

Abstract

'Doctrinal Controversies of English Particular Baptists (1644-1691) as Illustrated by the Career and Writings of Thomas Collier'
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D.Phil.

Michaelmas Term, 1979 [i.e. 1980]

During the revolutionary decade of the 1640's Thomas Collier emerged from his native Somerset to become a significant Particular Baptist leader. He produced more than a score of books and established numerous churches.

Collier was a well-known controversialist who debated opponents on subjects such as baptism and the ordination of lay preachers. Collier's theology was worked out in the heat of such debates and must be studied against that landscape to be properly understood.

Collier's writings and career reveal surprising willingness to embrace heterodox theological positions by Particular Baptist standards, especially in the late 1640's and after 1660. In the early period of his career he was enamoured of an allegorical, spiritualizing method of biblical interpretation and after 1660 he became increasingly hostile to limited atonement and election.

The most orthodox phase of Collier's career was the period between 1653 and 1659 when he served as the leader of the Particular Baptists' Western Association. Under his leadership the association produced their Somerset Confession in 1656.

After the Restoration Collier's disputes were increasingly with his fellow Particular Baptists. The publication of his Body of Divinity in 1674 and his Additional Word as a supplement to it in 1676 revealed increasingly divergent soteriological and eschatological views from those being espoused by the Particular Baptists. An attempt was made to discipline Collier by the London Baptist leadership, which was strongly and successfully resisted by Collier and his supporters within his local church in Southwick, Wiltshire.

Collier's 1678 Confession of Faith, written in response to the London Baptists' adaptation of the Westminster Confession published the previous year, illustrated the wide breach of doctrine that had developed between Collier and his denominational colleagues.

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ABSTRACT

During the revolutionary decade of the 1640's Thomas Collier emerged from his native Somerset to become a significant Particular Baptist leader. He produced more than a score of books and established numerous churches.

Collier was a well-known controversialist who debated opponents on subjects such as baptism and the ordination of lay preachers. Collier's theology was worked out in the heat of such debates and must be studied against that landscape to be properly understood.

Collier's writings and career reveal surprising willingness to embrace heterodox theological positions by Particular Baptist standards, especially in the late 1640's and after 1660. In the early period of his career he was enamoured of an allegorical, spiritualizing method of biblical interpretation and after 1660 he became increasingly hostile to limited atonement and election. He closed out the decade with the publication of Gospel Blessedness, a work in which he fully explained one of the most crucial concepts in his theology, the idea that there were two covenants in Scripture, the Old and the New, and that Christ had ushered in the New to replace the Old with His advent. He had also addressed the Restored Bump of the Parliament in 1659 imploring them not to become involved with a government settlement of religion.

Collier's controversies, political and theological (if such a distinction can be made in the mid-seventeenth century) have been studied because they were the Sitz im Leben out of which his theology was formed. To study his, and his Particular Baptist colleagues thought, without studying the milieu which produced it, is to artificially distort it. Collier's theology was hammered out in the heat of theological controversy and revolutionary change, and it must be seen within its controversial context before being analysed as a whole.

Collier's writings and career reveal a surprising willingness to embrace heterodox theological positions by Particular Baptist standards, especially in the late 1640's and after 1660. In the early period of his career he was enamoured of an allegorical, spiritualizing method of biblical interpretation with Joachinite overtones and after 1660 he became increasingly hostile to limited atonement, election, and other aspects of

Calvinism.

The most orthodox phase of Collier's career was the period between 1653 and 1659 when he served as the leader in the Western Association of Baptists. Under his guidance they produced Somerset Confession in 1656.

After the Restoration Collier's disputes were increasingly with his fellow Particular Baptists. The publication of his Body of Divinity in 1674 and his Additional Word as a supplement to it in 1676 recorded his increasingly divergent soteriological and eschatological views from those being espoused by the Particular Baptists. An attempt was made to discipline Collier by the London Particular Baptist leadership, which was strongly and successfully resisted by Collier and his Southwick supporters in his local church in Southwick, Wiltshire. This controversy involved several of the surrounding Particular Baptist churches as well and may have signalled an estrangement of Collier and his church from their Particular Baptist neighbours.

Collier had moved to Southwick from Wells probably in 1669 and was licensed to preach by the Declaration of Indulgence of 1672.

Collier confirmed his theological rift with the London Particular Baptist leaders by the publication of his own confession in 1678 in response to, and denial of, the London Baptists' publication of their adaptation of the Westminster Confession which had been published the preceeding year. Both in his confession and in A Compendious Discourse, published in 1682, Collier attacked most of the pillars of Calvinist orthodoxy. He repudiated total depravity, unconditional election, limited atonement, irresistible grace and the perseverance of the saints in unmistakable and vitriolic terms. Both his 1678 confession and A Compendious Discourse, published in 1682, espouse a belief in a general restitution of all things as being included in God's promise to Abraham in Genesis xii.3. Included in this concept was the belief that the coming visible reign of Christ on the earth would be the fulfillment of the Fifth Kingdom of Daniel and that there would be a three-fold distinction among people in the world to come. There would be believers and the eternally punished, but there would also be a third group who would be blessed by God after a temporary punishment.

The publication of Collier's last, posthumously published book, A Doctrinal Discourse of Self-Denial in 1691 with A Short Comession raises the intriguing possibility that Collier had led a group of Particular Baptist churches in western England away from standard Particular Baptist doctrine and they issued Short Confession in an effort to gain greater fellowship with the Particular Baptists from whom they were estranged, or alternatively with the General Baptists.

One area where Collier's theology was orthodox throughout almost the entirety of his career was his ecclesiology. This is

hardly surprising since this doctrine was absolutely critical for the very existence of the Particular Baptists. Collier's belief in the primacy of the New Testament and the New Gospel dispensation was crucial for his epistemology. The New Testament was the supreme authority for faith and practice and this led Collier to a career-long commitment to the gathered, visible church of regenerate saints concept. Entrance into the gathered assembly of regenerate saints required repentance, faith and baptism by immersion subsequent to conversion. This in turn led him to a total rejection of any national church establishment. In the 1650's Collier became involved in the debate among Particular Baptists about whether or not ministers of Baptist churches could take state maintenance. Collier was vigorously opposed to the idea.

The development of heterodox views by a denominational leader such as Collier, at least opened the possibility that there was more doctrinal latitude present among groups such as the closed membership Particular Baptists than there was to be in later years. For example, given the extant evidence it could at least be suggested that Collier, seldom, if ever, fully accepted the doctrine of particular redemption from which the Particular Baptists later derived their name.

Such a situation suggests that perhaps more doctrinal sensitivity has been assumed among the country's Particular Baptists at this point in the seventeenth century than was actually the case. If so, then perhaps Collier's sharp and bitter controversy with the London Particular Baptist leadership and the disaffected segment of his own church serves as an indication not only of his increasingly radical views, but also of a growing denominational consciousness and sensitivity to doctrinal deviation. Further, the development of divergent views by a denominational leader such as Collier during the period of persecution implies that a certain amount of doctrinal deviation may have developed around charismatic figures during a period when effective denominational oversight was hindered. Such occurrences would help explain the problems experienced by the London General Assembly in 1689 and afterward.

Collier's life and career were illustrative of Particular Baptist life in many ways. First, his association activities involved him intimately in the issues affecting the churches and thus he became one of the men involved in constructing precedents for succeeding Baptists to follow. Second, Collier had been at the very centre-stage of the nation's life in 1649 while engaging in the Whitehall Debates. Throughout the 1650's Collier, and Particular Baptists like him played crucial roles in the life of the nation either through government or military service or through participation in controversies which shaped the life of the nation. After 1660, however, nonconformist access to such areas of English life was severely restricted. Collier's career reflects that restriction.

Finally, Collier's life and career should serve as a caution to those who might be tempted to place too much emphasis on an individual's denominational affiliation or his theological position at any given time.

DOCTRINAL CONTROVERSIES OF ENGLISH PARTICULAR
BAPTISTS(1644-1691) AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE
CAREER AND WRITINGS OF THOMAS COLLIER

By

Richard Dale Land

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PREFACE

Several procedural matters need to be mentioned at the outset of this study. First, only the 's' was modernized in the quotation of contemporary passages. Secondly, the liberal use of italics by seventeenth century writers and printers was essentially ignored. Thirdly, all dates were reckoned from January 1. Fourthly, pagination for prefaces and epistle dedicatories in contemporary writings has been supplied for ease of reference and is signified by a small Roman numeral (i.e. p.i).

I would be remiss if I did not express my gratitude at this point to many people without whom this study would not have been possible. I owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. John F. Wilson and Dr. Lawrence Stone, who first introduced me to the English Puritans during my undergraduate days at Princeton University. I must also mention the late Dr. James D. Mosteller, former Professor of Church History at New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary who awakened in me a deep interest in the Baptists of seventeenth century England while I was his student. And of course, I am deeply grateful to Dr. B.R. White, my advisor, whose guidance and assistance have been invaluable.

In closing I would also like to express my appreciation to the staff of the following libraries and institutions: The Bodleian Library and the History Faculty Library (both in Oxford); The British Library, Dr. Williams's Library, The

Congregational Library, The Library of the Society of Genealogists, The Friends Library, and the Public Record Office (all in London); the Somerset Record Office, Taunton, Somerset and the Wiltshire Record Office, Trowbridge, Wiltshire; Bridwell Library, Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas; and Fleming Library, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN FOOTNOTES AND/OR TEXT¹

<u>Angus Cat.</u>	<u>Catalog of the Books, Pamphlets, & Manuscripts in the Angus Library at Regent's Park College, London. (London, 1908).</u> Regent's Park College is now located in Oxford. The College possesses an interleaved copy with copious MS. notations and this is the volume cited in this study.
<u>Animadversions (1656)</u>	(William Sedgwick), <u>Animadversions Upon a Letter and Paper, first sent to His Highness by certain Gentlemen and others in Wales; And since printed, and published to the world by some of the Subscribers (-----, 1656).</u>
<u>Animadversions (1661)</u>	William Sedgwick, <u>Animadversions Upon a Book Entituled Inquisition for the Blood of our late Sovereign. (London, 1661).</u>
<u>Answer</u>	Samuel Richardson, <u>An ANSVVER to the London Ministers Letter: From Them To his Excellency & his Counsel of VVar. (London, 1649).</u>
<u>Apologeticall Declaration</u>	<u>An Apologeticall Declaration of the Conscientious Presbyterians of the Province of many thousands of the Faithfull, and Covenant-keeping Citizens, and Inhabitants within the said City and Suburbs thereof. (Januarie, 1649).</u>
<u>Armies Vindication</u>	Eleutherius Philodemius, <u>The Armies Vindication. (London, 1649).</u>
<u>Assoc. Rec.</u>	<u>Association Records of the Particular Baptists of England, Wales, and Ireland to 1660. Ed. by B. R. White. 3 parts. (London, 1971-74). Part 1. South Wales and the Midlands(1971); Part 2. The West Country and Ireland(1973); Part 3. The Abingdon Association(1974).</u>
<u>B.Q.</u>	<u>The Baptist Quarterly. n.s.</u>
<u>Bapt. Hist. & Her.</u>	<u>Baptist History and Heritage. (The Journal of the Southern Baptist Historical Society).</u>

¹Icf. Appendix A, infra for abbreviations of Collier's various works.

- Beginnings William C. Braithwaite, The Beginnings of Quakerism. Second edition revised by Henry J. Cadbury (Cambridge, 1955).
- Brit. Mus. British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books. (London, 1964). cclxiii vols.
- Burrage Champlin Burrage, The Early English Dissenters (Cambridge, 1912) ii vols.
- C.H. Church History.
- C.R. A. G. Matthews, Calamy Revised. (Oxford, 1934).
- C.S.P.D. Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series.
- Capp Bernard S. Capp, The Fifth Monarchy Men. A Study in Seventeenth-century English Millenarianism. (London, 1972).
- Conference A True and Exact Narrative for Substance of a Conference had between Mr. John Smith Minister of Badgworth, and Thomas Collier of Westbury in the Church of Axbridge in Somersetshire, March 6. 1650. (London, 1651).
- Confession (1644) The Confession of Faith of those Churches which are commonly (though falsely) called Anabaptists. (London, 1644). Reprint in Lumpkin, Confessions, pp.153-71 used for citation purposes.
- Confession (1677) Confession of Faith Put forth by the Elders and Brethren of many Congregations of Christians (baptized upon Profession of their Faith) in London and the Country (n. p. 1677). Reprint in Lumpkin, Confessions, pp.241-95 used for citation purposes.
- Crosby Thomas Crosby, The History of the English Baptists. (London, 1738-40), iv vols.
- D.N.B. Dictionary of National Biography, ed. by Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee. (London, 1908-09 edn.).

- D.Q.B. 'Dictionary of Quaker Biography'. Typescript in preparation with index, edited by William Bacon Evans. Friends House, London.
- Deceit James Nayler, Deceit Brought to Day-Light: In an ANSWER to Thomas Collier, What he hath declared in a book called, A Dialogue between a Minister, and a Christian... (London, 1656).
- Declaration The Declaration of His Excellency The Lord General Fairfax, and his General Council of Officers, Shewing the Grounds of the Armies Advance towards the City of London. (London, 1648).
- E.H.R. The English Historical Review.
- E.S.P. Extracts from State Papers Relating to Friends, 1652-1672. Ed. Norman Penney (London, 1913). J.F.H.S. Supplements Nos. 8-11.
- Epistle Thomas Salthouse, An Epistle to the Churches of the Anabaptists So Called. (London, 1657).
- Equal Ballance Robert Wastfield, An Equal Ballance: Wherein The Ministers and Churches of the Anabaptists (so called) are truly weighed... (London, 1659). The author's name appears spelled as Wastfeild on the title page.
- F.P.T. The First Publishers of Truth. ed. Norman Penney. (London, 1907). J.F.H.S., Supplements Nos. 1-5.
- Flashes William Sedgwick, Some Flashes of Lightnings of the Sonne of Man. Being the substance of Eleven Sermons upon severall texts, preached in London. (London, 1648). 1822 edition used.
- Font Guarded Thomas Hall, The Font Guarded with xx Arguments. Containing a Compendium of that great Controversie of Infant-Baptism... (London, 1652).
- Gangraena Thomas Edwards, Gangraena: Or a Catalog and Discovery of many of the Errours, Heresies, Blasphemies, and pernicious Practices of the Sectaries of this time. (London, 1646).

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- Gardiner, Const. Doc. S. R. Gardiner, ed. The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution 1625-1660. (3rd edn. rev., Oxford, 1968).
- Great Rebellion Ivan Roots, The Great Rebellion 1642-1660. (London, 1966).
- H.M.P.E.C. The Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church.
- H.T.R. Harvard Theological Review.
- Inquisition (William Sedgwick), Inquisition for the Blood of our Late Sovereign, In an Humble Adresse to His Most Sacred Majesty. (London, 1660).
- Interregnum The Interregnum: The Quest for Settlement 1646-1660, ed. by G. E. Aylmer. (London, 1972).
- J.E.H. Journal of Ecclesiastical History.
- J.F.H.S. Journal of the Friends' Historical Society.
- J.H.I. Journal of the History of Ideas.
- J.T.S. Journal of Theological Studies, n. s.
- Journal The Journal of George Fox. A revised edition by John L. Nickalls. (Cambridge, 1952).
- Journal(Penney) The Journal of George Fox. ed. Norman Penney. (Cambridge, 1911) ii vols.
- Justice William Sedgwick, Justice upon the Armie Remonstrance or a rebuke of that evil spirit that leads them in their Counsels and Actions. With a Discovery of the contrariety and enmity in their waies, to the good spirit and minde of God. (London, 1649).

Lawfull Preacher

John Ferriby, The Lawfull Preacher, Or a short Discourse: Shewing, That they only ought to preach who are ordained Ministers...As also, the Pulpit-Guard-Relieved: ... (London, 1652).

Leaves

William Sedgwick, The Leaves of the Tree of Life: For the healing of the Nations. Opening all the wounds of this Kingdome, and of every party, and applying a remedy to them: By which we come to a right understanding between King and Parliament. A universal agreement and peace on all sides, and the Kingdom restored and settled upon a sure and unmoveable Foundation. (London, 1648).

Letter

Mr. William Sedgwicks Letter to his Excellency Thomas Lord Fairfax, Generall of the Parliaments Forces. In prosecution of his Answer to the Remonstrance of the Army. (-----, 1649).

Lumpkin, Confessions

William L. Lumpkin, Baptist Confessions of Faith (rev. edn. Valley Forge, 1969), orig. publ. 1958.

M.Q.R.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review.

Madman

William Sedgwick, The Spiritual Madman, or A Prophecie Concerning The King, the Parliament, London, the Army; of the admirable fulnesse, and completeness, of the restauration, and satisfaction of all Interests. (-----, 1648).

McAlpin

Catalogue of the McAlpin Collection of British History and Theology. Compiled and Edited by Charles Ripley Gillette. (New York, 1927-30). v vols.

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W. J. McGlothlin, Baptist Confessions of Faith. (London, 1908).

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G. Lyon Turner, Transcriber and editor, Original Records of Early Nonconformity Under Persecution and Indulgence. (London, 1911-14). iii vols.

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William Sedgwick, Scripture a Perfect Rule for Church-Government, Delivered in a Sermon at Margarets Westminster, before sundry of the House of Commons. (London, n. d.).

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Charles Firth and Godfrey Davies, The Regimental History of Cromwell's Army. (Oxford, 1940). ii vols.

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William A. Shaw, A History of the English Church During the Civil Wars and Under the Commonwealth 1640-1660. (London, 1900), ii vols.

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- Somerset, or near adjacent, who do steadfastly deny the Doctrine of Antinomianism, and Personal Reprobation, & c. (London, 1691).
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- T.C.H.S. Congregational Historical Society, Transactions.
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Ted LeRoy Underwood, 'The Controversy Between the Baptists and the Quakers in England 1650-1689: a theological elucidation'. (University of London Ph.D. thesis, 1965).

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A. C. Underwood, A History of English Baptists. (London, 1970), 1st publ. 1947. (1970 ed. used).

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Nehemiah Cox, Vindiciæ Veritatis, Or a Confutation of the Heresies and Gross Errours Asserted by Thomas Collier in His Additional Word to His Body of Divinity. (London, 1677).

Westminster Confession

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White, 'Doctrine'

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- Whitley, Cal. & Evangl.
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- Wing
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- Word
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Young & Holmes

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Zion

William Sedgwick, Zions Deliverance and Her Friends Duty: or The Grounds of Expecting, and Meanes of Procuring Jerusalem Restauration. In a Sermon Preached at a Publicke Fast, Before the Honourable House of Commons. (London, 1642). 1642 edn. used; 1643 edn. has different pagination. 1642 edn. dated 29th June.

INTRODUCTION

During the fourth and fifth decades of the seventeenth century Englishmen experienced a cataclysmic upheaval in practically every area of their social, economic, political, and religious life. Over this twenty year span the fabric of society had been stretched, subjected to severe wear, and in some instances rent asunder. Yet in 1660 the Great Britain that had become to some 'the island of Great Bedlam' had survived its catharsis and had emerged seemingly intact with its restored monarchy securely on the throne.¹ However, not only had the fabric been mended and repaired, but threads of new and different materials had been added and the weave, texture, and composition of the tapestry of society had changed significantly.

Amidst the turmoil of seventeenth century England new classes of men expressed their views, influenced events, and made their entrance on the stage of history. Their preachers had stressed the individual's responsibility (and right) to work out his own salvation and relationship to God. These men heeded the pulpit exhortations and sought to 'work out' their salvation and to 'make' their 'calling and election sure'.² The call for personal experience of God was part of the very essence of the 'protestant proclamation' and men in responding to it were nerved to creative thought and resolute action by their resulting

¹Christopher Hill, The World Turned Upside Down (London, 1972), p. 223, quoting W. Erbery, The Mad Mans Plea, p. 8.

²Phil. ii. 12 and II Pet. i. 10. Throughout this study the Authorized Version is used unless otherwise noted.

experience.¹

When the turmoil of civil strife furnished them an opportunity, these men, emboldened by their personal religious convictions, encouraged by appeals for their support, and enabled by the breakdown of effective control and censorship, made their presence felt. Men who had previously lived, thought, and ruminated over their Bibles in obscurity while deferring to their 'betters', now vigorously began to preach sermons, write pamphlets, and offer their own interpretations of Scripture. Furthermore, they not only participated in events, but their thoughts, arguments, actions, and justifications survived in records and in print to an unprecedented extent. The historian is thus able in his attempt to understand and interpret, to peer more deeply into the infrastructure of seventeenth century society than in any previous era.

Biographical Approach

The goal of this study is to attempt to anchor one such man, Thomas Collier, within the changing landscape of Civil War, Commonwealth, Protectorate, and Restoration. Through a detailed examination and analysis of Collier's career and writings it is the hope of this study to illustrate the formulation, elucidation, and evolution of English Particular Baptist thought during this period. Since recent trends in historical and theological studies have often tended to regard the biographical approach somewhat lightly, it is necessary to explain the reason for focusing on an individual and for selecting

¹Hans J. Hillerbrand, ed. The Protestant Reformation(London, 1968), p. xxiii.

Thomas Collier in particular.¹

It is the conviction of this study that careful examination of one man, and his interaction with his society and with the views and opinions of his contemporaries, can be of value in understanding the historical and theological development of this period. For example, a biographical approach enables one to test the generalizations postulated by interpretive or thematic studies by examining to what extent they do or do not apply to the individual under scrutiny.² Also, a biographical study can help to dispel the all too persistent assumption among some interpreters of the period that if a man espoused a political or theological position at a particular time that he probably maintained that stance throughout his life. Men's minds were often changing in these years as they believed they received new illumination from above or as they began to perceive the profound social and political implications of some of their beliefs.

Limitations of Scope and Subject

It is also necessary to ask first, why study Thomas Collier? Secondly, why select 1644 and 1691 as the beginning and terminal dates

¹Two notable recent exceptions are Christopher Hill, God's Englishman. Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution(London, 1970) and Robert R. Orr. Reason and Authority. The Thought of William Chillingworth(Oxford, 1967).

²One example of such a comparison is provided by B. R. White, 'John Pendarves, the Calvinistic Baptists and the Fifth Monarchy', B.Q. xxv(1973-74), 251-71. This article suggests a need for some revision (in the light of an examination of the views of Pendarves) of Capp's conception of Fifth Monarchists as men primarily advocating violent overthrow of the government for millenarian reasons. Capp's view that numerous congregations existed consisting of Fifth Monarchists only is also called into question(p. 251 ff.).

for the study? Third, why restrict the study mainly to 'Particular' Baptists as opposed to all Baptist groups of the period or even to all the major sectarian groups?

Thomas Collier has long been a neglected figure in the study of the Baptist and sectarian role in seventeenth century English history and theology.¹ Collier, whose career encompasses the entire period under consideration, was an active and influential Particular Baptist preacher and controversialist.² A prolific and popular writer, Collier

¹Cf. Chapter I for a biographical survey of Collier's life and career. Collier's importance has been noted in the past and appeals have been made for a more detailed examination of his life and career. In its initial volume the T.B.H.S. cited the importance of Collier and made a plea for someone to produce a study of his career, cf. [W. T. Whitley], 'Notes and Queries', T.B.H.S., i(1908-10), 221-22. Cf. Bibliography under Whitley concerning attribution of this and similar articles to Whitley. Over half a century later, one of the most eminent scholars in the field of seventeenth century theological research stated of Collier: 'A full study of this many-sided man is much to be desired'. (Geoffrey F. Nuttall, 'The Baptist Western Association 1653-1658', J.E.H., xi(1960), 213 n. 1), hereafter cited as Nuttall, 'West. Assoc.'. Another interpreter of the period, Dr. B. S. Capp, has expressed approval of a study of Collier and commented that he felt it 'should prove a rewarding subject'. (Private communication from B. S. Capp, 11 February 1975).

²1644 is cited as the beginning date for the thesis for two primary reasons. First, the publication of the Particular Baptist Confession (1644) marked that year as one of absolutely crucial importance for Particular Baptists since this confession set 'the doctrinal standard for the first period of their expansion which closed with the Restoration'. (White, 'Doctrine', 570).

Second, the first firm date that can be connected with Thomas Collier is given by Luke Howard in A Looking-Glass for Baptists (London, 1672). The edition of Howard's work cited in this study is from a posthumously published collection of his writings, Love and Truth in Plainness Manifested (London, 1704). For Howard, cf. L. V. Hodgkin, The Shoemaker of Dover: Luke Howard 1621-1699 (London, 1943). In A Looking-Glass Howard refers to Particular Baptists and says that in 1643-44 they 'began to have an Entrance into Kent'. (p.107). He goes on to mention 'Kiffin, Patience, Spillman and Colyer' (p.108) within a context (pp.107-108) which seems to indicate that by 1644 at the latest Thomas Collier [His name was on occasion rendered as 'Colyer' (cf. title page of his Certaine Queries)] was recognized as a Particular

also played a vital role in the origin and development of the organisational structure of Particular Baptist association life. Residing in Somerset and Wiltshire from mid-century until his death(circa 1691), Collier travelled extensively in the western counties of England, preaching, disputing, and founding churches.¹

Baptist. Cf. also Geoffrey F. Nuttall, 'Dissenting Churches in Kent before 1700', J.E.H., xiv(1963), 181-85, hereafter cited as Nuttall, 'Dissenting Churches'.

¹Although the evidence concerning the year of Collier's death is somewhat ambiguous, 1691 was selected as the terminal date for the thesis since it is the date long associated with Collier's last published work, Self-Denial(cf. Appendix A, #17). In addition, a Short Confession, which was published with Self-Denial and was viewed as a companion to it(cf. Prefatory note 'To the Reader', A Doctrinal Discourse), also bears the date 1691 on its title page. This confession is of no small importance since it shows the theological stance of many of the Particular Baptist churches in the West Country at the end of Collier's career.

The author of Self-Denial's prefatory note 'To the Reader' explained that the manuscript had been delivered to him 'by the Author... but a day or two before he dyed'. While the title page does give 1691 as the date of publication, it is listed in The Term Cat. as being published in 'Michaelmas Term, 1690'(Term Cat., ii, 329, 331). Also, the author of the above mentioned prefatory note states that he at first intended to keep the manuscript for his 'own private use' and only upon 'serious consideration' of its value decided 'to bring it forth to publick View'. Taken together, these facts call into serious question whether Collier did in fact die in 1691. The evidence of the Term Cat. suggests that the book may have been published in 1690 and since it was so late in the year 1691 was placed on the title page. In addition, although the length of time consumed by 'serious consideration' is not specified, it certainly suggests a gap of undetermined length between Collier's death and the decision to publish. It thus seems probable, in the lack of contradictory evidence, that Thomas Collier died in 1690. Although a diligent search has been undertaken, it seems that Collier either did not leave a will or it is no longer extant.

This evidence requires the revision of some statements that have been made about the date of Collier's death. W. T. Whitley suggests at one point that Collier had died at least by the time the Particular Baptists issued their call for what became the General Assembly of 1689 and perhaps even earlier, if his reference to the reprint of the Confession(1677) is to the 1688 edition(Whitley, Cal. & Evangl. pp. 23-4). Cf. McGlothlin, Bapt. Conf., pp.217-18 concerning the 1688 ed. of this confession. However, in another work Whitley refers to Collier as having died in 1692(Whitley, Hist. Brit. Bapts., p.162). Thompson

There are several reasons why the study of Collier may be used to illustrate the doctrinal development mainly of Particular Baptists rather than being contrasted and compared with more broad groupings.¹ In the course of the study of Collier's background and career it became necessary to refine and further limit the scope of the study as more and more relevant material surfaced.² Having decided that the research suggested a further restriction of the subject, the logical choice was the Baptist group with which Collier identified himself. In fact, investigations indicated that a careful study of Collier within the context of his fellow Particular Baptists would provide a more than ample subject for examination.

In addition to the above considerations, there were several compelling arguments for restricting the major research to Particular Baptists. By far the two most important groups of Baptists in terms of

Cooper's article on Collier(D.N.B., iv, 810-11) suggests that it was 'probable' that Collier 'was living in 1691, when the last of his numerous publications came from the press'.(p.811).

¹Part of the aim of this study is to attempt to employ the method mentioned above(p.2) in relation to biographical studies. It is hoped that the life and career of Collier will furnish a body of material with which some of the historical assumptions about the theological homogeneity of Particular Baptists between 1644-91 can be contrasted and compared. In other words, does an examination of a significant Particular Baptist leader such as Collier confirm(or suggest revision of) the view that the Particular Baptists were orthodox Calvinists who differed from the majority of English Calvinists on matters of baptism and ecclesiology?

²Having begun by planning to study Collier in relation to English sectaries, research soon forced further refinement of the subject to be considered. In light of space limitations(as well as the amount of material involved) either the subject or the time period to be covered had to be narrowed. The conclusion was reached that restricting the time period would unnaturally truncate the study(ending well before Collier's death) and nullify the attempt to trace the development and shifting emphases of the theology of Collier and his contemporaries as they interacted with changing conditions.

numbers and influence during the period were the 'Calvinistic' Particular Baptists and the more 'Arminian' General Baptists.¹ The Particular and the General Baptists of seventeenth century England arose from dissimilar origins and espoused 'conflicting theologies'.² The two groups appear to have had meagre on-going contact with one another.³ Furthermore, they flourished in different areas of the realm.

The older General Baptists, who were to trace their beginnings to the congregation led by John Smyth and Thomas Helwys in Amsterdam in 1609, were numerous in Kent and Sussex and in the East Midlands and Buckinghamshire. The Particular or Calvinistic Baptists, who seem to have developed at first from the rigorist wing of an illegal Independent congregation meeting in the suburbs of London in the 1630's, made most headway in the countries to the west of London, in South Wales, among the protestants of Ireland and in the north.⁴

The story of the beginnings and early development of the General and Particular Baptists up to 1644 is beyond the aim and scope of the

¹It has been noted that when attention is focused on the Particular rather than the General Baptists one moves 'from an Arminian backwater into something nearer the mainstream of Puritan theology'. (White, 'Frontiers', 247). Other groups, such as Seventh Day Baptists, are not dealt with unless they bear a direct relation to a specific part of the study. Cf. W. T. Whitley, 'Seventh Day Baptists in England', B.Q., xii (1946-48), 252-58 and White, 'Frontiers', 251-52. Thomas Collier wrote against seventh day views in The Seventh day Sabbath.

²Glen H. Stassen, 'Anabaptist Influence in the Origin of the Particular Baptists', M.Q.R., xxxvi (1962), 322; Nuttall, 'Dissenting Churches', 185; Underwood, Hist. Engl. Bapts., p.56. It has been pointed out, however, in White, 'Eng. Part. Bapts.', that there were significant similarities as well such as belief in believer's baptism, the ecclesiological concept of the 'gathered community', an evangelistic emphasis, and attempts to initiate and maintain 'intercongregational organizations'. (p.16).

³Nuttall, 'Dissenting Churches', 185; White, 'Eng. Part. Bapts.', 96, and Whitley, Hist. Brit. Bapts., p.87.

⁴White, 'Eng. Gen. Bapts.', 16.

present study and has been amply surveyed by numerous scholars. Consequently, it is not dealt with further here.¹

London, the spawning ground for both groups, was the one area where significant numbers of General and Particular Baptists existed in close proximity to one another. The increased awareness produced by such proximity led the Particular Baptists partially to define their theological stance over against the General Baptists. During this period both groups vigorously defended themselves against the aspersion of being called Anabaptists. However, since the early years of the reign of King James I the General Baptists had been proclaiming a message much more closely akin to Arminian doctrines than the

¹Cf. Burrage, ii vols., for valuable information and documents on both groups. For the General Baptists cf. Underwood, Hist. Eng. Bapts., pp.33-35; Robert G. Torbet, A History of the Baptists, (rev. edn., Valley Forge, Pa., 1963) pp.33-40; Whitley, Hist. Brit. Bapts., pp. 17-58, and Ray E. Walker, 'The English General Baptists 1640-1660', (University of Manchester Ph. D. thesis, 1969), pp.17-35. For the later period(circa 1640 onward) cf. Walker, ibid., pp.36-201; White, 'Eng. Gen. Bapts.', and W. T. Whitley, ed. Minutes of the General Assembly of the General Baptist Churches in England, with Kindred Records. (London, 1909-10), ii vols.

For the Particular Baptists cf. Underwood, op.cit., pp.56-62 and Torbet, op.cit., pp.40-43. The Particular Baptists' story prior to 1644 'is a great deal more difficult to reconstruct in detail than the authors of Baptist textbooks have normally been prepared explicitly to acknowledge'(B.R. White, 'How Did Kiffin Join the Baptists?', B.Q., xxiii(1969-70), 201.). However, a detailed reconstruction of the story is undertaken in B. R. White, 'Baptist Beginnings and the Kiffin Manuscript', Bapt. Hist. & Her., ii(1967), 27-37. This account is based closely upon the primary source traditionally known as the 'Kiffin Manuscript' which is reprinted(with extensive critical commentary) in the article(29-34). The question of authorship of this primary source is examined in B. R. White, 'Who Really Wrote the "Kiffin Manuscript"?', Bapt. Hist. & Her., i(1966), 3-10, 14.

Particular Baptist teachings in their Confession of 1644.¹ In fact, one major impetus to the production of the 1644 Confession was probably an attempt by the Particular Baptists to distinguish themselves in the minds of non-Baptists from the General Baptists.² In light of their differing origins and diverging geographical and theological development, it is certainly advisable to examine the different seventeenth century Baptist groups singly rather than en masse.³

In thus delineating the distinctives of Particular Baptists both in relation to other Baptists and to the wider theological spectrum, caution must be exercised to avoid viewing the still young and developing sects through the spectacles of later denominationalism. Historians have too often tended to perceive 'sharper lines of division than consciously existed'⁴ and 'to read back later beliefs into the 1640's and

¹White, 'Eng. Gen. Bapts.', p.16.

²White, 'Doctrine', 571 and 571n.

³B. R. White, 'The Calvinistic Baptists and the State 1644-1660', Address delivered to the Ecclesiastical History Society meeting in York, August, 1974, (Unpublished typescript), p.1. An example of how even a significant study can be flawed by not distinguishing clearly between General and Particular Baptists is Hugh Wamble, 'The Beginning of Associationalism Among English Baptists', Rev. & Expos., xiv(1957), 54. Of course modern historians are not alone in having sometimes confused the two. Many of their seventeenth century contemporaries (friends and enemies) tended to confuse the two groups or to link them both as 'Anabaptists'. (Cf. White, 'Eng. Part. Bapts.', 16; White, 'Eng. Gen. Bapts.', 16-17). Cf. Glen H. Stassen, 'Anabaptist Influence', 322-23 concerning his claim that historians for too long have given disproportionate emphasis to the General Baptists and for his enumeration of his reasons for feeling that 'the historical spotlight should shift to the Particular Baptists' (p.322).

⁴Christopher Hill, 'History and Denominational History', B.Q. xxii (1967-68), 66.

50's'.¹ A conscious effort must be made to grasp the startling fluidity of the situation and the often hazy lines of demarcation among the various sectarian groups. One goal throughout this study will be an attempt to understand both Collier and the Particular Baptists in relation to this larger historical and theological milieu which was part of the warp and woof of their lives.

The Anabaptist Connection

Whether or not there are significant Anabaptist influences upon the origins of the General and Particular Baptists of seventeenth century England is a question beyond this present study's scope and outside its chronological limits. And yet, it is a question which has aroused so much controversy that the major issues and literature must be at least briefly surveyed.

The various scholarly opinions concerning the amount of influence Continental Anabaptists exercised over Early English Baptists can be basically divided into several groups. The categories of sectarian, Puritan, and Anabaptist schools outlined by Dr. Durnbaugh in discussing 'Theories of Free Church Origins' adequately comprehend the different views that have been expressed on the problem.² The sectarian or 'successionist' view attempts to discern an 'apostolic succession' of

¹Christopher Hill, The World Turned Upside Down, p.12.

²Donald F. Durnbaugh, The Believer's Church. The History and Character of Radical Protestantism(New York, 1968), pp.8-22. Robert G. Torbet, op.cit., pp.18ff. gives roughly similar categories. For a devastating critique of Torbet's presentation of this question cf. B. R. White, 'The Task of a Baptist Historian', B.Q., xxii(1967-68), 404-06.

true churches from the days of the New Testament to the present.¹ The 'Puritan School' argues that the origin of the free churches (including Baptists) can be located within an English Puritanism which includes Separatism.² The 'Anabaptist School' however, claims 'that the theological ideas and claims enunciated by the Anabaptists were transferred to England where the political developments of the Commonwealth period allowed their flowering within the left wing of Puritanism'.³

The problem concerning the evidence of Anabaptist influence on English Baptists is that any connection was vehemently denied by Baptists of the seventeenth century.⁴ 'Anabaptist' was one of the century's most extreme theological expletives. The word immediately conjured up visions of anarchy, immorality, Thomas Muntzer, Zwickau and the debacle at Munster.⁵ Baptist historians have hotly debated

¹Durnbaugh, The Believer's Church, pp.9-16. Cf. W. Morgan Patterson, Baptist Successionism: A Critical View (Valley Forge, Pa., 1969), for a critical examination of the unscholarly and unhistorical nature of this view.

²Durnbaugh, The Believer's Church, pp.16-18.

