne any Churchman concerning his doctrine but only to presente him, ether to the Church governours, or to other ciuill magistrates to take further order with him...

Rich. Vaughan /

He refused to subscribe  
to any of these. or to  
controuerte [?] them

["The offers & requestes of m<sup>r</sup> Iohn Penryn"]<sup>1</sup>

Vnlawfull {  
1 The offices  
2 The maner of calling vnto y<sup>e</sup> offices  
3 A. great part of y<sup>e</sup> workes wherin the officers  
are employed  
4 The living ore [or] maytenaunc wherby the  
officers are mayntayned.——

Thes thinges by the Lordes assistaunc wee wilbe ready to make good by the word of god, & yff it bee thought needfull by the writings of y<sup>e</sup> holy martyres of this land (wherof [?] some are privileged by hir maiesties authority) and also by the doctrine of y<sup>e</sup> reformed churches.——

A conferenc wee are most willing to yeald vnto. Our humble request vnto hir maiestie & their honours is that yf it may so stand with their pleasure, wee may have but this æquity yealded vnto vs in it.

- 1 That the questiones one [on] both sydes layed downe in writing, the reasons briefly annexed vnto them, the awnswers also may with y<sup>e</sup> lyke

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6849, fol. 209-210.

brevity bee returned in writing, & so every thing wilbe the more deliberatly sett downe & all bye speaches & matters shalbe avoyded.

2. That such of vs as are scollers one [on] the one syde, may conferr together (having also the vse of bookes) about the awnswers & replies that wee shalbe to make [*sic*]— — —
3. That those of the ecclesiasticall state with whome[?] wee are to deale may bee but partyes [?] in this conferenc & not judges. And that some of the civill state may bee appoynted by their honours (yf their Lordshipes will not tak y<sup>e</sup> hearinge of y<sup>e</sup> cause them selves *which* wee had rather & earnestly crave) to see that both partyes [?]/ do contayn them selves within boundes: least otherwise eyther the holy truth of god should not bee so delt in as it beseemeth the same: or so holy & necessary an action should bee vn-profitable broken of, by the infirmytyes or other greater wantes of eyther partyes [?].

John Penry.

[A Letter concerning John Penry's Confession of Faith and Apology dated, "Mon. 6. 12. 1593."]¹

Right honourable,...I am bolde allso to sende to *your Lordship* a shorte confession of faith, and an Apologie, drawen by y<sup>t</sup> faithfull wittnes of Christe, *our* brother Penry, before his death, By *which* plainly appeareth, what his fayth was towards god, & nowe is partaker of y<sup>t</sup> crowne of life *which* is promised by Christe to all them that are faithfull vnto deathe. /. The poore remnaunte of poore christians (who are falsely called Brownistes) doe all of vs generally agree with y<sup>t</sup> *our* faithfull brother in y<sup>t</sup> confession of faith and allegiaunce to god & her maiestie as we have often declared to y<sup>e</sup> worlde, in other lyke confessions,

¹ Harl. MS. 6849, fol. 143. Dr John Waddington in his "John Penry", 1854, pp. 279-80, indicates that the original of this letter was written by Francis Johnson to Lord Burleigh.

which now I have not by mee, to sende allso to your Lordship as otherwise I woulde have donne,...

[John Penry's Answer to Fifteen Slanderous Articles, written not long before his death.]<sup>1</sup>

A short and true answer to *the* partycular slanders conteyned in these—15—most false and malycious Artycles *which* lately were cast abroad in reproch of the true Christians whom they vnChristianly call Brownistes. And first to ther tyle as is in that Copy that came to our handes.

The tyle to the slanderous Artycles.— An abstract of the opinions which *the* Brownists do mainteyn

a. Acts. 24. 5.  
b. [?] Acts. 24.  
14.

That you call true Christians by *the* name of Brownistes we meruaile not for we find that the Apostles were said to be of the Sect of *the* Nazarites and therefore with them also we do confesse that that way *which* you call a sect, and Brownisme, we worshipp God the father of our Lord Ihesus Christ beleeuing all thinges that are wrytten in the Law, the Prophettes and Apostles and whatsoever according to this rule is published by this State, or holden of any reformed Churches abroad. These opynions therefore *which* are falsely [?] and malyciously fathered upon vs, we vtterly renounce them as none of *ours*, because they agree not with the word of God *which* is the rule of truth, nor with the allegeance *which* in the Lord we owe, and are carefully to perfourme to her *Maiestie* her Counsell, and this State, and we returne them vpon the detractors themselues as *the* true fathers of such blasphemous lyes and slanders, *which* are the brood and ymaginations of their own corrupt hartes, as shall more fully appeare by this short but true answer to the partyculars—.

<sup>1</sup> Add. MS. c. 303 (fol. 200–203 recto), in the Bodleian Library.

A  
PATERNE  
OF TRVE  
PRAYER.

A LEARNED AND COMFOR-  
table Exposition or Commentarie vpon  
the Lords Prayer: wherein the Doctrine of  
the substance and circumstances of true  
inuocation is evidently and fully  
declared out of the holic  
Scriptures.

By Iohn SMITH, Minister and Preacher of the  
Word of God.



AT LONDON  
Imprinted by Felix Kyneston for Thomas Alan, and  
are to be sold at his shop in Paternoster row  
at the signe of the Talbot. 1623.

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pp. 227-9 and Preface, p. xi.



Article .1.—Inprimis they affirme that there is no true Catholik Church in all the world but theirs, and that all Churches elce whatsoever are the Synagogues of Sathan. /

We beleue and confesse that the Catholique Church consisteth of *the* faithfull and elect *which* haue bene or shalbe vpon the earth from the beginning to *the* end of the world, of all nations, people kindred and tongues, so far are we through the mercy of God from this palpable ignorance wherewith yt seemeth our aduersaryes are blynded, who as yet haue not learned to distinguish betwene a partycular Congregation and the Catholique that is the vnyuersall Church [.] We hold a Christian and reuerend iudgment of the East Churches and of *the* reformed Churches in this part of *the* world, and are so farr from affirming them to be the Synagogue of Antichrist, as we doubt not but they haue refused and cast of the Antichristian Prelacy Priesthood, Tyranny and superstitions, and endeour to obey *our* Lord Ihesus Christ in his owne ordynances as by their owne publike confession and practyze yt appeareth. But let *our* aduersaryes looke vnto yt how they account of the reformed Churches abroad seing they haue denyed such to be sufficyent and lawfull Ministers of the Ghospell of Christ, who haue bene of those Churches allowed & ordayned therevnto and on the other syde (as the Papistes themselues report) haue allowed & receyued such as were of late made Priestes at Roome or Rhemes vpon recantation of some of their Popish opynions to be ministers here of these assemblyes in England, without any other ordination then they there had receyued before—

Answer.—  
Job. 10. 16.  
Rom. 7. 9.

Mr Whyting.  
Mr Trauers.  
Mr Wright.

Tyrrell &  
Tythes.

Article .2.—Item. That they haue power to excommunicate all that will not be of their faction or (as they terme yt) of their Church, and *that* whosoever shalbe by them excommunicate, is damned vnlesse he shalbe by them absolved.—

No Church hath power to Excommunicate any but such as are members of the same Church, for can they excommunicate such as haue neuer bene in *Communion* with them. and what haue they to doe to iudge them that are without. So as here

Answer.—  
1. Cor. 5. 11.  
12..

agaïne [?] our adversaries while they belye vs, laye open their owne grosse ignorance in *the* matters of God. If any member of the Church deseruing to be excommunicate do refuse to heare the Church, obstinately persisting in his knowen and greuous Schysmes or synnes, and therevpon is by the Church cast out in the name and power of the Lord Ihesus according to his word then Christ hath said let him be to thee as a heathen, verely I say vnto you whatsoeuer ye bind &c.— And doth not also the Apostle wryght vnto the Churches of Corinth, that they should forgyue and Comfort him vpon his repentance of whom before he had wrytten to them, that in regard of this synne, he hauing bene a brother, they should being gathered together by the power of Christ delyuer him vnto Sathan for *the* destruction of *the* flesh that &c. That in the Pryde of theyr hartes they call the Church of Christ a faction we leaue vnto God who iudgeth.—

2. Cor. 2. 7.  
Compare with  
1. Cor. 5. 4. 5.

Mat. 18. 17. 18.

Article .3.—Item that they haue excommunicat [*sic*] the Churches of England & Ireland aswell the Queen as the Counsell and all others, and therefore she and all the rest of her subiects are damned vnlesse they wilbe absolued by them and so admytted into the Church.—

Answer.— Such is *our* Innocency herein (blessed be God) as we do appeale to God to whose eyes all *thinges* are naked and open after thexample of Dauyd when he was likewyse falsely accused and slaundred by Cush, saying. O Lord *our* God, yf we haue done this thing if this wickednes be in *our* handes, nay yf yt entred into *our* thoughtes, let thenemy persecute *our* soule and take yt, yea let him tread *our* lyfe downe vpon the earth, and lay *our* honor &c. Aryse O Lord and lift vp thy selfe against the rage of *our* enemyes, and awake for vs according to the iudgment *which* thou hast appoynted. Iudge thou vs O Lord according to *our* righteousnes, and according to *our* ynnocency. O let the malyce of the wicked come to an end, but guyde thou the iust, for the righteous God tryeth the very hartes and reynes. Our defence is in God, who preserueth the vpright in hart. Furthermore we acknowledge, that yt were greuous synne for



vs to Condemne any, and therefore (as we ought) we leaue all others and *our selues* to the iudgment of God in that day, when all flesh shall appeare before him to receyue according to that they haue done in their bodyes whether yt be good or euyll [.] And in the meane tyme (as yt becometh vs to iudge) we are perswaded *that* her *Maiestie* and many thowsandes of her Subiectes, (who as yet differ in iudgment amongst themselues and from vs in many thinges) are the deare Children of God, and heyres of saluation through faith in Christ Ihesus, and according to *our duty* (God being wyttnes to *our soules*) we do dayly acknowledge, and do dayly prayse God for the great and wonderfull thinges *which* God by the most gracyous gouernment of her most excellent *Maiestie* and her honorable Counsell hath brought to passe both for the matters of God in relygyon, and for the matters of the land in the Peace and safetie thereof. And we pray God to encrease the same every day more and more to the prayse of his most gloryous name and to *the honor* of *our Prince* to whom we wish the dayes of Methuselah yf yt be the will of God, that she may be an ancyent mother in Israell. to the comfort of her Subiectes in *protecting* them that do well, and taking vengeance on them that do euyll.—

1. Cor. 4. 5  
with .2 Cor. 5.  
20.  
Phil. 1. 6. 7.

Gen. 5. 27.  
Iudg. 5. 7.

Article .4.—Item. that the ministers of the Church of England are not true and lawfull ministers, but they are the hirelings of Antichrist and that the B. B. [Bishops] are the forerunners.—

The ministers of these assemblies haue bene often and earnestly intreated to shew out of the scriptures their ministry in their offyce, and execution of their offyce, according to the rules of the Testament of Christ, which hetherto they haue not done, neither are able to do, Moreouer euen themselues haue taught and published that *our Lord Ihesus Christ* hath in his word for the administracion of holy thinges, appoynted *the* offyces of Pastor, Doctor Elders, and Deacons to contynue to the end of the world together with their lawfull entrance and execution of their duties, that his Church may be instructed, and gouerned, and holpen according to his owne ordynance, to *which* only he hath promysed his presence and blessing. Also that they haue

Answer.—

Admonition.  
2 treat./ sect.  
20.

not this ministry, but that they haue (*which* are their owne wordes) an Antichristian Hierarchy, and a Popish ordering of Ministers, strange from the word of God, and the vse of all the reformed Churches in *the* world[.] If that which is here spoken of B B, be meant of the Bishopps *which* were in the Primitiue Church, then we hold no such thing of them as is here ymaged, For those Bishopps were eyther Pastors, Doctors, or ruling Elders, whom the holy Ghost by the immediate calling of the Church, made ouerseers not of whole Prouneces and Shires but of their partycular flock and Church as is euident by the scriptures noted in the margin and by these expresse wordes *κατ' ἐκκλησιαν. κατα* in euery Church and euery Cyttie and such like. If they meane of *the* Prelates of this age let themselues be their owne Iudges.—

Act. 20. 17. 28.  
cum. 14. 23.  
Tit. 1. 5. 7.  
1. Tim. 5. 17.  
Phil. 1. 1. 2.  
Rom. 12. 7. 8.

Article .5.—That for stealing a man ought not to be put to death, because his body is the temple of the holy ghost distinguishing sophisticatedly between [*sic*] fur & latro[.]

Answer.—

We do acknowledge that by the word of God in some cases of stealing a man may be put to death, as If one sett vpon a man in the hye way, If a thief be found breaking into a howse in the night or such like, but that euery stealing should be punished with death, the lawes of the land do not requyre, as appeareth by the other punishmentes sett downe, of whipping, boring through the eare, marking the handes and such like, as when a man stealeth a little to satisfie his soule because he is hungry. Sophisticate distinctions are their owne, we do not vse nor acknowledge them for ours—

Article .6.—Item. That all we that are baptized, are not baptized rightly & therefore must be baptized againe.—

Answer.—  
a. harmo. of  
conf. sect.  
10.—

We confesse with the French Church who haue published yt, that they which are baptized in Papisticall assemblies need not to be baptized the second tyme, no more then the Circumcysion *which* was had in the defection of Israell and false ecclesiasticall constitution with them, and euen as those sinned greeuously

which abode and had their children Circumcysed in that defection of Israell, So in that case they hauing indeed plaid *the* harlott and forsaken God (whatsoever they pretend) and God having cast them away and geuen them a bill of diuorcement, the Sacramentes and seales of God his couenant do not belong vnto them, neyther do those where they vse [*sic*], seale vnto them in that estate the Couenant of grace. And further how they administer or receyue baptisme aright without a true and lawfull ministry, yea sometymes by a woman and in pryuate houses with a devised Litargie, Idolatrous crossing, and propounding questions to the Infant *which* vnderstandeth not wherto the Godfathers and Godmothers must make answer, and such like, we leaue to theyr [?] owne examynations by the scriptures, and their owne publike wrytinges.— Ier. 3. 8.

Article .7.—Item. we receyue the Sacrament of the Lordes Supper not rightly as Christ did constitute the same & therefore we receyue to condemnation.—

It doth not follow that yf any receyue the Supper of the Lord not rightly that he shalbe condemned, for yt is a synne *which* God pardoneth as other the synnes of his Children. The Church of Corinth synned greuously in not receyuing this Sacrament aright according to the institution of Christ, and were therefore indeed chastyzed of God, some by sicknes, some by weaknes, and some by death. and yet the Apostle saith expressly they were thus corrected of God, that they might not be condemned with the world. No Lutheran *which* holdeth consubstantiation can in that error receyue this Sacrament aright according to Christ his institution, yet we doubt not but many of them *which* erre herein, are the elect of God and saued by his grace. What is yt then? surely when they eate of that bread and drinck of that Cupp vnworthylie and not aright they eate and drinke iudgment. vnto themselues. But as we said, such is *the* mercy of God to his Children, as washeth away this with their other infinite synnes, in the blood of that immaculate Lamb the Lord Ihesus Christ, *which* yet should not encourage any in the same, but seing there is such infinite mercy with God, the more to feare him, and to stryue by all meanes to eate Answer.—  
1. Cor. 11. 20.  
21. 23. 29. 30.  
1. Cor. 11. 32.  
  
Psal. 130. 4.

Admon. to the  
Parl. treat. 1.

of that bread and to drinke of that Cupp worthely. But how these assemblies in this State can receyue yt aright according to Christ his institution, let them selues iudge, when as by their owne Confession and practise all their ministers are Arch-Bishopps, Lord Bishopps, and Priestes or Deacons made and ordeyned by these Prelates, so as they haue not that true and Lawfull ministry, *which* Christ in his last Testament hath appointed for the administracion of his holy thinges there bequeathed vnto his Church, when as also themselues being wytnesses they vse not the wordes of Christ his institucion. Take, eate, this is the body &c. Not to speake here of their pryvate Communyon stinted Litargie, Epistles. Ghospells and such like, all which in that vse, Christ neuer instytuted

Article .8.—Item. They hold a communyty of goodes.—

Answer.—

Act. 11. 29.  
1. Cor. 16. 12.  
Rom. 12. 13.

We hold no Anabaptisticall Communytye of goodes at all, only such communyty as the Apostles and Primitiue Church held and vsed. We confesse yt to be *our* duties and the dutie of all Christians to hold and vse the like (that is) that euery one according to his ability as God hath prospered him be ready to minister succor vnto the Brotherhood, and to distribute to their necessyties as is wrytten Iho. 3. 17. Whosoeuer hath this worldes good and seeth his brother haue need and shutteth vp his compassion from him, how dwelleth the loue of god in him?. Other communytye hold we none, but as the Apostle said to Ananius. Whilst yt remayned appertayned yt not to thee? and after yt was sold was yt not in thy power? So we also hold, that the right and propertie of whatsoeuer any possesseth, appertayneth vnto him who is the owner and possessor thereof only he is carefully to looke vnto yt that he be a good and faithfull Steward of that *which* God hath commytted vnto him, doing good to all, but chiefly to them which are of the houshold of faith.

Gal. 6. 10.

Article .9.—Item. He that wilbe a brother, must geue for his admission into their fellowship the tenth penny of his goodes, to which he must be sworne.—

We do no such thing, but *our* aduersaries haue framed this as the rest, of their owne Corrupt hartes : we are *perswaded* yt is the free and gracyous worke of God to add to the Church from day to day such as shalbe saued. Tything became *the* Iewes priesthode better then the ministry of the Ghospell, yf we marke the manner of mayntenance that was in *the* Apostles tymes : And indeed we thinke that her *Maiestie* might greatlie gloryfy God, and bring much peace to her Subiectes, in taking the Lordly reuenewes of the Prelates and Priestes into her owne handes, to employ them otherwyse as her *Maiestie* shall thinke good to her highnes owne vse, and the benefyte of the land. Only for this error and for endevoring to serue Christ and obey him in his own ordynance ecclesiasticall, do the Prelates *our* great aduersaryes persecute vs, although they do yt vnder another colour.—

Article .10.—Item. Baptisme must be administred with rayne water.—

We hold no such thing, but this also hath the father of lyes by these his ministers forged as the rest. Indeed the scryptures say that vpon the wicked god will rayne snares fire and brimstone and stormy tempest, the portion of their cupp. Let *our* aduersaries fear (yf they repent not) that they shalbe babtized with this baptisme of rayne, because the Lord of hostes hath determynd yt and who shall disanull yt ?

Article .11.—Item That all set prayer is blasphemous, and therefore *the* Lords prayer printed [.]

We thanke God we are so farr from thinking blasphemously any manner of way of that most absolute fourme of prayer called the Lordes prayer, as we doubt not to affyrme, that whosoouer holde yt to be blasphemous they are horrible wicked men, worthie to be cutt of from the face of the earth. As for *our* selues we hold yt Canonycall scripture, that yt is a most absolute fourme and rule of all trew [?] prayer, that no Angell or man whatsoeuer are able to sett downe the like, that yf they should sett downe anie other, yet all Christians ought to pray only by this rule *which* Christ *our* Sauyor the wisdome of the

Answer.—

Answer.—

Psal. 11. 6.

Answer.—

Mat. 6. 9.  
Luk. 11. 2.

father hath prescribed. That herein he hath taught vs .1. to whom to pray, that is, to God only, and not to any Angell or Saint whatsoever .2. with what affection, that is, with faith and confidence of his willingnes to heare and help vs as being *our* father and of his abilitie thereunto as being in heauen, that is (as the Scrypture expoundeth yt) able to do whatsoever he will. 3. To what end. That God in and ouer all may be gloryfyed. 4. For what thinges to pray. According to the seuerall occasyons and necessyties *which* God ministreth and layeth vpon vs, here being in few wordes comprised\* but indeed fully comprehended all the occasyons and necessyties that euer haue bene or shalbe offered of prayer vnto God by *the* Church or anie member thereof, in any age place or State whatsoever, as may appeare by this, that all the prayers sett downe in the scriptures, *which* the men of God vpon so manie seuerall occasyons offered vp vnto God, are all comprised in this most absolute patterne, who yet did not vse these very wordes, so as it is plaine that *our* Sauyor Christ himselfe did not tye his disciples or thers to *the* vse of these wordes, *which* yet men now a dayes in their ignorance & superstition are not ashamed to do. If yt be obiected that Christ said. λεγετε. say Our father &c. We answer first that the scrypture yt selfe sheweth his meaning herein to be, not that the disciples or others should be tyed to vse these very wordes, but that in prayer and geuing of thankes they should followe his direction and patterne *which* he had geuen them, that they might know to whom, with what affection and to what end to pray as yt is expresslie sett downe in these wordes. After this manner therefore pray ye, and not as men will now haue vs. Say ouer these very wordes. Secondly we doubt not but we may vse anie of these wordes as others applying them to *our* seuerall necessyties as we see Christ himselfe did when he prayed. O my father yf this cupp cannot passe from me but that I must drinke yt, thy will be done where yt is plaine that Christ himselfe who gaue the rule doth shew vs how to vse yt, to weet, not in a superstitious saying ouer those very wordes but in praying according to that rule as *our* specyall necessyties shalbe, whether we vse any of these wordes

\* This is *the* opinion of M<sup>r</sup> Caluyn. M<sup>r</sup> Beza. M<sup>r</sup> Vrsinus &c./

Luk. 11. 2.

Mat: 26. 42.

or other, or pray with sighes & groanes that cannot be expressed. And here thirdly we would gladly know of our aduersaries yf Christ hath tyed vs to say these wordes when we praye and that such saying of these wordes be true prayer, how they will reconcyle vnto [*sic*] the assertion of the Apostle, *which* sayth. We know not what to pray as we ought, but the spyryt yt selfe maketh request for vs with grones that cannot be expressed. For we might haue answered the Apostle yes we know what to pray, to weete the Lordes prayer: neyther needed the spyryt to make request with sighes *that* cannot be expressed, for the saying of these wordes is enough, conteyning whatsoeuer we need to aske[.] And againe, it would be knowen how that same Apostles question in another Epistle will stand where he sayth. When thou prayest or geuest thankes in a strange tongue (for of that he speaketh) how shall he that occupieth the room of the vnlearned say Amen at thy geuing of thankes? seing he knoweth not what thou sayest. For yf they had bene tyed to the very fourme of the wordes of the Lordes prayer, or to any sett stinted wordes, yt might haue bene answered. Yes I know what he sayth when he prayeth or geueth thankes, he sayth the Lordes prayer, or some stinted or prescribed fourme of prayer *which* I know before hand, and therefore to yt, though yt be said in a strange tongue I can say Amen. Fourthly the Apostles. and disciples to whom first this rule was geuen were carefull no doubt to keep yt according to the meaning of our Sauyor Christ. But they did not tye themselues to these wordes, but prayed as they had seuerall occasyons according to this rule, as appeareth by their prayers expressly mencyoned in the scripture quoted in the margin, and when they wryte vnto others exhorting them vnto this heauenly duty of prayer they neuer in all their Epistles chardge them when they pray to say ouer the Lordes prayer, *which* doubtlesse they would haue done yf so yt had bene the will of Christ to haue yt vsed, but they teach and exhort them according to their seuerall necessyties and occasyons in all thinges to shew their requestes vnto God in all maner of prayer and supplycacion in *the* spyryt with geuing of thankes

Rom. 8. 26.

1 Cor. 14. 16.

Act. 1. 24. &  
4. 24.  
Mat. 14. 30.  
And by  
necessary con-  
sequence.—  
Phil. 4. 6.  
Eph. 6. 18.  
Iam. 5. 13.  
1. Thes. 5[?].  
17. 18.  
Ioh. 5. 14 15.  
16.

and herevnto to watch with all perseuerance, for this is *the* will of God in Christ Ihesus. Fiftly, Christ hath geuen an expresse Commaundment. When you pray say. &c. But to breake the Commaundment of Christ is synne, therefore yf Christes meaning were to tye them or vs to this fourme of wordes, yf they or we pray at anie tyme and not vse these wordes yt is synne: But before yt appeareth that th'apostles[?] prayed and vsed not these wordes and yet synned not, and so we doubt not do all Christians dayly according to their dyvers occasyons and Conditions. Fynally. If Christes meaning were to haue vs vse these very wordes yt were great and intollerable presumption to offer vnto God any other, seing all thinges whatsoever we need aske for *our* selues or for others are here comprehended, & seing Christ hath enioyned when you pray say. Our father &c.

Article .12.—Item. They affirme that our Communion booke is blasphemy against the maiesty of God.—

Answer.—

1. Cor. 4. 17.  
& 11. 23.

Mat. 28. 20.  
Rom. 16. 17.

Admon. to *the*  
Parl. treat. 2.  
Admon to *the*  
Parl. treat. 1.

The primitive Churches, *which* by th'apostles were taught and settled in all *the* ordynances of *our* Lord Ihesus, were neuer tyed to any sett prayers or devised wayes of ministracion, but were taught to worshipp God and to administer his holy thinges according as he had prescrybed in his Testament, *which* he sealed with his blood, and this only we hold yt *our* duties to follow as the Lord enableth vs, as for their booke of Common prayer wherein is prescribed the whole worshipp and rules of administration, let them first consyder what the best preachers haue wrytten of yt aboute 20 yeares sythence to *the* Parliament viz: That yt is an vnperfyte booke culled and picked out of *that* Popish dunghill the masse booke, full of abhominations, that they prophane the holy scriptures, that in all this order of seruyce there is no edification according to the rule of the apostle but confusion, and againe, that that fourme ys not commaunded of God. That in *the* Primitiue Churches the ministers were not so tyed to any fourme of prayers inuented by man, but as the spirit moued them, so they poured forth



harty supplications to *the* Lord, but that now they are bound of necessytie to a prescript order of servyce and booke of Common prayer, in which a great number of thinges contrary to God his word are conteyned: patched yf not altogether, yet the greatest peece out of the popish portise [portasse]: When these thinges stand thus, euen in the Confession of the godlyest preachers and professors of these assemblies, let them selues next consider how meet this is for the *Maiestie* of God, and how acceptable vnto him to whom notwithstanding they dayly offer yt in the mediation of Ihesus Christ, who hath geuen giftes vnto men for the worke of his ministry, and maketh his Church an holy priesthood to offer vp spyrytuall sacryfyces acceptable to god through him, neyther doth he or the father accept anie other sacryfyce, worshipp or worshippers, whatsoeuer men do deeme or ymagine.

Eph. 4 . 8.

1 Peter. 2. 5.

Article .13.—Item. to reade any but the Canonycall scripture is Sacrilegious

We ground *our* faith only vpon the Canonycall scriptures, being assured *that* they were geuen by inspiracion of God, and that they conteyne the whole reuealed will of God, vnto *which* none may add, and from which none may take away, and therefore also we reade them only when the Church meeteth together for the seruyce of God, and to edifie in *our* most holy fayth: Yet notwithstanding in our pryvate howses and studyes, we reade and vse any other bookes and helps *which* through the blessing of God may further vs vnto the better vnderstanding of this word of God. But yt seemeth *our* aduersaries would insynuate [?] that [yt] is Lawfull in the Church for the edification thereof to reade the Apocrypha bookes aswell as the Canonycall scriptures. We are not ignorant that this indeed is their practise, yea that they haue published that they leaue some of *the* Canonycall scriptures vnread as lesse edyfing, and *which* might better be spared meaning the booke of the revelation particularly, whereof yet the spyryt of God wyttnesseth saying. Blessed is he that readeth and they that heare *the* word of this prophecy, and kepe those things which are written therin.—Let themselues therefore consider how

Answer.—

Pro. 30. 5. 6.

Act. 13. 15.

Book of Common praier in *the* rubrick of reading *the* Scripture.

a. Iudi. 9. 2 directly they go against the spiryt and word of God herein.  
 with Gen. 42. 5. Moreouer let them know that in the Apocrypha bookes there is  
 Machab. 14. a Contradiction with the Canonically scriptures, blasphemy,  
 37. 4i, 42. . Magick, errors and lyes, and therefore not lawfull to reade them  
 with Exod. 20. 13. in the publike assemblies of the Church.  
 Esther  
 Apocr. 12. 5. with Ester Canon. 6. 3. b[?]. Tob. 12. 15. with Reuel. 8. 2. 3. 4. Hebr.  
 3. 9. 24. G[?]. Tob. 6. 7. 8. d. Ecclesiast. 26. 20. Comp. with Essay. 57. 2. & Reuel.  
 14. 13. Also in Toby 12. 15 [?]. with Toby. 5. 12. Iudith. 10. 12. & 9. 13.—

Article. 14.—Item. they deny the Queen to be supreme head  
 of the Churches of England and Ireland.

Answer.— The word of God teacheth that God hath made all thinges  
 Hebr. 2. 8./ subiect vnder Christes feet and hath appoynted him ouer all  
 1 Cor. 15. 27. thinges to be the head to the Church which is his body, euen  
 Eph. 1 22. & the fullnes of him that filleth all in all thinges.  
 4. 15. & 5. 23.  
 Coloss. 1. 18./

Article .15.—Item they make a question of her *Maiesties*  
 legitimacy, and therefore they are enemyes  
 to God and Traytors to the Queen. God  
 eyther conuert them or cutt them of  
 Amen.—

Answer.— We pray the readers not to be offended, yf in grief of our  
 Ioh. 8. 44. soules we be constrained to say to our aduersaries as yt is  
 wrytten. Ye are of your father *the* deuyll who was a lyar and  
 murtherer from the beginning. God is wittnes, that we gladly  
 acknowledge her *Maiestie* to be our Lawfull and Soueraigne  
 Prince by right descent from the vndoubted right kinges of  
 theis realmes her royall Progenitors, which the king of kinges  
 from heauen hath also sealed and assured by his most wonder-  
 full and mightie delyverances of her *Maiestie* from so many  
 trayterous conspyracyes and wicked purposes entended against  
 her both by forreine and home enemies, so as we may iustly  
 say. The *Queene* shall reioyce in thy saluation thy hand shall  
 find out all thine and her enemyes. Thou shalt make them as  
 a fyery oven in tyme of thine anger, the Lord shall destroy  
 them in his wrath and *the* fire shall deuoure them.—  
 Psal. 21. 1. 8.  
 9.

**A**nd for our Enemies who drew and spread these false &  
 slanderous artycles against vs, we must needes say, that they

could neuer come from a hart and mind loyall to her *Maiestie*. We pray God that her *Maiestie* and Counsell may more and more discerne betwene such false dissembling hypocrytes and her true and faithfull *Subiectes*, And we pray God be mercyfull to our Aduersaries, forgeving their synnes in Ihesus Christ to whom be praise for euer. Amen.—

[John Penry's Confession of Faith and Apology prepared not long before his death in 1593.]<sup>1</sup>

I Iohn Penry do here (as I shall answer before the Lord my God in that great day of iudgment) sett downe summarily, *the* whole truth and nothing but the truth of all that I hold and professe at this hower eyther in regard of my fayth towards the Lord my God, or touching my allegiance to her right Excellent *Maiestie* my most gracyous and deare Soueraigne *Queene* Elizabeth, vnto whom only of all the Potentates in the world I owe all duty, reuerence and submyssion in the Lord

First, because my alleageance vnto her *Maiestie* is chiefly called in question, I protest I am not at this day, nor yet euer was in all my life eyther guilty or privy vnto any purpose, consultacion, or intent of any sedition against, or disturbance of her *Maiesties* royall State and peaceable gouernment and yf I were privy to any such godlesse, wicked, and vndutyfull accions or purposes, as might any way impayre or disquyet the peaceable State of my natiue Prince and Cuntry, I would reuale, disclose and withstand the same to the vttermost of my power in all persons forraigne and domesticall of what profession or Religion so euer they were.

Her supreme authoritye within her Realmes and Dominions I acknowledge to be such ouer all persons in all causes, as no person eyther Civile or ecclesiasticall may exempt himselfe or his cause, from the power & censure of her lawes and word.

I do also acknowledg, That her *Maiestie* hath full authoritye from the Lord by her royall power to establish and enact all

<sup>1</sup> Add. MS. c. 303 (fol. 204–207 verso) in the Bodleian Library.

Lawes both ecclesiasticall and Civile amongst her Subjectes, In the enacting whereof the Lord requireth, that her ecclesiasticall be warranted by her wrytten word, which expressly conteyneth fully whatsoever belongeth to the true worshipp of his *Maiestie*: Her Civile be grounded vpon the rules of Common equity and Iustyce, the *which* bondes are so farr from weakening the authoritye of kinges and Princes, as they are the only inexpu gnable walles thereof.

This Soueraigne authoritye and prerogatiue of her highnes, I am most most [*sic*] willingly readie to defend against all the States, persons & creatures vnder heauen to *the* losse of my life. 1000 tymes yf yt be needfull.

And I take the Lord to record, that that daye hath not passed ouer my head (doth not I am sure) synce the first tyme that the Lord vnder her gracyous raigne brought me vnto the knowledge of his Ghospell, wherin I haue not and do not pray for the blessing of my God both inwardly and outwardly to be powred with a full horne vpon her right excellent *Maiestie*, her throne, regiment and dominions euen for ever, and that he would eyther conuert or speedily ouerthrow in his wrath all his & her enemyes with their enterpryses whether they be home or forrayne. Hereof I call the searcher of the hartes as a wyttnes of truth against myne owne soule, yf eyther I dissemble or feigne in the premisses.

Secondly touching my faith, I do beleue with my hart and confesse with my mouth, that there is no God but that true God only, *which the* holy wrytten word doth shew to be one in substance and three in person, the Father, the sonne, and the holy Ghost, three distinct persons of one and the selfe same Deitie. This most hye God, who also is my God in Ihesus Christ, I beleue to be *the* Creator, preseruer, maynteyner, Soueraigne Lord and supreme commauder of all creatures in heauen and earth, of men and Angelles, good and bad[.] I do beleue that nothing doth or can come to passe eyther in heauen or earth but by the forebounded and determinate will, purpose, Counsell and direction yea without the most wyse and most vpright commaundment of this euerlasting and true God who worketh all thinges after the Counsell of his owne will.

All men by nature I beleue to be the Children of wrath and sau'd only by grace through the sufferinges and righteousnes of Christ Ihesus apprehended by a true and lyvely faith.

Christ Ihesus in regard of his natures I beleue to be God and man, euen God aboue all blessed for euermore, and in respect of his offyce, to be the only king, Priest and Prophet of his Church, the *which* his offyces he so fully accomplished in *the* daies of his flesh, by the manifesting the whole will of his father through his preaching and teaching the full redemption of his Church by his death & resurrection and the receyuing of full and absolute power in heauen and earth from his father in such sort, as he is not to receyue a successor in any of these his offyces, but is consecrated alone to them all for euermore

True Fayth I beleue to be that persuasion of the hart, wherby the soule is truly assured of remission of synnes, and imputation of righteousnes through Christ[.] This true Fayth, belongeth only to Gods elect, and hath perseuerance vnto *the* end ioyned with yt: with this true Faith also is vnseparably ioyned (as the fruytes thereof) a dying vnto synne, and a lyuing vnto righteousnes in such sort as the members of Christ haue a contynuall battaile within them against synne, the which by the power of Christes death is so wounded, as the same in some measure decayeth more and more in them vntill at the length yt be vtterlie consumed, when the bodies and soules are separated and not before.

By the quyckening power of Christ, I do beleue, that his members here vpon earth are drawen more and more to like of his blessed will, and to practize *the* same yea to giue their lyves rather then to dishonor their God in *the* voluntarie and willing denyall of his truth, and the breach of his law and will reuealed to them[.] His reuealed will, I beleue to be perfectly conteyned in the wrytten word of *the* old and new Testament geuen by the holy Ghost for the instruccion and comfort of his poor Church, so long as the same is a Pilgrim here vpon earth.

This Church, I beleue to be the Companie of those whom the word calleth *Saintes* *which* do not onlie professe in word that they know God, but also are subiect vnto him, vnto his lawes and ordinances indeed: With this Church, I do beleue that *the*

Lord God of his meer fauor hath entred into Couenant that he wilbe their God and that they shalbe his people. The seales of this Couenant are two only—Baptisme and the Supper of the Lord.

This Church here vpon earth I do beleue not to be perfect, (although in regard of *the* order *which* the Lord hath appointed for the same yt be most absolute) but to haue many blemishes and wantes in yt, yet assuredly that all *the* true members thereof shall at *the* day of iudgment receyue their perfect consummation by Ihesus Christ, and be crowned in him with eternall glory, of his meer grace and not of any meryt of theirs.

Of *which* blessed, free, and vnderued reward, I professe my selfe to rest in most vndoubted and gloryous hope through the mercyes of my God, and therefore I am most willingly content to vndergoe any troubles in this life for his names sake, who be gloryfyed of me both in soule and body, and of all his Saintes for euermore Amen

I detest all heresies, sectes and schysmes and errors whether new or old, by whomsoeuer they haue bene inuented. as Puritanisme, Donatisme, Anabaptisme, Libertinisme Brownisme, all the dreames and dotages of the famylie of loue, but especyally all Popery, that most dreadfull Religion of Antichrist, *the* great enemye of the Lord Ihesus, and the most pestilent aduersary of the thrones of kinges & Princes[.] So that I abhorre from my sowle, that whole body and euery part of *that* Romish religion, called the sonne of perdition by the spiryt of God, because *the* Lord hath determyned to consume yt by his appearing in the brightnes of his Ghospell before his second coming.

I detest that prouid superioritytie of that man of synne, wherby (as the Apostle forespake) he either exalteth himselfe in his members and their power to beare rule and raigne ouer the truth and members of Christ, euen ouer all that is called holy, or opposeth himselfe as a most bloody aduersary against all those truthes and seruantes of the Lord, *which* will not suffer him with his said infernall power to raigne ouer them in stead of Ihesus Christ in his blessed ordynances

I detest in regard of their offyces (I speake not of the mens persons touching *the* Lordes election) the head of that body the Pope, his cursed triple Crowne, his vsurped iurisdiction of eyther of both swordes [*sic*]

I detest the rest of *the* Lymmes of that body and their spyrytuall power, as Cardinalles ArchBishopps Lord Bishopps, Suffraganes, Abbottes, Pryors Deanes, Archdeacons, Commysaryes, Chancellors, Offycialles, Monkes, Fryars, Chanons, Prebendes, Priestes, Deacons, I detest the invented maner of calling wherby they are placed in their cursed offyces, their devysed workes wherein they are employed by reason of their offyces, as the false doctrine and false worshipp of that kingdome, with the lyving and mayntenance wherby they are mainteyned in their offyces.

And forasmuch as the members of Christ must haue no Communion of or with any of these cursed inventions, insomuch as they can haue no lawfull vse or spiryтуall communion of or with any of these offyces, callinges, workes, and maintenance, because they cannot lawfully be subiect vnto any part of the ecclesiasticall power of these offyces, Therefore yt is, that I dare not participate in those assemblies or with anie of these offycers bere rule ecclesiastically, and intermeddle with the holie thinges of God wherein any of these devised callinges (and none els) workes and maintenance are to be found: For I am forbidden to haue any Communion with those vnfruytfull workes of darkenes, though yt be vpon pretence of enjoyng the truth and Sacramentes of Christ, vpon paine of everlasting tormentes daye and night for euermore.

And yf I may not be subiect to the Ceremonies of Moses, as Circumcysion &c which were sometymes the Lords owne sacred ordinances, how dare I or any other creature be in bondage to those inuentions of Antichrist the great enemy of *our* Lord Ihesus whereof *the* Saintes of God neither can neither yet euer could haue any sanctified vse.

The truth of the doctrine touching the holy Trinitie, touching the natures and offyces of *our* Sauyor, Iustyfying fayth, Sacramentes, eternall life &c. established by her *Maiesties* Lawes, and professed by her selfe, their Honors, and such as haue knowledge

in the assemblies of this Land, I acknowledge from my hart to be such, as yf I mainteyned not the vnitie and held not the Communion of *the* same doctrine with them in these pointes, I could not possibly be saued. For out of the vnion of the true profession *which* her *Maiestie* hath established in these and in the like truthes there is no hope of saluation left: But to ioyne notwithstanding with the publike worshipp in these assemblies of this Land I dare not for the former reasons.

I do moreouer willinglie confesse, that many both of *the* teachers and also of the professors in these Parish assemblies, haue so embraced the truth of doctrine established and professed in this land, as the Lord of his infinite goodnes hath graunted them *the* fauor to shew outwardly many tokens, wherby in regard of the Lordes election, I professe before men and Angelles that I doe iudge them to be members of that bodie, whereof the sonne of God Christ Ihesus is the head, only herein the lord be mercyfull to them as vnto my selfe in regard of my synnes, that they are not vnder that outward order *which* Christ Ihesus left in his Church, but instead thereof are first subiect vnto many of *the* forenamed offyces, Secondlie, haue Communion with their false manner of calling vnto their offyces, Thirdly partycipate with a great part of their devysed workes where offycers are employed, Fourthly with the false maintenance and lyvinges sometyme, consecrated to Idolatrie for the most part, wherby these offycers are mainteined, Fiftly, are mingled with the knownen prophane, ignorant, and disordered persons, *which* are ioynt members with them of these assemblies.

This is the *Somme* of my faith and allegeance vnto my God and Prince. Here is the *Somme* of that whole difference that is betwene me and the Clergy of this Land, and the *somme* of that whole cause for the *which* I and dyvers other of my poore brethren are iudged to be Schysmatikes, Felons, Hereticke &c. If this may come vnto the royall handes of my Soueraigne and to the view of their honors, I doubt not by the mercyes of my God, but her *Maiesties* hart and their *Lordships* wilbe soone induced, that neither I, nor any that hold not the same profession with the aforementioned offycers of assemblies in this



land, do deserue the shortening of our dayes by her *Maiesties* sword for these thinges.

And there is all that euer we hold: For as touching that error concerning the not repeating of the Lordes prayer wherwith we are charged, Far be yt, euen farr be yt that we should deny the same or any the like scriptures, to be an holy fourme of prayer, conteyning not only an exquisyte patterne of doctrine, according to *which* all our prayers are to be squared, but also a fourme of petition request and wordes, *which* a Christian soule may vtter not only lawfully, but also with great comfort: The vse for *which* yt was geuen, we hold indeed to be rather for doctrine then for praier, the abuse in *the* often repetition thereof we condemne, and this I am sure was the iudgment in this point of those holy seruantes of Christ [i.e., Henry Barrowe and John Greenwood], who now rest from their labors.

The good *which* this land getteth outwardly, by these false offyces aforenamed and the lyuinges belonging to them, is, That the trayterous Iesuytes and semynary Priestes are drawn by the hope they haue of possessing this this [*sic*] Babylonish gold, to become the vnnaturall betrayers of their Naturall Prince and Cuntry into the handes of strangers, whereas yf these offyces and livinges were by publike authoritye once remoued and conuerted to her *Maiesties* Civile vses, the Pope would haue no occasyon to send ouer these Locustes, there would be no baytes to allure them hether, and the home Papistes would be vtterlie voyd of hope to see their expected daye. So that the mainteyning of those offyces and lyvinges, and their devised workes and callinges *which* would fall with them, is ioyned with that contynuall danger of her *Maiesties* Royall person and the whole State of the land. I do but point at the inconuenyence *which* in Conscience towards her *Maiestie* and my Cuntry, I am bound to shewe, they that are wise will thinke of the cause with seryousnes, and will not (I hope) thinke me worthie to be smytten for shewing the danger.

Whatsoever I hold of these pointes controuerted, I hold the same of meer conscience towards my God, and of that meer detestation *which* in Conscience I am bound to haue of all the

inventions of man and Angell in Religion, and of that care in conscience I ought to haue of *the* saluation and safegard of her *Maiestie* (whom the Lord preserue for euermore) and of my Cuntrye.

I haue for my warrant in all these thinges not only the wrytten word, which is suffycyent, but also in these causes of greatest moment, the doctrine of the Church of England, established by her *Maiesties* authoritye, and confirmed by the Wrytinges Testimonies and blood of these famous seruantes and Martyrs of Christ. viz m<sup>r</sup>. Wickliff M<sup>r</sup> Brute, m<sup>r</sup> Aston, m<sup>r</sup>. Purvey, m<sup>r</sup>. Whyte, m<sup>r</sup> Thorp &c. with many other the holy wittnesses of the Lord in former tymes as m<sup>r</sup> Tyndall, m<sup>r</sup> Lambert m<sup>r</sup> Barnes, m<sup>r</sup> Latymer, m<sup>r</sup> Ball, and the famous seruantes of God in this latter age together with the vnitie and consent of the reformed Churches at this day in the pointes (I saye) of specyall weight.

My soule is so resolu'd by the power of God in all of them as I am readie to yield my lyfe by the aide of my God for the truth of this my testymonie and *the* testimony of the forenamed servantes of God, and holy martyrs and Churches of Christ. Yet yf any man can shew by the wrytten word of God that I erre in any thing, I will most willingly reourme my iudgment, craue pardon earnestly for my oversight yea and be most willingly content to suffer due punishment for my temerytie.

But yf on the other syde I testifie nothing but verytie in these poyntes as I am vndoubtedly persuaded, I humbly craue that the piercing edge of that sword may not in heate be turned against me and my brethren, *which* was neuer proffessedly violent against the open and sworne enemyes of *our* natiue Prince and Cuntrye.

Death (I thanke God) I feare not in this cause especyally, for I know *that the* sting of death is taken away, and *that* they are blessed that dye in the Lord for wyttnessing against anie of the former corruptions. Reuel. 14. 9. 13. Life I desire not, yf I be giltye of sedition, of defaming and disturbing the quiet state of her *Maiesties* peaceable gouernment

Lastly, I humbly and earnestly beseech their honors and worshippes into whose handes this wryting of myne may come,

to Consider, that it is to no purpose *that* her *Maiesties* subiectes should bestowe their tyme in learning, in *the* study and medytation of *the* word, in reading the wrytinges and doinges of learned men and of the holy Martyrs *that* haue bene in former ages, especyally the wrytinges published by her *Maiesties* authoritye, yf they may not without danger professe & hold those truthes *which* they learne out of them, and that in such sort, as they are able to convince all the world that will stand against them, by no other weapons then by the word of God. I beseech them also to consider, what a lamentable case yt is, that we may hold fellowship with the Romish Church in th'inventions thereof without all danger, and cannot but with extreme perill be permytted in Iudgment and practize to dissent from the same where yt swarueth from the trew way: And as they find these consideracions to be of specyall moment, so I beseech them in the bowelles of Ihesus Christ to be a meanes vnto her *Maiestie* and their honors that my cause may be weyed in euen balance. Imprysonment, yndytementes arraignmentes yea death yt selfe, are no meet weapons to convince the conscience grounded vpon the word of the Lord, accompanied with so many testimonies of his famous seruantes and Churches. The Lord blesse her right excellent *Maiestie* my most gracyous Soueraigne blesse theyr honors, this whole land, and all his *Saintes* euen for his names sake. Amen. Amen. Subscribed with heart and hand by me I. P. now in streight & hard bondes for the afore recyted testimony of Christes truth.

John. Penry.

Apology eiusdem.

Although yt were altogether most reasonable, that these my poore, publike, deliberate and digested wrytinges should bind vp and heale that wound *which* my most secreete vnbalanced and confused observations are iudged to make, yet I craue not so much that equitye in this case, wherein my allegeance and dutyfullnes towards my most gracyous Prince is called in question, as chiefly this I desyre, that what in the Conscience of her right excellent *Maiestie*, and of all those both honorable

and worshipfull into whose handes I entreat that these my wrytinges may come shalbe thought most likely to agree with truth may be determined touching my case, and that accordingly I may be acquyted or condemned of the guylt layd to my chardge, as for the penalty thereof, I will not refuse to susteine the same yf yt shall seem good to her highnes to inflict yt vpon me whether yt be the vnderdeserued mulct of myne ynnocency, or the iust demeryt of my guiltynes, that I referre vnto *the* Lordes determynacion and her gracyous *Maiestie* whom he hath placed over me: Myne ynnocency only heerby I desyre to be manifested without any further regard, that whether I lyue or dye my vprightnes towardes my Prince and her State may survyue. Whatsoever then in those my pryvate intercepted wrytinges, (being the secret & confused obseruations of myne owne study) touching her *Maiestie* is mencyned [*sic*], the same I protest was sett downe by me, eyther as obiected indeed by others, whereof I thought to haue Considered further, yf at all, yt should be done for her *Maiesties* cleering where occasyon should be offered, or as being groundes of a brief treatize, *which* with myne owne handes (yf euer the Lord should graunt meanes and opportunitytie therevnto) I purposed to haue delyuered vnto her highnes for the manifesting of my fayth and allegeance towardes the Lord and her *Maiestie* wherein (as in a pryvate advertisement) euen for the dischargd of my Conscience, I meant to haue offered to her Consideracion. viz. Whether many thinges besides her knowledge were not done vnder gouernment to the hindrance of the free course of the Ghospell for the *which* she standeth blamed amongst forrayn nations and yt may be wold be further charged amongst their posteritye

These my wrytinges also are not only most vnperfect, but euen so pryvate as no creature vnder heauen was pryvate vnto them (my selfe excepted) vntill now they were seised vpon, and therefore yt wilbe the great fault of those into whose handes they are come, and not any vndutyfullnes of myne yf they be made more publike then they are. Myne I dare not acknowledge them to be for a thousand worldes, because I should therby most fearfully synne against *the* Lord and myne owne Conscience, in bearing false wyttnes against my selfe. I neuer conceyued

that anie man would haue made any thing of them, especyally against my selfe, by whomsoever they had bene interpreted, otherwise yt might be well thought that I would neuer haue reserued them being to my so small vse, as all men will iudge them to be. Now for the clearing of my selfe towardes her *Maiestie*, and of the purpose I had to referr my selfe into her *Maiesties* handes, yt shalbe found in those my intercepted writings, how earnestly I haue entreated the Lord, and often (especyally toward the tyme of my coming out of Scotland) to graunt me fauor in her sight, and to encline her hart vnto my petition, which was only *that* yt would please her so to conceyve of me as I was in hart towardes her, and to permytt me to employ my small talent amongst my poore Cuntrymen in Wales, for their calling to the knowledge of Christ [.] Their ignorance I know (alas) to be ouer-lamentable. It will also appear in my said wrytinges, that report coming into Scotland of her *Maiesties* departure out of this life, I humbled my selfe when I heard yt in fasting and prayer before the Lord, entreating him euen with many teares, that the same report might proue vntrue, as I thanke his *Maiestie* yt did, shewing what a great stroke (in my Conscience) the taking her out of this life would be vnto the Church of God, at this day especyally, and vnto her kingdome, my deare and natiue Cuntrye. How heavy the newes were vnto me in *partycular*, those my wrytinges do partly testify, my Conscience knoweth, and the Lord God I am sure will reveale vnto my clearing in that great daye. This was long synce I had occasyon to sett downe all the thinges wherwith I am like to be so heavily chardged. No Creature was privy to this accion of myne vntill my wrytinges were now intercepted, neyther did I purpose to haue revealed the same. Now that my secret, confused and vnadvised observations are brought against me euen to the spilling of my blood, I humbly beseech that these my papers also may be looked vppon and brought to light aswell as the other, wherby myne aduersaryes thinke to ympeach my allegiance which (I thanke God) neither man nor Angell shall euer be able to effect. This was done in Ianuary or Febr was Twellvemonth—1592—. It wilbe easily found out in those papers of myne,

which conteyne a diarie or daily obseruacion of myne owne synnes and corruptions, and of the specyall requestes which I made to the Lord, being thinges of *that* secrecy as I know well all the world would thinke yt shamefull that they should be laid to my charge: yet I thanke the Lord I refuse not to be tryed by them. Touching the partycular thinges that concerne her *Maiesty* in those my papers, I had great occasyon in the tyme of my contynuanee and being in Scotland to take notyce of them, for the purpose before mencyned, and surely most of them are expressed in the very same or the like wordes wherein they were objected to me, euen by those whom I iudge to wish well to her *Maiestie* and gouernment. For the gentlemen, ministers and people of Scotland, that are not acquainted with the State of this Land thinke by reason of the Prelacy here mainteyned, (the yoake whereof they fell within these few yeares), by reason of the multytude of dumbe ministers that were tolerated and dayly made in this land, and because they heare that preachers are suspended, sylenced, ymprysoned and depryued thinke (I say) and haue spoken yt vnto me, that lyttle or no truth is permytted to be taught in England, that *which* is taught, ys measured by the length of her *Maiesties* Scepter, and that the Common wealth indeed is much but the Ghospell lyttle behoulding vnto her. Whereunto I answered that the Ghospell (in my Conscience) was asmuch behoulding to her *Maiestie* as to all the Princes in Europe besides. They haue replyed then that Princes dissemble then, for none of them that appeare to defend *the* Ghospell do suffer the ministers and professors thereof to be sylenced and ymprysoned for their Conscience sake and for mainteyning the truth *which* reformed Churches do generally embrace, wherevnto as I haue allwayes suffycientlie answered (I thank the Lord) in her *Maiesties* behalfe, so haue I sett downe confusedly the tenor of my speches in those my wrytinges, that so I might vpon better leysure consyder of them, and make some vse for the discharge of my Conscience as before I haue sett downe. Hereof also I haue had specyall occasyon vpon pryuate conferences had with the ministers of the Cuntrye wherein I haue otherwyse informed them of the state of thinges here then they were generally certyfyed by the

marchantes or such other as travayled thether, in such sort, as I being invited with some of them by a godly gentleman of that Cuntry, then told him, that yt was not without great reason (seing he had so often speech with me) that he being in such a noble mans Chamber, where her *Maiesties* picture was sett belowe the pictures of divers other kinges and Princes, he tooke the same and placed yt aboute them all, for he thought her to be no less worthy, yf the speeches which I gaue of her highnes were trew. The gentleman answered that he was glad to learne that of me who as he iudged would not report otherwyse then truth, which he allwayes conceyved of her. viz. That the Euangely of Christ was mickle deale bound (for those were his wordes) vnto the *Queene* of England, as vnto all *the* Princes on this syde of the Alpes the which he durst the more boldly avouch vppon the credyt of my report[.] These and such like (I say) haue bene the occasyon of whatsoever in my pryvate wrytinges seemeth to make most against me: and I could name Englishmen who (yf they would speake yndifferently) must testyfy, that they haue heard no lesse obiected of others, and no less answered by me then I haue here sett downe, as convenyence of tyme and place hath bene ministred: yea when myne owne case, or the case of any other (who professing the Ghospell are iudged to be hardly dealt with vnder her *Maiesties* gouernment) hath bene alleadged, I haue answered. Vt parentum sic patriæ & principis seueritatem patiendo & ferendo semindam esse. The which saying, as also some other of *Marcus Tullius* vnto *Lentulus* as I remember shalbe found noted in those my wrytinges to this very purpose. Whereby yt may appeare that what now I wryte hath some credence in yt though those my obseruations be most confused, such as out of which no man (my selfe excepted) can possibly gather my purpose. I haue not looked vpon most of those my wrytinges these—14—or—15—moneths, whereby consydering how they are sett downe, I might also well forgett *the* purpose for the which they were wrytten: yet I will not desyre to be accounted (as I thanke God I am) a Loyall subiect to my Prince, yf I shew not any speech conteyned in them touching her *Maiesty* to haue reason vppon the former occasyons, and to

haue bene noted for the purposes I spake of, namely, eyther the advertysing or further clearing of her *Maiestie* as the Lord would offer occasyon, the *which* latter purpose of myne, is also cleered, in a treatyse *which* I published now toward 2 yeares synce wherein, wryting vnto the Parliament, I shewed that the *Papistes*, either Brystow or Saunders yf my memory faile not, had geuen out *that* her *Maiestie* regarded not the Ghospell any further then yt may be for her standing, and therefore desyred the Parliament that they would withstand that slaunder, by provyding that the people of Wales may be better taught, saying that whatsoeuer the Parliament should do, I did gainsaye the same, as being a speech vndutifull and slanderous against my Prince, as lowd as ynke and paper could do yt. These are my wordes, and as I shall answer before the Lord my God, I had no other then this dutyfull meaning in setting downe whatsoeuer is now so heynously interpreted in those my wrytinges. Briefly the most reuerend and dutyfull regard *which* I haue caryed towardes her *Maiestie* in my publike wrytinges whensoever I haue mecyoned her or her gouernment, the tenor of my life that way, together with the testimonie of all those *which* haue knowen me and my wrytinges especyally of such of my cuntrymen as know me in Scotland, will clear me of whatsoeuer may touch me in loyaltie towardes my Soueraigne. And I do here, (in this last wryting *which* is like to proceed from me for ought I know) protest before all the world, that although I regarded neither the feare of God nor man, nor the testimonie of a good conscyence, yet the respect *which* I haue and allwayes had that my native Cuntry Wales should not cary the blemish, that euer it brought forth (for my part) any *that* would defame or deale vndutyfully with so gracyous a Prince as her *Maiestie* is, and hath bene allwayes vnto vs, should and would kepe me from all vndutyfull attemptes against her highnes. Nay (I thanke God) I haue all reasons that do and allwayes haue stirred me yp to all dutyfullnes towardes my Prince but neuer any that moued me so much as in a secret wandring thought vnto any such disloyall cogitation of her *Maiestie*. Lastly those my intercepted wrytinges *which* are now brought against me, conteyning in them not only a peculiar record of my dayly



Corruptions, for and against which I craued mercy and strength at the Lordes hand, but also of all the specyall synnes whereof my conscyence could accuse me in all my lyfe, euen to the last daie of my coming out of Scotland yt will easily appeare, whether my soule was euer privy to any offence commytted by me against her *Maiestie*, saue only this whereof I there complayne namely that I was not so carefull in prayer for her perseuerance and wellfare, as I desyred and laboured to haue bene[.] And yet (I thanke the Lord) I remember not that day hath passed ouer my head, synce vnder her gouernment I first came to *the* knowledge of *the* truth, wherein I haue not recommended her estate vnto his *Maiestie*[.] I deale in those my most secreat wrytinges without guile, as in his sight whom I know to be the revealer of secrettes, at whose hand I craued the healing of my brused Conscyence, wherfore yt concerned me not to collude with him though I would do the same with man, such dealing might well augment the intollerable burthen of my woryed soule, but cure my wound yt could not, and therefore I may truly say If euer I had bene guilty of any such cryme there yt should haue bene sett downe, euen when I powred the secretes of my hart before *the* mercy seat of the euerlyving, and the rather in such a case of confession vnto the Lord of my secret synnes neuer expressed in action, wherof also I was most sory *that* any such should be brought against me. But in this point of my Loyaltie towards my Prince, I feare not (I thanke the Lord) the aduerse testimony of myne owne Conscyence much lesse<sup>1</sup>

[A Letter of John Penry's to Lord Burghley, written  
May 28, 1593.]<sup>2</sup>

Although Right honorable my thoughtes at this present are wholly employed as it is meet, rather vpon y<sup>e</sup> meditation of that heavenly lyf whervnto of the Lordes infinite favor, I ame now to passe, then vpon any earthly consideration whatsoever; yet

<sup>1</sup> Here with the last two words as catch-words the manuscript at present abruptly ends.

<sup>2</sup> Egerton MS. 2603, fol. 49, in the British Museum.

to the end your Lordship may see, that I have in in [*sic*] no wise slightly regarded your last speach vsed vnto mee; I do heer most humblie crave entreat the vse of penn and inke, y<sup>t</sup> I may writ vnto hir majestie my most gracious soveraign, to see yf the Lord will therby encline hir roiall heart to hould forth vnto mee, the compassionate hand of hir wonted clemency towards hir distressed Subjectes in my case.

For your Lordship [?] I beseech you, to beare patiently these few lines following which in the discharge of my conscienc, I write vnto you; & for no other respect. I do confess then & your [?] Lord[ship] lay it not vnto my charge, that I betrayed myne owne innocency at y<sup>e</sup> barr, because I did not lay open, the clearnes of my case, as in lawe it is well knowen [?] to bee. Lett mee speak without prejudice vnto any. I will not say much vnto your Lordship this way. Only this, I should have beene indighted of those thinges within one yeer after I writ them. I should have beene convinced [?] to have written them with a maliciouse intent, to diffame hir majestie, or to stirr insurrection [among hir subjectes]<sup>1</sup> from which purposes, how farr I [?] have been allwayes, I refer it vnto y<sup>e</sup> voyc of y<sup>e</sup> whole world, even vnto the consciences of adverseryes them selves yf I haue any. Yf I weare a papist [fallen away & to err from y<sup>e</sup> true Christ] as farrbeit I might writ in the defenc, of y<sup>e</sup> sixt article, & labor to draw hir majesties subjects to bee of my wicked [?] mynd, & yet shal be in no wise thogh[t] nor adjudged [?] a felone by y<sup>t</sup> statute of .23. Eliz. I may publish & vtter Bellarmyns readings Sanders Demonstration. &c which directly mak hir majestie & y<sup>e</sup> whole state to be & yet bee in no wise within y<sup>e</sup> daunger of y<sup>e</sup> sayd statute. These bookes & such lyk any [?] other [?] are comonly sold by all stationers. And therfor my Lord, I beseech your wysdome in the mercyes [?] bowelles of Iesus Christ, whose truth you profess, to consider what a lamentable case it is, y<sup>t</sup> the playn [?] error in the missvnderstanding of y<sup>e</sup> law should bee written with my blood.

Touching these my confused, & most secrete indeavors [?] writtinges [I] refer you vnto y<sup>t</sup> which els where I hav written to this..., as your Lordship knoweth [?] I am sure. And how

<sup>1</sup> Words within dark brackets are in the margin of the MS.

farr I ame from any such thoughtes of hir majestie, I shall declare, yf you will grant [?] mee the vse of ink & paper.

That I spak not at y<sup>e</sup> barr what in law might have cleared my case, it was partly in that y<sup>e</sup> Iury wear sent away. befo<sup>r</sup> I cold have tyme so to doe, but especially in that I was content in this case, rather to comitt myne innocency vnto him, y<sup>t</sup> judgeth righteously, & to referr my self vnto hir majesties handes, then any wyse to contend with your Lordshipes their present, whome I saw to bee playnly overseen in the mysvndersta[n]ding of that statute.

1. Pet. 2. 23.

But my Lord, I beseech you lett mee appeale vnto your second considiration as this way, & have y<sup>e</sup> favor thereof, for the defenc of my lyf: And I dare assure your Lordship, y<sup>t</sup> it shall not repent you, eyther in this, or the lyf to come, you have bene the meanes of my preservation frome vntymlly [?] death. wherwith, as I thank god I ame well content because I know whether to goe after this lyf; of this erthly breath becaus becaus [*sic*] it is y<sup>e</sup> Lord [who gave it.] not you, where [?] now have yo<sup>u</sup> use therof it beseemeth mee in no wise to bee over profuse. And therfor agayn, I beseech your Lordship, y<sup>t</sup> I may not only reaceave the same at Queen Elyzabeth my soveraignes handes, but also be indebted vnto Sir Iohn Popame hir highnes Supreme Iustice for the reposs thereof. And my Lord you shall fynd, that the continuance of my lyf (*which* I thank god for my self I respect not becaus I ame assured, y<sup>t</sup> a better is prepared for me) wilbee farr more beheefull [?] for the apeasing & quiet taking vp, of the differences in relligion between mee & y<sup>e</sup> Ecclesiasticall estate of this land then. my death in the said tymes possiblie can bee.

What my purposes are, yf I shold live y<sup>t</sup> way, what maner of disposition I am off even in heart, I canot hide it yf I wold, for my...privat writinges, *which* wholly shew, the very lineaments of my soule, & y<sup>e</sup> very vnreveled [?] secrett intentes of my heart are in ther handes, with whose judgmentes &...in this lyf I canot wholly accord.