³Ibid., pp.18-22. Durnbaugh sympathizes with this view. This viewpoint brings him into conflict with G. F. Nuttall concerning the origins of the Quakers, cf. G. F. Nuttall, The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience (2nd edn., Oxford, 1947), pp.viii, 13-14, Hereafter cited as Nuttall, Holy Spirit. Cf. also Chapter II pp. 74 ff. infra.

⁴James D. Mosteller, 'Baptists and Anabaptists', The Chronicle, xx(1957), 5.

⁵For background of Muntzer and Zwickau and the Anabaptists at Munster cf. Guenter Lewy, Religion and Revolution (New York, 1974), pp. 110-129. A significant work in generating interest in Anabaptist theology has been Franklin H. Littell, The Anabaptist View of the View of the Church. A Study in the Origins of Sectarian Protestantism, (Second edn. rev. and enlarg., Boston, 1958), org. publ. 1952. Cf. Chapter III, for examples of the use of the Anabaptist label in a perjorative sense by Hall and others and Collier's reply.

this issue over the past few years and two of the most formidable spokesmen for their respective positions have been Dr. E. A. Payne and Dr. W. S. Hudson.¹ Their exchange of articles illustrates most of the issues concerned in the debate.²

Until further evidence is uncovered all that can be said with any degree of certainty is that there is a clear debt owed by both General and Particular Baptists to the English Separatist tradition.³ That

¹In several articles and books Dr. Payne argues for Continental Anabaptist influence upon English Baptists. Cf. Ernest A. Payne's The Anabaptists of the 16th Century, (London, 1949); The Fellowship of Believers, (enlarg. edn., London, 1952), orig. publ. 1944, pp.16-17; 'Contacts Between Mennonites and Baptists', Foundations, iv(1961), 39-55. Cf. below note 2 for Dr. Hudson.

²Winthrop S. Hudson, 'Who Were the Baptists?', B.Q., xvi(1955-56), 303-12; Ernest A. Payne, 'Who Were the Baptists?', B.Q., xvi(1955-56, 339-42; Winthrop S. Hudson, 'Who Were the Baptists(II)?', B.Q., xvii(1957-58), 55-60. Burrage, and Whitley, Hist. Brit. Bapts., pp.17, 45-58 are earlier examples of disavowal of any significant Anabaptist influence. Three more recent articles elucidate some of the main issues from differing perspectives. Lonnie D. Kliever in 'General Baptist Origins: The Question of Anabaptist Influence', M.Q.R., xxxvi(1962), 291-321, concludes that 'the essential theological tradition as well as the distinctive features of early General Baptists are accounted for by their English Puritan Separatist background'(321). Glen H. Stassen in 'Anabaptist Influence in the Origin of the Particular Baptists', M.Q.R., xxxvi(1962), 322-48 suggests an influence by Menno Simons' Foundation-Book and concludes that the 'Baptists were firmly rooted in nonseparatist Congregational Calvinism. The separatist, anthropocentric, and other currents in Menno which would have pulled up their roots did not effect the Baptists. But the peculiar Baptist bent is the result of a fresh breeze from Holland'(348). Cf. White, 'Doctrine', 580 concerning an evaluation of Stassen's argument. Donald Durnbaugh in 'Baptists and Quakers - Left Wing Puritans?', Q.H., xii(1973), 67-82 returns to the subject examined in The Believer's Church and questions the view that the rise of Baptists and Quakers can be ascribed to factors within the Puritan tradition. Kliever and Durnbaugh both provide detailed summaries of the literature involved in the debate.

³B. R. White, 'The Task of a Baptist Historian', 404-05, suggests that the question now is 'whether any other additional influence played a significant part' in the development of Baptists(405). In White, 'Doctrine', he also stresses that the Particular Baptists were 'heirs

tradition has been clearly defined, its important influence revealed, and the question of Anabaptist influence addressed.¹ When men are seeking their inspiration and ideas from the same source (in this case the New Testament) it can never automatically be assumed that when similar development occurs that interaction has taken place. Consequently, when developments within English Separatism and Baptist life can be logically explained within the context of the application of their principles to Scripture, then the onus of proof lies upon those who would affirm that the European Anabaptists had any measurable influence.²

Methodology

Both historical and theological factors must be considered in seeking to achieve the goal of this study. Therefore, an attempt is made to examine at least briefly the most crucial historiographical questions as the subjects with which they are concerned arise in the various chapters. An effort is made in the first chapter to give a survey of Collier's career and to place his writing in proper historical and theological context. Having briefly sketched his personal and theological background, attention is focused in chapters two thru five on a discussion of the controversies which engaged Collier's attentions and energies from the Civil War years until the

of the English Separatist tradition' (590) in refuting attempts by others to explain Particular Baptist ecclesiological development solely in non-Separatist terms (590n), cf. also B. R. White, The English Separatist Tradition (Oxford, 1971), pp. 164-69.

¹ White, The English Separatist Tradition, pp. 160-64.

² Ibid., p. 164.

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Restoration. His major pre-Restoration controversies are analysed before a systematic examination of his theology is undertaken because it is felt that only in this way can his thought be accurately perceived.

The seventeenth century was the great age of the controversialist. During these years men debated issues which were not only of tremendous immediate import, but also, many believed, of eternal spiritual consequence as well. Many men, like Collier, were not university-trained in formal methods of thought and in the ordered presentation of arguments. Freed to speak and write, and stimulated by intoxicating and unprecedented events, such men did not produce well-balanced, internally consistent, systematic theological treatises. In response to particular issues, in relation to specific circumstances, and under pressure for swift reply, they penned hard-hitting, partisan pieces written with an intent to flay opponents, encourage friends and convince the uncertain.

¹Two methodological decisions have been taken:

(i) Concerning Collier's controversies, more emphasis is given to historical background when historical questions are at issue and more attention is given to theological background when religious questions are the subject of debate. For example, attention is focused on historical questions in the Army Remonstrance controversy (chapter two) and on theological questions in discussing the ordination controversy (chapter three). It is of course never possible to divorce completely political and religious issues in this pre-secular era.

(ii) In seeking to understand the various issues germane to the study of Collier and the Particular Baptists an attempt is made to reconstruct a more complete story in areas where less study has been undertaken by others. However, subjects where more background is provided by reliable secondary sources are given comparatively less emphasis. Where primary materials make it possible, this holds true for individuals as well. For example, comparatively more space is given in this study to reconstructing the life of Thomas Hall than to someone like George Fox or James Nayler, not because he is more important, but because much less is available concerning him.

Consequently, if the theology of men like Collier is to be properly understood, it is essential that as much of the Sitz im Leben of each controversy be reconstructed as is possible. Since Collier's theology was hammered out in the heat of theological controversy and revolutionary change, it must first be seen in its controversial aspects before being analysed systematically in subsequent chapters.

The story of Collier's controversies is followed by a brief survey (chapter six) of the changed religious picture brought about by the Restoration and the Clarendon Code. Against this radically altered background Collier's developing theological controversies with the Particular Baptist leaders of London and elsewhere are examined. Having discussed the formulation and development of Collier's theology in controversy and change amidst a shifting political and religious environment, an attempt is made to analyse his thought systematically in chapters seven thru nine.

I. THOMAS COLLIER: BIOGRAPHICAL OUTLINES

As noted earlier, various students of the period have recognized Thomas Collier's significance as an important leader among seventeenth century English Particular Baptists.¹ And yet, despite having written or edited thirty-seven known works of which thirty-three are extant, Collier has remained an elusive and enigmatic figure. One major reason has been the paucity of information available concerning Collier's personal background.² Consequently, an attempt is made at this point to rectify this situation by providing a sketch of Collier's life and career employing material apparently not utilized by writers previously.

It must be understood, however, that much of what can be reconstructed about Thomas Collier's life must remain tentative. This was the first century in which significant numbers of men such as Collier without wealth, social status, or university training, played a role

¹Cf. n. 2, pp.4-5 supra. In addition to Thompson Cooper's article on Collier in the D.N.B., iv, 810-811, there have been several scholars who have at least briefly examined Collier's life or certain aspects of his career. Collier and his views on toleration are discussed briefly by W. K. Jordan, The Development of Religious Toleration in England (London, 1932-1940), iii, 526-31. H. John McLachlan's 'Thomas Collier, a Seventeenth Century Religious Liberal', Unitarian Historical Society Transactions, x(1951-54), 1-5 sketches Collier's career and alludes to a movement by Collier in later years 'in the direction of Christian rationalism'.(p.2). Collier's role in the formulation and development of the Western Association of Baptists is surveyed in Nuttall, 'West. Assoc.' and the light shed on his early career by Thomas Edwards is examined in White, 'Collier and Gengraena', Leo F. Solt's Saints in Arms(London, 1959) analyses Collier's thought in relation to the New Model Army's chaplains.

²Cf. Appendix A for a critical bibliography of Collier's works. Another reason for the comparative lack of knowledge concerning Collier is the rarity of many of his works.

in their society which would make them the subjects of study three centuries hence. As a consequence of the increasing breakdown of censorship and the inevitable physical dislocation occasioned by armed warfare, many men were exposed for the first time to a wider world than that of their native county with its essentially hierarchial social structure.

While freed to travel, preach, write, and actively influence national affairs, the 'common man' was still among the poorer segment of the population.¹ Thus, he did not bequeath to posterity the deposit of papers and records that were the usual legacy of those above him in the social strata. While more material has survived from this segment of English society than in any previous era, maddening gaps often remain in the record. This has seldom proved to be more true than among those such as Collier, who have identified themselves as Baptists.

It has been a special privilege given to the Baptists, more than to any other body of Christians of comparable size, to preach the gospel to the poor. For the most part the poor leave no written traces of their lines. The historian is often baffled when he seeks to reconstruct what they have said and done.²

A Somerset Man

There has been too ready an identification of Thomas Collier the Baptist with a namesake from Surrey reported in 1634-5 for refusing to

¹Cf. C. V. Wedgwood, 'The Common Man in the Civil War' in Truth and Opinion (London, 1960), pp.222-48 for a most helpful account of the impact of the war on the world of the 'common man'.

²Kenneth S. Latourette, introduction to Robert G. Torbet, op.cit., p.8.

pay taxes.¹ It can be stated with a great degree of certainty that Thomas Collier was a native of the County of Somerset. In the midst of a dispute in which he became embroiled in 1676 Collier stated that Somerset was 'his native and proper habitation'.² This statement is amplified by an investigation of the incomplete records for the village and parish of Westbury, which reveal several possibilities. A survey of the Manor of Westbury in 1634 reveals two Thomas Colliers, one age 60 and another age 21.³ The elder Collier is in all likelihood to be identified with 'Thomas Collier the eldest' who is listed in 1636 as 'buried the second day of May'.⁴ The younger Collier, if age 21 in 1634, would have been born in 1613. No entry for that year records his birth, but that is perhaps best explained by the sketchy character of the surviving records.⁵ There is also an entry in the parish

¹White, 'Collier and Gangraena', 107 n., with reference to D.N.B., iv, 810.

²Narrative, p.4. Cf. Appendix A, #4 concerning this rare tract which is of such importance as a source of information concerning Collier's life and career. Collier is identified with Westbury in 1648(Appendix B) and 1651(Heads and Substance, title page). Underdown, accepting the identification of Collier as a Westbury native, describes him as 'from Westbury-sub-Mendip'(Somerset, p.146).

³'The Survey of the Manor of Westbury', 1634, MS. DD/CC 13324, Somerset Record Office, Taunton.

⁴Bishop's Transcripts of Westbury Parish Register(Incomplete copies of original parish documents no longer extant) in 'Bishop's Transcripts prior to 1813, Marriages, Baptisms, Burials', MSS. D/D/Rr, Somerset Record Office, Taunton, hereafter cited as 'Westbury Parish Register'. The use of 'eldest' rather than elder could be taken to imply the existence of at least two other Thomas Colliers in the parish.

⁵It is not certain that the younger Collier was the son of Thomas the elder. The 'Westbury Parish Register' lists a Thomas Collier as having been born to Thomas Collier in 1611 and buried the next month. It is not probable that another child born to the father so soon afterward would be identically named, but it cannot automatically be dismissed.

register which records the baptism of Richard Collier's son Thomas on 7 March 1623/4.¹

While there are other Thomas Colliers mentioned in parish registers and probate records for Somerset and Wiltshire, unlike the two younger men mentioned above, none of them can be matched with the known dates and events which have been firmly identified with Thomas Collier Baptist leader, pamphleteer, and preacher-evangelist.² The information from the Westbury records, in conjunction with Collier's own testimony, suggests that in all probability the Thomas Collier who embarked in the early 1640's on a half century of ministry among the Baptists of the south and west of England was either born in 1613 or 1624 and married one 'Joane Collier' who bore him at least one child by 1640. While it is not impossible that a boy in his late teens could have

¹'Westbury Parish Register', translated from the Latin in which it is recorded. The entries in the register are recorded in Latin or English, varying from year to year. The register also records the baptism of Thomas and Joane Collier's daughter Sarah on 9 Aug. 1640. This could of course refer to either Thomas(born 1613) then age 29 or Thomas(born 1624) then age 16. It seems more probable however, that the reference is to the older of the two men.

²The records for the Somerset parish of Curry Mallet are replete with references to Colliers, including several named Thomas. There is an entry in the parish register for 1703 concerning the burial of 'Thomas Collier'. ('The Curry Mallet Parish Register' in the parish church, Curry Mallet, Somerset commences with the year 1682. Information before that date is taken from the Bishop's Transcripts for the parish, MSS. D/D/Rr, Somerset Record Office, Taunton.) Perhaps this was the same 'Thomas son of Richard and Julian Collier' recorded as baptized 6 June 1636. The possibility of kinship between the Colliers of Curry Mallet and the Colliers of Westbury must not be overlooked. Such a relationship would help to explain Collier's involvement with John Pyne of Curry Mallet in 1648-49.

wielded the influence attributed to Collier in the early 1640's,¹ it would have been improbable even in those extraordinary days. It is more likely that the Thomas Collier examined in this study was the Thomas Collier born in 1613, a farmer of rented land in 1634,² and married by at least 1639-40.³

It is important to know that Collier was from Somerset for several reasons. First, recent studies have illustrated the importance of local history in understanding the total historical setting within

¹Gangraena(ii), 148 and Gangraena(iii), 27-30, 41, 51-2.

²'The Survey of the Manor of Westbury', 1634, MS. DD/CC 13324, Somerset Record Office, Taunton, lists a Thomas Collier (age 21) and records £13:6 as the rent amount. Collier is described as 'a mechanicall fellow' by Edwards [Gangraena(ii), 48] and 'a worthy Minister in the West of England' referred to Collier as 'an illiterate Carter, or an Husbandman, (for so he is by his calling, I heare) though now by usurpation a Preacher' [Gangraena(iii), 40, 41]. This evidence from the Westbury survey possibly helps to clarify the problem of what exactly is intended by the use of such terms as 'husbandman', a question which is addressed by Richard T. Vann, The Social Development of English Quakerism 1655-1755, (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), pp. 63-66, cited in White, 'Collier and Gangraena', 107. Vann's designation of an individual who rented farmland sufficient to sustain agriculture as 'his principal livelihood' as 'a "farmer"' is followed here since the sum mentioned in connection with Collier would in all probability meet Vann's requirements. In addition to the materials cited by Vann (pp. 63-66) cf. Margaret Spufford, Contrasting Communities. English Villages in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (London, 1974), pp. 37-41, 44, 46-57 concerning this problem of the changing numbers and status of yeomen and husbandmen in sixteenth and seventeenth century Cambridge-shire.

³If this identification is accepted, Collier would have been approximately 77 at his death in 1690-91. While well above average longevity, survival to such an age was far from unknown in Collier's day. For example, Hanserd Knollys, the eminent Particular Baptist minister was over 90 at his demise and his colleague William Kiffin was in his 85th year at his death in 1701. Further, if the above identification is accepted, the comparative silence of his pen during the decade preceding his death as well as his absence from the Particular Baptist Assemblies of 1689 and 1690 can perhaps be explained by advancing age.

which decisions were made in seventeenth century England.¹ The village, the parish, and the county provided the focal point of life for most men in the still overwhelmingly rural, often isolated society of the England of that age.² When men of Collier's era spoke of their 'native country' they were referring not to England, but to Somerset, or Wiltshire, or Dorset.³ The unprecedented events of 1640-1660 helped to create a more national consciousness,⁴ but during this period 'it still required an effort to think in national terms' for most men.⁵

Another factor present during these years, a partial product of the prevailing provincialism, was a strong current of neutralism which sought to stop the war at the county borders.⁶ Underdown's conclusion, concerning Somerset, could to a large extent be applied to much of civil war and interregnum England:

¹Cf. A. Everitt's The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion, 1640-1660 (Leicester, 1966) and The Local Community and the Great Rebellion (Historical Association Pamphlet G70, 1969); Two of the more recent contributions are J. Morrill, Cheshire 1630-1660. County Government and Society during the English Revolution (London, 1974) M. Spufford, Contrasting Communities.

²Joan Parkes, Travel in England in the Seventeenth Century (Oxford, 1925), pp.1-4.

³Everitt, Local Community, p.22; Wedgwood, 'The Common Man', pp.33-4.

⁴Everitt, Community of Kent, pp.13, 16-17.

⁵Purge, p.24. Ad admonition against becoming too preoccupied with local matters is found in Christopher Hill, 'Recent Interpretations of the Civil War' in Puritanism and Revolution (London, 1958), pp.21-23.

⁶Great Rebellion, p.61. Cf. also Brian Manning, 'Neutrals and Neutralism in the English Civil War, 1642-1646' (Oxford University D. Phil. thesis, 1957).

The war had been fought between two minorities, struggling in a sea of neutralism and apathy. And the further down the scale we penetrate, the more neutralism and apathy we encounter.¹

Such local forces (varying in strength from county to county) must be remembered when dealing with men who successfully transcended such limitations. Thomas Collier, one of the committed, was propelled by that commitment and unprecedented times, onto a more 'national' stage of political and religious activity. To understand Collier one must seek to perceive him against the Somerset milieu in the years leading up to and including the Civil War and Interregnum.² It should be borne in mind in so doing however, that Collier and others like him, were somewhat atypical in that their commitment propelled them beyond provincialism and neutrality.

The studies of Barnes and Underdown provide a rich tapestry of

¹Somerset, p.117. Christopher Hill has vividly chronicled what is perceived as a decline of the cohesion provided by the medieval parish in Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England (London, 1969), pp.482-500. A call for revision of the concept of the unity of the parish in proto-Reformation England and Europe is made by John Bossy, 'Blood and Baptism: Kinship, Community and Christianity in Western Europe From the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries', pp. 129-43 in Sanctity and Secularity: The Church and the World, ed. Derek Baker (Studies in Church History, x, 1973).

²One question that arises in conjunction with Collier's Somerset background is the extent to which Collier's radical behaviour during the events leading up to the King's execution was influenced by one of the more radical county political leaders, John Pyne, who was the major force on Somerset's County Committee. Cf. Chapter II infra. While concerned with national issues, the expression of that concern could be coloured occasionally by the local situation.

life in Somerset during this period.¹ In the hierarchial society of pre-1640 England Somerset was typical of most counties both in the gentry's political power and the increasing hostility of that group to the centralizing encroachments of Archbishop Laud and the King.² By 1640 Somerset was 'united as never before' against the King who had so angered them economically, politically, and spiritually.³

A second reason why Collier's Somerset background is important is the varying religious complexion of England's counties and regions during this period. Somerset was not as staunchly puritan as some regions of the land (most notably East Anglia), but 'if by puritanism is meant bitter hatred of popery...attachment to the Calvinist protestantism of the Elizabethan church, and a dislike of Laudian ceremonial innovations, then Somerset was puritan'.⁴ The question of how and by what process Collier became 'a Master Sectarie'⁵ is not answered either in his writings or in surviving records.

It is known that there were radical dissenters or separatists 'in the west parts of England'⁶ near the end of the sixteenth century.

¹Thomas G. Barnes, Somerset 1625-1640 (Cambridge, Mass., 1961); Somerset.

²Somerset, pp.11-26.

³Ibid., p.24.

⁴Ibid., pp.21-22; D. Brunton and D. H. Pennington, Members of the Long Parliament (Cambridge, Mass. 1954), pp.130-131. For a discussion of the term 'puritan' cf. Chapter II, pp. 74-78 infra.

⁵Gangraena(iii), 29.

⁶Reeves, 100, citing F. Johnson, An Inquirie and Answer of Thomas White his Discoverie of Brownisme(1606), 2 and S.B. Stephen Bredwell, The Rasing of the Foundations of Brownisme(1588), p.iv.

Surviving marriage registers in Amsterdam for the years 1598-1617 contain the names of Englishmen residing in Holland and apart from Londoners, the largest numbers of people identified with a locality were from Wiltshire and Somerset.¹ This perhaps helps to explain the location by 1626 of five Baptist churches in England. These churches were in London, Lincoln, Sarum(Salisbury), Coventry, and Tiverton.² While it cannot be ignored that Baptist congregations were present in the West Country and that evidence to suggest that dissent was possibly as close to Collier as Wells and Taunton,³ such factors should not be overemphasized.

It is possible that Collier was influenced by the above, but two factors mitigate against the probability of such influence. First, the congregations were General Baptist in doctrinal persuasion whereas Collier was a Particular Baptist. Second, the evidence as it stands reveals that neither the Baptists nor radical dissent in general were numerically significant in the years prior to the civil war. Consequently, the burden of proof for connections between these groups and Collier must be on those positing it, and such proof has yet to be uncovered. Thus by unknown means and stages Collier emerged in the early years of the Civil War as 'a great Sectary in the West',⁴ and

¹'The Brownists in Amsterdam', T.C.H.S., ii(1905-06), 170-71.

²Whitley, Hist. Brit. Bapts., pp.46-49; Cf. Burrage, i, 257-73 and ii 233-57 concerning the background and documents respectively of the English Baptist Congregations and their correspondence with Holland.

³'The Brownists in Amsterdam', 165 and Whitley, Hist. Eng., Bapts., p.48.

⁴Gangraena(iii), 27.

'the first that sowed the seeds of Anabaptism'¹ in that region.

Collier's Early Career

Collier is first identified as a Particular Baptist while participating in one of their evangelistic tours in Kent(circa 1644).² Much later Collier stated that prior to returning to Somerset(circa 1651)³ he had been 'sometime a Member of a Church in London, of which Mr. Kiffin was then a member'.⁴ Further evidence of Collier's ties to the London Particular Baptists in this period is provided by Collier's Exaltation of Christ which appeared in April 1646 prefaced by an 'Epistle to the Reader' penned by Hanserd Knollys. Knollys exercised a leading role among the London Particular Baptists and was a signatory of the 1646 edition of their Confession(1644).⁵

The most valuable source of evidence concerning Collier's activities during these years is the staunch Presbyterian Thomas Edwards' Gangraena.⁶ Although Edwards made no effort to conceal his contempt for all that Collier represented, when his description of Collier and others can be checked against other sources he has been revealed to have 'dealt fairly, if unsympathetically, with his

¹Ibid., 41.

²Cf. p.4 n. supra.

³Cf. p.43-47. infra for a discussion of the evidence concerning the date of Collier's return to Somerset.

⁴Narrative, p.2.

⁵Cf. Pope A. Duncan, Hanserd Knollys: Seventeenth Century Baptist (Nashville, 1965) and B. R. White Hanserd Knollys and Radical Dissent in the 17th Century(Dr. Williams's Lecture, 1977).

⁶Gangraena(ii),148; Gangraena(iii), 27-30, 41, 51-2.

opponents activities and writings'.¹ Edwards spoke of Collier briefly in the spring of 1646 as possessing a reputation as a gifted preacher who 'goes about Surrey, Hampshire, and those Counties thereabouts, preaching and dipping'.²

This reference to Collier in Gangraena(ii) produced in response a letter from a West Country minister which Edwards published in December 1646.³ This letter disclosed that Collier had been expelled from Guernsey along with numerous followers for 'heresies and turbulent behaviour' and that he was later gaoled in Portsmouth.⁴ Edwards related that he had asked Collier about his banishment from Guernsey and that Collier 'could not deny it'.⁵ Presumably Edwards made this inquiry during a five hour 'conference' in which he and Collier discussed the subjects of the sabbath and baptism.⁶

Edwards printed two of Collier's letters which had been intercepted in route to their destination.⁷ The first letter was addressed 'To the Saints in the Order and fellowship of the Gospel in Taunton'

¹White, 'Collier and Gangraena', 107.

²Gangraena(ii), 148. Edwards further described Collier as having 'done much hurt in Limington [Lymington, Hampshire?], Hampton [Southampton?], Waltham [Bishop's Waltham, Hampshire?], and all along this Country' (Gangraena(iii), 39).

³Gangraena(iii), 40-41.

⁴Ibid., 41.

⁵Ibid., 29.

⁶Ibid., Edwards described Collier as 'a vain unruly taulker' and then explained his reticence about the details of the debate by stating enigmatically that 'some passages would have an ill reflex upon some men of note and power' (Gangraena(iii), 29).

⁷Gangraena(iii), 50-54.

and was signed by Collier from Guildford, 20 April 1646.¹ The second letter was addressed to the same church in Taunton, but to be delivered to 'William Heynton Buttler in the Castle at Taunton' and was dated 2 May, 1646 from London.²

In the letter from Guildford (where Edwards had recorded Collier as preaching previously)³ Collier mentioned that God had blessed his ministry by enabling him to convert fourteen people in 'Poole' who then 'took up the Ordinance at once'.⁴ Collier also 'confirmed the Churches in other places' and added that he had not reached London, but planned to do so the next day.⁵ In the second letter (from London) Collier delivered additional exhortation to the brethren and told them he was enclosing 'two Books' with the letter 'as a remembrance of my love'.⁶

¹Ibid., 51-52.

²Ibid., 52.

³Gangraena(ii), 148. Edwards referred to Collier's preaching to the congregation of an 'Independent Minister' and stated that this occurred approximately 'a fortnight agoe' [Gangraena(ii), 148]. This would place the Guildford episode inside the chronological limits of 26 Feb. and 28 May 1646 [the dates Thomason recorded his copies of Gangraena(i) and Gangraena(ii)].

⁴Gangraena(iii), 51. The ordinance to which Collier referred was undoubtedly baptism by immersion. The next evidence available concerning the work in Poole is supplied by George Fox's Journal where the conversion to Quaker views of 'William Bagly, a Baptist teacher' in 1655 is recorded (Journal, p.231). Cf. also Joseph Ivimey, A History of English Baptists (London, 1814), ii, 598-99, hereafter cited as Ivimey, History.

⁵Gangraena(iii), 51.

⁶Could one of the books possibly have been a first edition of Collier's Exaltation which was at the time Collier's most ambitious literary effort and which had been published within the last few days? (cf. Appendix A, #18 n.). Collier, evidently on the evangelistic campaign which is partially revealed in the two letters, was 'far

One other fact which has puzzled historians emerged from this early phase of Collier's ministry. The title page of Collier's third book, The Exaltation of Christ described Collier as 'sometimes Teacher to the Church in Yorke'.¹ No records for a Baptist church in York at such an early date have survived.² However, William Dewsbury, destined to become an important early Quaker figure, is said to have married a girl 'associated with the Anabaptists' shortly after the battle of Naseby (14 June 1645) and that the ceremony 'took place in their congregation in York'.³ It is also possible (in the light of Collier's having preached previously to an Independent congregation in Guildford) that the York church Collier occasionally taught was Independent rather than Baptist in persuasion.⁴

distant from the City' during the time when Exaltation was being printed and corrected (Hanserd Knollys, 'The Epistle to the Reader' to Exaltation, p.iii). Perhaps Collier, having finished the book, told the people in the churches of it and promised to send a copy (or copies) upon his return to London.

¹Exaltation, a devotional work, was very popular and went through four editions (cf. Appendix A, #18 n.). This is the only work to so describe Collier.

²B.Q., vi, (1932-33), 217 briefly noted information concerning the possibility of such a church and cited Arthur Rowntree, 'Quakerism on Moor and Wald', J.F.H.S. xxix (1932), 1-27.

³Rowntree, 'Quakerism', 4. Cf. also Edward Smith, The Life of William Dewsbury (London, 1836), pp.45-47. It is not possible to deduce from the context whether the congregation witnessing the ceremony was composed of the bride's Anabaptist associates, an Independent congregation, or some unspecified third alternative. Dewsbury did not become a Quaker until some 'five years later' during Fox's initial Yorkshire visit (Rowntree, 'Quakerism', 4).

⁴Cf. Gangraena (ii), 149; F. S. Popham, ed. A History of Christianity in Yorkshire (Wallington, 1954), pp.78-79; John Newton, 'The Yorkshire Puritan Movement 1603-1640', T.C.H.S., xix (1960-64), 3-17; and Claire Cross, 'Achieving the Millenium: the Church in York during the Commonwealth', 122-43 in The Province of York ed. G. J. Cuming (Studies in

Based on the available evidence, it is impossible to correlate with precision the date concerning Collier supplied by Edwards and the information connected with his affiliations to Particular Baptists. Although an exact chronology cannot be produced, the known facts do lend themselves to a plausible reconstruction.

The picture that emerges from the available data is that of an energetic, eloquent, and effective preacher-evangelist embarking on numerous evangelistic tours through the counties south and west of London with an occasional visit further afield. Baptizing converts¹ and forming them into churches as he moved from place to place, Collier had by 1646 already established the pattern of church planting and cultivation² which characterized his ministry for four decades after his return to his native Somerset. The influence and significance of this ministry is illustrated by the fact that near the conclusion of Collier's career in 1689 the Particular Baptists of England were heavily concentrated (aside from London) in 'Devon,

Church History, iv, 1967) concerning the background of Puritanism and Independency in York. Since neither of Collier's works published in 1645 (Certaine Queries and Three Great Queries) mention York, it is probable that Collier's contacts with York occurred in the latter half of 1645 or early 1646 [cf. Thomason's dates for Certaine Queries (24 July) and Exaltation (27 April 1646)].

¹Gangraena(ii), 148.

²There is abundant evidence from the letters published by Edwards, Collier's 'general epistles' (First General Epistle, Second General Epistle, Third General Epistle), and from his work in forming and guiding the association of Baptists in the West that Collier continued to manifest a pastoral concern for, and often visited, churches which he had previously founded.

Somerset, Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, and Berkshire.¹

Several factors indicate London as the most probable home base for Collier during this period, especially subsequent to the Guernsey and Portsmouth episodes. First, both Collier's known links with the London Particular Baptists and their evangelistic activity and his reference to membership with Kiffin in London point to that conclusion.² Second, it was to London that he returned following his evangelistic tour in the spring of 1646.

Collier's first published works appeared during 1645-46 and they provide insight into his early doctrinal positions.³ Edwards, the

¹John D. Gay, The Geography of Religion in England (London, 1971), 119. A graphic illustration of the concentration of their strength in the West is provided by the map published by Gay (p.290). While many others played significant roles in Baptist growth in these areas it would be unwise in the light of surviving documents (cf. Assoc. Rec., passim) to underestimate Collier's importance.

²Underdown implies that Collier was serving as an Army chaplain when founding churches such as the one in Taunton. (Purge, p.14 n.). This must be seriously questioned since the only evidence which links Collier to an Army chaplaincy with any certainty suggests his service was subsequent to August, 1647. (cf. pp.34-35 infra.) Whether Collier was serving in any officially sanctioned way on behalf of any (or several) London Particular Baptist churches during his evangelistic travels in this period cannot be answered directly. However, the activity in Kent mentioned by Luke Howard and the 1649 endeavours of John Miles and Thomas Proud possibly provide evidence of church-sanctioned activity before and certainly after the missions undertaken by Collier during this period (cf. White, 'Org. Part. Bapts.', 209-10 and B. R. White, 'John Miles and the Structures of the Calvinistic Baptist Mission to South Wales 1649-1660', Welsh Baptist Studies, ed. Mansel John (Cardiff, 1976), pp.35-76.

³Certaine Queries, Three Great Queries, and Exaltation.

period's greatest heresiographer, quoted extensively from one of Collier's books, Certaine Queries.¹ An adamant supporter of a coercive Presbyterian church settlement, Edwards reacted with predictable horror to Collier's brief statements concerning the duties of the civil magistrate which concluded Certaine Queries. Collier called for the dismissal of the then convened Westminster Assembly² and spoke in vivid eschatological terms for Parliament to 'give the Kingdome to the Saints'.³ Edwards accepted quite literally Collier's at least partially spiritualized terminology and viewed it as indicative of the dangerous revolutionary intentions of the sectaries.⁴

Edwards in fact had focused on a rather peripheral issue raised by Collier. Most of the tract was concerned with ecclesiological matters and sought to define a 'true' church (in terms of membership and polity) and to explain the magistrate's role in religious matters. Both here and in Three Great Queries Collier revealed the extent of his orthodoxy (in Particular Baptist terms) concerning ecclesiology and at least the main soteriological tenets of Calvinism at this stage in

¹Gangraena(iii), 27-29.

²Certaine Queries, p.27.

³Ibid., p.28. A summary of this material is found in White, 'Collier and Gangraena', 104-05.

⁴Cf. Christopher Hill, 'The Many-Headed Monster in Late Tudor and Early Stuart Political Thinking', pp.296-324 in From the Renaissance to the Counter-Reformation ed. Charles H. Carter (London, 1966) concerning the fears of social revolution among the governing classes in England.

his career.¹

In Three Great Queries he vigorously upheld the Calvinist position concerning election and perseverance of the saints.² Writing in order to recover some who had fallen into the 'strange opinions'³ of Arminianism Collier defined election thus:

So that this is the Election of God, that he according to the good pleasure of his owne will hath freely in his Son chosen some men to life Eternall, and the meanes by which they attaine this life is beleeving...The Gospell is Preached to all, that God may by that meanes gather out all his Elect from the World...Whosoever beleeveth in the name of JESVS shall be Saved, but none can or shall ever beleieve, but those whom God inables ...men may presume and delude themselves with a Notion of beleeving, but...none can come to CHRIST, but those that are drawne by a Power above themselves;⁴

In Exaltation Collier reiterated the position taken in his first two books,⁵ but he was primarily concerned with the work of Christ as head of the church and in exhorting the saints to give themselves wholly to Christ.⁶ There also appeared in Exaltation a hint of possible heterodoxy concerning ordinances.⁷ This possibility is

¹Collier's theological positions are examined in relation to the Particular Baptists' Confession(1644) and Confession(1677) in Chapters VII-IX.

²Three Great Queries, pp.12-21, 28-32.

³Three Great Queries, preface entitled 'to the churches and all the Saints who are or desire to be established in the Truth', p.i.

⁴Three Great Queries, pp.16-17.

⁵Exaltation, pp.51, 93-100, 162, 226-35.

⁶Ibid., passim.

⁷Exaltation, pp.255-56.

strengthened by Collier's statement in his second letter to the church in Taunton that he hoped they would 'not live upon these lower things, which are but instruments to convey light and love unto us, I mean even Ordinances or the like'.¹ There were to be even stronger statements concerning the dangers of mere 'forms' and 'ordinances' incorporated into his First General Epistle in 1648.²

Several of Collier's theological and political views underwent alteration during these years, a not uncommon occurrence in the turbulent years encompassing the Civil War, the Interregnum, and the Restoration. One student of the period having noted Collier's differing emphases on questions such as ordinances at varying times between 1645 and 1659 offered the novel, albeit erroneous, explanation that there 'were two Thomas Colliers' who were preachers and pamphleteers in Civil War England.³

After the publication of these three early writings and the return from the mission to the West the next place where Collier can be specifically located is preaching to the Army assembled at Putney barely

¹Gangraena(iii), 52.

²First General Epistle, pp.68-70. Cf. pp.51-52^{infra} concerning Collier's later repudiation of any hint of such views and the possible connection with his 'ordination' by the Western Association meeting in 1654.

³George A. Johnson, 'From Seeker to Finder: A Study in Seventeenth-Century English Spiritualism Before the Quakers', C.H., xvii(1948), 301 n. This serves to illustrate just how misled one can be by assuming any great constancy of opinion by men of this period without examining their works carefully and continually bearing the chronological factor in mind.

a month before the crucial and now famous 'Putney Debates' commenced.¹ 34

Collier's Army Connection and Political Activities

Collier's opportunity to preach at the Army's headquarters on 29 September 1647 was indicative of his increasingly close ties to the New Model Army. It can now be said with certainty that Collier did serve as an official Army chaplain. Documents in the Public Record Office related to the sale of crown lands to satisfy debts to the Army reveal that Collier was owed £31:13s:9 1/4d in arrears.²

From these documents it is not possible to deduce the length or date of Collier's official service as a chaplain. Gentiles' conclusion that the documents approximate 'a muster roll of the parliamentary Army in 1648'³ is unfounded since all that can be determined from the documents is that all those listed as having served did so between 1645 (since no pre-New Model regiments are listed) and 1649 when the debentures were called in.⁴ Since Twisleton did not assume command of the regiment until 4 August 1647, it is probable that Collier served subsequent to that date.⁵ Twisleton's regiment served in

¹Cf. Puritanism & Liberty, pp. [27] - [30] and 1-124 respectively for the background and text of the debates.

²Exchequer E 121/5/7, MS., Public Record Office, London. Cf. Ian Gentiles, 'The Sales of Crown Lands during the English Revolution', The Economic History Review, 2nd series, xxvi(1973), 614-35 and Sidney J. Madge, The Domesday of Crown Lands(London, 1938), pp.80-93 concerning these documents dealing with Army debentures and crown lands.

³Gentiles, 'The Sale of Crown Lands', p.621.