You ar not to bee putt in mynd, y<sup>t</sup> as y<sup>e</sup> cry of y<sup>e</sup> widow & y<sup>e</sup> fatherless, peerceth deeply into y<sup>e</sup> eares of y<sup>e</sup> just judge, so y<sup>e</sup> blessing [?], of y<sup>e</sup> distressed & y<sup>e</sup> orphan especially of him that is

Exodus 22. 22  
23. 24.  
Deut 24. 13.

ready to perish, is much avaylable befor god & man, vnto them, y<sup>t</sup> deserve the same therefor good my Lord cloth *your* self therewith as with a robe, the garment, wherwith yo<sup>u</sup> are adorned, That with y<sup>t</sup> great [?]. . .wholy man[?] Iob yo<sup>u</sup> may say. I deliuered y<sup>e</sup> poor, y<sup>t</sup> cryed, & y<sup>e</sup> fatherless & him, y<sup>t</sup> hade none to helpe him. The blessing of him y<sup>t</sup> was ready to perish came vpon mee & I caused y<sup>e</sup> widowes heart to rejoyc. I was a father vnto y<sup>e</sup> poor & when I knew not y<sup>e</sup> cause (or had mistaken it), I sought it out y<sup>e</sup> more dilligently

verse 18. And<sup>1</sup> shall fynd in the merceyes of god y<sup>t</sup> veryfyed of you, *which* followeth in the same place of holy story openly [?] y<sup>t</sup> you shall

.19. dy in *your* nest & multiply *your* dayes as the sand [y<sup>t</sup> y[our ?] root] shalbe spread out by y<sup>e</sup> waters & y<sup>e</sup> dew vpon your

20 branch, y<sup>t</sup> *your* honor shalbe renued [?] towardes yo<sup>u</sup> & your

21 bow continue [?] firme in *your* hand, y<sup>t</sup> vnto you men shall

22. still [?] give eare & hold their tong at *your* counsell, & y<sup>t</sup> yo<sup>u</sup>

25. shall appoynt al their way & continue [?] still to sitt as cheife, & be truly accounted lyk him, y<sup>t</sup> comfourteth y<sup>e</sup> mourners. Thus preparing my self vnto y<sup>e</sup> tribunall of y<sup>e</sup> Supream judg, I humblie referr my...estate vnto *your* Lordshipes due consideration, & *your* self with all yours into his handes, whoe tryeth y<sup>e</sup> heartes & y<sup>e</sup> reines, y<sup>t</sup> hee may give vnto every man according as his workes shalbee From...& close prison, the 28 of y<sup>e</sup> 4 month Maij[?] 1593

Your Lordship[es] most

Suppliant

John Penry<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> At this point about ten words have been crossed out.

<sup>2</sup> The text of this letter took the present writer some hours to decipher, even with the aid of the magnifying-glass and with the help of two of the officials in the British Museum. The handwriting is in places very fine and indistinct, and the ink is much faded. Penry's corrections, also, are by no means as clear as they might be. The present text, therefore, is not perfect, but it is perhaps as good as under the circumstances might be expected.

## VIII

### DOCUMENTS RELATING TO HENRY BARROWE

[An undated Letter of Henry Barrowe's asking for a "christian and peaceable conference" for the settlement of "theis Ecclesiasticall controuersies".]<sup>1</sup>

My humble desier is to any that feare god even to my gratest aduersaries in theis Ecclesiasticall controuersies (or I hope) but brotherly differences yf we may come to christian and peaceable conference with some Learned and moderate persons, where the reasons of each syde may be with deliberacion set downe and expounded by the worde of God and so his treuth therin appearinge may be imbraced and we brought to vnitei [*sic*] in the treuth. And theis woundes (w<sup>ch</sup> now ar made and Lykely to shedd eeven streames of christian bloode may be healed Those faythfull of oure mynde w<sup>ch</sup> yet remayne and such as god no doubt will rayse vp in this cavse of christes may be revnited yea rather all of vs vnited to Christe oure Head with ioye. And what so euer it shall please god and her excellent maiestei to dispose of oure Lyves, yet we therby beinge brought to the sight of such faultes as we ar chardged to have committed (but yet see not) may then humbly acknowledge the same and suffer such punishment as ar [*sic*] inflicted to the good example of others to the honor of her maiestei and this State. And this as in sight of Christe I vowe by his grace, and dare assure in the behalf of my christian bretheren. Lyke mynded that yo<sup>u</sup> or any

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6849, fol. 211 recto.

of yo<sup>u</sup> takinge this christian and brotherly paynes shall recouer and Lead vs by every word of God to agree with yo<sup>u</sup> and be obedient vnto his whole will /

Henry Barrow

[Another undated Letter of Henry Barrowe's, requesting a "peceable disputation" for the settlement of "sondrie Ecclesiasticall differences".]<sup>1</sup>

**M**y moste humble and submissiue[?] desire vnto your *worship* was and is, That for so much as, there remaine sondrie Ecclesiasticall differences of no smale weight betwixt me with sondrie others hir *highnes* faithfull subiectes now imprisoned for the same, on the one side and this present ministerie now by authoritie established in this land on the other vndecided, or as yett indiscussed[?], your *worship* would vouchaffe [*sic*] to be a meanes to hir moost excellent *maiestie*, That a Christian and peceable disputation by the scriptures might be vouchaffed vnto some fewe of vs, with whom or how manie, of our aduersaries herein shall in wisdom be thought meete, for the readie & happie deciding or composing the same. Protesting to your *worship* in the sight of god, at whose finall Iudgement, I looke howrelie to stand, that I hould not anie thing in thes differences of anie singularitie or pride of spirit, but as I am hetherto certainlie *perswaded*, by the vndoubted groundes of godes worde, the profession and practise of other reformed Churches, and learned of other Countreis, wherof if wee hir *maiesties* said few imprisoned subiectes, shall faile to make evident and assured prooffe, and that those learned, shall shew anie other thing by the word of god in the said Christian conference desired, That then, I for my parte, vow vnto your *worship* through godes grace, as also [I] am *perswaded*, my said imprisoned brethren permitted this conference will doe[?] the like, that I will vtterlie forsake anie error I shall be so proved to holde,

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6849, fol. 214.

and in all humble and glad consent to submit to our now discenting aduersaries in all those matters wherin now wee differ, if theie shall approve them vnto vs by the word of god. By *which* charitable [?] Acte your *worship* maie put end to theise present controuersies reduce [?] as wherin wee erre and a peace [*sic*] manie a Christian soule. /

your *worships* humble suppliant  
henry Barrowe

[“Reasons against Publike disputation with (Henry) barow.”]

It is not equall, safe nor fitte  
to graunt a disputation to Sectaries<sup>1</sup>

- .1. It hath ever been denied by the state to papistes, a secte that had possession of the Church for some hundred yeares before.
- .2. To call the ministerie, and confession of the Church of England into question were to call all other Churches likewise into question against whom also ther exceptions extend.
- .3. The Church of England hath submitted her selfe to disputation thrise .1. in *King Edwards* tyme, in *Queene marie* in *Queene Elizabethes*.
- .4. The erroneous opinions of these men have been already condemned by iust treatises of the most famous learned men that have lyved since restitution of [*sic*] relligion.
- .5. It is no reason that relligion, and the controversies therof the same beinge alreadie established by parliament [*sic*] should be examyned now by an inferiour authoritie by way of disputation
- .6. It is no reason (that all the Reformed Churches in Europe acknowledginge our Church of England for a sister) the same should be now brought into question at the will & request of a fewe sectaries.

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6849, fol. 212.

- .7. Their principall errorrs have been already discussed by disputations and writings in the dayes of S<sup>t</sup> Augustine, and that by himselfe, &c.
- .8. To call the ministerie of England into question is to strengthen y<sup>e</sup> papistes, and to dishable all the exercises of the mysteries of religion ever synce the establishment thereof.
- .9. It hath ever been the manner of Heretiques to require [?] the same by great importunities, and continuall exclamations [?], as Novatus, Arrius,...
- .10. It hath already been discussed by bookes written, out of *which* the truth may better appear, then by a tumultuarie disputation.
- .11. They that require disputation of the Ciuill magistrate will not stande to the Iudgement of the Ciuill magistrate
- .12. If the Church should satisfie everie sect that riseth [?] there were no ende of disputations.

Mr Barrowes letter written a little before his death.

To the right honorable, &c.<sup>1</sup>

**T**Hough it be no new or strange doctrine vnto you, right honorable and excellent Ladie, who have ben so educated & exercised in the faith and fear of God, that the crosse should be joyned to the gospel, tribulation & persecution to the faith & profession of Christ: yet may this seem strange vnto you, & almost incredible, that in a land professing Christ, such crueltie should be offred vnto the servants of Christ for the truth & Gospels sake, & that by the chief Ministers of the church, as they pretend. This no doubt doth make sundrie, otherwise wel affected, to think hardly of vs & of our cause; & specially, fynding vs by their instigation, indicted, arraigned, condemned, & readie to be executed by the secular powers, for moving sedition and disobedience, for diffaming the renowned [*sic*]

<sup>1</sup> From "AN APOLOGIE | OR DEFENCE | OF SUCH TRUE CHRISTIANS | As are commonly (but vniustly) called | Brownists: | ...", 1604, pp. 89-95.



person & government of our most gracious Sovereigne Qu. Elisabeth & this state. But, right honorable, if our adversaries proceedings, & our sufferings with the true causes therof, might be duly expended by the scriptures; I doubt not but their malice and our innocencie should easily appear to al men: howsoever now they think to cover the one and the other, by adding slander vnto violence.

Your Ladyship readeth, that the holie Prophets who spake in the Name of God, yea our blessed Saviour himself and his Apostles, have suffred like vsage vnder the same pretence of sedition, innovation, rebellion against Cæsar & the state, at the hands & by the means of the chief Ministers of that church, the *Priests*, *Scribes*, and *Pharisees*; men of no lesse account for holines learning and authoritie, then these our adversaries. The faithfull of all ages since, that have witnessed against the malignant synagogue of Antichrist, and stood for the Gospel of Christ; have suffred like vsage, at the hands of the same Prelacie and Clergie that now is in the land, though possessed of other persons: The quarrel stil remayneth betwixt the two opposite kingdomes of *Christ* and *Antichrist*; and so long shal endure, as any part of the apostasie and vsurped tyrannie of the man of sin, shal remayne. The apostasie and tyrannie of *Antichrist*, as it sprung not at once or in a day, but by degrees wrought from his mysterie to his manifestation & exaltation in his throne: so was he not at once wholly discovered or abolished: but as Christ *from* time to time by the beams of his appearing, discovered the iniquitie, so by the power of his word, which can not be made of none effect, doth he abolish the same, & shal not cease this warr, vntil Antichrist with his army, power, & ministerie, be wholly cast out of the church. Assurance & manifest revelation hereof, we have both in general & particular, in that historical prophesie given of Christ vnto his church by Iohn the divine in the book of the Revelation, from the 10. to the 20. chapter: proof & accomplishment hereof, we have hitherto found in the abolishing of al the errors, idolatries, trumperies & forgeries discovered and witnessed against, by the faithfull servants of Christ in former ages. Neither is there cause why we should doubt of the like sequel & event in

2 Thes. 2. 8

Reu. 16.

Rev. 19.

Rev. 18. 8 the present & future times; seing the enormities remaying, are no lesse hateful to God, & contrarie to the kingdome of Christ: and God that condemne them is a strong Lord to execute his will, which no opposition or tyrannie of his adversaries, shalbe able to hinder or resist.

Philip. 1. 28.  
29.  
2 Thes. 1. Whiles then we be in the mercies of God, holding the most holy & glorious cause of *Christ* against them, that hee might reigne in his Church by such Officers and lawes as he hath prescribed in his testament; we fear not our adversaries in any thing, knowing that their malice & opposition herein, is made to them a token of perdition, and to vs of salvation, and that of God. For this cause we are bold, both to stand for the holy Ministerie government & ordinances of *Christ* prescribed in his word; and also to withstand and witnesse against this anti-christian hierarchie of the Prelacie and Clergie of this land, in their Ministerie, ministracion, government, Courts, Officers, Canons, &c. which I by writing, have shewed to have no ground or warrant in Gods word; not to be given, or to belong vnto the church of *Christ*, but to be invented by man; the very same that the Pope stil vseth, and erewhile vsed & left in this land. The like, others of vs more learned, have offred and do stil offer vpon the dispence of our lives to prove by the expresse word of God, in any Christian & peaceable conference, against any whosoever, that wil there stand for the defence of the same.

The Prelats, seing the axe thus layd to the roots of the tree of their pomp, not able to approve their Ministerie, ministracion, government, which they vsurp & exercise in the church, by the Scriptures; sought to turne away this question, & to get rid of their adversaries by other subtil & hostile practises: as at the first by shutting vp the chief of vs in their close prisons; by diffaming vs in their pulpits, printed books and sparsed libels in the land; by seeking to invegle vs with certaine subtil questions to bring our lives into danger; by suborned conferences with certaine their select instruments: Not to speak of the manifold molestacions, and cruel usage at their commaundment shewed vs in the prisons. To their reprochful & slaunderous books, being set of God, though most vnworthie,

& suffering for the defence of the faith, & being thus provoked by them, I held it my dutie, according to the small measure of grace received, to make answer. Which I also did more then three yeres since. Likewise to deliver our selves from the false report and witnes that might be made against vs in those Conferences, we thought good to publish them to the land. For these books written more then three yeres since, after well neer six yeres imprisonment sustained at their hands, have these Prelates by their vehement suggestions and accusations, caused vs to be now indicted, arrayned, condemned, for writing & publishing sedicious books, vpon the same statute made the 23. yere of her Maiesties reigne. Their accusations were drawn into these heads:

*First, That I should write and publish the Queenes  
Maiesty to be unbaptized.*

*Secondly, the state to be wholly corrupted from  
the crowne of the head to the sole of the foot, in  
the lawes, iudgments, iudges, customes, &c.  
so that none that feared God, could live in peace  
therin.*

*Thirdly that all the people in the land are infidels.*

To these indictments I answered, generally, that eyther they were mistaken, or els misconstrued; that neyther in my meaning, matter, or words, any such crime could justly be found: My meaning, being just & without evil towards any man, much more towards my Sovereigne & the state, whom I from the hart honored: The matters, being meerly ecclesiastical, controverted betwixt this Clergie and vs: My words, being eyther in answer of their slanders, or in assertion of such things as I hold: That if I had offended in any of my words, it was rather casual through hast, then of any evil intent.

More particularly to the first, concerning the Queenes baptisme; I answered, that it was vtterly mistaken, both contrary to my meaning and to my expresse words in that place of my book, as manifestly there appeareth to any indifferent reader: That I there purposely defended her Maiesties baptisme received, against such as hold the baptisme given in Poperie

to be no baptisme at all; where I proved, that it needed not to be repeated: yet there I also shewed such baptisme given in Poperie, not to seal Gods covenant to the church in that estate; & therefore that the abuse ought by all that had there received it, to be repented.

To the second indictment, I shewed the words by me vsed to be drawn from Isaiah, 1. & Revel. 13. That I had no evil mynd towards the state, lawes or Iudges; but onely shewed, that wher the Ministerie, the salt, the light is corrupted, the body and all the parts must needs be vnsound: which I immediatly in the same place of that book, shewed by the general breach of the lawes of both Tables, by all esstates, degrees, persons, &c. setting down the particulars.

To the third indictment I answered, that I gladly embraced & beleved the common faith received & professed in this land, as most holy & sound: That I had reverend estimation of sundrie, & good hope of many hundred thousands in the land: though I vtterly disliked the present constitution of this church, in the present communion, ministry, ministrations, worship, government & ordinances ecclesiastical of these cathedral & parishional assemblies.

Some other few things, such as they thought might most make against me, were culled out of my writings, & vrged: as, That I should hold her Maiesty to be antichristian, & her government antichristian. To which I answered, that it was with great and manifest injurie so collected: seing in sundry places of that book, and every where in all my writings & sayings, I have protested my exceeding good opinion & reverend estimation of her Maiesties royal person and government, above al other Princes in the world, for her most rare & singular vertues & indowments. I have every where in my writings acknowledged, all dutie and obedience to her Maiesties government, as to the sacred ordinance of God, the supreme power he hath set over all causes & persons, whether ecclesiastical or civil, within her dominions: Always desiring to be intended of this false ecclesiastical government, forrayn power canons and courts brought in and vsurped by the Prelates and their accomplices.

But these answers, or whatsoever else I could say or allege, praved nothing; all things being so hardly construed and vraged against me; no doubt through the Prelates former instigations, & malicious accusations. So that I, with my fower other brethren, were the 23. of the third moneth, 1593. condemned, & adiudged to suffer death as fellons, vpon these indictments aforesaid. Vpon the 24. early in the morning, was preparation made for our execution: we brought out of the Limbo, our yrons smitten of, & we ready to be bound to the cart; when her Maiesties most gracious pardon came for our reprive.

After that, the Bishops sent vnto vs certaine Doctors & Deanes, to exhort and confer with vs. We shewed, how they had neglected the time; we had ben well nigh six yeres in their prisons, never refused but alwayes humbly desired of them Christian conference, for the peaceable discussing & deciding our differences, but could never obteyne it at their hands: neyther did these men all this time come vnto vs, or offer any such matter: That our time now was short in this world, neyther were we to bestow it vnto controversies, so much as vnto more profitable and comfortable considerations: Yet if they desired to have conference with vs they were to get our lives respited therevnto. Then, if they would ioyn vnto vs, two other of our brethren in their prisons, whom we named vnto them, we then gladly would condiscend to any Christian & orderly conference by the Scriptures, with such or so many of them as should be thought meet.

Vpon the last day of the third moneth, my brother Greenwood & I were very early & secretly conveyed to the place of execution: Where being tyed by the necks to the tree, we were permitted to speak a few words. We there, in the sight of that judge that knoweth and sercheth the hart, before whom we were thence immediatly to appear, protested our loyaltie & innocencie towards her Maiestie, our nobles, governors, magistrates, and this whol state: That in our writings we had no malicious or evil intent, so much as in thought, towards any of these, or toward any person in the world: That wherin we had through zele, or vnadvisedly, let fall any word or sentence

that moved offence, or caried any shew of irreverence, we were hartily sorie, and humbly besought pardon of them so offended for the same. Furder, we exhorted the people to obedience & hartie love of their Prince & Magistrates, to lay down their lives in their defence against all enemies: yea at their hands meekly and patiently to receive death, or any punishment they shall inflict, whether justly or vnjustly. We exhorted them also vnto orderly quiet & peaceable walking, within the limits of their own calling, to the holy fear & true worship of God. For the books written by vs, we exhorted all men, no further to receive anything therin conteyned, then they should find sound proof of the same in the holy Scriptures. Thus craving pardon of al men whome we had any way offended, and freely forgiving the whole world, we vsed prayer for her Maiesty, the Magistrates, people, and even for our adversaries. And having both of vs almost finished our last words; behold one was even at that instant come with a reprove for our lives from her Maiesty: Which was not onely thankfully received of vs, but with exceeding reioysing & applause of all the people, both at the place of execution, & in the wayes, streets, & houses, as we returned.

Thus pleased it God to dispose the vttermost violence of our adversaries, to the manifestation of our innocencie, concerning the crimes whereof we were accused & condemned: and not onely so, but also to the further shewing forth of her Maiesties princely clemencie, rare vertue, & Christian care over her faithful subjects, to the yet further manifesting of her renowned fame & love amongst all her people. And sure we have no doubt, but the same our gracious God, that hath wrought this marvelous work in her Maiesties princely hart, to cause her of her owne accord & singular wisdom, even before she knew our innocencie, twice to stay the execution of that rigorous sentence; wil now much more after so assured & wonderful demonstration of our innocencie, move her gracious Maiesty freely and fully to pardon the execution therof, as she that never desired, & alwayes lothly shed the blood of her greatest enemies; much lesse wil she now of her loyal Christian and innocent subiects: especially if her Maiesty might be truly

informed, both of the things that are passed, & of our lamentable estate & great miserie wherin we now continue in a miserable place & case, in the lothsome gayle of Newgate, vnder this heauey iudgement, every day expecting execution.

Herevnto if God shall move your noble hart, right vertuous Ladie, not for any worldly cause, (which for my present reproch & basenes, I dare not mention to your honour,) so much as for the love and cause of Christ, which we though [through] the grace of God professe; to informe her Maiesty of our intire faith vnto God, vnsteyned loyaltie to her Highnes, innocencie and good conscience towards all men; in pardoning our offence and judgement, or els in removing onr [our] poore worne bodies out of this miserable gayle, (the horror wherof is not to be spoken vnto your honour,) to some more honest & meet place, if she vouchsafe vs longer to live: Your Ladyship doubtlesse shall herein doe a right Christian and gracious act, acceptable to God, behoovefull to your soveraigne prince, comfortable to vs the poor condemned prisoners of Christ; yea to his whol afflicted church, and most of all to your own prayse and comfort in this life, and in the life to come. Herevnto further to exhort your honor, by the examples of the godly of like condition, in such times of publick distresses and danger, I hope I need not so much, as to stirre vp that good gift and grace of God which is in you, not to neglect or put from you this notable occasion sent vnto you from God, to shew forth the naturalnes of your faith vnto him, of your fidelity to your Prince, of your love to the members of Christ in distresse, whom as you succour or neglect herein, so assure your self wil Christ in his glorie esteme it as done or denied to be done by you to his own sacred person.

Let not therefore, right dear and elect Ladie, any worldly or politick impediments, or vnlikelyhoods, no fleshly feares diffidence or delays, stop or hinder you from speaking to her Maiesty on our behalf, before she go out of this citie; least we by your default herein perish in her absence, having no assured stay or respite of our lives; and our malignant adversaries readie to watch any occasion for the shedding of our blood, as we by those two neer and miraculous escapes have found. Onely,

good Madame, do your diligent indeavour herein, and commit the successe as we also with you shall, vnto God in our prayers: which howsoever it fall out, magnified be the blessed name of God in these our mortall bodies, whether by life or by death. His mighty hand, that hath hitherto vpholden vs, assist vs to the finishing vp this last part of our warfare, to the vanquishing of our last enemy death with all his terrors, and to the atteyning of that crowne of glorie which is purchased for vs in the blood of Christ, layd vp and surely kept for vs in the hand of God: and not onely for vs, but for all that keep the faith and commaundements of Iesus. Of which number, noble Ladie, I hear and hope you are, and shal not cease (God willing) whiles I heer live, to further the same vnto you by my prayers & vtmost indeavours. His grace and blessing, the prayers of the saincts, and myne vnworthy service be with you. This 4. or 5. of the 4. moneth [i.e., 4 or 5 April]. 1593.

*Your Honors humbly at commaundement during life,  
condemned of men but received of God:*

Henry Barrowe.



## IX

### THREE EARLY BARROWIST PETITIONS.

The humble, most earnest, & Lamentable Complaint  
& Supplication, of the persecuted & proscribed  
Church & Servantes of CHRIST, falsely called  
Brownists: Vnto the high Court of Parlament./<sup>1</sup>

**T**he most high God, possessor of Heaven & Earth bringeth  
at this present before *Your Lordships* & *Wisdomes*  
(right Honorable) his owne cause, his owne people, his  
owne sworne & most trecherous Enimies, together with  
the most shamefull vsage of his truth & servantes that  
ever hath been heard of in the dayes of Sions professed  
peace & tranquillitie.

His Cause & People he offreth vnto your consideration &  
defence in our profession & persons: his Enimies &  
theyr outrage against his truth & servantes, in the  
persons & bloody proceedinges of y<sup>e</sup> Prelates of this  
Land & theyr Complices.

Wee professe y<sup>e</sup> same Faith & Truth of y<sup>e</sup> Gospel which  
her Maiestie, which your *Lordships*, this Whole Land,  
& all y<sup>e</sup> reformed Churches vnder Heaven this day doo  
hold & mainteine. Wee goe beyond them (beeing our  
only falt, even in y<sup>e</sup> iudgment of our most tyrannicall &  
savadge enimies) in y<sup>e</sup> detestation of all Popery, y<sup>e</sup>  
most fearefull Antichristian Religion; & drawe neerer  
in some poinctes by our practise vnto Christs holy

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 150, in the British Museum. This petition was  
written between March 4 and 11, 1592/3.

order & Institution. This is our faith, this is our cause (right Honorable) yea the Lordes Cause in our sinfull handes.

For the profession & maintenance of Which Faith, the forenamed Enimies of GoD deteine in theyr handes Within the Prisons about London (not to speake of other Gaoles throughout the Land) about threescore & twelue persons, men & Woemen young & old, lying in cold, hunger, dungeons & Yrons: Of which number they haue taken the Lordes day last, beeing the 4<sup>th</sup> of this .3. Moneth March 1592 about some .56. persons hearing y<sup>e</sup> Word of GoD truly taught, praying & praying GoD for his favors shewed vnto vs, vnto her Maiestie, Your *Lordships*, & this whole Land; and desiring our GoD to be mercifull vnto vs, vnto our gracious Prince, & to our Contrey. Beeing employed in these holy actions & no other (as the parties who disturbed them can testifie) they were taken in the very place where y<sup>e</sup> persecuted Church & Martyres were enforced to vse the like exercises in Queene Maryes dayes.

The former number are now vnbayleably committed by the Prelate or Bishop of London &c vnto close (for y<sup>e</sup> most part) severall Prisons: As Brydewell, the Lymboe or dungeon in Newgate; the Fleet, the Marshalsea, the Counters, the Gatehouse, the Clynke, the White Lyon: Wherein wee willingly acknowledge the Lott & inheritance in this life of our Fore-fathers & Brethren the holy Martires of y<sup>e</sup> former age, and y<sup>e</sup> entayled Aeldema or bloody possession of the Sea of London & y<sup>e</sup> whole linadge. Well, heere our Brethren lye (how long Lord holy & true thow knowest) in dungeons, in hunger, in cold, in nakednes & all outward distresse: For those bloody men will allowe them neyther meate, drinke, fyre, lodging, nor suffer anie whose heartes the Lord would stirr vp for their releif to haue accesse vnto them, purposinge belike to emprison them vnto death, as they haue doon 17 or 18 others in the same noysome Gaoles within these .6. yeeres.

The Wife & Husband beeing now taken by them, they permit not to be in y<sup>e</sup> same, but haue sent them to be closely kept in diuerse Prisons: What they poore familie doth at home in y<sup>e</sup> meane tyme your *Lordships* may consider & iustly pittie. Some of this companie had not anie penie about them When they were sent vnto close Prison; nor anie thing beeing abrode (*which* is the case of the most of them, if not of all) to procure themselves & theyr poore families anie maintenance, saue only their handy labors & trades. Whereby it is come to passe, y<sup>t</sup> these enimies of GoD doo not only starue & vndooe a number of men in Prison, but even a lamentable companie of poore Orphanes & seruantes abrode. Their vnbridled sclanders; Their lawlesse priue serches; Their violent breaking open & rifling of *our* houses; Their lamentable & barbarous vsage of woemen & young Children in these hostile assaults; Theyr vncontrolled theeuerye, robbing & taking of whatsoever they thinke meete *from vs* in this case; Their vnappesed and mercillesse pursuite of *vs* from our houses, trades, wives, Children; But specially from y<sup>e</sup> holy societie of y<sup>e</sup> *Saintes* & Church of GoD wee are enforced to omitt, lest wee should bee over tedious vnto *Your Lordships*. But theyr dealing this way toward *vs* is so woefull (right Honorable) as wee may truly demaund w<sup>t</sup> greife of heart, whether the forreigne Enimie or our naturall Contrymen doo possesse & beare rule over *vs* in our deare & natiue Contrey./

Their whole dealing heerein is most barbarous, most inhumane, but especially most vnchristian, & such as exceedeth the crueltie, of the heathen & popish professed Tyrantes & persecuto<sup>rs</sup>. The Records of the heathen persecution vnder Nero, Traian, Decius, Galienus, Maximinian, &c. can scant afford *vs* anie examples of the like crueltie & havock: For the heathen Romans would murther openly & professedly; These godlesse men haue put the blood of warre about them in the day of that peace & truce *which* this Land

professeth to hold w<sup>t</sup> Iesus Christ & his servantes. Bishop Boner, Storye, Weston, delt not after this sort: For those whome they committed close, they Would also eyther feed, or permit to be fedd by others; And they brought them in short space openly into Smythfeild to end their miserie, & to begin theyr never ending ioye. whereas Bishop Elmar, D. Stanope, & M<sup>r</sup> Iustice Young w<sup>t</sup> the rest of that persecuting & bloodthirstie facultie doo neyther of these. No Fellons, no Murtherers, No Traytors in this Land are thus delt with.

There are manie of vs by the mercy of GoD still out of theyr handes. The former holy exercises & profession Wee purpose not to leaue by the assistance of our GoD. Wee haue as good warrant to reiect y<sup>e</sup> Ordinances of AntiChrist, & to labor for y<sup>e</sup> recoverie of CHRISTS holy Institucions, as *our* Fathers & Brethren in Queene Maryes dayes had to doo y<sup>e</sup> like. And wee doubt not if *our* Cause were truly knowne vnto her *Maiestie* & *Your* wisdomes, but wee should finde greater favor then they did, whereas *our* estate now is far more lamentable./  
 And therefore wee humbly & earnestly craue of her *Maiestie* & *Your Lordships* both for our selues abrode, & for our Brethren now in miserable captivitie but iust & equall tryall according to her *Maiestis* [*sic*] Lawes. If wee prooue not our Adversaries to bee in a most pestilent & godlesse course, both in regard of theyr Offices & theyr proceedings in them, and our selues to bee in y<sup>e</sup> right way, wee desire not to have the benefit of her *Maiestis* true & faithfull Subiects, *which* of all earthly favors wee accompt to bee one of the greatest. Are wee malefactors? Are wee anie wise vndutifull vnto our Prince? Maineteine wee anie errors? Let vs then bee iudicially convicted thereof, & delyvered to the Civill authoritie; But let not these bloody men both accuse, condemne & closely murther after this sort, contrarie to lawe, æquitie & Conscience, Where they

alone are the plaintiffes, the accusers, the Iudges, and the Executioners of theyr most fearefull & barbarous tyrannie.

They should not by the Lawes of this Land goe anie further in Cases of Religion then theyr owne Ecclesiasticall censures, and then referre vs vnto y<sup>e</sup> Civill power. Their Fore-fathers Gardyner, Boner, Story, delt thus equally And wee Craue but this æquitie. Oh Let her excellent *Maiestie* our Sovereigne & Your *Honours* consider & accord vnto this our iust petition. For streames of innocent blood are likely to bee spilt in secret by these bloodthirstie men, except her *Maiestie* & Your *Honours* doo take order with theyr most cruell & inhumane procedinges

Wee craue for all of vs but the Libertie eyther to dye openly or to lyve openly in y<sup>e</sup> Land of our nativit[i]e. If wee deserue death, it beseemeth the *Maiestie* of Iustice not to see v[s] closely murdered, yea starved to death with hunger & colde, & stifled in lothsome dongeons. If wee be guyltlesse, wee craue but y<sup>e</sup> benefit of our innocencie Viz. That wee may haue peace to serve our GoD & our Prince in the place of the sepulchres of our Fathers./

Thus protesting *our* innocencie, complayning of violence & Wrong, & crying for Iustice on the behalfe & in the name of y<sup>e</sup> righteous Iudge the GoD of æquitie & iustice, Wee contynue our prayers vnto him for her *Maiestie* & your *Honours*, whose heartes wee beseech him to encline toward this our most æquall & iust suite, Through CHRIST IESVS our Lord./

[The humble  
Petition of  
[the imprisoned Barrowists]

[“To the...Magistrates of our Most mercifull  
soueraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth in their  
seuerall places”.]

For Goddes sake  
 For Queene Elizabeths sake  
 For Englandes sake &  
 For *your* owne sake  
     pervse yt With favoure  
     Yt tendethe to  
     mercy & vnitie]<sup>1</sup>

[Written just after the death of Barrowe and Greenwood in 1593.]

The firste parte of  
 A tretise conteyning Motions touching  
 Mercie & vnitie

Sent by a few of those whoe are falslie & Maliciouslie called  
 Brownistes.

For Christes sake, For Queene Elizabeths, For  
 Englandes sake, and for *your* owne sakes<sup>2</sup>

peruse it, &  
 Neglect it not

If the confession of offence against her *Maiestie*, in some  
*faltes* escaped in those bookes and the suffering death for yt by  
 the Two principall doers, may be found sufficient punishment in  
 conscience, for the qualletie of those faltes: The Lord graunte  
 that None maye diswade her highnes from her Wonted Mercy,  
 but that some may have Will and power to *perswade* her grace  
 to *pardon* all former offences in theis poinctes, : And it shalbe a  
 Warning to vs all to looke better vnto that w<sup>ch</sup> our penns lay  
 downe (quia litera scripta manet), And We shall also be the  
 more bounde, to praise our God, and to pray Vnto him for her  
*Maiesties* most longe & prosperous raigne, and the *present* &  
 ever lasting comfort of her soule and boddie. /

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 2-7, in the British Museum. Throughout the text here given words enclosed by dark brackets are such as have been inserted by the corrector of the Petition.

<sup>2</sup> The person who wrote this petition forms many of his small "m"s and "w"s, and even some other letters, with a long preliminary curved stroke of the pen, so that they much resemble capital, or if one may so express it, semi-capital, letters. When thus formed they are here given as capitals.

To the most honorable & Worshipfull Magistrates of our Most mercifull soueraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth in their seuerall places (specially her highnes moste honorable privie counsell, in their digneties, her reverend Iudges in their seates, the right honorable the Lord Maior of London, and the Worshipfull Iustices there in their roomes) To all & euerie of them, aboundaunce of heavenly Wisdome be Muteplied./

**I**n Most humble and lamentable manner beseech your honnours and worshipp, a fewe of the poore people, falslie and Maliciouslie called Brownistes, in behalfe of our selves at libertie, and more then Threskore [three score] poore prisoners now shut vp in the seuerall Gaoles and prisons of this most noble Cittie. That whereas all the bookes, letters, wrytinges, examinacions speeches and accions of anie *particuler person*, or of the whole congregacion, are vndoubtedlie knowne to be quite contrarie to Infidells, Papistes, and Atheistes. And whereas none can prove that we hold anie heresie, or Mainteyne anie filthines amongst vs, (the thought whereof we thanke our God we abhorre) And lastlie, Whereas we doe here protest before his heavenly *Maiestie* (whoe knoweth all secrettes) that we hartelie desyer the glorie of our God to shine more and more in this nacion by increase of true holines and Godliness in all the people thereof even *with intire and fervent love* to him, our Queene and one an other, togeather *with the abundant peace plenty and prosperretie* of our Countrie, and all this vnder the longe and most blessed government of our dread and soueraigne Ladie and Queene Elizabeth to Melchisedeches age, yf such be his good pleasure (whose princelie spirites and boddie we praye that he will refreshe or renew as he doth the Eagles Bill) Yt may therefore please your honnours and worshipp for Godes sake to increase all charitable thoughtes of vs, and to be Mercifull vnto vs as our heavenlie Father is mercifull, and as our noble Queene doth plentifully and daylie ymitate \*\* him therein: Hereof we have late experience by her highnes prolonging\*\* our deare M<sup>r</sup> Barrowes and M<sup>r</sup> Greenewoods life, when the instrumentes, and Man and sheetes and flowers and grave,

“\*\* [From margin.] sequens pagina expungatur [?] (in fine)”

of death Were all prepared, and they both reddie (as they had lived together like Two Turtles) to yeld vp their sperites together (like Two lambs) in all meekenes and obedience: Now blessed be our God for such a ruler of his people; Let them deepelie repent or *perishe* foreuer that once seeke one drop of her bloud, or peece of her land, or blemishe to her renowme. What is our cheife request in this Introduction? Having Twoe or Three Motions concerning Mercy, and more touching vnetie, whereby we verelie hope that this controversie shalbe the sooner taken vp, Wee most humblie beseech You to harken vnto them with patience and then to favour them so farre as they shalbe found Godlie, lawfull & convenient. Ye reuerend Magistrates, ye Godes (so called in the scriptures, because yow are in his stede to doe righteous Iudgment vppon the earth) Hath not the almightie given yow vnderstanding to trye the depth of all attemptes within this land? Wee trust he hath, Oh search vs deeper then, try our wayes, And if none can alleadge anie thing against vs save onelie this one error (yf it be so) touching the law of our God. deale tenderlie with tender consciences: Wee are Yet *perswaded* that we shold shew our selves disobedient and vnthankfull to our maker, except we hold fast this cause: Yow know not how rich his mercie hath ben vnto vs, for we verelie suppose that yow never offended his divine *Maiestie* so much or so often as most of vs have donne (like the prodigall childe, yea like Mary Magdelin) But he hath wasshed vs & clensed vs, and given vs vnspeakable Ioye and peace of conscience sence we came to this companie: Mervell not then at our zeale, but pittie vs and helpe vs wherein yow know it to be a Misse. Behold a people wholly bent & vowed to serve the God of heaven in that course w<sup>ch</sup> they may *perceive* to be most tending to holines & righteousnes. Yf your honnours & Worshippes can bring anie to shew vs that We shall doe more true service to our God, our Queene and Countrie by comyng to the *parish* assemblies, verelie we will harken vnto them without obstinacy (& o that some of yow wold be the Witnesses and Iudges). Alas it is not our worldlie ease to be thus tossed as we are, yt is onely this matter of conscience that causeth all our sufferinges, and your troubles with vs./

like poore  
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Wherefore for Christe Iesus sake (whose true *seruautes* we strive to be) for Queene Elizabeths sake, (whose true *subiectes* we are,) For Englandes sake (whose loving Countrymen we remaine) and for the honnour of *your* owne names and helth of *your* owne soules, let no man cause yow to fixe *your* eies and *your* thoughtes whollie vppon that our supposed *falte* (or *falt* indeede) but rather vppon some holie and Mercifull meane [whereby] this our too much heate may be cooled and tempered (yf it be adust [*sic*]) in all meekenes & love: [?] Howe? As becommeth them, that wold spend their blood against the Pope and Spanishe Kinge to deale with those that are most willing to doe the like: As it becometh Englishmen to deale with Englishmen, Protestantes with Protestantes, Fathers with their children, and breifely Christians with Christians: Men & Fathers yf yow cannot helpe vs presentlie, yet suffer vs to ease our hartes a litle by expressing our Woundes sorrowes and suites at large (even as a childe mourneth to the nurse) vnder God, we have no helpe but our Queene and Yow. And whoe knoweth Whether he will (even this Mournefull Moneth) by increasing our afflictions, cause yow to behold our loyaltie and innocency More then ever yow did, And thereby release vs the sooner, The Mercy of God, and the Mercifull inclinacion of our most gracious Queene, doth feede vs with vndoubted hope, that so manie of [the rest of] vs as cannot be found Traito<sup>rs</sup> or Herretickes, shall [yet] fynde favour & pardon. The God of Daniel, our Most mercifull Father, graunte all true Wisdome & prosperetie to our most gratious Queene Elizabeth, and to as manie of yow and yours as desyer to increase in true feare and love & service of that mighty God of Izraell. Amen.

Motions tending to mercy

First That it may please *your* honnours and worships (the 1  
promysse christianlie pondered) never to hearken vnto them,  
Whoe shall goe aboute to perswade Yow that this people  
deserve the like terror and punishment, as treacherous and  
Idolatrous Papistes doe./

Secondlie, That yt may please yow to take order for releasing 2

theis pore distressed protestantes, freele from those contagious Gaoles, yf that may stand with lawe and conscience./

- 3 Orels, To baile them vppon sufficient securetie, to answer at a reasonable Warning vnto whatsoever shall be obiected against them./
- 4 Lastlie, yf it be not thought convenient that Wee her *Maiesties* naturall and loving subiectes shold have the same libertie graunted vs in the Worship of God, W<sup>ch</sup> her highnes giveth to strangers, French, Dutche, and Italian (sithe our practise is no othe[r] in every cheife poinct, then that of theirs, and Geneua, and all other reformed Churches.) Yet that we maye have Summam misericordiam, Not summum ius: Sed quorsum hec de Gallis. &c: ? Inuidus alterius? Non equidem inuidemus (honoratissimi et nobillissimi viri) miramur magis vndique totis vsque a deo &c. En nos &c: (sed tempus non datur).

The other motions tending to vnitie (w<sup>ch</sup> wee trust wilbe acceptable to *your* honnours and Worshippes) shalbe now [alsoe] delivered to yow [and more partes] God willing very shortlie, yf theis firste, and the Women that bring them doe fynde such favour in *your* eies, as not to be turned back or Misliked: Otherwise wee know not what course to take (so greate is our Misery and want of men and Meanes to expresse it) Wee are like enough to offend in not Wryting with such discession as we ought, and they in not delivering with such modestie as they shold: But wee are simple men, and they are silly Women. Therefore howsoever either Wee now or others of late have failed in Manner or matter, Wee most humblie beseech *your* honnours and *worshippes* to be *perswaded*, that it was not for lack of care and conscience, but onelie for Want of Iudgment and experience, and therefore to *pardon* vs the sooner: If he that hath but his foote out of ioynct can scarce doe anie thing currantly, What can they doe whoe have [all] their cheife members troubled and almoste quite cut of? No Marvell yf their accons [*sic*, for "accions"] be distempered (some too violent, some too cold) In such a case have we ben theise manie Weekes The knee (as it were) is faine to ronne for the foote and a few litle fingers

(w<sup>ch</sup> cold never helpe them selves) to labour for the Whole bodie: Howbeit we truste that in such tymes and cases, your *Lordships & Worshippes* will ymmitate all Godly men of trades (si liceat magna paruis) when Children or *seruautes* are sent vnto them, they Will give better Ware and Measure, and dispatch them sooner then yf the *parentes* them selves shold come to buye: Necessety compelleth vs to make mone & signes vnto yow: Ah barre vs not of that comfort for then shall our greate distresse be made vnspeakable. Heu, quanta miseria est, in tormento, nec vocem, nec pennam, nec signum habere: O vos qui Dij appellamini, nolite istiusmodi silentiam iniungere: ferme omnes perimus (dolore et paupertate oppressi) Iuniores carent gubernatione, et aliqui seniores sepulti sunt: si non remedium statim, saltem lachrymas suspiria, Declarationes, supplicationes, et verba concedite (presertim matri pro filio, sorori pro fratre vxori pro marito) Aliter, regia (quasi) petendi via obstructa erit, quod adhuc non factum esse vidimus (Deo gratias) Ecce feminas petentes pro charissimis suis in causa lamentabili, cum motionibus honestis, legitimis et pijs: Estote misericordes, qui sub Deo et Elizabetha ([ipsius] Ancilla Regina nostra) iudicatis et gubernatis Angliam.

In all humble and pittifull manner Wee intreate Yow not to make question whoe shold begynne to releive vs: But as we have ioyned Yow all in one humble petition: soe all of yow to ioyne togeather in one Christian compassion and euerie one in his place according to his lawfull *aucthoritie* to helpe vs: The cause whie We made our direction thus generall, was, to the ende that one or a few coppies might passe from manie handes to manie hartes: Wee beseech Yow then, send our papers from one to an other, & lett our lamentable case remaine in Your bosome till there be some godlie & Mercifull order taken for vs./

- \*\* Whereas We spake of her *maiesties* imitation of God in
- \*\* mercy, lest some might misconster [*sic*] vs as liers or flatterers, thus We say. We are *persuaded* that their reprove as from her highnes, was in mercy, and that their execution (sone

after) Was rather importuned & hastened by others then easily consented vnto by her grace For hath she not ben alwaies very mercifull to her veriest enemies? Therefore howsoever yt fell out, we still retaine a good hope of her *maiesties* favour towardes vs when God shall fynd meanes to revele our inocencie vnto her, and still we pray that nothing may withdrawe our loiall [?] hartes from her<sup>1</sup>

[The second  
parte]

Motions tending to Vnitie

- 1 That yf we maie not heare publique conference for anie inconvenience (in regard Whereof it were better We shold suffer Mischeif) Yet that our Teachers may (in our hearing yf it be thought Meete,) have such as Was graunted Campion and his fellowes
- 2 Orels, That there may be some conference betwene ij or iij of either side, before a good number of your honnours and worships in some private Chamber, the Manie questions agreed vpon before hand (with preparacion by fasting and prayer) and when the tyme commes [?] omytting all tauntes and by Matters, onely searching the truth in love. To the touchstone, To the lawe and the Testament.
- 3 Orels such a conference as was graunted Hart, the Papist. Yf it be obiected that none of our side are Worthie to be thus disputed or Wrytten With (publiquelie nor privately) Wee thinke that this will prove the contrary viz, because there are 3. or 4 in this Cittie and More els Where, Whoe have ben zealous preachers in the *parish* assemblies, Not ignorant in the Lattin Greeke & Hebrew tongues (nor otherwayes vnlernd) and generally confessed to be of honest conversacion. To be breife, as gentle and lerned M<sup>r</sup> Reynoldes of Oxford and others like him are yet alive, so are there right honorable and godlie disposed *personages* of sir Frauncis Walsinghams mynde (and

<sup>1</sup> The corrector of the petition evidently wished this paragraph omitted from the text, as he has expressed in Latin in the margin of fol. 2 verso.

alyance and mynde), Whoe have power Wee know, and good Will we hope to furdre such lawfull Mocions tending to so good purposes./

If these mocions take effect wee are verely *perswaded* that the controvercy Will soone ende (with all or moste of vs) For by theis Meanes shall Wee poore Wretches whoe onelie Make this sepperacion (as knoweth the Lord) for love we have to kepe his commaundimentes and for feare to disobey him, *perceive* more plainly Whether (as men & simple soules) we be deceived by a false light, orells (as his deare children (for soe we hope) honored and trusted with the first view of and faithfull standing in a cause of holines and righteousnes. Wherefore in most humble and earnest manner, and even as yow feare God and love righteousnes (and as yow strive to resemble him in liking better of them that are hott, then of those that are luke Warne) We intreate *your* honnours and Worshippes to labour in obteyning theis or some better Mocions for procuring vnitie and Mercy, that the blessinges *promysed* to Mercifull Men and peacemakers, maye light vpon Yow and yours, and the curses threatened for the contrary maye be farre from Yow. Ye reuerend Magistrates and noble guides of this most florrishing common Welth, We beseech Yow againe and againe in the Lord Iesus, searche *your* selves narrowlie when Yow seeke him whome your soule loueth. and thinke how yow wold desyer to be dealt with yf yow were in our case, and so deale with vs and our Teachers; If yow suppose them and vs to be in a greivous error, for common humanities sake (were there no further cause) let vs not *perishe* either secretly in prisons or openlie by execucion for want of that vtermost helpe w<sup>ch</sup> lyeth in *your* power to afford them that are not obstinate./

If anie adversary shall obiect that we are Worthie of close ymprisonmentes in Most contageous ayre, withoute bayle, and vnworthie of having or hearing anie greate prepared conference or of anie favour because some of vs have ben conferred with already, and yet remaine in greate error as lerned men Iudge, We make this answer, and praye eache one of tender harte to ponder it deepelie./

God forbid that all they whoe [erre] greatly in some opinions

shold have no other Meanes to convert them but sodden vnequall conferences by [startes][?] (with snatching & [?] and Catching) without good order and indifferent hearing and Iudges, (such have all or the moste of our conferences ben) and then yf they Will not by and by yeild, be thought Worthie of as bad prisons as theeves and Roges: The holy ghoste seemeth to be of another Mynde. 2 Tim. 2. 24, 25, 26. even towardes those Whoe are in the snare of the Devill taken prisoners by him to doe his Will (can We be worse then such) And also Galla. 6. 1, 2, 3, O that the Bishshopes and all the zealous preachers of this land, wold aske their owne hartes whether we [have] ben soundlie and lovinglie delt with according to these rules. If they be true Pasto<sup>rs</sup> to vs, then though we goe a straye and be intangled in errors (as silly sheepe with thornes) yet ought they to follow vs seeke vs vp, and vnlose vs with all tendernes (not so much for feare of loosing of our fleecce as of our soules.) The love of a naturall brother is greate, and Will not easely cease, but more of a naturall Mother but much More of a supernaturall father (such are Pasto<sup>rs</sup> and therefore they Will not easely give over the leaste and leanest of their flocke, though he have a greate disease, a greate error): O why then doe these or anie of them so revile vs in their bookes & common speeches, Whie doe they Wishe and perswade the Civil Magistrate to deale With vs by the sword and not by the Word, by prisons and Not by perswations, Whie doe they vse vs thus whiles we praye for them and wish them no more harme then we desyer to our owne soules and bodies, naye whilest we grone and longe to heare some of them, so wee might doe it with a saife conscience? Is there no other remedy but yf wee erre We must be thus dealt With? Alas our first parentes Adam and Eve did fall: The Patriarkes had their faltes, the holiest Prophetes Were not free from them, the Appostles erred and dissented, The Auncient Fathers of the Prymative Church retracted divers opinions, greate *parliamentes* & generall counsells have fouly erred The lerned of this age, Yea of this land, (, Naye of one profession and Church) differ very Much in Iudgment aboute moste of the same poinctes w<sup>ch</sup> we doe, And whoe is cleere from

synne error & ignoraunce But so longe as men are not in herresy nor in trechery, Nor in filthie conceiptes nor in obstinacy but erring (yf they doe faile) on the right hand in poinctes uncondempned, still hating all falce wayes and loving the pathes of righteousnes, thus long there is apparant Mercy in the Moste high, and so is there in those Pasto<sup>rs</sup>, those Magistrates those people Whoe have feeling compassion (when God bringes meanes Whereby they vnderstand the truth of accions.) As for dungeons, Irons, close ymprisonment, honger, cold, want of meanes to mainteyne their famulies [?], theise may cause some to make shipwrack of a good conscyence or to lose their life, but they are not fitt Wayes to perswade [honest men] to anie truth or diswade them from errors. /

Her Maiestie hath shewed greate Mercy to [her] vndoubted enemies, the trecherous Papistes. What then Wold her Maiestie shew to vs yf she knew that w<sup>ch</sup> some of yow doe now see. O that her grace and Yow did vnderstand of all our accions, and did see [the] seu<sup>er</sup>all declaracions of our faith and loyalty (longe sence penned) Wee shold not then be longe in such hazard of vtter spoyle to our bodyes and Myndes (of evel ayre and dyet) and of the poore remnant of our goodes, and of our famulies [?] distruc<sup>ti</sup>on through lack of guiding. Doubtles right honorable & Worshipfull vnles there be some speedie & Mercifull order taken With vs, both Wee our selves are like to perishe in the gaoles (as divers of our bretheren & sisters have donne) and our famulies [?] & housholdes fall to vtur ruen and decaye through Want of government and teaching. / [Alas (reverend Fathers) What is Youth Without governement? and What governement can there be in those howses whose shop Windowes are alwaies shut, Whose masters are continuall prisoners, Whose dames [?] are dayly cold sutors, and whose teachers & overseers are so enclosed as they cannot performe any dutie vnto them vpon the Lordes day, or wekely from howse to howse] Mercifull Magistrates yf anie of yow fynde the bowells of your Christian compassion stirred by theise lamentable yet true reportes, let not your eyes rest untill your heartes have made a promise to cause your tonges to speake, and Your bodies to labour for Mercy & vnetie. And the God

of righteousnes graunte that Yow maye fynde peace & favour with him in the dayes of trouble, sicknes, and death (whereto all flesh is subiect). Amen. /

To the right honorable Syr . Roe<sup>1</sup> nowe Lord major of  
London abundance of all blessinges be multiplied  
to Goddes glorie

Right honorable seinge God disposeth of everie action (accordinge to his surpassinge Wisedome) and sith he and his Angelles behold all the doinges of men, We humblie beseche yo<sup>u</sup> to consider with your self that yt is not without some providence of his (to your good if you deale mercifullie) that these thinges touchinge Mercy and Vnitie are first brought to your *Lordships* handes: Many of our bretheren are in the prisons belonginge to your Libertie, Nowe as your Citie is accounted the most noble (even as the Princes chamber) and as You are the honorable and chefe officer therein, so we beseche our God that your *Lordship* may be made a noble honorable & Worthy instrument in bringinge these twoe most blessed and acceptable thinges (in the sight of God & man) to good passe: If we sent you vile thinges (dishorable [dishonorable] to God our Queene & Contrey) ought you not to make the superior magistrates acquainted with them? surely you ought: But howe if we acquaint your *Lordship* with honest motions (tendinge to the glorie of God, the honour of her maiestie and the benefit of our Contrey) should you not doe the like? dowltes you should: If you hide yt or neglect yt, yet the almighty may fynd waies to bring yt to the sight of her highnes right honorable Counsell and her graces reverend Iudges: But if you vouch-safe to be a charitable and godlie meane for effectinge such lawfull & conscionable [?] Suites, You shall dischardge the dutie of a most honorable officer of a most famous & populous Citie, and we and all ours shalbe

<sup>1</sup> Evidently Sir William Rowe, but Joseph Hayden in his "Book of Dignities", London, 1890, appears to give Sir William's year of office as 9 November, 1591, to 9 November, 1592. It is not unlikely that during this time of trouble and imprisonment the separatist leaders had forgotten that a new Lord Mayor had already assumed the dignities of that position.



the more bound to pray vnto our God that he will blesse your Mayraltie with all manner blessinges of trewe peace (both inward & outward) and of healthe, with all other prosperities soe as may tend most to his owne glory and your and our comfort in hym: And that he will continnewe those blessinges to your successors and to all England in such sorte as moche happines may redound to you & vs and all her maiesties dominions for many Yeares (if yt be his will) vnder the blessed governement of our most gracious Zoueraigne Ladie & Queene Elizabeth

Amen

The humble Petition of her  
highnes faithfull Subiects falsly  
called Brownistes [of 1597]<sup>1</sup>.

.....

To the Right Honorable the Lords of her  
Maiesties most honorable priuie Councill:

**W**hereas wee her Maiesties naturall borne Subiectes true and Loyall now lyving many of vs in other Countries as Men exiled her highnes Domynions, and the rest which remaine within her Graces land greatlie distressed thorough imprisonment and other great troubles sustained onlie for some matters of conscience in which our most lamentable estate, wee cannot in that measure performe the dutie of Subiectes, as wee desier. And also Wheareas meanes is now offered for our beeing in a forraigne and farre Countrie which lieth to the West from hence in the Province of Canada where by the providence of the Almighty, and her Maiesties most gracious fauour, wee may not onlie worshippe god as wee are in conscience perswaded by his Word, but also doe vnto her Maiestie and our Country great good service, and in tyme also greatlie annoy that bloodie and persecuting Spaniard about the Baye of Mexico. Our most humble suite is that it may please Your Honors to bee a meanes vnto her excellent Maiestie that with her most gracious

<sup>1</sup> S. P., Dom., Elizabeth, 1593, Vol. 246 (No. 56), in the Public Record Office, London.

fauour and protection wee may peaceablie Depart thither, and there remaying to bee accounted her *Maiesties* faithfull and loving Subiectes, to whom wee owe all dutie and obedience in the Lord. Promising heerebie, and takeing god to record who searcheth the hartes of all people. That wheresoeuer wee become wee will by the grace of god liue and die faithfull to her highnes and this Land of our Natiuitie: /

## X

HITHERTO UNNOTICED TESTIMONY CONFIRMING ROBERT  
BROWNE'S OPINION OF THE REFORMATION IN SCOT-  
LAND AS PUBLISHED IN RICHARD BANCROFT'S SERMON  
PREACHED AT PAUL'S CROSS: TOGETHER WITH SOME  
OF THE GROUNDS ON WHICH ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT  
RECOMMENDED BANCROFT'S APPOINTMENT AS BISHOP  
OF LONDON

[A Letter of Sir Robert Naunton to Dr. J. Copcoat, Master of Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, relating to the publication of Richard Bancroft's famous "Sermon preached at Pavles Crosse", and dated November 12, 1589.]<sup>1</sup>

Sir My Humble dutie to *your* Worship precommended &c. [?] The ould inveterate [?] grudg conceived by this Clergie against m<sup>r</sup> Doctour Bancrofte for meer meddling with their anarchie [?] here established; how soeuer it seemed for a time to have bene divested or at least voyded [?] together with such cholericke humours & termes of splene as they disgorged their stomaches of at y<sup>e</sup> first receipt: yet is it at length descried [?] to haue impostuned [?] & rankled inward [?] all this while, by y<sup>e</sup> late fostering & drawing to a heade *which* we [?] here perceive allready [?], and is like er longe to breake out to some further annoyance there, if discrete remedie be not foreseene in time. A man wold hardly beleewe that such professours of Charitie, should be such retainers of enmitie Et tamen istos si quis forte vel verbo commoverit, manet alta mente repostum. etiam plumbeas iras gerunt [?]. He that shall heare their protested sinceritie & see their practised extremitie he may iustly exclaime with that Poeticall admiracion—*tantaé ne animis*

<sup>1</sup> Add. MS. 32,092. fol. 106-7, in the British Museum.

coelestibus irae? At y<sup>e</sup> first publishing of M<sup>r</sup> Bancrofts sermon, there was nothing but breathing out threatninges of I know not what Canonically confutation to be set forth by y<sup>e</sup> generall consent of their provincially Synode, anathematizing as well y<sup>e</sup> readers [?] as y<sup>e</sup> authour of that schismaticall libell for so it pleased some of their brotherhoods to intitulate [?] that booke). Since when, either vpon their kings earnest intreatie (his Highnes standing so intirely well affected to y<sup>e</sup> interteignement & preservacion of all good amitie betwene the two Crownes) or rather bethinking them selves that there was nothing in that sermon which might gall them any way, but was literally derived out of the acts of their owne parlement declared by publicke autoritie, they have vpon mature deliberacion (vt sunt istorum hominum secundae cogitationes aliquanto saniores) revoked that purpose of controverting y<sup>e</sup> matter by pen for feare of ripping vp their old sores & vncouering y<sup>e</sup> shame of their reformacion [?] alla Scotcese (y<sup>e</sup> searching wherof they haue no list to heare of) but haue reserved notwithstanding [?] y<sup>e</sup> rancour of their brotherly *μνησικακία* still boyling in their brests, till the first opportunitie shold serve [?]. when to belche it forth. To which intent waiting all pacience still [?] swelling [?] on without vent, might at length indanger them to brast [burst] for envie like Asops tode, they haue taken their advantage of the time present persuading them selves that now in absence of their kinge (of whose sailing into Norway to fetch home his *Queene* I doubt not but you have heard long since) bearing so highe a saile in y<sup>e</sup> state as they do, & being earnestly moved from her *Maiestie* to performe all good offices [?] they may to keepe this people on good terms till their Soueraines returne (wherein I denye not but their endeouours haue bene well employed) & therupon presuming that this is their time wherein to make their market in England. Her *Maiestie* having promised them all good Correspondence in recompence of their paines taken for y<sup>e</sup> peaceable qualificacion of her vnruely neighbours in so dangerous a time [?]; they made resort to my L. Ambassador here, acquainting him with their [?] greife [?], craving his assistance for their redresse, & offring their *lettres*

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of Complainge vnto her *Maiesty* of such & such abuses against y<sup>e</sup> puritie of their reformation[?] not only committed by one of her *Highnes* subiects, but permitted & allowed by her *Highnes* publicke autoritie to their[?] greate slander, scandale & I know not what. My L. having received late instructions from y<sup>e</sup> Councel to put in execution all good meanes he mought to winne & reteine[?] their kindnes in a time so necessarye (& therefore[?] being to temporise & second them in all their motives[?] in convenient sorte) had much adoe[?] to[?] withstand their vrgent importunitie with all the earnest intreatie he could make for the delaie of their Complainge herein, alleging that how fitt soeuer the *present* might seeme to serve their turne for exhibiting of their supplicacion, yet that it was on y<sup>e</sup> other side as vnseasonable a time for her *Maiestie* to intende their redresse, being so encombred as she now is with diuerse other her greate affaires both domesticall & forein[?], promising that if they woulde referre y<sup>e</sup> matter to him, he would of him selfe worke privatelie for their satisfaction as he could, or at least to watche them a fiter time to present their complaints with better hope of taking place &c. And so after much debating to & fro they were intreated[?] thoughe halfe malecontente to suppress their supplicacion till some better opportunity, not dessembling[?] y<sup>e</sup><sup>er</sup> purpose to selicite her *Highnes* further herein by some other extraordinarie meanes, vnles some speedy satisfaction were procured by my L<sup>d</sup> dealing to that effecte. Wherupon being glad of so fitte an opportunity[?] to declare my due regard of my humble dutie & service aswell to my Lords grace as to your worship hereof, I vndertoke to my L. *Ambassador* that he would aduertise your worship thereof in such time, as my L<sup>ds</sup> grace might take knowledge of their designements before hand, the better to prevent any such inconuenience as might insue hereupon, specially in such a time wherein her *Maiestie* having so necessarie occasion to vse their service here, may happilie be drawn the rather to respecte y<sup>e</sup> [?] importunitie of their Clamorous complaints whatsoever. I may please your worship to acquainte my Lords grace herewith if so you shall thinke good & to recommend my L. *Ambassadors* most affectionate

devocion to his Honour, who (if[?] he might presume so farre) wold gladly knowe his graces direction how to deale therein, or otherwise to imparte it to m<sup>r</sup> Bancrofte that he may the better bethinke him selfe[?] postquam irritavit hos crabrones quibus armis aut consilijs horum aculeis eatur obviam. Sunt enim & Stoicis sua πάθη, & his etiam Sanctis sua bilis. Nimirum quod in alijs scelus, id in his zelus quid n<sup>j</sup> habeatur? And so most humbly presenting my humble dutie & service, craving your best acceptance of my perfite[?] good meaning herein how soeuer imperfectly vttered, I cease further to be tedious to your worship.

At *Edenburgh* this xij<sup>th</sup> of November 1589.

Your worships most intirely devoted

R. Naunton

[A Letter of Richard Bancroft's, dated December 23, 1589, also relating to his Sermon at Paul's Cross.]<sup>1</sup>

To my good frend M<sup>r</sup>  
Nanton attendinde  
vpon y<sup>e</sup> L: Embassador  
in Scotland.

Good M<sup>r</sup> Nanton. Althoughe we have no acquaintance together, yet by the letter yow writt not longe since to D<sup>r</sup> Copcot I find my selfe exceedingly beholden vnto yow. Towching the effect of which letter there hath been consideration taken by my good Frenedes. I had written a letter to the chief of the great Rabbies: but bicawse I am certaynly enformed that there is a booke written agaynst my sermon which shall without doubt be printed I have thought good with some advice to stay the same. It appeareth likewise by your letter how greatly I am bownd to my L: Embassador: I doubt not but that both my L: of Canterbury and my L: Chauncelor who are acquainted therwithall will give him thankes on my behalfe. The truth is I had no intent to have offended any of the

<sup>1</sup> Egerton MS. 2598 (fol. 242-3) in the British Museum.

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ministers there [in Scotland]. Yow know we are pressed with examples of other Churches to the imbracinge of that most counterfeyt and falsly patched vp government *which* is tearmed the presbitery, a meere humane device devised by shiftinge and sleight, attayned by tyranny and bloud, and mainteyned with vntollerable pride and *with* most straunge boldnes in expoundinge the scriptures and falsifyinge of all antiquitye. In *which* respect I thought it agreable *with* my duty and the since beinge called to that place to give warninge by the miserable estate of the Church of Scotland least we should fall into the like desolation. But howsoever it is taken I shall be redy for them: especially if I may crave your favor by satisfyinge the *particular* poyntes conteyned in the sheet of *paper* here inclosed. For other matters towchinge the course *which* hath been held for the erectinge of that government ever since Iames the fite I am well acquainted *with* yt. I have read of the last stratageme and exploit at Strivelinge when the kinge was taken. But *peradventure* yow may learne more therof then is mentioned in our English late Chronicle of Scotland. For of that poynt I have litle more then there is conteyned. Furthermore I doe *perceave* vpon diverse occasions that the chiefest of the ministers of Scotland (especially M<sup>r</sup> Melvin [probably Andrew Melville]) have procured sondry lettres from M<sup>r</sup> Beza and other learned men beyond the seas concerninge theyr ratefyinge of the Church government there established. Which lettres or the cotypes of them if by the strength of your device yow be able to compasse they will greatly pleasure me. For thereby it will appere what very false reportes have been made by them both of the kinge and of the Bishopes there. Vpon which vntrue suggestions the sayd learned men did write otherwise then they wold have done if they had knowen the truth, I can not see how yow can accomplish this poynt except yow insinuate your selfe into them as one desirous to embrace theyr devices if yow might see the same confirmed by the iudgmentes of Beza and other learned men of Fraunce &c: Therupon *peradventure* they will show yow the sayd lettres. If also yow could procure the Cotypes of theyr owne lettres sent to Beza &c that were notable what paynes yow shall be

pleased to take herein, and to certifie me thereof from time to time whilst yow stay there yow may signify vnto me with all securitye if yow direct your lettres to M<sup>r</sup> Ashly one of the Clarkes of her *Majesties* privy counsell. But I wold have yow to seale such lettres as yow write vnto me and to inclose them in a letter to him of my direction to yow and then I am sure he will be very carefull to deliver them vnto me. M<sup>r</sup> D<sup>r</sup> Copcott my very frend I thinke will ioyn with me for your good favor in the premises: Yow may thereby as I suppose furnishe your selfe with good experience: and if hereafter yow shall have any occasion wherin I may doe yow any pleasure assure your selfe yow shall commaund me. And so with my harty commendations I committ yow to god: from Lambeth y<sup>e</sup> 23 of December, 1589.

Your Lovinge frend

Rich: Bancrofte<sup>1</sup>.

[Some of the "Reasons alledged by the Arch *Bishop* of Canterbury, for D<sup>r</sup> (Richard) Bancroft's being promoted to the *Bishoprick* of London."]<sup>2</sup>

"He was by his diligent search the first Detector of Martin Mar<sup>r</sup>Prelats Press & Books, where & by whom they were printed<sup>3</sup>.

"He was an especiall Man, that gave the Instructions, to her *Majesties* learned Council, when Martin's Agents, were brought into the Star Chamber.

"By his advice, that Course was taken, *which* did principally stop Martin & his Fellow's [*sic*] mouths viz: to have them answered after their own vein in writing.

"By his diligence to find out certain Letters & writings,

<sup>1</sup> Only the signature and the words beginning with "from Lambeth" are in Bancroft's own handwriting.

<sup>2</sup> Baker MS. 36, pp. 333-5, in the University Library, Cambridge. It is possible that the original manuscript of which this is a copy, is to be found in Harleian MSS. 6848 or 6849 in the British Museum. I think that I have somewhere seen the original.

<sup>3</sup> P. 333.



Hearre o King, and dispise not y<sup>e</sup>  
counsell of y<sup>e</sup> poore, and let their  
complaints come before thee.

The King is a mortall man, o not God  
therefore hath no power, over y<sup>e</sup> immortall  
soules of his subiects, to make lawes &  
ordinances for them, and to set spirituall  
Lords over them.

If the King have authority to make  
spirituall Lords & lawes, then he is  
an immortall God, and not a mortall  
man.

O King, be not seduced by deceivers  
to sine so against God, whom thou  
oughtest to obey, nor against thy  
poore subiects who ought and will  
obey thee in all thinges with body  
life and goods, or els let their lives  
be taken from y<sup>e</sup> earth.

God Save y<sup>e</sup> King.

Spittlesfield  
nizare London.

Tho. Helwys.

THOMAS HELWYS' AUTOGRAPH INSCRIPTION TO KING JAMES I,  
1612. See Vol. I., page 252.



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Mr: Cartwright & his complices, their setting up their Discipline secretly in most shires of the Realm, their Classes, their Decrees, & Book of Discipline were first detected.”<sup>1</sup>

“By his only diligence, Penry's seditious writings were intercepted as they came out of Scotland, & delivered to the now *Lord Keeper*.

“His earnest desire, to have the slanderous Libels, against her Majestie answered, & some pains of his taken therein, wold not be omitted because they show his true Affection, & & [*sic*] dutifull heart unto her Highness.”<sup>2</sup>

“Though he hath been carefull & zealous to suppress some sort of Sectaries, yet hath he therein shewed, no tyrannous Disposition, but with mildness & kind dealing, when it was expedient, hath reclaimed diverse.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. 334.

<sup>2</sup> P. 334.

<sup>3</sup> P. 335.

## XI

THE NAMES OF VARIOUS PERSONS WHO HAD BEEN MEMBERS OF FRANCIS JOHNSON'S CONGREGATION BEFORE 1613, INCLUDING THE NAMES OF SOME WHO HAD WITHDRAWN FROM IT OR BEEN EXCOMMUNICATED, AND OF OTHERS WHO HAD BECOME WANDERERS

GATHERED FROM GEORGE JOHNSON'S "A discourse of some troubles/", 1603; from "The Prophane Schisme of the Brownists or Separatists", 1612; and from Christopher Lawne's "Brovvnisme Tvrned The In-side out-ward", 1613

W. Adams

Henry [Henrie] Ainsworth

R. Appleby

William Asplin (?)

William Barbor [? Barbones<sup>1</sup>]

Elizabeth Bates

Robert Bayly [Baylie]

Mr. Bellot [Arthur (?) Billet]

Edward Benet

Mr. & Mrs. Thomas Bishop [Bishopp]

Francis Blackwell

Christopher Bowman, deacon, later an elder.

—— Braithwait, deacon.

Robert Bulward, excommunicated.

Thomas Canadine

Mr. Castel

Alexander Carpenter

Richard Clarke

<sup>1</sup> See E. Pagitt's "Heresiography", fourth edition, London, 1647, 4<sup>o</sup>, p. 65.

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George Cleaton

John Clifton

John [Jean] de Cluse [de l'Ecluse]

Thomas Cocky

Anne Colyer

G.[eorge] Colyer

Mr. Crud

Christopher Dickons

G. Dickons

William Eiles

John Fovvler

R. Frank

William Gilgate, Ainsworthian, formerly a minister in England.

Mr. Greene

Mr. Hales [? Halies]

Mother Heas

Mistresse Hinton

Judith Holder

William Holder

Henrie Homline

I. Huntley

Cvth.[bert] Hvttten(?)

Mr. Isaac

Robert Iackson

Lewis Jenkins

Francis Johnson & his wife Mrs.

Tomison Johnson

George Johnson

Iacob Johnson, who had returned to England before 1603.

John Johnson, Francis Johnson's father.

Mr. Knifton, an Elder.

Christopher Lavvne

Charles Leigh, Captain of the "Hopewell" in which Francis Johnson and Daniel Studley sailed for Canada.

Mr. [Nicholas?] Ley [? Lee]

Richard Mansfield, Ainsworthian.

G. Marshal

George Martin

Henry May

Marie May [Maie], "the victualler".

Stanshal Mercer

Philipp Merriman, in 1603 a man of sixty years of age, who had been excommunicated "about 20. Years".

Thomas Michel [Mitchell]

John Nicholas

Thomas Odal

Mr. Onyon

[Mrs (?) Catherine Onyon (?)]

Richard Ore

— Pecksall, "the Prophet".

Father Perriman

John Phelps

T. Pring

Abraham Pulbery [Pulburie]

Widdow Roules

Clement Sanders

Mat.[thew] Savnders [?]

Mr. [Thomas] Settel, a preacher, and about 1595 prisoner in the "GateHouse", London. [By 1609 he was in Norfolk.]

W. Simson, an Ainsworthian (?).

Mr. [Matthew?] Slade, once an Elder.

Daniel Studley

Mr. & Mrs. Sutheby

Ioseph Tattam

Anthony Thatcher

Martin Thatcher

Edward Tolwine

John Trappes

Ellen Vpton

B. W.

Roger Waterer

I. Whatley

I. Wheler

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Geffrey Whittakers

“vandering brethren, (vandering starres)”, who go “hither  
and thither / to and from England abiding in no certaine  
place.”

John Beacham

William Shepheard

John Nicholas

Richard Paris

David Bristoe

William Houlder.

## XII

### TWO DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN THE BARROWISTS AND THOMAS DRAKES

[The “Seven Demands” of Francis Johnson  
and his Followers, 1595.]<sup>1</sup>

SEVEN QVESTIONS which have ben propounded  
to divers of the Ministers of these assemblyes, with  
request that they would aunswer them directly and  
sincerely from the Scriptures. Which also still is  
desired at theyr hands.

1 **W**Hether the Lord Iesus Christ have by his last  
Testament given vnto and set in his Church,  
sufficient ordinary offices, with theyr calling, vvorks,  
and maintenance, for the administration of his holy things, and

<sup>1</sup> First published on page 141 of [Francis Johnson’s] “A TREATISE | [Device] Of the Ministry of the Church | of England. | Wherein is handled this question, | Whether it be to be separated from, | or joynd vnto. | ... | Also in the end of the treatise, | Some notes touching the Lordes prayer. | SEVEN QVESTIONS. | ...” The work is a quarto, chiefly printed in Gothic Letter. No date or place of printing is given, but on p. 137 at the close of the main text is the date 1595. In the above citation I do not distinguish between the Gothic and the Roman type.

Wil[liam] Euring in his “Ansvver to the Ten Covnter Demands Propovnded by T. Drakes”, 1619, fortunately gives on Sigs. A<sub>2</sub> verso, and A<sub>3</sub> recto and verso, a copy of the Barrowists’ “7 Demands”, and remarks that they had been “propounded” “some good space since”. Euring modifies the text a good deal in section 2, and slightly in some of the other sections. Without Euring’s copy the original publication of the “7 Demands” might never have been identified as Francis Johnson’s “Seven Questions” printed almost twenty-five years before Drakes’ “Ten Counter Demands”. At this period the word “demand” evidently could be used as a synonym for the word “question”.



for the sufficient ordinary instruction guydance and service of his Church, to the end of the world, or no ?

2. Whether the offices of Pastors, Teachers, Elders, Deacons and Helpers, be those offices appoynted by Christ in his Testament, as aforesaid ? Or whether the present ecclesiasticall offices of Archbishops, Lordbishops, Suffraganes, Deanes, Subdeanes, Prebendaryes, Chauncelors, Priests, Deacons or half Priests, Archdeacons, Subdeacons, Commissaryes, Officials, Doctors, Proctors, Registers, Scribes, Apparitors, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, Stipendaryes, Vagrant peachers, Chapleynes or howse priests, Canons, Petticanons, Gospellers, Epistlers, Chaunters, Virgerers, Queristers, Organ-players, Churchwardens, Sidemen, Collectors, Clerks, Sextans, and the rest now had in these Cathedrall and parishionall assemblyes, be those offices appoynted by Christ in his Testament, as is aforesayd, or no ?

3. Whether the calling and entrance into these ecclesiasticall offices last aforesayd, theyr administration, and maintenance, now had and retheyned in England, be the maner of calling, administration, and maintenance, which Christ hath appoynted for the offices of his Church aboue named, or no ?

4. Whether every true visible Church be not a company of people called and separated out from the world and the false worship and wayes thereof by the word of God, and ioyned together in fellowship of the Gospell, by voluntary profession of the faith and obedience of Christ ? And whether the ecclesiasticall assemblyes of this land be such, or no ?

5. Whether the Sacraments [being seales of righteousnes which is by faith] may be administred to any other then the faithfull and theyr seed, or in any other Ministry and maner thẽ is prescribed by Iesus Christ the Apostle and high Priest of our profession ? And whether they be not otherwise administred in the Cathedrall and parishionall assemblyes of England at this day ?

6. Whether the book of common prayer with the feasts, fasts, holy dayes stinted prayers and leiturgy, prescribed therein and vsed in these assemblyes, be the true worship of God commaunded in his word, or the devise and invention of Man, for Gods worship and service.

7. Whether all Churches and people (without exception) be not bound in religion onely to receyv ãd submit vnto that Ministry, vvorship, and order which Christ as Lord and King hath given ãd appoynted to his Church: Or whether any man receyv and joyne vnto another, devised by man, for the service of God? And consequently, whether they which ioyne to the present ecclesiasticall Ministry, vvorship, and order of these Cathedrall and parishionall assemblies, can be assured by the word of God they ioyne to the former ordeyned by Christ and not to the latter invented by Man, for the worship and service of God?

¶ Let him that readeth, consider.

[Woodcut border at the bottom of the page]

[Sig. A recto]

[Device]

Αντερωτήματα Thomæ Draks.<sup>1</sup>

T E N C O V N T E R -  
D E M A V N D S P R O -

pounded to those of the Separation,  
(or *English* Donatists) to be directly, and  
*distinctly answered.*<sup>2</sup>

1.



Hether, that their rent, Schisme, and Separation from the Church and Congregations of *England*, can (in any probabilitie) bee pleasing vnto God, seeing, it hath such vnhappy beginnings, the *a* first founder of it, comming to

*Maister Bolton.* *Iudas* his shamefull and fearfull ende, hanging himselfe: and  
*Maister Browne.* the *b* second totally recanting it, and reioyning himselfe to our

<sup>1</sup> The “*s*” in “*Draks*” is very indistinctly printed and might easily be taken for an *z*, but I think that the reading here given is preferable.

<sup>2</sup> This work appears to have been composed of only four leaves and to have had no separate title-page. The last page is blank. No date and no place of printing are given, but the date is probably 1618 or 1619. It is uncertain whether the pages were numbered. There are a number of marginal corrections in the copy I have seen.

Church, as diuers of their proselites doe daily: seeing also it hath had so small encreases, and so many dismall and fatall euent, and diuisions: one side excommunicating the other, some of them turning Anabaptists, and *c* others dying and distracted, by reason of irresolution.

*Maister Nowell  
of Sheldon in  
Warwicke-shire,  
&c.*

2. Whether, that the quintessenced profession, Religion and discipline of these *Nouations* and *In-*

A *nouators,*

[Sig. A verso] [Ten Counterdemands.]

*nouators*, as it standeth in opposition to the Church of *England*, and the rest of the reformed Churches) can bee of God, or, haue any approbation from God, seeing that it hath no vertue, power and efficacy in it (as the Gospell preached in our English assemblies by Gods blessing abundantly hath) to winne, conuert, and drawe vnto their partie and profession, *Atheists, Papists, Heretikes, rude, profane* and *ignorant people*: The Apostles, Euangelists, and ther [marginal correction: their] holy successors, conuerted all sorts vnto God, but these refined reformers, onely seduce the sound, and peruert and estrange from vs, those, that are otherwise well affected, and of some vnderstanding and make them twofold more refractary then themselues.

3. Whether that (in the very separatists conscience) our reformed assemblies, (wherein the Gospell of Christ is sincerely preached and professed, and the Sacraments duly and rightly administred) are worse then the Iewes *Synagogues*, in which notwithstanding Christ his *Apostles* preached; & our *Ministers*, worse then the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, that sat in *Moses* Chaire, when [marginal correction: whom] *Christ* commandeth the people to heare, and obserue and doe, whatsoever (according to *Moses* Lawe) they did bid them obserue. Wherefore (to reason *à minore ad maius*) if our Lord Iesus, his Disciples, and the people did not separate from their *Synagogues* and assemblies, that were in faith and maners farre more defectiue then ours are, much lesse ought they to separate from our Church and assemblies, wherein, all the grounds of Christian Religion are soundly held, and professed.

Mat. 23. v. 2. 3.

4. Whe-

[Sig. A 2 recto] *Ten Counterdemands.*

4. Whether that those great multitudes of people (though  
 Mat. 14. 13. hitherto wanting the pretended Church-constitution of the  
 14. 15. 16. 17. Separatists) that euen fasting heard our Lord Iesus preach, and  
 Ioh. 6. 5. 10. professed themselues his Disciples, (albeit many of them were  
 11. drawn, not by doctrine but by miracles, report, & with a desire  
 to be fed) can with any reason bee denied to bee members of  
 Ioh. 6. 27. the visible Church, and whither those three thousands [marginal  
 correction: thousand] which blessed *Peter* at one Sermon  
 conuerted (for they were baptized, continued in the Apostles  
 doctrine, fellowship, breaking of bread and praiers.) were not,  
 before that Presbyters and Deacons were chosen, true members  
 of a visible Church, and this cannot bee refuted, and why are  
 not our Church assemblies in *England*, (much more grounded  
 in the truth) &c. a true visible Church? and then with what  
 Act. 2. 37. 38. conscience, doe, or can these Separatists sequester and rent  
 41. themselues from them?

5. Whether, (to ascend no higher, and neerer the Apostles  
 to me [marginal correction: time] as I might) that in *Con-*  
*stantines* [marginal correction: *Constantine*] the first Christian  
*Emperours* time, and euer since vnto M<sup>r</sup>. *John Caluins* dayes,  
 for the space of some thirteene hundred yeares, there was no  
 Christian Churches in *Asia*, *Africke*, *Europe*, because they had  
 the same outward constitution, formal State, *Bishops*, *Arch-*  
*bishops*, *Metropolitans*, & Church-gouernment (for substance and  
 substance of doctrine) that our English Church hath, and  
 retaineth. And if those were true visible Churches, why are  
 not ours (also?)

6. Whether, that the reformed Churches in the

A 2

lower

[Sig. A 2 verso] *Ten Counterdemands.*

lower, and higher *Germany*, in *France*, the Church of *Geneua*  
 &c. (that come neerer to their constitution and discipline, then  
 ours doe in England,) bee true visible Churches, or no? if they  
 be such, why then doe they not adioyne themselues to some of  
 them, but distast them as much as they doe ours? And why

doe they not in iudgment assent vnto any or all of those reformed Churches, that with a ioynt consent (as may appeare by the harmonie of Confession [marginal correction: Confessions]) acknowledge the Church of England to be a true visible Church, and giue vnto it the right-hand of fellowship? how dare they refuse such a cloude of witnesses? will these *μυρόσοφοι* put out all their eyes? is there no Church in the world but their Platonick Idea?

7. How can the Church, or, Church-assemblies of England, bee false, Antichristian, bastardized, wherein the Gospell, is so soundly and solemnly and substantially taught and professed, and the Sacraments, so rightly administred and receiued, whose Bible translations, (specially the last English translation done by his Maiesty [marginal correction: Maiesties] command) are so pure, that the very Separatists rest in them: wherein are so many thousands, yea hundred thousands of true Converts and orthodoxe Christians, that hath bred and brought forth so many excellent and renowned *Martyrs*, who haue sealed the trueth of our religion with their blood, and died members of the protestant Churches; wherein so many Christian *exiles* are comfortably harboured, wherein so many sound, religious and learned *Pastors, Doctors, Preachers*, as (for proportion) no Country in the world

can

[Sig. A 3 recto] *Ten Counterdemands.*

can afford the like; and by whose doctrine, writings, disputes, (not to speake of the Magistrates sword) the *Romish Ierico* hath bin more shaken, and the second beast the Antichrist, more fatally wounded, then by any nationall Church whatsoever: and which Church, and the members thereof, haue beene so wonderfully blessed and protected, and so strangly deliuered from the rage, tumults, designes, treasons, conspiracies of the Romish Antichrist and all his adherents: and in which Churches (as one of the princiall [principall] Separatists I. R. [? Iohn Robinson] in his admonition *ad lectorem*, in his owne name and in the name of his faction, lately prefixed before the third booke of M. Robert Parker, de politia ecclesi. [title underlined by the

corrector] pag. 368. confesseth, that the grace of God by the Gospell, in respect of the cheife heads of true Christian faith, by diuers of the faithfull preached, doth so abound, that there are very many godly and holy men in these assemblies, both of Reformitants and Conformatants, which they acknowledge for brethren in Christ &c. We haue (by their owne confession) sound faith, and holinesse, why then doe they or how dare they sunder and rent themselues from such a Church, and why will they for accidents and circumstances, denie and renounce the substance of a Church? And if they (vpon bettercōsideration [*sic*]) esteēe [marginal correction: esteeme] vs brethren, with what warrant cā they seperate from holy brethren in Christ, *is it not good and pleasant for to see brethren to dwell together in vnitie?* Did not the conuerts in S. Peters dayes continue dayly with one accord in the Temple &c. And why doe not our Separatists[,] who would  
be

[Sig. A 3 verso] *Ten Counterdemanunds.* [*sic*]

accounted? [*sic*, and the interrogation point has been crossed out by the corrector] conuerted Saints[,] imitate them. must wee leaue and forsake a goodly Cittie, for the weaknesse of *the walls?*

Act. 2. 46.

8. How can the formall state (as they call it) of the *Provinciall, Diocesan, Cathedrall & Parishionall* Churches of England, and the regiment thereof, be vnlawfull, papall, Antichristian? And how doe, or, can the Lawes of the land, and Ecclesiasticall Cannons confirme it? seeing that the name, calling & office of BB: [Bishop] whether we respect ordination of ministers or power of iurisdiction, is (as hath ben, & will be proued) for substance expressed in diuers places of the new Testament; seeing, it hath had a continuall succession from the Apostles time to this day, as all auncient Fathers and Counsells acknowledge: and seeing that (at least) this formall estate of *Diocesan, Parishionall* and *Cathedrall* Churches, hath bin in vse, long before Antichrist was hatched, for the Pope was not Antichrist before he had gotten the Title of vniuersall Bishop, nor complete vntill he had gotten into his hands both swords, that is, both Ciuill and Ecclesiasticall *Dominion*: Doth

Anno. 1607.

not euery Bishop amongst vs, euery Pastor and ecclesiasticall officer, abiure the *Prpes* [marginal correction: *Popes*] vsurped supremacie? Doe not our statutes, and Cannons directly make againg [marginal correction: against] papistry and Idolafry [marginal correction: Idolatry]? What will Sathan expell Sathan, and will the members of Antichrist fight against Antichrist? And admitt all bee, as you pretend, doe we not (at least) kill Antichrist with his owne sword and weapons?

9. Whether, any new lawes can, or ought to be enacted, or any further reformation made without  
the

[Sig. A 4 recto] *Ten Counterdemands.*

the Christian Princes or Magistrates consent, or euer in a well ordered Church hath bene enacted, or made [marginal correction: “:”] and whether, they haue done well, to seperate with, [*sic*, with the comma crossed out by the corrector] out the Kings Maiesties leaue and licence, and consent of the state?

10. Whether, it were not the separatists best course, toreturue [*sic*] to Gods true Church and people, from which (vpon some concealed hard dealing) they haue made an vnlawfull rent, and therein to confer with the best learned, and if still their consciences be somewhat tender, to supplicate for some fauour and liberty, or if they will not take this course, whether it were not good for them, for the avoiding  
of scandall, and in expectance of some prosperous successe, by the permission of our noble King, and honourable Council:<sup>1</sup> to remoue into *Virginia*, and make a plantation there, in  
hope to conuert infidels to Christianitie?

FINIS.

<sup>1</sup> *Sic*, but the colon has been crossed out by the corrector.

### XIII

#### PAPERS OF HENRY JACOB'S WRITTEN DURING THE YEARS 1603—1605

[A Copy of the Text of Henry Jacob's Letter to the Puritan Preachers, sent from Woodstreet, London, on June 30, 1603, with the accompanying form to be signed for use in connection with the presentation of the Millenary Petition to King James I.]<sup>1</sup>

Moreover I ame to let you vnderstand, y<sup>t</sup> many learned and godly ministers *are about to exhibite* to y<sup>e</sup> Kings maiestie à Petition, for the reformation of thinges amisse to our Church. Whervnto à consent of as many, as conveniently we can gett, is very behooefull [?]. my opinion and truste is concerninge you, that you wilbe, not only à *partaker*, but also à furtherer of this Christian dewty; I haue sent you heere inclosed, y<sup>e</sup> forme to be subscribed by all such as haue good-will [?] to this purpose./ I praye you, let me haue an awnswaere [?] heerof from you, asone [as soon] as you may; with so many of your well affected frends hands therevnto as shalbe thought good./ It is not intended, that your names shalbe rashly shewed to any mans preiudice, but reserved to a fitt opportunity, if we shall *perceave* that they altogether beinge brought forth, will further our desires and sute; of y<sup>e</sup> good succese wherof, we conceive good hope, thanks be to god./ Thus beseechinge god to keepe and saintify vs for his service and to geue vs Wisedome in all

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6849, fol. 254.



things. I bid you hartely farewell. Woodstreet in London.  
30. of Iune 1603.

Yours to his powre,

Henry Iacoob

I could Wishe you to conferre with  
Dr. Airey about this matter.

---

The copie of Henry Iacoob his letters,  
Written to procter Dale; and by him  
shewed to m<sup>r</sup> Searchfeeld.—5. Iulij.  
and by him shewed, to .R. H.—6°. Iulij.  
1603.

The copie of the subscription

We whose names are vnder Written, doe agree to *make our humble* petition to y<sup>e</sup> Kings maiestie that y<sup>e</sup> *present state of our Church* may be further *reformed in all things* needfull accordinge to the rule of godes holy woord, and agreeable to example of other reformed Churches, which haue restored both the doctryne and disciplyne, as it was *deliuered by our Sauior Christ*, and his holy Apostells.

[The Text of a later, undated, general Letter, also sent from Woodstreet by Henry Jacob with an abbreviated text of the earlier form of subscription and a list of abuses which the Puritans wished removed.]

[“Mr Iacobs | papers.”]<sup>1</sup>

Reverend, & wellbeloved, notwithstanding I suppose you have ben already written vnto, or at at [*sic*] the least have ben

<sup>1</sup> MS. 113, fol. 242–253, in Lambeth Palace Library, London, first published by me in “The Review and Expositor” (Louisville, Kentucky) for October, 1907, pp. 489–513, under the title, “Lost Prison Papers of Henry Jacob.” This letter, as well as all the following documents here included relating to Jacob, are to be found in the above-mentioned pages of this one manuscript. One paper entitled, “Kneeling in y<sup>e</sup> very act of Eating and Drinking | at the L. Table is simply evill”, as well as some minor jottings by Jacob, I have not attempted to present here.

communicated with by those who have ben written vnto by som from hence to procure a consent of the faithfull Ministers of your Country [?] according to y<sup>e</sup> tenure [?] of y<sup>e</sup> inclosed, yet I thought good againe & that by advice of others heere with vs by a word or two to stirre vp your godly minds to this necessary duty, & the rather because they to whom the blemishes of our Church are profitable & in their conceipt honorable leue no stone vnremoved to hinder a further reformation. Besides the tyme draweth neere wherein the declaration of your consent in y<sup>is</sup> busynes will be of great vse, & therefore y<sup>e</sup> matter requireth the more expedition. It is not intended y<sup>b</sup> your names, which we desyre to be sent vp hither, shall be rashly shewed to your prejudice, but reserved to a fit opportunity if vpon the exhibiting of our petition the same shall be found expedient for y<sup>e</sup> furtherance of our cause, of y<sup>e</sup> good successe whereof we conceave good hope thanks be to God. Thus beseeching God to keepe & sanctify vs for his service & to Give vs wisdom in all things I bid you hastily farewell. Woodstreet in London.

We whose names are vnderwritten do agree to make &c holy word. —. And agreeably &c Apostles. — In particular we desyre the removing of the Ecclesiasticall Courts, y<sup>e</sup> dumb & idle ministers, Nonresidencies, offensive & superstitious Ceremonies, Subscription beyond Law, the Oth ex Officio, Excommunication for trifles, by Lay men, &c.

If any think not good to go so far as the example of other Churches &c let them stay at the first line. If any thinke good to descend into particulars let y<sup>em</sup> go beyond y<sup>e</sup> 2 line, & reckon vp as many & as few as they please.

[An undated Petition written by Henry Jacob to the Bishop of London, requesting that he may be released from imprisonment in the Clink.]<sup>1</sup>

I humbly beseech your Lordship [the Lord Bishop of London] to consider Christianly of my estate. I am committed by your

<sup>1</sup> This petition appears to have been written not long before April 3, 1605.

selfe & others in authority with you for publishing my Treatise, *which* is written only in way of Reasoning & not inveighing against our Church Traditions. I vse not therein any detractation or reproch any way: I do but argu[e ?] & reason the matter, being no new but an ancient controversy amon[g] vs. I beseech you waigh with your selfe, what evill is there in th[is ?] wherein nothing is said but only against Ecclesiasticall Vnwritten Traditions. Specially considering the Evidence *which* is...against them, the consent of many Christian Churches & Writers, my faithfull care to give heerein to Cesar whatsoever is Cesars & to God that *which* is Gods, the necessit[y ?] of mine owne defense & purgation as also this present time of y<sup>e</sup> Kings first entrance, & other circumstances<sup>1</sup>. I hope it is not vnlawfull nor new for Christian Subjects lowly to desyre reformation of such things at the Princes hands. Besids it would have ben thought y<sup>t</sup> The[re ?] had ben small feare of God in vs or respect to y<sup>e</sup> Scriptures honour against vnwritten Traditions (for so still [?] I say we do conceave of this whole matter) if no[ne ?] of vs had now spoken in this cause. We are condemned by many, & verily we oug[ht] so to be as Schismatikes & contentious persons if we should differ from you & yet gi[ve] forth vnto y<sup>e</sup> world no Reasons of our difference. While we were silent & sai[d] nothing we were insulted vpon for a long time together. Now when one of vs doth...some Reasons with all due respect, is it an offense to do it? We have consciences desyrous to serve God by y<sup>e</sup>...of his word *which* move vs to do this thing. Gods word only stayeth y<sup>e</sup> conscience: & these Reasons included [?] are built only...vpon. Let y<sup>e</sup> Reasons therefore [?] be... answered [as ?] you sayed vnto me y<sup>t</sup> they shalbe; & then let obstinacie & perversnes where it is found be censured. The Kin[gs ?] first entrance & setling among vs (whom God long preserve) requireth also of vs that we should shew causes if we will dissent from others: chiefly sith he hath often signified he will reforme whatsoever can be shewed contrary to Gods word. Yea he hath specially willed vs to...by patience & well grounded Reasons to perswade all y<sup>e</sup> rest to like of our ju[dg ?]ments. How can we perswade all y<sup>e</sup> rest to like

<sup>1</sup> I give in this place what seems to have been the original text.

of our judgments, but by publishing Reasons to al[l?] And now [?] seeing I have don no more I beseech you let not y<sup>s</sup> seame so great a fault. Further y<sup>e</sup> pr[o]vokings of many & their vrging vs to shew som reasons, yea their plaine affirming y<sup>t</sup> we have nothing to say for our selves, which not only in speach they expresse very often in most frequent & honorable Assemblies, also in a number of printed bookes, togeather with y<sup>e</sup> generall expectation of all men at y<sup>s</sup> season wi[ll?] excuse (I hope) y<sup>is</sup> y<sup>t</sup> I have don humbly & dutifully. But more y<sup>en</sup> y<sup>is</sup> the Answer from Oxford to y<sup>e</sup> Ministers [?] pe]tition hath vanelly traduced me as a schismatike in y<sup>is</sup> respect. Doth not all equitie & religion per[mit?] me correspondently to publish Reasons for my necessary cleering? I beseech your Lordship waigh with your self these things indifferently. moreover my booke is dedicated to y<sup>e</sup> King to whose godly co[nsi]deration & clemency I do alltogether submit my selfe. His Majestie I hear hath a good while sinc[e] taken knowledge of it. I doubt not his grace is minded y<sup>t</sup> my Reasons (whatsoever they be) should by better grounds of Divinity [be?] reprov'd before I should be thus punished. In my Treatise whatsoever words I have besides Arguments, they all tend to y<sup>is</sup> y<sup>t</sup> we should all dutifully seeke to his Majestie fo[r] reliefe to our consciences in this behalfe, who only hath authority vnder God to give generall redr[esse?] in these things. Where[fore?] I beseech your L. to remember y<sup>t</sup> I freely & from my heart do give y<sup>e</sup> King his just & full supremacie over all persons causes ecclesiasticall whatsoever, reserving no jot of power heer but what is proper to Christ alone. viz. to be our absolut Prophet & sole Teacher in all matters of y<sup>e</sup> Church[.] If Humane discretion will...alone to warrant vs any thing of y<sup>is</sup> sort, we feare him who saithe [he?] will not give any glory to an other. And who can think that Christs Testament is no perfecter in tea[ching?] vs Church matters, then it is in shewing vs Civill? In a word therefore, whatsoever I have wri[tten, (?) or do hold, cometh to y<sup>is</sup> one point (which is y<sup>e</sup> old profession of Protestants) to refuse Vnwritten Ecclesiasticall Traditions or inventions of men. I do in this treatise no more, neither intend I any more, y<sup>e</sup> Lord is witnes. I say of all but as Cyprian said long ago of one Ec-

clesiasticall Tradition: Vnde est ista traditio? Vtrumnè de Dominicâ et Evangelicâ autoritate descendens, aut de Apostolicis preceptis et Epistolis veniens? Implying y<sup>t</sup> otherwise it is to be refused whatsoever it be. And touching y<sup>e</sup> true state of Christs Visible Church, as Chrysostom (if it be his) in y<sup>e</sup> Vnperfect worke saith; *Ecclesia cognoscite tantum oddè per Scripturas.* And as Augustin, *Nec ego, nec tu, sed Christus interrogetur vt indicet Ecclesiam suam. Lege Evangelium, et respondet tibi &c.* which I hope is no evill now for me to affirme likewise. And more y<sup>en</sup> y<sup>is</sup>, or y<sup>t</sup> which necessarily cometh from y<sup>is</sup> I do not affirme. Last of all as I came to your Lordship freely without commandement when only my servant told me from your messinger y<sup>t</sup> your L. would speake with me, so I beseech you deale kindly with me. I beseech you restore me to my poore wife & 4 small children, who without my enlargement are in much distresse.

Your Lorships humble suppliant  
Henry Iacob prisoner in y<sup>e</sup>  
Clink.

To the right reverend the Lord  
Bishop of London.

[Henry Jacob's Copy of his Subscription.]

April. 4. An<sup>o</sup>. 1605.

Whereas allmost 3. quarters of a yeare since I published a booke intituled, *Reasons taken out of Gods word &c.* I do heere faithfully promise to disperse no more of them, nor to be a meanes that any other shall, but to hinder the dispersing of all that shall com into my power.

Also I do promise that I will not speake against y<sup>e</sup> Church-government & orders now among vs established by Law, for the time of my being vpon baile & till I shall see what Reasons against my opinion will com forth within this halfe yeare. Which if I shall perceave to be good & well grounded on Gods word, then I will speake for the said Church-government & orders now established.

Howsoever, I will allwayes heereafter behave my selfe quietly, & as one carefull of the Churches peace, God assisting me.

Henry Iacob.

The first promise I may easily keepe, seeing I have none of those bookes left.

The second limiteth a time viz. *within* this halfe yeare, wherein I forbear to speak against their orders. Yet in y<sup>e</sup> meane while my booke speaketh my minde & judgment most plainly every where.

Thirdly I will allwayes heereafter behave my selfe quietly, *which* also I have don allwayes heeretofore, I praise God.

Let all men vnderstand that touching y<sup>e</sup> first promise I may easily performe it, considering I have never a one of these bookes in my power nor am like to have: except only one *which* I have & will keepe for mine owne vse.

Touching the second I do promise within halfe a yeare not to speak against y<sup>e</sup> publike orders in question. Neither yet in this while am I altogether silent in the cause, for my booke speaketh sufficiently, & sheweth my judgment therein; *which* I still do hold, though for a time I cease to talke against y<sup>e</sup> matters in question.

Touching the third I promise to behave my selfe quietly allwayes heereafter; *which* yet also I have don heeretofore, as my conscience beareth me witnes.

Whosoever do make any other sense of my words they do me wrong. Henry Iacob.

For the time of my baile shall be no longer if it like my selfe. I can appeare before Authoritie & so withdraw my baile at that time, if I think good, & if my baile cease not before. Besides the true construction of y<sup>e</sup> very words do shew y<sup>t</sup> halfe a yeare is the appointed & vttermost terme of this my promise. The 2. clauses are conjoynd & referred together to these words in y<sup>e</sup> end of the sentence [*“within this halfe yeare”*]. Neither can there be any other perfect & proper sense of this whole speach. The Archbishop expressly said to me y<sup>e</sup> day before [i.e., April 3,

1605.], y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> maner of bailes is to be but for a time, & mine should be but for a time, & for no long time. Vnto y<sup>is</sup> I have relation heere where I speake of the time of my being vpon baile.

[The earliest completely developed Independent, or Congregational, Puritan (non-separatist) Catechism in existence: written by Henry Jacob.]<sup>1</sup>

Principles & Foundations  
of Christian Religion.

---

1. Concerning God.

Question.

What doest thou believe concerning God ?

1.  
God.

Answer.

I believe that There is <sup>1</sup>one God <sup>2</sup>Creator & <sup>3</sup>Governor of all things; who is distinguished into the <sup>4</sup>Father, the Sonne, & the Holy Ghost.

2. Concerning Man.

Question.

What doest thou believe concerning Man ?

2.  
Man.

Answer.

All men by Nature are <sup>1</sup>wholly corrupted with sinne through <sup>2</sup>Adams fall; & so are become <sup>3</sup>bond-slaves to Sathan, & subject to eternall damnation.

3. The Author & Principall Meanes  
of Salvation.

Question.

What meanes is there to escape this damnable estate ?

3.  
The Author  
of salvation.

Answer.

The holy & heavenly meanes of salvation given vs of God are of 2. sorts. Principall, & Instrumentall.

<sup>1</sup> This Catechism, though undated, was evidently written in 1604 or 1605.

Question.

What is the Principall meanes ?

Answer.

Hebr. 12. 2. The Principall meanes is Iesus Christ, (yea indeed he is the  
I. Tim. 2. 5. <sup>1</sup>-whole Authour being the eternall Sonne of God & also true  
I. Cor. 3. 10. Man, who perfittly alone by himselfe accomplisheth all things  
Act. 4. 12. that are needfull for the salvation of mankind.  
Ioh. 14. 6.  
Isa. 42. 8.  
I Tim. 3. 16.

4. The Instrumentall Inward meanes.

Question.

What are the Instrumentall meanes of Salvation ?

Answer.

They are of 2. sortes: Inward, & Outward.

Question.

By what Inward meanes is a man made partaker of Christ & his benefits ?

Answer.

A man of a <sup>1</sup>-contrite & humble spirit by Faith alone apprehending & applying to himselfe <sup>2</sup>-[sic] Christ in his 3. maine Offices (that is, as he is our Prophet, King, & Priest) with all his Merits in them, is justified before God & sanctified ? [sic]

Question.

What is Christs Propheticall Office: or what did Christ for vs as he is our Prophet & Teacher. [sic]

Answer.

<sup>1</sup> Ioh. 4. 25 and 16. 13. <sup>1</sup> He himselfe (in his owne word & Testament only) teacheth vs all things Religious as properly belonging to the Church, both Outward & Inward. Wherein standeth his whole true Worship, & the meanes of our salvation.

Question.

What is Christs Kingly Office. [sic]

Answer.

He himselfe alone <sup>1</sup>-ruleth & guideth vs Spiritually. And this is called Christs <sup>2</sup>-Kingdom of grace./



Question.

How may we further know this his Kingdom of Grace ?

Answer.

Christ's Kingdom of Grace heere in this life is of 2. sorts: Inward & Outward. And this later is the meanes & ordinary cause of the former.

Question.

Wherein standeth Christ's Inward spirituall Kingdom ?

Answer.

In that he ruleth & guideth *our* hearts by his Spirit to the obedience of his Law, *which* is his word.

Question.

Wherein is his Outward Spirituall Kingdom ?

Answer.

In that by himselfe or by his Spirit in his Apostles *which* is all one, (& by none other) he constituteth & injoyneth the forme of all his Visible Churches *with* their Ministeries, & admitteth (wheresoever) none other. Also in that he ordinarily ruleth, guideth, & blesseth vs in them only by his owne Ministeries & ordinances, & by none other.

Question.

What is Christ's Priestly Office ?

Answer.

To offer vnto God a Sacrifice allsufficient for all *our* sinnes, *which* he did by his infinit Sufferings [?] in this life, & to make Intercession for vs in Heaven by vertue thereof for ever. And all this in his owne only person without any other *with* him whomsoever.

[Question.]

Doth not Christ save vs only by his death & sufferings ?

Answ.

No; He redeemeth vs in deed only by his death & Sufferings: but he is *our* Saviour & mediator by his Doctrine teaching vs, by his kingdom ruling vs, & by his death once vpon y<sup>e</sup> Gibbet.

That is not by any one, but by all 3. his...& proper Offices apprehended & applied to vs by a true faith.

Question.

What vse hath *our* Sanctification in this life ?

Answer.

Our Sanctification, *our* Obedience to the Word, or our Good works have 2. vses./ 1. They are the fruits & sure witnesses of true faith justifying vs. 2. They are the high way necessary for all men to walke in vnto salvation.

5. The Instrumentall Outward Meanes.

Question.

5.  
Our Outward  
meanes.

What are the ordinary Outward meanes given by Christ for his outward true worship & for *our* obtayning of faith & salvation ?

Answer.

The ordinary Outward meanes (*which* Christ as *our* Prophet & King gave vs & sanctified for vs) are of 2. sortes: Generall, & Speciall.

Question.

What is the ordinary Generall meanes ?

Answer.

The ordinary Generall meanes is, to be joynd a Member in som true Visible or Ministeriall Church of Christ.

Question.

Are there many in the world, or is there only one Vniversall Visible Church ?

Answer.

In the time of the Law there was only one Visible Church vnder one High priest of the Iewes. But since the Gospell went out of Ierusalem into all the world, by y<sup>e</sup> Divine ordinance there allwayes have ben & are many in nomber, & not only One Visible or Ministeriall Church of Christ, as the Catholiks do falsly believe.

Question.

How then do we say in the Creed; I believe the Catholik, y<sup>e</sup> is, the Vniversall Church ?

Answer.

There we signify the Invisible Church Catholik, either Militant, or els the whole number of Gods Elect in Heaven & in Earth. It can not be contrary to y<sup>e</sup> Acts & Writings of y<sup>e</sup> Apostles, where a multitude of proper & distinct Ministeriall Churches are shewed vs: one at Corinth, an other at Antioch, an other at Ephesus & many in Asia, many in Iudea, many in Galatia, Macedonia, &c. &c.

Question.

What is a true Visible or Ministeriall Church of Christ?

Answer.

A true Visible or Ministeriall Church of Christ is a particular Congregation being a spirituall perfect Corporation of Believers, & having power in it selfe immediatly from Christ to administer all Religious meanes of faith to the members thereof.

Question.

How is a Visible Church constituted & gathered?

Answer.

By a free mutuall<sup>r</sup> consent of Believers joyning & covenanting to live as Members of a holy Society together in all religious & vertuous duties as Christ & his Apostles did institute & practise in the Gospell. By such a free mutuall consent also all Civill perfect Corporations did first beginne. Math. 18. 19, 20.

Question.

If every particular Church be an intire Church & independent of any other, how shall Vnitie be preserved & obedience to Magistrats?

Answer.

Vnitie in conscience standeth not vpon one Church or Pastor over the rest, but vpon y<sup>e</sup> one Word & Testament of Christ taught ordinarily by that Church vnto vs whereof we are; as Gods Ordinance is. Also thus <sup>2</sup>most easily <sup>1</sup>may y<sup>e</sup> meanest next dwelling Magistrat <sup>3</sup>rule any Church in outward peace; yea in peace & concord of Religion far more easily & more readily then otherwise.

Question.

What are the ordinary speciall meanes of faith ?

Answer.

In speciall sort faith cometh only by y<sup>e</sup> preaching of the word, & increaseth dayly by it, as also by the administration of the Sacraments, Discipline, & Prayer. And heerein consisteth the whole true outward Worshipping of God.

Question.

What is the Word that is preached vnto vs. [*sic*]

Answer.

It is the Word of God. That is, his Will & Testament revealed & confirmed vnto vs in y<sup>e</sup> holy Scriptures only.

Question.

What is the effect & scope of the Scriptures ?

Answer.

Their scope is to specify & shew most perfectly all the wayes of worshipping God a right, & so also y<sup>e</sup> whole meanes of our salvation.

Question.

Which are the holy Scriptures. [*sic*]

Answer.

The Bookes of y<sup>e</sup> Prophets & the Apostles, called the Old & New Testament.

Question.

From what authority com they ?

Answer.

Those holy men of God (the Prophets & Apostles) writ them as they were inspired by y<sup>e</sup> Holy Ghost.

Question.

How know we that they have Divine authoritie, & were written by inspiration of the Holy Ghost ?

Answer.

First the tradition of all times telleth vs so much. Secondly & chiefly the Heavenly matter contained in them vnder such simplicity of words doth now assure vs of it; with many other like reasons taken out of the Scriptures themselves.

Question.

What short Summe have we of all the holy Scriptures, as concerning any duty *which* we ought to do?

Answer.

The 2. Tables divided into 10. Commandements are a short & perfect Summe of all the Scriptures.

.....<sup>1</sup>

Question.

Is there not then any outward thing Indifferent.

Answer.

Yea, there are many indifferent Civill matters. But of y<sup>e</sup> parts of Divine Service & Church vse, there is nothing at all Indifferent. All such things are heere simply commanded or forbidden.

.....

Question.

How many Sacraments are there; or holy Signes?

Answer.

Two; Baptisme, & the Lords Table. One other also may be reckoned as a holy Signe of lesse dignity & inferior nature; y<sup>t</sup> is, Laying on of hands. But beside these Christs Testament knoweth none.

Question.

Wherein standeth the Churches holy Government [?]

Answer.

In their Election of Ministers, & Their Spiritual Correction of offenders.

<sup>1</sup> The portions here omitted are questions and answers concerning the Commandments.

Question.

Is it Christs ordinance y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> whole Church should Elect their Ministers, & Correct their Offenders ?

Answer.

They are to do no more of necessity, & in their ordinary carriage, but freely to consen[t] to their Guides preparing & directing every matter.

Question.

What Ministers ought the Church to chose for her ordinary guidance & government.

Answer.

A Pastor or Bishop, with Elders, & Deacons.

Question.

What is y<sup>e</sup> Pastors Office ?

Answer.

In Gods & in y<sup>e</sup> Churches Name to administer the Wo[rd, (?)] the holy Signes, the holy Government, & publik Prayer. Not any one, or so[me ?] of these, but all.

Question.

What are the Elders ?

Answer.

The Pastors assistants & coadjutors in y<sup>e</sup> holy government.

Question.

What are the Deacons ?

Answer.

They are faithfull men trusted to gather & distribut y<sup>e</sup> Church[es ?] publik treasure for Ecclesiasticall vses.

Question.

Wherein standeth y<sup>e</sup> Churches spirituall Correction of Offenders *which* is properly called the holy Discipline.

Answer.

In their Admonishing (twise or thrise at least) & Exhorting to repentance, & y<sup>en</sup> in cutting of & Excommunicating y<sup>e</sup> vnrepentan[t.]

Question

What is Prayer?

Answer.

A Calling vpon God in *our* wants & necessities. Whereof y<sup>e</sup> Lords Prayer is a perfect rule & direction for vs.

6. The End of all.

Question

What is the estate of all men after death?

Answer.

6.  
The End  
of all.

All men shall rise againe with their owne bodyes to the last judgment. *Which* being ended, the godly shall possesse the Kingdom of heaven: but the Vnbelievers & wicked shalbe in Hell tormented with the Divell & his Angells for ever.

[A detached Definition by Henry Jacob of a "true Visible or Ministeriall Church of Christ".]

A true Visible or Ministeriall Church of Christ is a constant & comple[te?] societie of Christians or spirituall Body politike ordayned by Christ in his word, *which* any one member the[re] of (having neede) may (& must on occasion) go vnto, consult with, heare & obey intirely & wholly togeather & yet with keeping due order & distinction of degrees the[y] all of them being vnited vnder one Ecclesiasticall government with themselves & proper vnto y<sup>em</sup>.

A third humble Supplication of many faithfull

Subjects in England, falsly called Puritans directed  
to y<sup>e</sup> Kings *Maiestie*. 1605<sup>1</sup>.

In most humble wise doe beseeche your *Maiestie*, a great number through out your realme of your *Maiesties* sworne

<sup>1</sup> Only the title of this "Supplication" was originally written by Henry Jacob, but he evidently corrected it throughout. The document as at first drawn up contained six numbered sections, but Jacob does not seem finally to have approved of this arrangement. I give here therefore the corrected text. The title as originally written was "The second humble Supplication...."

loyall subiectes and most dutifull people. Forasmuch as wee are in conscience throughly *perswaded*, that Gods most holy word in the New Testament is absolutely *perfect*, for delivering the whole maner of Gods worship, the holy government & forme of all his Churches, *particularly* specifying vnto vs all things whatsoever, both inward and outward, great and small therein as y<sup>e</sup> Old Testament did vnto the Iewes, Except only meere circumstances of Tyme, Place, Person &c which have ben, are, and must be variable by necessity of nature; So that wee cannot *perceiue* anie humane Ecclesiasticall tradition whatsoever, as being simply without Gods word, to be lawfull. And yet we *your Maiesties* said loyall Subjects are forced against *our* consciences to submit *our* selves to such vnlawfull Traditions & Inventions of men in y<sup>e</sup> Churches government, ministry, & Divine Service, to the high displeasure of Allmightie God against vs, and the ruine of y<sup>e</sup> soules of many. Considering also that this is a point singularly making to the honor of Christ Iesus, and to the magnifying of his loving care for his Churches, namely to believe that he left vs his word so *perfect* (as hath ben said) in all things Ecclesiasticall and touching the Soule: & contrariwise greatly derogating to Christs personall most perfect Prophetical Office, & also to his Kingly Office to say y<sup>t</sup> he hath not in his word so perfectly provided for vs, but hath left sundry of these things to y<sup>e</sup> discretion of men. And because thus indeed to honor Christ and his word as by this meanes wee shall and ought to doe, no way harmeth the State nor the Princes authority, peace, & [Marginal note: "See our Protestation of y<sup>e</sup> Kings Supremacie."] security; but doth truly aduance & blesse all estates, when they shew them selves helpfull & favorable herein. And Considering that it maketh singularly to vnity and agreement in Religion, when our wholl forme of Ecclesiasticall orders & exercise of religion shall be held by vs to be specified exactly in Scripture. Which happy fruit appeareth comfortably in all those Christian Churches of this day y<sup>t</sup> do want those Traditions & Humane Hierarchie which are among vs. As namely in the in the [*sic*] well ordered and peaceable Churches of the French and Dutch, which by *your Maiesties* gracious protection and allowaunce doe liue within



your Realme, and also in all the Churches of the Countreyes of Fraunce Scotland, Low Countreyes, and your *Maiesties* owne Ilands of Iersey and Garnsey. In these it is much to be regarded (to Gods great praise be it spoken) that there are no open dissentions in matters of religion among them selves but most rare concord; *which* wee think cannot be, nor ever wilbe found elsewhere, where humane Tradicions are professedly observed besides Gods word. As wee see by experience here in England, where greivous distraction of myndes among our selves in pointes of religion appeareth, only because wee are not resolved (as it doth seeme) simple and absolutely to rest on the written word.

All *which* things considered, as also that wee your *Maiesties* sworne loyall subiectes aforesaid haue ben now a great manie Yeres grevously afflicted and molested, defamed, impoverished, yea and otherwise extraordinarily punished, for no other cause in the world, but only for our conscience in the matter before rehersed, *which* yet wee cannot discern, but that it is a most Christian, holy, and right opinion. Therefore it may please your gracious *Maiesty* of your Princly regard towards the glory of God and vs your ever faithfull subiectes, to tolerate and to graunt vnto so manie of vs as shall declare that our consciences are in this respect constreyned and bound before God, to Assemble togeather somewhere publikly to y<sup>e</sup> Service & Worship of God, to vse & enioye peaceably among our selves alone the wholl exercyse of Gods worship and of Church Government viz. by a Pastor, Elder, & Deacons in our [?] severall Assemblie[s] without any tradicion of men whatsoever, according only to the specification of Gods written word and no otherwise, *which* hitherto as yet in this our present State we could never enioye.

- Provided alwayes, that whosoever will enter into this way,
- 1 shall before a Iustice of peace first take the oath of your *Maiesties* supremacy & royall authority as the Lawes of y<sup>e</sup>
  - 2 Land at this present do set forth the same; And shall also afterwards keepe brotherly communion with the rest of our English Churches as they are now established, according as
  - 3 the French and Dutche Churches do; And shall truly pay all paymentes and duties both ecclesiasticall and civill, as at this

present they stand bound to pay in anie respect whatsoever;  
 4 And if anie trespas be committed by anie of them whether Ecclesiastically or Civilly against good order and Christian obedience; That then the same person shalbe dealt withall therein by anie of your *Maiesties* Ciuill Magistrates, and by the same Ecclesiasticall government only wherevnto he ordinarily ioyneth him self, according as to Iustice apperteyneth, and not to be molested by anie other whomsoever.

Most humbly beseeching your *Maiestie* with all, to forbid others to revile vs, & to accuse vs of comitting schisme in this doing, *which* iustly wee know they cannot accuse vs of. Considering that wee doe not pretend herein to haue anie thing but that *which* the Scripture deliuereth even by the opinion of the learnedest that mislike our desyer, Considering also that this is the wholl somme of that *which* wee professe in our differing from our bretheren, namely that the Scriptures are absolutely perfect for vs forever in matters Ecclesiasticall: And this wee are well assured is no Schismaticall assertion. Neither shall it seeme strange wee hope that wee crave here of your *Maiestie*, & of your most honorable Counsell this benefit in Religion only for some, namely for those whose consciences are *perswaded* herein; doing by this practise otherwise then heere-tofore we have don. For seeing wee see, that numbers of Christians of all degrees in England are not yet *perswaded* of this Article of religion (as wee are, and as, wee in the presence of God cannot otherwise choose but be) of whome notwithstanding wee hold our selves bound to think brotherly & charitably: & because we are vndoubtedly sealed in our consciences that for vs there is no way of religion to save *our* soules by ordinarily but only to walke in this way...instituted by Christ in his word. Therefore wee haue thought it best humbly & instantly to seek & crave the same for our selves in maner and forme as is before shewed. *Which* being graunted by your gracious *Maiesty* and by your said most honorable Counsaill it shall doubtles giue much comfort and peace of conscience to manie most loyall subiectes, and shall preiudice no other Protestant whose iudgment is not herein yet informed, & shall procure to y<sup>e</sup> most Excellent Governours

of our State everlasting praise both with God & all good men.

[Part of a Paper apparently written by Henry Jacob nearly a year after his Release from the Clink, and defending his book published in 1604 against the five principal criticisms which had been brought against it.]

A yeare now almost past being in trouble for publishing my little Treatise, intituled *Reasons taken out of Gods word & y<sup>e</sup> best Humane Testimonies proving a Necessitie of Reforming our Churches in England*, I had this answer given me by men in great authoritie, that all the grounds of those my *Reasons* should be shaken & overthrowen by a man of knowen learning who (as I vnderstood otherwise also) had taken in hand the same, & would quickly do it. In y<sup>e</sup> meane while my Treatise was sharply censured by sundry of all sorts in divers points. But specially in these following: 1. Because I resolve vpon this conclusion, y<sup>t</sup> Only a particular ordinary Congregation of Christians, & every such Congregation in y<sup>e</sup> New Testament is appointed & reckoned to be a visible Church...2. Because I affirme y<sup>t</sup> our Ceremonies in controversie in England are parts of Gods Outward worship & Service, albeit invented by men... 3. Because I expound those words of Christ Tell y<sup>e</sup> Church math. 18. 17. of a whole Church intirely & properly taken, as it containeth not only y<sup>e</sup> Guides but y<sup>e</sup> people also...4. Because I affirme that No Synod vnder y<sup>e</sup> Gospell hath power by Gods ordinance to prescribe & rule Ecclesiasticall sundry whole Churches if they severally consent not...5. Because in my Epistle to y<sup>e</sup> Pastors of y<sup>e</sup> Churches in England pag. 81. I vse these words; *Looke to your charge, fullfill your Ministerie wch yo<sup>u</sup> have receaved of y<sup>e</sup> Lord*. Wherein som gathered y<sup>t</sup> *I exhort y<sup>e</sup> Pastors of y<sup>e</sup> Severall Churches in England* who do hold themselves <sup>2</sup>to be *rightly & truly Pastors of their severall flockz*, & <sup>1</sup>not y<sup>e</sup> *Diocesan Bishops Curats & Substitutes*, but <sup>3</sup>themselves to *have properly y<sup>e</sup> charge of their peoples Soules*; that they should *fullfill their Ministerie*, y<sup>t</sup> is, set vp & exercise y<sup>e</sup> Ecclesiasticall Discipline among yem whether y<sup>e</sup> King will or no. To this last point I will first answer. My

meaning & intent in this place is nothing so. But only to do as in y<sup>e</sup> next page I do plainly expresse; *to seeke unto God by prayer & to our most wise & noble King by humble & earnest Suit, both for their owne, for their peoples, yea & for Christs due right.* Which indeed if they obtaine not, then to *consider how they can be in such an Office & not to do y<sup>e</sup> Office, nor intend to do it.* For so they do not, whosoever remaineth & continueth therein still not meddling with y<sup>e</sup> holy Discipline & government meere Ecclesiasticall touching his more particular flocke. And yis albeit I answered by mine owne hand writing heeretofore to y<sup>e</sup> Archbishop of Canterbury privatly, yet I thought it needfull also even in publik to deliver the same. As concerning y<sup>e</sup> other severall matters before going I answered then in y<sup>e</sup> time of my trouble, y<sup>t</sup> if I should perceave from any man Reasons given contrary to my present resolution such as should be *good & well grounded on Gods word*, then I would by Gods grace change my judgment therein. And I promised also, (y<sup>t</sup> it might appeare how ready I was to all Christian reason,) y<sup>t</sup> for a time I would stay my selfe & see what would be brought against my opinion by any man within halfe a yeare, notwithstanding it was given out y<sup>t</sup> out of hand [?] my small treatise should be shaken to pieces. Nothing whereof is performed, nor so much as likely to be performed for ought I heare...<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Later in this MS. Henry Jacob begins an answer to the first four criticisms of his book mentioned above, but this part of his papers only covers two pages, and the presence of these MSS. in Lambeth Palace may indicate that they had been suddenly seized. This document suggests to me that Jacob may have gone to Holland in 1606, instead of in 1605, as I state in Vol. I., p. 290.

## XIV

### AN UNNOTICED LETTER OF THOMAS HELWYS'S

XXVI<sup>th</sup> of September 1608

A note sent by [Thomas] Ellwes [Helwys] one  
of thelders of the Brownest  
Churche, sent to his bretherne<sup>1</sup>

I desire to certefie yo<sup>n</sup> some thinge howe matters goe here [in Amsterdam] w<sup>th</sup> vs, and that concerninge the differences betwixt o<sup>r</sup> bretherne and vs, And therefore we Differ in parte in the m<sup>y</sup>nistrie, worshipp, Goverment, & Treasurý [?] Their ministrie consisteth of Pastors & Teachers, o<sup>m</sup>s of Pastors only, & we approve of no other officers in the minist<sup>r</sup>y but of Pastors. They as partes or meanes of worship read Chapters Textes to preache on, & Psalmes out of the translation, we alreddy as in prayinge, so in prophesinge [?] & singinge Psalmes laye aside the translation, & we suppose yt will prove the truth, that All bookes even the originalles them selves must be layed aside in the tyme of spirituall worshipp, yet still retayninge the readinge, & interpretinge of the Scripturs in the Churche for the preparinge to worshipp, Iudginge of doctrine, decidinge of Controversies as the grounde of o<sup>r</sup> faithe & of o<sup>r</sup> whole profession And thus we refuse not to vse the translation, holdinge them notwithstandinge muche infery<sup>o</sup>r to the originalles. And this we professe & thereof I desire yo<sup>n</sup> to take notice, and to give notice to as manye as possibly yo<sup>n</sup> can, This I assure yo<sup>n</sup> is the truth of o<sup>r</sup> causes nowe in controuersie, whatsoeuer yo<sup>n</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. 709, fol. 117, recto and verso, in Lambeth Palace Library. This introductory description of the letter is written on the back of it in another hand.

heare to the contrary, And hereof assure yo<sup>r</sup> self as farrforth as yo<sup>n</sup> thinke there is any truth in me./ Nowe concerninge the Government, they holde that the presbetory Consisteth of pastors, Teachers, & Rulinge elders Wee holde it Consisteth of pastors only/ For the Treasury they suffer them that are without to Comunycate together with them, and doe not sanctefie their Almes with praye, wee make a seperacion of our Almes from the giftes of Strangers, whiche wee thankfully receive And wee sanctefie the whole Action by praye, before & after, as all the ordenances[?] of God ought to be./ of theis thinges [?] if God permitte [?] Yo<sup>n</sup> shall here more at lardge.

[monogram or marks meaning] T H [?]

## XV

### PAPERS RELATING TO WILLIAM SAYER

The opinions defended & published by William Sayer<sup>1</sup> imprisoned in the gaole for the Countie of Norff[olk], be hereticall, scismaticall, & disloyall, & so seuerally may be distinguished.

[Evidently written by "Io: Redmayne", "this xxv<sup>th</sup> of Nouember 1612."]

1. The Baptisme of Infants is meere vnlawfull, by the word of God, for that they have no actuall faithe.
2. A Christian man maye weare weapons and serve in warres at the Commaundement of the magestrate, against such as be enemies to the Church of God, *which* is only y<sup>e</sup> Church of the separation from the Church of England; and to beare armes or serve in warres against any *which* are of his opinion is vnlawfull by y<sup>e</sup> word of God /
3. That it is vnlawfull to take an oath before any *ecclesiasticall* officer, though it be to the detecting of a Iesuite, or an heretick, or making knowne his brothers offence being a delinquent
4. That it is vnlawfull to sue in any Criminall cause, before an *ecclesiasticall* magestrate; neither ought any heretique to be accused or sued for that offence of heresie before any Bishop, but before the Church, *which* he sayth are y<sup>e</sup> elders.
5. The Kinges maiesties *auctoritie* graunted to Bishops for y<sup>e</sup> punishment of offenders, is meere vnlawfull by y<sup>e</sup> word of God; neither can they have any cognizaunce of Criminall causes, or of any offender therein, though the Cause be of *ecclesiasticall* Cognizaunce (as they pretend. /.

<sup>1</sup> Add. MS. Mm. 6. 58 (fol. 180), in the University Library, Cambridge.

6. His *maiestie* hath no power by the word of God, to graunte any Iurisdiction for the Cognizaunce of Causes to any prelates or priestes: And that his *auctoritie* therein is vnlawfull & not warranted by the worde of God.
8. [7.] The Calling of the ministers in the Church of England, is vnlawfull & not according to the word of God /.

He refuseth to recant & abiure publicly his first defence, & publishing of his deniall of the Godhead of Iesus Christe & of the holie ghost; & obstinately *persisteth* in the defence of the former opinions; & saith that he will never retreat, recant, & abiure his deniall of the Godhead of the twoe former *persones* in Trinitie before any *ecclesiasticall* Iudge or magestrate /

The Iudiciall processe vsed against him, have bene often in all mildnesse & lenitie. Greate care had for his better instruccion by often conference privately, & publicly by learned & discrete divines but still he continueth obstinate, & will not submitt him self, or be reformed; but proudly *peruerteth* & interpreteth all scriptures, for the mainteyning & defence of his opinions, according to his owne vnderstanding & sense. And though in some pointes, as touching the lawfull bearing of armes, taking of an oath, and sueng [sueing] in any Controuersye; he seeme to approve the power & auctoritie of the Civill magestrate yet when he is interrogated whom he meaneth or taketh for such a magestrate; he restrayneth that word, to the elders of the Church of the separation /

[Part of a letter of G(eorge) Abbot, Archbishop of Cant(erbury) to John Jegon, Bishop of Norwich, dated "Lambithe [?] Decemb: j. 1612", concerning William Sayer.]<sup>1</sup>

My very good lo[rd] I haue receaved *your* *lettre* making mention of one William Sayer a desperate Hereticque, who out of malice rather then out of vnderstanding *mainteineth* manie prophane & scismaticall opinions. Those .8. positions contained in the inclosed paper, are the doctrines of the

<sup>1</sup> Add. MS. Mm. 6. 58 (fol. 181, recto), in the University Library, Cambridge.



Baroists & Separatists of this Age, but ioyned with some points of the Anabaptists;.....But it will neuer be assented to, that hee should burne as an Hereticque, vnlesse hee denie something expressly conteyned in the three Creeds or in the foure first Generall-Counsell. I doe finde an obscure mention in the later *parte* of *your* paper, as if this Sayer had denyed the Godhead of Christe, and of the Holie ghoste. If hee persist obstinately therein, the Lawe will holde of him, as it did this last yeare vpon Legate, and Wightman, to frie him at a Stake. But it is not clearly deliuered what hee affirmeth in those points, and therefore I can giue no certain answer vnto it.

## XVI

### DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF THE EARLIEST ENGLISH ANABAPTIST CONGREGATIONS

[An undated Letter sent by "Hughe and Anne Bromhead" to their cousin, (Sir) William Hammerton, at London, probably written some time in 1609.]<sup>1</sup>

This Brownists letter idle vile and vayne  
I doe protest Ile nere read or'e againe./<sup>2</sup>

Grace with Increase of grace, peace even from the father and god of peace, with all true *comforte* and *consolation* In Iesus Christe be w<sup>th</sup> you beloved Cosen and all yours, and that forever[?]. Beloved Cosen we receyved A letter from you dated the xij of Iulie wherin you write that you expect an answer from vs of the said letter. The first *part* of your letter is, that leaving oure Countrie we removed to Amsterdam, w<sup>ch</sup> removing was, you hope, but to make tryall of the Countrie. Cosen we gyve you to vnderstande that though *Natura hominis est novitatis avida*,.....A seconde *part* of your letter is that you wold *perswade* vs to returne home into England, which you make no Question wold be much pleasing[?] to god, but we make great Question therof yea we [?] hold it w<sup>th</sup>ow<sup>t</sup> all Question, the same [?] should be much and highly displeasing

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 360 (fol. 70-1), in the British Museum. Portions of this MS. are now so faded as to be almost illegible. An attempt is here made to reproduce only certain parts. In Vol. I., p. 236, I assigned this letter to the autumn of 1608, but that date now appears to be too early. (See Mr Burgess's "John Smith", London, 1911, pp. 169-70.)