⁴Madge, Domesday, pp.87-88.

⁵Reg. Hist., i, 165.

Yorkshire in May 1648 and participated in the battle of Preston in August. In October 1648 they entered Scotland under Lambert and there they remained until the middle of November 1648.¹ During much of 1649 the regiment was quartered in 'Lincoln, Rutland, Leicester, and Nottingham'.²

A system of partially deferred payment operated in the New Model Army from its inception.³ Chaplains were paid 6s. 8d. a day in 1648.⁴ The deferred rate was based on the amount of salary and thus chaplains had one-third of their pay deferred.⁵ When these figures are applied to the sum owed Collier in back pay the resulting calculation indicates Collier served approximately 280 days (or just over nine months) as a chaplain to Twisleton's regiment.⁶

If this possible length of service is collated with the known activities of both Twisleton's regiment and Collier between August 1647 and 1649 at least a plausible scenario can be reconstructed. Collier was entering the most political phase of his career in 1647.

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., 166, citing The Moderate, 11-18 September, 1649. This was a strong General Baptist area in the late 1640's and their strength there intensified in the next decade.

³C. H. Firth, Cromwell's Army (London, 1905), p.202.

⁴Eric C. Walker, William Dell. Master Puritan (Cambridge, 1970), p. 28 n.

⁵Firth, Cromwell's Army, p.202, citing Husbands, Ordinances ii, 414, 446, 602 and Rushworth, iv, i, p.12.

⁶This figure must remain tentative. Since Twisleton's was a regiment of horse Collier's pay would also have included pay for a horse and there is no way of knowing whether that entered into the calculations of deferred pay. (Cf. Firth, Cromwell's Army, 188).

One possible indication of his increasing familiarity with the Army was John Saltmarsh's authorship of a brief epistle 'To the Reader' in Collier's The Marrow of Christianity which appeared in March 1647.¹ A growing preoccupation with eschatological concerns is revealed both by the last section of Marrow and Glory of Christ which was also published in that year.

If as has been suggested earlier, Collier's permanent residence was in London during this time then further contacts with the Army would have been afforded by the Army's taking up residence in London on 6 August 1647, just two days after Twisleton had assumed command of his regiment.² Presbyterian ministers had predominated the ranks of the Army's chaplains prior to the formation of the New Model Army in 1645. After that date, however, the already loosening Presbyterian grip on the Army began to slip even more rapidly.³ A significant shift in the complexion of the Army's chaplains was accelerated by Cromwell's merit-promotion policies.

The Presbyterian ministers fatally forsook the army in the years of flux, from 1643-5, and pinned their faith in the deliberations of the Westminster Assembly and the printed word...On the other hand, those ministers who were moving...to a more radical conception of man's duty to God saw little chance

¹Saltmarsh, for a short time a popular and influential Army Chaplain, had commenced to serve in that capacity in the Army by early 1646, Cf. Leo F. Solt 'John Saltmarsh: New Model Army Chaplain', J.E.H., ii(1951), 69-80 and A. L. Morton, The World of the Ranters (London, 1970), pp. 45-69.

²Great Rebellion, pp.112-14.

³Leo F. Solt, Saints in Arms(London, 1959), p.7.

of securing their ideals from the work of the Assembly, and turned with hope and resolution to the new and as yet untested Army.¹

A famous contemporary description of the Army's radicalization is provided by Richard Baxter's posthumously published autobiography, Reliquiae Baxterianae.² Baxter recorded his impressions concerning Cromwell's part in the religious radicalization of the chaplaincy:

All this while, though I came not near Cromwell, his designs were visible, and I saw him continually acting his part...So that by degrees he had headed the greatest part of the Army with Anabaptists, Antinomians, Seekers or Separatists at best; and all these he tied together by the point of liberty of conscience, which was the common interest in which they did unite. Yet all the sober party were carried on by his profession that he only promoted the universal interest of the godly, without any distinction or partially at all. But still when a place fell void, it was twenty to one a sectary had it, and if a godly man of any other mind or temper had a mind to leave the army he would secretly or openly further it.³

Another trend coinciding with the increase in sectarian influence in the Army was the practice of chaplains not being attached to any particular regiment (as had been the case prior to the formation of the New Model), but to the Headquarters itself.⁴ This enabled them to circulate more freely among the different regiments and increased the

¹Walker, William Dell, p.47.

²Reliquiae Baxterianae ed. M. Sylvester (London, 1696). Cf. Walker, William Dell, p.169 n. for a concise explanation of the relation of this valuable work to Edmund Calamy's (the younger) 'abridgment' and later editions containing biographical data concerning the ejected ministers of 1662 which provided the raw material for the invaluable C.R.

³Quoted in Walker, William Dell, p.51.

⁴Solt, Saints in Arms, p.9.

exposure afforded their sermons. This fact, coupled with the Army's occasional habit of hearing ministers who were not official chaplains must be considered in any attempt to date Collier's army service. As noted earlier, Collier probably served as chaplain to Twisleton's regiment between August 1647 and 1649.¹ However, this still leaves several variables to be considered. This would not preclude his having served prior to August 1647 as an 'unofficial' preacher or an 'unassigned' chaplain. Thus, when Collier, 'having opportunity and freedom(at the Head-Quarters)',² preached New Creation on 29 September, 1647, he could just as easily have done so in either capacity mentioned above instead of as a regimental chaplain. Consequently, Collier's service to Twisleton's regiment could have commenced after his Putney sermon.

It is possible that Collier began to serve in 1648 during a period when the Army Council made numerous additions to the chaplains' ranks.³ If this was the case and if Collier did serve approximately nine months with Twisleton the placement of such service during 1648 would furnish a possible explanation of the comparative silence of Collier's pen

¹This assumes that Collier's service in Twisleton's regiment occurred after Twisleton took command. It should be noted that it is a possibility that Collier could have commenced his chaplaincy with the regiment under Colonel Rossiter and was listed in the debenture roles as having served under the current command of the regiment at the time the lists were formulated(1649). This is unlikely however, since Rossiter was a staunch Presbyterian(Reg. Hist. i, 165).

²New Creation, 'Epistle to the Reader', p. i.

³Solt, Saints in Arms, p.23, citing Mercurius Elencticus(12-19 January 1648).

for most of that year.

Collier's popularity must have been on the rise in 1647 as Exaltation enjoyed great success as a devotional work and was to go through several editions within a short period.¹ In addition to Marrow, Glory of Christ, and New Creation, the first collected edition of Collier's works, Severall Pieces appeared in late 1647.² Then, during one of the most momentous periods of the war, 1648, the only work of Collier's possibly to appear until the last month of the year was First General Epistle.³ If Collier was Twisleton's regimental chaplain during these months an examination of the regiment's location and activities during the year would provide an explanation for this gap in Collier's publishing career. One could then reconstruct a situation in which Collier served with Twisleton in Yorkshire, fought at Preston and entered Scotland under Lambert.⁴ Then, as the impasse

¹Cf. Appendix A, #18 n. for details of Exaltation's various editions.

²Cf. Appendix A, #39 n. for determination of publication date and #38 n. for discussion of the various collected editions of Collier's works.

³Cf. Appendix A, #20 n. for dates of publication.

⁴Cf. pp. 34-35 supra. It is of course possible that Collier served in Twisleton's regiment subsequent to the execution of the King, since there are other publishing gaps during this immediate period in Collier's career. During 1649 Second General Epistle, Third General Epistle and the second collected edition of his works, Second Volume were published. In 1650 no books by Collier appeared. Twisleton's regiment entered Scotland with Cromwell in July 1650, took part in the battle of Dunbar (3 Sept. 1650) and in August 1651 re-entered England under Cromwell. The regiment also saw action at Worcester (3 Sept. 1651) under Fleetwood (Reg. Hist., i, 166). Collier has been identified as participating in a debate with two local Somersetshire ministers (cf. Appendix A, #22 n.) prior to March 1651 and this suggests that he was detached from the Army and back in his native county by that date. The known facts of Collier's life would seem to preclude anything other than transitory

between the Army and the Parliament moved inexorably to a climax Collier left at least the physical presence of the regiment and journeyed to London via Somerset¹ where he agitated for the support of the petition of which he was apparently the primary author.²

service with Twisleton's or any other regiment after that date.

While it is feasible that Collier served with Twisleton in 1649-50 it is doubtful for at least two reasons:

(i) While Collier's exact whereabouts are not known during most of this period, it is unlikely (in the light of the rest of his career) that he could have been chaplain to a regiment garrisoned in an area for any length of time (cf. pp. 34-35 *supra*) and have left no trace of his presence in connection with Baptists.

(ii) Others served Twisleton's troops in the capacity of chaplain during at least part of the period under discussion. Laurence Clarkson, later to become a 'Ranter', was the regiment's chaplain during part of 1649 and a John Sanders was the chaplain in Scotland sometime between 20 May 1650 and 20 Oct. 1651. (I am indebted to Ms. Anne Lawrence, Oxford graduate research student for the above information about Clarkson and Sanders.)

¹The regiment itself remained in Scotland until mid-November, cf. p. 35 *supra*. Collier could have feasibly marched south into England with the regiment and gone directly to Somerset or come to London and then traveled to Somerset subsequent to Pride's Purge (6 Dec. 1648). Underdown either implies the latter alternative or at least suggests that Collier did not commence agitation for the petition until after 6 Dec. (*Purge*, p. 178, and *Somerset*, p. 153). Both suggestions seem improbable in light of the chronology involved. Sedgwick's *Justice* appeared on 11 Dec. (*Thom. Tr.* i, 700) and Collier's rather lengthy reply appeared on 20 Dec. (cf. Appendix A, #36). When Collier's participation in the Whitehall Debates (14-15 Dec.) is considered the difficulties of time and distance make it more plausible that Collier was seeking support for the Army's *Remonstrance* programme there sometime between 20 Nov. [date of *Remonstrance*'s publication (*Thom. Tr.* i, 692)] and the date he left for London with the petition, bearing in mind he was at the Whitehall Debates on 14 Dec. and had to have at least from then until (20 Dec.) to write *Vind. Army Remonstrance* and have it published.

²Cf. Appendix B. It should be noted here that although Collier may have been 'the author of it' by his own admission, it is doubtful that it wholly expressed his personal views. If nothing else, the petition's request that 'the pious Ministry may have a settled sufficiency, and not deprived of their augmentation, the fruits of your Justice, and reward of their Sufferings' indicates the petition was a document of political compromise (under Pyne's direction) seeking to obtain maximum support for the *Remonstrance*. One of the constants of

In this reading of the situation, Collier, having set the petition in motion, then made his way to London, encountered Sedgwick's Justice, and immediately penned a vigorous defence of the Army's Remonstrance in refutation of Sedgwick.¹ It was during this climactic time that Collier surfaced as a participant in the Whitehall Debates.²

While much concerning Collier's actions and movements during the years on either side of the crucial months of December 1648 - January 1649 must remain conjectural, more solid ground is reached when attention is focused on Collier's theological and political thought during these years. His sermon at Army Headquarters in Putney in the late fall of 1647 revealed a rather quietistic, spiritualized millennialism (which should not be mistaken for a proto-Fifth Monarchism). His conception of differing dispensations and a progressive revelation of God through the spirit 'in these latter daies of the Gospel'³ was similar to others such as John Saltmarsh and William Erbury.

Having already published a scathing attack on all tithe-maintained clergymen during the summer,⁴ at Putney Collier again denounced the 'oppression...of tithes...that the Kingdome...groans under'.⁵ Not

Collier's ministry from beginning to end was a violent opposition to tithes and a state-maintained ministry (cf. Corruption, passim; New Creation, pp.22-23; Assoc. Rec., 62-63).

¹Cf. Chapter II, concerning this controversy.

²Cf. Chapter II, pp.145-147 infra concerning the Whitehall Debates.

³New Creation, p.4.

⁴Corruption, cf. Appendix A, #6.

⁵New Creation, pp.22-23.

content just to criticise the 'priests', Collier lashed out at other arch-defenders of property and privilege, the law and its interpreters, the lawyers and the courts. In enumerating the oppressions of the people Collier listed

Tyrannical and oppressing lawes, and courts of Justice: Hence it comes to passe many times, that to seek a Remedy proves destructive, the cure proves worse then the disease; many an honest man chusing rather to suffer losse...suits at law being so dangerous and hazardous...the end of law and courts of justice should be for the righting of men...

A second oppression...is in writing our laws in an unknown tongue, that the most part of our Nationall inhabitants cannot understand their owne laws, that the French should bee better read in our English laws, then those to whom they pertain: vvhhat oppression comes to the Commons of England by this means, I need not mention, its not unknvne howv many by this means are maintained by other mens losses.¹

It has been asserted that Collier incorporated 'almost the whole Leveller programme' into New Creation.² While Collier did not go quite that far, much of what the Levellers espoused is discernible in sections of the sermon³ as a comparison of the sermon with The Case of the Armie Truly stated and the first An Agreement of the People readily illustrate.⁴ It is interesting to note in light of Collier's

¹Ibid., p.22.

²Morton, Ranters, p.128n.

³New Creation, pp.19-25.

⁴Cf. G. E. Aylmer, ed. The Levellers in the English Revolution (Ithaca, N.Y., 1975) for an introduction(pp.9-55) on the rise, progress, fall, and significance of the Leveller movement which should stand for some time as a 'standard' survey. Aylmer reprints the first An Agreement of the People(pp.88-96) and both The Case of the Armie Truly stated(15 Oct. 1647) and the first An Agreement of the People (3 Nov. 1647) are reprinted in Don M. Wolfe ed. Leveller Manifestoes

chaplaincy duty that 'Col. Twisldens Reg.'¹ appeared in support of 'The Case of the Army truly stated, and for this present Agreement'.²

Resentment of the rampant abuses of the existing legal system and demand for its reform, or even its abolition, was an integral part of the Leveller programme.³ It should be noted that Collier's statement in New Creation about the law's alien language was in all probability an oblique reference to that complex of legend and emotion espoused by the Levellers known as the 'Norman Yoke'.⁴

Collier's other writings in this period were his three general epistles, the second collected edition of his works, and Vind. Army Remonstrance.⁵ With their publication the most politically controversial era of Collier's career was concluded. Vind. Army Remonstrance had revealed Collier's involvement in the period's most radical act, the King's execution. In the three general epistles Collier's spiritualizing phase had reached its apex. The general

of the Puritan Revolution (New York, 1944, repr. 1967), pp.198-222 and pp. 225-34 respectively.

¹An Agreement for the People, title page, reprinted in Wolfe, Lev. Manifestoes, p.224.

²Ibid.

³E. W. Ives, 'Social Change and the Law', pp.115-30 in The English Revolution 1600-1660, ed. E. W. Ives (London, 1968), pp.128-30. Cf. Richard Overton's An Appeale and the appended 'certaine Articles' (Wolfe, Lev. Manifestoes, pp.156-95) for an anticipation of some of the concerns of New Creation, Case of the Army and An Agreement.

⁴Christopher Hill, 'The Norman Yoke', pp.50-122 in Puritanism and Revolution (London, 1958), pp.57-58, 78-80, 83, 86-88.

⁵Cf. First General Epistle, (Appendix A, #20); Second General Epistle (Appendix A, #30); Third General Epistle (Appendix A, #34); Second Volume (Appendix A, #38); and Vind. Army Remonstrance (Appendix A, #36).

epistles were more susceptible to misinterpretation by his detractors than any other works in the Collier corpus.¹ It is significant that the next point at which Collier can be located on the historical landscape finds him defending himself against charges of heresy in the early spring of 1651.²

The Somerset Years

Thomas Collier has bequeathed historians a record of his changes of residence(indicated by church membership) over the quarter century prior to 1676.³ Unfortunately, he employed somewhat inexact language in compiling his narrative. Thus, in the midst of a dispute with William Kiffin and the London leadership Collier dated his departure from London as having occurred 'not less than twenty five Years since'.⁴ He then proceeded to refer to the severance of his membership with the church in London as 'for above twenty Years'⁵ and 'above twenty Years since'.⁶

¹Cf. Chapters VII, VIII, and IX *infra* for a discussion of the place of these works in the development of Collier's theological thought.

²Heads and Substance, Appendix A, #22. First General Epistle is cited several times(along with Heads and Substance)in Thomas Hall's most violent attack on Collier in Font Guarded, pp.119-32: cf. also Chapter III *infra*.

³Narrative.

⁴Ibid., p.3. Cf. Chapter VI concerning this debate.

⁵Ibid., pp.6, 10.

⁶Ibid., p.6. While not contradictory statements, they lead one to suspect that Collier was speaking in approximate terms.

Using the third person, Collier succinctly described 'his removing into the Country'¹ from London and his reception as follows:

he was received and walked in full Communion with the Church at Wells, among whom he lived, and where his actual and personal Membership was for near about fifteen Years; and since his removal from thence to this Church where now he is, he hath held his Membership for about eight or nine Years, actual Cohabitation and full Communion being that which proves actual and absolute Membership...²

Collier, in the context of the controversy, chose to express his place of residence in terms of his affiliation with the local church. That the two were interchangeable in Collier's mind is evidenced by the last sentence of the above quotation.

Although Collier again employed inexact language, it is possible to reconstruct an approximate schedule of his change of abode after 1650. Narrative, describing a controversy occurring in the fall of 1676,³ was published in 1677.⁴ Evidence within the pamphlet does not clearly indicate which year was viewed as the terminal date in calculating his chronology. Consequently, according to Collier's description, he returned to Somerset from London in 1651-52, became a member of the church in Wells(1652-54), and moved to Wiltshire, becoming a member of the church in Southwick⁵(1667-69). The variant dates are dependent on which terminal year is selected and with which of Collier's descriptions it is then collated.

¹Ibid., p.4.

²Ibid.

³Records(Broadmead), p.185 and Chapter VI, infra.

⁴Cf. Appendix A, #4 n.

⁵Narrative, title page.

Regardless of the terminal date selected, the 23 or 24 years church affiliation (with Wells and Southwick) seemingly contradicts Collier's statement about leaving London at least 25 years earlier.¹ In seeking to narrow the possible dates for Collier's return to Somerset, affiliation with the church at Wells, and further removal to Wiltshire, the external evidence concerning Collier in these years must be correlated with the evidence supplied by Collier himself.

At this point the controversy which produced Heads and Substance assumes increased importance. From this pamphlet it is known that Thomas Collier 'of Westbury' engaged in debate with 'Parson Smith and Parson Carlile, both Caviliers'² at Axbridge on 6 March 1651.³ Bearing in mind the approximations and assumptions involved, the available data can be plausibly reconstructed.

In this interpretation, Collier returned to Somerset just prior to the debate at Axbridge and was engaged in visiting previously founded churches and starting new ones. At this time he was probably

¹Ibid., p.3. The context of the statement, which was that he left Kiffin's congregation to return to Somerset and that after his departure Kiffin's church divided, left open the possibility that the division of the church was 'not less than twenty five Years since'. Thus, the return to Somerset could have been longer than 25 years before 1676-77.

²Font-Guard Routed, p.56.

³The fact that Collier intimated that the debate was occasioned by a previous confrontation strongly infers his presence in the county prior to the above date. Of course this must remain only circumstantial evidence concerning a date of residence, as Collier could possibly have been itinerating through the region prior to taking up semi-permanent residence. Further, the description as 'of Westbury' could just as easily have been a reference to his provenance as to his present abode.

living, when not traveling, either in or near the Wells-Westbury area.^{1 46}
It is not necessary to assume that Collier either lived in Wells or united with a Baptist church in the city immediately upon his return to Somerset. Since the controversy which occasioned Narrative was partly concerned with whether he was still technically a member of Kiffin's church, Collier may have employed deliberately ambiguous language to conceal the fact that he was not affiliated with any church immediately upon his return.

There are at least two reasons that this is a viable possibility. First, perhaps Collier had no fixed abode during the first months after his return, but was instead engaged totally in itinerant evangelistic activity.² Secondly, there may have been no Baptist church in Wells for Collier to join.³ In any event, at least by April 1655, and possibly four years earlier, a Baptist church existed in Wells and one

¹The village of Westbury was only 3-1/2 to 4 miles from Wells.

²A recently discovered manuscript record concerning the church at Luppitt (on the Devon-Somerset border) furnishes evidence of this ministry at this early date. The record lists thirteen people that 'were baptized the five & twentyth day of the second moneth in 1652 by the most faithful & laborious minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, Thomas Collyer'. ('LVPPIT-CHVRCH-RECORDS', MSS., Angus Library, Regent's Park College, Oxford). Cf. Also p.27 . supra. Ivimey described Collier as the 'pastor' of the church at Upottery which originally met at Luppitt (Ivimey, History, ii, 139-41). There is no evidence to support this ascription however, and the above cited church records indicate Collier was probably the founder, but not the pastor of the church.

³Whether or not a Baptist church existed in Wells for Collier to join prior to at least 1653 is a question that cannot be answered with certainty. The following factors must be evaluated in seeking to provide an answer:

(i) If the latest possible interpretation is given to Collier's statement in Narrative, p.4 (1677 as terminal date, subtracting 23 years for combined church membership, and ignoring the 25 year estimate) then Collier was joined to a Baptist church in Wells in 1654.

of its members was Thomas Collier. Collier was certainly a resident of Wells soon, if not immediately, after his return to Somerset and evidently remained so until his move to Southwick.¹

Using Wells as his base of operations, Collier travelled widely during these years(circa 1653-59)² founding and cultivating churches

(ii) If the earliest possible interpretation is given to Collier's statement(1676 as terminal date, subtracting 24 years for combined church membership and accepting the 25 year estimate) then he united with the church in 1651-52.

(iii) A Baptist church certainly existed in Wells by 1655 as it was represented at the Western Association meeting in Bridgewater in April of that year. It was also represented at another of the Association's meetings in April 1656 as well as having members listed among the signatories of the Somerset Confession the same year(Assoc. Rec., p.105 n.).

(iv) In all probability a Baptist church was operating in Wells by November 1653 when the first meeting of the fledgling Western Association was convened there. A circular letter produced by this meeting was signed by 'Thomas Collier'(Assoc. Rec., 71).

(v) David Underdown has asserted that the Baptists in Wells 'had formed a congregation by the spring of 1653; for months before they had been disturbing Cornelius Burges's sermons in the cathedral'. [Purge, p.322, citing David Underdown, 'A Case Concerning Bishop's Lands: Cornelius Burges and the Corporation of Wells', E.H.R., lxxviii(1963), 31-33.]

¹In addition to the statement in Narrative, additional evidence suggests Wells as his continuing place of residence. First, in 'A Relation of Naylor's Exaltation in the West' appended to Looking-Glasse in 1656 Collier spoke of Wells as the 'place of my abode'(Looking-Glasse, p.16). He intimated something of the transient nature of his itinerant ministry, however, by further explaining that Naylor came to Wells while he [Collier] was 'at home'(Ibid.). Second, at the Western Association's meeting in May 1658 in Dorchester, Collier was described as 'of Wells'(Assoc. Rec., 98).

Ivimey apparently having misread the arrangement of the signatories of the Somerset Confession's 'Epistle Dedicatory', listed Collier under Dorset(in fact Collier's name was set apart from and underneath the main list of signatures). cf. Somerset Confession, p.73 and then referred to Collier as 'with a church near Lyme, Dorsetshire' in 1656(Ivimey, History, ii, 522, 555).

²While Collier undoubtedly continued actively to work among the churches after 1659, the political situation changed radically at the Restoration. As a consequence, the opportunity for full-fledged associational life(with the resulting records) existed only during these years until 1688-89.

and guiding them in their first attempts at significant inter-congregational cooperation and association. Collier was the guiding force behind the organisation and associational life of the rapidly developing Particular Baptist Western Association of churches. The importance of the creation and operation of this burgeoning organisational framework to Baptists of the period was exemplified by their wide dissemination in manuscript church records and church books (and in the unusual instance of the Western Association, broadsheet and pamphlet form) of the questions brought, and the decisions reached by the associational assemblies.¹ These men in their inter-church meetings were building a Baptist corpus of case-law decisions and precedents to guide the churches of the gathered saints in future crises and disputes.²

Collier's increasing preoccupation with the affairs of the nascent Western Association was reflected in his literary output. In 1651-52 the only new books of his which appeared in addition to the previously mentioned Heads and Substance were Pulpit-Guard Routed and Font-Guard Routed.³ Both of the latter works were part of a heated and important controversy with the Presbyterian Thomas Hall.⁴ The next work of

¹Cf. Assoc. Rec. passim, and Appendix A, #32 n. Cf. Chapter V, for a detailed examination of the workings of, and Collier's influence within, the Western Association.

²Cf. White, 'Org. Part. Bapts.', 209-26, especially 221n-22ff; White, 'The Calvinistic Baptists and the State', pp.4-6; and Nuttall, 'West. Assoc.' for background and significance of associational development in Particular Baptist life in this period.

³The last collected edition of Collier's writings, Works, was also published in 1652. (Cf. Appendix A, #40.)

⁴Cf. Chapter III concerning this controversy.

Collier's to appear was Right Constitution in May 1654.¹

Destined to be the closest to Calvinistic orthodoxy of all of Collier's writings subsequent to the Civil War, Right Constitution also sheds light on one of the more misinterpreted and little understood aspects of Collier's career. At a meeting of messengers from churches in the Western Association at Bridgwater in 16-17 May 1654 it was recorded that

after some tyme had been spent in way of wayting on the Lord, wee were then exercised in a way of debate concerning the cheife end of our meeting, namely, the more orderly ordaining of brother Thomas Collyer for the performance of that worke that hee hath beene a long tyme exercised in, namely, in gathering and confirming the church.²

This statement, through faulty historical interpretation and transmission, has resulted in the widely held belief that Collier was ordained 'Superintendent' of the associated churches in the West Country.³

This conclusion has been convincingly challenged:

It seems that though Collier may have been engaged in his missionary work for a decade, he had never been formally set apart for the work and it was this omission that the meeting at Bridgwater set out to repair. On the other hand, the work he had been, and still was, engaged upon had been described by Benjamin Cox in 1646 (E.B. Underhill, op.cit., 58f.) and no new element was apparently added to his responsibility or his functions. The new element was the concern for order manifested by the churches

¹Cf. Appendix A, #29.

²Assoc. Rec., 103.

³Assoc. Rec., 109, citing Ivimey, History, iv, 292; J. G. Fuller, A Brief History of the Western Association (Bristol, 1843), p.9; Whitley, Hist. Brit. Bapts., p.72; and E. A. Payne, The Baptist Union (London, 1959), p.33.

for whose planting, in many cases, he had been responsible. If the letter be read to imply that Collier had been formally ordained among the Baptists, and this is a plausible interpretation, he could have been ordained a pastor earlier.¹

A recurring theme in Collier's earlier writings had been an emphasis on the possibility of a life above forms and ordinances.² He even accused his fellow Baptists, those who possessed 'the highest Forme'³ of 'making too much of formes'⁴ and being too willing 'to deny Christ, to be truly, really, spiritually enjoyed, without all Formes, Ordinances'.⁵ However, less than a week before the event in Bridgewater, George Thomason catalogued his copy of Collier's Right Constitution where, in the midst of arguing for correct church order and structure, Collier stated that there had been a past time when he

was not against the practice of them [ordinances] to them who saw it to be their duty to walk in them, yet I thought there was a life above them, without them: but God hath been pleased of his abundant goodness to clear up my understanding more fully in his mind concerning his will herein, and I do believe that God was pleased to let me fall in this particular, that being converted I might strengthen my Brethren & be filled with so much the more zeal for his name and truth...⁶

It is reasonable to question why Collier, only now, in 1654 renounced views which had been so vigorously and adamantly repudiated by the

¹Assoc. Rec., 109. The citation of 'Underhill' is Underhill, Confessions.

²Exaltation, pp.255-56; First General Epistle, pp.67-71; Third General Epistle, p.19; cf. also pp.38-39 supra.

³First General Epistle, p.65.

⁴Ibid., p.66.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Right Constitution, 'The Epistle Dedicatory', pp.iv-v..

London Particular Baptists as early as February 1650 in Heart-Bleedings for Professors Abominations.¹

Heart-Bleedings denounced those who believed that 'all the ordinances of Christ, are abolished as fleshly forms...above and without all which they triumphantly(in their own fancies) live',² strenuously reaffirmed the scriptural nature of Baptist faith and practice, and disdainfully analysed the heresy of those who had been proselytized from Baptist ranks by the Ranters and the Quakers.³ Could it not be that Collier, intimately connected with numerous West Country Baptist Churches, was disturbed by Quaker success in that area as typified by Dennis Hollister in Bristol?⁴ It had been in 1653 and early in 1654 that Hollister had returned from London and commenced the disturbances that eventually led to one-fourth of Broadmead's members becoming Quakers.⁵ Also, perhaps as early as 'in & about the year

¹Heart-Bleedings for Professors Abominations(London, 1650), hereafter cited as Heart-Bleedings. Appearing 28 Feb. 1650(Thom. Tr., i, 787), it was published as an Appendix to the 1651 and 1652 editions of the Confession(1644). The 1650 edition is reprinted in Underhill, Confessions, pp.293-310(Copy used for citation purposes). Lumpkin, Confessions, pp.150-51 seems unaware of the 1650 edition.

²Heart-Bleedings, p.298.

³Ibid. passim. Heart-Bleedings was concerned to refute the idea that Baptist beliefs inevitably led to such heresy since many Quakers and Ranters had become Baptists as one stage along their left-ward journey into religious radicalism(Ibid., pp.305-07). Collier was at least passingly familiar with the Ranters,(cf..Appendix B, concerning Joshua Garment) and made allusions to the Ranters having been in the area around Wells(Looking-Glasse, p.16). Cf. also B.R.White, 'Baptists in Barnstaple, Devon 1650-1652', B.Q., xxiv(1971-72) 385-88.

⁴Records(Broadmead), pp.28-32, 75-77, 294.

⁵Ibid. pp.28-29, 110.

1654,¹ Quakerism entered Somerset.

Aroused and alarmed by increasingly effective Quaker activity, by 1656 Collier was deeply embroiled in a pamphlet controversy with James Nayler, Thomas Salthouse and several leading Somerset Friends.² In the next three years no less than four of Collier's books were to be concerned with his continuing debates with the Quakers.³

Between 1655-59, in addition to the above mentioned books dealing with Quakerism, Collier produced no less than ten separate works on various subjects. Retaining his interest in a rather spiritualized eschatology, Collier wrote two tracts, Brief Answer and Day Dawning, concerned with the Jews and their eschatological significance.⁴ He also penned a refutation of John Tillinghast's violent millennialism entitled Personal Appearing.⁵

Other works of a basically theological nature written during this period were the Somerset Confession(1656), Catechism(1656?), Seventh Day Sabbath(1658), and Gospel Blessedness(1659).⁶ In addition, the queries and answers and the circular letters from the association meetings were also published by Collier.⁷

IF.P.T., p.222.

²Cf. Chapter IV, infra for an analysis of the Collier-Quaker debate and an examination of the several works occasioned by it.

³Cf. Dialogue(cf. Appendix A, #14); Looking-Glasse(Appendix A, #25); Answer to an Epistle(Appendix A, #2); Hypocrisie and Falshood(Appendix A, #24).

⁴Cf. Appendix A, #5 and #12.

⁵Cf. Appendix A, #27.

⁶Cf. Appendix A, #11, #31, #15 respectively.

⁷Cf. Appendix A, #32.

At two of the most critical turning points of the decade Collier addressed himself to important issues in an eloquent manner. He made a plea for calm and restraint in the midst of the radical and violent agitation arising out of the dismissal of the 'Barebone's' or Nominated Parliament in December 1653 and the subsequent proclamation of the Protectorate based on The Instrument of Government.¹ Propheying that 'the endeavoring to turn things upside down'² must result in bloodshed, Collier lashed out at those who threatened revolt because Cromwell and the Protectorate had 'betrayed' them.³ In 1659 Collier made a final appeal to the civil power in the form of the restored Rump of the Long Parliament to acknowledge that 'rule in Divine things belongs only to the Lord, and in civil things unto the Magistrate'.⁴

Parliament's reply to pleas such as Collier's was the repressive Clarendon Code.⁵ It was to be fifteen years before Collier, residing in a different locale and affiliated with a new church, was to publish again.⁶

The Wiltshire Years

As noted earlier, Collier became a resident of Wiltshire between 1667 and 1669⁷ and indicated that his 'Cohabitation and full Communion' with the church at Southwick testified to his 'actual and absolute'

¹Word in Season, preface. Cf. Appendix A, #37.

²Ibid., p.4.

³Ibid., Cf. also Chapter V infra.

⁴Decision & Clearing, preface. Cf. Appendix A, #13.

⁵Cf. Chapter VII infra.

⁶His Body of Divinity appeared in 1674.

⁷Cf. pp.42-43. supra.

relation as a member there.¹ Southwick was not far from Wells² and was located in an area that had experienced spirited separatist and non-conformist activity for many years.³ Why did Collier decide to move his base of operations and church membership from Wells to Southwick and why at this particular time?⁴ Several factors must be considered in an attempt to discern the possible reasons for his action.

It is known that the Southwick church existed as early as 1654⁵ and that Collier was delegated to visit the church by the Western Association meeting at Bridgewater in November, 1656.⁶ Collier was active in founding and planting Baptist churches in the West Country during this period, but no records survive that would indicate he played such a role in the life of the Southwick church.⁷ Andrew Gifford,

¹Narrative, p.4.

²Southwick is approximately 20 miles northeast of Wells.

³Reeves, 99-115; William Doel, Twenty Golden Candlesticks! (Trowbridge and London, 1890), pp.x-xiii.

⁴Southwick is one of two tithings (North Bradley being the other) in the parish of North Bradley near the Wiltshire-Somerset border [Kelly's Directory of Wiltshire (London, 1939), p.44]. Consequently, it is referred to in Baptist records of the period as North Bradley as well as Southwick.

⁵Representatives from the church attended the associational meeting concerned with Collier's ordination held at Bridgewater, 16-17 May 1654 (Assoc. Rec., 103-04, 107). Cf. also pp.49-50 supra.

⁶Assoc. Rec., 104.

⁷Unfortunately the early Southwick Church Records are in an extremely dilapidated and incomplete condition prior to the last half of the eighteenth century. Reeves reported these records as residing with the church secretary, 124 n., but they are now located in the Wiltshire Record Office, Trowbridge, Wilts. (Southwick Church Records, MS. 1164/1).

the Bristol Particular Baptist leader, had a close relationship to the church somewhat later and often preached there.¹

What then was Collier's precise relationship to the church of which he was now a member? He did not appear in the Episcopal Returns of 1669 as one of the church's 'Teachers'.² There are several plausible explanations for this omission. It is possible that Collier, as a recent arrival still active in an itinerating ministry which frequently kept him absent from the parish, was as yet unknown to the local authorities. Alternatively, perhaps Collier had not yet moved to Southwick at the period during the year(1669) when the episcopal return was compiled.

Support for this alternative is found in the Episcopal Return of the Diocese of Bath and Wells for 1669 which listed Collier as the Teacher or Preacher of an illegal conventicle of 20 people meeting in 'the house of Edward Woollcott' in the Somerset village of Axbridge in the archdeaconry of Wells.³ Collier was also listed in the same return

¹Doel, Twenty Golden Candlesticks! p.26 and 'Historical Account of This Church'(Southwick), MS. by Peter Doel in Wiltshire Record Office, Trowbridge, Wilts. Cf. L. G. Champion, Farthing Rushlight(London, 1962, pp.2-6 and Ivimey, History, i, 412-15 for biographical material on Gifford.

²Orig. Rec., i, 117.

³Ibid., i, 11. Edward Woolcot was licensed as a 'Baptist teacher in his own house in Axbridge'(Ibid., iii, 433) on 10 August, 1672 (Ibid., ii, 1122). This location of Collier(along with Mark) is significant for several reasons:

(i) It reveals Collier's continuing efforts among Somerset Baptists up to 1669 either as a resident of the county or in an active itinerating capacity.

(ii) As noted above it helps to pinpoint the date of Collier's departure to Wiltshire in all probability to sometime in 1669. Surely the fact that Collier appeared only in the records relating to Somerset in 1669(Orig. Rec., i, 11) and only in those relating to Wiltshire in

as being one of three teachers or preachers of a conventicle of 40 people meeting in the home of 'William Norrice' in Mark.¹

The men listed as teachers at Southwick in the 1669 return were Daniel King² 'a Taylor is their Head teachr',³ Richard Parsons⁴ 'a Farmer, their Speaker & Rebaptizer'⁵ and John Bernard.⁶ None of the three appeared as licensees under the Declaration of Indulgence issued in 1672 by Charles II. Collier, however, was issued a licence as a

1672(Ibid., 538, 542) is significant in this regard.

(iii) It once again connects Collier with Axbridge where he debated Smith and Carlile in 1651.

(iv) It locates Collier as active in 1669 in an area of Somerset where several of his Quaker opponents of the sixteen fifties such as Jasper Batt, John Dando, Thomas Salthouse, and George Fox were also active at the same time(Orig. Rec., ii, 1083, 1084, 1096, 1099, 1125, 1126). Cf. also Chapter IV infra concerning these disputes.

¹Orig. Rec., i, 11.