<sup>2</sup> This couplet is in a different, but contemporary, hand-writing. Mr Burgess misreads "alle" for "idle" ("John Smith", p. 169).

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vnto vnto [*sic*] oure good god and father, that hath in his mercifull providence brought vs ow<sup>t</sup> of Babilon the Mother of all abhominations the habitation of devils[?] and the holde, of all foule spirites[?] and A cage of every vncleane and hatefull birde :.....

.....In oure Cosen [?] Nicholas, we can but be sory and lament his fall wishing him to remember...and good vse of the wordes of the apostle paul vnto the gala. .3 .3. *verse* and also of the wordes of the apostle peter in his .2. epistle .2. 10 [?]. 20 21 [?] & 22 [?] verses, yet we hope better thinges of him and such as accompany Salvation. Concerning the 4 *parte* of your letter wherin you seeme to desire to know wherin your church might be reformed although I know not herin, where to begynne or where to ende, the corruptions therof be so many and Infinit [?], yet in some measure to satisfie your request I will geve you a vewe and taste of them but before I will geve you A brief Somme of the causes of oure Separation and of our purpose in practise<sup>1</sup>. fyrst we seeke above all thinges the peace and protection [?] of the most high and the kingdome of oure lorde Iesus Christ .2.<sup>lie</sup> we seeke and fully purpose to worshippe god Aright according as he hath commaunded in his most holy worde .3.<sup>lie</sup> we seeke the felowshippe of his faithfull and obedient servantes and together w<sup>th</sup> them to enter Covenant w<sup>th</sup> the lorde, and by the direction of his holy Spirit to proceed to A godly free and right choice of Ministers and other officers by him ordeyned to the Service of his church .4.<sup>lie</sup> we seeke to establish and obey the ordinances and lawes of oure Saviour Christ left by his last will and testament to the governing and guiding of his church w<sup>th</sup>ow<sup>t</sup> altering, changing, innovating, wresting, or leaving ow<sup>t</sup> any of them that the lorde shall geve vs sight of .5.<sup>lie</sup> we purpose [(]by the assistance of the holy ghost) in this faith and order to lead oure lyves, and for this faith and order to leave [?] oure lyves if such be the good will of oure heavenly father. And 6.<sup>lie</sup> now that oure forsaking and vtter

<sup>1</sup> This part of the letter is evidently a citation taken from Barrowe and Greenwood's "A Plaine Refvtation", 1591 [ed. 1606], pp. 1-2. Mr Burgess has done well in calling attention to this point ("John Smith", pp. 172-73).

abandoning of these disordered assemblies as they generally stand [?] in England, may not seeme strange or offensyve [?] to any that will Iudge or be iudged by the word of god, we alledge and affirme that heinoush guiltie in these .4. principall transgressions. .i. they worshippe the true god after A false Maner the worshippe being made of the Invention of Man, even of that Man of Sinne, erroneus [?] and Imposed vpon them. .2. for that the prophane, vngodly...w<sup>th</sup>ow<sup>t</sup> exception of any one person, ar w<sup>th</sup> them receyved [?] into, and reteyned in the Bosome of the church[.] .3. for that they have A false & Antichristian ministerie imposed vpon them reteyned w<sup>th</sup> them and maynteyned by them .4. for that these churches ar ruled by and remayne in subiection vnd[er] an Antichristian, and vngodly government, contrarie to the institution of oure Saviour Christe [.(?)] for the better confirmation of these .4. we have thought good to add certayne argumentes .1. no Apocrypha must be brought into the publick assemblies, for there [?] only godes word and the lyvely voice of his owne graces must be heard in the publique assemblies. But mens writings and the reading them over for prayer ar apocrypha, therefore may not be brought into the publique assemblies[.] .2. argument. we must do nothing in the worshippe of god w<sup>th</sup>ow<sup>t</sup> warrant of his worde. but re<sup>ad</sup>d prayers have no warrant in his worde. Therefore re<sup>ad</sup>d prayers ar not to be vsed in the worshippe of god. .3. argument we may not in the worshippe of god receyve any tradition w<sup>ch</sup> bringeth oure libertie into bondage: Therefore readd prayer &c. .4. argument because true prayer must be of faith vttered w<sup>th</sup> hearte and lyvely voyce, It is presumptuous Ignorance to bring A booke to speake for vs vnto god &c. .5. Argument to worshippe the true god after an other maner then he hath taught, is Idolatrie. but god commaundeth vs to come vnto him heavy loaden [?] w<sup>th</sup> contrite hartes to cry vnto him for oure wantes &c Therefore we may not stand reading A dead letter in steade of powring forth [?] oure petitions. .6. argument we must stryve in prayer w<sup>th</sup> continuance &c but we cannot stryve in prayer and be importunate w<sup>th</sup> continuance reading vpon A booke, Therefore we must not reade when we should praye. .7. argument we must pray as necessari[tye?] re-

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quireth but stinted prayers cannot be as necessitie requireth, Therefore stinted prayer is vnlawfull. 8. Argument read prayers were devised by Antichrist and Maynteyne superstition and an Idoll Ministerie. therefore read prayers and such stinted service ar intollerable &c. 9. argument the prayers of such C[hristian ?]s and people as stand vnder a false government are not acceptable, not only because they aske [? ami]sse, but because they kepe not his commaundements. The prayers of such ministers and people as be [s]u[bie?]ct to antichrist ar abhominable. Th[o?][s[e?]] ministers and people w<sup>ch</sup> [?] stand subiect[?] to the [? Bisho]ppes and the Courtes [?] ar subiect to antichrist &c therefore the prayers &c / [?] Touching the last [?] part of your letter w<sup>ch</sup> concerneth the differences of these dayes, [?] the apostle paul saith he heareth that there be heresies among them that they w<sup>ch</sup> ar approved amongst them may be knowen, therby teaching vs that it is no new thing that differences in Religion ar in the church, for the end therof god often turneth to greater manifestation of his truthe & the furthering of the same, as also to the procuring much glorie to his owne Name and to the good of his church and children so tryed and approved. we reade in the prophecy of the prophet Isaiah these wordes, My beloved had a vyneyeard in A very fruitfull hill and he hedged it and gathered the stones ow<sup>t</sup> of it and he planted it w<sup>th</sup> the best plantes, and he built a tower in the mydest therof and made a wynepresse therin...he [?] looked that it should bring forth grapes but it brought forth wilde grapes, and in the same prophecy in an other place, he calleth them trees righteousnes the planting of the lorde [sic] that he might be glorified. now to make vse and application of these testimonies, if the vyneyearde and church of Israell w<sup>ch</sup> was of the lordes owne planting and constitution brought foorth wilde grapes, what Marvell though your [?] church [?] Englande w<sup>ch</sup> is not of the lordes owne planting and constitution [?], but of Antichristes planting and of the constitution of the Man of Synne bring foorth the wilde [?] grapes...of Christe [?], do men gather grapes of Thornes or figges [?] of thistles [?], every good tree bringeth [?] foorth good fruite, And A corrupt tree bringeth forth evill fruite...fruite neither can A corrupt tree bring foorth] good

fruite, therefore by *their* [?] fruites ye shall knowe them...As the said prophet Isaiah spake of the people of the Iewes [?] so may we speake of the church of Englande, from the Sole of the foote vnto the head, there is nothing hole therin but wounds, and swelling and sores, full of Corruptions, the whole heade is heavy. And we *confidently* deny that ever the English nation or any one of oure predecessors were of the king[dome?] of Christe, or at any tyme beleved visibly in A true constituted church, but were come of the race of the pagans, till Rome the mother came and putt vpon vs her false baptisme worshippe and ministerie, and so oure [?]...is...paganish and the holy ghost in the scriptures *compareth* vs to the worst kynde of pagans calling [?] persons aapostating from the true constitution of the church, Babilonians, Egiptians Sodomites[. . ?] teaching vs the church of England that he estemeth no otherwise of the church or baptisme then of the Sinagoges of Babilon, then of the washinges of Egipt, then of the worshippe of Sodome, *your* church of England therefore being of Antichristes constitution is A false church. And can there be any thing [?] true in A false church but only the Scriptures and the truthes therin conteyned but *your* church hath a false constitution, or false ministerie, a false worshippe, A false goverment and A false Baptisme, the dore and entry into the church, and so all is false in *your* church. wherefore beloved Cosen we wish you in the lorde diligently and seriously to *consider* and weigh *your* vniuersall state and standing, that it is most sorofull [?] and lamentable, and now at the last to harken to the lordes voice that sounded from heaven, saing goe ow<sup>t</sup> of Babilon my people that ye be not *partakers* [?] w<sup>th</sup> her in her Synnes & that ye receyve not of her plages.

Beloved Cosen concerning *your* request of A booke of oure present settled government, there is none [?] extant though ther be dyvers bookes [?]...the matters of [?] *controversie* betwene the church of England and vs, and touching the differences betwene vs and the other churches here.

The order of the worshippe and government of oure church is .i. we begynne w<sup>th</sup> A prayer, after reade some one or tow chapters of the bible gyve the sence therof, and *conferr*

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vpon the same, that done we lay aside oure bookes, and after a solemne prayer made by the .1. speaker, he propoundeth some text ow<sup>t</sup> of the Scripture, and prophecieth ow<sup>t</sup> of the same, by the space of one hower, or thre Quarters of an hower. After him standeth vp A .2. speaker and prophecieth ow<sup>t</sup> of the said text the like tyme and space. some tyme more some tyme lesse. After him the .3. the .4. the .5. &c as the tyme will geve leave, Then the .1. speaker concludeth w<sup>th</sup> prayer as he began w<sup>th</sup> prayer, w<sup>th</sup> an exhortation to contribution to the poore, w<sup>ch</sup> collection being made is also concluded w<sup>th</sup> prayer. This Morning exercise begynes at eight of the clock[e?] and continueth vnto twelve of the clocke the like course of exercise is observed in the aft[er]n[o]wne from .2. of the clock vnto .5. or .6. of the Clocke. last of all the execution of the g[over]ment of the church is handled /

...I have by this Bearer [?] sent vnto yow [?] A booke of...of M<sup>r</sup> Smithe<sup>1</sup> oure [?] pasto<sup>r</sup>. I wish [?] you diligently to peruse [?] and seriously [?] w<sup>th</sup> Iudgment to examyn the same [?]. And [?] if you...any moe of this or any other argument [?] written by him, either for your self or for your friendes to signify the same vnto vs [?] by your letters, and we will (the lorde willing) procure the same so that you send [?] A faithfull messenger [?] to whom we may safely committ the Cariage therof / for we have heretofore [?] sent divers Bookes Into England and they have...of the...and...vnto whom they were sente [?]/

Yours [?] In the lorde at all tymes to vse.  
Hughe<sup>2</sup> and Anne Bromheade. /

[A List of the names of those English people who formed the Remnant of John Smyth's Congregation, and who, probably about February, 1609/10, petitioned that they might be received as quickly as possible into the "true church of Christ", i.e., the church of the Waterlanders.]<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This book was evidently "The Character of the Beast", 1609.

<sup>2</sup> Hughe Bromhead had once been "curate of North Wheatley", Nottinghamshire, and was probably about sixty years old in 1608 (W. H. Burgess's "John Smith", 1911, p. 173).

<sup>3</sup> MS. B. 1347 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. The names and text are written in the clear handwriting of John Smyth. The names

Nomina Anglorum qui hunc errorem suum agnoscunt  
 ejusque penitentiam agunt, viz: quodd[?] incœperint  
 seipsos  
 baptisare, contra ordinem a Christo constitutum:  
 quique  
 jam cupiunt hinc veræ Christi ecclesiæ vniri, eâ  
 quâ fieri possit expeditione.

Nomina<sup>1</sup> virorum.

feminarum.

Hugh Bromhead.	Anne Bromhead.
Iervase Nevill.	Iane Southworth.
Iohn Smyth.	Mary Smyth.
Thomas Canadyne.	Ioane Halton.
Edward Hankin.	Ales Arnefield.
Iohn Hardy.	Isabell Thomson.
Thomas Pygott.	Margaret Stavely.
Francis Pygott.	Mary Grindall.
Robert Stavely.	Mother Pygott.
Alexander Fleming.	Ales Pygott.
Alexander Hodgkin.	Margaret Pygott.
Iohn Grindall.	Betteris Dickenson.
Salomon Thomson.	Mary Dickenson.
Samuell Halton.	Ellyn Paynter.
Thomas Dolphin.	(Ales Parsons.)
	(Ioane Briggs.)
	Iane Organ.

Cupimus vnanimiter votum hoc nostrum ecclesiæ significari.

[A Short Latin Confession of Faith, probably written early  
 in 1609/10 by John Smyth.]<sup>2</sup>

I have placed within round brackets were originally signed by marks.  
 An imperfect text of this document is given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early  
 English Baptists", London, 1862, Vol. I., pp. 244-5, and a translation on  
 p. 209.

<sup>1</sup> Some of these names as printed by Mr Burgess ("John Smyth",  
 London, 1911, p. 185) are slightly incorrect.

<sup>2</sup> MS. B. 1348 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. Professor  
 Dr Müller's translation of this document is printed in Dr B. Evans'  
 "The Early English Baptists", London, Vol. I., 1862, pp. 253-4.



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Corde credimus, & ore confitemur :

1. *Vnum esse Deum, optimum, maximum, gloriosissimum, Creatorem et conservatorem omnium: qui est Pater, Filius, et spiritus sanctus.*
2. *Deum creasse & redemisse genus humanum ad jmaginem suam, omnesque homines (nemine reprobato) ad vitam predestinasse*
3. *Deum, nullam peccandi necessitatem cuiquam imponere, sed hominem liberè impulsu sathanæ a deo deficere.*
4. *Regulam vitæ a deo primitùs in observatione Legis positam; exinde ob infirmitatem carnis dei beneplacito, per Christi redemptionem in justitiam fidei translata esse: quam ob causam, neminem deum justè incusare, verum potius ex intimis visceribus ipsius misericordiam revereri, admirari, & celebrare debere; eum possibile homini reddiderit Deus per gratiam, quod prius homine lapsio impossibile fuerat per naturam.*
5. *Nullum esse peccatum originis verum omne peccatum esse actuale & voluntarium viz: dictum factum aut concupitum contra legem dei: ideoque infantes esse sine peccato.*
6. *Iesum Christum esse verum Deum & verum hominem: viz: Filio dei assumente et sibi vniente hominis veram et puram naturam ex vera anima rationali, et vero corpore humano consistentem.*
7. *Iesum Christum, quod ad carnem attinet, per spiritum sanctum in vtero Virginis Mariæ conceptum fuisse, postea-natum, circumcisum, baptisatum, tentatum fuisse, : etiam ipsum esurivisse, sitivisse, comedisse, bibisse, crevisse, tum statura tum cognitione: defatigatum fuisse, dormivisse, denique crucifixum, mortuum, sepultum fuisse, resurrexisse, in cælum ascendisse: ipsique, vtpote soli Regi, Pontifici, et Prophetæ Ecclesiæ, omnem tum in cælo tum in terra potestatem commissam esse.*
8. *Gratiam dei per Christi redemptionem impetratam omnibus sine discrimine paratam et oblatam fore, idque non fictè sed bona fidè: partim per creaturas quæ invisibilia dei declarant, partim per evangelij predicationem.*
9. *Homines ex dei gratia per Christi redemptionem posse (spiritu sancto per gratiam ipsos preveniente) resipiscere, Credere, ad*

deum convertere, et vitam eternam adipisci: sicut e contrá, posse ipsos spiritui sancto resistere, á deo deficere, et in eternum perire.

10. *Justificationem* hominis coram dei tribunali (qui est et *justitiæ* et *misericiardiæ* thronus) subsistere, *partim* ex *imputatione* *justitiæ* Christi *per* *fidem* apprehensa *partim* ex *justitia* inherente in ipsis sanctis *per* operationem spiritus sancti quae *Regeneratio* sive *sanctificatio* dicitur; si quidem *justus* est qui facit *justitiam*.
11. *Fidem*, bonis operibus *vacuam*, *mortuam* esse, : *veram* autem et *vivam* *fidem* *per* bona opera dignosci :
12. *Ecclesiam* Christi, esse *coetum* *fidelium* post *fidei* et *peccatorum* *confessionem* *baptizatorum*, potestate Christi *præditum*.
13. *Ecclesiam* Christi habere potestatem sibi *delegatam*, *verbum*[?] *anuntiandi*, *sacramenta* *administrandi*, *ministros* *constituendi* & *abdicendi*, *denique* *excommunicandi*, : *ultimam* autem *provocationem* esse ad *fratres*, sive *corpus* *ecclesiæ*.
14. *Baptismum* esse *externum* *symbolum* *remissionis* *peccatorum* *mortificationis* et *vivificationis*, *ideoque* ad *infantes* *non* *pertinere*.
15. *Cœnam* *Domini* esse *symbolum* *externum* *communionis* *Christi* et *fidelium* ad *invicem* *per* *fidem* et *charitatem*.
16. *Ministros* *ecclesiæ* esse, tum *Episcopos* quibus *facultas* *dispensandi* tum *verbum* tum *sacramenta* *commissa* est: tum *Diaconos* *viros* et *viduas*, qui *res* *pauperum* et *fratrum* *infirmorum* *curant*.
17. *Fratres* post *tertium* *gradum* *admonitionis* in *peccatis* sibi *cognitis* *perseverantes* *excludendos* esse é *communione* *sanctorum* *per* *excommunicationem*.
18. *Excommunicatos* quod ad *civile* *commercium* *attinet* *non* esse *devitandos*.
19. *Mortuos* (*vivis* *momentó* *mutatis*) *resurrecturos* *ijsdem* *corporibus*, *non* *substantiâ*, *sed* *qualitatibus* *mutatis*
20. Post *resurrectionem* *omnes* *sistendos* *fore* ad *Tribunal* *Christi* *judicis*, *secundum* *opera* *judicandos*: *Pios* post *sententiam* *absolutionis*, *vita* *eterna* *cum* *Christo* *in* *cælis* *fruituros*: *Impios* *verò* *damnatos*, *in* *Gehenna* *cum* *diabolo* *angelis* *ejus* *eternis* *supplicijs* *cruciandos*.

John Smyth.

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[An undated Latin Letter from Thomas Helwys's Congregation to the Waterlanders at Amsterdam, probably written early in 1609/10, urging them not to admit John Smyth and his followers into their church membership.]<sup>1</sup>

Ecclesia Anglicana, Ecclesiae Belg[icæ]  
Amsterdamiae. / Gratia vobis et pax, a  
deo patre nostro, et domino Iesu Christo. /

Charissimi fratres fidei vinculo, (in eo, ad quod pervenimus) oportet nos, vt eadem simul incedamus regula: et hoc profiteamur in omnibus erga vos prestare, secundum eam scientiæ et gratiæ mensuram, quam deus nobis dedit aut daturus est: idem a vobis expectantes, quum tale indicium de vobis ferendum est. / Idcirco nostra interesse iudicavimus [?] (cum auditur idque a semetipsis: quod, quidam, qui era[nt] ex nobis: sed nunc temporis, propter eorum in peccato impenitentiam, quum nos esse Christi ecclesiam, et potestatem recipiendi, eijciendi membra habere negent: sancta Christi censura nobis, eius ecclesia[e] concessa: e comunione enim sanctorum iuste excluduntur, et nunc conantur seipsos vobis adiungere:) vos certiores facere, vt caveatis, ne tales recipiatis, quibus polluamini, cum optime sciatis paulolo fermenti, totam massam fermentari. / Et vos in timore dei obsecramus, vt nobis ipsis attendatis, ne in inconsulto improbos iustificetis, innocentesque condemnetis, a quo scelere, vt vos deus avertat, summis precibus oramus: / Sed perswasimus nobis de vobis, istis meliora, assidue expectantes, vos operam vestram potius in reformandis contumacibus, quam in ipsis corroborandis in peccatis suis duros: et adhuc vestrum auxilium in nobis superstruendis, non diruendis collaturos: Et sic sperantes, vos in omnibus rebus vestris, verbum dei regulam vestræ directionis secundum vestræ fidei professionem, sequuturos, commendamus vos deo et Sermoni gratiæ ipsius, qui potest superstruere, et dare vobis, quod hæreditatis iure possideatis cum sanctificatis omnibus:

Valete. /

<sup>1</sup> MS. B. 1349 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. Apparently not cited in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists".

[A Latin "Synopsis" of the Faith of the "true English Christian Church" at Amsterdam under the Leadership of Thomas Helwys, delivered (probably between Feb. and Mar. 12, 1609/10) to the Waterlanders there, with thanks for the teaching they had given them.]<sup>1</sup>

Synopsis fidei, veræ Christianæ  
Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, Amsterodamiæ. /

- i. Quod tres sunt qui testificantur in Cælo, Pater, Sermo, et Spiritus sanctus, et hi tres sunt vnus Deus, *per* quem omnia in Cælo, et terra creantur et preseruantur. /
2. Quod hic Deus creavit hominem secundum Imaginem [?] suam, qui peccavit et *per* cuius inobedientiam, omnes peccatores constituti sunt: sed *per* obedientiam Iesu Christi, iusti constituimur omnes. /
3. Quod deus necessitatem peccandi nemini imponit. /
4. Quod nullum sit peccatum per generationem a parentibus nostris. /
5. Quod deus vult omnes homines seruari, et ad agnitionem veritatis venire, et non vult mortem morientis. /
6. Quod Iesus Christus in plenitudine temporis, manifestans erat, in carne, factus ex muliere, conceptus et natus ex ea, spiritus sanctus inumbrans eam, fructus vteri eius, semen Abrahami Isaaci, Iacobi, et davidis secundum carnem, Et sic verus homo, circumcisis erat, baptizatus, precatus est, tentatus erat, metuebat, ignarus diei iudicii [?], esuriebat, sitiebat, defatigatus erat, edebat, bibebat, somnum oculis capiebat, statura et cognitione crescebat, crucifixus erat, moriebatur, sepultus, resurrexit, in Cælum ascendebat, omni potestate in Cælo et terra ei tradita, existens solus Rex, Sacerdos, et Propheta eius ecclesiæ. Et vna persona, verus Deus et verus homo. /

<sup>1</sup> MS. B. 1350 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. Apparently not given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists".

7. Quod hominis iustificatio coram deo solummodo consistit in Christi obedientia et iusticia, *per* fidem apprehensa [?]: fides tamen *absque* operibus mortua est. /
8. Quod homo dei gratia *per* Christi redemptionem, facultatem habet (spiritu sancto in eo operante *per* predicationem evangelij) resipiscendi, credendi, ad deum revertendi, et ad finem *perseuerandi*, atque et iam est in homine facultas spiritui sancto resistendi, et a domino avertendi. /
9. Quod Ecclesia [*sic*] sit Coetus populi fidelis, baptizatus in nomen patris, filij, et spiritus, tempore, quo confitentur fidem et peccata eorum: potestatem Christi habens, verbum predicandi baptismum et Cœnam dominicam administrandi: ministros suos Eligendi, et abdicandi: et membra sua recipiendi et eijciendi secundum Christi Canones. /
10. Quod baptismus sit signum externum remissionis peccatorum mortificationis, et vitæ renouationis: et Idcirco ad Infantes non pertinet. /
11. Quod Cœna dominica sit signum externum spiritualis comunionis Christi et fidelium mutuo in fide et charitate. /
12. Quod vnumquodque membrum corporis oportet se mutuo cognoscere, vt sic prestent omnia charitatis fraternæ munera, tam animæ, quam temporis, mutuo sibi invicem: et presertim Presbiteros oportet totum gregem cognoscere, in quo eos spiritus sanctus constituit Episcopos. /
13. Quod Ecclesiæ ministri sint, aut Episcopi, quibus ab ecclesia commissa [?] est potestas, verbum predicandi, baptismum, et Cœnam dominicam administrandi: aut Diaconi, viri, et viduæ, qui pro ecclesia, fratrum pauperum et infirmorum necessitates sublevant. /
14. Quod oportet ecclesiam (iuxta Christi discipulorum, et primitiuarum ecclesiarum exemplum[ ]) vnoquoque primo die hebdomadis conveniendi: ad precandum, prophetandum [?], deum celebrandum [*sic*], panem

fragendum, et prestandum cetera omnia munera spiritualis comunionis, quæ pertinent ad divinum cultum, membrorum mutuam ædificationem, et preservationem veræ religionis et pietatis in Ecclesia: Et Idcirco seponendi sunt ordinarij nostrarum vocationum labores, qui in eo nos impedire possent. /

15. Quod fratres in peccato impenitentes, post tertium admonitionis gradum *per* ecclesiam actum; *per* excommunicationem eijciendi sint ex ecclesiæ comunione. /
16. Quod Excommunicati respectu civilis societatis non sint fugiendi. /
17. Quod adiaphora non fuit ecclesiæ, aut alicui membro ecclesiæ imponenda: sed Christiana libertas...restituenda est. /
18. Quod mortui resurgent (et vivis momento mutatis) eadem corpora quoad substantiam, etsi quoad qualitates diversa habentes. /
19. Quod omnes homines post resurrectionem, comparere oportet coram tribunali Christi, ad [?] iudicandos secundum opera eorum, vt pij iustificati æterna vita fruantur, et impij condemnati in gehenna cruciatus æternos ferant. /

Et Sic *per* dei misericordiam, Christum, secundum eius verbum didicimus: agnoscentes tamen nosipsos simplices et ignaros; et semper paratos cum omni reverentia et humilitate a deo instrui *per* huiusmodi instrumenta, quæ dominus noster excitaverit pro nostra, in veritate, ampliore informatione: et deo benedicentes pro huiusmodi optimis medijs quæ a vobis nobis suppeditata sunt: dominum nostrum Iesum Christum suppliciter invocantes, vt vos et nos *per* spiritum suum in omnem dirigat veritatem. /

Gratia sit vobis, et pax, a deo patre nostro, et a domino nostro Iesu christo. /

[A Letter from Thomas Helwys, William Pigott, Thomas Seamer, and John Murton at Amsterdam to the Waterland

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Church there, dated March 12, 1609/10, dealing chiefly with the cause of their so-termed ejection of John Smyth and his followers.]<sup>1</sup>

Beloued in the lord. Your approued care, diligence, and faithfulness in the aduancement of Gods holie truth, being by good experience (to God be giuen the glorie) well knowne vnto vs: makes vs that wee can do no lesse then with our best hopes, hope, that through the grace of God (his word, and spiritt directing you) wee shall find you so still; and therefore wee are with much gladnes and willingnes stirred vp to write vnto you, praieing you as you loue the lord and his truth, that you will take wise counsell and that from Gods word, how you deale in this cause betwixt vs and those that are iustlie for their sinnes cast out from vs./ And the whole cause in question being Succession, (for so it is indeed and in truth) consider wee beseech you, how it is Antichrists cheife hold, and that it is Iewish and Ceremoniall, an ordinance of the old testament but not of y<sup>e</sup> new./ Furthermore let it be well considered, that the Succession *which* is stand [*sic*] vpon, neither the time, Person, nor place, can be proued to anie mans conscience, and so herein wee should ground our faith, wee cannot tell vpon whome, nor when, nor where, ./ Wee beseech you consider how can wee of faith forsake y<sup>e</sup> eident leight of Gods truth to walke in such darknes./ And this is our warrant by y<sup>e</sup> word of truth. First for our baptisme./ Iohn Baptist being vn baptized preached the baptisme of repentance and they that beleued and confessed their sinnes, he baptized, . And whosoeuer shall now be stirred vp by the same spiritt, to preach the same word, and men thereby being converted, may according to Iohn his example, wash them with water and who can forbid./ And wee pray that wee may speake freelie herein, how dare anie man or men chalenge to themselues a preheminance herein, as though y<sup>e</sup> spiritt of God were onelie in their harts, and the word of God were onelie to be fetched at

<sup>1</sup> MS. B. 1351 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. A modernized text is given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists", London, Vol. I., pp. 209-210.

their mouethes, and the ordinances of God onelie to be had from their hands, except they were Appostles, hath y<sup>e</sup> lord thus restrained his spirit, his word, and ordinances as to make *particuler* men lords over them, or y<sup>e</sup> keepers of them, God forbid. / This is contrarie to the libertie of the gospell, *which* is free for all men, at all times, and in all places, yea as our Sauour Christ doth testifie, wheresoeuer, whosoeuer, and whensoever two or three are gathered to gether in his name, there is he in the midst of them. / And thus much in all christian loue wee do aduertise you, that this ground of truth is, and wilbe mainteyned against all the world, and that by the great aduersaries of our faith in diuers other maine pointes, who wilbe glade to haue such an aduantage against you, if you shall publish or practice anie thinge against this ground in y<sup>e</sup> 18. of Matth: and the profession of Christ shall sustaine much reproach by it; and therefore wee earnestly intreat you euen by the loue of Christ that is in you, that you wilbe well aduised what you do in these thinges. / And now for the other question, that Elders must ordeyne Elders, if this be a true perpetuall rule, then from whence is *your* Eldership come, and if one Church might once ordeyne, then whie not all churches alwaies. Oh that wee might be though[t] worthie to be aunswered in these thinges, or that the poore aduise of so few, , so simple, and so weake might preuaile with you to cause you to looke circumspectlie to *your* waies in these thinges. The lord that knoweth all harts knoweth ours towards you herein, that wee do desire that there may be found no way of error in you, but that you and wee might walke vprightlie in the waies of God: casting vtterlie away all the traditions of men, and this wee are *perswaded* is *your* vnfaired desire also; now fulfill *our* *perswasion* herein, and trie *your* standing in these pointes, and respect not how manie hold these thinges with you, but respect from what ground of truth you hold them. /

Thus beseeching the lord to *perswade* *your* hart, that *your* hand may not be against his truth and against vs y<sup>e</sup> lords vnworthie witnesses, wee take leaue, commending you to y<sup>e</sup> gracious protection of y<sup>e</sup> almightie, and to the blessed direction of his word and spirit, beseeching y<sup>e</sup> lord to do by you according to



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the great loue and kindnes that you haue shewed vnto vs./  
Grace and peace be with you. Amen.

Your brethren in the faith

Amsterdam. this

Thomas Helwys

12<sup>th</sup> of March, 1609

William Pigott

./

Thomas Seamer

Iohn Murton./

Wee haue written in *our* owne tonge, because wee are not able to expresse *our* mynds in anie other, and seeing you haue an interpreter./ And wee haue bene much greeued since *our* last conference with you because wee dishonored the truth of God much for want of speach, in that wee were not able to vtter that poore measure of knowledg *which* God of his grace hath giuen vs./

A short confession of fayth<sup>1</sup>

[evidently prepared and partially signed by the Remnant of John Smyth's Congregation early in 1610.]

<sup>1</sup> MS. B. 1352 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. A modernized text of this document is given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists", London, 1862, Vol. I., pp. 245-52. This MS. consists of twelve unnumbered pages, the last two blank. The paper is somewhat worn and yellow with age, but the hand-writing is generally clear. The text of this MS. is an English translation of the Confession of Faith of Lubbert Gerrits and Hans de Ries (omitting articles 19 and 22), and is not, therefore, an original expression of the views of the English Anabaptists who have here signed it. The text of this Confession on the contrary was used as a means of testing the general orthodoxy of their faith. Dr Evans incorrectly printed a number of the signatures, and Professor W. J. McGlothlin in his "Baptist Confessions of Faith", London [1911], p. 65, has painstakingly reprinted them. Mr Burgess ("John Smith", London, 1911, pp. 188-9) dates the *signing* of this Confession "between July 14 and the end of August", 1612, and he may be right, but I think that other evidence in the Mennonite Archives points to the date given above. Some of the later signatures, however, were certainly not written until after July 14, 1612, and Mr Burgess has done well in calling attention to this fact.

## The first article

Wee beleeve through the powre & instruction of the holy scripture y<sup>t</sup> ther is one only god, who is a spiritt, eternall, incomprehensible, infinite, almighty, mercifull, righteous, perfectly wise, only good, and the founteyne of life, & all goodnes: the creato<sup>r</sup> of heaven & earth, thinges visible & invisible.

## 2.

This only god in the holy scripture is manifested & revealed, in father, sonne, & holy ghost, : being three, and neverthelesse but one god.

## 3.

The father is the originall and beginning of all thinges: who hath begotten his sonne *from* everlasting before all creatures: The sonne is the everlasting word of the father, and his wisdome: The H. Ghost is his virtue, powre, & might, proceeding *from* y<sup>e</sup> father & y<sup>e</sup> sonne: These three are not divided nor seperated, in Essence, Nature, property, Eternity, powre, glory or excellency.

## 4.

This only god hath created man good, accordinge to his jmage & likenesse, to a good & happy estate, & in him all men to y<sup>e</sup> same blessed end. The first man was fallen into synne & wrath: And was againe by god, through a sure comfortable promise, restored, & assumed to everlasting life, with all those y<sup>t</sup> were guilty through him: so y<sup>t</sup> none of his posterity, (by reason of this resolution) is guilty synfull, or borne in originall synne.

## 5.

Man being created good & continuing in goodnes, had hability, the spiritt of wickednes tempting him, freely to obey, assume or reject y<sup>e</sup> propounded [?] evill: man being fallen & consisting in evill, had hability, the Lord<sup>1</sup> himselfe moving him, freely to obey, assume, or reject y<sup>e</sup> propounded [?] good: for as he through free powre to the choise of evill, obeyed & assumed y<sup>e</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr B. Evans in "The Early English Baptists", Vol. 1, p. 245, has "the T—" for "the Lord", and Prof. McGlothlin faithfully reproduces this incorrect reading.

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evill: so did he through free powre to the choise of good, obey and reassume y<sup>e</sup> propounded good. This last powre or habilitie remayneth in all his posterity.

6.

God hath before all tymes forseen & foreknowne all thinges both good & evill, whither past, present, or to come: Now, as he is y<sup>e</sup> only perfect goodnes, and y<sup>e</sup> very founteyne of life it self; So is he y<sup>e</sup> only author, originall & worker of such things as are good, holy, pure, cleane, & of nature like vnto him; but not of synne, or of damnable vncleanenes: He forbiddeth y<sup>e</sup> evill, he forwarneth to avoyd evill, and threatneth the evill doer: he is y<sup>e</sup> Permitter, & Punisher: But Evill men through free choise of all synne & wickednes together with the spiritt of wickednes *which* ruleth in them, are the Authors [?], originall, & workers of all synne, and so worthy y<sup>e</sup> punishment.

7.

The cause & ground therfor of mans destruction and damnation is th[e] mans free choise of darkenes or synne & living therein: Destruction therfor commeth out of him self, but not from y<sup>e</sup> good creator. Fo[r] being perfect goodnes & love itself (following the nature of love and perfect goodnes) he willed the health, good, & happinesse of his creatures: therfor hath he predestinated none of them y<sup>t</sup> they should be condemned, nor ordeyned or willed the synnes or meanes [?] wherby they should be brought to damnation: Yea much more (seing he hath no delight in any mans destruction, nor willeth y<sup>t</sup> any man perish, but y<sup>t</sup> all men should be saved & blessed) hath he create[d] them all to a happy end, and being fallen & restored in Christ, hath forseen & ordeyned in him a medicine of life for all their synn[es?] and hath willed y<sup>t</sup> all people or creatures through the preaching of y<sup>e</sup> gossell, should have this tidinges published & declared vnto them: No[w] all they y<sup>t</sup> with penitent & faythfull hartes receive & embrace, this gracious benefitt of gods, manifested in Christ for y<sup>e</sup> reconciliation of y<sup>e</sup> world, are & continue the Elect *which* god hath ordeyned before y<sup>e</sup> foundation of y<sup>e</sup> world, to make partakers of his kingdom &

glory. But they *which* despise & contemne this profered grace of god, *which* love the darknes more then the light, persevere in impenitency & vnbelief, the[y] make themselves vnworthy of blessednes, & are rejected & excluded from the end wherto they were created & ordeyned in Christ; & shall not for ever tast of y<sup>e</sup> supper of y<sup>e</sup> Lord, wherto they were invited.

## 8.

The purpose, *which* god before y<sup>e</sup> foundation of y<sup>e</sup> world had for y<sup>e</sup> reconciliation of y<sup>e</sup> world, (*which* he saw would fall into wrath & want of grace) h[e] hath in the fulnes of tyme accomplished; and for this purpose hath se[nt?] out of heaven his everlasting word or sonne for y<sup>e</sup> fulfilling of the promises made vnto the fathers, and hath caused him to become flesh o[r] man, in the womb of a holy virgin (called Mary) by his wonde[rful?] powre & working of y<sup>e</sup> holy ghost. Not, y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Essence of god, y<sup>e</sup> eternall word, or any part thereof[?] is changed into a visible, morta[l] flesh or man, ceasing to be spiritt, God, or gods essence: but y<sup>t</sup> th[e] everlasting sonne of god continuing[?] y<sup>t</sup> he was before, namely God and spiritt, became y<sup>t</sup> he was not, y<sup>t</sup> is, flesh or man: and s[o] is in one person true god, & man, borne of Mary, being visibly & invisibly, inwardly & outwardly, y<sup>e</sup> true sonne of y<sup>e</sup> living god.

## 9.

This person god & man, the sonne of the living god, is come into the world to save synners, or to reconcile the sinfull world to god the father: Therfor wee acknowledg him to be the only mediator, king, Preist, & prophett, Lawgever & Teacher, *which* god had promised to send into the world, whom wee must heere, beleeve & follow.

## 10.

In him is fulfilled, & by him ther is taken away an intollerable burthen of the law of Moses, even all the shadowes & figures: as namely the Preisthood, Temple, Altar, sacrifice: also the kingly office, kingdom, sword, Revendg appointed by y<sup>e</sup> law, battell, and whatsoever was a figure of his person or offices, & so thereof a shadow or representation.

11.

And as the true promised prophett he hath manifested & revealed vnto vs whatsoever god asketh or requireth of the people of the new testament. for as God by Moses & the other prophettes hath spoken & declared his will to the people of the old testament: so hath he in these last dayes by this prophett spoken vnto vs, & revealed vnto vs the mystery (concealed from y<sup>e</sup> beginning of the world): & hath now manifested to vs whatsoever y<sup>t</sup> remayned to be manifested. He hath preached the promised glad tidinges, appointed & ordeyned the sacramentes, Offices, & ministeries by god therto destinated[?]: & hath shewed by doctryne & life y<sup>e</sup> law of Christians, a rule of their life, the path & way to everlasting life.

12

Moreover as a high Preist and mediator of the new testament, after y<sup>t</sup> he had accomplished the will of his father in the foresaid workes, he hath finally given himself obediently (for the reconciliation of y<sup>e</sup> synnes of y<sup>e</sup> world) to all outward sufferinges, and hath offered vp himself in death vppon the crosse vnto the fater for a sweet savour & a common oblation.

13.

Wee acknowledge y<sup>t</sup> the obedience of the sonne of god, his sufferinges, dying, bloodshed[?], bitter passion, death, & only sacrifice vppon the crosse, is a perfect reconciliation & satisfaction for our synnes, & the synnes of y<sup>e</sup> world; so y<sup>t</sup> wee therby are reconciled to god, are brought into peace, & have a sure hope, & certaynty to the entranc[e] into everlasting life.

14.

Iesus Christ our prophett & Preist, being also, the promised, only spirituall, heavenly king of the new testament, hath erected or built a spirituall kingdom & vnited a company of faythfull spirituall men: These persons hath he indued with spirituall kingly lawes, after y<sup>e</sup> nature of his heavenly kingdom, & hath established therein justice, righteousnes, & the ministers therof.

## 15.

Having accomplished & performed, heer vppon the earth, by dying the death, his office of y<sup>e</sup> Crosse; he was afterward buried, therby declaring y<sup>t</sup> he was truly dead, the third day he rose againe, & stood vp from the dead, overcoming death & testifying y<sup>t</sup> he was Lord over death, & y<sup>t</sup> he could not possible be deteyned by y<sup>e</sup> bands of death, hereby comfortably assuring all the faythfull of their resurrection & standing vp from death

## 16.

Afterwards 40 dayes space he conversed among his disciples, and oft tymes showed himself vnto them, that [?] ther [?] might no doubt be had concerning his resurrection: after y<sup>t</sup>, being compassed by a cloud, he was caryed vp into heaven, & entred into his glory, leading captivity captive, & making a show [?] of his enemies, hath gloriously triumphed over them, & is sett at y<sup>e</sup> right hand of y<sup>e</sup> majesty of God, & is become a Lord, & Christ, Glorified in body, advanced, lifted vp & crowned with praise & glory, & remayneth over mount syon a Preist & king for everlasting.

## 17.

The holy office of this glorified Preist, king, Lord, & Christ, in this heavenly glorious being, is, to help, governe, & preserve by his holy spiritt, his holy Church & people in the world, through the storme, wind & troubles of the sea: for according to his Preistly office, as an overseer or steward of y<sup>e</sup> true tabernacle, is he *our* intercessor, Advocate & mediato<sup>r</sup> by y<sup>e</sup> father: He teacheth, comforteth, strengthneth & baptizeth vs with y<sup>e</sup> holy ghost, his heavenly giftes, & fiery vertue: & keepeth his spirituall supper with y<sup>e</sup> faythfull soule, making it partake of y<sup>e</sup> Life-giving food and drinck of y<sup>e</sup> soule, y<sup>e</sup> fruit vertue and worth of his meritts obteyned vppon the crosse, the only true necessary good signified in y<sup>e</sup> sacraments.

## 18

And according to his kingly office in his heavenly being, he gouerneth the hartes of y<sup>e</sup> faythfull by his holy spiritt & word: he takes them into his protection, he covereth them vnder

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the shadow of his wings, : he armeth them with spirituall weopens [?] for y<sup>e</sup> spirituall warfare, against all their enemyes namely y<sup>e</sup> spiritts of wickednes vnder heaven, and whatsoever dependeth vpon them in this earth. He their most glorious almighty, heavenly king, standeth by them, delivereth & freeth them from the hands of their enemyes, giveth them victory & y<sup>e</sup> winning of y<sup>e</sup> field : & hath prepared for them a crowne of righteousnes in heaven. And they being the redeemed of the Lord, who dwell in the howse of y<sup>e</sup> Lord, vpon the holy mount syon, do chandg their fleshly weopens [?], namely their swords into shares, & their speares into sithes, do lift vp no sword, neyther teach nor consent to fleshly battell. /

19.

All these spirituall good thinges and benefittes with Iesus Christ by his merites hath obteyned for y<sup>e</sup> saving of synners, wee do graciously enjoy through a true living working fayth. Which fayth, is an assured vnderstanding & knowledg in the hart, obteyned out of y<sup>e</sup> word of god, concerning God, Christ, & other heavenly things, which are necessary for vs to know & to beleve to salvation ; together with a harty confidence in y<sup>e</sup> only god, that he as a gracious heavenly father will give & bestow vpon vs through Chri[st] & for his meritts, whatsoever is helpfull & profittable for body & soule to salvation.

20.

Through such a fayth wee obteyne true righteousnes, forgiveness or absolution from synne through y<sup>e</sup> bloodshed of Christ Iesus, and true righteousnes, which through Christ Iesus by y<sup>e</sup> cooperation of y<sup>e</sup> holy ghost is plentifully shed & powred into vs, so y<sup>t</sup> wee truly are made of evill men, good : of fleshly, spirituall : of covetous liberall, : of Proud, humble : & through regeneration are made pure in hart, and the children of God.

21.

Man being thus justified by fayth liveth & worketh by love (which the holy Ghost sheddeth into their hartes) in all goods [good] workes, in the lawes, preceptes & ordinances given

them by god through Christ, he prayseth & blesseth god by a holy life, for every benefitt, especially of y<sup>e</sup> soule: And so are all such Plants of y<sup>e</sup> Lord, Trees of righteousnes, who honour god through good works, and expect a blessed reward.

## 22.

Such faythfull righteous people, scattered in severall *parts* of y<sup>e</sup> world being y<sup>e</sup> true congregation of god, or y<sup>e</sup> church of Iesus Christ, whome he loved & for whome he gave himself y<sup>t</sup> he might sanctify them, yea whom he hath clensed by y<sup>e</sup> washing of water in the word of life: of all such is Iesus y<sup>e</sup> head, y<sup>e</sup> shepheard, y<sup>e</sup> Leader, y<sup>e</sup> Lord, y<sup>e</sup> king, & maister. Now although among these ther may be mingled a company of seeming-holy-ones & hypocrites; yet neverthesse they are & remayne only y<sup>e</sup> righteous true members of y<sup>e</sup> body of Christ according to y<sup>e</sup> spiritt, & in truth, y<sup>e</sup> heyres of y<sup>e</sup> Promises: truly severed from y<sup>e</sup> hipocrites & dissemblers: /

## 23.

In this holy church hath god ordeyned y<sup>e</sup> ministry of y<sup>e</sup> Gospell, y<sup>e</sup> Doctryne, of y<sup>e</sup> holy word, the vse of y<sup>e</sup> holy sacraments, y<sup>e</sup> oversight of y<sup>e</sup> poore, & y<sup>e</sup> ministry of y<sup>e</sup> same offices, furthermore y<sup>e</sup> exercise of brotherly admonition & correction, & finally y<sup>e</sup> separating of the impenitent: *which* holy ordinances conteyned in the word of god are to be administred only according to the contentes thereof.

## 24.

And like as a body consisteth of divers *parts*, & every *part* hath his owne proper work, seing every *part* is not a hand, eye, or foot: so is it also in y<sup>e</sup> church of god: for although every beleever is a member of y<sup>e</sup> body of Christ, yet is not every one therfor a teacher, Elder, or deacon: but only such *which* are orderly appointed to such offices. Therfor also the administration of y<sup>e</sup> said offices or dutyes perteyneth only to them y<sup>t</sup> are ordeyned therto, & not to every particular common person. /



25.

The vocation or Election to y<sup>e</sup> foresaid offices is performed by y<sup>e</sup> church with fasting & prayer to god. for god knoweth y<sup>e</sup> harts; hee is amongst y<sup>e</sup> faythfull which are gathered together in his name: and by his holy spiritt doth so governe y<sup>e</sup> myndes & harts of his, that he by them bringeth to light & propoundeth whom he knoweth to be profitable to his churches.

26.

And although y<sup>e</sup> Election and vocation be performed by y<sup>e</sup> foresaid meanes yet neverthelesse y<sup>e</sup> investing into y<sup>e</sup> said service is accomplished by y<sup>e</sup> Elders of y<sup>e</sup> church, through laying on of hands.

27.

The doctryne which by the foresaid ministers must be propounded to the people is even the same which Iesus Christ hath brought out of heaven, which he by word & work, y<sup>t</sup> is by doctryne & life hath taught the people: which was preached by the Apostles of Christ by the commaundement of Christ & y<sup>e</sup> spiritt: which wee find written (so much as is needful for vs to salvation) in the scriptures of y<sup>e</sup> new testament, wherto wee apply whatsoever wee find in the Canonick Bookes of y<sup>e</sup> old testament, which hath affinity & vnity with the doctryne of Christ & his Apostles, & consent & agreement with the government of his spirituall kingdom.

28.

There are two sacraments appointed by Christ in his holy church, y<sup>e</sup> administration whereof he hath assigned to y<sup>e</sup> ministry of Teaching, namely y<sup>e</sup> Holy Baptisme, & y<sup>e</sup> Holy supper: These are outward visible handlings & tokens setting before our eyes, on gods side, y<sup>e</sup> inward spirituall handling, which god through Christ by y<sup>e</sup> cooperation of y<sup>e</sup> Holy Ghost reacheth forth in y<sup>e</sup> justification of y<sup>e</sup> penitent faythfull soule: & which on our behalf, witnesseth our Religion, repentance, fayth, & obedience through y<sup>e</sup> obliging of a good conscience to y<sup>e</sup> service of god.

## 29.

The holy baptisme is given vnto them, in y<sup>e</sup> name of y<sup>e</sup> father, y<sup>e</sup> sonne, & y<sup>e</sup> holy ghost, which heere, beleewe, & with penitent hartes receave y<sup>e</sup> doctryne of y<sup>e</sup> holy gospell: for such hath y<sup>e</sup> Lord Iesus commaunded to be baptized, and no vn-speaking children.

## 30.

The whole dealing in the outward visible baptisme of water setteth before the eyes, witnesseth, & signifieth, y<sup>t</sup> Iesus Christ doth inwardly baptise the repentant faythfull, man in the lavo<sup>r</sup> of regeneration & renewing of the holy ghost, washing y<sup>e</sup> soule from all pollution & synne, by y<sup>e</sup> vertue & meritt of his bloodshed, & by y<sup>e</sup> powre & working of the holy ghost the true hevenly spirituall living water clenseth the inward evill of y<sup>e</sup> soule, & maketh it heavenly, spirituall & living in true righteousnes or goodnes. Therfor the baptisme of water leadeth vs to Christ, to his holy office in glory & majesty: & admonisheth vs not to hang only vppon y<sup>e</sup> outward, but with holy prayers to mount vpwards, & to begg of Christ y<sup>e</sup> good thing signified.

## 31.

The holy supper according to the institution of Christ is to be administred to the baptized, as the Lord Iesus hath commaunded y<sup>t</sup> whatsoever he hath appointed should be taught to be observed.

## 32.

The whole dealing in the outward visible supper, setteth before y<sup>e</sup> eye witnesseth & signifieth, y<sup>t</sup> Christes holy body was broken vppon y<sup>e</sup> crosse & his holy blood spilt for y<sup>e</sup> remission of our synnes: That he being glorified in his heavenly being, is the alive-making bread meate & drinck of our soules: it setteth before our eyes Christes office & ministry in glory & majesty by houlding his spirituall supper with y<sup>e</sup> beleewing soule, feeding & meating y<sup>e</sup> soule with spirituall food: it teacheth vs by y<sup>t</sup> outward handling to mount vpwardes with y<sup>e</sup> hart in holy prayer to begg at Christes hands y<sup>e</sup> true signified good: and it admonisheth vs of thankfullnes to god, & of vnity & love one with another.

33.

The church discipline or externall censures is also an outward handling among y<sup>e</sup> beleevers, wherby the impenitent synner after Christian admonition & reproof is severed by reason of his synne from y<sup>e</sup> communion of y<sup>e</sup> saynts for his future good: and the wrath of god is denounced against him vntill the tyme of his conversion and reformation: and ther is also, by this outward seperation of the church, manifested, what god before had judged & fore-handled, concerning this separte synner, by reason of his synne: Therfor first before y<sup>e</sup> Lord, the prejudging & predetermining of the matter must passe in respect of the synner impenitent, and the after-judging & handling by y<sup>e</sup> church Therfor the church must carefully regard, that none in the church be condemned which is not condemned in the word of god. /

34.

The person seperated from the church may not at all be admitted (so long as he proceedeth in synne) to the vse of y<sup>e</sup> holy supper or any other ecclesiasticall handling, but he must be avoyded therin, as also in all other thinges betokening y<sup>e</sup> communion of y<sup>e</sup> saynts or brotherhood. And as the rebellious life, conversation, or dayly company of y<sup>e</sup> godlesse and perverse; or mingling with them is daungerous & hurtfull, & oft tymes procureth scandall & slaunder to the godly, so must they withdraw themselves from the same rebels, avoyding them in all workes & endes wherby their pure soules might be polluted & defiled: yet so y<sup>t</sup> alwayes the word of god take place & y<sup>t</sup> nothing take place or be preferred y<sup>t</sup> is contrary to love mercy, Christian discretion, necessity, Promise, or any other like matter.

35.

Worldly Authority or magistracy is a necessary ordinance of god, appointed & established for y<sup>e</sup> preservation of y<sup>e</sup> common estate, & of a good naturall, politique life, for y<sup>e</sup> reward of y<sup>e</sup> good, & y<sup>e</sup> punishing of the evill: wee acknowledg ourselves obnoxious, & bound by y<sup>e</sup> word of god to feare, honour, & shew obedience to the magistrate in all causes not contrary to the

word of the Lord. wee are obliged to pray god almighty for them, & to thank the Lord, for good reasonable magistrates. & to yeeld vnto them without murmuring beseeming Tribute, Toll, & Tax. This office of the worldly Authority the Lord Iesus hath not ordeyned in his spirituall kingdom the church of the new testament: nor adjoynd to the offices of his church: Neyther hath he called his disciples or followers to be worldly kinges, Princes, Potentates, or magistrates: neyther hath he burthened or chardged them to assume such office, or to governe the world in such a worldly manner: much lesse hath he given a law, to the members of his church, which is agreeable to such office or government. Yea rather they are called of him (whome wee are commaunded to obey by a voyce heard from heaven) to y<sup>e</sup> following of his vnarmed or vnweopened life, & of his crosse-bearing footsteps. In whom appeared nothing lesse then a worldly gouernment, powre, & sword. This then considered: (as also further, y<sup>t</sup> vppon the office of y<sup>e</sup> worldly authority many other thinges depend, as warrs, [blank space] to hurt his enemies in body or goodes etc[?], which evilly or not at all will fitt or consort with Christ, & y<sup>e</sup> crucified life of Christians): so hould wee y<sup>t</sup> it beseemeth beseemeth [sic] not Christians to administer this office: Therfor wee avoyd such offices & administrations, notwithstanding by no meanes therby willing to despise or condemne the reasonable discret magistrate nor to place him in lesse estimation, then he is described, by the holy ghost, of Paull.

## 36.

Iesus Christ the king & lawgiver of the new testament hath prohibited Christian [sic] y<sup>e</sup> swering of oaths: Therfor it is not permitted y<sup>t</sup> the faythfull of y<sup>e</sup> new testament should swere an oth.

## 37.

The married estate or matrimony hould wee for an ordinance of god, which according to y<sup>e</sup> first institution shalbe observed: Every man shall have his one only wife, & every woman shall have her one only husband: these may not be seperated but for adultery. Wee permitt none of our communion, to marry

THE  
PATRIMONY  
OF CHRISTIAN  
CHILDREN;

OR,  
A DEFENCE OF INFANTS  
Baptisme prooved to be consonant to  
the Scriptures and will of GOD (against  
the erroneous positions of the  
ANABAPTISTS.

---

By ROBERT CLEAVER, with the  
ioynnt consent of M<sup>r</sup> JOHN DOD.

---

M A T. 21. 16.

*Have ye never read, Out of the mouth of Babes and  
Sucklings, thou hast perfected praise?*



LONDON,

Printed by Bernard Alsop, for Joseph Hunslet and Benia-  
min Fisher, and are to be sold at the signe of the  
Talbot in Paternoster Row.

1624.

TITLE-PAGE. (Size of original  $7\frac{1}{10}$  in.  $\times$   $5\frac{5}{8}$  in.)

See Vol. I., pages 268-9.



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godles, vnbeleaving, fleshly persons out of y<sup>e</sup> church; but wee censure such (as other synnes) according to the disposition & desert of y<sup>e</sup> cause.

38.

Lastly: wee beleeve & teach the Resurrection of y<sup>e</sup> Dead: both of y<sup>e</sup> just & vnjust, as Paul: 1. Cor. 15. soundly teacheth and witnesseth: The soule shalbe vnited to the body, every one shalbe presented before y<sup>e</sup> judgment seat of Christ Iesus, to receave in his owne body wages according to his workes: And the righteou[s] which heer have lived holyly, & through fayth have brought forth the workes of love & mercy, shall enter into everlasting life with Christ Iesus y<sup>e</sup> Brydegrom of y<sup>e</sup> Christian host: But the vnsanctified, which have not knowne god, & have not obeyed y<sup>e</sup> gospell of Iesus Christ, shall goe into everlasting fier.

The Almighty, Gracious, mercifull God, preserve vs from the punishment of the vngodly, & grant vs grace & gifts helpfull to a holy life, saving death, & joyfull resurrection with all the Righteous. Amen.

Wee subscribe to y<sup>e</sup> truth of these articles, desiring further instruction

**John Smyth.**<sup>1</sup>

**Hugo** [?] **Bromhead**

his wife ~~X~~ **Iohn Grindall**

**Thomas Cannadine** [?]

**Samuel Halton**

**Thomas Pigott**

**Iohn Hardie**

**Edward hankin** [?]

**Thomas Iesopp**

**Robert Staveley**

**Garuase Neulle.** /

**Elizabeth Tomson**

**Mother Pigott.**

**Mary Smyth**

**Iane southworth**

**Margarett Stavely.**

**Isabell** [?] **Thomson.**

**Iane Organ.**

**Mary Dickens.**

**Betteris Dickens.**

**Dorottie Hamand.**

<sup>1</sup> The names in this list printed in dark type have been crossed out in the original.

<b>Alexander fleeminge</b> [?]	<b>Ellin</b> [?] <b>Paynter</b>
John Arnfeld	
	Anne Broomhead
Fraunces Pigott	Ales Parsons.
Thomas Dolphin	<b>Ioane Houghton.</b>
Salomon Thomson.	<b>Ioane Brigges</b>
	Ales Pigott.
Alexander Hodgkin	Margarett Pigott
Vrsulay Bywater	Ales Arnefield.
dorethie Oakland	Elizabeth White
John.....	Dorethie Tomson
.....	Margaret Maurice

[A Copy of a Letter sent in April, 1610, by the Waterland Church at Amsterdam to the Waterland Congregations outside the city, concerning the admission of the Remnant of John Smyth's congregation into their church membership.]<sup>1</sup>

Iesüs de ewighe wijsheyt des vaders zij met v, behertichde *broeder* en mededienaer inden heere,

Dus voornemen is welbeminde in Christo v by desen bekent te maken de gelegenthey<sup>t</sup> der saken alhier met ons en die engelse personen, (daer v voor desen wat van bekent is geworden) die de *vereniging*e met onse Gemeenten van ouer lange gedüjrichlijck versocht hebben. Vnde eerstelyck wetet, dat wij deur het vijerich aenhouden vande personen voorgenoemt, als oock het aendringen van sommige onser *broederen*, by de welcke haer doen en godtsalige wandeling best bekent was, soe verre gebracht zyn, dat wij de oore voor haer niet langer slüijten en conden met goeder conscientien, maer haere sake onse gansche broederschap hebben voorgesteld, om met onse Gemeijnte te sien, wat wtcomste ons de genadige Godt *verlenen* wilde, also ons hier de sake principalyck aenginck: en hebben eerst wy

<sup>1</sup> MS. B. 1357 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. The date when this letter was written is not given, but only the date when it was sent. Professor Dr Müller's translation of this document is given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Anabaptists", Vol. I., London, 1862, pp. 211-13.



dienaren, wt last der *broederen*, dese engelsen voor ons ontboden noch eens perfectelyck ondersocht inde leere ter *salicheyt*, ende regeringe der Gemeynthe, als oock bevraccht t'fondament en de forme van haer doop, en hebben niet bevonden datter enich *verschil* soe in t'een als int'ander tüsschen haer *ende* ons was, oock aengaende haer doop voor antwoord gecregen, datse in haer dopen ogemerck genomen hebben op<sup>1</sup> [i.e., 1.<sup>en</sup>] Act: 2, 38, doet boete *ende* een yegelyck late hem dopen inden name Iesü etc om nade wijse Petri alhier de boete voor te houÿden, en t'sterüen der sonden, (oock door den doop beteeckent) grondich te *verclaren*: 2.<sup>en</sup> op Act: 8, 37. gelooffdy van ganscher herten soe macht wel geschieden etc. om t'geloüe aen Iesum Christüm, dat hy de Sone godts is, daer by te voegen, en van ganscher herten te eysschen van die boetveerdigen, en daerop hebben sy gedoopt met belofte vanden dopelinck hem te willen büijgen onder het gansche eüangeliüm met syne leere, sy *verstondense* dan ofte sy *verstondense* noch niet. Hebben dan, mercken wij, geen onsüyüere *verstanden* geleert, en den dopelinck voorgehouÿden, om haer doop op enige misverstanden te fonderen, gelyck by de andere doopsgesinden wel geschiet, maer alleen het schriftüerlyck fundament daer inne gevolcht, *ende* also eenvöldelyck gehandelt.

Dit alle is daernae op een gesette tijt den *broederen* *verclaert* *ende* onse oordel van haer doop, wt begeerte der *broederen*, also wy de voorstanders der gemeynthe geacht waren, voorgestelt, en den *broederen* daer op haer bedencken gegeüen, (gelyckse oock begeerden,) en *vermaent* haer met godt te beraden inden gebede. en nae enige weecken wederom te samen gecomen zynde hebben wij geeyscht by stemmen van *persoon* tot *persoon* wat haer Godt soüde mogen int herte gegeüen hebben, en gevonden dat meest de *broederen*, alleen sommige wtgenomen, ons gevoelen, haer voorgestelt, toestendich waren, *ende* bestemden.

Soe is nü, hoewel wij hier een redelycke wtcomste inde sake hebben onder onse *broederen*, dat wy nochtans, om beters wille, geaccordeert syn niet voort te varen, voor en

all eer wij de sake onse naest gelegene mededienaren hebben aengegeëten, om soe wy dolen, ons met onse gemeente van haer te laten onderwysen metten worde des Heeren.

Is dan onse gevoelen *ende* naeste insien dat dese engelsen sonder wederom te dopen, soëden aengenomen worden, *ende* wij vinden ons te blode, *ende* en soëden niet dorüen haren doop vernieüwen, gelyck dit met ons van verre t'meesten-deel der gemeente bestemt is, als geseyt is, en dat om dese reden; namelyck, dat wy weten en selffs gesien en bevaren hebben datmen al eer die gene, die vande münstersche, naeck lopers van Amsterdam, vande Hazersöusche[?]<sup>1</sup>, en die van oüde Clooster gedoopt waeren, niet heeft dorüen weerdopen, maer sonder te weerdopen heeft aengenomen, : en wat voor dopen noch heden ten dagen voor goedt gekent worden : en op wat wijse en met wat gront dese lieden haer doop geschiet is, te weten een veele betere, en Christelijckere, nae onse oordel, die wij vande sake hebben als wyse teugen malcanderen houiden, dan de vorige die by ons geleden zyn, *ende* noch geleden worden. Ist nü lieüe *broeder* dat v dünckt dat wij hier inne dolen, soe doet wel, is onse en der ganscher gemeente vründelyck en broederlyck bidden en begeren, en coomt hier en onderwijst ons en de Gemeynthe metten worde Godts, wij willen ons geerne van een ygelycken laten onderwijsen, soe wy dolen en hier inne de waerheit missen, onderwijst oock de engelsen wtten worde godts, datse weer behoren gedoopt te worden; want sy presenteren haer wel te willen laten weer dopen, somen haer wtten worde godts met reden bewysen can, dat haer doop min een doop mach strecken dan de doop der Flamingen, Friesen en andere doopsgesinden, (*verstaet* wel met onderscheyt de doop der gener die van haer predicker gedoopt is; want van syn doop, daer mede hy hem selüen gedoopt heeft, hebben wy selue een ander onderscheijt, dat is een stück op hem selüe,

<sup>1</sup> Evidently pertaining to Hazerswoude, a village south-east of Leyden

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van de andere is nū de vrage, dit wilt ondescheyden) wij hebben daer geenēn moet toe, also het verstandige lūijden zijn, die niet sonder reden te pajen zyn. Wy bidden v noch eenmael aenmerckt wat wy begeren lettet [?] op t'propooost, en bedenckt v wel, hebby dat gevoelen by v. dat wy dolen, coomt tot ons en verlost ons vande dolinge, en helpt ons te rechte: soe niet condy voldoen met stille sūijgen, en de sake godt en onse consciētie beuelen, [sic]

[A Letter from the Waterland Congregation at Leeuwarden to the Waterlanders at Amsterdam, dated May 5, 1610 (Old Style), urging that a union with the Remnant of John Smyth's Congregation be not too quickly consummated.]<sup>1</sup>

Genade ende vrede van godt onsen vader ende  
den heere Iesū christo sij seer lieūe beminde *broederen*  
met ons allen die daar lieffhebben onsen heere  
Iesūm christūm onuergancklyck Amen

Seer lieūe ende In godt beminde broeder mede diēnaer Inden heere Lūbbert gerritsz met v lieūe mede dienaren wij wenschen v l te samen van haerten alles goets vanden heere met christelijke groetenisse [.] v l brieff aen ons gesonden hebben wij ontfangen den inhoūt vandien ten deile verstaen dat ghij l. *broederen* aen ons versoecket begeerende sydt seer ootmoedelycken om by v l tot Amsterdam te komen op den 23 Majj stilo noūo die oorsaake Soe wij verstaen van dien is om met den engelschen aldaer by v sijende vrede te maeken, waer op wij onse l *broederen* op desen tijt voor antwoord schrieūen dat het komen voor ons Lūijden nū ter tijt seer ongelegen is, Oock laet ons mede het ongeūall op het woort mercken want wij sien op verscheijden tijt doer verschrieūen ende begeerten In hollant geweest om verscheijden saeken hebbende doenmaels onsen besten raet dien wij hadde gegeūen, maer heeft seer wenich moegen helpen dat het tott vrede hadde moegen dienen, Iae

<sup>1</sup> MS. B. 1358 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. Professor Dr Müller's translation of this letter is given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists", Vol. I., pp. 214-15.

maer tot ondanck ende onlÿst, dat ons Immers van haerten leijt is weet die heere, daerom beminde broederen ofte het al gelegen waer geweest voor ons om te komen doer v l ernstige begeerten, Soe sijn wij doch oÿer dese saeke om met den engelschen vrede te maeken, sonder meerder kennisse te hebben van haerder saeken niet vrijmoedich tis oock seer bedenckelycken ende wel te oÿerleggen, watter all aen onser sijden die noch in vreden sien daer wt soÿden moegen ontstaen want die erÿarenheijt leert het ons seer wel etc

Hierom dan lieÿe broederen soÿde onse meeninge weesen in deser saeken dat wij met onser gemeenten die wij onweerdich bedienen met open doeren onbedeckelycken soÿden begeeren te handelen, want het haere lÿijden soe wel aengaet als ons, Ende ofte wij lÿijden all by v l waeren saegen ende hoorden Soe en soÿden doch niet gesinnet syn voor onse persoonen in eenighe saeken te consenteren ofte ten waere dat wij ten eersten van v l schriefftelycken hadden, die cortte bekentenisse der voornaemster stÿcken onser leere ende gebrÿijcken der gemeenten die ghij haer lÿijden in schriefft gestelt hebt waerop dat sy lÿijden den vrede soÿden willen aennemem, op dat wij dat selfde by onser gemeenten oÿer all moechten proÿen, diewile dat die saeke l broederen naer v eijgen schrieÿen wijt ende sijdt loopen sall sonder dien soÿde het veele verantwoordens behoouen, Daerom soÿden wij gesint sijen ons voor onse gemeenten om te qÿijteren alles wat wij in deser saeken soÿden doen ende ingaen dat sij dat selfde mede wijsten ende oock in vreden ingingen op dat wij ons naemaels in geen moeten nochte onrÿste en braechten, diewile wij doch sonder de gemeenten niet en syen nochte sy mede niet sonder ons als een lichaem, Soe en behooren dan ofte wij alschoen onwerdige dienaers sijen, Immers sonder haeren voorweten in sÿlke saeken niet te handelen want wij kennen lieÿe broederen den stant onser gemeenten alhier seer wel, dit is op het naeste onse eenvoedich insien van deser saeken[?] hoÿt het ons ten goeden, Soÿdet anders gaen dan wel dat soÿde ons van haerten leijt syen voor dijtmael niet meer dan blyft den heere in genaden te samen beÿtolen met vrientlycke groetenisse in den heere des vredens bidt godt voor ons wij blyÿen seer gerne ðwe schÿldenaers

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desen 5 maij oüden stijll anno 1610 In Leeuwarden by ons ondergeschreüene

by mij Hans mathijs zoon  
Ane Anesz           Dijrck Doedesz  
Ian Ians. zoen           1610  
Schellinckwoï           5  

---

6

Yeme de Rijnck

[A Letter of Yeme de Ringh at Harlingen to Lubbert Gerritsz., Hans de Ries, and Reynier Wybrantsz., dated May 15 [?], 1610, and expressing the wish that the Confession of Faith of the Remnant of John Smyth's congregation (in 38 articles) might be sent to Friesland for the perusal of the Waterlanders there.]<sup>1</sup>

*Den*

Eersamen Vromen Man  
Renier Wybrants glaesz  
maker in sint Lucas op de  
Sijngel inde Menniste  
Kercke.

Tot

Amsterdam

Loont den boode<sup>2</sup>

Laus deo XV [?] Mayo 1610 in Harlynghen  
Van herten l beminde broederen ende mede Dienaers in  
*christo* Lubbert ger:[ritsz.] Hans der rys Renier Wibrants  
vl [v.l.] brieff van t' versoeck om aldaer by v te comen  
om d'engelsen handel te spreeken, is ons geworden de  
reste *zyn* terstont bij mij wort gesonden onse Leraren  
behalüen Iacob tiewes hebben bij een geweest ende haer  
menijnge hier Ingaende gesonden an vl/het welcke [?]  
vl mocht visiteren / t schijnt dat zij liefst d'articulen die

<sup>1</sup> MS. B. 1359 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. Apparently not given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists".

<sup>2</sup> This address is not a part of the text of the letter.

bij vl dEngelsen syn ouergegeuen: Eerst hadden / om met den broederen die zelue te oÿersien op datter naderhant gheen moeyte wt en quame soo zij zorghen. Dus de vrienden connen doen wat haer Inne geraden Denckt,, k'en dencke nijet soo wij der schoon al quamen,, dat wij misschien eendrachtig int verstant soudē zijn ende dat mochte dan wel wat moyten maken sorgh ich,, doch dat vl hier an de leraren uwe ouergegeue[ne?] articulen sont en sije [zie] ick nijet voor quaed in. Want mij is zeer lieff dat syt nijet opt stück des doops (soot schynt) nemen waerom ick hoope soo se met onse geloue ende huys-houdijngē te vreden connen syn, dattet wel door ouerschriuen ten goeden einde conde comen soot godt belieft. Dus bedenct v ten besten / want ick voor myn persoon hadde wel geern de zahe wat op een ander manijer gesien als dese / naemtlijch dat syselue getrocken hadden om alle dynghen te hooren en zien / ofte soo se nijet getrocken hadden dat syt ùl [v.l.] hadden gantslijch in handen gestelt. Dan dit soot schijnt en heeft soo wel nijet conne[n?] gaen / ende dat soo ick merke wt sorgvuldigheijt vande gemeenten hier. Daerom bidde Ick vl doet soo wel ende schrijft na hare begeeren d'articulen soo ghij se haer hebt ouergegeuen ende al waert dattet de dienaer der engelsen mede ondertekende / ten soude nijet schaden mijns bedencken, doch doet soot v geraden denckt,, ick hebbe dit mede ondertekent oftet wel soo gants na mijn menijngē nyet is / soo en can ick t toch soo quaet nijet schouwen, want als wy wat sonder onse gemeenten doen / soo crighen wij gemeynlich moeijte / want wij hebben vele stijte hoofden daer wy wat moeten na omsien / en ten is niet moglyck altyts in twist te leuen want onse gemeenten bloeyen nÿ redelijck god loff soo dat wy nu [?] in twee mael yn een maent oft 5 weken tyts / 40 personen onder t Doopsel gecregen hebben / en t ware ommers [immers] nyet goet onrust daer onder te brenghen. Voorder gaet hier by eenen brieff die ick ter s[ton]t [?] van Rippert ontffangen hebbe ende by mij onwetend opgebrooken.. en [?] [?] ni]et al gelesen / alsoo ick noch op t bedde lach / doen den brieff

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quam / dit met al mijn [?] ten besten afnemen t is onwetend  
geschiet. nyet meer dan syt hartlyck gegroet met al die v  
lieff zijn.

V. L. D[ienaer] yeme de Rijneck

[A Letter of Willem Janszoon, Teacher at Rynsburg, to  
Reynier Wybrantsz. at Amsterdam, dated May 18, (1610),  
concerning the proposed meeting on May 23 for discussion of  
a union with the Smyth Remnant.]<sup>1</sup>

Den

Eersaemen ende vroemen reijner  
Wybrant soen wonende tot amsterdam<sup>2</sup>

Weest hertelick gegrüet

Nae wenscinge alles güets vanden here sae laet ick mijn  
lieüe *ende* ingodbeminde brüeder ende medehelper inden  
evangelio reijner wijbrant soen weten dat ick v scriüen  
ontfangen hebbe ende hebbe daer wt verstaen als dat  
daer sommige iverige herten wt engelant gecaemen syn  
die daer met v l soecken te verenigen ende dat gy met  
haer daer meermaelen van onse hūishoūdinge gesproecken  
hebt *ende* wterlick in belidinge met malcanderen enich syt  
soe ick verstae ende scrijft aen ons onwaerdich om daer op  
den 23 mey met sommige van onse mede dijeners daer te  
coemen om met malcanderen te oūer leggen om op het  
beqūaemste met haer te spreecken ende dat ick sommige  
soūde mede brengen die latijn verstaen *ende* spreecken  
connen soe laet ick mijn l b [lieve broeder] *ende* mede-  
diener weten dat het mijn op dien dach niet gelegen en  
comt want mijn woort staet om die dach op een ander  
plaetse te comen dat welcke ick niet mach verleggen om  
redens wille mer hebbe meester Iacob ende Cornelis van  
beest daer tūe beweecht om dan daer by v l te wesen die  
wijle sy latijn verstaen ende spreecken connen ende dat gy  
meer helps van haer sūlt hebben dan van ons die wijle wy

<sup>1</sup> MS. B. 1360 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. Apparently  
not given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists".

<sup>2</sup> This address is not a part of the text of the letter.

die spraeck niet en verstaen die heer wil v altesaemen wijsheit ende verstant geüen dat het mach gescieden tot eere des euangeliüms tot stichtinge van veele godtvrüchtigen *ende* tot lof *ende* danckaerheit van gods heylige naem *ende* tot salichkeit van onse dier gecochte siele daer verlene ons god syn genaede tüe amen

Willem Iar soen w<sup>t</sup> reynsbürch den 18 meij [1610.]

[A Letter from Dirk Pieters at Hoorn to Lubbert Gerritsz. at Amsterdam, dated May 21, 1610, in which he excuses himself, Abel Hendriksen, Gijsbert Dirks, and Jacob Adriaansz. from attending the meeting on May 23 concerning a union with the Remnant of John Smyth's Church.]<sup>1</sup>

Anden Eersame Clas  
Iansen brüijn  
om voort tee bestellen  
Aen lübbert gerretzn  
Tot  
Amster dam<sup>2</sup>  
Drie SS [stuivers]...  
die boede sijn loon

Godts genade voer eenen vrintlijcken groete Amen

Eersame Heer hartelijke lieüe ende In godt beminde broeder (vader) ende meede dienaer Inden here Lubbert Gerretsen Also wij v l onder teijkenden brieff vanden 6 deses ontüangen hebben ende den Selleüen met andacht well oeüer (ende wederoeüer gesien ende met Comer [Commer] nae bedacht//. Soo hebben wij met onse dienaren besproecken (ende onse mede dienaeren / als Aebell hendericksen Gijsbert Dircksen ende Iacop ariensen antboeden [](?) / met haer raet hoüdende vinden wij t voort beste voer onse gemoet (ende voer den heere) om niet te coemen nae v l begeerten // bidde darom wilt het ons ten besten hoüden // t geschiet niet dat v l ons des

<sup>1</sup> MS. B. 1361 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. Apparently not given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists".

<sup>2</sup> This address is not a part of the text of the letter.



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niet werdich en Sijt gensins Iae alwaert noch tien maell  
meer dat weet die heere / dan om Sekere gewichtege oor-  
sacke dien wij meenen datoe te hebben // Soüeele nou  
die Sacke belangt darum wij verschreüen Sijn is onse  
eenüldige [?] raet ende beede dat ghij toch versichtich [?]  
ende Sorrchüldich [?] wilt handelen ende niet licht tot  
eenen voort ganck en Consenteert om eenige perijckelen  
die darouer ontstaen moegen / op dat wij niet ande eene  
kant timmeren ende ande andere velmeer brecken // want  
lieüe *broeder* wij Sien well waner all enige gescheijden  
volcken tesamen comen hoe Swarlick het valt den Selleüen  
in vrede tee behoüden gelijk den tegenwoordigen stant  
alte vell ons leert // nochtans weten wij dat die vrüchten  
der gerechticheijt wort in vreden geseijt bijden geenen  
die den vrede hoüden / darum lieüe beminde *broeder* laet  
ons het geene hoüden dat ons de heere verleent heeft / op  
dat wij niet en verliesen dat wij gewrach[t] hebben maer  
vollen loon vanden heere moegen ontüangen / hier toe wil  
ons die heere helpen ende bijstaen [?] nü ende in Eewicheijt  
amen Sijt hier mede den here beüoelen ende van harten  
gegroet met des heren vrede / *dateert* hooren den 2i meij  
Anno 1610

Bij mij dirrick Pieterzn v l  
mede dienaar Inden heere

[The Draft of a Letter sent by the Waterlanders at Amsterdam to the congregation in Leeuwarden, dated July 16, 1610 (New Style), asking for an early answer as to their opinion of the enclosed Confession of Faith in 38 articles, and also of the value of the baptism of John Smyth's followers.]<sup>1</sup>

Gunstige & in Godt beminde *broederen* & mededienaren  
in den heere Ian Schellingwouv, ofte Hans Mathijs met  
vwe medehelperen daer ontrent in den dienst des heren  
v wenschen wij toe des Heeren vrede, & een genadige  
*voorlichtinge* in Christo op alle vwe wegen, Amen

<sup>1</sup> MS. B. 1362 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. Professor Dr Müller's translation of this document is printed in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists", Vol. I., pp. 215-16. This document is so poorly written as to be most difficult to decipher with exactness.

Het belieue v by desen te weten dat wy seer *verlangen* nae bescheyt & antwoorde opt'gene wy een tytlanck geleden aen v lieden *versocht en* begeert hebben, aengaende de saken der Engelsen, die wy v.l. bekent gemaect hebben, en syn *verwondert* waerom de sake by v soe weynich beherticht schynt te worden, daerof wij beschaemt syn voor de lieden, naÿlych weten wat antwoorden, dat de sake dus *voortrecht*. Is derhalÿen onse versoeck & ernstich begeren aen v lieden, wilt de sake niet langer *voortrecken*, maer ons cortelyck en binnen veertijen dagen tyts nae dato deses antwoorde toeschicken door v comste selffs in *persone*, ist mogelyck dat wy soe vele by v gelden mogen ofte soe niet, schriftelyck, op dese twe stücken: Eerstelyck wat ghij in de bekentenis, die wy v toegesonden hebben nae v begeren omdat ghij met vwe gemeenten proeÿen wolt metten worde Godts te bestraffen *en* weder te *verbeteren* hebt; *ten* anderen wat wt cracht van t woort Godts van haeren doope te houÿden is. nae v gevoelen. En van dit laeste stück hadden wij insonderheit opt spoedechste geerne antwoorde; & goedt onderwijs. Het welke soe ghij ons omtrent de tyt voorgenoemt niet toe en schickt, soe sÿllen wy daer voor houden dat ghij t ons beÿeelt en geheel in handen stelt, om te doen en te laten naedat wy t hier met onse gemeente best vinden sullen na de *wysheijt* die wij hebben en dat ghy v daer in gerÿst sult[?] houÿden, *en* na der tyt te vreden syn, dus wilt v beneerstigen [= haasten], is onse bede..., soo ghij ons met Gront van Godts woort ter eener oft-ter anderer zyden te waerschoÿwe[n?] hebben [= hebt] *en* ten besten te onderwysen hebt, dat ons sÿllecx ylich [= spoedig] als geseyt is toegesonden werde, op dat wy te eer hoe beter ter sake moeten doen gelyck wy schuldich syn. beneÿen ditte niet meer dan hertelycke groete aen v onsen lieuen broederen, & mededienaren in den eÿngelio des heren daer in Frieslandt, Iesus met syn geest blyÿe ewelyck by v, *Amen*

In Amsterdam desen 16<sup>en</sup> Iÿly Anno 1610. stilo noÿo.  
by ons

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[A Letter, dated July 18, 1610, from the Waterlanders in Leeuwarden (Friesland), stating their disapproval of the proposed union with the Remnant of John Smyth's congregation, whose baptism they term something unheard of, "een noeytt gehoerde sake".]<sup>1</sup>

Myn harte is zeer well aen den regenten In ysraell

de daer vriwillich *zyn* Onder den volke: Sed ne quid Nimis

Naer lieffelijke groetenisse ende goeden genegentheit Onfers harten zeer *Lieue* ende wellbeminde *Broederen* ende mede *dienaeren* aen den Rike gods Lūbbert Gerrijtzen samptt vwe mede *dienaeren* wij Ondergescreuen mogen v[.] L[.] *niet* onthouden onse *verwondernise* oer v ijūerich ende driftich schriuen aen ons gedaen int welke ghij heden vordertt onsen antwoirdtt bennen—14—dagen oft namaels ons gerūst te dragen oer de aleantije ofte *verhandelinge* van *vereniginge* metten engelschen aldaer by v gehoūden ende voirgenomen *etc* wij syn L[.] mannen oer dsake zeer bedacht, waerom v L adūijs van ons vvt vrieslantt soe driftich ende ijūerich vordertt ende *versocht* hoe well hett een geheel nyewe ende noeytt gehoerde sake is. de well behoerlyck maer datt alle *Gemeenten* In Prūijsen als mede doer duijtslant ende all omme geseten bekent waer gelyck v *Lieue* [?] *Broederen* noch well bekendtt sall syn watt woorden ende beloften geschiet syn by ons In voerige *verhandelde* saken *niet* meer nyewes sonder *vragae* den [?] raadt van allen t hoūden, watt opsichtt dese haestige t zamenlopinge ofte *vereniginge* deses volcx mett haer absūrden werck [?] standtt ende dienst by *verscheiden* *Gemeenten* als particūliere personen oer all maken sall, Condtt ghij self L: Mannen aff meten is *niet* nodich int breedste te extenderen, dan Cortelick voir [voor] ons dochte hett well raetzaem Onder correctie In dese sake noch watt te vieren soe yūerich ende vierich *niet* te wesen doen wenden vele meer allen mogeliken vlytt arbeit ende nersticheit aen om de Rūyne schaden *verdarff* ende onderganck der *Gemeenten* oer den waterlandeschen vredemakinge

<sup>1</sup> MS. B. 1363 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. Professor Dr Müller's translation of this document is given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists", Vol. 1., pp. 216-18.

oft vereniginge datt datt [*sic*] erst ouer een side mochte gebracht worden dien brandtt gelesschett d *gemeenten* gevredicht ende wederom In rüste ende stillicheit gebrocht [gebracht] soüde ons een hartelike vruechde ende blijdtschap des harten syn, verlaett toch so licht de oüde vrienden *niet* met *verkiesen* der Nyewen de soelen velichtt [?] noch well soe goett *niet* syn, d *vermeerderinge* des ryx ende *verbeteringe* der kercken Cristi is ons van harten lieff kendtt godtt d here, maer mett *verstroyinge* der vrienden is *niet* te wenschen, dese schade doett ons int Harte wee, v onmatigen ijuer heeft datt mede gewrocht, wij willen datt daer bij affcorten oft wij well dien angaende vele meer hadden t zeggen Watt aengaett t *versoeck* om onsen aduijs ende Proeüe de ghij begeert oüer de geconcipeerde -38. gelooffs articülen ist *vergeefs*, d wile d selfde In gedrückte boeken voir alle *man* aen den dach *syn* gebracht mogen wij nū mett v een algemeyn[e ?] ordell *van* all *man* daer van *verwachten* *verstaen* daerom *Imparinent* int besunder *van* ons te vorderen (den tydt sall leren d *commoditeit* is bij velen noch *niet* anders geweest obiter [?] eens gesien ende oüerlesen verwacht den tydt men heeft hier oick mede watt anders te doene, Ten laetsten datt v L voir all ende ten principale onsen aduijs ende In sien oüer haren doop vordertt, *verwondert* ons seer aen gesien ghij lieden v *Insien* ende goedtbedüncken oüer dat stuck *niet* en *vertoontt* hett welke v behoerdtt hadde, datt dan gesien hebbende mochten wij tzelüe proeüen ende het onse daer by stellen ende also tbeste mett melkanderen *verkiesen*, doch Cortelick soe vele daer op voier een antwoirdtt onder *Correctie* wij en kennen noch weten van sülken gebruijck *ordinantie* ofte doen vth [wt] met der h. schriftüren *niet*, syn *daerom* bloede ende onvrymoedich vele daer van tzeggen tis een noeiitt gehoerde sake willen *daerom* dat In syn waer de laten ende ons aen den worde godes hoüden daer wij op bescheiden *zyn* ende *niet* op menschen werck ofte doen, hier medde houden wij voir desen *Instancie* v schriüen ende *versoeck* genoechsaem beantwoirdtt ende wiltt voirtan vwe dienst ende amptes plicht In desen ende allen anderen bevorderen (In dien onsen antwoirdtt v L *niet* genoech ende vull kan doen mett *verwillinge* ende ontbiedinge der saken gelegenheit oüer all ende alomme

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In allen Plaetzen voiren *verhaeltt*, hoÿdtt goeden raadtt *ende* beneffens oick d wachte oÿer d kudde des heren Laett ons dese Iegenwoirdige schaden eerst soeken toe boeten eermen watt nyewes *verneemtt* datt bidden *ende* *vermanen* wij v *ende* blyfft hier mede alle t zamen den ewigen *ende* allmogenden godtt *ende* syn genaden rike woordtt In ewige *ende* genadige bewaringe beuolen *ende* hartelick t samen van ons vwe *onwerdige* Broederen *ende* mede *dienaeren* gegroett vaertt well den .18. Iÿly. 1610

	Dijreck Doedesz	
M <sup>r</sup> Doÿwe Sijbrants	1610	7
bij mij Hans mathijsz		18
Ick worde haest moede in		mate
desen wtbecommeringe		

[A Memorandum made by Claes Claeszoon Anslo at Amsterdam on Jan. 17, 1611/2 stating the wish of Lubbert Gerritsz., expressed on his death-bed, that a union between the Waterlanders and the Remnant of John Smyth's Congregation might be speedily effected.]<sup>1</sup>

Copije

Den 17<sup>e</sup> Ianuarij alsoe Lubbert gerretsz seer cranck te bedde lach heeft hij die dienaers alle / *ende* oock hans de Rijs / Ian mÿnter / nittert obbesz / cornelis albertsz / *ende* mijn Claes claesz / (behalÿen mathijs lutso [?] die absent was) genraecht [?] Koefoot selffs sijn hertelijcke begeren was soe hij seijde *ende* wel dudelijcke hem verklaerden oft oock onser aller begeren was / dat Reijner wybrans [?] inden vollen dienst mocht beuesticht werden / dewijl hij een tijt lanck die gemeente int woort goods bedient hadde / seggende dat hij daer wel in gerÿst was / dewijll hij het woort goods het meeste wesende getrou in beÿonden was / dat hem het wiste [?] te weten die sacramenten wel oock te betrowen waren / waer op wij alle Iae antwoorden / *ende* dewijll het op senen [?] na met die gehele gemeijnte

1612  
[? New  
Style]

<sup>1</sup> MS. B. 1366 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. Apparently not given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists."

met stillswygen vredelick bestempt was vraechden Lubbert gerretsz doen oock Reynier wybrans / oft hij door goods ghenaden bereijt was den swaren dienst aen te nemen / welcke onder die selue genaeden oock Iae antwoorden / doen heeft Lubbert gerretsz hem de handt opt hooft geleijt / hem wenshende veele goede toewenschingen van godt ende hem alsoe beüesticht ende hem nergent aen verbonden als aen den woorden goods / seggende oock dat hij groote blyschap hadde gehad dat met alle die mannen int [?] lestleeden alle Concepten neder geleijt waren ende dat men alleen nae den woorde goods alles sall handelen heeft vorder oock ernstelick begeert dat men die saecke doch niet Int vergen soude stellen vande engelsche / maer metten eersten voltrecken soe het mogelick ware dan seijde Inden doop van M<sup>r</sup> smidt [John Smyth] wat bedencken hadde / alsoe hij daer geen scriftüer [?] toe en hadde / maer nu well [wilde] gerüst alle die andere engelschen / sonder weder te dopen op tenemen / vorder begerde hij oock aen nittert obbes / dat hij die verkiesinghe voor desen geschiet / wilde doch behertigen ende hem gelaten stellen ende door goods ghenaden sijn beste doen / het welck nittert obbes oock onder die selue ghenaden aen nam / ende wert door Lubbert gerretsz oock alsoe begeert dat matheus [?] Iansz oock doen soüde die welcke daer niet present was maer die dienaers belooffden dat oock te vorderen ende hebben Reynier wybrans alle met eenen küsse ontfangen ende alsoe in vreden vriendelyck gescheijden ende Lubbert gerretsz met eenen cüsse des heeren ghenaden beüolen ende goeden nacht gewenscht—ende hadde Lubbert gerretsz oock te vooren hans de Rijs gebeden alsoe Reyner wybrans een Ionck man was dat hij hem doch in alles met Raet ende daet wilde te hulpe komen / ende met hem alle dingen ouerwegen ende handelen als sij tesaemen hadden gedaen / het sij mondelingh ofte aen mallcanderen te scrijüen nae gelegentheit der saecken / verklaerden lubbert gerretsz oock ende begeerden / datmen int verhandelen der sacramenten in alles soüden handelen tot die meeste stichtinghe der gemeenten / seggende op somyge

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plaetsen stellen bij een taffell daer omtrent 20 teffens aen  
gaen sitten / op andere plaetsen anders men soude daer in  
handelen / wat met die meeste vrede mochtte geschieden /  
dat hij t wel aen een taffell inde Rijp<sup>1</sup> hadde toe gedient  
ende oock op adere plaetsen etc

Claes claesz ansloo

Dit hebbe ick strach den seluen dach voor een memorije  
gescreuen soe haest als ick t huijs qum

[An early English Anabaptist Petition, probably written in  
1614 (by Thomas Helwys ?).]<sup>2</sup>

To the right Honorable assemblie of the Commons-  
house of Parliament. /

A most humble supplication of divers poore prisoners,  
and many others the kinges maiesties loyall subiectes  
ready to testifie it by y<sup>e</sup> oath of alleageance in all  
sinceritie, whose Greivances are lamentable, onely for  
cause of conscience. /

Most humbly sheweing.. That whereas in y<sup>e</sup> *Parliament* holden in  
the 7<sup>th</sup> yere of the kinges maiesties Raigne that now is, it was  
enacted that all persons whatsoever aboue the age of 18. yeres,  
not comeing to Church &c. should take the oath of alleageance;  
and for the refusall thereof, should be committed to prison  
without baile &c. By which Statute the Popish Recuzantes  
vpon takeing the oath, are daily delivered from imprisonmentes:  
and divers of vs also are set at libertie when wee fall vnder the  
handes of y<sup>e</sup> Reverend Iudges & Iustices, But when wee fall  
vnder the handes of the Bishops wee can have no benefitt by  
the said oath, for they say it belongeth onely to Popish  
recuzantes, & not to others; but kept have wee bene by them  
many yeres in lingering imprisonmentes, devided from wives,  
children, servantes & callinges, not for any other cause but  
onely for conscience towards God, to the vtter vndoeing of vs,  
our wives & children. /

<sup>1</sup> De Rijp is a village in North Holland.

<sup>2</sup> MS. in the Library of the House of Lords, London, calendared under  
the date, 1613.

Our most humble Supplication therefore to this high & Honorable assemblie is, that in commiseration of the distressed estate of vs our poore wives & children it may be enacted in expresse wordes that other the kinges maiesties faithfull subiectes, as well as Popish Recuzantes may be freed from imprisonmentes vpon taking the said oath. /

And wee shall still (as wee do day & night) pray that the God of heaven may be in your Honorable assemblie, for by him do Princes decree Iustice. /

By his maiesties faithfull subiectes

most falsely called

reiected by the  
comittee

Anabaptistes.

[An undated Latin Confession of Faith by Richard Overton, probably written in 1615.]<sup>1</sup>

Credo corde & confiteor ore

- [? 1.] Vnum tantum esse Deum, vnum Christum, vnum Spiritum Sanctum, vnam Ecclesiam, vnam veritatem, vnam fidem, vnam veram Religionem.
- 2 In Dietate [*sic*] sunt tres personæ realiter distinctæ, Vater, Filius & Spiritus S. coeternales, coequales & coessentialiales; omnes & singuli eorum vnus et idem Deus, non diuisæ sed distinctæ realiter inter se proprietatibus suis, viz. creatione, Redemptione & sanctificatione.
3. Deus Pater est illius Esse à se non ab alio; Filius est idem illud Esse, non à se, sed a patre; Spiritus S. est idem illud Esse, sed non à se, sed a Patre & Filio: Ita Esse seu essentia diuina horum trium eadem est, et numero vna.
4. Hæc Trinitas in vnitatem coli et venerari debet in spiritu et veritate, et qui Deum sic veneratur fruatur vita

<sup>1</sup> MS. B. 1353 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. Professor Dr Müller's translation of this document is given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists", Vol. I., pp. 254-56.



æterna, et modus Dei sic venerandi perfectè exprimitur per ipsum Deum in Veteri et Nouo testamento per manus prophetarum et Apostolorum, et qui vlllo alio modo colit Deum, quàm illo his duobus testamentis expresso, fuerit ejectus è fauore & præsentia Dei cum Dæmonibus et suis Angelis in mortem æternam.

5. Quinto, credo et confiteor, quod Dominus noster [*sic*] Iesus Christus ab Apostolis prædicatus, fuit ipse Messias ab æterno promissus, de quo Prophetæ vaticinabantur & scribebant.
- 6 Sexto, credo omnia in Lege & Evangelio scripta & contenta esse vera, diuina & ab omnibus sic æstimanda & retinenda.
- 6 7°. Christum vnigenitum Dei filium esse Sacerdotem prophetam & regem secundem [*sic*] ordinem Melchisedeci in æternum. Et ecclesia sua à nullo alio neque Cælo, terra & Inferis, sed ab ipso gubernari debet

Munus ejus propheticum est .1. reuelare voluntatem Patris; .2. instituere [?] ministerium; 3. intus docere seu efficacem esse per ministerium.

Munus Sacerdotale est, 1. docere nos, et aliter quidem, quàm alij sacerdotes, hoc est non tantum auribus per verbum, sed etiam in cordibus per S. S. .2. Offerre se victimam propitiatoriam pro omnibus & singulis totius mundi peccatis .3. orare & intercedere pro nobis perpetuò apud patrem. Ita vt ejus victima satis et sufficiens est pro omnibusque & [*sic*] singulis rationalibus in toto rerum vniverso degentibus, ad eorum redemptionem & salutem, si ijs propria fide adhibeatur & ad finem perseueratur.

Munus Regium constat in ejus resurrectione è mortuis et ascensione in cælum ad dextram patris vincens & sub pedibus ejus eiciens Orcum, mortem, peccatum & finalem condemnationem; omni potentia in cælo & terra spiritualiter gubernans suam Ecclesiam, adornans eam donis spiritualibus, ac tandem eam liberans ab omnibus malis; et planè debellatos in æternas pœnas detru- dens.

vera & visibilis ejus Ecclesia est quidam numerus populi,

è mundo per verbum dei seperati, & per Baptismum fidei et rescipientiæ collecti & constituti.

Concescit Christus hujus Ecclesiæ plenam potentiam & autoritatem inter se juncto eorum beneplacito et vnanimamente eligere personas ad gerendum officia in hac Ecclesia. Et hæc et nulla alia sunt amplectanda viz: *pastorum Doctorum, presbyte[ro]rum, Diaconorum & subministratorum*; qui per verbum Dei ab om[n]i parte qualificantur & approbantur.

Officia omnia Antichristiana *cujuscunque* fuerint generis in hanc Ecclesia[m] non sunt admittenda sed funditus exterpenda:

omnes humanæ traditiones & opiniones sunt odio cordis prosequenda et fugienda; et si vnquam a quibusdam sint assumpta, non sunt fouenda sed statim deponenda: ~: sed priusquam progrediar aut ad finem perueniar ne sit quæso vobis molestum nosse me Anglicum esse nuper Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ; sed convictus verbo Dei & spiritu sanct[o] omnes ejus errores depono & in æternum renuntio, et toto animo & mente cupio per baptismum in veram Ecclesiam intrare.

porro credo duo tantum esse Sacramenta in Ecclesia Christi administranda & amplectanda, videlicet, Baptismi & Cæni Dominici: et hæc Sacramenta pænitentibus & fidem exhibentibus administranda & communicanda ita vt vterque eorum Infantibus omnibus et infidelibus omnibus sunt deneganda / quippe talibus non pertinent.

postremò, pænitet me plurimum peccati, et tristitiâ et mærore confiteor me peccatorem maximum esse et hucusque in peccatis summis et quotidianis vixisse, sed eorum remissionem expecto et quæro per Iesum Christum æternum Dei filium, et post mortem in vitam æternam intrare; In illius nomine itaque totis viribus Corporis et animæ exopto et desidero in veram Ecclesia[m] per Baptismum intrare et perseuerare

Quid restat ergo quin Baptizar. /

Richardus Overton

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A Copie rightly related of an Anabaptists Letter, written to his sometimes accounted Christian Bretheren, shewing the cause of his separation *from the Church of England, indited by a principall Elder, in and of that Separation*<sup>1</sup>.

**B**eloued Friends, the ancient loue that I haue had towards you, prouoketh me to testifie, that I haue not forgotten you, but am desirous still to shew my vnfaigned loue vnto you in any thing I may. I make no question but you haue heard diuers false reports of mee, although among the same some truths, and that you may be truely informed of my estate, I thought good to write a few words vnto you, hoping you will not speak euill of that you know not, nor condemne a man vnheard.

The thing wherein I differ from the Church of England, is, they say at their washing or baptizing in their Infancy, They are mēbers, children of God, and inheritours of the kingdome of heauen. This I dare not beleue; for the scriptures of God declare, that neither flesh, nor washing the flesh can saue. Flesh and blood cannot enter into the kingdome of God: for that is flesh, is flesh, and wee cannot enter into the kingdome of God, except wee be borne againe: They that haue prerogatiue to bee the sons of God, must bee borne of God, euen beleue in his name: and the washing off the filth of the flesh, is not the Baptisme that saueth, but a good conscience maketh requests to God. If any bee in Christ, hee is a new creature. The consequence of this is, that Infants are not to bee baptized, nor can bee Christians; but such onely as confesse their Faith, as these Scriptures teach.

There is neither command, example, or iust consequence for

<sup>1</sup> From I. P.'s "Anabaptismes Myserie of Iniquity Unmasked." etc., London, 1623, pp. 1-11. This letter, it will be remembered, was written by one who became an Anabaptist for a time, but returned into the Church of England before this book was printed. The letter is signed "H. N.", though Benjamin Stinton read it "H. H." Thomas Crosby printed it as Stinton read it, and followed Stinton in ascribing its authorship to Thomas Helwys, although the initials "H. H." are not those of Helwys. This letter as printed by Crosby has been used to show that Helwys lived until after the date May 10, 1622, a most false conclusion. See Vol. I., pp. 256-57.

Infants Baptisme, but for the baptizing of Beleeuers: There is besides of the Church of God to be considered what it is: It will plainly appeare, that Infants cannot bee of it; they that know the language from whence the word Church is taken, can witnesse that it signifieth a people called out; and so the Church of Christ is a company called out of their former estate wherein they were by nature, out of *Babylon*, wherein they haue been in spirituall bondage to the power of Antichrist, and from hauing fellowship in spirituall worship with vnbeleeuers and vngodly men, from all whosoever commeth out, they are fit timber for his spirituall building, which is a habitation of God by the spirit, and the houshold of faith: Those thus come out of nature, Egyptian bondage, and the fellowship of the children of Beliall, being newe Creatures; and so holy Brethren are made Gods house or Church, through being knit together by the Spirit of God, and baptized into his body, which is the Church. This being vndeniable, the Church of Christ, Infants cannot bee of it, for they cannot bee called out as aforesaid: knowne wicked men cannot be of it, because they are not called out; nor Antichrists spirituall bondage cannot bee of it, because that is a habitation of Deuils, and all Gods people must goe out of that. What can be iustly objected against this? are not all the sonnes of God by faith? If any be in Christ, or a Christian, must hee not bee a new Creature? I pray you doe not take vp the vsuall obiection which the Antichristians haue learned of the Iewes: What tellest thou vs of being made Christians onely by faith in the Sonne, and so being made free, wee are the children of *Abraham*, and of Beleeuers. Wee are vnder the promise, I will bee the God of thee and thy seed: thus are we and our children made free, when as they neither doe nor can beleue in the Sonne. This is a Iewish Antichristian fable, for *Abraham* had two sonnes, which were types of the two Seedes, to the which two Couenauntes are made, the one borne after the flesh, tipping out the fleshly Israelites, which were the Inhabitants of materiall Ierusalem, where was the material Temple, and the performance of those carnall Rites which endured vnto the time of Reformation.

The other by Faith, tipping out the children of the faith of

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*Abraham*, which are the Inhabitants of the spirituall Ierusalem, the new Testament in which is the spirituall Temple, the Church of the liuing God, and the performance of all those spirituall Ordinances which Christ Iesus as Prophet and King thereof, hath appoynted, which remaines, and cannot be shaken or altered.

Now if the olde Couenant bee abolished, and all the appertainings thereof, as it is, as being similitudes of heauenly things, euen the Couenant written in the booke, the people, the Tabernacle, or Temple, and all the ministring Vessels, and a better Couenant established, vpon better promises, and better Temple and ministring vessels come instead thereof, procured and purchased by the blood of Iesus Christ, who is the new and liuing way. Let vs draw neere with a true heart in assurance of Faith, sprinkled in our hearts from an euill conscience, & baptized in our bodies with pure water. Let vs keepe this profession of hope without wauering, and haue no confidence in the flesh, to reap Iustification or Christianitie thereby; but let vs cast it away as dung and drosse: For if euer any might plead priuiledge of being the child of the faithful, the Apostle *Paul* might, as hee saith, read the place, but it was nothing till hee had the Righteousnesse of God through Faith. Then was he baptized into Christ Iesus for the remission of his sinnes. This Couenant, that we as children of *Abraham*, challenge is the couenant of life and saluation by Iesus Christ, made to all the children of *Abraham*, as it is made to *Abraham* himselfe, to them that beleue in him that raised vp Iesus our Lord from the dead; and also *Acts* 13. 26. 32 39. the children of the flesh are not they, *Rom.* 9. 8. they must bee put out, and must not bee heyres with the faithfull: If they that are of the Lawe bee heires, Faith is made void, and the promise is made of none effect: therefore it is by Faith, that it might come by grace, and the promise might bee sure to all the seed that are of the faith of *Abraham*, who is the Father of all the faithfull. They are his children, the promise of saluation is not made with both *Abrahams* seeds, but with his one seed, they that are of the Faith of *Abraham*. These things may bee strange to those that are strangers from the life of God, through

the ignorance that is in them, because of the hardnesse of their hearts God hath written them as the great things of his Lawe, but they are counted of many as a strange thing, but Wisdome is iustified of all her children, & they that set their hearts to seeke wisdome, as siluer, and search for her as for treasure, they shal see the righteousnesse of those things as the light, and the euidence of them as the noone day. They that bee wise, will trie these things by the true touch-stone of the holy Scriptures, and leaue off reioycing in men, to hang their Faith & Profession on them, the which I cease not to supplicate God, day and night on the behalfe of you all, To whose gracious direction I commit you, with a remembrance of my hartie loue to euery one, desiring but this fauour, that for requital I may receiue your louing answeere.

*London. 10. Maij 1622.*

*Yours to be commanded alwayes  
in any Christian Service.*

H. N.

I haue sent to my Friends a testimonie of my loue: one booke to Master *Stroud*, one to Goodman *Ball*, one to Mistris *Fountaine*, one to *Roger Seely*, one to *Samuel Quash*, and one to your selfe.

*I beseech you reade, consider, and the Lord giue you vnderstanding in all things.*

[A letter from the "teachers and Ministers of the dutch and english Churches" in Amsterdam, dated May, 1624, to the Congregation of Elias Tookey, which had been excommunicated by John Murton and the then existing Five English Anabaptist Congregations.]<sup>1</sup>

Vermeeanderinge in godlijcke wysheijt, ende kennisse der goddelycke waerheyt, wenschen wy

<sup>1</sup> MS. B. 1367 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. This transcript is made from the contemporary copy of the original MS. The original is becoming difficult to read. Professor Dr Müller's translation of this document is given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists", Vol. II., pp. 32-7.

van gansher herten, onse gelieüede vrinden, die den voorsmaeck hebben der hemelscher dingen, *ende* 16. int getal syn, mits [?] allen den geenen, die ontrent haer syn, ende om de waerheijt ijüeren, van godt den vader *ende* Iesü Christo onsen heere ende algemeynen salichmaker. Amen.

Seer behertichde vrinden, wij hebben onlanx v, l, schrijüen vanden 29. Maert stilo antiqũo ontfangen, *ende* met vreüchden gelesen. Godt danckende vande genade, die hy onverdient, door syn lyeffde ende vriendelyckheyt, oüer v lieden ryckelyck wtgestort heeft, daer in dat hij, in dese verduijsterde [?] werelt, de eüangelische waerheyt, in v laet schijnen, üwe oogen des gemoedts verlicht, *ende* tot prys synder heerlycker genaden, en vorderinge üwer sielen salicheijt, met erkenenis syns wils v lieden aengedaen heeft. Wij bidden by [*sic*] lieüen Godt, dat hij dat aengevangen werck, door den dienst Christi, wil segenen, ende den opganck der sonnen, die inden morgenstont doorbreeckt, *ende* opgaet tot den vollen dach toe, in v lieden herten wil gelyck maken, *ende* v allen daer by genade ende hemelsche cracht geüen, op dat ghij door een affgestorüen heijlich leuen, vwe verlichtinge onder dit verkeert geslacht, dat syn wandelinghe heeft inde düijsterheijt der sonden, moocht wtdrücken, ende bekent maken, tot godes eere, vderinge üwer salicheijt, *ende* veeler verlichtinge *ende* beteringe. Amen.

Wij syn beweect geworden aen v allen te antwoorden, *ende* te bewijsen onse hertlycke goede genegentheijt, *ende* Christlycke affectie tot üwarts; als oock die vreüchde, die wij geschept hebben indien aenvangk van üwe verlichtinge. V lieder christlycke groete is ons aengenaem geweest. *ende* oft het getal der genre [geene], die de heere belieft heeft met kennisse der waerheijt te begnadigen, noch cleen is, soe hebben wij ons hertlyck verblydt, vertroüwende dat godt het aengevangen licht syner waerheyt by veelen sal laten door breecken, gelyck de geboorte Christi naden vleesche eerst weynige werdt bekent gemaect, maer daer nae wijdt

is wtgebreydt, also syn wy in goeder hoop en dat de geboorte *ende* kennisse Christi naden geest, die in v aengevangen is, oock wij der sal doorbreecken, tot veeler behoüdinge *ende* salicheyt.

Wij hebben met *verlangen verwacht* op v lieder schrijüen, gelyck wij *verstaen* dat ghy oock *verlanght* hebt om eenich schryüen van ons te becomen. De oorsaken van v lieder *vertreck* gedenckt ghij, wij nemen [?] die in lyeffden op. De onse syn geweest om dat wij, nae v l, afscheydt van ons, geen schriftelyck bescheijt van v, l, en hebben gegregen, hoe onse schriften *ende* mondtlycke redenen, die wy met üwe boden gehad hebben, by den üwen geacht waeren, dit wilt ons oock int goede affnemen.

Wt v l. schrijuen *verstaen* wij dat ghij van Ian Morton met den synen geexcommüniceert, ofte wt haere *vergaderinge* geworpen syt. De voornaemste oorsaecke soüde syn v lieder gevoelen vande *verdraechsaeinheit* der swacken, ofte cleen *verstandigen* in schriftüerlycke *verstand*en, die nochtans conscientieüs syn in alles dat sy waerlyck weeten, en stil en vreedtsaen [*sic*] inde gemeente syn. etc Dus is leedt geweest sülcx te hooren, en t'heeft ons van herten misvallen. Wij wenschen die v lieden *verworpen* hebben meerder wijsheijt; dat ghij lieden *verdöldelyck* draecht alle de iniürien, die v om gemelder saken oüervallen, die niet weynich *verweest* en syn, *ende* noch niet op en hoüden, *ende* v *verlaet* op de *oprechticheijt* üwer herten, de goedtheyt üwer saken, *ende* de beloften godts, daer aen doet ghij soe Christenen betaemt, t'is onse lyeff geweest te hooren, wij *vermanen*, bidden, en smeecken v, blyeft op dien padt, *vergelt* geen qüaedt met qüaedt, lastert noch iniürieert niet weder, maer hoüdt v inde voetpaden Christi, *ende* volcht het lydtsaem exempel der heyligen, *ende* laet üwe vrindelyckheyt, gedült, *ende* lydtsaenheijt [*sic*] eenen yderen kenlyck worden, acht het geringe met Paülo van eenen menschelycken dage geoordeelt te wesen 1. cor: 4. hebt medelijden met sülccker lieden on*verstant*, *ende* draecht v in sülccke zee-stormen nade woorden Paüli .1. cor: 6. als Dienaers godts met



grote *verduldicheyt*, met drück, met noodt, met anxt. etc. ende laet ūwe gebeden voor de gene, die v leedt doen, tot godt opclimmen, nae d'exempel Christi, gedenckt dat ghij mede *onverstandich* geweest zyt, ende mogelyck ymandt te ontydt *veroordeelt* hebt, dit doende sūldij v bewijsen Christi bryeff te syn, met den vinger des leūendigen Godts, inde tafelen ūwes [? ūwer] herten geschreūen, ende ūwe wysheyt, lydtsaemheyt, ende *verduldicheyt* sal den *onverstandigen* tot een licht, en beter gesicht dienen.

Dat ghy lieden veel middelen gebrūijckt hebt om inde eenicheyt met de gene, die v lieden wtgeworpen hebben, te blyūen, *verblydt* ons; want t'is Christelyck nae vrede ende eenicheijt te staen, oft te iagen. De heylige geest *vermaent* daer toe, wij beclagen dat ghij in desen te *vergeeffs* gearbeijt hebt, ende dat ghij nū hopeloos zyt in sūlcke loffycke saecke yet vrūchtbaers wt te rechten, hebt geen beroūv van allen ūwen arbeyt in deser saken; want t'sal in v t'aller tijt *veroorzaken* een goede conscientie, die boūen alle schatten gaet; maer inde gene, die v *verdruckt* en *versmaedt* hebben, droeffheijt en roūwe, wanneer sy tot beter kennisse sūllen gecomen syn, t'welck wy wenschen dat haest geschiede, eer den dach bij haer ondergae.

Ghy lieden wildet geerne v saken ten gerechte stellen voor de Dūijtsche ende engelsche Gemeente alhier, onpartijdich wilden wy oock geerne v saken *verhoren*, ende affhandelen, op dat de geschillen nedergeleijt [?], ende vrede mocht gevonden werden. Maer hoe sal dat connen geschieden also lange als v partijen haer daertoe niet *verstaen* en willen? t'moet [?] godt opgedragen, en den tijt beūolen sijn.

Soe Ian Morton, oft ijmant vanden synen hyer tot ons oūtercomt met vreedtlijjeūender herten, ende geseggelycken gemoede, t'sal ons lijeff syn, ende oft godt gaūe dat sy by ons op soe een wyse *verschenen*, soe mocht wat goedts door haer comste *veroorzaeckt* worden: Soo het oock op een ander wijse geschiede, soe en hebt geen gedachten dat sy lieden hier in onse gemeenten eenige beroerte sūllen aenrechten. onse broederschap is door ervarentheijt, ende het aenmercken vande menigerleije twisten, die de

twistige volcken ronts om ons gehadt hebben, ende noch dagelycx hebben, door het derüen van dese vreed-voedende leere der *verdrachsaemheijt*, geleert geworden, hoe lyefflyck, costelyck, en goedt het is, dat broeders eendrachtich t'samen woonen, psalm 133. also dat wij door yemants comste geen *verstoringe* onder den onsen en bevresen.

Oft wel de sendtbrijeff, die wij üwe boden medegaüen, en v lieden, gelyck ghij claecht, onthoüden wort, maer van twee onser leeraren, namentlyck van Hans de ries en Reynier Wybrantsen onderteeckent is, soe affirmeren wij by desen dat den inhoüde is het gemeen *verstant*, ende die leere onder alle onse gemeenten, insonderheijt t'stück vande *verdraechnsaemheijt*, ende wort by ons allen gehoüden als eenen sodanigen artickel, die wij met vreüchden omhelsen, also de selüe is een vande bysonderste oorsaken vande vrede ende eenicheyt, oft t'samen-hoüdinge onser gemeenten. Soe Ian Morton, ofte ymant vanden synen anders seijt, dat moeten wij lyden, ende Christelyck *verdragen*. Maer tot ons comende salt inde ondersoeckinge, gelyck als wij geschreüen hebben, ende hijer in noch schrijüen, beüonden worden, ende niet anders. daerom hebben wij geen vreese voor syne, ofte eens anders comste, als oft wij soüden sorgen, dat ymant onder onse gemeenschap, door *sülcken* middel, soüde vande vreedtlijeüentheijt affgeleijt worden

Nochtans en sal v l, niet *verstaen* dat wij de *verdraechnsaemheijt* onbepaelt drijüen, als oft wij alle onverstande hoe groot, oft hoedanich die wesen mochten, onder ons plaetse soüden günnen, ô neen. Maer wij bepalen die met de heyliche schriftüre, en proeüense met alle wijsheijt. Wij *verstaen* dat v. l. een genoegen hebt aen de oorsaken by ons gesteet, waerom wij aen onse Magistraten naer v. l. begeren niet gesüppliceert en hebben, dat laten wij ons welgevallen.

Gelyck ons dan mede behaecht t'gene v l vande eerste scheüringe hebt geschreüen, te weten, dat ghij siet dat de affgescheürde schült hebben, om dat sy haer aen een waere Gemeente niet gegeüen en hebben, maer onordentlyck

een van selūen opgerecht, en secten gemaect, oock dat sy de censūre Christi misbrūijckt hebben. etc. Also v. l. door godts genade soe veele *verlicht* syt, dat ghij de gemelde gebreecken siet en kent soe bidden ende *vermanen* wy v, dat ghij neerstich toesiet, v kennisse wysselyck beleeft, ende sulcker lieden onwyse drijūinge tot geener tyt niet gelyck en wort. Wy hebben haer lieden int begin der scheūringe genoechsaem gewaerschoūt, *ende* sulcke ongeordineertheit affgeraden, *ende* tot lydtsaemheyt *ende* verdraechsamenheyt *vermaent*, maer onse redenen en waren by haer niet ontfanghbaer, tot onsen leedtwesen.

Geerne hebben wij in v schrijūen gelesen, dat ghij niet en syt van dat gevoelen als noodtwendich achtende alle eerste dach inde weecke broodt te breecken, maer laten sūlex in der gemeenten vrijheijt, alst gelegen zij, gelyck ghij lieden oock selūe oeffent.

Wt de woorden, gelyck ghij oock selue oeffent, *verstaen* wij dat ghij affgesonderde het broot des heeren onder malcanderen breeckt, ofte het Sacrament des .h. aūontmaels met den anderen hoūd. Soe wij dit recht *verstaen*, soe connen wij niet saen oft ghij doet soe doende t'selūe dat ghij in andere berispt, te weten, dat ghij lieden, eer ghij v aen een waere gemeente hebt gegeūen, *ende* door de selue in Christlycke ordeninge gestelt syt, een nieūwe gemeente oprecht, en valt also int oordeel ūwer partijen. Ende oft wij v. l. niet te gebieden en hebben, soe *vermanen* en raden wij v allen, in sūlcke kercklycke saken stil te hoūden, tot breeder onderhandelinghe, op dat alles onder v lieden ordentlyck geschiede, *ende* een schriftūerlyck aensien hebbe. Voor den aenvangk ūwer scheūringe was v lieder gevoelen dat een particūlier broeder, sonder der gemeenten beroepinghe, mocht de Sacramenten wtdeijlen, als mede dat het niet geoorloft was, in tyde der *vervolginge* in een ander landt te vlūchten, *ende* aldaer te wonen, wij soūden gerne *verstaen*, oft hijer in bij v lieden *veranderinge* is, oft dat ghij noch staet inde selūe meyninghe.

Doen ūwe boden hier waren, *ende* wy mondtlyck met haer spraken, *verclaerden* wij haer dat den strijdt artickel vande

hercomst des vleeschs Christi by ons gehoüden werde *verdragelyck* inden genen, die *Christi* menscheijt niet en *versaekten*, maer hem beleden warachtich mensche te wesen; maer soe ymant dat soe verre wilde trekken, als oft wij oock *verdragelyck* hielden *Christi* godtheijt te *versaken*, oft te lochenen dat *Christüs* waere godt zij, die soüde ons niet wel, maer qüalijcken *verstaen* hebben. Daerom sal v. l. belieüen ons te ontdekken, hoe wij de woorden in v schrijüen *verstaen* süllen, te weten, dese: wij en binden niemant te *verstaen* ofte vatten van *Christo*, als wy van hem *verstaen* als sommige oft andere doen, maer *verdragen* *malcanderen* etc. geerne wilden wy weeten oft dit alleen geseijt sy vande hercomst des vleeschs *Christi*, oft dat daer onder oock begrepen wort d'artickel vander godtheyt *Christi*. ende dat ghij lieden oock *verdragelyck* hoüdt, en onder v *verdraecht*, de gene de godtheijt *Christi* *versaecten*, oft *Christüm* niet en bekennen warachtich godt te syn inden vader, en met den vader, *ende* den .h. geest. v. l. sal belieüen hier van ons toe te schrijüen üwe rechte meyninge ende insien.

Int stüeck vanden eedt, *ende* het ampt der oüerheijt schrijeff v. l. dat sommige met ons syn, *ende* andere niet. v. l. sal ons belieüen te berechten, oft de gene, die met ons in beide artickelen niet en stemmen, wt lyeffden tot der gemeenten vrede *ende* stichtinge, haer wel wilden ont-hoüden om haer gevoelen te beleüen, oft dat wanneer sy gevordert werden, insonderheyt tot het gebrüijck der wapenen, haer *verstant* soüden beleüen willen. wy achtent noodtwendich hier van te hebben waere wetenschap en kennisse.

Dat de andere artickelen in onse confessie gemelt, by v allen voor *Christelyck* worden gehoüden, ende daer door bekent ontfangen te hebben veel geestlycke *verlichtinge*, daer oüer dancken wij den lieüen godt, die den oorspronck *ende* aenvanger is alles goedes, ende van wijen alle goede, volmaeckte gaüen affvloijen. wij bidden hem dat hij, tot syner eeren *ende* üwer aller heijl, v wil genade cracht, en gaüen geüen tot volcomen toeneminge, ende opwassinge

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inde aengevangen kennisse der waerheijt, houÿdt oock gelyckmoedich aen in een heijlich leÿen, met smeecken en bidden tot den alderhoochsten, gedenckt dat hij getrouÿ is, die syn beloften in v *vervÿllen*, iae *ende* amen maken sal.

Met vreÿchden en blydtschappen hebben wij *verstaen* ũwer aller heijlich voornemen om in onse broederschap aengenomen te worden, *ende* sichtelyck te *vereenigen* met onse gemeenten. wij syn daertoe oock wilvaerdich, *ende* des voornemens om t'selÿe met godes hÿlpe in goeder ordeninge te volstrecken, nae dat wij ũwe antwoorde op desen sÿllen ontfangen, *ende* *verstaen* hebben dat wij sodanige gelyckheijt hebben inde kennisse der waerheijt, daer wt wij *vertrouÿwen* mogen vreedtsaem, als Christenen toecomt, met malcanderen te mogen leÿen.

Van vwe opponenten en hebben wij geen schrijÿen noch clachten, tot v lieder nadeel ontfangen. Soo ons nae desen yet behandicht wort, soe sÿllen wij ons, als onpartydige toecomt, daer in houÿden en vinden laten.

Wij *verstaen* dat de gelden, die wij ũwe boden behandicht hebben, wel syn bestelt, gelyck wij ũwe boden sonder eenich achterdencken toebetroÿt hebben.

Aldÿs geantwoort hebbende op v. l. aengenaem schrijÿen slÿijten wij desen, en sÿllen ũwe bescheijden weder antwoorde met *verlangen* *verwachten*. de genade onses heeren Iesÿ Christi zy oÿer v allen, Amen.

In Amstelredam desen [blank space] May Anno 1624. onderteeckent met consent *ende* welgevallen der leraren *ende* Dienaren der dÿijtscher *ende* engelscher Gemeenten Iesÿ Christi aldaer, by ons

[A Letter from Elias Tookey and his Congregation at London to the Dutch and English united (Waterland) Church at Amsterdam, dated June 3, 1624, in answer to the preceding communication, and expressing the hope that they may be received into the membership of that Church, etc.]<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. B. 1368 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. Professor Dr Müller's translation of this document is given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists", Vol. II., pp. 21-4.

Seer diere vrienden tot ons, weetet, dat wy ontvangen hebben vwe graue ende gratieus antwoord: het welke onsen alder sielen groote vreuchde veroorsaect, want ghy hebt onser herten bequaemlich toe ghesproken daerin: hat [het] selue dat Godt doet, deur het licht des leuens *Christum* nae den gheest ende op het ontvancke van vwen brief (daer wesende een trouwe bode ghereet) wy versamelde terstont beyde te lesen ende ouerleggen wat besceyt [?] aen v. l. te seynden: deur wiens snelle afsceydt, wy sijn veroorsaect gheworden alle vwen wijse schriften ouer te scricken: maer het gheen alleen, het welke v. l. van onse begeert, dat wy onsen ghevoelen daer van scrijuen soude.

1. Eerstelich wy mercken, dat ghy ons acht ghefaljeert te hebben, int brecking des broodts ofte het ontvancke des nacht-maels onder malcanderen sedert onsen w<sup>t</sup>werpinghe: etc ~ tot den welke, wy antwoorden, nae dien dat daer gheen waere voorgaende ghemeenten waren, by wien wy ons by ghevoeght mochte hebben onder een volle order te comen wy hebben dus ghesinte gheweest, dat in sulke saecken, een ghemeente mochte die Sacramenten ghebruicken: maer wy willen noch onthouden (ghelijck ghy ons radet) tot dat wy hooren van v wederom: hopende die scriften beter gheopent te hebben tot ons by v. l. in desen stucke
2. Wy staen noc ghesint, dat een particuliere broeder mocht die Sacramenten bedienen wanneer die ghemeente hem daer toe roept, al is hy niet int officie van den pastoorschap: met desen proviso dat die ghemeente gheen officiers en hebt, maer heeft sy, dan houden wy dat een particuliere broeder gheensins doen macht: maer in desen wy sullen willich weesen te leeren / waerin wy faljeeren.
3. Wy houden het niet ongheorloft, int tydt der vervolginge te vluchten in een ander landt daer te woonen, ende sommige onder ons hebben noyet so ghehouden.
4. Wy verstaen dat die heylige ende vredsame leeringe der verdraeginge niet misbruickt en wort, hoe well sommige die

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still sijn, in die ghemeente blijuen: die als noch niet well en weeten, wat van Christi godheyt te begripen: so sy [?] salicheyt alleen deur hem houden, ende in het gheen, waer toe sy ghecomen sijn, oprecht blijuen: deur welke vruchten der oprechticheyt wy verstaen, dat Christi Godheyt, hem selue in haer toont: welke ons versekert, dat sy Gods eygene sijn, hoe well sy als noch in het vernunft ende cerebro [?], dien verholentheyte of mysterie niet becoomen connen: maer ist dat eenighe die gheemeen verstant des ghemeents herein [*sic*] opponeren, ofte in eenighe andere stucken daer een onrustich eende domineerende gheest, wy houden dat sodanige niet te verdragen worden: maer om haerder onrusticheyt, ende om dat sy soecken [?] ouer anderen te hersscen, vermijdt hooren te weesen.

Veerder [?] wy laeten v. l. weeten, dat daer gheen onder ons sijn die den Godheyt Christi versaken: maer daer sijn 2 of 3 onder ons die in haer seluen een weynech anders van ghevoelen, als wy int generael doen, nochtans all comt op een in het leste: als wy het verstaen. die generael vatten, dat sijn Godheyt bestaet in den oneyndelich klont alias massa ofte onbegrijpelijk substantie der goddelich natuer alleen: die andere vatten, het gheen te wesen all dat w<sup>t</sup>vluyt natuerlich (als die licht van den Sonne) w<sup>t</sup> dien oneyndelich substantie, ende dat desen w<sup>t</sup>vloet bestaet in veel particulieren: als een lichaem bestaet in veele lyden: euen so is Christus 1 Cor: 12. 12 ver. ende het is goddeliche cracht, wijsheyt, ghenade, gherechticheyt etc ~ wien God w<sup>t</sup>ghesonden heeft beyde die wereld te maken: ende den mensch ghevallen sijnde te versoenen: dese int corte is het gescill in het vernunft [?], aengaende die Godheyt Christi: ende sullen wy malkanderen ordeelen om desen ghevoeltingen: het sy veer maer in dien wy eenige sien van onser ghemeente *Christum* te cruiscigen of crucificeren, ofte die goddelich natuer waer van sy deelaetich sijn, deur die bedroch der sonden: om desen oordeelen wy, om dat wy sakerlich weten dat die woort Gods sulken alrede gheordeelt heeft. in dese oock wy sijn ghewillich te hooren met alder snellheyt, wat God v. l. hierin kundich [?] ghemacht heeft: ende laeten het tot vwen discrete consideratie.

5. Een eedt, wort ons niet dickwills voorghestelt, ende sommige wy mogen weygeren, sonder veel scult ofte scaede: nochtans het weygeringe van sommige eedt in onsen land, willen brengen beyde scult ende scaede: als of wy weigeren soude den eedt der trouwheyt aen onsen koninc: wy souden gheheeten wesen verraders, ende wilde sy het w<sup>t</sup>erste extremitteyt ghebruicken: sy mochten tegen ons procederen als tegen verraders: waer deur wy vallen int' pericell haerder wett: ende oock die heylige waerheyt, welke wy belyden, soude wesen door boose mensken quaed gheacht, ende wy ghehouden als commerlich ofte onrustich persoonen in een stadt, om niet te doen, het gheen, dat wy versekert sijn, dat wy doen mogen sonder sonde in sodanich eenen saecke a[?]s dese is: wy begeeren van v. l. te weeten welke v. l. ordeelt het slimste te wesen: te weten desen eedt te nemen ofte te weigeren: oock ofte het so vallen soude, doet sommige deur nood-dranck soude ghebracht werden te nemen, ofte het door vrede verdragen mochte werden: wederom in onse landt soude wy desen eedt weigeren, wy konde niet vrye borgers ghemackt worden binnen onse steden, noch op eenige tydt comen w<sup>t</sup> onsen landt, het sy om traffique te doen om den cost te krijgen, of te vlieden van vervolginge om der conscientie wille: nochtans willen wy myden desen ende alle andere so veel onsen vermogen aengaet, nu, ende ewelich
6. Aengaende magistratie, ende waepenen of crijch-handell, wy willen in gheender manier aenveerden ofte ondernemen: sommige van conscientie, ende die reste om der vrede wille ewelich.

Aldus hebben wy int corde gheantwoort tot vwen begeerten, niet hebbende tydt te scrijuen yet breeder op desen tydt, ende ofte wy hadde, nochtans konde wy v. l. niet vorderen: want wy hopen dat ghy zijt in, ofte nae by den vullheyt der vreuchte [?], ofte stant der volkomentheyt, in dien manier, dat wy sien ende ghelooouen: maer als noch veer te corte zijn: maer wy willen niet ophouden te bidden, dat die gheen die desen werke begont [?] heeft het sy in v. l. ofte in ons mochte het volbrengen tot den dach Iesu [?] Christi toe in onse beyde wy alle groeten v hertelich in den Heere: genade sy met allen Amen.



Desgelijcks wy bidden v. l. in dien ghy ons in v. l. ghemeenscap ontvangen kont laet het v belieuen; te scrijuen sommige woorden aen Ian [Iohn] Morton ende sijnen vrienden, streckende to[e?] vrede ende order: het sal oock vervordert worden so veel ons vermocht: ende sommige die met hem houden, sijn well ghereet & will-veerdich om sulken vrede, als den stucke der verdraegsaemheyt ender order te omhelsen. Daer sijn twee (die aen sijnen kant waren) ghefallen op personael successie van den tydt der Apostelen: ende wilden gheerne weeten, ofte eenighe die nu staen waere gheconstitueerde ghemeenten kunnen seggen, dat sy haeren afcomste hadde, van hand tot hand, van den tydt der Apostelen af. ende ist saeck, dat dese niet gheprobeert can werden: dan woude sy gheerne hooren van den opstandinghe of oprijnsinghe der alder oudste dat nu sy: ende op watt manier: ende of v. l. die gheene zijt: ofte van hun. sy sijn goede volke, ende begeeren God te behagen, ende te leuen in een waere order: daerom, laet hat [het] v belieuen, te doen wat v. l. kont om haer te vrede te stellen.