²'One King, a Stranger' was also listed as a teacher of the 'Anabaptists' meeting at Trowbridge in the 1669 Returns(Orig. Rec., i, 116). This is almost certainly the same Daniel King mentioned in Southwick and is perhaps the same King 'of Coventry' who was cited as a Baptist teacher in Castle Donnington, Leicestershire in the same year(Ibid., i, 69; ii, 769). Cf. also Ivimey, History, ii, 578-79; G. F. Nuttall, 'Lyon Turner's Original Records. Notes and Identifications IV', T.C.H.S., xv(1945-48), 44 and Assoc. Rec., 39-40 concerning Daniel King. Daniel King the Baptist(whether one or two men) should not be confused with the Daniel King ejected from a living in Cumberland(C.R. 306).

³Orig. Rec., i, 117.

⁴A Richard Parsons was buried in the churchyard at Southwick, 7 July 1688(Doel, Twenty Golden Candlesticks!, p.78).

⁵Orig. Rec., i, 117.

⁶The Episcopal Return for 1669 recorded Bernard as 'a Brick-maker'(Orig. Rec., i, 117), not to be confused with the John Bernard licensed as a Baptist teacher at Betchworth, Surrey in 1672(Orig. Rec., ii, 1017).

teacher for both North Bradley and Southwick on 25 July 1672.¹ His licences recorded him as a Presbyterian teacher in North Bradley and as a Congregationalist in Southwick.²

This faulty denominational identification of Collier misled Turner into classifying Collier as a Congregational teacher in Mark.³ These mistaken identifications help to illuminate the limitations of the Episcopal Returns (1669 and 1676) and the licence materials of 1672. As Turner, the modern compiler of the documents, observed, there are limitations inherent in the nature of the documents themselves.⁴ The Episcopal Returns were compiled by hostile witnesses from whose prying eyes nonconformists made strenuous efforts to conceal themselves. The nonconformists' self-protective secrecy and the natural reluctance of ecclesiastical authorities to admit to their superiors that their efforts had not vitiated such illegal activities in their areas would seem to indicate that the numerical strength and geographical

¹Orig. Rec., i, 538, 542.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., ii, 1084. Turner, evidently did not recognize the variant spelling of Collier and listed 'Thomas Collyer' as a Baptist in Axbridge and erroneously suggested that he should be equated with the Collier ejected from Nether Whitacre, Warws. (Orig. Rec., ii, 1122). This mistaken identification was corrected by G. F. Nuttall in 'Lyon Turner's Original Records. Notes and Identifications II', T.C.H.S., xiv(1940-44), 114. Cf. C.R., pp.126-27 for a correction of Turner's confusion of the Abel Collier ejected from Nether Whitacre with Anthony Collier. Cf. Alexander Gordon, 'Calamy as a Biographer', T.C.H.S., vi(1913-15), 233-47 and A. G. Matthews, Introduction to Calamy Revised. A Revision of the Original Introduction (London, 1969) for evaluation of Calamy and the various editions of his work.

⁴Orig. Rec., iii, 27-28.

distribution of nonconformist conventicles reported in the documents constituted an 'irreducible minimum'.¹

The documents resulting from the 1672 Indulgence are also fraught with difficulties. Many of the nonconformists viewed the king's action merely as a ploy by which he hoped to win acceptance for the recusants and they did not feel the Indulgence 'would continue any longer than it would serve the interests of popery'.² Many also felt that the king had no legal power to grant such 'toleration' without the consent of Parliament.³ There was a widespread suspicion that the Indulgence was a Stuart ruse to beguile the nonconformist leaders into revealing themselves openly to the authorities. For these reasons numerous nonconformist ministers and householders refused to be licensed under the Indulgence.⁴

An additional factor which must be considered when examining the documents in their most accessible form is Turner's handling of the materials. While performing a Herculean and invaluable editorial task, Turner at times was led to what has been described aptly as 'careless denominational attribution'⁵ by following assumptions which he himself

¹Ibid., iii, 28.

²Daniel Neal, The History of the Puritans, or Protestant Nonconformists. Revised, corrected and enlarged by J. O. Choules (New York, 1844), ii, 273, hereafter cited as Neal, History.

³Ibid.

⁴B. R. White, 'Baptists in the Age of the Great Persecution as Seen through the Eyes of Thomas Crosby', Lecture, Baptist Historical Society Summer School, Manchester, Summer, 1974.

⁵G. F. Nuttall, 'Lyon Turner's Original Records. Notes and Identifications IV', T.C.H.S., xv(1945-48), 41.

recognized as having caused errors.¹ The two most comprehensive attempts yet undertaken to correct and amplify Turner² both rectify mistakes concerning Collier by accurately identifying him as a Baptist.³ Thus, the records revealed that Collier was a licensed teacher ministering to Baptists in two houses in the North Bradley parish in 1672.⁴

Since the men mentioned in the 1669 Episcopal Return were not mentioned again in the documents it seems safe to assume that Collier held a position of considerable leadership in the Southwick church of which he now had been a member for approximately three years. The question of whether Collier was in any sense 'pastor' of the church in this period is complicated by the fact that most of the area's Baptist churches 'seem to have had one or two pastors, with one, two

¹Orig. Rec., iii, x. Cf. also Ibid., i, xvii.

²W. T. Whitley, 'Appendix III', Orig. Rec., iii, 837-42 (concerned with Baptists mistakenly identified by Turner) and a series of articles written by Dr. G. F. Nuttall in T.C.H.S. xiv(1940-44), 14-24, 112-20, 181-87; xv(1945-48), 41-47; xix(1960-64), 160-4. These articles are essential reference tools for anyone utilizing Turner's materials.

³Whitley, 'Appendix III', Orig. Rec., iii, 842 and Nuttall, 'Lyon Turner's Original Records. Notes and Identifications II', T.C.H.S., xiv(1940-44), 114. It is interesting to note that Andrew Gifford was licensed as a Presbyterian [Whitley correctly identified him as a Baptist (Orig. Rec., iii, 839)].

⁴Collier was licenced to teach 'in the house of Widow Randall at North Bradley' (Orig. Rec., i, 538) and 'att the house of Robt Runwell att Southwick' (Orig. Rec., i, 542). Also, a licence was applied for to employ a Widow Randall's house in Broad Chalk ('Bower Chalk'), Wilts. as a meeting place (Orig. Rec., i, 405, 513; ii, 1076). Whitley identified 'Weeke' where William Ads was issued a license as a Baptist teacher in 'The howse of Wm Lewse' (Orig. Rec., i, 538, 541; ii, 1076) 'as Wyke or Southwick, close to Trowbridge' (Orig. Rec., iii, 842). If this identification is correct, it does not present a conflict, since the Baptist cause in Southwick was evidently sufficiently popular to have provided support for at least this number of meeting places (cf. pp. 67n infra).

or even three ministers contemporaneously'.¹ In October, 1676 Collier was described as pastor when the Broadmead Records (alluding to the controversy described by Collier in Narrative)² made reference to 'a Neighbouring Church in ye Country about 15 miles off near Bradford or Trowbridge' and described one 'T. C.' 'as ye Pastor thereof'.³ No surviving materials record Collier as ever having employed that title to describe himself, although his language in Narrative and Confession (1678) would not preclude such a role. Consequently, on the basis of the available evidence, the question of Collier's 'pastoral' role in the Southwick church cannot be answered with certainty.

Having examined Collier's contacts with, and relation to, the Southwick church, the question that next presents itself is why Collier moved to Southwick and why he chose to move when he did? One factor that could have prompted Collier's move to Wiltshire was the undeniable vitality of Baptist life in the region. 'In the period 1660-72, by means of conventicles that met in woods and out-of-the-way places, Baptist influences were penetrating certain areas'⁴ of Wiltshire with great success. Nowhere did their influence increase more rapidly than along the Wiltshire-Somerset border.⁵

¹Doel, Twenty Golden Candlesticks!, p.77. Also, the modern conception of the minister or pastor was still developing during this era.

²Cf. Chapter VI infra concerning this controversy.

³Records (Broadmead), p.185. Cf. also Doel, Twenty Golden Candlesticks!, p.26.

⁴Reeves, 109.

⁵Ibid.

Baptists, along with the other nonconformist groups, suffered grievously under the Clarendon Code's restrictions and harassments. The extent of that suffering varied widely from region to region dependent on how deeply they had sunk their roots during the Civil War and Interregnum and on what degree of sympathy or toleration they encountered from local authorities. Although the orderly and flourishing association life of West Country Baptists¹ was seriously disrupted by persecution subsequent to 1660, groups of churches evidently continued to meet at irregular intervals.²

It is likely that Collier would have played some role in such meetings. In any event, it is most probable that Collier would have retained an abiding interest in the progress of the churches with which he had been so closely connected and which in numerous cases he had helped to found. Thus, he would have been more than passingly aware of the variation in local situations which confronted the area's congregations. Thus, Collier must have been cognizant of the fact that there could have been few localities anywhere in England following 1660 possessing a more favourable atmosphere for Baptists than the Trowbridge-North Bradley area of Wiltshire.

¹Assoc. Rec., 53-124 reflect the extent and vitality of this association. As the Protectorate drew to a close, the records (and presumably most of the associational activity which produced them) abruptly ceased.

²J. G. Fuller, A Brief History of the Western Association (Bristol, 1843), pp. 11-12. Meetings of at least some of the area churches were held at Porton in 1660 and 1672 (Porton Church Records, MS., Broughton Baptist Church, Broughton, Hants. Microfilm copy Angus Library, Regent's Park College, Oxford, pp. 1-5) and at Cliford in 1669 (Fuller, op.cit., pp. 11-12). The Porton Records have been mistakenly reported as having disappeared in this century (Reeves, 102-03).

That the Baptists of Wiltshire eagerly had seized the opportunity to propagate their faith provided by the freedom of the Civil War and Interregnum is reflected in the surviving accounts of Baptist life and activity in both the period before and after 1660.¹ These records indicate that Baptists met with particular success in northwest Wiltshire and that the Southwick church performed a crucial role as a veritable 'mother of churches'² in the region. The Porton Church³ incorporated itself as a church in June, 1655 and was composed of groups of Baptists from at least twenty villages and hamlets in southern Wiltshire and the neighbouring border areas of Hampshire.⁴ Consisting of more than a hundred members, the church met for worship and fellowship 'according to a fixed rota of villages, every first day of the week'.⁵

The opening entry in the oldest surviving Westbury Leigh Church Book⁶ revealed Southwick's relationship to that fellowship:

May 29th, 1662. Then was the Church at Westbury Leigh, called Baptist, planted by a unanimous agreement by the whole Church at Southwick, whereof we being a branch thereof.⁷

¹Reeves, 102-03; Assoc. Rec., 53-109; Orig. Rec., i, 106-27; ii, 1055-1078; iii, 842.

²Reeves, 110.

³The Porton church was probably represented at the Western Association meeting at Wells in April, 1656 as 'Amesbury' (Assoc. Rec., 107).

⁴Porton Church Records, pp.1-5. Cf. also Arthur Tucker, 'Porton Baptist Church, 1655-85', T.B.H.S., i(1908-10), 56-61.

⁵Reeves, 103.

⁶The earliest church book commences in 1822 but contains references to 'one dating back to 1704' (Reeves, 110n).

⁷Doel, op.cit., p.91, quoting Westbury Church book.

Although the records of early Wiltshire Baptist life are full of lacunae, the above suggests that many of the area's Baptists at one time 'stood related' to the Southwick church. As Baptist strength increased in an area, those in the villages most removed from Southwick geographically were incorporated as churches (such as Porton, 1655), followed by those less distant as numbers increased (Westbury Leigh, 1662).¹ Collier could well have been attracted to such a vital, productive fellowship, especially if he had been involved in its formative years.

The attitudes of the local authorities were a crucial factor which most often dictated whether nonconformists experienced at least limited growth or faced a struggle for survival. In the Southwick-Trowbridge area protection was afforded nonconformists by William Trenchard, the local Justice of the Peace. Trenchard allowed his estate (Cutteridge) located one mile southeast of the village to be utilized by the Baptists for worship.²

Witch Pit Wood was on the Cutteridge Estate... situated on the slope of the hill facing Southwick village. In the middle of this little wood was a natural dell, the sides rising some ten or twelve feet in height, and in places almost perpendicular...and would be capable of holding several hundreds of people without their being seen many years off. The whole is overgrown...It is some quarter of a mile or more from any public road and is a very secluded spot; just the place a number of

¹Evidently the Baptists of Southwick and Trowbridge continued to be united in some sense as one church with a shared ministry, yet at times worshipping separately or in more than one location until divided by doctrinal differences circa 1697 (Reeves, 125-26; Doel, op.cit., pp. 37-40).

²Reeves, 109-10; Doel, op.cit., pp. 4-6, 17-18.

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people would choose for meeting secretly together.

The value of Mr. Trenchard's protection is illustrated by the fact that with the passage of the Five Mile Act in 1665 the authorities sought to disrupt their meetings by placing Witch Pit Wood within the distance proscribed by the Act by measuring through the fields. Mr. Trenchard in his capacity as a magistrate effectively frustrated this scheme.² The crucial importance of such assistance is further exemplified by the fact that another significant area of Baptist activity in the county after 1660 was in and around Porton, within the jurisdiction of another sympathetic Justice of the Peace, John Rede.³

Having laid a strong foundation before 1660 and continuing to benefit from local assistance, the Baptists of northwest Wiltshire continued to exercise their faith energetically. The county's secular and ecclesiastical records furnish abundant evidence of such Baptist and other nonconformist activity. In the fall of 1662 the church wardens for Trowbridge and North Bradley parishes recorded lengthy lists of those not attending church. Among those listed were many identifiable as Baptists.⁴ The North Bradley presentment also cited William Crabb, a signatory of the 1656 Somerset Confession representing the Southwick church, along with his wife, 'for not comeing to church,

¹Doel, op.cit., p.5.

²Ibid., p.18.

³Tucker, 'Porton Baptist Church, 1655-85', 57. Cf. W. T. Whitley, 'General Ludlow's Baptist Comrades', B.Q., xi(1942-45), 39 and Reeves, 102-03, 112-13, concerning Rede.

⁴Church Wardens' Presentment, Trowbridge, 19 Sept. 1662 and Church Wardens' Presentment, North Bradley, 21 Oct. 1662, MSS. Diocesan Record Office, Salisbury, Wilts.

nor baptizeing their children'.¹ The same document also reported Richard Parsons (listed as a Baptist teacher in Southwick in the 1669 Episcopal Return) and his wife for the same offence.² Also, the people in whose homes Collier was licenced to teach in the 1672 Indulgence almost certainly were mentioned as 'Robert Rundill' and 'Widow Margaret Rundill'.³

Throughout the 1660's others were presented at Quarter Sessions for similar offences and the Episcopal Return for 1669 revealed significant numbers of Baptists and other nonconformist conventicles in the county.⁴ On 25 September 1670 approximately 2,000 people (including some from Somerset) were reported to have assembled for worship in Brokerswood in North Bradley where an unknown person 'did...preach to the people'.⁵ Additional reports of such gatherings were made in 1671 and 1672. Large groups of people (including Baptists) were charged for non-attendance at church in the Trowbridge-North Bradley area and

¹Church Wardens' Presentment, North Bradley, 21 Oct. 1662, MS., Diocesan Record Office, Salisbury, Wilts. Also, a notice of appeal of his fine for attending 'a conventicle, or meeting in Southwick Greene' was filed by William Crabb in his own hand, 27 June 1676 and was appended to the Quarter Session Rolls, Trinity Term, 1671, MS. Wiltshire Record Office, Trowbridge, Wilts.

²Cf. also p.56 supra concerning Parsons.

³Church Wardens' Presentment, North Bradley, 21 Oct. 1662.

⁴Orig. Rec., i, 106-24.

⁵Quarter Session Roll, 27 Sept. 1670, MS., Wiltshire Record Office, Trowbridge, Wilts. Approximately 1500 people were reported on 21 Sept. 1670 as having met in the same location for an 'unlawfull Meeting and Conventicle' (Quarter Session Roll, 12 Sept. 1670, MS. Wiltshire Record Office, Trowbridge, Wilts.).

surrounding district.¹ The authorities alarm at the extent of such activity was reflected in the following action by a local magistrate:

in 1670 John Eyre wrote in alarm from Little Chalfield, in Atworth, of the meetings of Anabaptists and Presbyterians 'in by-corners and in woods and edges of counties or hundreds' and asked for a troop of horse to be quartered at Chalfield, Bradford, Trowbridge, and Warminster.²

In 1672 licence documents further revealed widespread and significant Baptist and nonconformist life.³ The state of nonconformity in the Trowbridge area was reflected in the statement of the North Bradley church wardens that 'Concerning parishoners Comming unto the Church and Receiving the Sacrament there are very few which doo either of the two'.⁴ That the Bishop was concerned about this state of affairs was indicated by the marginal note (in a different hand) that a diocesan official (the apparitor) was 'to call upon Church Wardens for the names'.⁵

The 1676 Episcopal Return, while not differentiating the various sects, indicated that the nonconformists were an almost overwhelming

¹Reeves, 109, citing Quarter Session Rolls, 2 May 1671; 25 July 1671; 4 Oct. 1671; 9 Jan. Jan. 1671-2, MSS., Wiltshire Record Office, Trowbridge, Wilts.

²Reeves, 109, quoting C.S.P.D., 1670, 369-70.

³Orig. Rec., ii, 1055-78; iii, 842.

⁴Church Wardens' Presentment, North Bradley, 11 Sept. 1674, MS., Diocesan Record Office, Salisbury, Wilts. The presentment for the same day in Trowbridge parish revealed that 'but few...Come unto the publick worship or to receive the Sacrament' (Church Wardens' Presentment, Trowbridge, 11 Sept. 1674, MS., Diocesan Record Office, Salisbury, Wilts.

⁵A similar marginal note was inscribed on the Trowbridge parish presentment (cf. p.66 note 4 *supra*).

majority in North Bradley.¹ Many of the nonconformists were Baptists.² 67
As suggested earlier, such Baptist success easily could have attracted Collier to the area.

However, another possible motive for Collier's move to Southwick must not be overlooked. Seth Ward, one of nonconformity's most implacable ecclesiastical enemies, was appointed Bishop of the Salisbury Diocese in 1667.³ Bishop Ward brought with him from his Bishopric in Exeter(1662-67) a reputation as a staunch enemy of dissent. His behaviour as 'the Reverend Father in God Seth Lord Bishop Sarum'⁴ from 1667 to 1689 served only to enhance that reputation. Bishop Ward's deep, abiding interest in the dissent within his jurisdiction was evidenced by his detailed Episcopal Returns as Bishop of Exeter(1665)⁵ and as Bishop of Sarum(1669 and 1676).⁶

The 'vigour and ability' with which Bishop Ward attempted to stamp out nonconformity was exceeded only by Archbishop Sheldon himself.⁷

¹ The Return estimated that 340 of the 440 'Inhabitants' of North Bradley were Separatists and reported no recusant activity(Orig. Rec., i, 128). It was also reported that there were 164 separatists among 937 inhabitants in Trowbridge parish(Ibid., i, 129).

²In the light of such evidence it is understandable that Doel referred to 'the Baptist Church' as 'the Established Church in the village of Southwick'(Doel, op.cit., p.3).

³Cf. E. A. O. Whiteman, 'The episcopate of Dr. Seth Ward, Bishop of Exeter(1662-1667) and Salisbury(1667-1668/9) with special reference to the ecclesiastical problems of his time'(Oxford Univ. D.Phil. thesis, 1951) and D.N.B., xx, 793-97 concerning Ward.

⁴Church Wardens' Presentment, North Bradley, 11 Sept. 1674, MS., Diocesan Record Office, Salisbury, Wilts.

⁵Orig. Rec., i, 178-80.

⁶Ibid., i, 106-36; iii, 93-96.

⁷Ibid., iii, 81.

Ward's episcopate was so oppressive that the dissenters sought relief from the Privy Council in 1669.¹ It was recognized by contemporaries and near contemporaries alike that 'persecution was hottest' for non-conformists in Seth Ward's diocese.² Perhaps Collier perceived Ward's move to Salisbury as a serious threat to the flourishing Baptist activity in the area and thus sought by his presence to mitigate the effects of the bishop's zeal.³

Probably for some combination of the above mentioned reasons, Collier moved to Wiltshire and that county provided the locale for the remainder of his career. The long silence of Collier's pen subsequent to 1659 came to an end with the appearance in 1674 of Body of Divinity, his most ambitious and comprehensive theological work.⁴ Collier, aware that his position had changed on several subjects in the intervening years requested that Body of Divinity be taken as the standard by

¹D.N.B., xx, 795. The petitioners claimed in their appeal that Ward's attacks were destroying the textile business in the district (Ibid.). There was a recurring connection between the cloth industry and nonconformity in seventeenth century Wiltshire (Reeves, 101, 119-20; 'The Brownists in Amsterdam', 170-71; Doel, op.cit., pp.1-2.

²Neal, History, ii, 267, citing Calamy's Abridgement, i, 332. When James II commenced a policy of greater toleration 'he particularly enjoined' Bishop Ward 'to moderate his zeal' (D.N.B., xx, 796).

³It is also possible that Collier had relatives in the area. Several Colliers appear as dissenters in various Trowbridge records. Cf. Church Wardens' Presentment, Trowbridge, 19 Sept. 1662 and 13 Sept. 1671, MSS., Diocesan Record Office, Salisbury, Wilts.: Parish Register, Trowbridge (From 30 Oct. 1538-1717), MS. 608/1, Wiltshire Record Office, Trowbridge, Wilts. Cf. also Trowbridge Manorial Records, DD/WY, Somerset Record Office, Taunton, Somerset and Trowbridge Parish Account Book, MS. 712/12, Wiltshire Record Office, Trowbridge, Wilts.

⁴Cf. Appendix A, #3.

which all his earlier work should be evaluated.

And what ever may be found in any other of my Writing that may seem contrary to any thing in this Body of Divinity, or is contrary in very deed, either understand it by this, or else let it fall to the ground, for days of Temptation oftentimes brings forth effects, which occasions after Repentance.¹

Collier's publication of an Additional Word to his Body of Divinity in 1676 aroused a storm of controversy among English Particular Baptists.² Collier addressed himself chiefly to the doctrines of election and special grace in the work and in doing so revealed his increasing divergence from the prevailing view among the Particular Baptists' London leadership. Nehemiah Cox refuted Collier's views in Vind. Veritatis, published in 1677. Collier replied in like manner in Sober and Mod. Answer which appeared the same year.³ Several of the London leaders, including Cox and William Kiffin, sought to claim authority over Collier and journeyed to Southwick in an effort to discipline him for heterodoxy.⁴ A description of the resulting controversy was offered by Collier in Narrative.

The following year witnessed a further widening of the breach between Collier and the London leaders. Collier wrote a Confession (1678) which (lest anyone miss the point that the Southwick fellowship supported Him) he concluded thus: 'The Church with whom I walk, is

¹Body of Divinity, Preface, p.viii. Cf. Chapters VII-IX infra concerning the development and direction of Collier's theology.

²Cf. Appendix A, #1.

³Cf. Appendix A, #33.

⁴Cf. Chapter VI infra concerning this controversy.

united in the substance of this Faith, before declared'.¹ Collier also appended a postscript to the Confession in which he attacked numerous points contained in Confession(1677) 'lately published in the name of the Elders and Brethren of many Congregations in London and the Countrey'.²

Collier further revealed the increasing rebelliousness(from a Particular Baptist perspective) of his later years with the publication in 1682 of Compendious Discourse, in which he sought to refute John Owen's Salus Electorum, Sanguis Jesu; or The Death of Death in the Death of Christ and Elisha Coles's A Practical Discourse of God's Sovereignty.³

One additional Collier work, Self-Denial, was published subsequent to Collier's death in 1690.⁴ In Self-Denial, a book with a markedly

¹Confession(1678), p.41.

²Ibid., title page; The Postscript is contained on pp.42-64.

³Cf. Appendix A, #9. Cf. also Chapter VIII infra concerning this dispute.

⁴Cf. pp.6-7 n. supra concerning the date of Collier's death and the publication date of Self-Denial. The available evidence indicates that Collier died intestate. It was not uncommon for men of this era to die without a will [Wills and Where to Find Them, Compiled by J. S. W. Gibson(British Record Society, 'extra volume', 1974), p.xv]. An examination of the records of the various local and consistory courts which had jurisdiction over Somerset and Wiltshire during the period reveal no will for a Thomas Collier which would match the known facts about the Thomas Collier who died in 1690. A Thomas Collier's burial was recorded in the Curry Mallet Parish Register on 26 Sept. 1703, but the date precludes his being the Thomas Collier examined in this study (Curry Mallet Parish Register, MS., Parish Church, Curry Mallet, Somerset). Evidently the Thomas Collier of Curry Mallet left a will (Calendar of Wills and Administrations in the Court of the Archdeacon of Taunton, p.157), which is no longer extant since the 'probate records for the diocese of Bath and Wells deposited in the probate registry at Exeter were destroyed by enemy action in 1942'(Wills and Where to Find Them, p.112). Indexes and Calendars for most of the lost records are extant(Ibid., pp.112-16).

pietistic style, Collier exhorted his readers to self sacrifice in serving God. A Short Confession of 'some Baptized Congregations in the West, in the County of Somerset, or near adjacent' with an introduction signed by John Collier and John Pockridge was appended to Self-Denial.¹

Several factors contributed to the silence of the records concerning Collier in his last years. The nonconformists were still under enough persecution prior to 1688-89 to encourage secrecy among dissenters and to disrupt their inter-congregational activities.² Also, the dissenters almost universally detested the Stuart government and thus many supported Monmouth's Rebellion.³ Consequently, the ranks of the Baptists and other West Country nonconformists were decimated in

¹John Collier was also the author of the prefatory note in which he stated that Collier entrusted the manuscript of Self-Denial to him 'but a day or two before he dyed'(p.ii). The exact nature of John Collier's relationship to Thomas Collier remains unclear, but it seems quite improbable that they were not relatives. Perhaps this was the same John Collier whose will was proved near Warminster in 1692 (Will of John Collier, MS., Consistory Court of Sarum, Diocesan Record Office, Salisbury, Wilts.). Also, a John Collier's home was licenced as a meeting place for Baptists in Cheddar, Somerset in 1672 (Orig. Rec., i, 546, ii, 1122). A John Collier was listed as a resident householder in Trowbridge in the same year (Trowbridge Manorial Records, MS., RO DD/WY, Somerset Record Office, Taunton, Somerset). Also, a John Collier was charged with attending 'an unlawful conventicle' in Portsmouth on 21 Oct. and 18 Nov. 1677 [Borough Sessions Papers 1653-1688. A Calendar compiled by Arthur J. Willis & Margaret J. Hoad. Introduction by Robert P. Grime (Portsmouth Record Series, i, 1971), pp.65-66]. Given the available data, it is impossible to identify any of these references with the John Collier of Self-Denial.

²Doel, op.cit., pp.19-21; Records(Broadmead), pp.57-58: Underwood, Hist. Eng. Bapts., 104-09.

³Whitley, Hist. Brit. Bapts., p.149; Reeves, 121.

the aftermath of the rebellion's failure.¹

When Baptists were able to meet in a General Assembly in 1689, West Country churches sent numerous representatives, but Thomas Collier was not among them.² The surviving records do not reveal whether Collier's absence was caused by the onset of old age or by his strained relations with London Baptist leaders.³

As noted earlier, Collier's thought cannot be understood apart from the volatile seventeenth century in which it was tempered. It is to his participation in the century's most divisive controversy and its background that attention must now be turned.

¹Ibid., pp.149-50. The sufferings of many churches were reflected 'sometimes in their records, but more often by the disappearance of all records' (Ibid., p.149).

²A Narrative of the Proceedings of the General Assembly (London, 1689), 19-27; Ivimey, History, i, 503-11.

³It is also possible that Collier was not a representative because he held no 'formal' position in the Southwick church, although there is no evidence to indicate he was not still in membership.

II. THE REMONSTRANCE CONTROVERSY

Before examining the Remonstrance controversy, the questions of historiographical considerations and terminology need to be briefly considered.

First, a discussion of the causes of the English Civil War and a survey of its course are both beyond the scope of this study. A heated debate continues among historians seeking to delineate the long term factors and conflicts in English society which culminated in the Civil War. The major competing theories and the literature supporting them have been summarized¹ and analysed in recent studies.²

While scholars disagree about the number and relative importance of causes, the political, socio-economic, and religious factors have all received attention. One of the most eminent historians for the period has advised all who attempt analysis of the question that 'questions of religion and church government should not be "left behind the door"'.³ He concluded:

We are in...danger of forgetting those who fought well because they thought they were fighting God's battles... Religion was the idiom in which the men of the seventeenth century thought... Any adequate interpretation of the English Revolution must give full place to questions of religion and church government, must help us to grasp the

¹Lawrence Stone, The Causes of the English Revolution(London, 1972); Conrad Russell, ed. The Origins of the English Civil War (London, 1973).

²Robert Ashton, The English Civil War. Conservatism and Revolution 1603-1649(London, 1978).

³Christopher Hill, Puritanism and the Revolution(London, 1958), p.29.

political and social implications of theological heresy.¹

It is perhaps indicative of recent historiographical trends that two decades after this warning was issued, a recent writer, after stating that Puritanism had an 'extra-religious significance...as an ideology of opposition',² sought to avoid 'a crude oversimplification of an extremely complex reality'.³ He noted that the balance between 'godly zeal and personal advantage' differed with the individual.⁴ He then concluded that 'religious considerations could act autonomously to impel men to take up attitudes which were contrary to, not consonant with, their economic and professional interests'.⁵ In studying Collier and his contemporaries the advice of one of Cromwell's biographers is instructive: 'To understand a man who lived in an age of faith, we must treat seriously the faith of his age'.⁶

Puritanism

The second question is one of terminology. Puritanism has been used in so many ways to describe such differing groups that the term now 'suffers from inflation'.⁷ Historians have had long-standing

¹Ibid.

²Ashton, Civil War, p.108.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p.109.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Robert S. Paul, The Lord Protector. Religion and Politics in the Life of Oliver Cromwell, (Grand Rapids, 1955), p.381.

⁷Basil Hall, 'Puritanism: the Problem of Definition', 283-96 in Studies in Church History, ii, Ed. G. J. Cuming (London, 1965), 287.

disagreements concerning the definition of the term.¹ Those examining the subject have often varied widely in their definitions of the nature and extent of Puritanism. Geoffrey Nuttall perceived a Puritan spirit present in church history from the patristic age onward, defining it as 'that spirit in religion which has driven men at all times to seek a purer way of life, one that was simple and good as opposed to the insincere conventionalities and corruptions in the world around them'.²

Others have to varying degrees limited the definition to a particular time and place. Basil Hall sought to define the movement in terms of its contemporary usage, namely as describing the attempts to purify the Church of England's worship and polity from within prior to 1642.³ Recognizing that such a narrow definition would find little acceptance now, he nevertheless appealed for great precision and

¹Ibid., 283-87. Cf. for example J. Brauer, 'Reflections on the Nature of English Puritanism', C.H., xxiii(1954), 99-108; G. Mosse, 'Puritan Political Thought and the "Cases of Conscience"', C.H., xxiii(1954), 109-18; A. Simpson, 'Saints in Arms: English Puritanism as Political Utopianism', C.H., xxiii(1954), 119-25; C. Hill, Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England(London, 1966), pp.13-29; C. George, 'Puritanism as History and Historiography', Past and Present, 41(1968), 77-104; W. Lamont, 'Puritanism as History and Historiography: Some Further Thoughts', Past and Present, 44(1969), 133-46; P. Zagorin, The Court and the Country(London, 1969), pp.156-97; and I. Breward, 'The Abolition of Puritanism', Journal of Religious History, vii(1972-73), 20-34. Cf. also J. McGee, The Godly Man in Stuart England(London, 1976), pp.263-74 and R. Greaves, 'The Nature of the Puritan Tradition', Reformation, 255-273.

²Geoffrey F. Nuttall, 'The Puritan Spirit Through the Ages', in The Puritan Spirit. Essays and Addresses(London, 1967), p.11

³Hall, 'Puritanism', 289.

consistency in use of the term by the movement's students.¹

Although a Puritan spirit was not just a phenomenon of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in those centuries it was more. While possessing elements of an earlier 'purifying' spirit, in those years it stood as a vital force in the lives of men as an essentially religious movement with historical significance.

Any accurate definition must recognize that Puritanism was not a static movement, but one that interacted with its religious, political and socio-economic milieu. While numerous factors remained constant, Puritanism in the period after 1640 was a movement significantly different² from its Elizabethan, Jacobean, and even early Caroline ancestors.³ The breakdown of political and ecclesiastical authority that accompanied the civil war released centrifugal forces within Puritanism which spawned an ever-increasing number of religious groups. It was during the tumultuous years from 1640 to 1660 'that Puritanism manifested its dynamic and revolutionary nature'.⁴

There is a very real sense in which Puritans can be distinguished

¹Ibid., p.293, Cf. Basil Hall, 'The Genevan Tradition', J.E.H., xx(1969), 111-16 for a similar plea for caution(in the face of similar abuse) of the term Calvinism.

²Patrick McGrath, Papists and Puritans under Elizabeth I(London, 1967).

³Some trends within Puritanism preceding 1640 in response to its English experience are briefly discussed in Chapter III infra.

⁴Tai Liu, Discord in Zion: The Puritan Divines and the Puritan Revolution 1640-1660(The Hague, 1973), p.xiv.

from the Separatists and their rejection of the Church of England.¹ However, the inner, transforming spiritual experience which forms the core of Puritanism was far more comprehensive, including the Separatists and later sectarian groups. Consequently, by 1640 a more inclusive definition of Puritanism is preferable.

Dr. Nuttall has provided just such a definition in his analysis of Puritanism into right, middle and left parties.² He delineated a conservative party of the right within Puritanism that encompassed two wings.³ The 'Scottish tradition' envisaged the closest Church-State links, desiring a strong Presbyterian, synodical system.⁴ The 'English tradition' comprised the other wing within the party of the right and sought a system of individual congregations under internal Presbyterian authority. Puritanism's middle party also possessed two

¹Nuttall, Holy Spirit, p.11; Peter Toon, Puritans and Calvinism (Swengel, Pa., 1973), pp.9-50, especially pp.9, 49-50. While supporting Nuttall at most points, Richard Greaves 'The Nature of the Puritan Tradition', Reformation, pp.255-29, prefers to exclude Separatists from inclusion and uses the term sectarian as distinct from Puritanism.

²This definition of Puritanism is employed in the present study, with terms such as Presbyterian, Independent, Congregationalist, and Baptist used to further distinguish men who are all viewed as being within the Puritan spectrum.

Anglican is used to describe those men within the Church of England who were satisfied with the Elizabethan settlement as well as those in the seventeenth century, who were sympathetic to the Laudian and Arminian 'innovations'. Cf. T. Parker 'Arminianism and Laudianism in Seventeenth Century England', 20-34 in Studies in Church History, i, ed. C. Dugmore and C. Duggan (London, 1964) and N. Tyacke, 'Puritanism, Arminianism and Counter-Revolution', 119-43 in The Origins of the English Civil War, ed. Conrad Russell (London, 1973) for the Laudian and Arminian development.

³Nuttall, Holy Spirit, p.11.

⁴Ibid.

distinct wings, Richard Baxter representing the party's right wing and Calvinistic Congregationalist John Owen its left.¹

The radical party within Puritanism was composed not of distinct wings, but rather of multitudinous gradations of opinion stretching across the horizon into iconoclastic individualism.² Once again employing Nuttall's examples, Morgan Llwyd, a more radical Congregationalist than Owen, is best placed within the radical party. Walter Cradock represented a middle ground between Llwyd and men such as William Dell and John Saltmarsh.³ From these men the spectrum of opinions stretched leftward with often almost imperceptible gradations through Ranters, Seekers, and ultimately the Quakers, as men sought to find a balance between the authority of the Scripture and the leading of the Spirit.⁴

The Baptists, General and Particular, occupied places on the Puritan spectrum from Owen all the way to the most radical fringe. Many men found the Baptists a way-station on their voyage through the above categories to an ultimate Seeker or Quaker destination.⁵ Even more importantly for the present study, some, such as Thomas Collier, traveled back and forth along the spectrum occupying different positions at different times.

Before turning to the Remonstrance controversy, it should be

¹Ibid., pp.11-12.

²Ibid., p.12.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., pp.12-13.

⁵Ibid., p.13.

noted that recent research has revealed the pervasiveness of Puritan millenarianism and how the concept of the gathered church of visible saints was related to millenarian expectations.¹ Collier's writings and activities during this period reveal that both concepts were prominent in his thought.

The Controversy Commences

In the closing months of 1648 and the early months of 1649 the intermittent military and incessant pamphlet conflict which had convulsed England for over half a decade was moving rapidly toward the trial and execution of Charles. It was the signal of the end of an epoch. No matter what happened subsequently, never again would an English Sovereign sit quite so securely on his throne.²

In the midst of the crisis many men were drawn into the vortex of the pamphlet controversy aroused over the issues raised by the Remonstrance presented to the House of Commons by the Army on the 20th of November, 1648. A one-time Army chaplain, Collier was more than passingly familiar with the Army's programme and grievances. Enmeshed in the most political phase of his career, Collier's involvement in the Remonstrance controversy manifested itself in several ways. First, he assisted in the formulation and circulation of a petition supporting

¹Tai Liu, Discord, pp.3-30. Cf. Chapter V infra for a brief discussion of Puritan eschatology.