Iunij 3. 1624. V. l. vrienden alleen, in, ende om die heylige waerheyt, ende hemelsche Leeuen:  
Elias Tookey ende die andere.

[A Letter, dated Nov. 12, 1626, from the Five Early English Anabaptist Congregations at London, Lincoln, Sarum, Coventry, and Tiverton, to Hans de Ries, Reinier Wybrantsz., and their Congregations in Holland, expressing the wish that they might be united with them in one religious communion.]<sup>1</sup>

Dilectis nostris amicis Hans de Reys et Reynero wybranso atque ecclesijs ex quibus sunt, simul ac cum omnibus alijs Ministris et ecclesijs in eadem via cum illis ambulantibus remanentibus in Hollandia, atque illis partibus: Ecclesiae Iesu Christi, quae in Anglia sunt, habitantes Londini, Lincolniae, Sarum, Couentriae, ac Tyuertoniae,

<sup>1</sup> MS. B. 1372 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. Professor Dr Müller's translation of this letter is given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists", Vol. II., pp. 26-30.

mittunt salutem ex cōrde optantes cunctas vobis multiplicari gratias a deo patre per Dominum Iesum Christum

Dilecti Amici, post salutationes ex corde optantes vestram assiduam prosperitatem ac salutem, eò quod Dominum Iesum Christum ac illius benedictam veritatem diligitis; cuius gratia, nos omnes eundem dominum Iesum, ac veritatem eius vobiscum diligentes, decet, omnibus modis conari vnanimes [*sic*] esse, cum omnibus quibuscunque, et in vna cumunione ac societate secum ambulare. ideo persuasi sumus nos in hoc deo gratos fore, nempe in tam bono laudabilique opere, vnde bonum domini populo redundet ad adiuvandum ac stabiliendum eos in veritate: porro cum antehac plurimùm vobiscum vnionem pacemque peractam fore a nobis et cupiuimus et quæsiuimus, quorum primi ac præcipui viri nunc mortui sunt ac cum domino requiescunt; nos igitur qui relinquimur, eodem desiderio affecti promovendi Dei gloriam, ac populi sui bonum, nunc denuo idem suscepimus [?], quamobrem hos duos nostros dilectos amicos ac fratres, homines a nobis approbatos ob illorum constantiam ac fidelitatem pro causa christi in patiendo constantè, longam ac tediosam incarcerationem, ad vastationem et pene illorum ruinam qui vobis nostram mentem declarabunt, ad vos misimus: (si necesse sit) præter quod vobis in hoc scripto nostro patefecimus. /

Quod ad articulos vestræ fidei attinet, quos mundo excusos patefecistis [?], tanquam fidem vestrum omnium: (præcipue in fundamento) ante hac ad nos a vobis missos, nos sedulo legimus, et considerauimus [?], et cum alta et indissimulata laude Deo omnipotenti, sanctum nomen suum magnificamus eo quod differentiae inter nos non sunt maiores: et quod principia Christi, tam purè a vobis agnoscuntur: attamen ad vos intellectum nostrum in quibusdam, in quibus aliquid invicem differre videamur, scripsimus: quibus tamen rectè intellectis vtrimque, nihil differre videatur. idcirco vos oramus, ad nos vestras mentes per hos legatos nostros conscriptas mittere, ac eatiam [?] hos nuncios nostros verbatim certiores reddere. /

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1. De differentijs igitur nos dicimus tanquam vos scripsistis, vnum agnoscentem Christum Deum ac hominem in vna persona, secundum vestrum articulum octauum, quamvis ignoret an substantiam a Maria sumpserat, an non; et nec opponit nec contendit aduersus fidem aliorum, in re illa hunc recipi, manere ac tolerari posse in societate fidelium sine reiectione seu condemnatione
2. De iureiurando nos nullam videmus discrepantiam, cum informati sumus ac partim noscimus vos legitimum tenere, veretatem loqui coram Magistratu seu quocunque, et super iustam occasionem Dei reuerendum nomen ad testimonium sumere, verum esse; secundum scripturas has Ro: 1. 9. 2 Cor: 1. 2. 3. phill: 1. 8. et aliàs fas esse iurare non tenemus omnino secundum has scripturas, matt: 5. 34. Iam: 5. 12.
- 3: Oblata iusta occasione impedimenti, affirmamus cœnam dominicam omitti posse donec tollantur impedimenta: aut aliter non audemus omittere quoque die sabbati quum convenimus ad præstandum cœtera Dei publici Ministerij: cum exemplum [?] Ecclesiarum Dei habemus approbantium nos hac in re hocque tam pretiosam esse nostræ spiritualis consolationis, ac vnionis cum christo, et mutuò, et coniunctionis invic[e]m partem: quam vllam aliam Dei ministerij partem: aut aliter cum volumus, faciamus semel in .7. annis si velimus: et tunc cur non reliquæ partes publicæ religionis, quæ eiusmodi sunt cum hoc, tam diu etiam deferantur. /
4. Ministrationem sanctorum sacramentorum inseperatim cum ministerio verbi, coniunctam esse agnoscimus et cuique membro corporis administrare sacramenta non licere, hoc tamen affirmamus ministros esse, corporis qui non constituuntur per impositionem manuum in episcopatum, qui prædicent, convertant ac baptizent, et ædificent ecclesiam, atque cæteras publicas actiones consentiente ecclesia præstent absentibus episcopis: solum autem expedit cum ecclesia episcopos habet [?], et cum adfuerint, vt illi

ducerent omnes ecclesiæ publicas actiones, tanquam ecclesiæ publici ministri ac serui. /

finaliter, pro ipso magistratu, Inprimis concepimus vos non tantopere vestrum in hoc iudicium vrgere adeo, vt neminem contrariæ mentis admittatis, at quosdam qui vobiscum non consentiunt, recipitis hac in re velut ac nos vere instruimur, vosque quendam magistratum controuersias finientem, causas, litesque in possessionibus, ac alijs rebus mundanis approbare iudicare si non sanguinem, arma, bellaùe attigerit: adeo nostram, re vera differentiam non circa magistratum, sed circiter executionem ipsius officij versari. scilicet an magistratus sit iure ex ecclesia, vtens nulla parte suæ mundanæ authoritatis in Christi spirituali regno, vel ecclesia; sed hoc potius an in mundo illo gladio, quem Deus ei dabit [?] ad defendendum ius suorum subiectorum terrestrium, contra omnes invasiones, iniurias [?], ac eiusmodi malefactores puniat, qui occidunt, &c. vtatur; hoc concipimus esse differentiam. /

In hac re vobis ne displiceat, nos libere pati vobis nostras mentes significare, cum nosipsos volentes instrui profite-mur, vel a vobis, ceu a quouis in quocunque [?], quod lucide nostris conscientijs apparebit per verbum veritatis. quod ad ipsum magistratum attinet, nos vobiscum agnoscimus secundum articulum. 37. Dominum Iesum christum in suo regno spirituali, vel ecclesia novi testamenti ipsum magistratum nec aliquam potestatis suæ partem constitui: nec executionem illius illic intrare: quia regnum, arma, ministri, et singula appertinentia eiusdem sunt spiritualia et in hoc tantam fiduciam habemus, vt vitas nostras in testimonium dare parati sumus [?]. atque etiam in hoc spirituali statu non respicere debemus personas, nec multos [?] esse magistros: at in mundanis rebus sancti debent respicere personas, vt cuncti inferiores, suos superiores, vt liberi parentes &c: et multi simus magistri immo omnes magistri in ecclesia, sint magistri in omnibus rebus mundanis, suis credentibus seruis: et sic magistratus regant [?] non in rebus ecclesiasticis, sed mundanis: namqu

est mundana ordinatio Dei ac bona; num potest aliquid boni esse impedimento homini, ne sit discipulus *christi*. vel christianus; an homines detineantur ab ecclesia, pro agendo seu exequendo quod bonum sit; nequaquam possit; nil nos impediat a deo nisi peccatum et malum idcirco si magistratus nos impediat ab christianitate, est malum ac peccatum: & tum debemus desiderare illius ruinam: et nec supplicare, nec deum laudare pro ipso, tanquam pro bona Dei ordinatione: at vero si nec peccatum, nec malum at supplicandum, et pro eo gratias dandum [*sic*] est, tanquam pro bona Dei ordinatione: velut ac est. tunc neminem impediat ne sit christianus nam hominem futurum christianum, aliquid relinquere docebimus; quin peccatum; Baptismus propter quem aduersus mundum contendimus, est baptismus resipiscentiæ, ob peccatorum remissionem, quem omnes qui suorum peccatorum pœnitentiam agunt, ac euang[e]lij doctrinæ credunt, habeant: num, pœnitentiam illius, quod bona Dei ordinatio sit, docebimus; absit; multum loqueremur, at cum vosipsi Authoritatem approbatis, de executione loquemur: in confesso est, ille qui instituit hanc bonam dei ordinationem, posuit in manu eiusdem gladium, vt vindex sit male agenti, ac remunerator bene agenti. igitur tolle gladium, et tollas authoritatem: nam quis sapiens cogitare possit cum magistratus decreuisset iustitiam, vt malefactores punirentur; quis illorum decreta æstimaret, si non illis esset potestas compellendi ad id quod rectum sit per gladium; nequaquam possit; exempli gratia, si magistratus secundum mandatum Dei potestatem non haberet sanguinem effundendi effundentis sanguinem humanum, quid ipse homicida curaret pro magistratu, seu quo pacto ab effundendo continuò sanguinem impediretur: et similliter pro armis, videmus saluatorem approbrantem [*sic*] illa in cœtu discipulorum, attamen illis non licere vt in defensione spiritualis regni nec ipsius tanquam regis eiusdem, cuius causa Iudæi quærebant illum occidere: adeo vt arma legitima sunt inter discipulos suos, veluti ac cetera mundana: at in regno suo non sunt vtenda[?] arma: cum arma militiæ sui

regni *non sunt carnalia sed spiritualia, atque illius subditi, solum vnum regem habent, qui spiritualis est, ideirò non dominabuntur invicem tanquam principes gentium, eo quod regnum eius non est simile regis mundanis.* /

Multa alia ad hoc regnum pertinere dicuntur, vt spiritualis thesaurus, ac sacculi, Lu: 12. 33. spiritualia ædificia, Ephe: 1. 20. spiritualis vestitus, 1 pet: 3. 3. spiritualis cibus Ioh: 6. 27. ro. 14. 17. eo quod hæc omnia ac alia multa dicuntur esse in regno *Domini* Christi, an non in mundo habeamus ideo, ac vtamur illis, vt mundanis rebus, thesauris sacculis, ædificijs, indumentis, ac cibus; speramus neminem hæc negaturum. /

Præterea quum [cum] vos vestra fruimini libertate, velut ac scribitis, tenendo *non licere armis vti, hoc nobis mirum videtur: quoniam Magistratus qui testimonium habet subditorum fidelitatis, volentium suum regnum defendere, hac in re istorum pax maiori pretio habebitur, quam illorum, qui se suumque regnum perire, ac subditos obrui sinerent, potius quam illum contra homicidas, fures ac terræ suæ invasores defenderent: nos certi sumus sic foret nobiscum in natione nostrâ, vtcunque sit cum vestris magistratibus, et quod ad persecutionem tolerandam attinet, videmus pios magistratus sæpissime passos fuisse magnam persecutionem, a manibus inferiorum, ac superiorum Num: 14. 2. 10. & 16. 12. & 1 Sam: 18. 8. & Dan: 6. 1. & 3. 12. Ioh: 7. 50. hæc sunt quædam rationes nostræ inter multa, pro nostro iudicio, ac persuasione hac in re: atque hæc sunt omnes differentiæ nostræ, quas nos concipiamus: reliqua vestrorum articulorum, nos libere tam corde quam ore, agnoscimus atque vsque ad mortem Deo fauente agnoscemus. /*

De quibus omnibus differentijs, nos precamur, vt vobis placeat serio ponderare ac considerare, ac consideratis nos certiores reddere, vtrum nos tolerare possitis, velut ac nos vos tolerare possumus hisce in rebus: vt sic simus membra simul vnus corporis cuius caput christus, atque ambulantes in vna commvniione ac societate, simus vnanimus [sic], cohabitantes in vnitæte, ac veritate christi Iesu perinde ac fratres;

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vt appareat cuius vere sumus discipuli, puta christi Iesu Domini nostri ac vnici saluatoris, cui sit gloria in secula seculorum, Amen.

Et sic Dilecti, ac plurimum respecti amici, nos vos (venia nostra sumpta) ex corde gratiæ domini nostri Iesu christi commendamus, quem vos ducere atque conducere in omnem veritatem, atque etiam nos, et sic in illa inculpatos seruare vsque ad apparitionem gloriæ suæ, nos iterum atque iterum rogamus: Amen: /

Verbatim stylo nouo. 12.º Nouembris. 1626.  
cum methodo facillima transtuli ex anglico  
in sermonem latinum. /<sup>1</sup>

[A Letter of Cornelis Claesz. Anslo of Amsterdam to Hans de Ries announcing the arrival of the two representatives of the Five English Anabaptist Congregations, and dated November 13, 1626.]<sup>2</sup>

Den [?]

Eersame discrete Hans  
de Ries woonende op  
de nieuwe sloot

Tot

Alckmaer<sup>3</sup>

port

In Amsterdam den 13 November 1626  
Waerde en in godt beminde Vade[r ?] in Christo Hans de  
Ries sij vrede. Heden zyn bij ons geweest 2 Engelsche

<sup>1</sup> There is in the Mennonite Archives at Amsterdam a Dutch copy of this letter. The original was in English. The Dutch copy concludes with the following words: "Aldüs getranslateert in Duijts wtte latynse copije die wtte engels, daer in het origineel geschreuen was, oüergeset was. den 18. Nouember Anno 1626."

<sup>2</sup> MS. B. 1373 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. This document like some others here published is wretchedly written and exceedingly difficult to decipher. Professor Dr Müller's translation of this letter is given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists", Vol. II., pp. 24-5.

<sup>3</sup> This address is not a part of the text of the letter.

als gecommiteerde van 5 gemeenten in engelant met haar brengende seekeren brief aen v l, Reynier Wijbrants, en de andere dienaren onser gemeenten, de welcke door een onser engelsche broederen in latijn uit het engels is getranslatee[r]t, waeruit wij verstaan dat se onse confessien gelesen en met opmercken (soo sij schrijven) naegedacht hebbende wel zouden willen met ons vereenigen, also sij haar in alles daarmede vereenicht vinden uitgenomen in t' stiek van eedt.

2. dat sij oock verstaan dat men het avontmaal alle sondagen behort [?] te celebreren ten sij dat het door rechtveerdich belet verhinde[r]t werde. 3. dat de broederen sonder oplegginge der handen of van den biscoppen daer toe bevesticht te *zyn*, vermogen en behooren in het afwesen der biscoppen te prediken en de sacramenten te bedienen. 4. het ampt der overicheyt verstaan sij dat van een christen mach bedient worden, doch niet als tot de kerke behoorende maar als een wereltlijck ampt: tot bewys van haare meninge brengen sij eenige redenen in, waar van de voornaamste is dat het ampt in hem selven goet is, en houden, dat het geene goet is den gebruicker des selfs niet kan houden noch stellen buiten de gemeente, noch beletten dat hy geen christen sij.

dit is in t' corte haare intentie, verstant en orsaack van haare komste, versoeckende dat wij met dese hare 2 gecommiteerde zouden spreken, ende haar schriftelicke antwoord laten toekoomen. Wij hebben gesait dat wij vl advijs zouden versoecken alsoo de brief specialick aen vl hordt, over welcken versoecken wij vl advijs wat wij hier in doen züllen, of het vl gelegen is hier te koomen, dan of wij haar tot ũwent zellen zenden. als mede of wij haar een schriftelijck antwoord op haren brief züllen mede geven dan of wij die haar züllen nae zenden, vl believe ons vl advijs met den aldereersten te laten weeten, wij hebben haar daar op uitgesteld, en ondertesschen onse engelschen belast dat sij haar onse laetste antwoord aen elias tokij zonden laten leesen alsoo die van de sellifde materie handelt, t welck sij aengenomen hebben te doen, doch



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deese hebben in t stick van den eedt en t ampt der overicheyt noch eenen anderen grondtslach als elias tokij ende de zijne.

dese zyn in engelant wel 150 persoonen starck sij zyn van elias tokij afgeschaiden, en zyn van Ian mortons ofte thomas elwijs volck, deese 2 die hier zyn schinen bequame mannen te zyn, en redelick treffelick in het habijt<sup>1</sup>, hebben oock soo d'andere schrijven vele om den name christi geleden, en zyn langen tijt gevanckelick geweest.

Ick heb vl seker libel van de weeck gesonden hoope vl zult het ontfangen hebben.

.....

vl Dienstwillige

Cornelis Claesz. Ansloo

Wij hebben aen den  
grave noch 100 gl. ge-  
ordoneert te betaalen.

.....

[Questions asked by Hans de Ries, about November, 1626, of the two Representatives of the Five English Anabaptist Congregations, with their Answers.]<sup>2</sup>

oft die 5 kercken die syn In haer schryft gedencken van haer comste tot ons kennisse & wetenschap ghehadt hebben

oft sy met eendracht van de selue geordent syn om tot ons te comen, oft sy den brieff geconcipiert hebben. waer by wy tzelue sullen weten also hy van haer niet onder-teckent is [?]

<sup>1</sup> These words would seem to indicate that the early English Anabaptists wore a distinctive style of clothing as the Friends, or Quakers, did later.

<sup>2</sup> MS. B. 1374 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. Professor Dr Müller's translation of this document is given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists", Vol. II., pp. 30-32. The MS. is wretchedly written throughout and can be deciphered only with the greatest difficulty, as is the case with all the papers of Hans de Ries' that the present writer has seen. The letters are often slurred, and such letters have been printed in italics.

oft sy allen met malcanderen eendrachtich nae dinhout van haer schrift van een gevellen syn, In sonderheyth datter gheen onderschynt tusschen haer leeren & ons en is als In de stucken die sy In haer schrift gedencken

dewyl wy hier eenighe van haer nacie hebben die van den haren [?] gebannen syn waer voor sy nū de selue houden oft sy de ghene die wt engelant hier weten comen woonen soudent banwerdich houden ende die hier woonen [?] soudent [?] houden [?] schuldich te wesen weder In engelant te comen oft sy noch voor recht houden & dryuen & beleuen soudent, dat elck broeder sonder ordentlycke beroepinghe & belastinghe soude moghen de sacramenten bedienen & ock de vrouwen als er geen mannen waren [?]

oft geen ander forme van waardy In haer lant gebruyckt worde Int eetsweren als godt ende [?] syn getūygen

oft sy alle soudent connen verdraghen dat eenighe ghementen In engelant synde maer somwyelen des Iaers het nachtmael hilden

oft eenich broeder In haer gemeenten wonende & het alle sondach brootbreken niet voor godts ghebodt hilde & derhaluen alle sondach met haer niet comūicerde [?] by haer soude mogen geleden worden

oft door de beloofte by getrouwicheyt den coninck ghedaen soudent haer verplicht houden den coninck met wapenen voor te staen & haer seluen met wapenen totten bloede toe te beschermen

nu wat wet sy houden een christen ouerheyth ghehouden is de quade te straffen crych te voeren & met syn vyanden te handelen.

oft ock een christen Int twisten [?] synes coninck & tegenstaen synder vyanden [?] goederen [?] aentasten ontweldighen & nemen mach ock de ontweldichde goederen als vry eyghen goedt behouden en besitten mach

de 5 gemeenten hebben elck gheen leraer en gheen leeraer hebben Wachten met den dienst tot datter een comt ergo ist niet nut [?] wendich [?] alle sondach broot te breken

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sy laten niemant toe te leeren oft niet bequaem gekent sy [?] ma[ken ?] onderscheyt tussen een die leert & sacramenten bedient & een die Inden vollen dinst staet  
2 [?] tweerley [?] gevoelen van buyten lant [?] te trecken  
oft sy de engelsche souden ontfangen is twyffelachtich [?]  
oft het nachmael alle sondach te houden verwerpelyck by haer allen weten sy niet alle sondach broot te brecken hebben sy geen gebot noch wet maer [?] weten niet oft souden toelaten dat een [?] leeraer des sondags [?] soude mogen sulcx [?] navolgen [?]

[A Letter of the early English Anabaptist Congregation at Lincoln to the Congregation of Waterlanders at Amsterdam, dated Sept. 5, 1630.]<sup>1</sup>

So ist Beminde ende liefhebbende Vriendt dat Ick v.l. brief ontvanghen hebb (w<sup>t</sup> handen van Ian Drew onsen beminde vriendt) ghesonden aen ons ende die reste van onse broederen hier in dese natie ende vindande daer in een ghetuighenisse van v.l. goede meyninghe neffens ons, in onse Christelicke stant: wy connen niet nae laten onse vriendelicke danckbaerheyt aen v te bewijsen voor deselue, wenshende dat ghy ende wy mochten comen tot den eenicheyt des heylighen gheest, ende tot dien bande des vredes welke sy in der waerheyt Amen.

Weetet nochtans goede vriendt dat die haestighe handelinge die ghy ons op leyt, wy connen niet bekennen, noch die dinghen so gheringhe te wesen als ghy se schijnt te achten: als voor Math: 18 nae de welke ghy niet en wilde hebben dat wy elke ghescill des verstants ofte daedt soude straffen: wy weten ende het is openbaer dat in ijegelicke dinghe waer deur een broeder gherechtelich gheerghert wort, boete wort gheeycht welke gheweygert zijnde, die onboetvaerdighe moet gheacht zijn als een heyden ende publicaen: nae welke onsen salich-maker leert Math: 5 een

<sup>1</sup> MS. B. 1376 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. Professor Dr Müller's translation of this letter is given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists", Vol. II, pp. 41-4.

yeder teghen wien een broeder yets heeft, met sijn broeder versoent te wesen, yer hy eenighe gaue (op den Outaer) offert voor den heere. ende op dat het niet te cleyn mach schijnen in v.l. ooghen, besiet die woorden onsen salichmakers omtrent het beginsell des 18 Capittells, daer hy seyt het ware beter dat eenen molen steen aen sijn hals ghehanghen worde, en in het diepste der Zee verdroncken, dan dat hy eenen van desen cleynen vererghert die in my ghelooven. etc.

Ende waer als ghy ons acht meer te wesen van den gheest der Iongeren Christi dan van den gheest onsen salichmakers; indien ghy meynt dat gheest, doe sy vier van den hemel wilde hebben om die samaritanen te verslinden etc. wy moghen well segghen dat ghy qualoch dunckt: want wy den en niet een ghedachte herberghen streckende tot lichamelichen verdruckinghe ofte leedwesen onsen naesten, ofte enighe van wegghen religie, ofte in saecken van conscientie, maer voor alle dinghen wy strijden met alle menschen daer teghen. noch en sijn wy (hopen wy) gheleyt met den gheest der ambitie ofte eergiericheyt te strijden wie soude het grootste sijn maer wy ontvanghen gheerne die menichderley leeringhe onsen salichmakers in het teghen deel: indien ghy het appliceren wilt tot dat van onsen salichmakers dat die gheest is ghewillich ende die vleych swacke: wy moeten bekennen dat het also met ons gaet, nochtans derfen wy niet anders doen als hopen dat den heere sijn belofte sal volbrengghen int aennememen van onsen goede wille voor den daede, yae ende dat wy ghevonden sullen worden eenichsins den gheest Christi te hebben, anders behooren wy hem niet toe volgens dat gheschreven staet Rom: 8. 9. Maer ghy seght dat Christus droeggh den ongheloof, (verachtinghe) ofte qualijcke nemen onwetentheyt, & blinde ijever sijnder Iongheren, alleen haer berispende etc. ende cont ghy ons rechvaerdelich straffen, dat wy volgens dien regell niet en wandelen. handelen wy andersins dan straffsewijse met die ghene die straffbaer of ergerlicke bevonden sijn, indien sy haer bekeeren, ofte meynt ghy dat christus sijnder [?] Iongheren

souden [*sic*] hebben wille [willen] dooghen [gedoogen] indien sy sijn straffe teghen ghestaen hadden ofte sijn onderwij-singhen ende vermaninghen gheweygerde, siet toe hoe ghy sodanighen eenen ghedachte toe laet, tis waer om yets dat wy lesen dat hy noyet handelde veerder met haer so is het mede waer dat sy altoos ghewillich waren te ontvanghen sijn berispinghen, ende van hem gheinformeert ende ghere-formeert te worden. maer voor obstinate ende ongheregelde persoonen die daer leest mach sien, dat hy overvloedich is int leeren hoe men met haer moet handelen. Waer als ghy procedeert te spreken van die abuisen ofte fauten in die ghemeente tot Corinthum ende die kerken ghebout deur den Apostellen (als of ghy niemant onboetvaardich wilde hebben in desen dinghen w<sup>t</sup>ghedaen ofte ghebant: wy bidden v in dese bedenckt so wy v hier in stemde toe, wat ellende ende confusie soude het wesen te dooghen die menschen te comen droncken, slaperich, ofte anders ongodelich tot den tafell des heeren, te vallen in twisten, oneenicheden, te lochenen die verrijsnisse, te voeghen recht vaerdichmakinghe met het wett sonder Christo, ende so van ghenade te vallen etc. voor alle ofte eenighe waer van ghy seght dat men se behart te straffen, afraden, ende also dooghen ofte draghen. In dien men dese dinghen soude dooghen in plaets van eenen ghemeente der hey-lighen, die kerke soude groyen tot een gheselschapp der boose ende godloose persoonen tis waer dat wy niet en lesen van eenighe persoon die w<sup>t</sup> den ghemeente van Corinthe ghedaen was als den onkuische persoon: wy lesen oock niet dat eenighe een sonde waer van den ghemeente deur den Apostell was berispt dat het was yemant van den ghemeente so eighen, ofte particulier, dat also die gheheele ghemeente met hem handelen conde daer voor, want alle die reste waren so vermenght, ende so generalich besmett, dat sy mosten alle verbeteren ofte alle ghestrafft worden deur den Apostell, ende daerom noemt hy sijn derde waerschouwinghe ofte vermaninghe sijn 3 ghetuighenen seggende indien hy wederom quam hy woude se niet sparen: het welke watt soude het anders

wesen als met haer voort te gaen tot den w<sup>t</sup>ersten straff nae die cracht die hen Heere hem ghegeuen hadde tot opbouwinghe ende niet tot verdervinghe: als ghy mach sien dat die ghemeente van Ephesus wort ghedreycht dat sy ontkerkt ofte haer Cendelaer soude versett worden, om dat sy haer eersten hefde versaken hadde. maer te keeren tot die ghemeente van Corinthen [?] die Apostle [*sic*] seyt so yemant die hem een broeder laet noemen wort een oncuische, gierighe etc: met sodanighen eene niet te eeten, nu wy achten dat het hier ghemeynt wort van gheestelicke eeten, ende niet van ghemeen en eeten want dat soude te phariseesche wesen, so dat ghy sien meught dat daer andere sonden sijn behaluen oncuisheyt waerom dat men w<sup>t</sup>ghebant mach sijn. dat meer is alle sonden streckende tot lasteringhe, volgens den exempell der Apostelen handelende met Hymeneus ende Alexander behaluen den Apostell sijn begeerte dat sy afghesneden ware die haer quelde, te weten die ghemeente der Galateren, met valsche leeringhe, ende dat sy haer oordeel draghen soude wy sy waren, het welke wy hopen dat ghy het met ons beslyuten will deur excommunicatie, ende niet lichamelicken doodte: wederom hoe soud en die ghene die daer twisten ende tweedrachten veroorsaecte ghescouwt worden, als deur banninghe ofte Excommunicatie: ende hoe connen wy scheyden die ghene die daer leeren teghen die heylsame woorden onsen heere Iesu Christi, als deur excommunicatie: siet ghy oock niet dat die Heere dreight te vechten teghen die ghemeente Pergami met het swaert sijnder monde om dat sy doochde met haer die daer onderhield die leeringhe Balaam, ende waer als ghy vermeldt dat die heere gaf Iesabell eenen tijdt tot boete, wy hopen dat ghy verstaet dat nae dat se ghebant sijn, ofte w<sup>t</sup> die ghemeente ghedaen dat haer tijdt des boete niet gheheel afghesnijden wort: tis waer dat alle dinghen soude gheschieden in der liefde, ende [?] in der gheest der sachmoedicheyt, ende indien wy daerom connen rechvaerdelich ghestraft worden het sy veer dat wy dat niet en soude bekennen met beloften des verbeteringhe,

Gal: 5.  
10, 12.

Rom.  
16. 17.

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maer nochtans niet nae latende die onghemanierde te vermanen, want haer in haer onmanierlicheyt ofte misbruicken te dulden soude gheen helfde maer haet wesen levitici 19. & 17 verse [*sic*] noch en wort een Coninckrijck in hem selue ghedeylt, deur het straffen, castijdinghe ofte afsnijdinghe der quaed-doendere maer veel eerder die vrede ende ruste daer van behouden, tis waerachtich beminde [?] dat ghelijck als Christus ons vergaue so soude wy malcanderen, maer Christus vergaue niemant als die daer boete dede, ende tot hem keeren, ende daerom wat sijn wy dat wy meer doen soude: wy begeeren ongheveyns delich der allen versoeninghe, maer versoeninghe moet wesen op bekentnisse des schults met belofte des verbeteringhe, ende niet moetwillighe teghenstant ofte onboetvaerdicheyt in sonde, ende all hoe well dat wy als haestighe ende straffe menschen hebben ghehouden gheweest, nochtans dit weten wy voor seker dat als noch noyet yemant van ons w<sup>t</sup> der ghemeente ghedaen, eenighe liefde tot God oft ijever tot religie bewijsde ten sy dat deur boetvaerdicheyt hy wederom met ons vrede maeckte. ende tot een besluit wy bekennen met v, dat het is een bedroefde dingh ende seer beclaegdelich te sien die gheestelicke steenen van des Heere bouwinghe, neder gheworpen ende verstroyt, maer heijlaes hoe sal men sulks connen helpen; niet deur haer in haerder boosheyte dooghen, want dat soude wesen des Heeren huise tot eenen kuil der dieffen te maecken, ende grouwelich in sijnder ooghen te brenghen in sijn heylichdom sodanighe onbesnijden persoonen, ende gheen plaets ofte volk hem gheestelicken offenhanden aenghenaem deur Ies: Chr: op te offeren. ende dus met dancksegginghe voor v. l. liefde biddende den Heere tot een vergeldinghe des selue v te bewaren ende vermeerderen in waere liefde ende ijever tot den heerlike Evangelie onses heeren ende salichmaker Iesu Christi dat ghy deur hem mach ghenieten die ouervloedighe gaven sijns h: gheest, tot vwer heylichmakinghe in dese leven, ende verheerlichinghe in het toecomende leven: die welke die geuer van alle goede gaven gheve

Act:  
3. 19,  
20.

v ende ons ende alle die den Heere Iesum liefhebben. Amen. ende dus met onse groetenisse saer vriendelich aen v ende alle liefhebbers der waerheyte, wie [wy] bevelen v des Heeren bescherminghe ende leydinghe wiens vrede segeninghen sy met v ewichlich: (bidden wy) Amen

Lincolne Septem: 5. 1630.

v ongheveynsde liefhebbers in die Heere, die broederen daer woonachtich.

w<sup>t</sup> ghecopieert Majj 31, ende Iunij primo 1631.  
deur v. l. Dienstwillighen broeder:

Swithune Gryndall.

[A Letter written by James Toppe and Israel, his wife, of the early English Anabaptist Congregation at Tiverton, to Hans de Ries in answer to a letter of his dated Sept. 13, 1630.]<sup>1</sup>

V.l. vriendelick acceptatie mijns brief, ende sorghvuldicheyt om den selue te voldoen heef my op desen tijdt occasie ghegeuen tot v mijn danckbaerheyt te bewijzen, van wegghen v.l. goede regarde neffens my ende alle anderen hier, hiefhebbers der waerheyt het welke is in Chr: Iesu onsen heere. dese daerom connen ghetuighen, dat Ick ontvanghen heb v.l. vriendelicke brief ghedateert *September 13. 1630.* waer in ghy begeert, als ghy seyt, met ongheveynsder herte, die ijever godes ende sijnder waerheyt, het welke wy desgelijx met ongheveynsder herten ernstelich begeeren ende om strijden: maer dit moeten wy weten dat onsen ijever moet wesen nae kennisse, ende aenghesteken met het vijer van hemel, ofte anders soude het worden dwaese ontsinnicheyt, meerder dan ijever: als wy meughen sien deur droevich exempell aen het Ioodtsche volk, die daer hadden volgens den ghetuighenisse des Apostells die ijever godes maer niet nae kennis, deur het welke sy waren so onwetentlich rasende dat sy die Messiah selue kruisde, die sy so lang ende

<sup>1</sup> MS. B. 1377 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. This letter is undated but it was translated from English into Dutch on June 5, 1631. Professor Dr Müller's English translation of this Dutch copy is given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists", Vol. II, pp. 44-51.



so seer waren verwachtende, ende hoopte dat hy Israel soude verlossen Luc: 24. 21. ende daerom wy vrijelich met v bekennen dat wy deur onwetentheynt dickwills meughen dolen jae doolen int volbrenghen van het ghene dat wy behoren te doen van wegghen kennis, doende menich mael dinghen te haestelich ofte all te traeghelich het ghene dat wy anders hadden behooren te doen: nochtans die Heere in sijn woort ons klaerlich toont sijnder wille, wat wy behooren te doen ende oock mochte doen so die schult op ons selue niet en laghe: Niet te min hopen wy dat God ons ghenadich sal worden ende onsen swackheyt ende onvolcomentheynt, (noch het ghene dat wy des wegghen misdoen), niet toe rekenen wille, wy dagelix strijdende sulks in ons selue te verbeteren, ende van perfectie tot perfectie te groeyen: maer indien wy onsen eighen willen soude soecken te doen, ende ons te vreden stellen met den ghemeene custuyme ende practijcke van anderen die wy beminnen etc. dan mochten wy niet verwachten eenighe meerder openbaringhe van Godes wille tot ons, noch eenighe ghenade van sijn handen. Nu tot v antwoord op mijnen brief, waer in ghy seydt, die oorsaek waerom dat ghy lijdet ofte draeght een broeder nae vermaninghe, die daer hoorde een predicatie in England is dese (als ghy seght) om dat ghy niet en derft, sijn verstant wesende dat hy mocht hooren, ende deur het hooren ghesticht sijn van een anders ghesint, leuren sodanighen eenen ouer tot Satan: om dat den daet des hooren niet simpelich quaedt ofte vleeschelich sy, maer die leeringhe ofte *persoon* welke ghy seght mach ghedisputable [*sic*] sijn (ofte twijfellachtich) etc. in welke woorden van vwen, daer sijn 2 redenen: die eerste is seght ghy dat sijn verstant was dat hy sulks doen mochte, ende sulks doende ghebouwt sijn van een teghen ghesinte *persoon*: die tweede (seght ghy) om dat die bloote daet van hooren is niet simpelich quaedt ofte vleeschelich. Tot den eerste wy segghen, can die bloote verstant van een broeder jae al ware het van den alderheylichste heyliche die hier oyet leefde sijn een goede regell, voor sijn eighen ofte anderen directie in godes dienste, sonder eenighe verseekaringhe w<sup>t</sup> Godes woort, wy meynen vastelich, dat ghy also niet en houdet, want dat ware te maken een privaet verstant des sterffelicken mensche van ghelijcke waer-

die of valeur met den heilige schrift, welke soude niet beter worden als lasteringhe ofte blasphemie: wat boosheyd is daer indien een mensch sijn privaet oordeel ware die regel, die men niet toe laten ende excuseren soude deur een schijnsell ofte andere van goedt, als die vwen te gaen hooren eenen valsche propheet (want so oordeelt ghy van haer ofte anders waerom noemt ghy se die teghenghesinte) om opgebouwt te worden. wy hebben sommighe hier die het gheoorloft houden te gaen hooren eenen valsche propheet, maer niet om eenighe loffe ofte eer tot God te brengen, noch goedt tot die menschen, tis gheseyt dat sulks boosheyd ware te gaen om eenighe sodanighe eyndt: maer die vwen houden het gheoorloft te gaen hooren tot opbouwinghe: can een founteyne seyt S<sup>t</sup> Iacobus w<sup>t</sup>werpen soete water ende bitter mede, niet meer (meughen wy vrie-moedelich segghen []) can een valsche propheet stichten ofte opbouwen Christi ghemeente ofte eenighe lidtmaet daer van. want als die waere propheten Christi, stichten ende opbouwen het ghemeente Christi, desgelijcks doen die valsche propheten het kerke Antichristi ofte sijn rijckdom stichten ofte opbouwen: sy connen niet te samen ghevoeght zijn in des Heeren werke tot opbouwinghe sijnder ghemeente niet meer jae veel min dan die heydenen Esra 4. conde ghevoeght worden met die Iooden int opbouwinghe van die materiael tempell, alleen Godes volk die Iooden mosten opbouwen dien materiael tempell doen, desghelijx nu, allen des Heeren propheten ofte volk die van hem ghesonden sijn hebbende haer beroepinghe van haer Meester Chr: Ies: bouwen op sijn gheestelicke tempell nu: simon Magus noch gheen ander valsche propheet wie hy sy, heeft eenighe deel ofte part in dese werke: wy sijn vermaent deur S<sup>t</sup> Iude ons op te bouwen in onse heylighe ghelooue: maer indien wy by die teghen ghesinte soude gaen om opbouwinghe wy mochten draghen des Heeren straffe tot die Iooden, daer hy seyt dat sy versaken hadden den founteyn des levendich water ende haer putten ghemaect die gheen water conde houden, den gheheele loop der schrifte is teghen alle sodanighe Balaamitische trinckende: so die religie die ghy belijdet waerachtich sy, dan die religie die den teghen ghesinte belijdet moet immers valsche zijn dese reden will v leeren.

Nu tot den tweede, dat die daedt des hooren niet simpelich quaedt sy, ofte vleyschelich etc. wy segghen indien ghy meynt die actie van hooren een valsche propheet, ofte propheten predikende ofte biddende w<sup>t</sup> cracht van sijnder gheestelicke beroepinghe, (ghelijck het scijnt dat ghy doet) want anders wy achten dat ghy niet lochenen will, maer dat men sondighen mach int hooren, so well als int sien ofte spreken etc. dan segghen wy dat alle sodanighe hooren quaedt sy ende vleyschelich, niet wesende van het gheest Godes, noch bevestight deur sijn woort, alse dese plaetsen der schrifture probereren sullen: Ier: 23. 16. daer die Heere radet sijn volke segghende hoort niet die woorden der propheten die daer propheteren ende leeren v Idellheyte etc. ende Hos: 4: 15. comt niet tot Gilgal, noch [?] gaet niet tot Beth-haven: in den eene sijn sy verboden te hooren met den w<sup>t</sup>wendighen oore, ende in den anderen niet so veel als te comen tot den plaets der valscher God-dienst om haer te hooren ofte besien: ende die stemme van hemel Math: 17. 5. seyt dese is mijn beminde in wien Ick een wellbehaghen heb, hoort hem: ende Ioh: 10 mijn scapen hooren mijn stemme, maer eenen vreemdelinck willen sy niet hooren: ende van die ghene die Chr: w<sup>t</sup>stierde, hy seydte die v hoort, hoort my, maer van die teghenghesinte seyt hy nergens so: Daerom wy besluiten, indien Godes volke verboden wort te hooren die predicatien, ghebet ofte ghebeden der valsche propheten als dese schrifturen ende veele meer willen betuighen: dan segghen wy dat het int gheheel ongheoorloft sy die schapen Christi te hooren der vreemdelinghen stemme, vernamentlich tot die tijdt, plaets, ende vergaderinghe der ghenen die daer vergadert sijn in die name Christi: maer ghy seght dat hy het doet w<sup>t</sup> gheloove in hem selue, oh sluit v ooghen niet toe, wy bidden v, wat ghelooue can hy hebben, wanneer dat gheen woordt des gheloofs sy daer voor in het gheheel boecke Godes te weten voor sodanighe een oeffeninghe: want die H. gheest seyt dat ghelooue comt van hooren, & hooren van het woordt godes: nu hy heeft gheen woort Godes om dese sijn gheloof ende daerom heeft hy gheen gheloove daer in: ende het ghene dat niet van gheloove sy is sonde: ende dat niet alleen, of hy niet en blijfde in het oeffeninghe van desen quaedt, want so

ghy selue acht het, anders waerom afradet ghy hem van sulks; wilt ghy een broeder afraden om yet anders als sonde, het welke hooren eens ghedaen hebbende, het wort hem sonde, ghelijck als wy probeert hebben: ende indien hy gheen boete en doet, vermaent zijnde den 1/2, & 3 mael nae die ordentelich regell van onsen Meester Chr: Ies: die eenighe wett-gever sijnder ghemeente laet hem v wesen als een heyden etc. maer indien hy boete doet vergeeft hem, anders niet: dese is het wett *Christi* het welke wie niet gheoorsamen willen, sijn niet waerdich die name der Christenen, want niemant is een Christen als die sijnder wetten ende gheboden subject sy ende onderdanich. want als niemant can ghenoeft sijn des koninck ondersate, die sijn rechvaerdighe [*sic*] wetten niet gheoorsamen will: so oock in Chr: gheestelicke coninckrijk daer sijn wetten ghanschelich gherechtich sijn, die welke wij [*? hij*] niet en ghehoorsamet can niet Christo toebehooren, ende so hy hem niet toe behoort, dan can hy het gheest Christi niet hebben, ende hebbende niet het gheest Chr: tis sonder questie dat hy ofte sy selue ende haer leeringhen syn quaed ende vleeschelich, beyde propheten ende volke wie sy sijn die andere ofte teghen ghesint sijn die waerachtich professie Christi: maer ghy acht het bequaem hem te draghen deur lang-moedicheyt etc. jae den Heere te bidden voor sijn verlichtinghe etc. als in v.l. duitsche broederen brief: wy stemmen dat toe met v.l. dat wy met sodanighen eene moeten handelen. als met eenen broeder, ende hem niet achten als een vyandt die gheheele tijdt dat hy onder vermaninghe sy, maer dit wilden wy van v.l. bidden in v.l. naeste schrijvens te toonen hoe lang men eenen broeder draghen sal in sijn sonde, het sy altoos ofte tot dat hy vriendelich vermaent heeft gheweest den 1, 2, & 3, mael, ofte tot wat respijt des tijdts. van weghen God ghevende die menschen tijdt tot boete als hy dede Iesabell: tis waer die Heere gheeft som wijlen die menschen eenen langhe tijdt des boets, sommighe 60 ofte 80 jaeren, jae den gheheele tijdt haerder leven: maer hy heeft sijn ghemeente ghepaelt met die 3 vermaninghe, ende so hy dan gheen boete en doet laet hem dy worden als een heyden etc. ende nochtans is hy deur dese niet berooft van alle midelen des boets, maer dese is het leste remedie die die kerk

ouer hem te ghebruicken heeft tot boetvaerdicheyt, als alle vermaninghen hem niet dienen will: do dat ghy sien meught dat Chr: sijn ghemeente eenen tijdt ghestelt heeft, welke die ghemeente niet verby can gaen: desghelijcks woude Ick v bidden te toonen waer die Apostelen ghedooghen hebben lang (als ghy seght) grooter sonden Ick can sulks niet ghedencken dat Ick het oyet ghelesen heb dat die Apostelen ofte eenighe van die eerste kerk ghedooghen hebben eenighe broeder bouen die ghesette tijdt van onsen salichmaker a[ls] te voren gheseyt is. Ende waer als ghy seyt in v.l. brief dat die schrifture die Ick allegerde van die ghemeente tot Ephesus. Apoca: 2. 2. my niet en diende, Ick moet hersegghen dat het my dient, want hoe cont ghy het daer toe binden te weten van quaede leeraeren, wanneer die woorden sijn generael, ende dat ghy contse niet draghen die daer boose sijn, ende particulier ende hebtse ondersocht die daer segghen dat sy Apostelen sijn, ende en zijne niet etc. welke leste woorden ghy neemt, ende beduitse te wesen die boose te vooren ghenoomt: hoe well dat sy te samen ghevoeght sijn met een woordt van byvoeghsell die haer te samen voeght: so dat alle quade worden ghemeeynt int generael ende by name die ghene die daer seyden dat sy Apostelen waren, & waren niet. te volghen den regell van Godes woort, is die beste & behoudenste wech te wandelen tot reformatie beyde van minder ende meerder sonden, tot den welke, ist dat wy opsien, wy sullen sekerlich niet qualoch doen: hoe well in menschelich pollicie wy mochten nemen andere weggen, maer pollicie die daer menschelich sy moet gheen plaets hebben in Chr: kerke. so wy ghewillich sijn reformatie te soecken, dan moeten wy het doen nae sijnder woort, dan sullen wy seker gaen, in den reformatie des minder quaedts des meerder te voorcoomen: als mede den ghemeente Christi in der liefde te bouwen: ende hoe meughen wy onsen broeder meerder liefde toonen, als hem w<sup>t</sup> sijn sonde te plucken ofte trecken, ende vernamentlich door sodanighe middelen als Chr: selue voorghestelt heeft. so een vleeschelick vriendt soude int ghebreck leggen, so dat sommighe lidt most afghesnijden worden, ofte andersins het woude het gheheele lichaem bederven, soude men hem niet veel grooter liefde bewijsen, om het gheheelich aftesnijden,

dan deur teerheyt [teederheid] beteen te laten tot perijkell des gantsche lichaem etc. ende van sodanighe nature is die sonde so men het heen laet gaen, ende dat men het toelaet in die ghemeente, het will versueren den gheheele deegh treckende van boven die gramschapp Godes ouer den gheheel ghemeente, als ghy sien meught in die ghemeente tot Corinthum, om dat sy toelieten den onkuische persoon onder haer boven het gheene dat betaemde 1 Cor: 5. die so het schijnt, oeffende het selue leeringhe der draeghsaemheyt als ghy doet, ende waren daer ouer scherpelich van den Apostell berispt ofte beschuldicht.

Van weghen die vnie ofte eenicheyt (ghy seght) het faljeert aen onsen cant, om dat sommighe onder ons houden ende oeffenen het materiael sweert, het welke (ghy seght) noch Chr: noch sijnder Apostelen oijet oeffenende: het welke hoe ghy het versaken cont weten wy niet, nae-dien dat die schrifture bewijst dat effen onder die Iongheren Christi die hem altoos vergheselschapte, daer waren swaerden, als wanneer onsen salichmaker een weynich voor sijn lijdinghe ofte apprehensie in die tuine, doe hy sijn Iongheren onderwijsinghen ende directien gawe wat sy doen soude nae sijn afscheyt: segghende doe Ick v w<sup>t</sup>stierde sonder buydell sonder tessche ofte schoenen hebt ghy oock yet ghebreck gehadt etc. maer nu wie een buydell heeft etc. ende die niet en heeft die vercoope sijn rocke ende coope eenen sweert, ende sommighe onder haer seyden Heere siet hier sijn twee sweerden: ende Petrus had een sweert doe hy het misbruickende snijde af Malchus oore. tot dat hy het misbruickte, was hy noyet berispt om dat hy het hadt: ende sonder twijfell sommighe wettelich ghebruick had hy daer van te voren, ende dan oock, als mede nae-maels ofte anders waerom waren sy gheboden sweerdten te hebben, jae haer rocken te vercoopen, ende sweerdten te coopen, so dat in sommighe saeck ofte in eenighe dinghen sonder twijfell sy mochte se ghebruijken. wederom doe die soldaten tot Ian quamen met het ander volke sy vraeghden hem wat sy doen soude hy seyde haer dat sy niemant gheweld soude doen etc; daer hy leerde [?] haer hoe dat sy haer draghen soude in haer plaets als christenen, ende nochtans behouden haer beroep als soldaten.

Indien ghy noch seggen soude dat noch Christus noch sijn Apostelen oyet ghebruickde die materiael sweert: dan bidden wy in v.l. naeste schrijvens te toonen nae v.l. verstant wat sy deden met haer sweerden te vooren vermelt, so sy se op gheenderley wijse ghebruicken mochte, dan bekennen wy met v.l. volgens die schriftuer plaetsen by v.l. gheallegeert met veel meer daer toe streckende in v.l. brief, die sulks bevestighen: dat die materiael sweert het gheestelicke rijckdom Christi niet toe-behoort: desghelijcks oock noch buidell noch tessche noch schoenen etc noch verscheyde [*sic*] andere dinghen van diergelijcken aert, nochtans mach men se als wy sijn vleesh ofte menschen van deser werelt wettelich ghebruicken tot maintainantie ofte onderhoudinghe van onsen natuerlich leven, welke wy ghehouden sijn te behouden ofte te beschermen, eve ofte effen als onse salichmaker doe hy w<sup>t</sup> dese werelt scheyden soude, nu seyt hy die daer een buydell heeft, laet hem het nemen etc onder het welke daer was een materiael sweert: nochtans sien wy dat sy het niet en mochte ghebruicken int bescherminghe van haer christelicke professie of van haer Meester Christo: wanneer hy Petrum strafte, seggende steecht v sweert in sijn schee etc. noch en houden wy het wettelich te ghebruicken tot defensie van ons als wy sijn belijders des evangelie, voor het welke wy moeten, hebben, ende noch lijden vervolginghe: noch om te verwerven eenighe aerdsche croon, ofte wereltsche digniteyt die wy nae haecken: maer volgens onsen schuldighe plicht tot onsen Coninck & landschapp in alle civijle dinghen ende wettelich, ende als wy aerdsche onderdanen sijn van sijn aerdsche rijck tot defensie van sijn *persoon*, digniteyt ende rijck wy ghebruicken die materiael sweert: op sodanighe wijse houden wy het gheoorloft te ghebruicken: nochtans segghen wy ende oordeelen dat indien wy noyet occasie sullen hebben te ghebruicken dat sulks beste ware: noch en oordeelen wy v.l. noch eenighe andere die sulks weygheren eenichsins te ghebruicken: maer wij sijn versekert (als wy meynen) so wy het in sommige saken ghebruickte, dat wy niet sondighen soude. Maer ghy heden oordeelt ons gheheel onweerdich eenighe vnie ofte ghemeensaemheyt in Chr: kerke. van weghen dese onsen verstant ende ghebruick: hoe well dat

ghy lieden siet dat wy bevestiginghe hebben daer om w<sup>t</sup> Godes woort: ende willen niet toe laten dat wy met v.l. ghemeenschapp soude hebben tot dat wy boete doen van wegghen het ampt der ouerheyt, ende het ghebrucike des w<sup>t</sup>erlicken sweerts. het ampt der ouerheyt leert den heylighe gheest is die goede ordinantie Godes ende woude ghy hebben ons ofte eenighe die gheworden sullen een lidtmaet der ghemeente Christi, boete te doen van het ghene dat goedt sy, ofte hem anders niet toe te laten, het sy verre, niet maer sonde can yemant onbequaem maken een Christen te worden, van het welke hy moet boete doen, hoe cleyn het sy, want so het sonde sy so is het des wetts ouertredinghe, ende een yeder transgressie oft ouertredinghe daer van sal een rechtvaardighe vergeldinghe des loons ontvanghen, te weten het toorne ende vloecke Godes, sonder boetvaardicheyt. maer te gaen hooren een valsche propheet so het niet en worde der broederen erghenisse, ofte vervolginghe te mijden etc. welke niet te min is openbaerlich quaedt, als te voren ghetoot heeft gheweest: voor dese acht ghy hem niet weerdich in den ban te doen, hoe well hy gheen boete bewijst om dat hy sulks doet maer acht het leuen [?] bequaem, hem te draghen ofte haer (hoe well dat sy boose sijn) die daer boose sijn, om welker oorsaek wy oordeelen dat die schult op v leyt, ende dat het aen v Cante mankeert ofte ghebreckt dat daer gheen eenicheyt en sy onder ofte tuschen ons: want hadden wy gheweten dat ghy lieden sondanighe verstant hadde ghehadt doe wy eenicheyt met v.l. sochte wy souden eerstelich v.l. reformatie, voor eenicheyt ghesocht hebben. daerom wy bidden v.l. van ghene dat hier gheschreven staet te considereren, als mede van het ghene dat onse vrienden ende beminde broederen van Lincoln gheschreuen hebben tot antwoord van v.l. brief tot haer ende so te stieren ons ouer v.l. verstant van wegghen dese saecken dat so ghelijck als wy alle een dingh meynen ende om strijden te weten oprechticheyt in die professie des Evangeliums, wy mochten te samen alle eens ghesint worden, als die ghene die daer sijn van den huisghesin des gheloofs, ghegrondt ende ghebouwt op die fundament der Apostelen & propheten Chr: Iesus wesende die vernaemsten hoeck-staen: ende also in hem



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opgroopen tot het ewighe leven. van weghe eenen Eedt het was (mijns heugens) tot dese ghebracht doe wy lesten met v waren, dat daer gheen onderscheyt was in onse houdinghe, alleen wy noemden dat eenen Eedt, ende ghy lieden niet: want ghy l. desgelijcks willen ghetuighen die waerheyt van een saeck voor den ouerricheyt nemende die Eer-waerdighe naem Godes tot ghetuighenisse, ende dese houden wy gheoorloft te doen wanneer wy daer toe gheroepen sullen worden & niet anders. Ende dus met ongheveynsde groetenisse aen v, ende v.l. huisvrouw ende die reste van onse beminde vrienden met v woonachtich by namen Alexander Hodgkin Ian Drew met haer wijven & die reste als ghenamt, niet verghetende die 4 Oudtsten aen wien Ick bidd v maeckt kondich den inhoudt deser brief, als mede van dat ander gheschreuen van ons lieve vrienden te Lincolne. die Heere leyt v altoos in die waerheyt Amen.

Van Tyverton gheschreuen. v.l. lieve & ghetrouwe vrienden  
in die Heere altoos :

Ouerghesett w<sup>t</sup> d'Engelsche spraeck Iacobus Toppe: & Israel,  
Iunij 5. 1631. sijn huisvrouw.  
per v.l. D.[ienaer ?] Broeder Swithune Gryndall.

[A Letter from Leonard Busher to Abram Derikson, dated Delft, Dec. 8, 1642, giving certain facts concerning Busher's old Age.]<sup>1</sup>

Den [?]  
Eersamen vroomen  
Abram Derikson in  
de gecroonde Reed  
tot  
Amsterdam<sup>2</sup>  
poort

In Delph de 8 december 1642.

<sup>1</sup> MS. B. 1378 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam.

<sup>2</sup> This address is not a part of the text of the letter.

Ongunstige (Ik wou dat Ik (met waerheit) mogen seggen gunstige broeder in Christo, Abram Derikson, Salut: Ik heb diverse<sup>1</sup> brieven aen ul.[ieden]gesonden, maer geen Antwoort becomen; Ik heb ooc van tho: Cÿyp niet gehoord, sedert September doe hy wt England quam: Sin heb ic hem een brief gesonden, de 18 November, maer geen Antwoort; Ik begeere dat ul. hem dat seggen, om dat ic mogen weeten hoe het met hem is: Hem ul. sal believe my antwoort te geven, op my brieven aen u & ul. confraters gesonden, Ik ben een oût swack man, diep in de 71 yaren, end liggen onder myn Pack ongeholfen, bedenct so het ubelieven, of hierin u & ul. Confraters, Gods geboden houden, die gebiet u nasten lief te hebben als u selven, end hem te helpen, so als onder sijn Pack, hy mogen niet bliven liggen: vl. kent my staet wel, beyde nade geloof & na de weerlt, nochtans in beyde, laet ul. my onder myn Pack liggen ongeholfen, overleg het wel, of God daerom niet vertoornt is? *gylieden* verstaen dat ic onder doolingen ook liggen, nochtans help u my niet wt, welc Godde meer mishaeft, om dat Ik dicwills aen ul. help versocht hebbe; haet my niet om dat ic ul. alle lief hebbe, end u niet flattere: gelijc de Schriftgeleerden & Phariseen christum & sijn discipulen gehaet hebben: ul. mogen vremt dincken, dat ic u alle broeders noemen, gy sijntet, of gy moet niet<sup>2</sup> gelooven dat Iesus de

1. Ioh. 5.  
1. 2. Messias is, na dien ul. sulx gelooven, & Ic geloovet ook, so moet wy broeders in christo sijn, of ul. moet bewysen, dat ic daerin ongelovich ben, welc ul. niet doenlic is: dan na dien wy alle sulx gelooven, en dat de Apo: seyt, die sulx gelooven, is wt God gebooren, so hebben wy een Hemels vader, dan moet het noot sakelik volgen, dat alle syne soonen, broederen met malcander sijn, doch onse broeder christus de outste is, nũ na dien dit waer is, so ic begeere dat ul. alle, my in beyde, liefde bewijsen; gelijc

<sup>1</sup> Evidently an English word.

<sup>2</sup> My transcript reads "niet", but from the sense it is evident that it should either be omitted, or another "niet" inserted after "Iesus" and before "de Messias".

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christus & syn Apostelen vermanen : hopen de een troosteling Antwort cortelix te onfangen, Ic bevel ul. alle met my selven, de Salich genade des Heeren Iesu de<sup>1</sup> Messias, vl. d.w[?]: & desolate broeder in christo, Mark Leonard Busher..in de blaw Clawe tusken de Pieterstraet, end Browery van der de [?] verkerde weerlt.

<sup>1</sup> Surely the writer of such Dutch was not a Dutchman, as Dr Whitley has contended!

## XVII

### DOCUMENTS CHIEFLY RELATING TO THE EARLY BROWNIST (BARROWIST) AND INDEPENDENT CONGREGATIONS ON THE CONTINENT

[A Letter of "G(eorge) Abbot, Archbishop of) *Canterbury*", probably written to Sir William Boswell, and dated "From Croydon Sept: 4: 1622."]<sup>1</sup>

My verie good Lord.....

You are therefore to knowe, that his *maiestie* beinge much troubled and greived at the hearte, to heare euerie daie of soe manie defeccions from our Religion, both to Poperie and Anabaptisme, or other points of *Separacion*, in some parts of this kingdome, and Consideringe with much *Admiracion*, what might [be] the Cause thereof, especiallie in the Raigne of such a kinge, who doeth soe Constantlie professe him selfe an open aduersarie to the superstition of the one and madnesse of the other, his princelie wisdomes Could falle vpon noe one greater proba[bi]litie then the lightnesse affectednesse, and vnprofitablenesse of that kinde of preachinge, *which* hath beene of late yeeres two much taken vpp in Courte, vniuersitie, Cittie, and Countrey: /

.....

[An interesting Letter written by John Cotton to the "Lord Bishop of Lincolne, Lord keeper of the great Seale", dated "Boston [England]. *Ianuary* 31. 1624."]<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Add. MS. 6394 (Boswell Papers, Vol. i.), fol. 29-30, in the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> Add. MS. 6394 (Boswell Papers, Vol. i.), fol. 35-36.

My honourable & very good Lord,

As your Lordship hath dealt honourably, & Christianly with me: so might I iustly be esteemed impiously vngratefull, if I should deale otherwise, then ingenuously, & honestly with your Lordship. When my cause first came before your Lordship, your Lordship wisely and truly discerned, y<sup>t</sup> my forbearaunce of y<sup>e</sup> Ceremonyes was not from wilfull Refusall of Conformity, but from some doubt in my Iudgement (w<sup>ch</sup> I confesse is very shallow) & from some scruple in Conscience, w<sup>ch</sup> is indeede as weake. And therefore vpon mine humble, & instaunt Petition, your Lordship was pleased in much goodnesse, to graunt me time to consider further of these things for my better satisfaction. Your Lordships gentlenesse hath not since bred in me any obstinacy in mine owne Opinion: much lesse emboldened me to depart the further from y<sup>e</sup> receyved Iudgement & practise of y<sup>e</sup> Church in any point. The point of kneelinge in Receyvinge y<sup>e</sup> holy Communion, was noe lesse doubtfull to me (if not more) in y<sup>e</sup> dayes of your Lordships Prædecessour, then it is now. His Lordship knoweth, that in Westminster by his Commaundement, I propounded my doubts about it before himselfe, & the Reverend & learned Bishop of Sarisbury. y<sup>e</sup> now is. Vnto whom I did so freely open my selfe, out of deepe desire to helpe my selfe by their deeper Iudgements, y<sup>t</sup> my Lord discerninge my simplicity, became (as I conceyved it) y<sup>e</sup> more favourable & willinge not onely to beare with me, but also to give some way to my Restitution, & in the windinge vp to leave me in such Estate, as your Lordship found me. I humbly beseech your Lordship thinke not I have so abused your Lordships Patience, as to harden my selfe by your Lordships Lenity. Noe, I assure your Lordship, out of an vnfeigned Desire, to improve your Lordships Gentlenesse to mine owne Peace, & the Churches satisfaction, I have thus farre gayned (what by Conference, what by study, what by seekinge vnto God) as of late to see the Weakenesse [?] of some of those groundes against Kneelinge, w<sup>ch</sup> before seemed too stronge for me to dissolve. The Experience of y<sup>e</sup> faylinge of my Iudgement in some of these thinges, maketh me the more to suspect it in other

Arguments & grounds of like nature. Besides I shall never forgett, what your Lordship gravely & wisely once said vnto me, The Ceremonyes I doubted of, „were noe where expresly „forbidden in Scripture: the Arguments brought against y<sup>m</sup> „were but by Consequence deducted from Scripture: deduction „of Consequences was a worke of y<sup>e</sup> Iudgement: other mens „Iudgements (so many, so learned, so godly) why should I not „conceyve, did as infallibly deduce iust Consequences, to allowe „these thinges, as mine owne, to doubt of y<sup>m</sup>. Alas, alas, (my deere Lord) I see by often Experience, the shallownesse of mine owne Iudgement, especially in comparison of many Centuryes of Godly-Learned, who doubt not of the Lawfull liberty of these Ceremonyes, especially of this Gesture. Their Consent herein doth further strongly persuade me, to suspect the motions of mine owne minde, when I see my selfe in any thinge to dissent from y<sup>e</sup> receyved Iudgement of so many Reverend Fathers, & Brethren in y<sup>e</sup> Church, whom I doe not onely highly reverence, but admire. I see, it is commonly a Palsey-distemper in any member of y<sup>e</sup> Body, when it is carryed by a Motion different from y<sup>e</sup> rule of y<sup>e</sup> rest of y<sup>e</sup> members. And I iustly suspect y<sup>t</sup> Spirit, in my selfe, or in another, y<sup>t</sup> breatheth a motion different from y<sup>e</sup> rest of y<sup>e</sup> members of y<sup>e</sup> body of Christ, y<sup>e</sup> Church of God.

Thus may your Lordship well perceyve, how little, your Lordships forbearaunce of me hath hitherto stiffened me in any private Conceyte. And though it hath bene suggested to your Lordship (as I heare) y<sup>t</sup> it hath emboldened our Parish to Incomformity, & induced divers others to come from other Parishes, to Communicate with vs in y<sup>e</sup> like Liberty: Yet surely your Lordship hath done honourably & Christianly, & well beseeminge the æquity of your High & Honourable Court[?], Not to give Credit to such a Suggestion, till your Lordship hath Enquired, & heard our Answer. The trueth is, the Ceremonyes of y<sup>e</sup> Ringe in Marryage, & standinge at y<sup>e</sup> Creede, are vsually performed by my selfe: & all y<sup>e</sup> other Ceremonyes of Surplice, Crosse in Baptisme, Kneelinge at y<sup>e</sup> Communion are frequently vsed by my fellow-Minister in our Church, & without disturbance of y<sup>e</sup> People. The People on

Sabbaths, & sundry other Festivall dayes, doe very diligently, & throug[h]ly frequent y<sup>e</sup> Publique Prayers of y<sup>e</sup> Church, appointed by Authority in y<sup>e</sup> Booke of Common Prayer: neyther doe I thinke, y<sup>t</sup> any of y<sup>m</sup> ordinarily (vnlesse it be vpon iust occasion of other buisnesse) absenteth himselfe. It is true indeede, y<sup>t</sup> in Receyvinge the Communion, sundry of y<sup>m</sup> doe not kneele: but (as I conceyve it, & as they Expresse themselves) It is not out of scruple of Conscience, but from y<sup>e</sup> store & multitude of Communicants, w<sup>ch</sup> often doe so thronge one another in this great Congregation, that they can hardly stand, (much lesse kneele) one by another. Such as doe forbear kneelinge out of any doubt in Conscience, I know not, how very few, they be: I am sure, in comparison of y<sup>e</sup> rest, they be nullius numeri. That divers others come from other Parishes for y<sup>e</sup> Purpose, to Receyve without Kneelinge, is vtterly vnknownen to me, & (I am persuaded) vtterly vntrue. All y<sup>e</sup> neighbour Parishes, Ministers & People rounde about vs, are wholly Conformable. Once indeede (as I heard) one of y<sup>e</sup> Inhabitants of our neighbour Parish, comminge to visit his wife (who then nourced a Gentlemans child in our Towne) did here Communicate with vs. And whether for his not kneelinge, or for some further Cause, I know not, but (as I heard) y<sup>e</sup> Court beinge Informed of Him, did proceede severely against Him, But otherwise, the man (as I have since bene certefyed) hath alwayes vsed to receyve Kneelinge, both before, & since. Yet his Case beinge further bruted abroade, then well knownen, might easily breede such a Suspicion, & afterwards a Report, w<sup>ch</sup> in time might come to your Lordships Eares, y<sup>t</sup> divers did come from other Parishes to vs, for this purpose, To Receyve Incomformably. But your Lordship is wise, easily discernninge [?] betweene Report & Evidences.

Let me now therefore humbly intreate your Lordship, in y<sup>e</sup> bowells of Christ Iesus, since your Lordships Lenity hath hitherto neyther hardened me to any selfe-conceyted Obstinacy, nor wrought any Præiudice, eyther to your Lordship, or to y<sup>e</sup> Church of God: Your Lordship will therefore be pleased To allowe me yet further time, for better Consideration of such doubts, as yet remayne behinde That if vpon further search,

I can finde them too weake to deteyne me, as I have done y<sup>e</sup> former I may then satisfy your Lordships Desire, & Expectation: If Otherwise, yet I trust your Lordship shall ever finde me (by y<sup>e</sup> helpe of God) a peaceable, & (to my best endeavour, accordinge to my weake abilityes) a serviceable member of y<sup>e</sup> Church of God. I dare not præsume, with more wordes to Presse your Lordship, whom y<sup>e</sup> store & weight of so many important Affayres, presse continually. The Lord of Heaven & Earth give me still to finde favour in your Lordships Eyes: And even He prosper your Lordship with Longe life, & Happynesse, & Favour with God, & man. So humbly cravinge Pardon for my great boldnesse, I desire leave to rest

Your Lordships exceedingly much bounden Oratour /

Boston. January 31. 1624. /

John Cotton. /

[A Petition of English and Scottish ministers in the Netherlands to King Charles I of England against six articles exhibited by Sir D.(udley) Carleton. Dated "Att Rotterdam the 4.<sup>th</sup> of Iune 1628."]<sup>1</sup>

Articles exhibited & delivered unto the Synod of the English & Scottish Ministers in the Netherlands, in the name of his *Majestie* of Great Brittanie, by the right hono:<sup>ble</sup> the L. Carleton Baron of Imbercourt, *Ambassadour* extraord:<sup>ie</sup> to the States Generall of the united provinces, May 19. 1628. /

- 1 It is his *Majesties* pleasure, that the said Ministers meddle not with the making or composing, much lesse y<sup>e</sup> publishing of any new Liturgie or sett forme of prayer for their congregations.
2. That they by no meanes do exercise the power of Ordination, but that they leave both English & Scottish to receive holy orders only from their owne mother-Churches established in these two kingdomes: And that they accept of no other into any pastorall charge, but those only who have beene so ordained.

<sup>1</sup> Add. MS. 6394 (Boswell Papers, Vol. 1.), fol. 41-44.



A very plain and well  
grounded  
TREATISE  
CONCERNING  
BAPTISME

*Wherein it is very cleerly shown, and out of  
good grounds demonstrated that Baptisme was instituted and  
ordained by the Lord Christ, for those that believe and repent,  
and was taught and used by his Apostles, and observed and  
followed by the Primitive Church.*

As also how that in proceffe of time the Baptisme  
of Childrea in stead of true Baptisme was brought in  
and received, and by divers Councils, Popes, and  
Emperours commanded to be observed.

Marke 16. 26.

*He that shall believe and be Baptised shall be saved,  
But he that will not believe shall be damned.*

---

Printed in the yeare of our Lord and Saviour  
JESUS CHRIST.



- 3 That they bring in no novelties in any rites or Ceremonies which either concerne the actuall admission of Lawfull Ministers unto their pastorall charge, or which may be used in any other sacred act whatsoever.
4. That they assume no power to themselves to meddle with any point of doctrine: but that in doctrinall points they keepe themselves to what hath beene established by the English & Dutch Churches.
5. His *Majestie* is well content that they should still keepe that power, w<sup>ch</sup> K. James his Royall Father intended to them; viz: To suppress those who tooke vpon them the function of preachers, without lawfull vocation or admission to y<sup>e</sup> Ministry. And 2.<sup>ly</sup> to examine, restraine & punish the ill manners of such as give scandall by their vitious lives. And moreover, his *Majestie* doth recommend unto them, to make diligent inquisition after those who write books or pamphletts any way derogatory to y<sup>e</sup> Church or state of England; & as much as in them lieth to suppress them.
6. In case any doubt or difficulty arise concerning y<sup>e</sup> true meaning or execution of these particulars; that they then repaire to his *Majesties* *Ambassadour* or Agent for y<sup>e</sup> time being, who will ever have, or be able to procure such directions from his *Majesty* whereby so godly a worke, may be duely & rightly advanced.

Signed

D. Carleton.

May it please your Sacred *Majestie* graciously to receive & consider this humble declaration of us your *Majesties* most loyall & duetifull subjects (the English & Scotch Ministers) now living under the power of a forraine state, touching these articles exhibited unto us in your *Majesties* name, as your Royall pleasure, by the right honorable the *Lord* Carleton, Baron of Imber Court, your *Majesties* *Ambassadour* extraordinary to y<sup>e</sup> States generall of y<sup>e</sup> united provinces y<sup>e</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> of May 1628. /

First in generall, we humbly beseech your Royall *Majestie*

to consider how unjustly, without any occasion by us ministred to these Churches of England & Scotland, a needles trouble hath beene raised unto us. First in the time of K. James of happy memory; & now againe in your *Majesties* time upon some sinister suggestions only, as though our proceedings in our Synodall assemblies should be derogatory to the Churches of the said kingdomes; whereas that solemne protestation made by us to the contrary att our first embracing & undertaking that authority given us by the most Illustrious Lords the States Generall by the procurement of his *Majesties* *Ambassadour* doth sufficiently cleare us of that imputation: the contents of w<sup>ch</sup> protestation here following, we humbly present to your *Majestie*.

The said Ministers for the removing of all jealousy of innovation, separation, faction or schisme, did all jointly & severally protest, That as they did entertaine the liberty & benefitt of the said order & governement to be practised and administred only according to the French Churches, & as is contained in the grant from the most Illustrious Lords the States, without any purpose or intention to do any thing in any other forme to the least offense of the Churches in these provinces; or any way to impaire any particular lawfull priviledge w<sup>ch</sup> hitherto hath beene enjoyed by any of the English Churches in these provinces, being in nature & quality neither offensive or contrary to the order of the Dutch or French Churches among whom they reside, nor any way repugnant to the power & grant aforesaid. So likewise did they protest their entertainment of the said forme & order to be (notwithstanding the bond of our uniforme obedience to the power & grant aforesaid during our abode in these parts) free in their soules & consciences from any disrespect, censure, prejudice, or condemnation of the Churches in his *Majesties* dominions; reserving unto them all due reverence as to the true Churches of Christ, equally precious in the sight of God (through

the same most precious faith) with our selves resolving still to hold communion with them, notwithstanding any difference of externall order; & evermore to pray for, & procure their happines & welfare with our owne.  
.....

And 1. concerning the making or publishing of any new Liturgie. We are sorry, that our best intentions are so misconstrued, it never havinge entred into our minds, to frame or publish any new Liturgie: or to oppose or condemne the Liturgies of any other Churches: but only to enlarge that allready extant (: [*sic*] w<sup>ch</sup> by authority & command of the States we are enjoyned to observe:) by adding thereunto from other Liturgies; & among the rest from the Liturgie of England, so much as without offense or scandall in these Churches might be practised: w<sup>ch</sup> foresaid Liturgie hath beene in continuall use in all Churches here, from the time of Q. Elizabeth of famous memory, whilst the Earle of Leicester did governe in these provinces; & agreed upon & practised in the Churches of the Brill & Vlissinghe, then absolutly depending upon y<sup>e</sup> authority of the Kings of England, & maintained by them. Such was the care of your *Majesties* royall predecessors to have all things among their subjects here residing to be done in conformity to the Churches of these lands, thereby to prevent all offense, & to maintaine the peace & unities of the Church: w<sup>ch</sup> course we trust assuredly, your *Majestie* intends we should follow; not purposing we should putt in practise any Liturgy never as yett authorized in these parts; or that we should leave every man to his owne liberty to use what Liturgie he pleaseth; seing thereby as great, if not greater confusion & disorder should raigne amongst us after order established, as was before the erection of our Synode.

Touching the practise of Ordination forbidden us in the 2.<sup>d</sup> Article: We humbly beseech your *Majestie* to weigh the nature of ordination, being an essentiall point of y<sup>e</sup> function of our Ministry, for the well ordering of y<sup>e</sup> house

of God, over w<sup>ch</sup> we are sett, as well as the preaching of the gospell & administration of the Sacraments; so that with good conscience we cannot omitt it, nor leave it wholly to others without being guilty of neglect of the office laid upon us by Christ. And we are persuaded, that *your Majestie* considering this, will never prohibitt us the exercise of any thing, the power whereof is conferrd upon us by him, there being (as we hope) no just cause in our persons or carriage to y<sup>e</sup> contrary.

2. Ordination is of such a nature, that the exercise thereof being taken from us, the practise of all other points of Ecclesiasticall discipline over others of the Ministry are taken away with it; Seing none can displace that have no power to place; nor take away authority, where they cannot give it. The Ordainers may maintaine the ordained by them against all others; it being the order of all Churches, that Ministers in their Ministry be subject to their Ordainers. This point is also confirmed by the Popes owne law.....

3. If we should leave this practise wholly to these Churches, & thereby leave to them all the rest of the points of Ecclesiasticall governement we consequently give way to a forraine Ecclesiasticall power over y<sup>e</sup> Churches within y<sup>e</sup> dominions of this State; & so should not only prove ourselves most unthankfull persons, but also wrong the state, in transferring the liberty & power graunted us by them to strangers; so enthralling them to a forraine authority./

4. *Your Majestie* may consider what infamy & disgrace by this course shall be brought upon us *your Majesties* subjects, as the only men in these Churches, who are unworthy to enjoy the freedome, w<sup>ch</sup> other strangers (& namely the French) do peaceably possesse. We beseech *your Majestie* graciously to respect the credit of your owne loyall subjects, that they be not herein made inferior in estimation to other strangers, & so exposed to the prophane derision & contempt of all men.

5. We beseech *your Majestie* to ponder what a dangerous

president this were to have the practise of any affaires Ecclesiasticall to depend upon a forrain power, without the limits of the kingdome or state, where it is exercised. What confusion should fall amongst States & Princes, if once this practise should take place? For why may not a forrain civill power, order the affaires of another state, if a forraine Ecclesiasticall power shall once have place to order the Ecclesiasticall affaires of another State? Was not this a speciall reason w<sup>ch</sup> moved your *Majesties* Father of happy memory to take such paines in writing that famous Apologie pro juramento fidelitatis against such usurped power by the Pope? We beseech your *Majestie* to consider, if any state under heaven, except papisticall, would willingly suffer such a practise, so dangerous, to creepe in, & take place in their dominions: considering, that even in this point of ordaining of Ministers, the Popes owne law doth not permitt a *Bishop* to ordaine any without the limits of his owne *Bishoprick*, much lesse in a forrain state, as hereby doth manifestly appeare.....

6. We beseech your *Majestie* to conceive, that if we should continue a Synodall body without practise of ordination; we should be such an Ecclesiasticall body, as is not to be found in any reformed Church in the world. And therefore we leave it unto your *Majesties* wise judgement, if the leaving this practise wholly to the Churches of England and Scotland, should not worke in all abroad a greater distaste of the Churches of England & Scotland, & Episcopall government in them (: if once it begin to extend its authority to forraine nations without the compasse of your *Majesties* dominions:) for suppressing in their owne brethren abroad, the ordinary practise of all other reformed Churches? May not all Churches thinke; yea do they not allready conceive hereby that if they could, they would both condemne & overthrow all their government? Whereas otherwise, they might have all other Churches to hold peace & communion with

them, if they should not inroach so strangely upon them, & their practise in our persons.

.....

[Information concerning the English Congregations in the Netherlands between 1621 and 1633.]<sup>1</sup>

Concerning the Classis.

That in the yeare 1621. M<sup>r</sup> forbes obtaining a Commission for the English Classis M<sup>r</sup> Paget, & M<sup>r</sup> Potts refused to be members of it: And being *pressed* to come in they made their case knowne to the Amsterdam Dutch classis of *which* they were. & gave their reasons. *which* were so approved That the Classis made an Act, That they thought it best the English should have no classis, & that M<sup>r</sup> Paget & M<sup>r</sup> Potts should not be drawn from the Dutch classis they were in. This Act with the reason are [*sic*] vpon register. & recorded.

That M<sup>r</sup> Paget &<sup>c</sup> [?] being yet farther *pressed* by the Engl classis; The busines was *presented* to the North Holland synod: where the former Act of the Amsterdam classis was confirmed; this is likewise to be seene vpon record. /

M<sup>r</sup> Forbes notwithstanding this once with M<sup>r</sup> Scott the Vtrecht minister, & another time with M<sup>r</sup> Batchelour came to Amsterdam privately to the Burgomasters to desire them to constraine M<sup>r</sup> Pagett & M<sup>r</sup> Potts to be of their classis...

That the two maine reasons why the English Classis is condemned are these (as they may be seene vpon record)

1. Because the Ministers of England *which* come over *hither* are of severall & inconsistent opinions differing *from* one another & *from* all reformed churches. as expressly that some are Brownists. some Brownistically affected in *particular* opinions. as .1. in allowing private men to *preach*. 2. In denijng [?] formes of praier.
- 3 In admitting Brownists to their Congregations not

<sup>1</sup> Add. MS. 6394 (Boswell Papers, Vol. I.), fol. 146, recto and verso.



renouncing their Brownisme. Some are Iacobites who require a New Covenant for members of a church to make before they can be Communicants, 2. Condemne the Decisive & Iudging power of all Classes & Synods; & that they have only a power of Counsailling & advising, because every particular Congregation is a church; and that a Compleat church, and that it is Immediately given vnto every congregation from Christ to be a single & vncompounded policy: (These are the very words of Mr Iacob, & Parker, & Baines,) And now the Dutch Classis & Synods conclude that such opinions as these do cleane overthrow the nature of their government; and y<sup>t</sup> amongst such diversity of opinions no true Classis can be...

2. Because of the Complaint of the french & wallons in those countries..because they have a Classis graunted vnto them: It were better (they say by experience) that they had no classis but were (as Mr Paget is) mixed into the Dutch Classes. for by reason of the distan[ce?] of their dwelling they cannot have Monthly or quarterly Meetings, as Classes have, but only annuall as Synods: and that then there[?] is such trouble in their gathering together some dwelling in one province & some in another at such great distance that they never all...& by reason of their few meetings the[re?] grow vp many Enormities in particular congregations vnpunished:...

That now in this present yeare 1633. Mr forbes & his Classists obtaining a new commissi[on] for their classis from the Councell of State, Mr Paget hath presented the busines againe to his Classis at Amsterdam the 4<sup>th</sup> of Aprill: being the first Monday in the month. And they have promised their vttmost endeavour to hinder it...

.....

#### Concerning Mr Peters ordination

1. There was a *New Covenant made* with [?] certaine precise & strict obligacions to which they should bind themselves. and he would be chosen by none but them

that would put there[?] hands to that paper. This saith M<sup>r</sup> Paget was a kind of Excommunication to above two parts of the congregacion in former times. & hath caused the difficulty of adminis[t]ering the sacrament because he will give it to none but them whose names are at his New Covenant. Those New Covenanted must choose & Call him. so before these a sermon was made by M<sup>r</sup> forbes.

2. There was *χειροτονεια*. first by all the men, but said M<sup>r</sup> forbes, I see *what* the men do: but *what* do the weomen do. Therevpon they fell a *χειροτονising* too & Lift vp their Hands.

3. There was *χειροθεσια*. The Imposing of all the hands of the present Ministers except M<sup>r</sup> Daye who was not desired (*M<sup>r</sup> Grim of weasell was present* and confirms all this) and M<sup>r</sup> Forbes held them above halfe an hower laijng [laying] his burthen vpon him in these words & manner, as if he had never beene made minister./

One Thomas Cranford: who doth vsually eate at Stephen ofwoods: is putting out the Bibles. they are printing in a house by the South Church. and one Stasmore a Brownist. who is discontented about the busines if it be well carried will easily tell all; & bring you to the place, Stephen ofwood is certainly the man *which* procures the printing of all the blew bookes...

[A Letter of Alexander Browne to Sir William Boswell, dated "Rotterdam the first of Nouember", 1633.]<sup>1</sup>

Sence my laste beinge w<sup>th</sup> you I haue littell or noe newss to Informe you of only M<sup>r</sup> Peter reported to sum of his peopell that he was to preach his farewell sermond at delft the last sunday: and to leaue it A dessolaite plaice wheer their[?] was wepinge Amongest his femall [female] saintes to heir of the sad stories he related vnto them heir at Rotterdam before he departed: for nowe instead of preacheinge wee should haue A littell seruice..read with many other skandolous wordes he

<sup>1</sup> Add. MS. 6394 (Boswell Papers, Vol. 1.), fol. 153 recto.

eussed [used] vpon the Common prayer:...his prefaice to the fresh supplie is printed and I am promised one of them but I shall noe sonner [sooner] receaue it but I will send it forwarde to your Honnor. I haue heir sent you M<sup>r</sup> Peters Couenant w<sup>ch</sup> [?] he maide and vnless wee will all subscribe to this his Couenant wee shall not be admitted to the lords Table neitherould members nor newe: so that it semes to me our Church formerly was noe Church: but what authoritie he haith to doe these thinges: I knowe not: for he him self saith the C[h]urch of Eingland doth Tije [sic] the Concienc of men to do this and that, and he for his parte in this his Couenant Tieth both Concienc: and purss...

[A Letter of Henry Elsynge's to Sir William Boswell, dated Amsterdam Iune the 6.<sup>th</sup> 1633 ".]<sup>1</sup>

There are very pretty differences now *in motion betweene the Brownists heere* [in Amsterdam], *they haue diuided their Brotherhoods, some goe along with Iohn D'ecluse, some with M<sup>r</sup> Kan* [Canne], *the two heads of that diuided Bodye*, of which indeede there are none willing to bee feete, or any other enferior members, they would all bee heads: *Iohn D'ecluse has deliuered vp to Sathan M<sup>r</sup> Kan, & his Sectaries, & M<sup>r</sup> Kan will shortly bee ready, to doe him & his, the like courtesie. Stephen Offwod my Host was once one of the Brotherhood, but tis long since hee fell from it: but his wife & children continuing still among them, hee has written a booke which hee directs to them, in which hee layes the Brownists very open, & layes downe motiues & reasons to his wife & children, why they should forsake (as hee termes them) their abominac[i]ons: but that hee maye shew himselfe auerse to the Church of England & the discipline therein setled & approued of, hee has a Tract wherein hee shewes that the English of these Churches heere, had very good reason to leaue the Church of England, bringes in a short Narratiue of the Troubles of Franckfort, when the English first endeauored in the beginning of Queene Maryes tyme, to erect a Church there, & vpon that occasion, brings in likewise the...opinion of M<sup>r</sup> Calvin,*

<sup>1</sup> Add. MS. 6394 (Boswell Papers, Vol. I.), fol. 142,

*Bullinger & others of our Booke of Common Prayer*: but that I feare your occasions, would not dispenche with soe vnworthy an Interruption, I had *sent you the Booke*. There is heere alsoe an English Bible now printed, according to the Exemplary of that Bible, which was printed in the Queenes tyme (Anno 1599[<sup>1</sup>]), & (as they saye) *since by King Iames prohibited* to bee any more printed: & that it may passe the better in London & with the more *securitie, it beares the same date with the other, & is soe punctually the same with it, that it is I thinke impossible to distinguish them.....*

[Part of a letter probably written by Stephen Goffe, of the date 1633.]<sup>1</sup>

.....

It is to be observed that of those Engl: Minister[s] [in the Netherlands] *which vse not the English forme [of Liturgy]*  
 1. Some vse the Dutch translated. as M<sup>r</sup> Paine. but yet that mended much left out, and some things added, as may appeare by M<sup>r</sup> Paines booke. /

2. Some vse none at all as M<sup>r</sup> Forbes. but every time they administer the Sacraments a new. they [?] doe [?] not stand to one of their owne. /

3. Some vse another English forme putt out at Middleborough. 1586. This M<sup>r</sup> Goodyer saith he vseth at Leyden. and M<sup>r</sup> Peters saied to me that was the forme he found in his consistory. But whether he vse it or no I cannot tell, I beleive he goes the Forbesian way.

4. Some vse our English forme in the sacraments but mangle them Leaving out and putting in whole sentences.....

M<sup>r</sup> Pagetts 20 Propositions to M<sup>r</sup> [Thomas] Hooker  
 with his answere thereto: ~ /<sup>2</sup>

Quest: 1 Whither it be lawfull for any to resort vnto the  
 Publique Meetings of the Brownists, and to Com-

<sup>1</sup> Add. MS. 6394 (Boswell Papers, Vol. 1.), fol. 168.

<sup>2</sup> Add. MS. 6394 (Boswell Papers, Vol. 1.), fol. 67-72. Only a small portion of the contents of this document is here given.

municate with them in the WORD of GOD.//  
Negatur

Ans<sup>w</sup>: To seperate from the faithfull Assemblies, and Churches in England, as noe Churches is an error in Iudgment, and sinne in practize, held and mayntained by the Brownists, & therefore to Communicate with them, either in this their opinion or practize, is sinnefull & vtterly vnlawfull, but for a Christian both their opinion, & practize, to heare occasionally amongst them, & so to Communicate with them in that part of Gods worde (*which* I conceaue to be the meaning of the first Quære) is not so farre, as I yet see simply vnlawfull, but may prove occasionally offensiue, if either by goeing, wee should encourage them to goe on, in their Course of seperation, or els by our vnwise expressions, might serue to weaken ours, to like of it our selves, and so to drawe them to a farther approbation of that way, then was before meet. wherevpon it followes, if wee giue these occasions of offence, wee sinne if wee do not abstaine [?], but if these occasions of offence may be remoued, by our Constant renouncing of their Course of the one side, and by our free and open profession of our intents, on the other side. That wee goe only to heare some sauorie point opened, and to benefitt by the guifts of some able Minister, that may come amongst them, if I say the giving of any Iust offence by these, or any other meanes, may be avoided, I conceive then it is not a sinne to heare them occasionally, and that some men may prevent such occasions, it is to mee, it is to me [*sic*] a very disputable question not hauing euer studied this point before. /

Quærs 2 Whether those Members of the Church [of England] *which* somtymes heare them, & stiffly maintaine a Libertie therein are to be tollerated or rather censured. // censured

- Respo: For the practise of members according to the former Caution & interpretation, being taken vp & mayntayned though stiffly, which Argumente, because it is but questionable and disputable before they be fully convicted of their sinne, they ought to be tollerated rather than censured: And this moderation in things which are disputable, and not absolutely necessary to salvation.....
- Qu: 3 Whether such of the Brownists as haue not renounced their Seperation from the Church of England, Nor yett allow Comunion with the Publique estate thereof may lawfully be receiued for members of our Church // Negatur.
- Resp: The not renouncing seperacion from the faithfull assemblies in England and the not allowance of Comunion with the Publique state of the Church of England This meer opinion can in no wise make a man vnfitt to be receaved a member of this Congregation, vnlesse wee will say that such a man (being in his iudgment & life otherwise altogether vnblameable) in Judicious Charitie is not a visible Christian, which is a more ridged Censure then the wisest of the seperation would giue waie vnto, in a proportionable kinde, and I suppose a pious hart dare affirme,.....

English Preachers in the Netherlands [in 1633]<sup>1</sup>.

Of y<sup>e</sup> Regiments.

- e Lord Vere. M<sup>r</sup> Goffe.
- c [?] Gen: Morgan. M<sup>r</sup> Batchelour.
- e Col. Paginham. M<sup>r</sup>. Day.
- e Col. Herbert. M<sup>r</sup> Sclaer.

Of y<sup>e</sup> Merchants.

- c M<sup>r</sup> Forbes. and his
- c Assistant M<sup>r</sup> Hooker.

<sup>1</sup> Add. MS. 6394 (Boswell Papers, Vol. I.), fol. 175. In the original the list of names is given in three columns.

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[Of y<sup>e</sup>] Garrisons.

- Vtrecht. M<sup>r</sup> Fortree.  
Gorichom. M<sup>r</sup> Batchelour. idem.  
Tergoo. M<sup>r</sup> Day. idem.  
e Gittredenberge. M<sup>r</sup> Firsby.  
Busch. M<sup>r</sup> Gribbins.  
c Husden. M<sup>r</sup> Widdowes.  
c Bergen. M<sup>r</sup> Paine.  
Dort. a Dutchman *which*  
speakes English.  
c Nimmegen M<sup>r</sup> Sibbald. Scotchm.  
Wesell. a Dutchman *which*  
speakes English.  
Tiel. M<sup>r</sup> Sclaer. idem.  
Doesborough. M<sup>r</sup> Parsons.

[Of y<sup>e</sup>] Towns.

- Amsterdam. M<sup>r</sup> Iohn Pagett.  
c Rotterdam. M<sup>r</sup> Peters.  
Flushing. M<sup>r</sup> Roe.  
Middleborough. M<sup>r</sup> Drake<sup>1</sup>.  
Leyden. M<sup>r</sup> Goodyer.  
Hage. M<sup>r</sup> Balmeford.

The towne Ministers haue meanes allowed them by the States. of the Garrisons none haue any Meanes from the States but only Vtrecht. 500<sup>s</sup>: per annum and Bergen. 200<sup>s</sup>: per annum the rest are payd by the Captaines, *which* is about 2. guilders a weeke, as long as they bee in the Garrisons, So that when they are in the field they haue nothing but only of those Companies *which* are left at home.

Of all those there belong to y<sup>e</sup> English Classis M<sup>r</sup> Forbes. M<sup>r</sup> Peters. M<sup>r</sup> Balmeford. M<sup>r</sup> Batchelour. M<sup>r</sup> Paine. M<sup>r</sup> Widdowes. M<sup>r</sup> Sibbald. this last came within this yeare (and though they haue had noe classically meeting) yet must be named here because hee was placed by the authority of y<sup>e</sup> classis at Nimmegen, and doth reckon himselfe of that classis.

<sup>1</sup> Could this by any chance have been Thomas Drakes who has already been mentioned elsewhere?

Those y<sup>t</sup> refuse to be of y<sup>e</sup> English Classis, some are of the Dutch, and some are of none. M<sup>r</sup> Pagett. M<sup>r</sup> Fortree, M<sup>r</sup> Gribbins are of y<sup>e</sup> Dutch. (what M<sup>r</sup> Roe and M<sup>r</sup> Drake doe is not knowne, but they refuse to be of y<sup>e</sup> English classis.) M<sup>r</sup> Goodyer desired to bee of y<sup>e</sup> Leyden classis, but they will not admitt him, And y<sup>e</sup> reason giuen is because they doe obserue by a longe and sharpe controuersy *which* hath been betwixt him & his parishioners hee is of a rigider Discipline, then y<sup>e</sup> Dutch Discipline is.

M<sup>r</sup> Gribbins was commended by y<sup>e</sup> Lord Vere to y<sup>e</sup> Busch, being a Palatinate man that wanted meanes, & hauing studied well in England, y<sup>e</sup> officers report nothing but well of him. /

M<sup>r</sup> Fortree was chosen by y<sup>e</sup> officers, and is well approued of by them, for a quiet man.

M<sup>r</sup> Paine was called from Schonehouen by y<sup>e</sup> Englishe classis to Bergen op Zone. after y<sup>t</sup> by their Authority, they had deprived one M<sup>r</sup> Clarke the Scotch regiment Preacher to y<sup>e</sup> Earle of Bucklough.

M<sup>r</sup> Parsons is the regiment preacher to Coll: Belford, (it is likely hee is of noe Classis at all) M<sup>r</sup> Sibbald: to Coll: Broge.

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[A letter of Stephen Goffe's to Sir William Boswell, dated "Leyden. Feb. 28 stil. no." (1634/3 ?)]<sup>1</sup>

Worthy Sir.

I hope you have received a *lettre* from Amsterdam on Sunday w<sup>ch</sup> did acquaint you with the comming of m<sup>r</sup> Dampont [Davenport] vnto you, & the cause of it. And by this time m<sup>r</sup> Dampont appearing to you hath shewed the truth of it. Since that m<sup>r</sup> Pagett hath given me another relacion w<sup>ch</sup> with his most humble service he desired me to make knowne vnto *your* selfe: vnto *whom* he desires to approve him selfe, and give account of his actions. After that in many discourses with m<sup>r</sup> Dampont He had found his difference from him in the poynt of Baptisme, w<sup>ch</sup> is not only a matter of

<sup>1</sup> Add. MS. 6394 (Boswell Papers, Vol. I.), fol. 192 recto and verso.



judgement but practice both ministers joyning in baptizing every child according to the Dutch custome ((1) one reading the forme, & explicacion of it. and the other sprinkling the water with those words In the name &c.) He told him that it was necessary for him to admitt all the infants w<sup>ch</sup> were brought, as he & the Dutch alwaies vse to do, or els they could not be fitt colleges in that pastorall charge. Herevpon Dampport & his frends made the first cry, complained to the Dutch ministers, obtained of two of them, to come vnto m<sup>r</sup> Pagett, to reprehend him for his difficulty in admitting so reverend[?] a College &c. Those two (. . one Roulandus. & Goldorpius) comming to m<sup>r</sup> Pagett & hearing[?] the case were presently made of his mind, & concluded that a more sollemne meeting should be had, & Dampport perswaded to a better sense, or els no admission. Wherefore shortly after 5 of the Dutch ministers came vnto m<sup>r</sup> Pagetts house, and there expected m<sup>r</sup> Dampport who could not be brought to come vnto them, notwithstanding that they proceeded to their consultacion, wrought in Lattine the condicions they would require of Dampport & Pagett, & subscribed them with their 5 names, These condicions were on Pagetts part That if the Parent or frends of the infant did signifie vnto him before hand that they would have a child baptised, That then m<sup>r</sup> Pagett should send them to Dampport, to be examined, as he desired. On Dampports part That if the Parent or frends being desired to go to him should not go. or comming should be so ignorant as not to be able to give account of their faith, or if they should suddainely bring the child into the church without forewarning that he should not venture to refuse to baptize it. Dampport having this paper of condicions brought to him gave such an answer, as m<sup>r</sup> Pagett vnderstood he meant to rest satisfied in them. Wherevpon he preached before m<sup>r</sup> Pagett & they were to proceed to his Calling. After sermon m<sup>r</sup> Pagett desired him to speake plainly whether he would rest in those condicions, & resolve to performe them. His answer was, That in the Consistory one of the Elders should expresse his mind; but m<sup>r</sup> Pagett pressing him to expresse his owne mind him selfe, He seemed to take the Condictions vpon w<sup>ch</sup> they in the Consistory concluded on him

for their pastor, made an Instrument of his Election, w<sup>ch</sup> yet m<sup>r</sup> Pagett would have to include in it The Condictions about baptisme. w<sup>ch</sup> was done. Now their worke was to obtaine the consent of the magistrates, & the Classis. The magistrates for a good while were hard to be entreated, alleadging his offending our king, his deserting of his former charge, His preaching since he came hither &c but at last were overcome by the importunity of the merchants that pressed for him. The Classis made no difficulty supposing the acceptance of those Condictions. So that now nothing was remaining but Dampports receaving their call. w<sup>ch</sup> when He saw with the Condictions about baptisme mencioned in it, he desired to be excused, that he could not with a good conscience performe them. So all that busines was vndone againe. And thus it now stands. Since that his clients have beene very malicious against m<sup>r</sup> Pagett, most grievously reviling him, & exasperating both him & those frends w<sup>ch</sup> he hath against a 2<sup>d</sup> election w<sup>ch</sup> is thought willbe very hardly obtained, the Dutch ministers being offended at this precise Iesuitisme æquivocating him selfe in to their election. Yesterday was their Classis day, in w<sup>ch</sup> their purpose was (as m<sup>r</sup> Pagett told me) to speake of Dampports dealing. And that He might avoyde the discoursing with them or any of them he would absent him selfe. either this is the cause of his jorney, or it is believed so, because yet no Dutch minister could come to speake with Dampport since his comming though they have sought it many times, severally & altogether, as when he was chosen the whole Classis desired his company to dinner, but non est inventus. nor ever since could be. wherin we are litle beholding to him, for they sticke not to say His Latine tong is the cause of it. /

.....

Leyden. Feb. 28 stil. no. [1634/3 ?]

Tewsday. morn. /

Your humblest Servant

Stephen Goffe. /

[A letter of Stephen Goffe's to Sir William Boswell, dated "Leyden March .9" (1634/3 ?).]<sup>1</sup>

Worthy Sir.

Since the receiving of *yours*—March—6. from Brill. for which I give you many thanks, M<sup>r</sup> Paget hath sent his kinsman to me, to relate what was done in the Classis last weeke. The ordinary busines being dispatched in their mondayes meeting they resolved of purpose to come together the next day to heare m<sup>r</sup> Damports [Davenports] matter. On one side m<sup>r</sup> Paget declared that after the consent of the magistrates by order from the classis he with the Elders had offered m<sup>r</sup> *Damport* his Call in writing. but that He refused it his conscience not suffering him to vndertake those condicions w<sup>ch</sup> yet were thought necessary by 5 of themselves, and were in appearance accepted by him selfe. On the other side were two of the Elders of the Church deputed & instructed by m<sup>r</sup> *Damport*; who indeed confessed the refusall, & the tendernes of his conscience, but in the name of the *most & cheifest* of the congregation desired the Classis that they might have him established amongst them, not Pastor but Assistant in preaching. alleading the excellency of his guifts, & his *discreet & peaceable* carriage. / Vpon the notice of his refusall some of the Dutch ministers who (by the merchants m<sup>r</sup> *Damports* frends) were brought to be sticklers for him professed themselves much wronged, that m<sup>r</sup> *Damport* had putt them vpon the displeasure of the magistrates. for that the magistrates did alledge, as his deserting England, so his differing from the Belgicke constitutions w<sup>ch</sup> they had answered vnto them, & warranted vpon their creditts that he would be a fitt and conformable man. But now in his plaine flying off, & that for such easy condicions, he did lay them open to shame to the magistrates, who were difficulte before, but now would be possessed; that many other differences were hidd in his brest besids those. / To that matter of being lecturer or assistant in preaching only, that was a

<sup>1</sup> Add. MS. 6394 (Boswell Papers, Vol. I.), fol. 194 recto—195 recto. This letter I take to be dated according to New Style, as was often the case in the Netherlands at this period.

species of creatures w<sup>ch</sup> was not in their church, besids that therein they should exceedingly wrong m<sup>r</sup> Paget whose age required a College in all the burthens of the church, w<sup>ch</sup> were as many & more heavy in the businesses of the Consistory for government, and in administering the sacraments, then [?] in the pulpitt for preaching. And that vnlesse he were legittimate Pastor he could have no place in the consistory. &c. In fine There conclusion was that 3 Dutch ministers should be deputed to go vnto him in the name of the Classis to expresse the just cause they have to be offended at his refusall, they having through so many objections made his way for him. And to take his reasons why he will not accept of those condicions concerning baptisme. And that next classis those 3 must report what his reasons be that so they may sett a finall conclusion to this matter.....

Leyden. March .9./. [1634/3 (?)]

Your most humble &  
thankfull Servant

Stephen Goffe./

[A Letter of John Davenport's to "Sir William Boswell Knight", dated "Amsterdam March 18. 1634(/3 ?)".]<sup>1</sup>

Honorable Sir,

When I first Came into these parts, my purpose was to stay he[re] but 3 or 4 moneths, and, that time being expired, to returne for England my nati[ue] Countrey, had not the sinister & slanderous informacion, whereof I complained in [my ?] last, exasperated the ArchB<sup>p</sup>. of Cant:[erbury] to reproachfull inuectiues, and bitter mena[ces ?] against me in the High Commission, whereby my returne is made much more difficult, and hazardous then I could suspect. when, in that letter, I sayd, I am willing to exercise [*sic*] those gifts which God hath giuen me &c I vsed that expression not in affectation, but as fittest to represent my present state, and to intimate that I am not engaged by any relation of office for Continuance here. which, being added to what I then wrote, and the

<sup>1</sup> Add. MS. 6394 (Boswell Papers, Vol. 1.), fol. 196.

vnseasonableness of two or three moneths (after my arriual) for traually, and that I was but once at the Hague, in transitu, before the last time, when I traually thither purposely to present my selfe and seruice to your Ho: [nour], will make a full apology for my seeming neglect in that particular. The particulars, wherein I haue changed, are no other then the same, for which many worthy ministers, and lights eminent for godlines & learning haue suffered the loss of theyre ministry and liberty; some whereof are now in perfect peace, and rest, others are dispersed in seuerall countreyes, and some yet liue in England as priuate persons, who were and are loyall and faythfull subiects to theyre soueraigne, and haue witnessed against hæresyes, and schysme and against all sectaryes, as Familists, Anabaptists & Brownists, against all which I also witnes, in this place, wherevnto I had not come, if I could haue bene secure of a safe and quiett abode in my deare natiue country.

If that way of questioning should pass vpon all men, which your wisdom iudgeth meete in this case...I thinck, they that iudge me will be found, in some particulars, to haue spoken against the government of England. All that I spake was concerning the gesture of sitting, vsed in this countrey, in receiuing the Sacrament of y<sup>e</sup> Lords Supper, which I approued, and præferred before Kneeling, grounding what I sayd vpon Luke 22. 27 to 31,...nor did I euer heare that any man tooke offence thereat, but this informer who was discontented the weeke before at a sermon wherein some Arminian errorrs were touched vpon by me, which quickened him to watch for some aduantage, wherevpon he might ground an accusation.

Whereas it pleased you to question vpon oath whether I haue not bene Cause, or Conscious of any English bookes, or treaties printed or published in these parts since my Coming ouer, or now in press, wherein the present orders and government of Engl: in church affayres are traduced and vndermined? my answer (but without oath till I shall be lawfully called therevnto) is negatiue. D<sup>r</sup> Ames his last booke & intituled a fresh suit against Ceremonies is the onely booke, that I know of, which hath bene published since my coming into these parts,

that booke with y<sup>e</sup> præface was printed before I came from England, yea before the authors death, who was buried before my arrivall here, nor haue I dispersed any of them in England, or in these countryes. my profession of to [*sic*] being still his *Maiesties* Loyall & faythfull subiect is in simplicity and trueth, neyther shall they disproue it, who traduce me, and if they proceed according to those beginnings, I shall be constrained to declare myne innocencie in an Apollogy printed to the vew [view] of the world, and therein to communicate the grounds, wherevpon my iudgment and practise was altered, and the reason of my departure thence hither; with such obseruations as I haue made in both places. But it is not my purpose so to doe, vnles the continuance of iniurious aspersions make it necessary, in which case the law of God and of nature bindeth men to such a Vindicacion of theyre innocency as the Case requireth. oh that the good hand of God would bring it to pass that those vgly vizzards of disloyalty and schisme being pulled off, the persons that are besmeared and deformed with these obloquies might be represented to his *Maiestie* in theyre owne shape and colours, viz. in the tendernes of theyre conscience, in the peaceablenes of theyre disposition, & in the simplicity of theyre intentions for the good of church and Commonns. vnder his Royall Gouernment for the continuance of whole life [*sic*], and raigne in peace and prosperity I doe and shall (as I am bound) daily prostrate my selfe with my poore prayers before the throne of grace.....

[A Letter of Stephen Goffe's to Sir William Boswell concerning the difficulties between John Davenport and John Paget, of the year 1634/3.]<sup>1</sup>

Sir:

The newes of *Amsterdam* that is the difference concerning Baptisme w<sup>ch</sup> is betwixt m<sup>r</sup> Pagett & m<sup>r</sup> Dampont & the difficultie of his proceeding there Stephen ofwood who hath beene with you hath better related than I can, that heard it only at large at Delph [?], whether m<sup>r</sup> Dampont him selfe was

<sup>1</sup> Add. MS. 6394 (Boswell Papers, Vol. 1.), fol. 179 recto.

comming to consult with m<sup>r</sup> Forbs. The Crowne of Christian martyrdome [?] could not be found because m<sup>r</sup> Voot [?] was not in towne. M<sup>r</sup> Widdowes [?] was there newly returned from Leyden, where he desired me if I would do him no good to do him no harme, it seemes (not that he feares obstacles (as he saith) but for expedition) he hath some good book a printing w<sup>ch</sup> I must inquire after. It is no vnvsuall thing to suspend men from the sacrament. for as I was served here so was one m<sup>r</sup> Brooks a gentleman of very good worth & more than ordinary desert & goodnes putt by at Rotterdam. m<sup>r</sup> Petters to avoyd the blame of it made great love vnto him, but so ordered it that his Elders refused him without alledging any reason at all that I can heare. This business is of that consequence that many honest gentlemen of my Lords company at Delph take it very ill. for that they went of purpose some of them—(one Captaine Robberts by name) to Rotterdam having not opportunity at Delph; to have receaved but hearing this of m<sup>r</sup> Brooks desisted in their suite. & complaine of the difficulty of the way to Heaven here more then in England or the Gospell. I came so late home last weeke, that I have nothing to say from Leyden.....  
Leyden 23./[?][1634]

Your most humble thankfull

Servant

Stephen Goffe.

[A letter of Griffin Higgs' to Sir William Boswell, dated "April .9. S.[tilo] Vet. i634....at the Hage."]<sup>1</sup>

.....M<sup>r</sup>. Dampart [Davenport] is still a Non-Conformist to the Dutch Church as well, as to the English; in many points: [?] one is the not-baptizing of Infants, vnles he approve the [?] parents faith, and life: wherevpon the Dutch ministers have silenced him, and (without Conformitie to their orders before the first of may) they doe peremptorily reject him...it is manifest, that the Dutch ministers doe mislike our Non-Conformists, and would more Easilie entertaine Conformable men of Learning, and good life, and moderation. For they doe

<sup>1</sup> Add. MS. 6394 (Boswell Papers, Vol. 1.), fol. 200-1.

now professe at Amsterdam, that they will not continue the stipend to any English minister, who comes against the King of Englands pleasure.....

[A letter of John Paget's to Sir William Boswell, dated "Amsterdam, March 13 1636 Stilo nov."]<sup>1</sup>

Honourable S<sup>r</sup>,

According to *your* desire I have sent vnto you this book of the forme of of [*sic*] common prayers & administration of sacramentes printed at Midleburg this being the fourth edition. Some parts of it are translated out of the Dutch formulier; in some things it varies, Though I never accurately compared them together, yet I think vpon the view of some places, it had bene better if there had bene lesse variation. I can well misse it for twise so long a time as you mention; yet seing I have no more but this copy, neither know where they are to be got, I would willingly at *your* leasure receave it againe, when you have done with it. The God of heaven be with you & cover you with the shadow of his winges:.....

Amsterdam, March 13      Your Honours to be Comanded  
1636 Stilo nov.

John Paget:

.....

A true Relation of the first Erection  
of an English Church in Vtrecht,  
with the proceedings synce./.<sup>2</sup>

Before the yeare i622 there was noe settled Congregation, but only Regiment Preachers whoe duringe the tyme that the soldiers were in Garrison preached vnto them, but they goeing into the feild the English Cittizens and inhabitants were destitute of preachinge and other diuine administrations./.

Vpon which occasion some of the most eminent of the Cittizens

<sup>1</sup> Add. MS. 6394 (Boswell Papers, Vol. I.), fol. 228 recto.

<sup>2</sup> Add. MS. 6394 (Boswell Papers, Vol. I.), fol. 270-75. This account appears to have been written about 1637 or a little later.



of the English nation, propounded among them, to erect a settled Congregation, because they were of a good number, which they could not doe without permission of the Lords the staites of the Province, and Magistraites of the City of Vtrecht, the Chiefe difficultie beinge then for to finde meanes for the maintenance of the Minister. /.

Whervpon they made a Muster of the families, & inhabitants, and found them to be aboute i20 in number, whoe framed a petition, which they all signed with their owne hands, and sent one Ralph Wase, and Ephraim Buttler into the Haghe [Hague] vnto Sir Dudley Carelton [*sic*], then Lord Ambassadour of his Majestie of great Britaine, entreatinge his letters of recommendations [?] to the Lords to the staites of this Province that they would be pleased to grant them some Meanes for the Minister, and permitt them to erect a Congregation &c, which the said Lord Ambassador vpon their request did, which petition of the Cittizens, and Letter of the Lord Ambassador are yet to be seene in the staites Chamber dated 20<sup>th</sup> [?] Aprill 1622. /.

The said Cittizens of the English Nation in Vtrecht petitioned the staites of the Province and Magistraites of the City of Vtrecht, for a grant of a Church to meet in, and for a stipend towards the Maintenance of their Minister. /.

The states consented and allowed i50 guilders [?] yeerly towards the Preachers maintenance and the City allowed as much, and the Church of st[.] Katherine was designed them for their meetinge in, [?] common with the soldiers of the British Nation which was done the 8<sup>th</sup> of May i622 as we finde it recorded by M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Scott his owne hand, the first Minister of this settled Congregation: /.

The said Thomas Scott hath likewise recorded that then the Captaines ioyned with the Cittizens, and desirous to haue an English Preacher sent expresse messengers to m<sup>r</sup> Thomas Scott then Preacher of the English Garrison at Gorchum, to call him to this place, and they promised (to witt the Cittizens) to make a certaine stipend of 600 guildens by the yeare, and to allow him a house, And that besides he should haue the benefit of the Garrison, w<sup>th</sup> was 2g by the short month of euery syngle Companie and rateably of the rest. /.

The Consent of the states of this Province dated the 14 May, and of the Citty dated the 13<sup>th</sup> May 1622 is with a proviso, that they (to witt the Congregation) shall not goe to the callinge of a minister then with dew Correspondence, and xamination [?] of the Minister, & w<sup>ch</sup> purpose they of the Citty gaue Commission vnto the Schepon [Schepen] Wttenwell [?], and vander Lynghen of the Citty Counsell.

The aforementioned m<sup>r</sup> Scott beinge called he was inducted by m<sup>r</sup> John Forbes Preacher to the Marchants adventurers at delft, whoe then preached, m<sup>r</sup> Barkeley preacher at Rotterdam, m<sup>r</sup> Andrew Hunter preacher to the Scottish Regiment and m<sup>r</sup> Gualter Whitestone preacher to the Regiment of Viscount Liste. /. Also their were present the Committyes of the States and Magistrates, besides diuers english Officers of the Garrison then at Vtrecht with all dew solemnitie on the 20<sup>th</sup> May 1622. /

The Cittizens of the English and Scottish Nation resident at Vtrecht made amongst them a muster of them that were able for to furnish the 300g, w<sup>ch</sup> they had promised, to make the 600g, and euery one of the Contributors names, and their promised Contribution set downe in a list, and performed it accordingly as diuers of them that are yet aliue and then were Contributors can testifie. /.

This Contribution continued but one Yeare, and because there were many to whom this Contribution fell heauy the Congregation resolued againe to entreate the aforementioned Lord Embassador to writte in their behalfe for increase of meanes, w<sup>ch</sup> he did accordingly and vsed diuers reasons, that they were Cittizens, & ought not to be treated otherwise then the other Cittizens, and alsoe as the French Nation, and other more reasons, as by the said letter in the states Chamber of this Province is yet to be seene. /.

Hauinge obtained this letter, m<sup>r</sup> Thomas Scott writes with his owne hand in the records of the Church, that the 12<sup>th</sup> of June in place of change of Church officers the Elders were continued, because the Ministers stipend beinge not yet fully settled it was thought fitt to employ them still in the businesse whoe were best acquainted with it. And alsoe because the Church

being Newly gathered the Deacons were best acquainted with such members as had need of assistance, and w<sup>th</sup> the estate of those who should assist and Contribute. Then they put vp a request vnto the states and another to the Magistrates of the City for increase of meanes towards the Maintenance of the Minister, that soe the Cittizens of the English Nation might be eased. The states granted an increase of 100g yearly and the Magistrates the like *somme*, so that the Minister from the states and Magistrates received yearly 500g, and from the Cittizens 100g and this was paid quarterly by equall portions. /.

In June 1625 the Preacher Elders and Deacons of the English Congregation petitioned to the states and Magistrates of the City that because the Church of st Katherine was somewhat too farr out of the way that they might haue againe the vse of st Peters Church; And procured to that end the Letters of recommendation of Henry Earle of Oxford, and Generall Cicill, w<sup>ch</sup> was granted vnto them, and tooke now possession therof 24<sup>th</sup> July 1625. /.

The 8<sup>th</sup> of June 1626 m<sup>r</sup> Thomas Scott was killed goeing to the Church by one John Lambert soldier of Viscount Wimbletons *Companie*. /.

The Consistorie of the English Congregation fearinge that their church might fall to the ground beinge but newly raised, writ the 19<sup>th</sup> of June Letters in the name of the Congregation to one m<sup>r</sup> Jeremie Elbrough then at Montford, Lamentinge their heavy Losse, entreated his presence to accompanie the dead corps, and to conferre with him further in acceptinge the place of m<sup>r</sup> Scott.

The said m<sup>r</sup> Elbrough came, yet could not accept the call vntill he was freed from Colonel Levistone to whose regiment he was lately taken to be minister, w<sup>ch</sup> leaue he shortly after obtained. /.

The 20<sup>th</sup> June the Synod of the English and Scotch Nation was kept at Vtrecht, and the Elders put vp a petition to the said Synod that the said Elbrough might be admitted for their Pastor w<sup>ch</sup> was granted, wherevpon the Synod with the Elders put vp requests to the Lords the states and Magistrates of the City that they would be pleased to afford m<sup>r</sup> Elbrough the same allowance to be continewed to him as was before granted

to m<sup>r</sup> Scott; w<sup>ch</sup> requests were granted, and the same Meanes continued. /.

Then the Elders and Deacons acquainted their Pastor m<sup>r</sup> Elbrough how many of the Cittizens were not able to pay the somme that was formerly agreed on generally to make vp to make vp [*sic*] the yeerly 200g vid:t 100g to the Preacher, the other to the Reader: Wherevpon m<sup>r</sup> Elbrough discharged them of his stipend, and left it free to some of abilitie to giue, w<sup>ch</sup> were before bound by couenant to pay. /.

M<sup>r</sup> Jeremy Elbrough hauinge received Letters testimoniall out of England as he was inioyned by the Synod, was confirmed in his pastorall charge of the English Church at Vtrecht, by m<sup>r</sup> John Forbes Preacher to the English marchants at Delft, on Thursday the iith *January* 1627: there were present m<sup>r</sup> Samuell Batchelor Preacher to the Regiment of S<sup>r</sup> Charles Morgan Knight and Colonel; m<sup>r</sup> Flaman[?] one of the Dutch Preachers of the City; alsoe John Innis[?] Wenwall[?] one of the Magistrates of the City, with the Captaines English of the Garrison, and the Burgers of the City. /.

The 29<sup>th</sup> August 1627 vpon the request of the Minister, Elders and Deacons of the Church, the states and Magistrates of the City allowed eich an augmentation of 50g by the yeare: soe that now the states and Magistrates eich of them haue giuen and doe giue still 300g. yearly. /.

Note that all this While the English Church at Vtrecht was gouerned by it selfe, and many disputes and questions thereofe arisinge troubled as well the states as Magistrates and the Classis, they tooke notice therof, and resolved to make them a member of the Classis, yet did they continue by themselues as long as m<sup>r</sup> Elbrough was here. /.

In the yeare 1629 m<sup>r</sup> Elbrough was called to be Minister at Hambrough to the English Marchants theere, and in his place succeeded Doctor Alexander Leighton a scotchman and at his beinge taken on there was observed the Order of the Classis; as alsoe he tooke session with them and the English was admitted as a Member of the Classis. /.

.....<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I have given here only about half of the contents of this manuscript.

[A Letter of Robert Crane's to his Cousin, Sir Robert Crane, Knight and Baronet at Chilton, Suffolk, dated "Vtrecht y<sup>e</sup> 16[. . ?] 1640", concerning the English Church at Arnheim.]<sup>1</sup>

S<sup>r</sup>

Since I came into these Countryes I haue bin in a perpetuall Motion, still rooleinge from Citye to Citye, so as yet I could not gather any thinge worth your notice, nor truly is there almost any discourse but of the lamented state of England. I meete here with many sects, but few Religions, and see more superstition [superstition] in their houses then in their Temples, 'tis vsuall to prophane the Churches without contradiction, whilst the very ground of their Chambers is held as holy; either wee must walke barefoote, or else noe admission into their Paradise, and if accidentally wee enter into a Garden, we find euery Tree bareth forbidden fruite; In Gelderland at the Citie of Arnham [?] [Arnheim] I receiued greate fauors from diuers worthy gentlemen of our Nation who haue their seated themselves, especially from these S<sup>r</sup> William Constable, S<sup>r</sup> Mathew Boynton, S<sup>r</sup> Richard Saltingston of Yorkshire, as also from M<sup>r</sup> Laurence who within few yeares liued neere Berrye [Bury St Edmunds?], They haue two Preachers, and this the discipline of their Church; Vpon euery Sondag a Communion, a prayer before sermon & after, the like in the afternoone [?], The Communion Table stands in the lower end of the Church (*which* hath no Chancell) Altar-wise, where the Cheifest sit & take notes, not a gentlewoman that thinkes her hand to faire to vse her pen & Inke, The Sermon, Prayer and psalme being ended, the greatest companie present their offeringes, *which* amounte to aboute two or 3 hundred pounds a yeare Sterlinge. the Ministers content themselves with a hundred pounds a man *per* Annum the Remainder is reserued for pious vses;.....

Your most humble & most obedient  
Cosen & Seruant

Robert Crane

Vtrecht y<sup>e</sup> 16  
[. . ?] 1640

<sup>1</sup> Tanner MS. 65 (fol. 24), in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

## XVIII

SELECTED DOCUMENTS FROM THE GOULD MANUSCRIPT<sup>1</sup>  
ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HISTORY OF SEPARATIST AND  
INDEPENDENT CONGREGATIONS IN ENGLAND BEFORE  
1642

A REPOSITORY of Divers Historical Matters relating to  
the English Antipedobaptists. Collected from Original Papers  
or Faithfull Extracts. [By Benjamin Stinton.]

ANNO 1712.

I began to make this Collection in Ian: 1710-11.

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Numb: 1.

Page  
I.

[So-called Jessey Records or Memoranda.]

The Records of An Antient Congregation of Dissenters  
from w<sup>ch</sup> many of y<sup>e</sup> Independant & Baptist Churches in  
London took their first rise: ex MSS of M<sup>r</sup>. H. Jessey, w<sup>ch</sup>  
I rec<sup>d</sup>. of M<sup>r</sup>. Richard Adams.

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Of M<sup>r</sup>. Iacob the Cheif beginner of this Church his Works  
& proceeds about this Way.

Henry Iacob a Preacher, an eminent man for Learning, haveing  
w<sup>th</sup> others, often & many ways, sought for Reformation, &  
shewed the Necessity thereof in regard of the Church of  
England's so farr remoteness from y<sup>e</sup> Apostolical Churches in

<sup>1</sup> At Regent's Park College, London. I do not italicize letters which  
were manifestly first underlined by the Rev. George Gould of Norwich.

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his 4 Assertion dedicated to King Iames, & he made an offer 1604.  
of Disputation therein

A Humble Supplication to his Majesty (viz) King Iames for 1609.  
permission to enjoy y<sup>e</sup> Government of Christ in lieu of humane  
Institutions, & abolishing that of the Antichristian Prelacy, as  
more opposite to Monarchy & to his Royal Prerogative: And  
having set forth

An Attestation of y<sup>e</sup> most famous & approved Authors 1610.  
witnessing w<sup>th</sup> one Mouth y<sup>t</sup> each Church of Christ should be  
so independent as it should have y<sup>e</sup> full Power of all y<sup>e</sup> Church  
affairs entire within it selfe: And Published

The Divine Beginning & Institution of a Visible Church, 1612.  
proving y<sup>e</sup> Same by many Arguments, opening Matth: xviii. 15  
w<sup>th</sup> a declaration & fuller evidence of Some things therein:  
And having published

An Exposition of y<sup>e</sup> Second Coñdement, shewing that 1610.  
therein now is required a right vissible Church State & Govern- 1610  
ment independent

He hav ing had much conference about these things here;  
after y<sup>t</sup> in y<sup>e</sup> low Countries he had converse & discoursed much  
w<sup>th</sup> Mr Jn.<sup>o</sup> Robinson late Pastor to y<sup>e</sup> Church in Leyden & w<sup>th</sup>  
others about them: & returning to England In London he held  
many several meetings w<sup>th</sup> the most famous Men for Godliness  
and Learning (viz) M<sup>r</sup> Throgmorton, M<sup>r</sup> Travers, M<sup>r</sup> Wing<sup>1</sup>,  
M<sup>r</sup> Rich Mansell, M<sup>r</sup> Jn.<sup>o</sup> Dodd [(]to whom D<sup>r</sup> Bladwell was  
brought y<sup>t</sup> by his opposition y<sup>e</sup> Truth might y<sup>e</sup> More appeare)  
these w<sup>th</sup> others haveing seriously weighed all things & Cir-  
cumstances M<sup>r</sup> Jacob & Some others sought y<sup>e</sup> Lord about  
them in fasting & Prayer togeather: at last it was concluded  
by y<sup>e</sup> Most of them, that it ware a very warrantable & com-  
mendable way to set upon that Course here as well as in  
Holland or elsewhere, whatsoever Troubles should ensue.  
H. Jacob was willing to adventure himselfe for this Kingdom  
of Christs sake, y<sup>e</sup> rest encouraged him.

<sup>1</sup> I think this may have been John Wing, who in 1632 was "Pastor to the English Congregation at Vlissing in Zeeland", and who published in that year a book entitled, "The Crowne Conjugall, or the Spouse Royal,..." 8°.

The Church Anno 1616 was gathered  
 Hereupon y<sup>e</sup> said Henry Jacob w<sup>th</sup> Sabine Staismore [Staresmore], Rich Browne, David Prior, Andrew Almey, W<sup>m</sup> Throughton, Jn<sup>o</sup> Allen, Mr Gibs, Edw<sup>d</sup> Farre, Hen Goodall, & divers others well informed Saints haveing appointed a Day to Seek y<sup>e</sup> Face of y<sup>e</sup> Lord in fasting & Prayer, wherein that perticular of their Union togeather as a Church was mainly comended to y<sup>e</sup> Lord: in y<sup>e</sup> ending of y<sup>e</sup> Day they ware United, Thus, Those who minded this present Union & so joyning togeather joynd both hands each w<sup>th</sup> other Brother and stood in a Ringwise: their intent being declared, H. Jacob and each of the Rest made some confession or Profession of their Faith & Repentance, some ware longer some ware briefer, Then they Covenanted togeather to walk in all Gods Ways as he had revealed or should make known to them

Thus was the begining of that Church of which proceed, they within a few Days gave notice to the Brethen here of the Antient Church.

After this Hen Jacob was Chosen & Ordained Pastor to that Church, & many Saints ware joynd to them.

The same Year y<sup>e</sup> Said Hen Jacob w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> advice & consent 1616  
 of the Church, & of some of those Reverend Preachers before-said published to y<sup>e</sup> World

A Confession & Protestation in the Name of certain Christians, therein showing wherein they consent in Doctrine w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Church of England, & wherein they ware bound to dissent, with their evidences from y<sup>e</sup> Holy Scriptures for their dissent in about 28 perticulars viz

1. Christs offices.
2. Scriptures all Suffic.
3. Churches Distinction.
4. Visibile Church.
5. Synods & Counsels.
6. Cathol. Church Politick.
7. Provinciall Church.
8. Parish Chu. Bondage.
9. L. Arch: Bp<sup>s</sup>. L. Bp<sup>s</sup>.



10. Makeing Ministers.
11. what Coñunion w<sup>th</sup> them.
12. Pluralists. No[n]residents
13. Discipline Censures
14. Pastors Number & Power
15. Mixt Multitude.
16. Humane Traditions.
17. Traditions Apostolick.
18. Of Prophecy.
19. Reading Homilies.
20. Christs descent to Hell.
21. Of Prayer.
22. Holy Days so called.
23. Marriage, Burying, Churching, &c.
24. Ministers being Magistrates.
25. Lords Days Offerings.
26. Tiths Church Dues
27. Magistrates Power
28. Necessity on us to obey Christ rather  
than Man herein.<sup>1</sup>

With a Petition to y<sup>e</sup> King in y<sup>e</sup> Conclusion for Tolleration to such Christians.

At y<sup>e</sup> Same time also he published a Collection of Sundry Reasons. 20 & 4 Conclusions proveing how necessary it is for all Christians to Walk in all y<sup>e</sup> Ways & Ordinances of God in purity, in a right Church way. part of them were made by Mr Wring [? Wing] the Preacher.

About eight Years H. Jacob was Pastor of y<sup>e</sup> Said Church & when upon his importunity to go to Virginia, to w<sup>ch</sup> he had been engaged before by their consent, he was remitted from his said office, & dismissed y<sup>e</sup> Congregation to go thither, wherein after [blank space] Years he ended his Dayes. In the time of his Service much trouble attended that State & People, within & without.

1624

After his Departure hence y<sup>e</sup> Congregation remained a Year

<sup>1</sup> In the Gould Manuscript these twenty-eight "particulars" are arranged in two columns of fourteen each.

or two edifying one another in y<sup>e</sup> best manner they could according to their Gifts received from above, And then at length John Lathorp sometimes a Preacher in Kent, joynd to y<sup>e</sup> Said Congregation; And was afterwards chosen and Ordained a Pastor to them, a Man of tender heart and a humble and meek Spirit serveing the Lord in the ministry about 9 Years to their great Comfort.

1632. the 2<sup>d</sup> Month (called Aprill) y<sup>e</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> Day being y<sup>e</sup> 1632 Lords Day, the Church was seized upon by Tomlinson, y<sup>e</sup> Bps Pursevant, they ware mett in y<sup>e</sup> House of Hump: Borne [Barnet], Brewers Clark in Black: Fryers, he being no member or hearing abroad, At w<sup>ch</sup> time 18 were not comitted but scaped or ware not then present.