²C. V. Wedgwood, 'European Reaction to the Death of Charles I,' pp.401-19, in From the Renaissance to the Counter-Reformation. Essays in Honour Garrett Mattingly. Edited and with an Introduction by Charles H. Carter (London, 1966). Cf. also Godfrey Davies, The Early Stuarts, 1603-1660 (Oxford, 1945, corrected ed.), pp.217-18.

the Army's programme in his native county.¹ Second, he defended the Remonstrance against William Sedgwick's attacks. Third, he played at least a peripheral role in the important Whitehall debates of December, 1648 - January, 1649.

The Army's Increasing Radicalism

The radical and Leveller elements within the Army had been agitating for the radicalization of the Army's programme since 1647. When policy differences emerged within the Army, a representative structure evolved to serve as a vehicle for resolving differing views. Composed of the general officers, representative regimental officers, and spokesmen (called agitators) elected by the soldiers, the ensuing political activity spawned by this organization brought the public, and the army to a growing awareness of the Army's disillusionment with the Parliament.² In 1647 it became evident that the Presbyterian party (a majority most of the time in Parliament), anxious to neutralize the Army's power, was making plans to dismiss most of the officers without voting back pay. The soldiers refused disbandment and began making their own demands through their newly elected regimental representatives and through the press. Many within the Army were bitterly opposed to the Parliament's attempts to thwart religious toleration by the imposition of Presbyterianism. The Army was growing increasingly fearful of being trapped in the position of having won the battle in

¹Cf. Appendix B, infra.

²Wilhelm Schenk, The Concern for Social Justice in the Puritan Revolution (New York, 1948), p.14.

the field, only to lose that for which it had fought in the political arena.¹

The Army had occupied London and impeached eleven leaders of the Presbyterian party in August, 1647, after having put forward the Heads of Proposals. Charles rejected the Heads of Proposals which would have set up a limited monarchy. In the meantime London radicals and the Levellers in the Army produced the Agreement of the People which was much more radical, since it abolished monarchy and erected 'a totally elective assembly, itself expressly inferior to the sovereign people themselves'.² In October, 1647 the Army assembled at Putney debated the two documents. These highly charged debates nearly divided the General officers and the soldiers' Leveller agitators, endangering the Army's unity.

The debates were deadlocked when Cromwell forcibly terminated them, stopping a nascent mutiny. The King's escape in November, 1647 and his alliance with the Scots in December greatly aided Cromwell in restoring unity to the Army. Important events had been transpiring in the North. The locus of power had shifted among the Scots. Moderate royalists had increased their power at the expense of the covenanters, thus making alliance (based on the Engagement) with Charles a

¹Gardiner, Civil War, iii. 487-564: Great Rebellion, pp. 122-42; and Purge, passim. Detailed material is also contained in The Clarke Papers, ed. C. H. Firth (New York, 1965, 1st pub. 1894), ii.

²Great Rebellion, p. 117. For events in London during the crucial period of the late 1640's Cf. Valerie Pearl, 'London's Counter-Revolution', in Interregnum, pp. 29-56 and Robert Brenner, 'The Civil War Politics of London's Merchant Community.' Past and Present, no. 58, (February, 1973), pp. 53-107.

realistic possibility.¹ In July, 1648 a Scottish Army once again crossed into England to impose a settlement arrived at with Charles. At Preston Cromwell met and soundly defeated the Scots. As the autumn of 1648 rolled on the Army grew increasingly impatient with a Parliament still attempting to negotiate with that 'man of blood', Charles I.²

Regiments from many parts of the country were demanding drastic action by October, 1648. By November Henry Ireton had drafted a long statement elucidating the Army's demands. His proposal was debated at St. Albans in the early part of November. After negotiations with Lilburne and the Levellers (and the consequent addition of some final sections regarding a constitution, which sufficiently placated Lilburne and his followers), the Remonstrance was adopted and presented to the House of Commons in November.³

¹Interregnum, pp.5-6. 'The Engagement' concluded on the 26th of December, 1647 between the Scots and the King, stated that the Scots would help restore Charles by force and in return Charles would establish Presbyterianism for a period of three years.

²Gardiner, Civil War, iii, 428-93; Great Rebellion, pp.112-50.

³Great Rebellion, 130-32; Cf. Gardiner, Civil War, iii. passim, for a discussion of the intricacies of the final discussions; Purge, pp.123-28. The extent and nature of the Leveller concept of the franchise has been the subject of extensive historical debate. C.B. MacPherson in The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism (Oxford, 1962) initiated the debate by arguing vigorously that the Levellers placed severe limitations on the franchise and thus were not the champions of democracy that many had thought them to be. Recent discussions of the question and suggested revisions are found in Keith Thomas, 'The Levellers and the Franchise', Interregnum, pp.57-58 and in 'Leveller Democracy--Fact or Myth' the concluding chapter of A. L. Morton's The World of the Ranters (London, 1970). A short summary of Leveller ideas and the Leveller movement is found in Brian Manning, 'The Levellers', The English Revolution 1600-1660 ed. by E. W. Ives (London, 1968), pp.144-58. Many of the writings of the Leveller

Before accepting Ireton's proposed Remonstrance, the Army Council made one final effort to come to an understanding with Charles. They offered to restore him to the throne if he would agree to severe limitation of his powers.¹ The King was being asked to renounce kingship 'in any sense that he understood, and to become merely the principal official in a country governed by Parliament'.² Charles replied by advising the Army to submit their proposals to Parliament, an action tantamount to rejection, since both he and the Army were well aware that a majority in the Commons opposed the Army's proposals.³

Confronted with the Remonstrance, the Parliament deferred consideration of its contents for seven days. When the Remonstrance continued to be ignored, Fairfax's men moved; on 30 November the Army marched toward London.⁴ Fairfax explained the Army's action in his Declaration of that date.⁵

movement are found in Tracts on Liberty in the Puritan Revolution ed. William Haller and Godfrey Davies (New York, 1944). A detailed study of the movement is found in H. N. Brailsford, The Levellers and the English Revolution ed. Christopher Hill (London, 1961). A recent introduction to the Leveller Movement with selected documents is found in The Levellers in the English Revolution, ed. by G. E. Aylmer, The Levellers in the English Revolution (Ithaca, N.Y., 1975), hereafter cited as Aylmer, The Levellers.

¹Trial, pp.27-28

²Ibid., p.28, citing The Representations of the General Council of the Army (E.473,5), and Gardiner, iv, Civil War, 236-42.

³Ibid., pp.28-29, 230n., citing His Majesty's Declaration of November 17th from the Isle of Wight (E.473.5.).

⁴Parl. History, pp.265-71

⁵Declaration. Thomason dates this pamphlet '30 Nov.', Thom. Tr., i, 695. The pamphlet, however (E.474.13), bears the date 'Novem. I 1648', the 'Novem.' being crossed out and replaced by Dec. in

The Army felt it had proposed in the Remonstrance the programme on which the kingdom could be settled in peace and justice. Yet the Parliament had persistently ignored the Remonstrance while continuing to seek a personal treaty with the King, despite the Army's warnings of the folly of such action.¹ The Army felt itself forced to conclude that 'the prevailing part' of the Parliament had 'their eyes wilfully shut, and ears stopt, against anything of Light or Reason offered to them'.² The Army believed that a majority of the members of Parliament had 'falsified and forfeited their Trust'.³ The members that 'God hath kept upright' were called upon to withdraw from the blind majority and to proceed to seek and do God's will.⁴ Such a purified Parliamentary body, Fairfax stated, would be viewed by the Army as 'having materially the chief Trust of the kingdom remaining in them'.⁵ Promising to swear allegiance to such a legislative body until 'a just Representative' could be formulated according to the guidelines of the Remonstrance, the Army was inviting Parliament to purge itself.⁶

The Declaration further stated that the Army was bound before God to use all power placed at its disposal 'for the avoiding of

Thomason's hand. The printed date attached to the pamphlet is an obvious typographical error, as the pamphlet bears above John Rushworth's imprimatur the following inscription: 'By appointment of His Excellency the Lord Fairfax, Lord General, and His General Counsel of Officers, held at Windsor, Nov. 30. 2648'.

¹Declaration, pp.1-3.

²Ibid., pp.3-5.

⁴Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

³Ibid., p.6.

⁵Ibid., p.7.

these great evils we have Remonstrated, and for the prosecution of the good things we have propounded'.¹ In the pursuit of these goals Fairfax declared 'we are now drawing up with the Army to London, there to follow Providence as God shall clear our way'.² Within two turbulent months such firm resolve led the Army, although Fairfax and some others ultimately demurred, to the trial, conviction, and execution of their King.

When the Commons persisted in refusing the Army's demands and continued to negotiate with the King, the Army intervened. On 6 December, the Army 'purged' Parliament, established the Rump that the Declaration had pledged the Army to support, and immediately began to implement its programme. The Rump declared the actions of Charles Stuart treasonous and a Court of Justice was established to bring him to trial.³

Remonstrance Programme

The Remonstrance presented to the Parliament on 20 November, was the document which was 'to precipitate the crisis' that led to the Army's seizure of power.⁴ In its final form, the Remonstrance's programme, and the compromises connected with its adoption by the Army, initiated the final major attempt to bring about an acceptable settlement between the Grandees and the Levellers. By late 1648

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Great Rebellion, pp.132-33; Purge, pp.143-72. Cf. also Trial, passim.

⁴Trial, p.27.

Ireton, and the Grandee faction he largely represented, had moved to a less conservative stance than they had advocated at Putney a year before. Lilburne and the Levellers as well were amenable to seeking a common platform if possible.¹ The programme advocated by the Remonstrance revealed the influence of Ireton's attempt to compromise with the Levellers.²

When a 'revised Agreement of the People' fashioned at the Whitehall debates, was submitted to the Rump Parliament instead of the general populace, the Leveller support for Cromwell dwindled rapidly.³ Soon after the execution of the King the Levellers rebelled against the new government.⁴ From then until his death in 1658

¹Wolfe, ed. Leveller Manifestoes, pp.33-34.

²H. N. Brailsford, The Levellers, pp.368-70. Brailsford suggests (pp.377-78) an alternative explanation to S. R. Gardiner's conclusion 'that the final text was reached by a compromise between Ireton and the Levellers'. Brailsford found no evidence for such a conclusion in Lilburne's description of the events, but declared that 'there must have been a subsequent revision of Ireton's draft, since the passages "lashing" the Levellers were cut out'. Brailsford goes on to conclude 'that Ireton had the text of the September Petition before him when he composed his own manifesto, and must have made up his mind, perhaps in consultation with Colonel Harrison and Hugh Peters, how much of it he could adopt. The Petition...itself had been so drafted as to make it as far as possible acceptable to Cromwell and Ireton'. The 'September Petition' to which Brailsford referred was The humble Petition of divers wel affected Persons... which was presented to Parliament on 11 September, 1648. John Lilburne was at least involved actively in its composition and it is reprinted in The Leveller Tracts, ed. William Haller and Godfrey Davies (New York, 1944), pp.147-56.

³Christopher Hill, Oliver Cromwell 1658-1958. Historical Association Pamphlet, General Series No. 38 (London, 1958), pp.17-18. (Hereafter cited as Hill, Oliver Cromwell). Cf. also Aylmer, The Levellers, pp.40-41.

⁴Hill, Oliver Cromwell, pp.17-18.

Cromwell possessed bitter enemies both to his left and to his right and 'was left sitting on a thin line of bayonets'.¹

The Remonstrance received wide publicity immediately following its presentation to Parliament. This was also true of the numerous regimental petitions which were issued in its support.² At least seven newspapers presented the main points or 'heads' of the Remonstrance to their readers within a week.³

While Ireton presented the Remonstrance's arguments in an anfractuous style, the main points emerged. The Remonstrance commenced by explaining that it was, in the light of past events, impossible to come to a workable agreement with the King. It was also asserted that a contract existed between the ruler and the ruled and that the ruler, when guilty of misconduct, is accountable to the people. The people, not the King, were ultimately sovereign.⁴ The Remonstrance explained that the King must face trial for his treasonous offences in order to safeguard the people's future liberties.⁵ It was also demanded that

¹Ibid., p.19.

²Trial, p.30.

³Trial, p.230, citing The Moderate(21 Nov.), The Perfect Weekly Account(22 Nov.), Packets of Letters(22 Nov.), The Moderate Intelligencer(23 Nov.), Perfect Occurrences(24 Nov.), The Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer and A Perfect Diurnal.

⁴Remonstrance, pp.1-16. Ireton was aware of the dangers inherent in the use of the doctrine of Salus Populi Suprema Lex, but remained convinced that Charles had violated the people's trust and that the people's safety and well-being demanded that action be taken. Cf. Puritanism & Liberty, pp.91-92, 329; Antonia Fraser, Cromwell, Our Chief of Men(London, 1973), pp.265-66.

⁵Remonstrance, pp.20-31.

the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York surrender, that some of the King's chief advisers be liable to the death penalty, that other Royalists should be fined, and that the soldiers should be given their pay arrears.¹ The concluding sections were a form of compromise constitutional proposal which attempted at least to placate the Levellers.²

The Remonstrance, while attacking Charles, did not rule out monarchy, but instead called for a government vastly more representative in its composition. No future monarch would possess the power of veto and Parliament must be elected on the basis of a significantly reformed and expanded franchise. The present Parliament was exhorted to 'set some reasonable and certain period to your own power' so a sovereign body could be selected to take its place by the newly expanded electorate.³

The Remonstrance was the 'manifesto' of the Army's programme.⁴ When Parliament refused to approve their proposals, the Army undertook the task themselves. In the political and religious debate that followed many viewed the Remonstrance's programme and the Army's use of force to achieve that programme as an inseparable entity.

Although the Remonstrance was concerned with several issues, the question of the King's trial and punishment soon became the issue

¹Ibid., pp.62-65.

²Ibid., pp.65-70; Great Rebellion, pp.130-32; Aylmer, The Levellers, pp.39-40.

³Remonstrance, passim; Quote from p.65.

⁴Purge, p.123.

around which the others ultimately revolved. The King had become a symbol to both sides. To those opposed to the Army he was a unifying force, a bulwark against social upheaval, and ultimately a martyred hero. The Army viewed Charles I as the chief instigator of the second civil war and thus responsible for the shedding of innocent blood. Increasingly he symbolized to the soldiers the forces seeking to frustrate the goals for which they had fought so long.¹ If nothing else, this guaranteed that the debate would be extremely acrimonious. It would be difficult to overestimate the degree of emotion Charles I aroused in most Englishmen's breasts by the autumn of 1648.

The Pamphlet War Commences

The tidal wave of pamphlets spawned by the Army's Remonstrance reached full spate in the weeks and months immediately following its appearance in November, 1648. One need only observe the scores of tracts concerning this subject collected by George Thomason during these crucial months for confirmation of this fact.² While the Army

¹William Allen, A faithful Memorial(---.1659), reprinted in Somer's Tracts, (London, 1811, 2nd ed. rev.), v, 498-504(Used). Allen gives an intriguing account of the Army's meetings early in 1648 and subsequent to the 'insurrection' of Charles and the Scots(500). He related that the officers repeatedly sought God's assistance and guidance and that their petitions were answered. Allen asserted that God enabled them 'to come to a very clear and joint resolution...that it was our duty, if ever the Lord brought us back again in peace, to call Charles Stewart, that man of blood, to an account for that blood he had shed'(501). Allen interpreted their subsequent success in this regard as proof that they had correctly interpreted God's word to them.(Ibid.)

²Thom. Tr., i, 691-747. This section catalogued the entries of tracts passing into George Thomason's hands between 20 Nov., 1648 and 1 June, 1649. During these months the entries were overwhelmingly dominated by pamphlets concerned with the Remonstrance and the Army's subsequent actions in support of the Remonstrance's demands.

and their supporters were advocating, and taking, decisive action, their opponents were anything but quiescent. The Royalists objected as vigorously as circumstances allowed and they were joined by the newly disenfranchised Presbyterians.¹ The Army's spokesmen sought of course to justify the Army's actions at every point. Ministers were prominent in the ranks of most factions as the issue was joined in the pulpit and on the printed page.²

Royalist Opposition

Given the latent support for the King in the general population it is surprizing that Royalist opposition did not prove more aggressive and persistent during this period. While the Royalists did protest, they were hampered both by the physical force of the Army's presence and by the malaise engendered by their convincing defeat in the second civil war.³

¹A few Independents such as Sedgwick opposed the Army's actions. They were joined by the Levellers, whose objections were much more secular in origin. However, for the most part the Levellers did not employ their formidable pamphleteering skills to attack the Army. Instead, they negotiated with the Army leaders over a new Agreement of the People. The Levellers' major protests occurred after the King's death and what they viewed as their subsequent betrayal by the Army. The Army's reply in dealing with this, perhaps their most dangerous opposition, was not the word, but the bayonet. (Cf. Purge, pp.198-200). Cf. Lois G. Schwoerer, 'No Standing Armies!' (London and Baltimore, 1974), passim concerning the continuing antimilitary feeling in seventeenth century England and pp.51-71 concerning the new model army specifically.

²William L. Sachse, 'English Pamphlets Support for Charles I, November 1648-January 1649' in Conflict in Stuart England. Essays in Honour of Wallace Notestein. Ed. by W. H. Aiken and B. D. Henning (New York, 1960) pp.147-68.

³Trial, pp.46-48.

What could be construed as one of the earliest 'Royalist' responses to the Remonstrance was in print by 30 November, 1648.¹ In A Plea for the King, Marchamont Needham, at this stage in his chameleon-like career a royalist, warned the Commons that it was the Army's intention to 'make your House too hot to hold you'.² He pointed out principles of rebellion underlying the Army's arguments and sought to rally the Parliament's resistance.³ Needham accused the Army of espousing the erroneous belief that they were the embodiment of 'the people'.⁴ He charged them with employing 'Salus Populi suprema Lex, the safety of the People is the sovereign Law' as justification for any action they might care to take.⁵

Men possessing perhaps a more valid, and certainly a more

¹Thom. Tr., i, 693. Mercurius Pragmaticus(Marchamont Needham) A Plea for the King(---, 1648). This pamphlet had been preceded by an attack on the Remonstrance in the 21-28 November Mercurius Pragmaticus Needham's newspaper. Cf. Thom. Tr., i, 693ff concerning other early responses, including those directly from the King. Cf. also Sachse, op. cit., pp.150-51 concerning successful attempts by the King's defenders to overcome censorship attempts, often through anonymity.

²Needham, Plea for the King, p.i.

³Ibid., p.ii. Abrupt change of allegiance was not a unique experience in this unscrupulous journalist's career. By 1643 Needham seemed to have found his 'calling' in life as editor of Mercurius Britannicus, a brutally anti-Royalist publication. Imprisoned for his attacks on monarchy in 1646, he changed sides a year later and became editor of the royalist newspaper Mercurius Pragmaticus. His strident expression of Royalist sentiments once more led to his arrest in 1649, but he was released by November of the same year after again switching his allegiance.(Cf. D.N.B., xiv, 159-64; Zagorin, Political Thought, pp.121-27.)

⁴Needham, Plea for the King, p.i.

⁵Ibid.

consistent claim to Royalist sympathies soon entered the fray. In the final weeks before the King's death, two Anglican clergymen, John Gauden, later Bishop of Exeter, and Henry Hammond, royalist chaplain, raised the royal standard and protested the Army's actions most vigorously. Gauden's The Religious and Loyal Protestation of John Gauden, appeared on 5 January, 1649.¹ This was followed on 15 January by the humble Adresse of Henry Hammond.² Hammond was soon embroiled in a spirited dialogue with John Goodwin and Eutactus Philodemius.³ Hammond represented those who felt that the King had been invested by God with ultimate authority in the civil sphere and Goodwin and Eutactus Philodemius represented those who were convinced that such authority was divinely invested only in the people and their

¹Thom. Tr., i, 711. Gauden was the author of the phenomenally popular Εἰκὼν Βασιλική. The Pourtraicture of his Sacred Maiestie in his Solitudes and Sufferings (9 Feb., 1649, Thom. Tr., i, 722). Published anonymously, it was attributed by many contemporaries to Charles I. Gauden, a Parliamentary supporter in the beginning, atoned for his earlier disloyalty with Eikon Basilike (John W. Packer, The Transformation of the Anglicanism 1643-1660 (Manchester, 1969), p.113). It was replied to most prominently in [I.M.] [John Milton] Ἐικονοκλάστης or 'The Image-Breaker' (Thom. Tr., i, 771).

²Thom. Tr., i, 714., Hereafter cited as Hammond, Adresse. Cf. Packer, Transformation, and D.N.B., s.v. for biographical information on Hammond.

³Eutactus Philodemius. Γένεσις καὶ Τέλος ἐξουσίας, The Original and End of Civil Power (London, 1649). This work has been attributed to Anthony Ascham, but Zagorin, Political Thought, p.83, and J. H. M. Salmon, The French Religious Wars in English Political Thought (Oxford, 1959), p.102, both convincingly argue against this identification.

Hammond replied to Eutactus Philodemius, Original & End in A Vindication of Dr. Hammonds Adresse, (London, 1649), published in July (Thom. Tr., i, 754). Eutactus Philodemius made a further reply, An Answer to the Vindication of Doctor Hammond, (London, 1650). Thomason's entry is dated 20 May, 1650 (Thom. Tr., i, 798).

representatives.¹

Presbyterian Reaction

Perhaps the most sustained and vociferous attack on the Army's actions came from the Royalists' newest allies, the Presbyterians, especially their clergy.² The ministers of the Presbyterian party had wielded considerable power during the period of their party's dominance in Parliament. The Army's actions had effectively nullified

¹E.P., Original & End, passim; Hammond, A Vindication, pp.6-11, 23-27.

²In the present study attention is focused mainly on the religious arguments, those arguments framed within a religious reference, or those arguments put forward by men who were recognized by their contemporaries as ministers or 'preachers' because: i) Collier's involvement is couched mainly in these terms. ii) The contribution of 'religious' figures to this debate has been comparatively neglected in contrast to those men who argued for one or the other side on a more political basis. (It must not be forgotten that 'political' and 'religious' are relative terms in the seventeenth century. Apart from a rarity such as Thomas Hobbes, the most secular political argument contained a religious leaven and was expressed in semi-religious language).

Some men, have, although not clergymen, assumed important roles in the politico-religious controversy. William Prynne was one of the earliest to speak out against the Army's programme (the Remonstrance) and actions (the 'purge'). His Erastianism led him to detest the Presbyterian cause almost as vehemently as he did that of the Army. However, his eloquent speech in the Commons on 4 December (Thom. Tr., i, 697) against the Remonstrance proved to be such an effective rebuttal of the Army's arguments that it was reprinted several times early in 1649, Cf. D.N.B., s.v. and William M. Lamont, Marginal Prynne 1600-1669 (London, 1963) concerning Prynne and his continuing opposition to the Army.

Anthony Ascham, John Milton, John Drury, Francis Rous, Marchamont Needham, Francis Osborne and others who contributed to the ongoing justification of, and debate over, the Rump, the Commonwealth, and the Protectorate are discussed in Quentin Skinner, 'Conquest and Consent: Thomas Hobbes and the Engagement Controversy, Interregnum, pp.79-98: hereafter referred to as Skinner, 'Conquest'. Detailed discussion is given the wider political aspects and implications of the controversy in Zagorin, Political Thought as well. Cf. also John M. Wallace, 'The Engagement Controversy, 1649-52, an Annotated List of Pamphlets,'

that power, and their collective roar of outrage was intense. Their angry denunciation of the Army soon reverberated through the streets of London and the tremors were felt in many parts of the land.¹

The Presbyterian clergy controlled a large number of London's pulpits and many had attracted large and enthusiastic followings among the populace. The ministers attacked the Army leaders with a vehemence that evoked an angry response.² As one disapproving witness of the ministers' activities observed:

The Presbyterian party are now contriving, w.h way to mount themselves agt. their opposite faction, & re-establish their rotten interest in statu quo. To this end the pulpiteers have the alarum already, insomuch that the coun. of war sent them a menacing cooler, for their last Sunday zeal, but nevertheless they are resolved to drive on furiously.... They do not only plot, but prate

Bulletin of the New York Public Library, lxviii(1964), 384-405.

Anthony Ascham was one of the first to construct an apologetic for the government that resulted from the Army's actions to implement the Remonstrance, based upon something other than acknowledging the present government primarily because it existed under God's providence. He argued rather upon the utilitarian grounds that men needed governments to protect themselves from other men as well as from themselves (Skinner, 'Conquest', pp.86-87). Ascham's A Discourse: Wherein is examined, What is particularly lawfull during the Confusions and Revolutions of Government(---, 1648) had reached the public by July, 1648 (Thom. Tr., i, 656) and twelve months later his A Combat Between Two Seconds appeared and was closely followed by The Bounds and Bonds of Public Obedience. Within four months the earlier Discourse had been revised(nine additional chapters were added) and reissued as Of the Confusions and Revolutions of Governments.(London, 1649). The second and third works above were published anonymously(for attribution to Ascham see John M. Wallace, op. cit., pp.390-92). In all of these books Ascham argued for the acceptance of the present government on secular, political, and utilitarian grounds. Ascham was influenced by Hobbes and read DeCive before the revision of Discourse into Of the Confusions(Skinner, 'Conquest', pp.94-95). Cf. also Zagorin, Political Thought, pp.63-67, 74n.

¹Trial, pp.52-54; Purge, pp.163-76.

²Trial, pp.53-55; Purge, pp.163, 174-76.

openly, & thus you may be assured of, that we shall be held in suspense with another Scottish engagement.¹

The Army's warnings did little to dampen the ministers' zeal and their opposition continued unabated. One of their number, Thomas Watson, appointed before the purge to preach at the regular Parliamentary fast on 27 December, seized the opportunity to denounce the Rump and all its works in explicit terms. The House showed their disapproval by refraining from recording a customary vote of appreciation and by not offering to publish his sermon.² No further punitive action was taken, however.³

Far from spending itself, the Presbyterian outcry gained momentum with each passing week. During the momentous days of the last

¹John Lawrans to Secretary Nicholas, 21 Dec. 1648: Bodleian MS, Clarendon 34, fol. 12 [Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers Preserved in the Bodleian Library. Vol. I, to January 1649 ed. by O. Page and W. H. Bliss (Oxford, 1872), p.459, entry 2967.] Underdown identifies Lawrans as Needham on the following grounds:

'4 Dec: Lawrans says he is being more detailed than usual because "no Prag. wilbe abroad this weeke". (MS Clar. fol. 8v).
 25 Dec: His classification of MPs still under restraint is identical with that published in Merc. Prag. 39, for 19-26 Dec, - i.e. published after the letter. (fol. 17)
 28 Dec: Lawrans says that in letter of the 25th, "being pressed for an immediate dispatch of the weekly thing unto the press", he omitted some information (fol. 17v). (Private communication from D. Underdown, 25 October, 1973). A further piece of internal evidence supporting this identification is the abhorrence of the Scots revealed in this particular letter (21 Dec.), an emotion for which Needham was well-known (Cf. D.N.B., xiv, 160.). Needham may have been against the Remonstrance, but he was not enamoured of the Presbyterian cause either.

²Watson had his sermon, Gods Anatomy upon Mans Heart published, but some of the most volatile portions were excised. (Thom. Tr., i, 706; Trial, p.54, 231n.

³H. R. Trevor-Roper, Religion, the Reformation, and Social Change, (London, 1967), pp.333-35; Purge, p.176; Trial, pp.53-54; John F. Wilson, Pulpit in Parliament, pp.95, 155-56.

half of January, 1649, the Presbyterian ministers launched a sustained collective attack on the Army. Two days before the King's trial began, forty-seven of the Presbyterian ministers issued Representation.¹ During the course of the trial, itself, which lasted from 20 - 27 January, two more such protests appeared, Apologeticall Declaration, and Vindication.²

In these three documents the Presbyterian ministers stated their arguments clearly.³ The Army was clearly acting in direct opposition 'to the lawfull Authority of those Magistrates which God hath set over us'.⁴ They utterly rejected the Parliament's revolt against the King as a precedent for forcibly excluding a majority of the Parliament and for bringing the King to trial. The ministers warned the Army that employing their past success as an argument of divine blessing was 'no safe rule to walke by' and that they needed to guard against interpreting their impulses as divine guidance.⁵ They also rejected any argument from necessity that the Army might conceivably construct.⁶

¹Representation, dated 18 Jan. on title page and entered 18 Jan. in Thom. Tr., i, 715.

²Thomason dated his copies of Apologeticall Declaration and Vindication 24 and 27 Jan respectively (Thom. Tr., i, 717, 719) and the former has 24 January printed on its title page. Underdown dates Vindication, however, which was primarily the work of Burges, as appearing on 20 January, Purge, p.177n.

³It should be noted that, as their opponents pointed out, the Presbyterian clergy did not present in actual fact a united phalanx of opposition to the Army. There certainly was less than universal support for the sentiments represented in Representation, Apologeticall Declaration, and Vindication (R.W.K. Hinton, ed. and intro., A Serious and Faithful Representation of...Ministers of the Gospel within the Province of London 18 Jan. 1648/9 (Reading, 1949), p.x.

⁴Representation, p.3, mispaginated '2'.

⁵Ibid., pp.9-11.

⁶Ibid.

In Apologeticall Declaration the ministers' rebuke of the Army reached an even higher pitch. They accused the Army of perverting their cause in Religion by 'unwarrantable Tolerating' of all types of 'accursed opinions' under the false banner of 'Liberty of Conscience'.¹ The trial of the King was denounced as being without any justification.² They perceived the proceedings at Westminster as 'a sad prologue to the ensuing slavery and ruine of all Free-born Subjects of this Realm'.³

The fifty-eight ministers who signed Vindication (thirty-eight of whom signed the earlier Representation) denied vehemently any complicity (by virtue of past action) in seeking the King's death.⁴ They reiterated that their party had never intended any harm to come to the King, but that they desired merely 'to stop his party from doing further hurt to the Kingdome' and to place the King 'into a better capacity to doe justice'.⁵ To bring the King to trial was to the ministers a clear violation of the oath sworn in the Solemn League and Covenant.⁶ The only recourse

¹Apologeticall Declaration, pp.3-4. They also made this complaint in Representation, pp.8-9.

²Ibid., pp.7-8.

³Ibid., p.8.

⁴Vindication, p.5.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid., pp.6-7. A solemn league and covenant for Reformation and Defense of Religion, the honour and happiness of the King, and the peace and safety of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland, taken by the House of Commons September 25, 1643. Reprinted in Gardiner, Const. Doc., pp.167-77. In 1643 events were going badly for Parliament. Under Pym's leadership Parliament looked toward the Scots for aid. The Solemn League and Covenant resulted from negotiations between the Scots and Parliament and under its terms the Scots agreed to assist the Parliamentary cause. In return Parliament agreed to an essentially Presbyterian church settlement. In Section III those who swore to the document agreed 'to preserve and defend the King's Majesty's person and authority' and further stated to all that

left for the dissident clergy at this point was for the Westminster Assembly Divines to petition for leniency on behalf of the King.¹

The Army's Supporters Respond

The Army's supporters(almost exclusively Independent and sectarian) were not slow to answer the Presbyterian pulpit agitation and pamphlet offensive. However, it is puzzling that the Army authorities did not make haste to silence the Presbyterian agitation. While some action was taken, for the most part the ministers were left at liberty to agitate against the Army's goals.² While overweening confidence or mere incompetence are possible explanations, it is also possible to point to the broadly tolerationist views in religious matters prevalent among the Army leaders as explanatory.

Thomas Collier's involvement in the controversy placed him in the midst of a vanguard of supporters who sought to combat the Army's opponents during the crucial period from the appearance of the Remonstrance until the King's execution. The irrepressible Hugh Peter was extremely active during this time. George Cockayne preached a fast-day sermon on 29 November, Flesh Expiring and the Spirit Inspiring in

they had 'no thoughts or intentions to dimenish His Majesty's just power and greatness'. Many Presbyterians(and others) felt that having sworn this oath, they could never acquiesce to the trial of the King or give allegiance to a government which had tried and executed him. This should not be confused with the loyalty oath to the Republican Commonwealth, also called The 'Engagement', which was signed in 1650.

¹Gardiner, Civil War, iii, 589.

²Hinton, Serious & Faithful, p.vi.

the New Earth, which supported the Remonstrance.¹

John Goodwin

Throughout the month of December the controversy raged, but with the coming of January, 1649, perhaps the most able, and certainly the most sustained, defence of the Army's policies and actions commenced when John Goodwin's Right and Might Well Met was published.² In this pamphlet Goodwin defended the purge of Parliament and argued that the law of necessity prevailed since the excluded members of Parliament were threatening the very life of the people. The Army had acted as the people's representative in eliminating that which threatened their well-being.³

¹Trevor-Roper, Religion, Reformation, and Social Change, pp.330-34; Thom. Tr., i, 695; George Yule, The Independents, in the English Civil War(London, 1958) p.144.

²John Goodwin, Right and Might Well Met.(London, 1648).(2 January, 1649, Thom. Tr., i, 710.). Reply was made to Goodwin by Sir Francis Neathersole, in ο αὐτο-κατακριτος. The Self-Condemed,(Thom. Tr., i, 712.). Goodwin in turn replied with The Unrighteous Judge, (Thom. Tr., i, 718.). Cf. D.N.B., s.v. concerning Nethersole.

³Goodwin, Right and Might Well Met, pp.4-7, 8-9, 14-21. Goodwin, the zealous controversialist, campaigned with a tireless pen for religious liberty, congregational polity, Arminian theology, and the Parliamentary and then Army cause. In so doing, he incurred the wrath of Royalists, Calvinistic Presbyterians, and Independents alike. His efforts as an apologist for the Commonwealth and Protectorate were deemed so effective by the Royalists that at the Restoration Goodwin was among the eighteen persons 'perpetually incapacitated for any public trust'.(D.N.B., viii, 146). His defence of Arminian theology in Redemption Redeemed(1651) remained for many years one of the most persuasive and systematic presentations of the principles of Arminian theology. For biographical details of this important Independent minister's career cf. William Jefferson Strickland, 'John Goodwin as Seen Through His Controversies of 1640-1660', Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1967. Cf. also D.N.B., viii, 145-48.

In the course of this most momentous month(January, 1649), the Presbyterian clergyman John Gereë attempted to refute Goodwin's justification of the Army's actions.¹

Goodwin's reply to Gereë and others produced one of the most detailed and comprehensive defences of the Army's trial and execution of the King to surface during the entire controversy.² The Obstructors of Justice appeared in May, 1649 and was an often phrase by phrase, sentence by sentence rebuttal of the arguments levelled by the Presbyterian ministers' Representation and Vindication, Adresse, and Gereë's Might Overcoming Right.³ Urging Parliament to stand fast amidst the mounting criticism surrounding them, he counseled them to remain true to God and that their loyalty would be rewarded by His blessing. Acknowledging the Rump's loss of popular support in the wake of reaction to the King's execution, Goodwin assured them that they were 'great gainers in the favour of God'.⁴

Goodwin left no one in doubt that he perceived the trial and execution of the King as the paramount issue of the day. Goodwin described the Presbyterian clergy as employing 'their consecrated lungs

¹John Gereë, KATAΔΥΝΑΕΤΗ : Might Overcoming Right. (London, 1649), hereafter cited as Might Overcoming Right. Thomason's copy is catalogued with the date of 18 January, 1649(Thom. Tr., i, 715). Gereë served as moderator of the First London Classis(Shaw, Hist. Eng. Ch., ii, 144-46, citing Minutes of the London Provincial Synod, 17 January, 1647-48). Cf. also D.N.B., s.v.

²John Goodwin, ὑβριστοδκία . The Obstrvctovrs of Justice. (London, 1649), hereafter cited as Obstructors.

³Thom. Tr., i, 746. One measure of the anger engendered among Royalists by Obstructors is the fact that it was publicly burned at the Old Bailey 27 August, 1660(D.N.B., viii, 146.).

⁴Obstructors, 'Epistle Dedicatorie', p. iii.

for bellows to blow up these coals amongst the people'.¹ He asserted that only the exceedingly good sense of the populace prevented their long since having been 'Pulpitted over head and ears into blood' by the railings of the Presbyterian clergymen.²

Obstructors accused the clergymen of ignoring the clear teaching of Scripture concerning the bringing of all men(including monarchs) to justice for the shedding of blood.³ Goodwin sarcastically referred to the Solemn League and Government as the Presbyterian 'cornu-copia' which they used to justify their every word and action.⁴ To Goodwin it seemed that the Presbyterians had replaced Scripture with the Covenant as their ultimate authority.⁵ He argued that they had stressed the minor point of preserving the King's authority and had ignored the fact that the Covenant also bound its subscribers to seek with their lives and property 'to preserve the liberties of the Kingdoms'.⁶ For Goodwin there was no doubt that an irreconcilable conflict had arisen between these two parts of the Covenant and that the 'liberties of the Kingdoms' must take precedence over the protection of a King who had made himself 'the first-born of murtherers'.⁷ Goodwin condemned the authors and subscribers of the Representation and Vindication as blasphemers and concluded that Satan was 'busie at work' in their midst.⁸ In marshalling his arguments against the

¹Obstructors, p.2.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., pp.2-9.

⁴Ibid. pp.48-49.

⁵Ibid., pp.48, 55-57.

⁶Ibid., pp.49-50.

⁷Ibid., p.97.

⁸Ibid., p.68.

Presbyterian clergy, Goodwin cited both John Knox and John Milton.¹

John Milton

Milton, incensed at the Presbyterian attacks on the trial and execution of the King, issued The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates, his first completely political pamphlet, on 13 February 1649.² He declared that men were free to depose their rulers, who were subject to the law just like any other citizen. He asserted (in a passage quoted by Goodwin's Obstructors) that all Protestant churches from the Waldenses onward had to fight against evil rulers for the cause of religion and that it had always been maintained by such groups to be a legitimate action. Milton further argued that since God desired tyrants to be punished, if extra-legal means must be employed to bring about justice, then so it must be.³

He applauded the trial of the King because it would stand as a lesson to the monarchy and its supporters that 'Justice is the only true sovran and supreme Majesty upon earth'.⁴ A significant portion of Milton's pamphlet castigated the Presbyterians for their

¹Ibid., pp.67-71. John Knox, History of Reformation of Religion in the realm of Scotland, and John Milton, The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates. Cf. note 2 below. Goodwin added that he felt his Right and Might Well Met clearly proved that the Parliament's actions were sanctioned by Scripture precedent and the laws of necessity and conscience (Ibid., p.132).

²[J. M.], The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates. (London, 1649). For date of issue cf. Thom. Tr., i, 723. For analysis of Milton's political thought cf. Zagorin, Political Thought, pp.106-21, and Don M. Wolfe, Milton in the Puritan Revolution (London, 1941, repr. 1963), passim.

³Milton, Tenure of Kings and Magistrates, pp.9-29.

⁴Ibid., p.38.

inconsistency in now supporting the Royalist cause after having bitterly defied the King.¹ Milton warned that if they persisted on this new-found path of alliance with the Royalists that God would judge them.²

Recognizing the power wielded by the Presbyterian ministers throughout the country and particularly in London, the Grandees had made attempts at reconciliation with them and had tried even after Charles's execution to win them over. Milton's The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates signaled an abrupt departure from that strategy.³ Indeed, Milton seemed to seek to antagonize the ministers and to arouse their worst fears about the Rump's future policies. In this he was but the most notable among many whose attacks on the Presbyterians were becoming ever more vicious and vitriolic.

John Price

John Price's Clerico-Classicum bitterly assailed the Presbyterian clergy.⁴ Price explained the actions of the Presbyterian clergy in

¹Ibid., pp.29-38.

²Ibid., pp.33-42.

³Cf. Christopher Hill, 'Milton the Radical', Times Literary Supplement, 29 November 1974, 1330-32, concerning an interpretation of Milton's radical tendencies and associations.

⁴John Price, Clerico-Classicum, or the Clergy-allarum to a third war(Feb., 1649). Cf. Thom. Tr., i, 725. Price, a figure whose biographical data remains obscure, was by no means a newcomer to the ranks of the Army's supporters or to the pamphlet arena. He had been described variously as a 'Citizen of London'(Title page of Clerico-Classicum), 'a shopkeeper in the exchange'(Brit. Mus., cxcv, 100 and Thom. Tr., i, p.620), 'councill for the Freemen of London'(Brit. Mus., Ibid.), and a 'scrivener'(Lilburne, Legal Fundamental Liberties, quoted in Puritanism & Liberty, pp.347, 350). Price wrote several pamphlets opposing the Presbyterian alliance with the Scots as well as their general programmes. In May, 1648 Price attacked some of the Presbyterians' most important leaders in The Pulpit Incendiary(Thom.

terms of Satanic influence.¹ Their agitation had been a chief cause of the second civil war and Price accused them of once again being guilty of an attempt to plunge the nation into bloodshed for the base motive of being 'lifted up into the chaire of impulsory authority and government'.² In addition to Sedgwick's work and Collier's response to it, at least four other pamphlets merit attention. This is true for several reasons. First the pamphlets are representative of the nature of the continuing pamphlet warfare occasioned by the implementation of the Remonstrance programme. Second, they assume added significance in relation to Collier's participation because all of the authors were at one time or another labelled as Baptists. This denominational identification seems to have been mistaken in relation to John Canne and William Dell. The remaining two authors, Samuel Richardson and John Vernon, did share Collier's Baptist affiliation at least for a time.

Tr., i, 617). In the autumn of 1648 Price was one of four Independents selected to discuss the second Agreement of the People with an equal number of Levellers. Price, however, raised objections to having to parley with Walwyn, one of the four Levellers (Lilburne, Legal Fundamental Liberties, cited in Puritanism & Liberty, p.343). Price did join in the debates by December of that year, however, as Lilburne describes having 'had a good sharp bout' over some issues with Price in that month (Ibid., p.350).

¹Price, Clerico-Classicum, Dedicatory Epistle, pp.1-11. He also quotes John Knox's History of the Reformation of Religion in the Realme of Scotland (as did Goodwin's Obstructors) to the effect that Calvin and his colleagues had come to the conclusion that lesser authorities, and failing that, the people, should execute monarchs for murder of their subjects. Goodwin also cites Clerico-Classicum in Obstructors.

²Ibid., pp.3-5.

John Canne

John Canne¹ wielded considerable influence first among the early Separatist congregations in Amsterdam during the 1620's and 1630's and then among Army and Independent groups during the period of the Civil War and Interregnum. In mid-February his Golden Rule appeared. It severely chastised the Presbyterian clergy and lauded the Army's actions as divinely directed.² Canne had supported the Army and its cause from the genesis of the conflict between the Presbyterians and the Independents and he had served as a chaplain to Colonel Robert Lilburne's and Colonel Robert Overton's regiments. In the process of employing his persuasive pen on behalf of the Army's new regime, however, he wrote against the Leveller agitation embodied in John Lilburne's Englands New Chains Discovered (26 February) and The Second Part of England's New Chaines (24 March).³

Golden Rule reiterated the argument that all monarchs were their people's servants and that people could not forfeit their liberty. Indeed, sinful rulers must be overthrown.⁴ Though lacking the

¹Canne's biographical data is fragmentary and its interpretation in the past has often been misleading. Both John F. Wilson, 'Another Look at John Canne', C.H., xxxiii(1964), 34-48, and Champlin Burrage, 'Was John Canne a Baptist?', T.B.H.S., iii(1912-13), 212-46, provide detailed refutations of the earlier claim that Canne was ever a Baptist.

²John Canne, The Golden Rule (London, 1649). For date cf. Thom. Tr., i, 724.

³Canne's The Snare is broken (London, 1649). Thom. Tr., i, 740 catalogued the date as 1 May, but the dedication to the Commons in the pamphlet itself is dated 21 March. Thomason catalogued his replies to Lilburne's tract as appearing on 13 and 25 July respectively (Thom. Tr., i, 757, 759).

⁴Golden Rule, pp.1-5.

erudition and obvious learning of a Milton, Canne's clear, blunt style and his inward certainty of the divine favour of his cause, continued to make him an effective apologist.¹ In August, 1649 he censured the Presbyterians for their continued resistance.² Following the example of many contemporaries, Canne perceived military success as a sign of divine blessing on the Army's actions.³ Consequently, in a state of near euphoria after the battle of Dunbar(3 September, 1650) he proclaimed 'the Parliament of Englands Cause...hath been proved sufficiently to be...the Cause of GOD'.⁴

William Dell

William Dell, whose The City-Ministers Unmasked appeared in early March, has been at times described as a Baptist and/or a Quaker by both contemporaries and later historians.⁵ While his battle against uniformity and his latent mysticism might lead some to suggest that he was in sympathy with these groups, there is no evidence that he ever joined either sect or that he was ever after his conversion to the

¹On 2 August(Thom. Tr., i, 761) Canne's The Improvement of Mercy (London, 1649) appeared. During 1652-53 Canne wielded considerable power with the Council of State(Capp, p.69, citing C.S.P.D., 1652-53, p.426).

²John Canne, Improvement of Mercy, p.12.

³Both The Improvement of Mercy and Emmanuel, or God with us(London, 1650) developed this theme.

⁴John Canne, Emmanuel, p.44.

⁵The City-Ministers Unmasked(London, 1649). Thom. Tr., i, 728, dates the tract 5 March, 1649. For Dell's authorship cf. Eric F. Walker, William Dell, pp.96-97. In addition to Walker's biography, cf. D.N.B., s.v.

Parliamentary cause anything other than an 'Independent'.¹ Dell served as a chaplain with Fairfax's Army and with the New Model after its formulation in 1645.²

Soon to become master of Caius College, Cambridge, (a post he held from May, 1649 - May, 1660), Dell evidently had developed in the years spent with the New Model Army an intense dislike for the Presbyterian Parliamentary politicians and their clergy.³ In the City-Ministers Unmasked, his hostility erupted into a ferocious diatribe against Presbyterianism and all of its works.⁴ Pursuing the same line of argumentation utilized by Milton, Dell fused together Presbyterianism, episcopacy, and the papacy by contending that they were alike in the persecution of all other religious groups, their love for worldly display of riches, and their dependence upon state authority for maintenance and survival.⁵ It is not difficult to imagine the horror, fear, and rage with which his Presbyterian opponents greeted Dell's preaching and writing in light of provocative passages such as:

Since but few Laws among us, are the pure results of right reason and equity, but there is something of humane darkness, or interest cleaving to them; therefore as men grow up into more reason, they may change the Laws which themselves have made; and as succeeding generations grow up into more clear and refined reason, so may they change... former Laws, as less suitable to them...

Right reason and equity carry all Laws in their bowels, and will at all times be a fruitful womb of them for the peoples good, when the tyranny of form is done away:....

¹Walker, William Dell, pp.187-88.

²Ibid., pp.26-28, 47-52.

³Ibid., pp.36-38.

⁴Ibid., pp.96-98.

⁵City-Ministers Unmasked, passim.

Each generation can judge better what is for its own good,
then their forefathers,

The rigid 'law and order' men, both Presbyterian and otherwise, reacted violently to opinions which so summarily dismissed tradition, precedent, and the 'divine' order of the existing hierarchical social structure, making all mutable and subject to each generation's approval.

Samuel Richardson

Another writer who vigorously supported the trial and execution of Charles and stridently castigated the Presbyterians for their opposition was Samuel Richardson, a Particular Baptist and evidently a prominent member of one of the seven Particular Baptist congregations in London that spawned the Confession(1644).² It has been suggested that if this Confession was the product of joint authorship then Richardson was likely involved at least peripherally.³ Having signed the 1644 edition, he energetically defended it from Daniel Featley's attacks in The Dippers dipt(1645).⁴ It is worth noting that Richardson's signature did not appear in the 3rd edition(1651), 4th

¹City-Ministers Unmasked, p.19, quoted in Wolfe, Milton, pp.454-55.

²Confession(1644). Cf. White, 'Doctrine', for a discussion of the document's background and the seminal influence it exercised over subsequent Baptist development in Great Britain. For the sketchy details of Samuel Richardson's life cf. D.N.B., s.v. For reprints of the various editions of the Confession(1644) and background material, cf. Underhill, Confessions, pp.11-60, McGlothlin, Bapt. Conf., pp.168-200, and Lumpkin, Confessions, pp.144-71.

³Lumpkin, Confessions, p.146.

⁴For Featley, cf. D.N.B., s.v. Richardson's rejoinder was entitled Some Brief Considerations on Doctor Featley His Book entitled The Dipper Dipt(London, 1645). In the 1946 rev. edition of the

edition, (1652), or any of the subsequent reprints of Confession (1644).¹ This would suggest the possibility that Richardson's heterodox views as revealed in 1658 concerning eternal punishment, might have begun to manifest themselves earlier and consequently led to his playing a role of decreasing importance in Baptist life early in his career.²

In late January 1649 Richardson's reply to the London ministers' Representation appeared in London.³ Printed within two weeks of the Presbyterians' letter of protest of Fairfax, Richardson's Answer

Confession also signed by Richardson, there was a Dedicatory Epistle addressed to the Parliament which contained the following statement: 'And as for the other things whereof wee are, accused, wee referre those who desire further satisfaction, to the answers of them.' It has been quite plausibly suggested (McGlothlin; Bapt. Conf., p.191n) that this referred to Feake's attack and Richardson's reply.

¹Cf. Underhill, Confessions, pp.11-60, McGlothlin, Bapt. Conf., pp.168-200, and Lumpkin, Confessions, pp.144-71.

²Other possible explanations, such as his absence from London during the publication of subsequent editions cannot be evaluated because of the sparsity of the evidence. However, considering the contemporary record's silence concerning his participation in Baptist life subsequent to 1646, as well as the later revelation of some of his heterodox theological opinions, the possibility of his having become increasingly unwelcome in Particular Baptist circles cannot be dismissed. Indeed, in light of the few facts available, it is at least a plausible explanation for the absence of Richardson's name from later editions of the Confession. For a discussion of the background of this theological question and related matters, cf. D. P. Walker, The Decline of Hell, Seventeenth Century Discussions of Eternal Torment (London, 1964). Richardson's views were revealed in A Discourse of the Torments of Hell which appeared anonymously in 1658 and with his authorship acknowledged in 1660. Richardson's book went through several editions, cf. Walker, op. cit., pp.93, 94n. Richardson's forceful defence of religious liberty is discussed in W. K. Jordan, The Development of Religious Toleration in England, iii, 515-26.

³Thom. Tr., i, 719, dates the tract 27 January, 1649.

radiated the fervent passion and urgency with which it was written.¹

What Richardson's Answer sacrificed at the altar of haste in terms of order and logic, it gained in its trenchant, assertive style. His tract revealed the raw emotions aroused by this issue without the thinnest veneer of civility.

Richardson commenced by ridiculing the 'worldly learning' of the Representation's signatories. He argued that their pride in their worldly wisdom had blinded them to spiritual truth. Richardson asserted the law of necessity as justification for bringing Charles to justice.² He stated further that the conflict between his party and the Royalists and their new-found Presbyterian allies was nothing less than a struggle for continued survival. Consequently, the Army-Rump group's course of action against the King was analogous to someone killing a man in the process of defending his life against an attacker who was threatening his survival.³

Moved to brutal frankness by the situation's urgency, Richardson told his opponents to face reality and to be ever mindful that 'he

¹Richardson also took the opportunity to answer Geree's Might Overcoming Right and denounced as Pharisaical the attitude favouring a priest-like 'learned' ministry propounded by the Presbyterian clergy.

²Answer, pp.2-3. Richardson explained the analogy in some detail: 'the Magistrate did not do Justice, therefore God sent the Plague among the people, he knew none else would do it, all ealse refusing it, felt to be his [Phineas's] duty, and he did it, and the plague ceased, and it is recorded for after generations, for a righteous act: --This is the Armies cause, and though you condemn it, we passe not, so long as Gods word warrants it; and shall be a righteous act to all Generations for evermore'(p.3).

³Answer, p.3.

that hath the longest sword will judge'.¹ He then proceeded to hurl what could probably best be described as a blast of seventeenth century proto-Maoist philosophy at the Presbyterians:

I know what we call good, you call evill, and what we call evill you call good: therefore so let it rest, till you have the longest sword, and then we will give you leave to deside it: the longest sword you know is ever Orthodox in whose hand soever it is.²

John Vernon

John Vernon, destined to be an influential member (Quarter-master-General by 1651) of the Army in Ireland and to be active along with his brother-in-law William Allen (Adjutant-General in Ireland by 1651) in planting Baptist churches both in Ireland and the West Country, sounded a discordant note from the Baptist ranks in December 1648 concerning the Army's programme as espoused in the Remonstrance.³ Espousing a view markedly different from that of Richardson and Collier, Vernon warned of the uselessness and danger of the sword in bringing about God's will for the nation.

Vernon's objection to the use of military force to bring about

¹ Answer, p.15.

² Ibid., p.20.

³ John Vernon, The Swords Abuse Asserted (London, 1648). Thomason catalogued this tract on 19 December, MS. notation, Thom. Tr., i, 703. In 1650 Vernon signed Heart-Bleedings. For Vernon cf. Capp, p.267, Reg. Hist., ii, 629-30. For Allen cf. H. Wheeler Robinson, The Life and Faith of the Baptists (London, 1946 rev. ed., orig. publ. 1927), pp.32-36, P. H. Hardacre, 'William Allen, Cromwellian Agitator and "Fanatic"', B.Q., xix (1961-62), 292-308, Capp, pp.239-40, and Reg. Hist., ii, 201, 614-16. For both Vernon and Allen's activities in Army and church planting cf. W. T. Whitley, 'The Plantation of Ireland and the Early Baptist Churches,' B.Q., i, (1922-23), 276-81, hereafter cited as Whitley, 'Plantation', and W. T. Whitley, 'Loughwood and Honiton, 1650-1800, T.B.H.S., iv (1914-15), 130-35, 137. Cf. also Underwood, Hist. Eng. Bapts., pp.65-88.

desired aims was in subsequent years to be an increasingly common Baptist position. In response to Lilburne's Second Part of Englands New-Chaines Discovered the Baptists of London under William Kiffin's leadership presented The Humble Petition to the Rump Parliament at the beginning of April 1649.¹ The Humble Petition differentiated the Baptists of London from Lilburne's revolutionary views. Since Lilburne's tract had been read in a Baptist public meeting in an effort to gain support, and since the Anabaptists of Europe had an infamous reputation of being 'the fountain and source of all disobedience, presumption, self-will,...civil government' the petitioners deemed it wise to avoid any possibility of the Parliament or the Commonwealth misunderstanding their position.²

...our meetings are not at all to intermeddle with the ordering or altering civil government(which we humbly and submissively leave to the supreme power), but solely for the advancement of the gospel. It being our grief that our meetings should be perverted to any sinister ends, or earthly respects whatsoever, whereby the spiritual seed of the word should be stifled or hindered,...

...it hath been, and ever shall be, our endeavor, in our several stations and callings, to advance what may tend to the nation's good...no way complying with the disturbers thereof; that we may approve ourselves a people never to

¹The Humble Petition and Representation of Several Churches of God in London, commonly(though falsly) called Anabaptists(London, 1649), hereafter cited as Humble Petition. Humble Petition was re-printed in Underhill, Confessions, pp.288-92(copy cited). Whitlocke identified 1 April as the date on which this petition was presented to the Rump(Whitlocke's Mem., p.382, cited in Underhill, Confessions, p.288n). Both the Petition itself and Thomason refer to 2 April as the accurate date(Thom. Tr., i, 734).

²Humble Petition, Underhill, Confessions, p.289. They hastened to inform the House that while Lilburne's 'paper' was read in several of their meetings they 'openly opposed' it(Ibid., p.289).

be justly adjudged...despisers of them that are in authority...¹

It was indicative of the extraordinary individual theological and political mobility of this volatile age that Vernon, who shied away from advocating violent action by the Army in December 1648, later evolved into a radical critic of the Protectorate and the Lord Protector.² Conversely, men like Collier and Richardson, advocates of the most radical action,³ later issued at least limited defences of Cromwell's government.⁴

Baptist Involvement in the Army

At this point it is advisable briefly to survey the extent of Baptist involvement in the Army as well as the part played by various Baptists in the events leading up to the trial and execution of the King. The detailed story of the Baptist role in the Army still awaits

¹Humble Petition, Underhill, Confessions, pp.288-89. They were thankful for, and anxious to maintain, the religious freedom afforded by the Rump and which had been denied in theory and often in practice both by Charles and his Presbyterian successors at Westminster. It should also be noted that Lilburne accused Kiffin of distorting the true feelings of the Baptist congregations [The Picture of the Council of State, Held forth to the Free People of England...(1649), p.24,) which contained accounts of events by Lilburne(dated 4 April) as well as by Overton and Prince.

²Capp, p.99. Vernon resigned his Army Commission in Ireland in November 1656 so that no one could interpret his continued presence as approval of the Protectorate or its policies(Ibid., p.116 citing Thurloe, v., 670).

³Cf. Sachse, op. cit., concerning the revolutionary nature of a 'public arraignment' of the king p. 161.

⁴Collier and Richardson, as well as others, defended the Commonwealth and Protectorate in the 1650's because it allowed more religious toleration than had previous governments(Cf. Chapter V, infra.). Cf. Richardson, An Apology for the Present Government(London, 1654).

its chronicler. However, scholars of often widely different interests have repeatedly concluded that the Baptist role in the Parliamentary Army (especially after the formation of the New Model) was of crucial importance.¹ Collier himself later acknowledged significant Baptist Army involvement.²

Large numbers of Baptists joined the Parliamentary Army after the outbreak of hostilities in 1642, though mainly in the enlisted ranks. As the Presbyterian grip on the Army began to slip (or to be pried loose by the Independents) the Baptists forced their way increasingly into the chaplains' posts and the officers' ranks as the Army underwent a transformation or 'new modeling' and after Cromwell's merit-promotion policies increasingly took hold.³ Even a cursory examination of General and Particular Baptist leaders of the seventeenth century reveals a significant number who served with the Army. The Baptists exercised a much greater influence among the officer ranks and in the Councils of the Commonwealth and Protectorate in the years after the execution of the King than before, but some of them had achieved prominence and influence before the abolition of the monarchy

¹Whitley, Hist. Brit. Bapts., pp.73-81; Whitley, 'Plantation', 276-81; Underwood, pp.65-88; Wolfe, Leveller Manifestoes, pp.2-4; Maurice Ashley, Cromwell's Generals (London, 1954), passim; C. H. Firth, Cromwell's Army (London, 1902) pp.40-49ff; Reg. Hist., passim; H. Wheeler Robinson, Life and Faith, pp.32-36, and Louise F. Brown, The Political Activities of the Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men In England During the Interregnum (London, 1912), pp.10-12, 123, 125.

²Pulpit Guard Routed, p.11.

³Firth, Cromwell's Army, pp.40-49; Brown, Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men, pp.10-11; Underwood, Hist. Eng. Bapts., p.74; and Robinson, Life and Faith, pp.14-15, 32-34.

and the King's execution.¹ Indeed, some Baptists played a significant part in bringing the Remonstrance's plans to fruition in January, 1649.

In the Army itself(then Colonel) Richard Deane was extremely active in pursuing the trial and execution of Charles I.² Deane's regiment under his direction strongly supported the Remonstrance and he served as one of the King's judges, signing the death warrant.³ Others who were to become Baptists or who had Baptist sympathies on the Commission that sat as the King's judges were Colonels Thomas Harrison, John Hutchison, William Goffe, and Robert Lilburne.⁴ Both Colonel Robert Overton and the General Baptist cornet of Horse Henry

¹Although Baptist influence in the Army grew in the years after 1648 and was particularly noteworthy in the Army sent to Ireland during the Commonwealth and Protectorate, Baptists(both soldiers and officers) were throughout the period of the Civil War and Interregnum 'sowing the seed' and establishing Baptist churches wherever they were stationed. Baptists were also prominent in the Parliamentary Fleet. (Whitley, 'Plantation', 276-80; Whitley, 'Loughwood and Honiton, 1650-1800', pp.129-39; and Brown, Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men, p.11, 11n.).

²D.N.B., v, 704-08. Deane as a colonel commanded a regiment in suppressing a royalist revolt in Wales in the early months of 1648 and played a significant role in defeating the Scots at Preston in August of the same year. He was later promoted to Major-General.

³D.N.B., v, 705-06.

For Thomas Harrison cf. D.N.B., s.v., and C. H. Simpkinson, Thomas Harrison. Regicide and Major General(London, 1905). For Colonel John Hutchinson cf. D.N.B., s.v., and Harold Child ed. Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson written by his Widow Lucy (London, 1904). It is not recorded that Hutchinson ever joined a Baptist congregation, but he did accept their views of baptism (Underwood, Hist. Eng. Bapts., p.68). For Goffe(often spelled Gough) cf. D.N.B., s.v. and Whitley 'Plantation', 279-80.

Denne openly supported and agitated for the King's trial.¹

In London Colonel Richard Lawrence, a Baptist serving as a marshal-general in the Army at the time of Charles I's trial, named his fellow Baptist, Lt. Colonel William Axtell as the commander of the guard stationed at Westminster Hall during the trial itself.² Axtell revealed his enthusiasm for the events taking place at Westminster by ordering his halberdiers 'to shoot the lady who interrupted', and by urging his men 'to shout "justice" and "execution"'.³

Outside the ranks of officers and enlisted men, both Thomas Collier and Samuel Richardson, who had served as Army chaplains, either agitated for, or later defended, the King's execution. Henry Hills, a Baptist at this stage, printed many pamphlets advocating the King's trial and conviction. Hills operated a printing press that traveled with the headquarters of the Army.⁴ A significant factor emerging from a summary of Baptist involvement in the Army's Remonstrance programme of 1648-49 is Thomas Collier's active role. It would be difficult to find anyone (to whom the contemporary records

¹For Overton and Denne cf. D.N.B., s.v. Denne, a General Baptist minister, after having been pardoned for his part in the Salisbury mutiny (1649), became very active in General Baptist life. (Underwood, Hist. Eng. Bapts., pp.71-72.).

²For Lawrence cf. D.N.B., s.v. For Axtell cf. Whitley, Hist. Brit. Bapts., p.79 and D.N.B., s.v.

³Reg. Hist., ii, 630-31, quoting State Trials, v, 1146-76, 1288-98. As a consequence of his actions Axtell was excluded from the Indemnity Act at the Restoration and was executed on 19 October 1660 (Reg. Hist., ii, citing State Trials, v, 1146-76, 1286-98).

⁴For Henry Hills cf. 'Henry Hills, Official Printer', B.Q. (1932-33), vi, 215-17, Plomer, Dict. (1641-67), pp.98-99. Plomer, Dict. (1668-1725), pp.154-55, and D.N.B., s.v. For further information on agitation within the Army concerning the King's fate, cf. William Allen, A faithful Memorial (1659).

give certain witness) in Particular Baptist life who then continued to serve as one of the group's leaders thru to the Restoration, much less until the Glorious Revolution, who was as deeply involved as Collier at this early period. Collier's involvement in this most radical of English political actions, the trial and execution of a monarch, might reasonably cause one to expect that he like some others, would have continued the process of radicalization. This in fact, he did not do.¹

As noted earlier, that involvement manifested itself in several ways.

The Somerset Petition

The evidence strongly suggests that Collier, during the period immediately preceding and following the publication of the Remonstrance, had been exerting himself on behalf of the Army's programme. Just one day after Collier's Vind. Army Remonstrance and Sedgwick's Madman are known to have come into Thomason's possession, The humble Petition of divers Gentlemen, Ministers, and well-affected

¹It should be noted here that because of Baptist belief in the priesthood of all believers and the consequent blurring of the traditional distinction between ministers and church members that must inevitably ensue, the uniqueness of Collier's role in 1648-49 and after, is less meaningful than if he had been affiliated with a denomination, holding to a strong distinction between the two. Of course the further leftward one moves into the maze of seventeenth century sectarian life, the more meaningless such a distinction becomes. Nevertheless, it is important that there is no repetition of Collier's behaviour pattern among Particular Baptists. If his fellow brethren were active in agitation, they tended as church members, soldiers, or clergymen (even if their radicalization took place significantly later than Collier's) to continue their leftward drift into ever more radical activity at least thru to the Restoration.

Inhabitants in the County of Somerset was presented to the House of Commons.¹

By late 1648 Collier was probably circulating in the Somerset area.² At this period in his career Collier had developed a relationship with Somerset's County Committee and supporters of the committee's all-powerful chairman John Pyne.

John Pyne

By 1648 Pyne had consolidated considerable power for himself and his allies within the County Committee. He had in the process earned a national reputation as a power-broker in Somerset.³ After having served in various county posts in the 1630's and having vigorously resisted the King over the 'Ship Money' question Pyne was re-elected to Parliament from Poole in 1640 at both of the elections held during that fateful year.⁴

Pyne was a colonel of militia from the early stages of the war, but his opportunity for real power came with the conclusion of the first civil war. By 1645 Pyne had effectively imposed his dominance

¹The petition as it appears in its printed version is transcribed in Appendix B, infra with a resume of the evidence that Collier penned this petition in support of the Remonstrance.

²Somerset, p.146 citing HMC, Fourth Report(Denbigh MSS), 273. Bodleian, Rawlinson MS D 945, fol 34: C. Paman to W. Sancroft, 29 Sept. 1646. VCHS 2,50. Edwards, Thomason, Gangraena 3(Dec. 1646), 41, 53, 107.

³For Pyne's life and career cf. Mary F. Keeler, The Long Parliament, 1640-41. A Biographical Study of Its Members. vol. xxxvi of the Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society(Philadelphia, 1954) pp.319-20 CF. Also Purge and Somerset, passim.

⁴Keeler, Long Parliament, p.319. He had served as a member from Dorset in 1625, 1626, and 1628(Ibid.).

over Somerset's County Committee.¹

The county had been ravaged by the war and its aftermath. Finding the traditional system of local government in disarray as a consequence of the war and the deletion of royalists from its ranks, Pyne's committee filled the power void and controlled Somerset's government to an ever-increasing degree.²

His zealous sequestration policies concerning royalist and church lands coupled with his dictatorial demeanour, assured Pyne of the continued enmity of moderate and royalist parties. Pyne's controlling faction on the committee represented those in Parliament and the country who wanted rapid political and religious reform and stern punishment of the royalist-episcopal party. Pyne's opponents were men representative of those throughout the country who yearned for a compromise settlement with the King which would mend the violently torn fabric of the ordered society which they had known.³ Pyne's committee from late 1645 onwards pressed fervently for religious and political change. The Somerset Committee (like the committees of numerous other counties) had become the 'weapon of a militant minority'.⁴

Since Collier at least collaborated with their efforts for a time, the nature of this militant pressure group merits examination.

¹Somerset, pp.121-125; Purge, pp.32-38. The County Committees had been formed in 1643 and were created to be the local administrators of Parliament's ordinances, particularly concerning military and tax affairs(Purge, pp.26-27).

²Somerset, pp.122-26; Purge, pp.32-33.

³Somerset, pp.122-25; Purge, pp.37-38.

⁴Purge, p.38.

Pyne's Presbyterianism did not mitigate his political militancy. In seeking the reform he deemed vital both in Somerset and London, Pyne did not hesitate to enlist assistance from the rapidly growing ranks of Somerset's radical sectaries.¹ Although a Presbyterian elder, Pyne shared many of his more radical allies' presuppositions and hopes as did his Curry Mallet pastor, John Baker.² Both as an elder and as the leading light of the county committee Pyne actively involved himself in the eviction of royalist clergy and the erection of a Presbyterian system.³

Pyne agitated on the behalf of the Army and the radicals from 1647 onwards. Commencing with the petitions of Taunton and the county in support of the Vote of No Addresses, the carefully orchestrated campaign of Pyne's organization gathered momentum which carried through to the King's execution.⁴

Pyne and his supporters faced an increasingly hostile populace

¹Purge, p.36-38; Somerset, pp.122-29. Cf. also Purge, pp.36-37, citing Edwards, Gangraena, (i), 49-50, 117-18; (iii), 41, 52-53, 107.

²Shaw, Hist. Eng. Ch., ii, 419-21. Shaw's suggestion of 1645-46 for the organization of the Somerset classis is at odds with an entry in Harrington's diary, 24 April, 1647, cited in Somerset, p.143n. Yule, Independents, p.146, labels John Baker as an Independent, but Underdown provides information leading to the conclusion that he was in fact a Presbyterian(Purge, p.36n).

³Purge, pp.36-38; Somerset, pp.29, 143-44. Pyne, at least a part-time M.P. both before and after the 'purge' of Dec. 1648, petitioned concerning national matters both out of personal conviction and because he operated as the local country agent of the Army party's central co-ordinator, Pyne's friend Edmund Prideaux(Somerset, p.129). Clement Walker identified Pyne as Prideaux's 'viceroy or lord deputy for the county of Somerset'.(Clement Walker, The History of Independency(1648), i, 91, quoted in Somerset, p.129).

⁴Purge, pp.109-10; Somerset, pp.146-52.

during 1648, yet they continued to mobilize any existing support for what was soon to be embodied in the Remonstrance programme. He was euphoric upon hearing the news of Pride's Purge, feeling that it was long overdue and that inevitable ruine must have befallen honest men without it.¹ The Providence of God had 'enabled the Army to give check unto their awfull designes'.²

This was the situation in which Collier was embroiled late in 1648. The Baptists and other radicals were now deeply involved in Pyne's government and programme in Somerset.³ David Barrett, a staunch Particular Baptist, and fellow signatory with Collier of Somerset Confession in 1656, served the County Committee as marshal.⁴ As mentioned earlier, almost all of the people mentioned as actively canvassing for the petition 'authored' by Collier could be linked directly with Pyne's group. Even Pyne's pastor, John Baker, was reputed to have 'persuaded and threatened' people in attempts to secure their signatures for the petition.⁵

¹Pyne to Rushworth, 16 Dec. 1648. B.M., Sloane MS, 1,519, fol.188.

²Ibid.

³Somerset, pp.146-56.

⁴Assoc. Rec. 105-06. Barrett, in his capacity as marshal, became involved in one of the most infamous royalist propaganda incidents while acting as gaoler in 1646 for Dr. Walter Raleigh, dean of Wells. Reportedly, when Raleigh did not comply with Barrett's request 'to show him a letter he was writing to his wife', Barrett ran him through with his sword mortally wounding him (D. Underdown, 'A Case Concerning Bishop's Lands: Cornelius Burges and the Corporation of Wells,' E.H.R., lxxviii(1963), 32. Cf. (Ibid., p.32n) for various versions of what transpired. Cf. also Somerset, p.136. Barrett signed the 1656 Somerset Confession and may have been a Baptist by 1653. Cf. also Purge, p.322, Somerset, p.132.

⁵Somerset, p.154, quoting J.H.C., 6, 102. HMC Seventh Report (House of Lords MSS), 113.

Collier could not have placed himself in a locality more conducive to generating aggressive support for the Remonstrance's aims. Collier's association with one of the most radical county committees, occasioned no doubt by his Somerset origins, possibly helps to explain his early support of the Remonstrance.

Collier's contribution to the Remonstrance-spawned pamphlet literature was Vind. Army Remonstrance, written in response to William Sedgwick's Justice, which appeared 11 December 1648.

William Sedgwick

William Sedgwick(1610?-1669?), was more familiar than Collier to their contemporaries who read, and debated on the street-corners, in the taverns, and in the coffee houses, the torrent of sermons, pamphlets, and newspapers that engulfed London in the wake of the outbreak of civil war. Unlike Collier, Sedgwick was not attached permanently to a particular denomination. He graduated B.A.(1628) and M.A.(1631) from Pembroke College, Oxford. While there he was influenced by the Puritan tutor George Hughes.¹ Sedgwick accepted a living in Essex in 1634, but by 1641 with the onset of the crisis between Parliament and King, he was involved in a controversy as a consequence of lecturing and preaching in London. In 1642, Sedgwick became an official Army chaplain to Sir William Constable's regiment of foot.²

¹D.N.B., xvii, 1123, and 'Life of the Author' by T.D.(Brit. Mus. erroneously prints this as J.D.) in Flashes, (another ed.), reprinted from the edition of 1648(London, 1830).

²'Life of the Author' by T.D. in Flashes, p.ii; D.N.B., xvii, 1123; For Sir William Constable see Reg. Hist., ii, 399-401, and D.N.B., s.v.; Constable, a prominent Independent, signed Charles I's death warrant and served faithfully on the Council of State before his death in 1655.

Although Sedgwick was described as expressing Presbyterian sympathies in the early years of his career, this is difficult to deduce from his writings.¹ Sedgwick was also identified as espousing views analogous to William Dell and John Saltmarsh, at least on theological and ecclesiological issues.² One explanation for the apparent confusion was Sedgwick's capacity for altering his political and theological stance. His oscillation across the theological landscape made him an elusive and difficult target for those observers (both his contemporaries and their successors) who attempted to classify him.

In exercising this chameleon-like quality of changeability, Sedgwick was far from unique. He was a striking example of the many men who engaged in extreme theological mobility during the Civil War and Interregnum. Such men often moved in a few short years from advocating Episcopacy to the espousal of Quaker or Seeker views, often with several intermediate steps along the way. Many of them, emboldened and encouraged by the excitement and extreme flux of those years, traveled all this way only to journey all, or at least part, of the way back to their original positions by a short time after the Restoration of Charles II in 1660.

Sedgwick's writings revealed his spiritual and political odyssey during the years 1642-1661. The picture that emerged at the beginning was that of a confident, hopeful Parliamentary sympathizer, a zestful seventeenth century New Frontiersman bent on reforming England according to God's (and William Sedgwick's) plan.

¹'Life of the author', p.ii.

²D.N.B., xvii, 1123.

As a marginal participant in the Parliamentary preaching programme in 1642-43,¹ Sedgwick told the House of Commons that they were 'the only hopeful means of our deliverance under heaven, and instrument in the hand of God'.² He assured them that God would enable them to emerge victorious over the Satanically inspired royalist supporters.³

Sedgwick prophesied a bright and glorious future. The church was nearing 'its summer of prosperity' and 'the time of happiness' was 'now approaching'.⁴ Sedgwick concluded by promising Parliament that if it would promote 'Godly preaching' and 'Advance Holinesse' God would take command and 'doe the rest'.⁵ Definite millenarian overtones emerged as Sedgwick perceived the 'mornings of deliverance' about to appear and reiterated his belief that the 'Tabernacle of God, is coming downe to dwell with men'.⁶

Sedgwick preached before at least part of the Commons on one other occasion, whereupon he expressed his views concerning church government and its relationship to scripture.⁷ Sedgwick did not advocate liberty of conscience in Collier's sectarian sense, but as a

¹J. F. Wilson, Pulpit in Parliament, Puritanism during the English Civil Wars, 1640-1648(Princeton, 1969).

²Zion, p.ii.

³Ibid., pp.10-11.

⁴Ibid., pp.20, 22.

⁵Ibid., pp.49-11.