About 42 ware all taken & their names given vp. Some ware not comitted, as M<sup>rs</sup> Bernet, M<sup>r</sup> Lathorp, W. Parker, M<sup>rs</sup> Allen &c Several ware comitted to the Bps Prison called then the New Prison in [blank space] Crow a merchants house again) & thence Some to y<sup>e</sup> Clink, some to y<sup>e</sup> Gat house, & some that thought to have escaped he joynd to them, being in Prison togeather viz

John Lathorp	Widd Ferne
Sam House	Bro <sup>r</sup> Arnold
John Woddin	Marke Lucar
M <sup>r</sup> Granger	M <sup>r</sup> Jones
M <sup>r</sup> Barbone	[blank space]
Mr. Sargent	Sam Hon [How?]
Sister House	M <sup>r</sup> Wilson
John Milburn	M <sup>r</sup> Crafton [Grafton]
Henry Parker	H. Dod, deceased, a Prisoner
M <sup>r</sup> Jacob	M <sup>r</sup> Lemar. <sup>1</sup>

1632 Elizab. Milburn, about 26 comited y<sup>e</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> Month (called May 12<sup>th</sup>) being y<sup>e</sup> Lords Day. Just a fortnight after was y<sup>e</sup> Antient Church so seized upon & two of them comitted to be fellow Prisoners with these. The Lord thus tryed &

<sup>1</sup> In the Gould Manuscript these names are written in four columns, and the word "Prisoner" in the entry relating to "H. Dod" is there placed in the margin.

experienced them & their Friends & foes y<sup>e</sup> Space of some two Years, some only under Baill, some in Hold: in w<sup>ch</sup> time y<sup>e</sup> Lord Wonderfully magnified his Name & refreshed their Spirits abundantly, for

1. In that time y<sup>e</sup> Lord opened their mouths so to speak at y<sup>e</sup> High Co<sup>m</sup>ission & Pauls & in private even y<sup>e</sup> weake Women as their Subtill & malicious Adversarys ware not able to resist but ware asshamed.
2. In this Space y<sup>e</sup> Lord gave them So great faviour in y<sup>e</sup> Eyes of their Keepers y<sup>t</sup> they suffered any friends to come to them and they edifyed & comforted one another on y<sup>e</sup> Lords Days breaking bread &c.
3. By their Holy & Gracious carriage in their Sufferings, he so convinced others y<sup>t</sup> they obtained much more faviour in the Eyes of all Such generally as feared God then formerly, so that many ware very kind & helpfull to them, contributing to their Necessities, some weekly sending Meat &c, to them.
4. Their Keepers found [them] so sure in their promises that they had freedom to go home, or about their Trades, or buisness whensoever they desired, & set their time, & say they would then returne it was enough without the charges of one to attend them.
5. In this very time of their restraint y<sup>e</sup> Word was so farr from bound, & y<sup>e</sup> Saints so farr from being scared from the Ways of God that even then many ware in Prison added to y<sup>e</sup> Church, viz

Jo. Ravenscroft	Will <sup>m</sup>	}	Harris
Widd Harvey	Tho <sup>s</sup>		
Mary Atkin	Jane		
Tho <sup>s</sup> Wilson	Widd. White.		
Sarah.....	Ailce	}	Wincop. <sup>1</sup>
Hump: Bernard [Barnet or	Eliz		
Bernet]	Rebec		

G. Wiffeld

6. Not one of those that ware taken did recant or turne back from the truth, through fear or through flattery or cunning Slightes but all ware y<sup>e</sup> more strenghtened [*sic*] thereby.

<sup>1</sup> In the Gould MS. these names are arranged in four columns.

7. When in y<sup>e</sup> time of their Sufferings, M<sup>r</sup> [John] Davenport had so preached that some brought the Notes of his Sermon to these, as if it ware to condem their practice, & would have them answer them if they could: they sent a letter to him desireing he would Send them his own Notes to avoid Mistakes hoping that either he might inform them or they him in some things discover to him w<sup>th</sup>[w<sup>t</sup>] was made known to them, He lovingly performed it, they having perused his Notes, wrote back to him a large answer; after his receipt thereof he never did co<sup>m</sup>unicate with them any more, but went away when y<sup>e</sup> Sacrament day came, and afterward preached, publicly & privately for y<sup>e</sup> truth, & soon afterward went to Holland, where he sufferd somewhat for y<sup>e</sup> truths sake, & then went to New England where he now preacheth the same Truth that these do here, 'though there without such Persecution.
8. The Answers of M<sup>r</sup> Jones & Some others in y<sup>t</sup> time of their Sufferings are not Yet Extent for y<sup>e</sup> Comfort and Encouragement of others against taking that Oath ex officio against false Accusers. Their Petitions to his Maj.<sup>ty</sup>

Sarah Jones her Grievances given in & read openly at y<sup>e</sup> Co<sup>m</sup>mission Court.

Her Cronicle of Gods remarkable Judgments & dealings that Year &c wonderfull are the Lords works its meet he should have all y<sup>e</sup> Praise.

After y<sup>e</sup> Space of about 2 Years of the Sufferings & Patience of these Saints they ware all released upon Bail (some remaining so to this day as M<sup>r</sup> Jones &c, though never called on) only to M<sup>r</sup> Lathorp & M<sup>r</sup> Grafton they refused to shew such faviour, they ware to remain in Prison without release.

At last there being no hopes y<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Lathorp should do them further Service in y<sup>e</sup> Church, he having many motives to go to new England if it might be granted After the Death of his Wife he earnestly desiring y<sup>e</sup> Church would release him of y<sup>t</sup> office w<sup>ch</sup> (to his grief) he could no way performe, & that he might have their consent to goe to new England, after serious consideration had about it it was freely granted to him Then Petition being made that he might have Liberty. to 1634 depart out of y<sup>e</sup> Land he was released from Prison 1634, about



M<sup>r</sup> Peti. FenerW<sup>m</sup> Batty

Hen. Pen

M<sup>rs</sup> Allen (died 1639)

Tho. Wilson

M<sup>rs</sup> Norwood

Other Persecutions besides the Persecutions before<sup>d</sup>

The Good Lord Iesus gave, (Satan still envying y<sup>e</sup> Prosperity of Zion, stirred up against this Church) several Tryalls afterwards wherein still y<sup>e</sup> Lord gave occasion of Triumphant in him; It's good to record & bring to remembrance our Straights & y<sup>e</sup> Lords Enlargements, Experience works Hope & Hope maketh not ashamed because y<sup>e</sup> Love of God is shed abroad in our hearts. to instance in

John Trash was taken by Rag at M<sup>r</sup> Digbeys & not Yelding 1636 to Rags general warrant was had to y<sup>e</sup> L. Mayor.....& was committed to y<sup>e</sup> Poultreys Counter for ten days & then was released upon Bail, wanted his health & was shortly after translated.

11<sup>th</sup> Month (vulgarly Ianuary) y<sup>e</sup> 21 day at Queenhith (where M<sup>r</sup> Glover, M<sup>r</sup> Eaton, M<sup>r</sup> Eldred & others ware w<sup>th</sup> us) 1637 after Exercise was done, by means M<sup>r</sup>.....the overthwart Neighbour, Officers & others came, at last both y<sup>e</sup> Sheriffs, & then Veasy y<sup>e</sup> Pursevant who took y<sup>e</sup> names; The Lord gave such Wisdom, in their Carriage y<sup>e</sup> some of their opposers afterwards did much favour them & bail'd them. The next Day Veasy the Pursevant got Money of some of them, & so they ware dismissed, 4 ware committed to y<sup>e</sup> Poultreys Counter viz

R. Smith M<sup>rs</sup> Iacob S. Dry

3 Month 8<sup>th</sup> Day At M<sup>rs</sup> DeLamars Veasy w<sup>th</sup> others came 1638 upon them in Barnaby Street by Male all taken 4 bound to answer at High Commission. viz Br. Russell & Cradock

11<sup>th</sup> Month at Lambeth M<sup>rs</sup> Lovel & M<sup>rs</sup> Chitwood by Doctor 1639 Featly were sent to Kings Bench & by Doct<sup>r</sup> Lauds direction bound to y<sup>e</sup> Assizes

2 Month Vulgo April 21. At Tower Hill at M<sup>rs</sup> Wilsons 1640 where some ware seeking y<sup>e</sup> Lord w<sup>th</sup> fasting for y<sup>e</sup> Parliament (like to be dissolved unless they would grant Subsidies for

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Warrs against y<sup>e</sup> Scottish) by Procurement of Male y<sup>e</sup> Arch Prelates Pursevant, S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Balford Leivetenant of y<sup>e</sup> Tower sent theither H Jesse (who he found praying for y<sup>e</sup> King as he told his Mag<sup>ty</sup>) M<sup>rs</sup> Iones, M<sup>r</sup> Brown w<sup>th</sup> others about 20.

Then S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> asked his Magesties Pleasure concerning them who would have them Released but D<sup>r</sup> Laud y<sup>e</sup> Arch Bishop being Present desired the men might be bound to y<sup>e</sup> Sessions w<sup>th</sup> was perform & no Enditement being there against them at their appearance they ware freed.

Also 6 Month 21. at our Brother Goldings by y<sup>e</sup> Constables 1641 means, Alderman Somes came who took y<sup>e</sup> Names of M<sup>r</sup> Puckle & Iohn Stoneard, y<sup>e</sup> Constables carried them with M<sup>r</sup> Golding, M<sup>r</sup> Shambrook & some others to y<sup>e</sup> Mayor who bound them to y<sup>e</sup> Sessions, from whence their Accusers being called then to take y<sup>e</sup> Protestation w<sup>th</sup> their Parishoners none appearing against them they ware freed.

Also 6 Month 22<sup>d</sup> day at the L Nowels house y<sup>e</sup> same 1641 L Mayor S<sup>r</sup> Iohn Wright came Violently on them, beat, thrust, pinched & kicked such men or Women as fled not his handling, among others M<sup>rs</sup> Berry who miscarried & dyed the same week & her Child. He comitted to y<sup>e</sup> Counter H. Iessey, M<sup>r</sup> Nowel, M<sup>r</sup> Ghofton [Grafton], & that night bound them to answer at y<sup>e</sup> House of Comons where they appearing he let it fall.

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Covenant Renewed.

1630 Whilst M<sup>r</sup> Lathorp was an Elder here some being greived against one that had his Child then Baptized in y<sup>e</sup> Common Assemblies, & desireing & urging a Renouncing of them, as Comunion w<sup>th</sup> them, M<sup>r</sup> Can also then walking Saints where he left M<sup>r</sup> How (he going w<sup>th</sup> Some to Holland) He desiring that y<sup>e</sup> Church w<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Lathorp would renew their Covenant in Such a Way, & then he with Others would have Comunion w<sup>th</sup> them: M<sup>r</sup> Dupper would have them therein to Detest & Protest against y<sup>e</sup> Parish Churches, Some ware Unwilling in their Covenanting either to be tyed either to protest against y<sup>e</sup> truth of them, or to affirm it of them, not

knowing w<sup>t</sup> in time to come God might further manifest to them thereabout Yet for peace Sake all Yelded to renew their Covenant in these Words

To Walke together in all y<sup>e</sup> Ways of God So farr as he hath made known to Us, or shall make known to us, & to forsake all false Ways, & to this the several Members Subscribed their hands

After this followed several Sheets containing y<sup>e</sup> Names of y<sup>e</sup> Members of y<sup>e</sup> said Congregation & y<sup>e</sup> time of their admission<sup>1</sup>

Numb: 2

[So-called Kiffin Manuscript.]

An Old MSS, giving some Acco<sup>ts</sup> of those Baptists who first formed themselves into distinct Congregations, or Churches in London. found among certain Paper given me by M<sup>r</sup> Adams.

1633. Sundry of y<sup>e</sup> Church whereof M<sup>r</sup> Iacob & M<sup>r</sup> Iohn Lathorp had been Pastors, being dissatisfied w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Churches owning of English Parishes to be true Churches, desired dismissal & Ioynd together among themselves, as M<sup>r</sup> Henry Parker, M<sup>r</sup> Tho. Shepard M<sup>r</sup> Sam<sup>l</sup> Eaton, Marke Luker, & others w<sup>th</sup> whom Ioynd M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Kiffen. 1633

1638. M<sup>r</sup> Tho: Wilson, M<sup>r</sup> Pen, & H. Pen, & 3 more being convinced that Baptism was not for Infants, but professed Beleivers joyned w<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Io: Spilsbury y<sup>e</sup> Churches favour being desired therein 1638

1640. 3<sup>d</sup> Mo: The Church became two by mutuall consent just half being w<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup> P. Barebone, & y<sup>e</sup> other halfe with M<sup>r</sup> H. Iessey M<sup>r</sup> Richard Blunt w<sup>th</sup> him being convinced of Baptism y<sup>t</sup> also it ought to be by dipping y<sup>e</sup> Body into y<sup>e</sup> Water, resembling Burial & rising again. 2 Col: 2. 12. Rom: 6. 4. had sober conferance 1640

<sup>1</sup> It is a great pity that Stinton did not think it worth while to transcribe this extended list of the members of the church.



about in y<sup>e</sup> Church, & then w<sup>th</sup> some of the forenamed who also ware so convinced: And after Prayer & conferance about their so enjoying it, none haveing then so so [*sic*] practised in England<sup>1</sup> to professed Believers, & hearing that some in y<sup>e</sup> Nether Lands had so practised they agreed & sent over M<sup>r</sup> Rich. Blunt (who understood Dutch) w<sup>th</sup> Letters of Comen-  
dation, who was kindly accepted there, & returned w<sup>th</sup> Letters from them Io: Batte a Teacher there, & from that Church to such as sent him.

They proceed on therein, viz, Those Persons y<sup>t</sup> ware persuaded 1641  
Baptism should be by dipping<sup>2</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Body had mett in two Companies, & did intend so to meet after this, all these agreed to proceed alike togeather. And then Manifesting (not by any formal Words a Covenant) w<sup>ch</sup> word was scrupled by some of them, but by mutual desires & agreement each Testified.:

Those two Companies did set apart one to Baptize the rest; So it was solemnly performed by them.

M<sup>r</sup> Blunt Baptized M<sup>r</sup> Blacklock y<sup>t</sup> was a Teacher amongst them, & M<sup>r</sup> Blunt being Baptized, he & M<sup>r</sup> Blacklock Baptized y<sup>e</sup> rest of their friends that ware so minded, & many being added to them they increased much

The Names of all 11 Mo. Ianu: begin

Richard Blunt	Sam. Blacklock	Tho Shephard}
Greg. Fishburn	Doro: Fishburn	his Wife }
John Cadwell	Eliz. Cadwell	Mary Millisson
Sam. Eames	Tho. Munden	
Tho. Kilcop	William Willieby	
Robert Locker	Mary Lock[er?]	

<sup>1</sup> That is perhaps more accurately in London.

<sup>2</sup> In Vol. I., p. 334, I speak of this mode of baptism by "dipping" as having received about 1641 the nickname of "ducking over head and ears". This expression, however, seems to have been of much earlier origin, for in Stephen Denison's "The Doctrine of both the Sacraments", London, 1621, p. 23, occur the following unexpected words:—"Be Baptized, the word translated baptizing doth most properly signifie dipping ouer head and eares,..." He also says, p. 11, that "by report" there were "not a few Anabaptists" about London in 1621, but gives no suggestion that they then practised immersion.

John Braunson	John Bull
Rich. Ellis	Mary Langride
W <sup>m</sup> Creak	Mary Haman
Rob <sup>t</sup> Carr	Sarah Williams
Martin Mainprise	Ioane } Dunckle
	Ann }
Hen: Woolmare <sup>1</sup>	Eliz. Woolmore
Rob <sup>t</sup> King	Sarah Norman
Tho. Waters	Isabel Woolmore
Henry Creak	Iudeth Manning
Mark Lukar	Mabel Lukar
Henry Darker	Abigal Bowden
Eliz Iessop	Mary Creak
	Susanah King

41 in all

\* 11<sup>th</sup> month understood as appears above, & this was Ianu<sup>r</sup> 9<sup>th</sup>.      11\* January 9 added

John Cattope	George Denham
Nicholas Martin	Tho: Daomunt
Ailie <sup>2</sup> Stanford	Rich Colgrave
Nath Mattho <sup>n</sup> <sup>3</sup>	Eliz Hutchinson
Mary Burch	John Croson
	Sybilla Lees
	John Woolmoore

thus 53 in all

Those that ware so minded had coñunion togeather were 1644 become Seven Churches in London.

M<sup>r</sup> Green w<sup>th</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Spencer had begun a Congregation in 1639 Crutched Fryers, to whom Paul Hobson joyned who was now w<sup>th</sup> many of that Church one of y<sup>e</sup> Seven

These being much spoken against as unsound in Doctrine as if they ware Armenians, & also against Magistrates &c they joyned togeather in a Confession of their Faith in fifty two 1644

Se y<sup>e</sup> Notes at y<sup>e</sup> End of y<sup>e</sup> Confession.

Articles w<sup>ch</sup> gave great satisfaction to many that had been prejudiced.

<sup>1</sup> [? Woolmore].

<sup>2</sup> [? Ailce, i.e., Alice].

<sup>3</sup> [? Matthew].

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Thus Subscribed in y<sup>e</sup> names of 7 Churches in London :

W <sup>m</sup> Kiffin	}			
Tho: Patience	}	Tho: Gun	}	Paul Hobson
Geo: Tipping	}	Io: Mabbet	}	Tho: Goore
Iohn Spilsbury	}	Iohn Web	}	Io: Phelps
Tho: Shepard	}	Tho: Kilcop	}	Edward Heath
Tho: Munden	}			

[Part of] Numb: 23. [which is]

An Account of A Church that usually met in Southwark near S<sup>t</sup> Mary Overys Church, consisting partly of Pædobaptists, & partly of Antipædobaptists, from their first Constitution in y<sup>e</sup> Reign of K. Iames I, to their Dissolution in 1705.

taken out of their Church Book, &c.

[Supposed to have been written by old M<sup>r</sup> (Iohn ?) Webb.]

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This Church I find was constituted in Gospell Order about y<sup>e</sup> Year 1621. The first Pastor thereof was one M<sup>r</sup> Hubbard, a learned Man of Episcopal Ordination, who having left the Church of England, took his Ministry from this Church, & with them went into Ireland, & there died. They returned again to England, and chose M<sup>r</sup> Iohn Canne, (famous for filling up a Bible with Marginal Notes to this day much valued) to be their Pastor, who attended that service for some time, and then with some of the Members left the Church, and went to Amsterdam, and there continued with the English Church many years, and tho' he came into England afterwards, yet he returned to Amsterdam, and there died. During which time they continued without a Pastor, and then chose M<sup>r</sup> Sam: How, who served in the ministrations about 17 years and died in peace very much lamented. In his time they were persecuted beyond measure by the Clergy and Bishops Courts, and he dying under the Sentence of Excommunication, They with a Constables guard secured the parish ground at Shoreditch to prevent his being buried there so that he was buried at Anis a Cleer, and several of his Members according to their desire was buried there likewise. He wrote that little Book so often

printed, called *Hows Sufficiency of the Spirits teachings*, and was very famous for his vindication of the Doctrines of Separation, and both he and his People were much harrassed for it by their Enemies, and were forced to meet together in fields and woods to avoid them.

They afterwards chose one M<sup>r</sup> Stephen More to be their Pastor. He was a Deacon of their Church excellently gifted for the work of the ministry, a man of good reputation and possessed of an Estate. In his time their Case was altered for the better, and they who used to be avoided, and who were hardly reckoned among men, but look'd on as a kind of Wild Creatures, and greatly persecuted, met with some respite of peace. Indeed once on a Lords day when they were met together, they were taken, and by S<sup>r</sup> Iohn Ludhall [Lenthall] committed to the Clink Prison and some of them had before the house of Lords as aforementioned. But after that I find little interruption given them.

A Brief Account of this Church of Christ, from the beginning: Togeather w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Progressions down to this present Year. 1699.

According to y<sup>e</sup> best Account from Ancient Members therein, & such Notices as in Old Books we find: That about y<sup>e</sup> Year 1621 was this Church constituted in Gospel Order, & carried on by one M<sup>r</sup> Hubbert; who in that time of Trouble then all did pass to Ireland, where he for some time continued with them & dyed. He was a Man brought up in Learning, & was formerly an ordained Man of the Church of England, but renounc'd it, & took his Ministry from that Church. This one thing is remarkable of him, That on his Death-bed he said, He thought there was Some Spell in his first Ordination, Seing that tho he knew y<sup>t</sup> Some of y<sup>e</sup> Members had as good gifts as himselfe & more Grace Yet could not get over this, but think of himselfe aboue them & thought this did arise from y<sup>e</sup> Impressions in his mind made at that Ordination. This Church returned into England, & kept close their Co<sup>m</sup>union here about London, where one M<sup>r</sup> Tho: Hancock, a member of this Church;

preaching to them as a Brother for some Months. After w<sup>ch</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Church called M<sup>r</sup> Iohn Can, (who was since famous for filling up a Bible w<sup>th</sup> Marginal Notes, to this day much Vallued) whom y<sup>e</sup> Church called & Chose their Pastor, who attended that Service for Some Time, & then w<sup>th</sup> Some of y<sup>e</sup> Members left y<sup>e</sup> Church, & went to Amsterdam, & there continued w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> English Church many Years; And tho he came into England after yet returned & there dyed. All w<sup>ch</sup> time y<sup>e</sup> Church planted by M<sup>r</sup> Hubbard, w<sup>th</sup> Such other as Ioynd w<sup>th</sup> them continued serving the Lord w<sup>th</sup> Singleness of heart, & in process of time had y<sup>e</sup> Oportunity of enjoying as a Member Sam: How.

At w<sup>ch</sup> time, they Solemly renewed & confirmed their Antient League & Covenant one w<sup>th</sup> another, & then did freely Elect, Choose, & Ordain y<sup>e</sup> Said Sam.<sup>1</sup> How to be their Pastor, who faithfully & painfully served in this Ministration about the Space of Seven Years, till, according to y<sup>e</sup> will of God, he fell asleep [& died in Peace] in a troublesome Day, being much lamented.

Before I go further take these remarks on this Sam<sup>1</sup> How who lived about 1634 or 35, w<sup>ch</sup> was a time of great trouble by the Bpp<sup>s</sup> Courts in King Charles y<sup>e</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> time, in many Vexatious Conditions by Pursevants &c, & Exco<sup>m</sup>unications: & This Servant of Christ dyed under this Punishment, & therefore they would not let him have y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> they call Christian Burial, but w<sup>th</sup> a Constables gaurd secured y<sup>e</sup> Parish ground at Shoreditch against them, who very quietly was buried at Anis: a Cleer, where several Members desired & when dead was buried by him. This is y<sup>t</sup> How so much talked of in latter Years who wrote y<sup>e</sup> little Book so often printed, called Hows Sufficiency of y<sup>e</sup> Spirits Teaching &c. And as farr as I can find by them y<sup>t</sup> were of y<sup>e</sup> Church at y<sup>t</sup> time (for I know many of them) he was famous for y<sup>e</sup> Vindication of y<sup>e</sup> Doctrines of Seperation, & were for it much harrassed up & down in Fields & Woods; but God was w<sup>th</sup> them, & they cheerfully passed along.

After these things, some considerable time after, finding y<sup>e</sup> want of a Pastor, & desireing y<sup>e</sup> Groth of y<sup>e</sup> Church, & their

Edification, they chose out among themselves, & pitched upon Stephen More, a gifted Brother, & a Deacon to y<sup>e</sup> Church, & did freely Elect, Choose & Ordain him unto that Office about y<sup>e</sup> Year 1641. He was a Cityzen of Good Worth, & possessed of Some Estate, & lived in good Reputation, yet did he willingly comply w<sup>th</sup> all y<sup>e</sup> Providences of God in all their Afflictions & Sufferings to Serve our Lord Iesus, & purchased to himselve a good degree & great boldness in his Work, &c.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Since this material was prepared for the press, Dr Whitley has published the entire document with some useful annotations ("Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society" for May, 1910).

## XIX

### THE NAMES, TRADES, AND POOR ESTATE OF ALL THE SEPARATISTS LIVING IN GREAT YARMOUTH ABOUT JULY 17, 1630

The names of all such Seperatistes or Brownistes as are resident  
within the Towne of great Yarmouth [" Julij. 17. 1630 "]<sup>1</sup>

- 1 William Vring now in Norwich Castle and comitted to the  
Goale in Yarmouth by W<sup>m</sup> Buttolphe & Henry Da[.]
- 2 his wife. /
- 3 Raphaell Bishoppe
- 4 Andrew Purkis
- 5 et vxor
- 6 William Birchall now in Yarmouth Goale. /
- 7 Thomas Caine in the same Goale. /
- 8 et vxor
- 9 Samuell Butler
- 10 Edmond Cannon
- 11 et vxor
- 12 Marie Ladd widdow
- 13 Ioane Balles
- 14 Iane Blogg
- 15 Iane Bridgwell
- 16 Ellen Tilles
- 17 Anne Trindle
- 18 Widdow March
- 19 Alice Witherell
- 20 Margarett Neave
- 21 Effa Wiseman
- 22 Alice Smith
- 23 Dyonis Springall
- 24 Valentine Porte
- 25 vxor Boberti Baffam
- 26 vxor Thomæ Parker
- 27 Ruth Burton
- 28 Ellen Smith

Marie Ennis and Adam Goodwins of Castor tw[o]  
miles distant from Yarmouth who sometimes fre-  
quent[ent?] them. /

<sup>1</sup> S. P., Dom., Charles I., Vol. 171 (9).

A true relation of the estates and Condicons [*sic*] of  
theise people. /

William Vring a poore Mariner now in prison lives on the  
baskett. /

Raphaell Bishopp a Shoemaker not worth 5.<sup>libras</sup>

Andrew Purkis sometime a brewer not worth 20.<sup>libras</sup>

William Birchall a poore dyer being now in prison liv[es ?] on  
the baskett. /

Thomas Caine [?] now in prison lives on the basquett. /

Samuell Butler in shew the Ablest of them all a grocer far[r ?]  
indebted and one that dealeth altogether vpon Creditt his  
estate vncerten but valued at 100<sup>libras</sup> at the most. /

Edmond Cannon a Compasse maker not worth x.<sup>libras</sup>

Marie Ladd a poore widdow not able to satisfie her husband[es ?]  
debtes

Ioane Balls the wife of Richard Balles Blockmaker a poore  
man. /

Iane Blogg the wife of Edward Blogg Sailor poore.

Ellen Tilles the wife of Iohn Tilles a poore man

Effa Wiseman the wife of Robert wiseman Tailor

Iane Bridgwell poore, Widdow march poore, Anne Trindle  
poore, Alice witherell poore, Margarett Neve poore Alice Smith  
poore Dyones Springell poore, Valentine Port a poore labourer,  
Ruth Burton, poore ;

vxor Roberti Baffam sailor poore ; Ellen Smith poore

vxor Thomæ Parker a poore Ioyner. /



XX

REPORTS RELATING TO THE APPEARANCE OF CERTAIN  
SEPARATISTS BEFORE THE COURT OF HIGH COM-  
MISSION BETWEEN APRIL 19 AND JUNE 21, 1632

[Under the date April 19, 1632.]<sup>1</sup>

Keepers of Conventicles would not pay their Fees to be discharged after their answers, it was said therefore, they have not made their answers, & they were committed for not answering, although they had, but had not paid their Fees.

Fees by Con-  
venticlers.

In the Court of high Commission  
3 Maij. 1632.

This day were brought to y<sup>e</sup> Court out of prison divers persons (and some of them appeared by bond) which were taken on Sunday last at a Conventicle mett at y<sup>e</sup> house of [————] Barnett a brewers Clarke dwellinge in y<sup>e</sup> precinct of Black Fryars. By name Iohn Latroppe their Minister Humphrey Bernard [Barnett], Henry Dod, Samuella Eaton [————] Granger Sara Iones, Sara Iacob, Pennina Howse, Sara Barbon, Susan Wilson: and divers other [*sic*] there were which appeared not this day. M<sup>r</sup>. Latropp y<sup>e</sup> Minister did not appeare at y<sup>e</sup> first, but kept himself out of y<sup>e</sup> way a while, therefore the man of

Conventiclers.

<sup>1</sup> From Rawl. MS. A. 128, in the Bodleian Library. As has been said in Vol. I., p. 322, note, these reports were published in full by S. R. Gardiner in his "Reports of Cases in the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission", Camden Society, 1886, but the portions required ought also for convenience to be found here.

the howse wherein they were taken was first called: who was asked when he was at his parish Church? He answered that he was then at his parish Church when they were in his house, and that he vseth to goe to church, but his wife will not, then said the ArchBishop of York, will yo<sup>n</sup> suffer that in your wife? Then said the Kinges Advocate these persons were assembled on Sunday last at this mans house in black Fryars & there vnlawfullie held a Conventicle, for which there are Articles exhibited in this Court against them, I pray that they may be put to answeere vppon their oathes to the Articles, & that they sett forth what exercises they vsed, & what were the wordes spoken by them. And as for yo<sup>n</sup> m<sup>r</sup>. Dod (quoth y<sup>e</sup> Advocate) yo<sup>n</sup> might well haue forborne seing yo<sup>n</sup> haue been warned heertofore, & passed by vpon promise of amendment: good m<sup>r</sup> Advocate, spare that, saith Dod: He was asked whether he vseth to come to his parish Church: He saith he hath come to his parish Church as often as he could & vseth to come thither, but he endeavoureth to heare the most powerfull Ministry. and therefore said y<sup>e</sup> Bishop of London yo<sup>n</sup> heare m<sup>r</sup> Latroppe, what ordination hath he? He is a Minister saith m<sup>r</sup> Dod. did yo<sup>n</sup> not heare him preach & pray? [?] saith y<sup>e</sup> Bishop. nay yo<sup>n</sup> your self & the rest take vpon yo<sup>n</sup> to preach & to be Ministers, Noe saith m<sup>r</sup> Dod, London, yes, yo<sup>n</sup> doe, and yo<sup>n</sup> were heard preach & pray. Dod, I shalbe readie in this particuler to confesse my fault, if I am convinced to be in any. Then two of them were put to their oath, but they desired to be excused for this tyme, & that they might have some time to consider & be informed of the oath.

Then said the ArchBishop of Canterbury, yo<sup>n</sup> shew your selves most vnthankfull to God, to y<sup>e</sup> King & to y<sup>e</sup> Church of England that when ([?] God be prayesd) through his *Maiesties* care & ours yo<sup>n</sup> have preaching in every Church, & men haue liberty to ioyne in prayer & participate of y<sup>e</sup> Sacramentes, & haue Catechizinges & all to enlighten yo<sup>n</sup>, & which may serue yo<sup>n</sup> in the way of Salvation; yo<sup>n</sup> in an vnthankfull manner cast of [*sic*] all this yoake, & in private vnlawfullie assemble your selues together, making rentes & divisions in the Church: If anie thing be amisse, let it be knowen, if any thing be not

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agreeable to the word of God, we shalbe as readie to redresse it as yo<sup>n</sup>, but whereas it is nothing but *your* owne imaginations, & yo<sup>n</sup> are vnlearned men that seeke to make vp a religion of *your* owne heades! I doubt noe *perswasion* will serue the turne. We must take this course. yo<sup>n</sup> are called heere. let them stand vpon their bondes, and let vs see what they will answere, it may be they will answere what may please vs.

London. It is tyme to take notice of these, nay this is not the 4<sup>th</sup> parte of them about this Cittie, yo<sup>n</sup> see these came of sett purpose they mett not by chance; they are desperatlie hereticall: they are all of different places, one of Essex, S<sup>t</sup> Austins, S<sup>t</sup> Martins le grand, Buttolphs Algate, Thisleworth, S<sup>t</sup> Saviours: let these be imprisoned. Let me make a motion, There be Fower of the ablest men of them, let these 4 answere & be proceeded against, & the while if the rest come in, they shalbe received, but if they will not, I know noe reason why 4 or 5 should [not?] answere for all.

.....

[Under the date May 3, 1632.]

Then came in m<sup>r</sup> Latropp, who is asked what authority he had to preach, & keepe this Conventicle? and saith the Bishop of London, how manie woemen sate crosse legged vpon y<sup>e</sup> bedd, whilst yo<sup>n</sup> sate on one side & preached & prayed most devoutlie? Latroppe, I keepe noe such evill companie, they were not such woemen. London, are yo<sup>n</sup> a Minister? ArchBishop of Canterbury, are yo<sup>n</sup> a Minister? Bishop of S<sup>t</sup> Davides, were not yo<sup>n</sup> Doctor King the Bishop of Londons Sizer in Oxford? I take it yo<sup>n</sup> were; and yo<sup>n</sup> shew *your* thankfullnes by this. He answered that he was a Minister, London. how, & by whom, qualified? where are *your* Orders? Latropp. I am a Minister of the gossell of Christ, and y<sup>e</sup> Lord hath qualified me. Will yo<sup>n</sup> lay *your* hand on the booke, & take *your* oath, saith y<sup>e</sup> Court? He refuseth the oath.

Latroppe.

.....

Samuell Eaton and two women & a maid appeared, who were demaunded why they were assembled in that Conventicle when others were at church? Eaton. we were not assembled in contempt of the Magistrate. London. Noe? it was in contempt

Samuell  
Eaton

of y<sup>e</sup> church of England. Eaton. it was in conscience to God (may it please this honorable Court) and we were kept from Church, for we were confyned in y<sup>e</sup> house together by those that besett y<sup>e</sup> house, els divers would haue gone to Church and manie came in after the sermons were done. London. these were first discovered at Lambeth & then at other places & now taken heere, they haue in their meetings bookes printed against y<sup>e</sup> Church of England. ArchBishop of Canterbury. Where were yo<sup>n</sup> in the morninge before yo<sup>n</sup> came hither to this house? We were in our owne families. Canterbury. what did yo<sup>n</sup>? we read y<sup>e</sup> Scriptures and catechized our families (saith Eaton): and maie it please this this [*sic*] honorable Court to heare vs speake the truth, we will shew yo<sup>n</sup> what was donne, and (free vs of y<sup>e</sup> contempt of Authority) wee did nothing but what yo<sup>n</sup> will allow vs to doe. London. who can free yo<sup>n</sup>? these are dangerous men, they are a scattered companie sown in all the Citty) [*sic*], and about S<sup>t</sup> Michaell of y<sup>e</sup> Querne, S<sup>t</sup> Austins, Ould Iury, Redriffe, & other remoter places. Hould them y<sup>e</sup> booke Eaton. I dare not sweare, nor take this oath, though I will not refuse it, I will consider of it. S<sup>r</sup> Henry Martin, Heare, heare, yo<sup>n</sup> shall sweare but to answeare what yo<sup>n</sup> know, and so far as yo<sup>n</sup> are bound by law: yo<sup>n</sup> shall haue time to consider of it, and haue it read over & over till yo<sup>n</sup> can say it without booke if yo<sup>n</sup> will, when yo<sup>n</sup> haue first taken your oath that yo<sup>n</sup> will make a true answeare. Eaton. I dare not, I know not what I shall sweare to. Kinges Advocate. It is to giue a true answeare to articles put into y<sup>e</sup> Court against yo<sup>n</sup>, or that shalbe put in touching this conventicle of yours, and divers your hereticall tenentes and what wordes, and exercises yo<sup>n</sup> vsed, and things of this nature. Eaton I dare not.

Sara Iones. Arch Bishop of Canterbury. What say yo<sup>n</sup> woman? S. Iones. I dare not worship God in vaine, but saith the Bishop of London, will yo<sup>n</sup> not sweare and take an oath when yo<sup>n</sup> are called to it by the Magistrate? S. Iones. yes, I will answeare vpon my oath to end a controversy before a lawfull Magistrate. Earle of Dorsett. what doest thou thinke woman of these grave Fathers of the church, that these heere be not lawfull Magistrates? I would doe any thing that is according to Gods word.

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ArchBishop of Yorke. would yo<sup>u</sup>? then yo<sup>u</sup> must take your oath now yo<sup>u</sup> are required by your governours. yo<sup>u</sup> must sweare in truth, in iudgement in righteousnes. S. Iones. yes, and they that walke in righteousnes shall haue peace. but I dare not forswear my selfe.

Canterbury. Come what say yo<sup>u</sup>? Pen. I dare not sweare this oath till I am better informed of it, for *which* I desire tyme: Sir Henry Martin. Must yo<sup>u</sup> not be readie to giue an answer of your faith? Pen. yes, I will giue an answer of my Faith if I be demaunded, but not willinglie forswear my selfe. /.

Pennina  
Howes/  
a maide.

Kinges Advocate. what will yo<sup>u</sup> take your oath good woman? S. Barbone. I dare not sweare, I doe not vnderstand it. I will tell the truth without swearing. ArchBishop of Canterbury. Take them away. Soe they were all committed to y<sup>e</sup> New prison. And it was appointed, that at y<sup>e</sup> next Court, being a fortnight after this, because of Ascention day they should be brought againe to the Consistorie at Paules, because of trouble & danger in bringinge soe manie prisoners as there were over the water to Lambeth. /

Sara Bar-  
bone.

In the Court of high Commission at  
y<sup>e</sup> Consistory in Paules 8 May 1632.

This day all those that were taken in y<sup>e</sup> Black-Fryars were brought to y<sup>e</sup> Court vnder y<sup>e</sup> Custodie of y<sup>e</sup> Keeper of the New prison. The Kinges Advocate shewed that they were taken at a private Conventicle and prayed that they may take their oathes to answer y<sup>e</sup> articles *which* are putt in against them. First Sara Iones was asked, of what parish she was? She said she dwelleth at Lambeth. London. Doe yo<sup>u</sup> come to y<sup>e</sup> church? S. Iones. None accuseth me to y<sup>e</sup> contrary. London. where were yo<sup>u</sup> vpon Sunday was sennight? S. Iones. when I haue done evill & my accuser come, I will answer. Kinges Advocate. I doe accuse yo<sup>u</sup>, take your oath & yo<sup>u</sup> shall knowe your accusation. S. Iones. I am afraid to take Gods[?] name in vaine, I knowe noe other worship then God hath appointed. London. This yo<sup>u</sup> are Commaunded to doe of God who saith yo<sup>u</sup> must obey your Superiours. S. Iones. That *which* is of God is

Con-  
venticlers.

Sara Iones.

according to Gods [?] word and y<sup>e</sup> Lord will not hold him guiltlesse y<sup>t</sup> taketh his name in vaine.

Sara Iacob.  
Marke  
Lucar.

S. Iacob was called to y<sup>e</sup> booke but she refused alsoe; [?] Then was called Marke Lucar: who was asked of what parish he was & when he was at Church? M. Lucar. I am yet to chuse of what parish to be. [?] and I doe not remember y<sup>e</sup> day of y<sup>e</sup> moneth when I was at Church. London. He doth not remember I dare say y<sup>e</sup> day of y<sup>e</sup> moneth nor y<sup>e</sup> moneth of the yeare when he was at Church, but he dwelleth in S<sup>t</sup> Austins parish: offer him y<sup>e</sup> booke. M. Lucar. If I may knowe a law & ground for takeing this oath, I will take it, but I desire to know my articles before I take my oath. ArchBishop of Yorke, whether doe yo<sup>n</sup> knowe or noe that y<sup>e</sup> King hath power to take an account of *your* proceedings? London. att their perrills. aske [?] the next.

Iohn  
Ireland.

Iohn Ireland was asked where & when he was at Church. He saith at Mary Maudlins Church in Surrey, And that he was at morninge Church within this halfe yeare. but being asked y<sup>e</sup> booke. refused to sweare.

Toby  
Talbot.

Then were called 4 others. Toby Talbot. William Pickering. Mabell Milbourne. William Attwood, & were put to their oathes. and first Talbot saith in his excuse that he knoweth not y<sup>e</sup> articles what they are, and before he would take his oath he would know his accuser. Sir Henry Martin. The Law is, that those y<sup>t</sup> are taken in these Conventicles & remaine obstinate, that they shalbe made to abiure y<sup>e</sup> Kingdome, and if they returne, or obey not, it is felony therefore freindes take heed to *your* selves, and know y<sup>t</sup> yo<sup>n</sup> have more favour then yee deserve. Pickering. I trust I haue done nothing against y<sup>e</sup> law, and for this oath, I doe not know what belongs to it. and he refuseth to take it. Attwood saith, he doth not know what y<sup>e</sup> Booke is. M. Milbourne being asked whether she would take her oath, she said that she would not.

William  
Pickering.

William  
Attwood.  
Mabell  
Milborne.

London. speake to Dod. Latroppe. & y<sup>e</sup> man of y<sup>e</sup> house. Henry Dod yo<sup>n</sup> are y<sup>e</sup> obstinate & perverse ringleaders of these folkes: you had a faire admonition y<sup>e</sup> last Court day. and yo<sup>n</sup> haue this day assigned yo<sup>n</sup> to answer vpon *your* oath. Dod. I hope we are not soe impious. we stand for y<sup>e</sup> truth: for

Henry  
Dod.

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takeing y<sup>e</sup> oath I craue your patience, I am not resolved vpon it. Brewers Clarke. I was at y<sup>e</sup> Church, but for takeing y<sup>e</sup> oath I desire to be resolved<sup>1</sup>. London. M<sup>r</sup> Latroppe. Hath the Lord qualified yo<sup>u</sup>, what authority, what Orders haue yo<sup>u</sup>! the Lord hath qualified you, is that a sufficient answer? yo<sup>u</sup> must giue a better answer before yo<sup>u</sup> & I part. Latropp. I doe not know that I haue done any thing *which* might cause me iustly to be brought before y<sup>e</sup> iudgment seat of man: and for this oath I doe not know the nature of it. Kinges Advocate. the manner of y<sup>e</sup> oath is, that yo<sup>u</sup> shall answer to that yo<sup>u</sup> are accused of, for Schisme. York. & London. if he will not take his oath, away with him. Latropp I desire that other passage may be remembred, I dare not take this oath, wherefore the Court ordered, that they should be kept in straight custodie especiallie Latropp. for y<sup>e</sup> Bishop of London said he had more to answer then he knew of.

Barnet.

Iohn  
Latropp.

Samuell Eaton being demaunded whether he would take the oath. He answered, I doe not refuse it, though I doe not take it: it is not out of obstinacie, but as I shall answer it at y<sup>e</sup> last day I am not satisfied whether I may take it.

Samuel  
Eaton.

Samuell Howe (saith y<sup>e</sup> Kings Advocate) yo<sup>u</sup> are required by your oath to answer to y<sup>e</sup> articles. Howe. I have served the King both by sea & by land<sup>2</sup>, and I had been at sea if this restraint had not been made vpon me: my conversacion I thank God none can taxe. Register. will yo<sup>u</sup> take your oath? How. I am a yong man, & doe not know what this oath is: Kinges Advocate. The King desires your service in obeying his lawes.

Samuel  
How.

Then P. Howes was called, and required to take her oath. but she refused. London. Will yo<sup>u</sup> trust m<sup>r</sup> Latropp & beleive him rather then y<sup>e</sup> Church of England. Pennina. I referre my self to the word of God, whether I maie take this oath or noe. Then were called Ioane Ferne & Elizabeth Denne: who refused to sweare till they were informed, and one of them said she

Pennina  
Howes.

Ioane  
Ferne.  
Elizabeth.  
Denne.

<sup>1</sup> This answer would seem to suggest that Humphrey Barnett, though not a strict separatist, was after all probably a member of the congregation at this time. This view is contrary to a statement made in Vol. 1., page 321.

<sup>2</sup> How this statement agrees with the well-known fact that Samuel How, the separatist, was a cobbler, has not yet been made very clear.

could not read a letter in y<sup>e</sup> booke: the Kinges Advocate saith their oath was y<sup>t</sup> they should answere trulie as farre as they knew to the Articles.

Elizabeth  
Sargeant.

Elizabeth Sargeant saith she must not sweare, but when she is before a Magistrate. Why now saith the *Bishop* of London. yo<sup>n</sup> are called before y<sup>e</sup> Magistrate, are yo<sup>n</sup> not? Iohn Egge, will yo<sup>n</sup> take your oath? He refuseth. Henry Parker will yo<sup>n</sup> take your oath to answere y<sup>e</sup> articles? H. P. I doe not deny the oath though I dare not take it, till I shall know what I shall sweare. Iohn woodwyne, He being tendered y<sup>e</sup> booke, said, I desire to know what I shall sweare to, & what is the end of [t]his oath before he will sweare. Iohn Melborne.

Iohn Egge.  
Henry  
Parker.

Iohn  
wood-  
wyne.

Iohn  
Melborne.  
Elizabeth  
Melborne.

I am not well perswaded of this oath, yet I will not deny it. *Elizabeth* Melborne. I doe not know any such thing as a Conventicle. we did meete to pray & talke of y<sup>e</sup> word of God, which is according to the law of the land. York. God wilbe served publiquely not in your private house. Thomas Arundell

Thomas  
Arundell.

William  
Granger.

of S<sup>t</sup> Olaves parish refuseth to take the oath for the present, till he knew y<sup>e</sup> Articles that he might informe himself. *William* Granger of S<sup>t</sup> Margarettes in *Westminster*. He being called, the *Bishop* of London spake vnto him saying, Granger, yo<sup>n</sup> looke like a man of fashion will yo<sup>n</sup> take your oath to answere to y<sup>e</sup> articles according to your knowledg, and as farre as yo<sup>n</sup> are bound by law? Granger, I desire to have some tyme to consider of it. London. I would not have any of the standers by thinke that yo<sup>n</sup> or any of these have not had tyme to consider of this, yo<sup>n</sup> rent & teare the Church & will not submitt your self to y<sup>e</sup> tryall of law. yo<sup>n</sup> must know, the Iustice of this Court is lymited, & yo<sup>n</sup> may be driven to abiure the Realme for your offence. Then *Robert* Reignoldes of *Thistleworth* was tendered the oath. He desired to speak 2 or 3 wordes: If I have done any thing against the Law, lett me be accused by the Course of the law: if I thought this oath might be taken with a good Conscience, I would take it; and I doe for the present desire yo<sup>n</sup>, though yo<sup>n</sup> doe not pittie me yet to pittie my poore wife & smale Children. York. Pittie your wife & Children your self, and lay your obstinacy to your conscience. /

Robert  
Reignoldes.

.....



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Abigail Delamar a Frenchmans wife, was brought from the New prison to y<sup>e</sup> Court, & required to take y<sup>e</sup> oath. She demanded whether it were the oath of Alleageance; the Kinges *Advocate* said, it was to answere the truth to y<sup>e</sup> Articles in Court against her as farre as she knew & was bound by law. She said. I neither dare nor will take this oath till I am informed of it, that I may with a good conscience. London. Her husband is y<sup>e</sup> Queenes servant, & a stiffe Romane Catholique, and she a deepe Familist & Brownist, & one of the Conventiclers taken at BlackFryars, the last weeke ther was a generall fast held in y<sup>e</sup> prison, that they might be delivered out of prison, I gaue order that all that came to them that day should be stayed, This woman came,.....Canterbury. I see yo<sup>u</sup> are an obstinate woman, as all the rest of your Companie are. Ab Delamar. yo<sup>u</sup> persecute vs without a cause yo<sup>u</sup> haue sent 26 of vs to y<sup>e</sup> prison, but since we were imprisoned what course haue yo<sup>u</sup> taken to informe vs? Which of yo<sup>u</sup> haue sent anie man to vs or taken any paines to informe vs? London. There was a day sett for them to answere at y<sup>e</sup> Consistorye in Paules: but they haue y<sup>e</sup> last Sunday petitioned his *Maiestie*, shewing that it is not out of obstinacie, but they decline y<sup>e</sup> Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction [*sic*] altogether. Woman, take your oath. Ab. Delamar. Noe this oath is condempned by y<sup>e</sup> law of the land, & I refuse it as an accursed oath, & appeale to y<sup>e</sup> Kinge. I heard that y<sup>e</sup> Saboth day after this Court she deliv[er]ed a petition to the King in the name of all the rest, shewing that they refused not this oath obstinately, but y<sup>e</sup> they were afraid, it was against y<sup>e</sup> Subiectes iust libertie, to be compelled to take this oath and shewed that they would willinglie be tryed by his *Maiesties* lawes, or by his *Maiestie* or any of his Lordes & Nobles.

Abigail  
Delamar.

Amy Holland did not appeare because of sicknes, as it was given in answere for her

Holland.

.....

Grafton an vpholster [*sic*] one of y<sup>e</sup> BlackFryers Companie is ordered to giue bond for his apparance [*sic*] at y<sup>e</sup> next Court.

Grafton.

Sara Barbone being bound to appeare is escaped, & hideth her selfe, her bond to be certefyed in y<sup>e</sup> Exchequer.

Barbon.

Wilson.

Phillis Wilson, being one of them that were taken at *Black-Fryers* was tendered y<sup>e</sup> oath, but she refused saying, she durst not sweare vnadvisedly. Kinges Advocate. It is before y<sup>e</sup> Magistrate by authority of an act of parliament.

Escape of  
some of  
y<sup>e</sup> Con-  
venticles<sup>es</sup>  
out of  
prison.

London. 7. or 8. of those that were best able to beare it are let out of prison, & therefore for my *part* I will consent that it be ordered that noe more be sent to y<sup>e</sup> new prison, till these be brought againe. The keeper prayed their lordshippes pardon, & promised to endeavour to finde them againe: London: Let these women therefore for y<sup>e</sup> honour of y<sup>e</sup> Court be sent to other prisons, & the rest to be removed some to one prison & some to an other.

.....

[Under the date June 14, 1632.]

.....

Con-  
venticlars.

Rawlins, Harvy, Arthur Goslin, Howland, Robert Bye, Iohn Smith, & others were taken at a Conventicle in a wood neare Newington in Surrey vpon the Saboth day last. and being now brought to the Court they were required to take their oathes to answeare y<sup>e</sup> Articles put in against them. Two of them answeare they will not sweare at this time: and as they were goinge out, Harvy put on his hatt, *which* was presentlie taken offe and he was complayned on, & being called back to answeare it, he saith, he was shiftinge [?] away, & putt on his hatt. Another saith that a lawfull Magistrate had examined them already, and therefore he will not sweare to be heere examined. London. *your* examinations taken before Sir [————] he sent to me. there is nothing in it but that yo<sup>u</sup> mett together to conferre vpon y<sup>e</sup> word of God as farre as yo<sup>u</sup> vnderstood the same, & to pray, *which* yo<sup>u</sup> might answeare heere: but yo<sup>u</sup> tell this Court that it is not a lawfull power & authority: And of the same minde are those that were taken att *BlackFryers*: for they petitioned y<sup>e</sup> King to be tryed by his Iudges, by his Lordes, declyning the Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction: this they tendred y<sup>e</sup> last Sunday: This *your* obstinacie will cause yo<sup>u</sup> to be proceeded against at the common law, & be made abiure the

Kingdome, & if yo<sup>u</sup> returne to be hanged. Kinges Advocate speaketh to another of them. yo<sup>u</sup> are required to take your oath to answer the Articles put in against yo<sup>u</sup>. Prisoner. I cannot sweare, because I know them not in certeinty. London. Let these (may it please your grace) be sent two and two to other prisons, & none to the new prison, because the keeper hath lett some of y<sup>e</sup> principall of y<sup>e</sup> other Companie to escape. Andrew Sherle will not lay his hand vpon the booke. Robert Bye comminge into the Court, the Bishop of London spake kindly to him saying, come, thou lookest like a good fellow that will take thy oath. Bye. I am Christes freeman; I owe obedience to God & y<sup>e</sup> King, and those that are lawfullie sent by him, but to noe others: Att which there being some laughter he said, I am in deed & good earnest, I dare not take this oath: An oath is for the ending of a controversie, but this is made to be but the beginninge of y<sup>e</sup> controversie. ArchBishop of Canterbury; yo<sup>u</sup> doe shew your selves the most vngratefull to God & to his Maiestie the King & to vs the Fathers of the Church: if yo<sup>u</sup> haue anie knowledg of God, it hath come through & by vs or some of our predecessors: We haue taken care vnder God to give milke to y<sup>e</sup> babes & yonglinges and strong meate for the men of vnderstanding, yo<sup>u</sup> haue y<sup>e</sup> word of God to feed yo<sup>u</sup>, the Sacramentes to strengthen yo<sup>u</sup>, and we support yo<sup>u</sup> by prayer, for all this what despight do yo<sup>u</sup> returne vs: yo<sup>u</sup> call vs abhominable men, to be hated of all that we carry the Marke of the beast, that we are his members: We doe beare this patiently, not because we haue noe law to right vs, but because of your obstinacie: But for your dishonouring of God & disobeyinge y<sup>e</sup> King, it is not to be indured: when yo<sup>u</sup> haue readinge, preaching, singinge teaching, yo<sup>u</sup> are your owne Ministers, the blinde lead y<sup>e</sup> blinde, whereas his Maiestie is Godes vicegerent in y<sup>e</sup> Church, the Church is nothing with yo<sup>u</sup>, & his Ministers not to be regarded, and yo<sup>u</sup> runne into woodes, as if yo<sup>u</sup> lived in persecution, such an one yo<sup>u</sup> make the King, to whome wee are soe much bound for his great care for y<sup>e</sup> truth to be preserved amonge vs and yo<sup>u</sup> would haue men beleieue, that he is a Tyrant, this besides your wickednes, vnthankfulnes, & vngraciousnes towardes vs the Fathers of the

Church. Therefore let these men be put 2. and 2. in severall prisons.

Con-  
venticlers.

John Cooke, Iames, Margery Cleaver, John Iapworth, Anne [—————] One was a yong girle, these were all taken in another Conventicle, but where I cannott directly say, I heard about Christes Church in London: These alsoe all denied to take the oath, and were all sent to severall prisons, two, and two. /

[Under the date June 21, 1632.]

.....

Against  
Ralfe  
Grafton  
one of  
the Con-  
venticlers.

Ralfe Grafton an Vpholster dwellinge in Cornehill, London, was required to take his oath to answeere y<sup>e</sup> Articles. He was said to be a principall ringleader of those Conventicle's that mett at BlackFryers. Kinges Advocate this is a rich man dwelling within the Citty, my Motion is, that your Grace & the Court would sett a Fine vpon this man if he shall refuse to answeere, that other [*sic*] may be warned for contemning of y<sup>e</sup> Court. London. M<sup>r</sup> Advocate I thanke yo<sup>u</sup> for this Motion. Kinges Advocate, I require yo<sup>u</sup>, & the Court requireth yo<sup>u</sup> to take your oath to answeere to matters of your owne fact as farre as yo<sup>u</sup> know, & are bound by law. Grafton. An oath is a matter of an high nature, & must not be taken rashlie, I dare not therefore take this oath. We have done nothinge against y<sup>e</sup> law: it was noe Conventicle, there was nothinge spoaken against y<sup>e</sup> King, nor against the State, I dare not take y<sup>e</sup> oath and I am noe Ringleader of any to evill. Canterbury. Yo<sup>u</sup> mett without law, yo<sup>u</sup> had no authority. Poena ad paucos, metus ad omnes. Wherefore, the Court for his Contempt in refusing y<sup>e</sup> oath sett a Fine of two hundred pound vpon him, & committed him to prison. Grafton. I have bayle heere readie if yo<sup>u</sup> please to take it, I doe tender it to yo<sup>u</sup>. London. Canterbury. Noe away with him to prison: if he come not in by the day of mittigation, let the Fine stand.

## XXI

### NOTICE OF A SEPARATIST CONVENTICLE TAKEN AT A HOUSE IN "REDERIFFE" IN DECEMBER, 1638

- Surrey to wit.           The Examinacon of Edward Hurst late  
of Cambridge Tayler taken the 23 of  
December. 1638.<sup>1</sup>
- bailed                   He saith that he came to london on thursdaye  
laste. and lodged at the bull in Bishopsgate  
streete and this daye he enquirege for a freind  
of his, was tould that he might finde him att  
a howse in Rederiffe, *which* made him goe  
thither, where he founde aboute, 20. or 30.  
persons men & woemen. beinge all strangers  
vnto him & knewe not the names of either of  
them, where they did all pray togeather and  
dispute & exhorte one an other, and there  
Contynued aboute 2. howers togeather vntill  
the Constables & officers of Rederiffe came in  
tooke some of them awaye. this *Examine*  
denyeth that he did exhorte or dispute with  
them or any of them Edward [?] hurst [?]
- bayled.                 Phillippa Cowlake. St Giles Cripplegate parishe  
Frances Greene the wife of Phillipp Greene
- bayled                 of the same. Clothworker.  
John Dyer of Barmondsey Lastmaker he saith  
that they were all Readinge a Chapter & ex-  
poundinge of it

<sup>1</sup> S. P., Dom., Charles I., Vol. 404 (118).

bayled— Beniamyn Pratt of oldstreete weauer.  
 word taken— Martha Elliott of S<sup>t</sup>. Gyles Cripplegate.  
 Thomas Tyle  
 bayled. John Ellis of S<sup>t</sup> Pulkers Cordwainder

Nicholas Rothwell and Peter Blake Church-  
 wardens of Rederiffe together with John  
 Stoakes & John Lingwood Constables goeing  
 aboute in tyme of devine service to see good  
 orders kepte did finde the said persons & diuers  
 others that ran & Convayed themselues awaye  
 gathered together in a howse where on [one]  
 hayward dwells, he beinge at sea And his wife  
 with her frends in the Countrye, but howe  
 they came into the howse the said officers  
 knowe not.

nicolas Rothwell	}	Church wardens
peter blake		
John Lingwood	}	Constables
John stokes		

---

Thomas Laish  
 John Lewis

## XXII

### DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE PRISON LIFE AND DEATH OF THE SEPARATIST, SAMUEL EATON

[A Petition concerning him which was probably sent to  
Archbishop Laud in 1638.]<sup>1</sup>

To the most Reverend Father in God William Lord [Laud]  
Arch<sup>h</sup>B<sup>pp</sup> of Canterbury his Grace Primate and  
Metropolitan of all England.

Humbly                   The most humble Petition of Frauncis Tucker  
Sheweth.               Bachelour of Divinity and Prisoner in Newgate  
for Debt.

That whereas there is one Samuell Eaton Prisoner in  
Newgate committed by your Grace for a Scismaticall and  
dangerous Fellowe. That the said Eaton hath held diverse  
Conventicles in the said Gaole some whereof hath bin to  
the number of 70 persons, or more and that hee was per-  
mitted by the said keeper openly, and publicquely to preach  
vnto them, and that the said Eaton hath oftentimes  
affirmed in his said Sermons, that Baptisme<sup>2</sup> was the  
Doctrine of Devills, and its Originall was an Institucion  
from the Devill and oftentimes hee would rayle against  
your Grace, affirminge that all B<sup>pps</sup> were Hereticke  
Blasphemers, and Antechristians, That the said keeper  
hauenge notice hereof by the petitioner whoe desired him  
to bee meanes that these greate resorts and Conventicles

<sup>1</sup> S. P., Dom., Car. I., Vol. 406 (No. 64), in the Public Record Office,  
London.

<sup>2</sup> [? in the Church of England.]

might bee prevented and that hee would reprove the said Eaton for the same, and remoue him to some other place of the Prison. That herevpon the said keeper in a disdainfull manner replied that the petitioner should meddle with what hee had to doe and if hee did dislike the said Eaton and his Conventicles hee would remoue the petitioner into some worsor place of the Prison, That at this time there was a Conventicle of 60 persons or more that the said keeper comminge into the Roome where this Conventicle was, and the said Eaton preachinge vnto them and maynteyninge dangerous Opinions, havinge viewed the said Assembly hee said there was a very faire, and goodly Company and stayinge there some season departed without any distaste thereat, to the greate encouragement of the said Eaton, and the said persons to frequent the said place &c That the said keeper had a strict Charge from the highe Commission to haue a speciall Care of the said Eaton &c, that since this the said keeper hath severall times permitted him to goe abroad to preach to Conventicles appointed by him the said Eaton. That dayly there doth resorte to the said Eaton much people to heare him preach...[that just before the death of the petitioner's wife, after she had been removed from the chamber she had occupied in the prison] the said Chamber was by the keeper assigned over to the said Eaton, it beeinge the most convenient place in the prison for keepinge his Conventicles—.

.....  
 .....

[An Account of his Burial, evidently written on "Aug: 31: 1639."]<sup>1</sup>

Mr Alsop, I wrote to you the other weeke, how y<sup>b</sup> I had beene with Eaton [i.e., Samuel Eaton]. This is further to let you understand y<sup>b</sup> upon sunday, being Aug. 25. I was accidentally at his buriall, for being to visit one in Bethelam comming

<sup>1</sup> S. P., Dom., Car. I., Vol. 427 (107), in the Public Record Office, London.



home, I met Brownists & Anabaptists (I thinke) at least 200 with Eatons corpes, so I went backe with y<sup>m</sup> to see how they would bury y<sup>e</sup> dead, & I observed how they answered such as met y<sup>m</sup>, demanding who y<sup>t</sup> was to be buried, they said it was one of y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's prisoners, but when they came to y<sup>e</sup> grave, it being made ready for y<sup>m</sup> in y<sup>e</sup> new Church yard neere Bethelam; they like so many Bedlams cast y<sup>e</sup> corpes in; & with y<sup>r</sup> feet, in stead of spades cast & thrust in y<sup>e</sup> mould till y<sup>e</sup> grave was allmost full: then they paid y<sup>e</sup> grave maker for his paines, who told y<sup>m</sup> y<sup>t</sup> he must fetch a minister, but, they said, he might spare his labour.

I could wish y<sup>t</sup> you would certify my Lord of this, also y<sup>t</sup> I had beene at y<sup>e</sup> gate house...

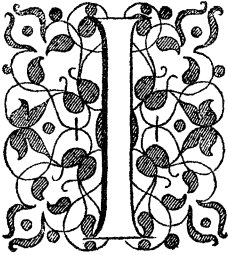
## XXIII

A BROADSIDE WHICH MENTIONS THE EXCOMMUNICATION  
OF SAMUEL HOW, AND THE PLACE AND DATE OF HIS  
BURIAL IN 1640.

The Coblers threed is cut.

OR,

The Coblers Monument : wherein, to the everlasting memory of the folly  
of *Samuel How*, his doctrines are detected, and his life and death  
described : together with an Epitaph written on him at the  
Last, with an exhortation to the ignorant to avoid  
such phantastick spirits ; he being buried  
in the high-way neer *Dame Annes*  
*a Clear* (a place so called,  
neer Shores-ditch, on  
tuesday, Sept. 29.  
1640.<sup>1</sup>

T is an ancient and worthy custome to weep for the deceased ; but How ? not for this *Samuel How*, who being a Cobler, took upon him beyond his Last, the mending of soules, and in a Sermon preached to above an hundred persons in the Nags-head Taverne neere Coleman-street, delivered many absurd Doctrines & Vses, against humane Learning : and afterward published and entitled his Sermon, *The sufficiencie of the Spirits teaching without humane Learning, for the light and information of the*

<sup>1</sup> This definite information serves to correct a misstatement as to the date of Samuel How's death made in Vol. I., p. 201. On account of the exigencies of space the heading of the broadside, as here reproduced, has been differently arranged from that of the original, which consists of only six lines in all.

*Samuel How: his Excommunication and Burial* 329

*ignorant*: wherein he published his owne folly, it being a knowne truth, that Learning is no essentiall immediate cause of grace, but an instrumentall cause, whereby the knowledge of the Scriptures are gained; and humane learning doth prepare the soule, and enlarge it to receive divine mysteries, and by judgement assisted by Gods Spirit, to finde out hidden truth, and to defend fundamentall Principles. How durst then this lump of ignorance assume so much boldnesse, with reasons drawne *ab absurdo*, from absurdity, to detract from learning, or with his blacke Thumb wax so impudent to touch, much lesse to handle humane Science or Learning; who will thus requite him with an old saying:

*Scientia non habet inimicum nisi ignorantem.*

The ignorant will onely be  
To humane Learning an enemy.

But his folly hath been formerly enough derided: For as sober obedient knowledge is rewarded, so foolish ungrounded opinions are disregarded: they are like *Solomons* thornes, crackling under the pot; & it is likely these flames of the Coblers zeal proceeded from pottles of wine, it being preached (as above said) in the Nags-head Taverne, neere Coleman-street: a fit place for such a preachment, tending to the disgrace of all humane learning; which scorning to answer a foole according to his folly, it seems that this selfe-conceited Cobler, *Samuel How*, being stricken with shame, and afterward with sicknesse, sneaked out of this world and died; and being formerly excommunicated out of the Church, he was buried in the high-way, after his threed of life was cut. And therefore let the Reader take this as a monument of his folly; whereupon in conclusion may be engraven this Epitaph.

An Epitaph on *Samuel How* a Cobler, the unlearned enemy  
of humane Learning.

**T***His vnlearned Cobler, by the Spirits discerning,  
Was a great enemy to humane Learning.  
How could that be? Why How that in a stall,  
Could sing Queen Dido, or the Ladies fall,*

*Would in a Taverne needs set up his stage,  
 And against humane Learning shew his rage.  
 Doctrines and Vses from his Text he drew,  
 That was us'd to draw threeds through an old Shew:  
 And with sharp argument he seemed to prick,  
 As with an Aule, all learning to the quick.  
 And having wrought himselfe so out of breath,  
 The Coblers thred of life was cut by Death.  
 And in the high way buried under ground,  
 Studies how he all learning may confound.  
 He needs no Monument, nor Epitaph,  
 For at his folly every one doth laugh,  
 To think how he did go beyond his Last,  
 The Coblers end is shame for folly past.  
 Then let no ignorant above his reach,  
 Speake against learning, or attempt to preach.  
 Lest having spet and spoke, they doe come off,  
 Like this unlearned Cobler with a scoff.  
 Who having done his worke, by death is paid  
 His wages, and in the high-way is laid.  
 Where he no foolish Arguments can hold:  
 For How, his zeale, and corps in ground are cold.  
 He that was humane Learnings great Kil-kow,  
 Lies in the high-way, you need not ask How?<sup>1</sup>*

Printed for *Richard Harper* at the Bible and Harp  
 in Smithfield. 1640.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the original this epitaph is printed in two columns.  
 In the original the imprint consists of only one line.

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