⁶Ibid., pp.27, 53-43.

⁷Perfect Rule [1643?]; For a discussion of the problem of dating this sermon see John F. Wilson, Pulpit in Parliament, pp.50-51. If Sedgwick ever embraced Presbyterian ecclesiology, he had rejected it by this point. Defining the church in congregational terms and calling it 'the chiefe ordinance' from which the other ordinances found their source(Perfect Rule, p.6), Sedgwick concluded that Christ had laid

result of his absolute conviction that there was one faith and order in scripture which all men could know and be persuaded to accept. He felt that the burgeoning problem of diversity of belief would solve itself in a short time if Parliament heeded the counsel of God in making its decisions concerning the church.¹

Much less certain of the precise form the 'true' church order and structure should take than Collier, Sedgwick did not suggest to the Parliament what the precise organization of the Lord's Church should be. He was certain, however, that with God's help Parliament would discover the correct scriptural rule.²

In the mid-1640's Sedgwick preached with such great results (separately from his chaplain's role) in and around Ely that he earned the title 'The Apostle of the Isle of Ely'.³ During this

down a complete and perfect structure 'for the whole ordering of the Church in all Church-affaires' (Ibid., p.8). He derided additions to the primitive church order and concluded that Episcopacy, rather than upholding monarchy, had threatened it in the form of the Papacy (Ibid., pp.20-24).

¹Ibid., passim; Collier and Sedgwick would agree that there was one perfect rule for governing the churches to be found in Scripture (they were just as certain that it could be discovered). Most mid-seventeenth century Englishmen would have shared their assumption. However, they often disagreed as to the nature of that one 'rule'.

²Ibid., p.31. The basic ecclesiological difference between Collier and Sedgwick is emphasized by the fact that Sedgwick addressed Parliament expecting it to determine the 'perfect rule' of scripture and Collier later petitioned the civil magistrate to acknowledge that it had no coercive authority in the religious realm (Cf. Decision & Clearing, passim). Sedgwick evidently wanted Parliament to discern what form of 'congregational' structure was correct, but did not advocate, at least at this state, that it be dependent on the state (Perfect Rule, pp.37-38).

³'Life of the Author', pp.iii-iv; D.N.B., xvii, 1123.

period, Sedgwick, influenced by a Cambridgeshire woman's predictions concerning the approaching Judgment Day, prophesied himself that the date of the approaching judgment was at hand (appropriating her date). This erroneous prediction earned him a good measure of notoriety, and the lasting sobriquet of "Doomsday" Sedgwick.¹

The publication of Leaves revealed a marked change in Sedgwick's thinking.² On the eve of initiating the controversy with Collier over the Remonstrance Sedgwick, the zealous visionary reformer of 1642 had drastically retrenched in the politico-religious sphere. Adopting the posture of a Biblical prophet, he denounced the errors and sins of King, Parliament, Clergy, Army, Levellers, and Londoners: all were called to repentance.³ The disillusionment that led him further to the right after 1648 had commenced.⁴ Sedgwick had by this point raised most of the points that he would debate with Collier.⁵

Subsequent to his involvement in the Remonstrance controversy,

¹D.N.B., xvii, p.1123.

²It was reported that Sedgwick presented Charles I with a copy of Leaves in 1647 while the King was at Carisbrooke Castle and that the King, having read part, returned it with the comment that 'the author stands in some need of sleep' (D.N.B., xvii, 1123). Thomason dated his copy 25 August, 1648, Thom. Tr., i, 667.

³Leaves, passim.

⁴Flashes; These sermons were preached by Sedgwick and reproduced from notes in his absence and apparently without his knowledge. Upon a return visit to London he found them printed and ready for publication (Ibid., p.xv).

⁵While Sedgwick continued to move to the right politically, this drift was not accompanied by a corresponding shift to the right on more theological issues (This was certainly true until the Restoration.). Sedgwick was not an orthodox Calvinist (in either the accepted 'Presbyterian' sense or in the Particular Baptist formulation of that much over-worked and vaguely defined word). He seemed to have held

Sedgwick refrained from pamphlet warfare until 1656, when he evidently came forward to write against A Word for God(1655), a Fifth Monarchist manifesto inspired by Vavasor Powell.¹ In 1660 and 1661 Sedgwick emerged from obscurity once again to write two remarkable books, Inquisition and Animadversions(1661).² In the first of these books he made a plea for mercy for the regicides, but did so in such a way as to arouse the extreme ire of many former Army and Protectorate supporters. His printer told him that he 'durst not' display copies of the book 'in the shop' for fear of violence.³ Taken together, in both books Sedgwick acknowledged the King's sovereignty and reiterated his

positions varying degrees to the left of what most of his contemporaries would have considered orthodox. It has been reported that Sedgwick was influenced by John Reeve, the Muggletonian prophet and helped to support him financially until Reeve's death(D.N.B., xvii, 1123). However, Sedgwick engaged in correspondence with Reeve in the summer of 1657 and staked out a position to the right of Reeve on almost all of the issues discussed. Sacred Remains: or a Divine Appendix;(----, 1706), contains Sedgwick's replies and Reeve's rejoinders.

¹Capp, pp.110-11, 239; Word(1655), is reprinted in Thurloe, A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, Esq., ed. T. Birch (1742); iv, 380-84. Capp assumes Animadversions(1656) to be anonymous, but both D.N.B., xvii, 1123 and Wing(iii, 2383) attribute it to Sedgwick. George Yule, The Independents, p.92, mistakenly refers to Sedgwick as a 'Fifth Monarchist'. For Powell cf. R. T. Jones, 'The life, work and thought of Vavasor Powell(1617-70)'. Unpublished D. Phil. dissertation, Oxford University, 1947.

²Inquisition and Animadversions(1661). Inquisition is not in the Brit. Mus., the Bodleian Library(Oxford), or Wing under Sedgwick. Published anonymously in 1660, it is clear from Sedgwick's comment in Animadversions(1661) that he was widely-recognized as the author at the time of publication. Inquisition and Animadversions(1661) are bound together with an edition of Flashes in Balliol College(Oxford) Library, the copy used for citation. Inquisition is attributed to Sedgwick by Catalogue of Printed Books in Balliol College Library (Oxford, 1871), p.368.

³Animadversions(1661), p.10.

earlier belief in one scriptural church order(if men would only reason together).¹ Sedgwick urged all the conflicting factions to reach an agreement² and then revealed that he had decided to conform to the Church of England.³

The man who in the early 1640's had characterized the Anglican clergy as 'cruel Butchers of soules' and their followers as 'popishly affected Protestants' had returned to the fold.⁴

Sedgwick Commences

Against this background and the turmoil of these events William Sedgwick fired one of the opening rounds in the debate over the Remonstrance on 11 Dec. 1648.⁵ He lamented the fact that God had forsaken the Army, but explained that the Army in its lust for power had first forsaken God.⁶ He suggested that faithlessness and greed were the Army's true motives.⁷

He found them guilty of deception and of painting a false portrait of themselves as disciples of virtue and moderation.⁸ Sedgwick invoked the language he employed earlier in Leaves to describe the perfect and harmonious marriage of King and Parliament. He explained that this

¹Inquisition and Animadversions(1661), passim.

²Animadversions(1661), pp.156ff.

³Ibid., p.291.

⁴Perfect Rule, p.23. Sedgwick died in 1663(C.R., p.432) not 1669(?) as suggested by D.N.B., xvii, 1123.

⁵Justice; Thom. Tr., i, 700.

⁶Justice, pp.1-2.

⁷Ibid., pp.2-4.

⁸Ibid., pp.5, 9.

marital bliss had given way to temporary estrangement because of civil war. He severely chastised the Army for their resistance to a Personal Treaty with the King which would have brought about reconciliation of this divinely ordained relationship.¹

Sedgwick reminded the Army of his past comradeship with them as a chaplain. From that experience, he knew that many of them hoped to be saints. Unfortunately, the Army's actions showed that many were presently walking as carnal, rather than spiritual men; they confused their interest as God's.²

Sedgwick found the Remonstrance's treatment of the King vicious and harsh, arguing that all men were guilty in the shedding of blood in the civil strife.³ Appalled at the Army's refusal to forgive the King or to give him peace, he charged them with underestimating Gospel forgiveness and with usurping God's authority concerning judgment.⁴

Sedgwick also reprimanded the Army for seeking to justify their renunciation of their previous declaration for the King (the Solemn League and Covenant) and stated that by their interpretation of this declaration 'no such engagements are absolute, but conditional'.⁵ To Sedgwick the 'marrow of the business' was the Army's claim 'to propound high things that shall reach us peace with God and quiet among men'.⁶

¹Ibid., p.8.

²Ibid., pp.10-18.

³Ibid., pp.15-18.

⁴Ibid., pp.19-21.

⁵Ibid., p.37. In this he seemed to be anticipating the conclusion concerning the relative nature of law espoused by Dell in City-Ministers Unmasked.

⁶Ibid., p.41.

He proclaimed that their 'justice' upon the King was no justice at all because only God could judge a King.

All parties were guilty concerning the causes of the war, Sedgwick concluded, but the King had become more righteous than the Army because he had confessed his wrongs and sought to be reconciled to his people. Suggesting that the payment of the soldiers' arrears would satisfy most of the soldiers, he denounced them as apostates who must repent.¹

Collier's Response

It is probable that Justice met with some degree of success, Sedgwick being a comparatively well-known figure at the time. Within nine days, Collier's reply, Vind. Army Remonstrance had appeared.² He prefaced his reply to Sedgwick with a most illuminating letter addressed jointly to the Commons and Lord Fairfax. Collier, fearful of the harm that might be done by Justice, felt duty bound to defend the 'cause' and expose Sedgwick's evil obstructions of God's work through His saints. He addressed the Commons and the Army as 'the prime actors and movers in the hands of God, for the working our deliverance'.³

Reiterating and expanding upon many of the millennial expectations and themes expressed in New Creation, Collier proclaimed that 'the great work' had begun and that 'the day of our deliverance is at hand'.⁴ He warned the saints that while God had 'a glorious

¹Ibid., p.51-52.

²Thom. Tr., i, 704.

³Vind. Army Remonstrance, p.ii.

⁴Ibid. Both Collier and Sedgwick professed a conviction(gleaned

dispensation of righteousness and liberty to bring forth, both within and without his People' there would be tremendous opposition.¹

Collier was convinced that as men overcame evil within themselves, God's righteousness would prevail in the world at large.² Shar-

ing the optimism and conviction of men such as Goodwin, Milton, Richardson, Dell, and Canne, he preached encouragement to the Army and their supporters by reminding them that God's power would give them victory in 'this...day of the Lord' no matter how powerful and determined the opposition might be.³ Collier asserted that 'there is a dispensation of righteousness to be brought forth in the world, by and through you, God reducing Magesteriall power to its primitive institution...for the punishment of evill doers, and for the praise of them who do well...for the work in hand is the creation of these new heavens, and new earth'.⁴ Judgment was coming to the world in and through the saints.⁵ Collier was one of the very first to interpret the Remonstrance proceedings in millenarian terms.⁶

from their study of Scripture) that God would soon usher in a new age. The problem was that they had widely variant interpretations of just what the nature of the new millennial age would be and who had been ordained to usher it into existence.

¹Ibid., p.ii.

²Ibid., pp.ii-iii.

³Ibid., p.iv.

⁴Ibid., p.iii. Cf. Tai Liu, Discord in Zion(The Hague, 1973) pp.60ff.

⁵Ibid., pp.iv-v.

⁶Ibid., p.iii. The composition of Vind. Army Remonstrance took place during Collier's involvement in the Whitehall Debates and perhaps their subject-matter was on his mind as he wrote the above concerning Magistracy.

Collier challenged the soldiers to put aside all personal interests and to consecrate themselves to 'the bringing forth of righteousness to the Nation'.¹ Rejecting the interminable number of legal fasts that had been kept before men, he called them to a truly spiritual fast of dedication to root out oppression and evil everywhere in the land.² As long as they sought the public interest, they should be fearless because no power could prevail against their righteous godliness.³ If they maintained a firm resolve, Collier concluded that 'we may no longer talk of subjects liberty, but now at least we may know it, and enjoy it'.⁴

Collier then turned his attention to Sedgwick's 'unjust' Justice.⁵ Collier considered the Remonstrance's programme and the Army's attempts to implement its proposals as the noblest of their many great undertakings.⁶ His thorough dissection of Sedgwick's argument, exuded the unmistakable drumhead aroma of a tract hastily written amidst the excitement of battle.

Collier appeared perplexed by Sedgwick's attitude toward the Army and questions how they could be the Lord's servants(as Sedgwick claimed) when conquering enemies, but wicked men when seeking justice and peace as they do in the Remonstrance.⁷ Collier argued that the privilege of Parliament(the power to do good for the public interest) was embodied in the Remonstrance and the Army had not apostasized

¹Ibid., p.v.

³Ibid.

⁵Ibid., p.1.

⁷Ibid., p.5.

²Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p.vi.

⁶Ibid., pp.1-2.

into sinfulness.¹

Collier found Sedgwick's views of monarchy and government repulsive and 'more suitable to a Kings flatterer, then one who professeth himself to be a spirituall Christian'.² He assured Sedgwick that if a true and righteous government could be found the Army would joyfully support it and submit to it.³ However, they could not submit to a government less than totally willing and able to 'govern righteously'.⁴

because God had put a power into their hands, and given them a commission from himself, as well as from men, to oppose all such destructive powers, and governments,&c. for neither God nor man ever intended such a power of government as should be destructive, and pernicious to those governed, nor are men bound to obey such a power, especially when God gives in a way and means of deliverance:⁵

At this point Collier philosophized that 'the supream Law of the civill or temporall Magistrate is the safety and good of the people; and those who are saved spiritually, know best what is good for the Nations temporall well-being'.⁶ Here Collier reflected a spiritualized version of the elitism which leavened Milton's writings and which found its supreme expression(at least for the 'saints') in the Nominated or 'Barebones' Parliament in 1653.

Collier rejected Sedgwick's charge that the Army practiced fleshly judgment towards its enemies and reminded him that the Bible exhorted men to reprove sinful men who persist in their evil. He also lamented the 'great change' in Sedgwick's behaviour.⁷ He used to walk

¹Ibid., pp.4-5.

²Ibid., p.6.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid., p.7.

with the saints and now charged them with apostasy while attributing saintliness to the wicked followers of the King.¹ Collier insisted that it was King and Parliament, not the Army, that oppressed the people and frustrated a just settlement. The Army, instead of seeking to shatter the body politic, merely wanted to cut out the malignancy that plagued part of the body before it infected the whole.²

He ridiculed Sedgwick's contention that the King and the people were inseparable contending instead that in all probability God had ordained the separation(a division accomplished prior to the Remonstrance).³ He accused Sedgwick of becoming a 'royall Episcopall' man and taunted him with the suggestion that when the King regained power Sedgwick might 'have the honour of a Bishoprick, or some such place' as reward for such dutiful service to the crown.⁴ Collier felt that Sedgwick, in condemning the Army and its supporters, had judged 'almost all the good people in the Kingdome to be hypocrites, deceivers, devils &.'⁵

Concerning broken agreements, Collier insisted that the King's conduct be scrutinized. The King, not the Army, first engaged in

¹Ibid., pp.7-8. Was Collier speaking from personal experience? Were he and Sedgwick personally acquainted? Since both men served as Army chaplains, it is not improbable that they would have met. Their physical proximity to one another at least during December 1648 would add to this possibility. In the preface of Vind. Army Remonstrance Collier says with reference to Sedgwick: 'though the man with whom I have had to deale, I prize, yet the things I cannot own'(p.i). It is not possible to deduce whether Collier was referring to personal acquaintance or merely familiarity with a well-known public figure.

²Ibid., pp.9-10.

³Ibid., p.10.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., p.14.

wholesale disregard of solemn agreements.¹

He refuted Sedgwick's arguments concerning the King with particular vehemence. God had used the Army to judge the King twice before, could not God use the Army as his instrument yet again?² He reminded Sedgwick that Christ could be a divider as well as a unifier and he warned him not to attempt 'to make unity where Christ hath made an enemy'.³ The Remonstrance's proposals for the King, Collier argued, were not in his capacity as King, but as 'an evil doer, an enemy, and destroyer of the Peace, Liberty, and good of the nation'.⁴ As the 'chiefe cause of these warres' the King must answer for his crimes.⁵ Collier found ample scriptural precedent for the shedding of the blood of God's enemies 'for the preservation of peace'.⁶ He protested Justice's attempts to place the King above the Law. To Collier God, and God alone, was above accountability before law and, in opposition to Sedgwick, he perceived no sin or crime 'in bringing those who pretend to be without & above Law, to be subject to Law, that they may

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p.15.

³Ibid. Cf. Matthew x.34. Collier also reminded Sedgwick that often in the Bible God decreed judgment rather than mercy on evil doers and surely this must be the case with a man as unrepentant as the king. (Ibid., pp.15-16).

⁴Ibid., p.26. Collier explained that any man in the Kingdom (including the King), is capable of abrogating his birthright 'by committing treasonous, murtherous, and felonious acts', and may forfeit his life as well (p.30). He made it abundantly clear that in his view Charles I was guilty of just such crimes (pp.29-32). Cf. also Appendix B.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid., p.27. Collier cited the Amalakites and Canaanites.

know that they are but men'.¹

Collier questioned whether Sedgwick wanted to interfere with the right and duty of the saints to follow the leading of the Lord. Surely he could not object to the rule of the Saints since it was prophesied in the Bible.² He refuted Sedgwick's accusation that the war's aim had been changed by the Army.

I answer first, that the first ground of difference was Subjects liberty, and privilege, which is the same thing yet stood for, only now its seen more clearly, and pleaded for more purely.

Secondly, Suppose there may be some things now pleaded for, which was not then seen unto, are not the Saints to follow the light of the Lord in it.³

Collier replied to Sedgwick's charges of fear and selfishness as Army motives by asserting that God could direct the saints to employ the means He provided 'for recovery or preservation of their just interests'.⁴ Collier had complete confidence in the Army. The decision to intervene had been weighed carefully with much prayer and meditation. They had acted because they were convinced it was their God-given duty. God in bringing about 'a new design in the world' must have men who would follow Him unwaveringly.⁵ Such men were plentiful in the Army and Collier remained firmly convinced that they were God's instrument to stamp out injustice and unrighteousness throughout the kingdom.⁶ The soldiers were at peace with themselves because they 'see God bringing downe wicked powers in them, and by them, and

¹Ibid., p.28.

³Ibid., p.16.

⁵Ibid., p.18.

²Ibid., p.16.

⁴Ibid., p.17.

⁶Ibid., pp.18-19.

therein they rest'.¹

Employing millenarian language, Collier declared that the Army of the saints was prepared, if God so willed, to 'reign visibly on earth, over men and devils' and to build the 'kingdom of peace'.² Although the Army might appear deceitful and treacherous to Sedgwick and others in light of the Engagement with the King, Collier testified that 'it's the intention of hypocrisie and deceit which makes an hypocrite, and not the following of God in all he wayes, in uprightness, and sincerity'.³

Pausing to deliver a short lecture to Sedgwick on the power of God to communicate with His saints, Collier stated that Sedgwick either failed to understand that God could indeed 'lead his people by an immediate spirit' in earthly things or else he engaged in the wicked pride of thinking that only he(Sedgwick) was privy to such leadings.⁴

Collier concluded with the decision to leave Sedgwick's further instruction in truth and righteousness 'to the great God, who is able to convince you of your error and blasphemy against his people'.⁵

Sedgwick Continues

In the period since the publication of Justice Sedgwick had not

¹Ibid., p.20.

²Ibid., p.22, 23.

³Ibid., p.25.

⁴Ibid., p.26. The second alternative for Sedgwick's failure suggested above by Collier was in all probability a pointed reference to Sedgwick's tendency to engage in both oral and written prophecy (which as noted earlier, had already earned him his embarrassing nickname of 'Doomsday').

⁵Ibid.

succumbed to idleness. While Collier must have been feverishly preparing Vind. Army Remonstrance, Sedgwick published another short prophecy, Madman. This prophecy, as did Collier's pamphlet, came into George Thomason's hands on the 20 December 1648.¹

Madman commenced with Sedgwick reminding the Army that they were temporary, and not a permanent part of the body politic. He surmised that to be 'the kingdome Gaoler' and to lock out peace and maintain war must be a great burden for the Army to bear.² He felt the Army had been called to this onerous duty because of the people's wickedness. The Lord was using the Army to chastise the nation. When the Army realized that its God-given function was limited and must cease, their death would bring about reconciliation and usher in the new Kingdom of peace and prosperity.³

Turning for a moment from his preoccupation with the Army, Sedgwick spoke as distrustfully as ever of the Leveller movement. Viewing them as less Satanically inspired than previously, Sedgwick

¹Thom. Tr., i, 704. Madman was to a large extent a condensed and selectively edited version of Leaves, with many passages surviving virtually intact. The points and subjects which emerged as those of particular emphasis, however, as Leaves, a prophecy of over one hundred pages, underwent metamorphosis into the fourteen pages of Madman, helped to pinpoint Sedgwick's perception of the salient points of the crisis confronting the nation in the last month of 1648. Another virtual reprint of sections of Leaves appeared anonymously on 21 December (Thom. Tr., 705) with the inexplicable title of The Presbyterians Prophecie concerning the King, City, Army and Kingdom.

²Madman, p.1.

³Ibid., pp.2-4. This death would solve the thorny problem of pay arrears because through death and spiritual resurrection they would overcome their fleshly demands for pay and would seek to aid the country freely.

now ascribed to them a prophetic role analogous to that of John the Baptist.¹ Having employed the Levellers to make England a wilderness, that in turn, had hastened the Lord's new restoration of peace, God had ordained that the Levellers share John's fate and Sedgwick thus declared them to be dead and their schemes destroyed.²

The Lord, proclaimed Sedgwick, had been working to achieve his purposes in all of the tumultuous events that had been convulsing England. These judgments and catastrophies had finally led men to realize that the Lord was the end of all the various faction's desires and in Him only was to be found the unity Englishmen so desperately sought.³

Proving that the Levellers were not the only ones who would conjure up a glorious legendary past, Sedgwick produced his own counterpart of the Leveller paradise that preceded the Norman Yoke. In Sedgwick's view of English history, there had been before the present troubles, a blessed island called England which had 'enjoyed a heaven upon earth' under the three-fold rule of King, Parliament, and Law.⁴ Sin destroyed this idyllic existence, but just as England has had a glorious past, she had, having now overcome in the Lord her present

¹Ibid., p.4. Sedgwick previously had summed up the movement with the following: 'To save thy self, that the over-flowing scourge may not come nigh thee; thou makest a Covenant with hell, and an Agreement with death; the Agreement of the People, who are turned by the Divine justice into a hell and death(Leaves, pp.45-46). He went on to add that they 'runne from God to hell for help'(Leaves, p.47). He returned to this theme once again in Second View, p.26.

²Ibid., pp.4-5.

³Ibid., pp.7-8.

⁴Leaves, pp.3-5.

trials, a glorious future ahead of her.¹ Her destiny would be to practice righteousness and justice in such a way that all other countries would seek to follow her example.²

Having discovered their fundamental unity in the Lord, the settlement of religion would follow as day followed night. All questions concerning the nature of the true biblical church, its doctrine, its ministry, and its structural form would now be settled.³

Continuing the prophetic utterances catalogued in Madman, Sedgwick concluded with the prediction that Parliament and King would soon agree to resume their divinely ordained joint role in answer to many prayers which 'were sowed in weakness, and now seem dead and rotting in the earth, yet shall rise in power'.⁴

Sedgwick's Changing Tactics

On 23 December Sedgwick's Second View was dated by Thomason and placed in his rapidly growing pamphlet collection.⁵ Sedgwick explained in The Epistle Dedicatory of this remarkable document, addressed to Fairfax and the Army's General Council, that having condemned the sins of the Army in Justice, he now sought to discern the often latent righteousness buried within the midst of the Army.⁶ He offered Second View as a guide to lead them to complete fulfillment of their divinely ordained purpose.⁷

¹Madman, pp.8-9.

³Ibid., p.9.

⁵Thom. Tr., i, 705.

⁶Second View, p.i.

²Ibid., p.9.

⁴Ibid., p.14.

⁷Ibid.

Sedgwick adopted the strategy of proclaiming his belief in the divine anointing of the Army to do the Lord's work and sought to gain the Army's acceptance of his(not their) definition of what the Lord had anointed them to do in bringing about settlement of the Kingdom. History has not provided sufficient evidence to allow one to determine with certainty to what extent Second View reflected a modification of viewpoint, a more realistic recognition of the changing balance of power, or merely a change in tactics.

Whatever the cause, the fact remains that Sedgwick's approach to the Army in Second View was conciliatory rather than condemnatory. The style was markedly dissimilar to that of Justice. The contrast between the two works was so stark that Sedgwick himself acknowledged that some readers might feel that 'I shall seem to contradict my selfe in these two pieces I have writ'.¹ Referring directly to his former

¹Ibid., p.35. At least one scholar stated that Sedgwick had completely changed sides with the publication of Second View. Don M. Wolfe, Milton in the Puritan Revolution(Lond, 1941, rep. 1963), pp.197-98 concluded:

'on December 23, Sedgwick reversed his stand completely, acknowledging that he had done injustice to the army's intentions...he now eulogized the army; identifying it with the true interests of the people. Now any one aware of the curious contradictions of Fifth Monarchy psychology, will hesitate to condemn Sedgwick of...timeservicing. Had Sedgwick wished to gain office, he would not have condemned the Army after the Remonstrance appeared. Or, having changed his mind, he would have attempted to show, as Goodwin was to do, some real correspondency between his old beliefs and his new'. Cf. similar conclusions reached by Sachse, op. cit., p.158 and Tai Liu, Discord in Zion, p.63n. Wolfe's belief was shared by at least one of Sedgwick's contemporaries(Cf. Samuel Richardson, An ANSWER to the London Ministers Letter, p.22).

The internal evidence of Second View does not warrant such a conclusion for the following reasons: (i) Sedgwick himself anticipated such a conclusion and denied it(p.35). (ii) When Second View is considered in the light of Sedgwick's earlier subjects, it does not appear quite as extraordinary. Sedgwick favoured the use of what

judgment of the Army's sin and his present extolling of their glorious spiritual destiny, Sedgwick emphasized that he did not 'count it instability to condemn the wicked one in men, and justifie the righteous'.¹

Sedgwick commenced his prophecy by telling the Army that, having now purified them by the refining fire of God's judgment in Justice, he now sought to reveal to them, as well as others, the 'beautiful story of the majesty of God upon you'.² Sedgwick maintained that God's 'footsteps are seen visibly upon and in the actions of men and he rides his journey upon their backs'.³ Having thus discerned God's footsteps, he hastened to share his knowledge. God, said Sedgwick, had most definitely transferred his approval and power from Parliament to the Army as representative of the people⁴ and he counseled

might best be described as a progressive prophetic dialectic in which he would pass judgment on one or more groups, and then return to show them the good that lay hidden within them or the correct path they should trod. In Leaves, Madman, and Second View Sedgwick affected this posture and used it to try to bring about a new synthesis or unity. Speaking directly to the Army at the conclusion of Second View, Sedgwick, referring to the 'love' shown them in his pamphlet, says; 'This love humbles you to be under all, and to beare the burdens of all; inlarges you to imbrace and comprehend all, strengthens you to save and deliver all: It doth not cover your evil, but remove it that it might be no hindrance to your doing good. Tis in my eye and heart to advance the true and publick good, THE LORD, and not cover your evil, but remove it that it not fail, for God will be, must be exalted: and therefore I rest'(p.35). Sedgwick had not capitulated to the Army(or been persuaded by Collier's argument), but instead was allowing his progressive prophecy technique full sway, coupled possibly with a changing approach considering the political situation in which he was writing.

¹Ibid., p.35.

²Ibid., p.2.

³Ibid., p.5.

⁴Ibid., pp.6-7, 216-17.

Parliament to accept that fact.¹

God's power was now with the Army. They must consequently assume the responsibility of fulfilling the entirety of God's purposes.² Sedgwick urged them to acknowledge God's presence with them to cast off all their remaining carnal tendencies and to 'be cloathed with God Almighty'.³ He exhorted them to accept their responsibility as God's anointed by welcoming all parties and interests in their midst.⁴ Having acknowledged the Army as the object of God's favour, Sedgwick again sought to persuade them to conform to his conception of what God had empowered them to do and found the Remonstrance's programme at variance with their divinely ordained task.⁵

The Army must thrust away the 'vail of a party of any particular interest' and put on the mantle of reconciler and unifier.⁶ Once again betraying his enmity toward the Levellers, Sedgwick thundered that a settlement based on their principles would be 'carnall and fleshly'.⁷ Since the Lord had shaped the Army as the corner stone upon which He wished to build His peace for England, attempts to construct another foundation were a pollution in the eyes of God.⁸

Now that the path God desired the Army to follow had been clearly revealed, Sedgwick expressed confidence they would traverse it with

¹Ibid., p.11.

³Ibid., p.19.

⁵Ibid., pp.21-23.

⁷Ibid., p.26.

²Ibid., pp.17-18.

⁴Ibid., p.21.

⁶Ibid., p.25.

⁸Ibid., p.26.

unwavering devotion.¹

Philodemius

Another ardent Army supporter Eleutherius Philodemius,² responded directly to Sedgwick's Justice.³ Philodemius addressed himself in detailed, polemical fashion to Sedgwick's Justice with the predictable attitude of one who viewed the Army 'as a city set upon a hill' to show all men how to establish righteousness and justice.⁴

In defending the Army and their Remonstrance, Philodemius

¹Ibid., pp.33-36. Five days after receiving Second View, Thomason dated his copy of Mr. William Sedgwick's Letter to his Excellency Thomas Lord Fairfax (Thom. Tr., i, 707). This document, published separately in this edition owned by Thomason, was used earlier as the 'Epistle Dedicatory' for Justice.

²Eleutherius Philodemius was the apparently successful pseudonym of a mid-seventeenth century pamphleteer who addressed himself to Sedgwick's Justice. The resulting Armies Vindication appears to be the only extant work written under this pseudonym. His identity is not known evidently, since neither Brit. Mus., Samuel Halkett and John Lang, Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature, Edited by James Kennedy, W. A. Smith, and A. F. Johnson (London, 1926-38), vii vols. record it.

The suggestion has been made that Eutactus Philodemius, author of Original & End and Eleutherius Philodemius were the same man (Salmon, Religious Wars, p.102). Such an identification cannot be confirmed from the available evidence, but important similarities do exist:

(i) Both works refer to similar precedents from the French Religious Wars.

(ii) The pseudonyms are similar. Eleutherius Philodemius and Eutactus Philodemius both appear to be a form of 'Latinized' Greek with the former conveying the meaning of 'free-spirited or frank lover of the people' and the latter meaning 'well-ordered or well-disciplined lover of the people'. (I am indebted to Revd. J. E. Morgan-Wynne, Regent's Park College, Oxford for insight concerning the pseudonyms).

³Armies Vindication by Philodemius was added to Thomason's collection on the 11 January 1949 (Thom. Tr., i, 713).

⁴Armies Vindication, p.ii. Philodemius does not address himself to Second View in his pamphlet. Evidently he had not seen or heard of Second View when his work went to press.

employed basically the same arguments as those utilized by Collier to refute Sedgwick.¹ Consequently they do not need to be examined in detail.

The Whitehall Debates

In December 1648 Thomas Collier was involved along with numerous other leaders (such as Ireton, Lilburne, Goodwin, Nye, Spriggs, Wildman, Overton) in discussions with the Army's Council of Officers in the 'Whitehall' debates over the final version of the Second Agreement of the People.² Here an attempt was made to work out a compromise among elements supporting the Army who espoused differing opinions concerning the degree of religious freedom to be allowed in that nation.³ The significant disagreements revealed in the debate of

¹In light of their substantial agreement and similar argumentation it is advisable to note that there are several reasons for rejecting Philodemius as a pseudonym employed by Collier:

(i) Thomas Collier was never known to have employed a pseudonym in any of his writings. He always seemed more than willing to be heard on controversial issues and to allow his views to be linked with his name.

(ii) The method and style employed in the writings of the two men were dissimilar.

(iii) Armies Vindication revealed a knowledge of antiquity, classical learning, and medieval history that the known facts of Collier's life and corpus of writings would not suggest that he possessed.

²Cf. Puritanism & Liberty, pp.342-55 for extracts from Lilburne's 'Legal Fundamental Liberties' for invaluable background material on the Whitehall debates. Cf. also the Clarke Papers, vols. lxvii and xvi, Worcester College MSS., Worcester College, Oxford upon which C. H. Firth, ed., The Clarke Papers London, 1891-1901 (Camden Society New Series, nos. 49, 54, 61), ii and Puritanism & Liberty, pp.125-78 are based.

³The debates are surveyed in Puritanism & Liberty 32 - 34; W. K. Jordan, The Development of Religious Toleration in England, iii,

14 December 1648¹ illustrated the potential divisiveness of this issue.²

The points in dispute emerged as the debate progressed. Ireton and the officers favoured granting government a restrictive power in religious matters as opposed to the Second Agreement's position allowing no legislation 'against offenders in religion'.³ In grappling with this issue, the question of evidence arose, and it was decided that the Old Testament was to be authoritative.⁴

At this juncture, in his only recorded speech during the debates,⁵ Collier addressed himself to the question of the punishment

119-31; W. Haller, Liberty and Reformation in the Puritan Revolution (New York, 1955), pp.321-27; H. N. Brailsford, The Levellers, pp.379-400; and C. Polizzotto, 'Liberty of Conscience and the Whitehall Debates of 1648-49', J.E.H., xxvi(1975), 69-82.

¹Puritanism & Liberty, pp.125-69. Cf. Ibid., pp.169-78 for fragmentary reports of subsequent debates in January 1649. The changes incorporated in the officers' revised version of the Agreement revealed the differences between themselves and the Leveller position. The revised version was presented to Parliament 20 January 1649 as A Petition From His Excellency Thomas Lord Fairfax And the General Counsel of Officers of the Army(London, 1649). Cf. Puritanism & Liberty, pp.355-67 for The Second Agreement with notations of the subsequent revisions, especially pp.361-62 concerning the statements on religious toleration.

²The depth of disagreement became even more apparent when the Levellers, freed by defeat from the restraint of compromise, issued their third Agreement in the Spring of 1649(An Agreement of the Free People of England, reprinted in Aylmer, The Levellers, pp.160-68). Cf. also Brailsford, op. cit., pp.382ff.

³Polizzotto, 'Liberty of Conscience'. p.76.

⁴Ibid., pp.80-81.

⁵Collier was named to a committee ordered to meet on 13 December with various 'divines' concerning the issues contested at Whitehall the previous day. Apparently no records of this subsequent debate have survived(cf. Puritanism & Liberty, p.125).

of sin(here defined in terms of the Old Testament's Judicial Law) by the magistracy and the related question of whether the Jewish law was binding under the Gospel dispensation. Collier answered both questions negatively and proclaimed that the 'Judicial Law, given under the time of the Law', had 'no reference to us under the Gospel...the law of the Jews is not binding to us under the Gospel'.¹ He argued that punishment and discipline under the Gospel dispensation were to be exercised by the church, which he defined as a gathered, visible congregation of immersed saints.² Citing New Testament examples and instructions, Collier argued that excommunication was the New Testament punishment for moral offences such as adultery, not death as in the Old Testament.³ Collier thus aligned himself firmly in the camp of the more radical elements, arguing for neither compulsive or restrictive power in matters of conscience.

Conclusions

Sedgwick's and Collier's early participation in the controversy did more than illustrate the forthrightness of their personalities. Both the depth of their disagreement, and its early manifestation, underscored the emerging rifts within the coalition of forces that had won the second civil war. Opposition to the king and his increasing body of Parliamentary sympathizers had united the disparate elements of his opposition. Once his defeat removed the necessity of

¹Puritanism & Liberty, p.164.

²Ibid., p.165.(Cf. Ibid., p.168n concerning a possibly 'unreported' part of Collier's speech).

³Ibid., p.165.

unity, however, the debate over the king's fate began rending the Army's coalition asunder.

The extent of the disagreements that led to the continued splintering effect within what had been the fairly unified anti-Royalist ranks of the early and even mid-1640's is illustrated by the wide divergence of viewpoint between Collier and Sedgwick. Here two men, considered radical by many, both having been anti-Royalist and anti-Presbyterian, opposed one another in this watershed controversy in which the focus of the English Revolution was shifted leftward.¹

The question of social class is a factor which cannot be ignored as one source of the increasing divisions within the original anti-Royalist alliance. A product of a different stratum of society than Collier, Sedgwick the university-trained minister, possessed a view of a divinely ordained social structure markedly dissimilar to Collier's.²

Many men who had advocated fairly radical views and actions in the early years of civil war were increasingly horrified as they stared into the maelstrom of social and religious upheaval. Sedgwick represented many who retreated rapidly from previously held positions as the radical implications of their anti-Royalist thought and action became apparent.

Sedgwick made it clear in his later writings that he accepted the

¹Cf. Tai Liu, Discord, p.57. That the Presbyterians and their old adversaries the Royalists were allies against the Army programme illustrates this change.

²While a person's social and educational background often furnished a good indication of where they would stand on important issues, or how far they would venture into radicalism, there were notable exceptions to this general rule.

static world view common to most Englishmen of the Elizabethan and early Stuart eras. Finding biblical support in a complicated exegesis of the Noahic materials, he discerned three classes of men, noblemen, gentlemen and servants.¹ He concluded that these 'three conditions of Men' were ordained by God 'as principles, by which and according to which the whole earth is peopled and formed'.² Believing that God had created 'for every person a fit portion and place',³ with a 'blessing for each person in his condition',⁴ Sedgwick concluded that 'the notions of Levelling, and common or equal Freedom' were 'ignorant and unrighteous'.⁵ Collier's violent disagreement with such ideas was recorded in several of his early writings, most notably New Creation.

Collier, having rejected a static, hierarchical view of society, embraced the Army programme and was sympathetic with those willing to go yet further, the Levellers. It soon became evident, however, through events following the king's execution, that 'a pragmatic conservative revolution had taken place',⁶ and not the more sweeping religious and social changes desired by the more radical Army sympathizers.

Collier had couched his arguments in decidedly millenarian terms,⁷ and had believed the new age was approaching, both within the

¹Inquisition, pp.55-58.

²Ibid., p.58.

³Ibid., p.83.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., p.59.

⁶Interregnum, p.9.

⁷Cf. especially 'The Epistle Dedicatorie' to Vind. Army Remonstrance.

saints and without.¹ Although his optimistic hopes for the new age, and the consequent liberty and triumph of the gathered churches, were not realized, Collier did not feel compelled, as did many of his fellow Remonstrance supporters, to break with the governments in the years ahead. Instead, he altered his eschatological perspective² and occupied himself with defending the rights of the visible saints and their gathered churches freely to propagate the faith and to worship according to their understanding of the correct New Testament pattern.

¹Ibid., p.v.

²Cf. Chapter V infra.

III. CONTROVERSIES, 1650-1652

During these years Collier involved himself in two of the most enduring controversies spawned by the civil war period. The first controversy, concerned the qualifications for, and the nature of, ministerial ordination and the freedom of gifted brethren to exercise their gifts. The second debate, related to the first, dealt with baptism and its cognate issue, the nature of the church. Collier's contributions to the controversies were Pulpit-Guard Routed(1651) and Font-Guard Routed(1652).

The Ordination Controversy

The conflict over ordination which erupted during the middle decades of the seventeenth century had several contributing causes of long standing.

Anticlericalism

A deep-rooted and vigorous anticlericalism helped fuel the debate. As early as 1641 Edmund Calamy proclaimed before the Commons that 'Ministers complain of their people, that they are factious, seditious, covetous, dis-respectful of the Ministry' and that the people viewed the ministers as 'dumb dogs, greedy dogs which can never have enough, & that they are superstitious, more for pomp than substance'.¹

Pre-reformation movements such as Lollardy had fostered anti-

¹Edmund Calamy, Englands Looking-glasse(London, 1642), p.31.

clericalism.¹ Constitutional, social, and economic factors united with a rapidly rising literacy rate to encourage a long-standing tradition of anticlericalism in England.² This tradition grew stronger during the Elizabethan and early Stuart era.³

Two additional factors were crucial in strengthening anti-clericalism among the English laity. The first of these was Puritanism's historical experience in England. The second was the tension present within Puritan theology itself.

Puritanism's English Experience

Puritanism as it expressed itself in England was a movement arising originally out of varying degrees of dissatisfaction among many Englishmen with the Elizabethan settlement of the church. Desiring to further to 'purify' the church according to a more Genevan, Reformed pattern, they agitated against the existing state church and its ministers as their reforms were rebuffed.⁴ Increasingly, the laity was involved in the attack on the Anglican hierarchy.⁵

¹Claire Cross, Church and People 1450-1660 (London, 1976), pp.9-52; Christopher Hill, Change and Continuity in Seventeenth Century England (London, 1974), pp.98-99.

²Cross, ibid., pp.9-52; Erik Routley, English Religious Dissent (Cambridge, 1960), pp.13-29.

³Cf. J. F. Maclear's, 'The Making of the Lay Tradition', Journal of Religion, xxxiii(1953), 113-15 and 'Popular Anticlericalism in the Puritan Revolution', J.H.I., xvii(1956), 443-46 concerning the continuing development of the social and constitutional issues.

⁴Cf. Patrick Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement (London, 1967) for a detailed survey of the development of the Puritan opposition.

⁵Gerald R. Cragg, Freedom and Authority (Philadelphia, 1975), pp. 138-40; Cf. Michael Walzer, The Revolution of the Saints (London, 1966) for a detailed study of the development of the laity's involvement in the Puritan opposition to the Stuarts.

Elizabethan anticlericalism assumed the form of sustained agitation against the nonpreaching, often scandalous clergy, in which the laity enthusiastically joined, both at the parliamentary level and locally...¹

Frustrated in their attempt to reform the church liturgy or polity, the Puritans began to 'concentrate their energies on the defence and propagation of theological ideas'.² The Puritans employed the pulpit, the lecture, and the pamphlet in their effort to spread their theology. These tactics magnified preaching at the precise moment that lay involvement commenced through the development of 'prophesyings'.³ The English laity's role in preaching steadily evolved from this beginning.

As their preachers and tutors armed the laity with the Puritan interpretation of the Bible, they were also providing Englishmen with an approach to Scripture which had potentially revolutionary implications.

Tensions in English Puritan Theology

This Puritan vision of biblical truth provided, they believed, the true pattern for all of life.⁴ Thus, everything and everyone should be brought into conformity with it. Puritan pastors and lecturers encouraged men to read their Bibles, but believed that a learned Puritan

¹Patrick Collinson, 'Towards a Broader Understanding of the Early Dissenting Tradition', p.17 in The Dissenting Tradition ed. by C. R. Cole and M. E. Moody (Athens, Ohio, 1975).

²Mark H. Curtis, Oxford and Cambridge in Transition 1558-1642 (Oxford, 1959), p.207.

³Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement, pp.168-76; Cragg, Freedom and Authority, p.138-39.

⁴Cragg, Freedom and Authority, pp.149 ff.

clergy was necessary to insure that the laity were thoroughly catechized in the correct interpretative structure, lest they go astray.¹

The English Puritan clergy deemed it necessary to apply reason and logic to the interpretation of God's word. Consequently, they formulated a philosophical system to help ensure correct interpretation of the Bible.²

In this system they sought to juxtapose faith and reason.³ Their attitudes toward reason, logic, and learning were ambiguous. Although learned ministers themselves, having inherited much from earlier scholastic traditions,⁴ 'a deep distrust of reason shadowed the Puritan mind'.⁵ They employed reason in interpretation, but only after it had been thoroughly subjected to faith. Thus subordinated, logic could be viewed by the regenerate as 'a particular gift of God, bestowed upon fallen and hapless humanity'⁶ to enable him truly to understand God's revelation.

Consequently, Ramist logic assumed some importance to the English Puritans in constituting their interpretive system. Perhaps the most influential of the English Puritans in this regard was William Ames.

¹Ibid., pp.142-45.

²Perry Miller, The New England Mind. The Seventeenth Century(New York, 1939), pp.89-108.

³Richard Schlatter, 'The Higher Learning in Puritan England', H.M.P.E.C., xxiii(1954), 168-69, and Eugene E. White, Puritan Rhetoric. The Issue of Emotion(Carbondale and Edwardsville, Ill., 1972), pp.10-13, 199-200.

⁴Miller, The New England Mind, pp.65-70.

⁵Cragg, Freedom and Authority, p.145.

⁶Miller, The New England Mind, p.111.

Theologically, Ames fused together

various strands of religious thought, Augustinian, Calvinist, Puritan, and even scholastic. He was at home and active among English nonconformists, the Calvinists at the Synod of Dort, and among the Dutch Reformed theologians. The methodological framework holding the entire system together, however, was Ramism.¹

Even before Ames's writings became influential, Puritanism's detractors 'accused them of placing too much reliance on logic' and 'dismissed Ramus...as "this liquor of Puritanism"'.²

The Puritan emphasis on use of 'pious' logic made necessary a clergy trained in logic and the syllogistic method of interpretation. Secular learning was of great importance since many Puritans increasingly believed that God's Spirit interpreted mediately through 'stirring up men to learn - of the Word, the Church, and the schools'.³

Turning Inward

The tension produced in the English Puritan tradition with its simultaneous emphasis on a learned clergy and the priesthood of the believer increased with the passage of time. One reason for this was

¹Keith L. Sprunger, 'Ames, Ramus, and the Method of Puritan Theology', H.T.R., lix(1966), 147-48. Cf. also his 'Technometria: A Prologue to Puritan Theology', J.H.I., xxix(1968), 115-22, and Lee W. Gibbs, 'The Puritan Natural Law Theory of William Ames', H.T.R., lxiv(1971), 37-57.

²Cragg, Freedom and Authority, p.145, quoting Oliver Omerod, The Picture of a Puritane(London, 1605), p.36. Cf. also E. E. White, op.cit., pp.14-15, 201 concerning the pervasiveness of Ramist works and influence. Noting some Ramist influence, White questioned whether the Puritans were as completely Ramist in approach as Miller et.al. had proposed(pp.17, 202).

³Howard Schultz, Milton and Forbidden Knowledge(New York, 1955), p. 103, citing John Hales.

the frustration experienced by the Elizabethan Puritans in attempting further to reform the English church. Repeatedly stymied in their reform efforts, the Puritans turned inward and became increasingly absorbed with tracing the work of grace in the soul.

Attempting to identify the presence of saving grace, Puritan ministers such as William Perkins 'set themselves to guiding their listeners and readers in detecting faith'.¹ They discerned numerous stages in the process of salvation. Perkins enumerated ten stages in the process.

The first four were preparatory and began with attendance on the ministry of the word...When a man was thus made sufficiently pliable to the will of God, God brought him to a knowledge of the law, that is, a general understanding of what is good and what is evil. This understanding would eventually lead to an awareness of 'his own peculiar and proper sins', which in turn led to the fourth stage...which later Puritans often designated as 'conviction' of sin or simply as 'humiliation'. In this crucial stage the individual perceived his helpless and hopeless condition and despaired of salvation.²

The preparatory stages now concluded, the individual had to wait to see if God 'kindled a spark of faith in their hearts'.³ One must seek assurance, but must also continue to have doubt, the preachers proclaimed.⁴

Many Puritans were dedicated in their introspective probing for signs of assurance and doubt. They diligently kept their vigil of the

¹Edmund S. Morgan, Visible Saints. The History of a Puritan Idea (Ithaca, 1963), p.68.

²Ibid. Cf. also White, Puritan Rhetoric, pp.10-13, 200-201.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p.70.

soul. In diary after diary, the experience was analogous to the prescription laid down by Perkins and others.¹ The pattern of the conversion experience could be traced in the written accounts of conversions and of the sermons exhorting those experiences: 'knowledge, conviction, faith, combat, and true, imperfect assurance'.²

English Puritan theology was never monolithic, and the range of opinion among preparationist theologians has been demonstrated.³ While many of them disagreed as to just how active a man might be in preparing for grace, they all believed that preparation could take place. Covenant theology (at least in the hands of many Puritans) made God's decrees increasingly personal. The covenant of grace was to be appropriated by faith. The general direction of preparationist theology favoured more and more man-centred preparation.⁴

¹Ibid., p.71. Cf. also Owen C. Watkins, The Puritan Experience (London, 1972).

²Ibid., p.72.

³Norman Pettit, The Heart Prepared: Grace and Conversion in Puritan Spiritual Life (London, 1966), pp.48-124.

⁴Ibid., John Coolidge has provided a corrective emphasis to the recent stress on preparationist theology by emphasizing the communal conception of salvation within the church in early English Puritanism (John S. Coolidge, The Pauline Renaissance in England (Oxford, 1970), p.147. He maintained that the morphology of conversion and the stress on 'man as single and alone...apart in a corner or in an empty field, wrestling with his sins' were later developments within the Puritan movement (Ibid., quoting Perry Miller, Errand into the Wilderness, p. 160). He pointed out the dangers of abuse inherent within covenant and preparationist theology. When 'the Pauline phrases about participating in Christ by the Spirit have become more or less...formulas, a religion of "religious experience" may develop within the Federalist frame' (Ibid., p.151).

This change in emphasis was to have profound impact on the future course of English Puritanism. Increasingly, the Puritan clergy addressed themselves

to personal reformation, and provided help for each man as he went past Doubting Castle and through Vanity Fair on his way to the Celestial City...Puritans became absorbed with this personal struggle, and assurance, predestination and sanctification became central and at the same time individualistic matters, no longer controlled by the knowledge of God's Sovereign Grace.¹

With the passage of time the emphasis on personal experience permeated the increasing number of Englishmen who were defining the church as composed of regenerate, visible saints.² To gain entrance into such 'gathered' churches, one had to convince the membership (laity and clergy) of the authenticity of one's conversion experience. It proved to be 'a relatively short step from ascertaining the validity of the Puritan experience in others to judging the contents of sermons, and then to proclaiming the message itself'.³

The Elizabethan Puritan clergy had never forseen such an occurrence. They expected men to come to faith under the nurture and tutelage of a thoroughly reformed clergy preaching true doctrine.⁴ However, as

¹George Yule, 'Theology in Elizabethan Puritanism', Journal of Religious History, i(1960-61), 24.

²Coolidge, op.cit., pp.55-76 and G. F. Nuttall, Visible Saints: the Congregational Way, 1640-1660(Oxford, 1957), pp.43-67.

³Richard L. Greaves, 'The Nature of the Puritan Tradition', in Reformation, p.264.

⁴Coolidge, op.cit., passim.

noted earlier, reformed doctrine itself contained potentially explosive elements. In an era when men still conceived of society as a divinely decreed hierarchy in which men had a fixed place, the Protestant declaration 'that a well-considered strong conviction overrode everything else had a great liberating force'.¹ If a 'protestant emphasis on the heart helped to dissolve the hard crust of custom, tradition and authority',² then the increased preoccupation with religious experience within English Puritanism ensured an even more volatile situation.

Turbulent forces had been released in English society. Tudor Puritanism had been a distinctively clergy-led movement. However, as the clergy enlisted the laity in their crusade for a thoroughly reformed church, the laity steadily gained influence. By 1640 an aggressive, scripture-quoting laity had emerged, especially in London, exuding the assurance bred of the experiential work of grace within, and thus, increasingly intolerant of clerical restraint. The sudden appearance of large numbers of such men, made possible in 1640 by the collapse of effective governmental and ecclesiastical control, was

not the product of spontaneous generation. The way had been prepared. The Puritans had created a new kind of individualism.³

The Laudian repression of the 1620's and 1630's had succeeded in bringing about a temporary union of disparate religious and political

¹Christopher Hill, Change and Continuity in Seventeenth Century England (London, 1974), p.88.

²Ibid., pp.88-89.

³Cragg, Freedom and Authority, p.280. Cf. also Ibid., p.156 and Geoffrey F. Nuttall, 'Church Life in Bunyan's Bedfordshire', B.Q. xxvi (1975-76), 305,307.

elements.¹ That alliance of opposition was soon rent asunder as religious groups proliferated rapidly. The debate over preaching soon commenced among the various groups. That the debate over preaching should develop early and reach a high level of intensity was inevitable, for one thing on which they remained united was preaching's pivotal importance.

Preaching's Importance

Preaching was significant for several reasons. First, it was theologically imperative that men have spiritual understanding which was to be awakened through the proclamation of biblical truth.² Second, preaching had a tremendous political significance. Authority over the pulpit meant control of the most effective method for mass communication and dissemination of ideas in sixteenth and seventeenth century England.³

If one wanted to popularize an idea, or control public opinion, access to, and preferably monopoly of, the pulpit was essential. Consequently, those in authority attempted to restrict preaching to their fellow sympathizers. First, Laud, then the civil war Presbyterian party, sought to control the pulpit in order to implement their respective concept of a comprehensive state church.⁴

¹Clair Cross, Church and People, 1450-1660 (Atlantic Highlands, 1976), pp.174-98..

²Ashton, The English Civil War, p.102.

³Brailsford, The Levellers, pp.24-27.

⁴Cragg, Freedom and Authority, pp.279-80.

The Debate's Early Years

While understanding preaching's importance, there was violent disagreement concerning what constituted 'orderly' preaching. The appearance of The Sufficiencie of the Spirits Teaching¹ by Samuel How² indicated that the debate had commenced even before the calling of the Long Parliament.

How's pamphlet, originally a sermon 'preached to above an hundred persons' in a London tavern,³ argued that the Holy Spirit endowed believers with all the gifts necessary for the proclamation of God's Word. Citing apostolic examples, he argued that God often chose unlearned men in order that He might receive the greater glory in their success.⁴ How, convinced that unlearned men 'taught by the Spirit without humane learning'⁵ were superior to those with university training, concluded that men should

cease pinning of their faith upon the sleeves
of Learned men, for their is no good cause why
wee should so doe; but to see with our own
eyes, seeing that the just is to live by his
own faith, and to beleeve what the Lord hath
said, which is, that he hath hid those things,
that is, the misteries of the Gospel...from

¹Samuel How, The Sufficiencie of the Spirits Teaching Without Humane Learning (London, 1644). An edition of this work had appeared in 1639 (Whitley, i, 10).

²How, having earlier been a member of the Jacob-Lathrop-Jessey church (Burrage, i, 321-22) had been pastor of the Hubbard-How-More church for seventeen years prior to his death in 1640 (Burrage, ii, 305-06).

³Burrage, ii, 328.

⁴How, Sufficiencie, pp. 16-18.

⁵Ibid., p. 6.

the wise and learned, and this I verily believe¹ is the wholesome Doctrine of the Gospel.

How's pamphlet was a tremendous success, and became a classic both among those holding similar views and their opponents.²

The rise of such sentiments and the resulting preaching activity they generated produced numerous tracts in opposition by mid-1641.³

The Royalist poet John Taylor bewailed the increasingly prevalent preaching of 'cobblers, tinkers, pedlars, sow-gelders, and chimney-sweepers'.⁴

The Presbyterians as well were disturbed by the assertion of unlearned, unordained men that they had the ability and right to preach. Thomas Edwards attacked the congregational principle, arguing that congregations were incompetent to examine and ordain ministers and that a higher ecclesiastical structure such as a synod or council was

¹How, Sufficiencie, p.29.

²Sufficiencie was reprinted numerous times during the period (Whitley, i, 10). William Kiffin wrote a postscript to the 1640 edition. Although Sufficiencie was well received among Baptists, 'there is no evidence' that he ever belonged to their group (W. T. Whitley, 'An Index to Notable British Baptists', T.B.H.S., vii (1920-21), 209). Long after How's death he still furnished an example for those deriding 'mechanic' preachers (cf. Thomas Hall, Vindiciæ Literarum, The Schools Guarded (London, 1655), pp.68 ff.

³Cf. William Haller, ed. Tracts on Liberty in the Puritan Revolution 1638-1647 (New York, 1934), i, 36 n. for a sampling of the tracts. The Baptist John Spencer reiterated How's arguments in A Short Treatise Concerning the Lawfullnesse of Every Mans Exercising His Gift (London, 1641). Cf. [Whitley], 'An Index to Notable Baptists', 250 for Spencer.

⁴John Taylor, A Swarme of Sectaries, and Schismatiques (London, 1641). p.7.

necessary to ensure a proper ministry and order.¹

The Presbyterians' supporters sought to impose severe restrictions on the right to ordain and to preach as part of their programme for a national church.² In the Westminster Assembly the Independents were defeated repeatedly in their attempts to gain at least toleration for a congregation's right to ordain its ministers.³

Having accomplished their most important objectives, the Presbyterians recoiled with predictable horror when elements of the establishment which they cherished, such as a tithe-maintained state church supporting a university-trained clergy, were attacked.⁴ As the more radical groups fiercely resisted what they perceived as the substitution of one form of persecution for another, all of this and more was assailed.

As noted earlier,⁵ the army chaplains had been increasingly radicalized as the 1640's progressed. Lay preaching⁶ became common

¹Thomas Edwards, Reasons against the Independent Government of Particular Congregations (London, 1641), pp.1-29.

²Cross, Church and People, pp.210-13.

³Shaw, Hist. Eng. Ch., i, 168-78.

⁴Hill, Change and Continuity, pp.130 ff.; Miller, The New England Mind, pp.73-78.

⁵Cf. pp.35-36 supra.

⁶By 'lay preacher' the Anglicans and the more conservative Puritans meant all those who preached without proper ordination (i.e. by bishop or synod etc.) and without necessary preparation (i.e. university education in divinity). Thus, Presbyterians like Thomas Hall viewed men such as Collier as lay preachers. The more radical Independent and sectarian Puritans used the term in a different sense, however, to describe any believer who exercised a spiritual gift for expounding the gospel. They most often called such men 'gifted brethren' and differentiated them from ministers installed in pastoral

within the Army and spread among the populace wherever the army's influence was felt.

Soon the more conservative Puritans began to perceive the prospect of anarchy both in the occurrence and the content of lay preaching. Thomas Edwards, ever more fearful of toleration and sectarianism, published Gangraena in three parts in 1646.¹ He perceived in the toleration of unauthorized preaching the cause of the heresy he saw around him and he blamed the army for its spread.² Those favouring a Presbyterian-type settlement discovered, however, in attempting to establish their programme, that those to their left had indeed mustered sufficient support within the army and among the people to make the Presbyterians' task more one of persuasion than of edict.

Consequently they produced numerous pamphlets defending a university-trained, traditionally ordained ministry functioning within a tithe-maintained church. They sought to discredit lay preaching and the theology which supported it.

office by the people of the local congregation in Congregational and Baptist practice(cf. Nuttall, Holy Spirit, pp.78-79 and Nuttall, Visible Saints, pp.85-89). The Baptists such as Collier and the Congregationalist pastors who wrote The Preacher Sent(London, 1658), John Martin, Samuel Petto, and Frederick Woodal, believed in the ministerial office. However, as opposed to their conservative opponents, they believed that both the power to ordain and call the pastor resided in the local gathered church(cf. Nuttall, Visible Saints, pp.73, 85-89). Gifted brethren were permitted, even encouraged to speak, but only by the church's authority and consent.

¹Gangraena(i), 26 Feb.(Thom.Tr., i, 423); Gangraena(ii), 28 May (Thom.Tr., i, 441), and Gangraena(iii), 28 Dec.(Thom.Tr., i, 483).

²Gangraena(i), S ii, 80.

In 1647 Lazarus Seaman¹ defended Edwards² from the angry response to Gangraena in the anonymously published Tub-Preachers Overturn'd or Independency to be Abandon'd and Abhor'd. Among those listed on his title page as practicing and supporting lay preaching were the General Baptists Thomas Lamb and Jeremiah Ives and the Particular Baptists William Kiffin, Paul Hobson, and Thomas Patient.³

In the same year Seaman condemned lay preaching in response to Sidrach Simpson and Edmond Chillenden.⁴ The General Baptist and army captain Edmond Chillenden had penned one of the more effective defences of lay preaching in Preaching Without Ordination.⁵ In a prefatory note to the Westminster Assembly he informed the clergy that 'the word of God came not from you, neither came it to you only, but as well to the rest of the Saints'.⁶

Chillenden echoed How's belief that the Spirit's teaching was

¹Cf. D.N.B., s.v. for Seaman, an arch-defender of jure divino Presbyterianism and opponent of lay preaching.

²When Thomas Hill later cited Edwards as evidence in Pulpit-Guarded, Collier responded by describing Edwards as 'the vilest viper that ever appeared in the world against Christ and his truth, and Saints' (Pulpit-Guard Routed, p.15). Cf. also pp.25-27 supra.

³Tub-Preachers Overturn'd, t.p. As Edwards had noted (Gangraena, passim), the Baptists were actively involved in 'unauthorized' preaching.

⁴D.N.B., xvii, 1101. Cf. D.N.B. s.v. for Simpson and Capp, p. 245 for Chillenden.

⁵Edmond Chillenden, Preaching Without Ordination (London, 1647).

⁶Ibid., 'To the National Synod or Assembly', p.iii.

necessary, not university learning, to fit a man to preach.¹ His understanding of Gospel preaching was that it

is no more then...to publish...& declare glad tidings...it is not to go up into a pulpet to be apparelled in black, to make a long and tedious oration of far fetcht tales, out of the old and ancient fathers both popish and heathen, but to declare Gods will and minde to his servants that he hath revealed to them by his Spirit agreeable to the word...²

Chillenden was emphatic in his belief that I Peter iv. 10-11 made it imperative that all men who had been 'gifted' by God with preaching abilities were compelled to obey God's word. God had commanded them to share their gifts and share they must.³ Four years later, Collier, in refuting Hall, cited the same verses and concluded:

I deny that gifted brethren usurp the ministeriall office in their preaching... for men to speak of the things of God according to the measure they have received, is no usurpation...nor sin but every Christian's duty;...⁴

Thus, the debate in which Hall and Collier became involved was part of a widespread controversy which had been developing for over a decade and precipitated a debate over tithes, universities, and the reform of learning itself.⁵

¹Ibid., pp.1-10.

²Ibid., p.15.

³Ibid., pp.15, 24.

⁴Pulpit-Guard Routed, p.17.

⁵The controversies have been admirably surveyed by Richard L. Greaves in 'The Ordination Controversy and the Spirit of Reform in Puritan England', J.E.H., xxi(1970), 225-41 and in The Puritan Revolution and Educational Thought(New Brunswick, 1969).

Thomas Hall

Thomas Hall¹ was 'a typical Presbyterian Puritan'² and his writings on ordination and university training 'may fairly stand for the whole genus'³ of those produced by the conservative Presbyterians. A graduate of Oxford, Hall came to King's Norton, Warwickshire in 1629 and remained there in various capacities until his death in 1665.⁴ In 1640 he was installed as rector of the King's Norton parish church, having at some point in the 1630's become Presbyterian in his sympathies.⁵

Both he and the parish suffered severely at the hands of Royalist sympathizers during the civil war. During the Presbyterian ascendancy he declined offers of greater preferment in order to remain with his flock in King's Norton from whence he was ejected in 1662 after a popular and fruitful ministry.⁶

¹In addition to D.N.B., viii, 975 and C.R., p.242-43, cf. T. G. Crippen, 'Thomas Hall of King's Norton', T.C.H.S., vii(1916-18), 58-64 and Frederick J. Powicke, 'New Light on an Old English Presbyterian and Bookman: The Reverend Thomas Hall, B.D., 1610-1665', Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, viii(1924), 166-91. Powicke's article relies heavily on an earlier source, an MS. 'Life of Thomas Hall' which was evidently a biography prepared for publication(although never published) and perhaps based on a 'lost' autobiography of Hall's. (Cf. Powicke, 167-68 and 168 n. for evidence that the MS. could not itself be the lost autobiography.) The MS. Life of Thomas Hall is housed in Dr. Williams's Library(Pressmark 61.1) and is hereafter cited as 'Life'.

²Greaves, Puritan Revolution, p.108.

³Schultz, op.cit., p.211.

⁴'Life', p.17 ff., passim. King's Norton, just south of Birmingham, has in modern times been swallowed up by that city.

⁵Ibid., pp.35 ff.

⁶Ibid., pp.54 ff; Pulpit Guarded, preface 'To my beloved Parishioners'.

Hall noted that after Parliament's victory in the war had delivered them from royalist plunderers of their material wealth, 'New Plunderers arose which sought to Plunder us of our God',¹ namely the sects. As the sectaries began to harass him he commenced studying their doctrines and after they challenged him publicly at Henley in August, 1650, he brought forth the first of his many books, The Pulpit Guarded.²

The Pulpit-Guarded

The Pulpit Guarded, evidently met a considerable need for a defence against lay preaching, since it went through three editions within three months of its publication in 1651 and had sold twenty thousand copies within two years.³ The Pulpit Guarded marked the commencement

¹'Life', p.74.

²'Life', p.75. Hall had begun a lecture to Henley-in-Arden, Warwickshire, soon after his elevation to be rector of King's Norton parish(Ibid., p.54).

³'Life', p.75. The book was first published as The Pulpit Guarded with xvii Arguments(London, 1651), and although dated by Thomason(Thom. Tr. i, 809) as by the date when the dispute took place (20 Aug. 1650) it was apparently first published in the late spring of 1651 since Hall's prefatory note to his parishioners was dated 3 March of that year. Editions soon appeared as The Pulpit Guarded with xx Arguments. The Pulpit Guarded appeared in a 3rd and 4th edition(dated 1652). Hall's own copy of the work(a 3rd edition), with Hall's interleaved MS. notes in preparation for a never published 5th edition(an MS. correction to 5th edition was made on the title page) is in the Bodleian Library(C.1.16(1)Linc). It is bound with a copy of William Hartley's The Prerogative Priest's Passing Bell(London, 1651) with Hall's MS. responses, plus Hall's MS. responses to William Sheppard's The People's Privilege and Duty (London, 1652). Hall's copy is used for citation purposes and his changes from(or additions to) earlier editions are noted when relevant.

of Hall's career as an author and introduced several themes which were to be reiterated in his later works.

Hall, obviously alarmed by the disruptions caused by lay preaching, enumerated a long list of the social and theological excesses of the Continental Anabaptists, and felt that it was self-evident

how needful it is both for Church and Commonwealth to joyn the labour of the Universities with that of the Church, for the confutation of Anabaptist; and with united hearts and hands endeavour to hinder this doctrine which brings so certain destruction to Church, Commonwealth, and our owne souls.¹

Hall believed that 'Presbyterial Government' was 'most agreeable to the mind of Jesus Christ!'.² He amended his original definition of the requirements for a true preacher lest anyone misunderstand this point. Hall believed every minister should have 'Gifts, abilities, and endowments of Life and Learning'.³ Before the minister could preach, however, he needed

Power and authority from the Presbytery to exercise those Gifts. Gifts qualifie; but the Presbyteries Ordination gives authority for execution.⁴

¹Pulpit Guarded, 'A Looking-Glass for Anabaptists', iii-iv; cf. Ibid., p.23, 44. Cf. also his Font-Guarded, passim; The Beauty of Magistracy (London, 1660), p.ii; Vindiciæ Literarum, The Schools Guarded (London, 1655), 22 ff.; and An Apologie for the Ministry, and its Maintenance (London, 1660), p.56 ff. concerning Hall's continuing antipathy to 'Anabaptists' and pleas for the government to restrain them.

²Pulpit Guarded, p.33, MS. notation.

³Ibid., p.2.

⁴Ibid., Hall substituted MS. notations 'Presbytery' and 'Presbyteries' respectively for the original 'Church' and 'Churches'.

Accepting the traditional view of society, Hall applied it vigorously to the controversy.

Let the Nayler keep to his Hammer, the Husbandman to his Plough...the Souldier to his Arms...They must not leap from the Shop to the Pulpit, from the Army to the Ministry...if ever men would have comfort, let them keep the bounds and limits of their particular Callings. God hath set every Calling its bounds, which none may pass. Superiours must Govern; Inferiours Obey, and be Governed: Ministers must study and Preach; People must Hear and Obey...¹

Hall employed the standard argument of those resisting lay preaching that the alleged primitive New Testament pattern did not apply to the present English Church situation, since it was now a settled, 'constituted' church.² Preaching was to be understood as 'a formal act' of learned, properly authorized clergy.³ Learning and rhetoric were required of those seeking pastoral office in order to defend the faith against skeptics and to resolve difficult scripture passages.⁴

In Pulpit Guarded Hall asserted that university learning, while not absolutely necessary to ministry, made any pastor lacking it woefully incomplete.⁵ In subsequent works he strengthened his position, making formal learning and logic necessary without qualification.⁶

¹Ibid., p.25.

²Ibid., pp.5-8.

³Ibid., p.12.

⁴Ibid., pp.21-22.

⁵Ibid., p.22.

⁶T. Hall, Vindiciæ Literarum, pp.6, 83. Hall's works reflected the influence of syllogistic interpretation and perhaps Ramist logic as well. Hall's library contained works of proponents of Ramist thought, as well as those of Ramus himself(cf. Powicke, op.cit., 186-91 and Sprunger, 'Ames, Ramus, and the Method of Puritan Theology', 139-140).

Learning was required because 'ministeriall gifts are not now adayes inspired unto men immediately..., but mediatly, gotten by reading, meditation, study, and diligent pains'.¹ Thus the preacher was the mediator of truth to the people and the people were reminded that clergy and laity belonged to different spheres.² Hall would have agreed with his neighbour Richard Baxter's advice to pastors:

It is most desirable that the Minister should be of parts above the people so far as to be able to teach them and awe them and manifest their weaknesses to themselves...See that you preach...some higher points that stall their understandings...Take up some profound questions...and...make it as plain as you can, that they may see that it is not your obscure manner of handling, but the matter itself that is too hard for them...³

Raising numerous arguments against lay preaching,⁴ Hall castigated those having separated from the Church of England because they had left 'a true Church'.⁵ He then added that the magistrates should prevent lay preaching, having earlier quoted approvingly two Parliamentary ordinances seeking that end.⁶

The debate over ordination could not be carried on without important ecclesiological questions soon surfacing. The questions of

¹Hall, An Apologie, pp.56-57. Cf. also Ibid., p.40 and Hall, Vindiciæ Literarum, p.39.

²Hall, Pulpit Guarded, p.3.

³Richard Schlatter, 'The Higher Learning in Puritan England', H.M.P.E.C., xciii(1954), 187, quoting Gildas Salvianus, The Reformed Pastor(2nd ed., 1657), pp.464-66.

⁴Pulpit Guarded, pp.45-82.

⁵Ibid., p.81.

⁶Ibid., p.82, MS. notation, and p.35.

what constituted a true church (and the related question of baptism) 172
and what was to be that church's relation to the magistrate were inevitably raised. In seeking to answer these questions, even more basic considerations arose. In guarding the pulpit against lay intrusion, Hall defined his church polity, addressed the question of baptism, and articulated his views on the relations of the church and the magistrate. In the process he revealed his epistemological presuppositions. Collier's response to Hall illustrated a sharply diverging conception of what constituted the sources of truth.

Collier's Response

Collier's response to Hall, Pulpit-Guard Routed, appeared in September, 1651.¹ Why did Collier decide to respond at this time? The lay preaching debate had been underway since the early days of the Long Parliament, intensifying after 1644.² Collier had revealed his anticlerical stance as early as 1647 with Corruption's publication.³ Why seek to rout the pulpit guard now? Several factors furnish potential answers to that question.

First, Hall referred directly to Collier in Pulpit Guarded. Hall

¹Cf. Appendix A, #28 n. A brief reply to Hall, The Prerogative Priests Passing-Bell (London, 1651) by William Hartley, a Baptist, had appeared in July (Thom.Tr., i, 840-41). Cf. Letters to William Dewsbury and Others. Trans. and Ed. by Henry J. Cadbury. Supplement Number 22 to J.F.H.S. (London, 1948), p.46 n. concerning Hartley. He had addressed the same subject in February, 1649 (Thom.Tr., i, 723) in The Priests Patent Cancelled (London, 1649). Reflecting presuppositions similar to Collier's, Hartley informed Hall that now there was 'no...distinction of Laity and Clergy, but all are one...in Jesus Christ' (The Prerogative Priests Passing Bell, preface 'To Mr. Thomas Hall', p.i.).

²Greaves, 'The Ordination Controversy', p.226.

³Cf. Appendix A, #6.

twice cited Collier's writing against the ministry in marginal notes¹ and decried attacks on the ministry as antichristian 'in a little Pamphlet of one...Collier, a very dangerous Sectary'.² Perhaps Collier viewed this as a direct challenge, and felt called upon to respond. Also, Pulpit Guarded's popularity may have been a factor in eliciting Collier's rebuttal.

In addition, by this date evidence suggests that Collier had built a widespread reputation as an effective West Country promoter of the Baptist version of sectarian theology. In the March, 1651 Axbridge controversy Collier's opponents described the many disciples who accompanied him to the debate as having come 'resolved to say and doe any thing, as he did, thinking him as infallible as the Pope in his Chayre'.³

In early 1652 Richard Saunders explained that his reply to Pulpit-Guard Routed was occasioned by his being a pastor in Devon(Kentisbeare), the area where Collier's influence was greatest.⁴ Collier, he related, had circulated his books widely in the area and 'his designe is chiefly

¹Pulpit Guarded, p.49 and his Latin 'Epistola Dedicatoria'.

²Ibid., p.77. All three references are to Corruption.

³Conference, p.16. That Conference, Collier's opponents' account of their public disputation(Preceded by an earlier private conference at Biddisham), was published after Collier's version, Heads and Substance, was made clear by the title page's statement that Collier's version was 'newly Published'. Cf. also Appendix A, #22 n. I am indebted to Dr. G. F. Nuttall for knowledge of Conference's existence (cf. Geoffrey F. Nuttall, 'Thomas Collier - An Unrecorded Tract', B.Q. xxviii(1979-80), 40-41).

⁴Richard Saunders, A Balm to Heal Religions Wounds(London, 1652), p.2.

promoted in these parts'.¹ Thus, Saunders was even more aware of the danger than Hall.²

Soon afterward, Charles Darby,³ a Somerset pastor, described events at Wivilliscoombe preceding the 4 May 1652 disputation in which Francis Fullwood and Collier were chief protagonists.⁴ Darby explained that at the conclusion of a debate concerning infant baptism those opposed 'threatned to bring Collier to the next meeting, if he were within many miles of the place, and the courage of others, who promised to defend, that, or any other Point, against him'.⁵

The Pulpit-Guard Routed

Collier's refutation of Hall quickly revealed their basic differences. Attacking Hall as a hireling priest defending a trade, Collier reiterated his earlier animosity toward the 'idle, university-trained ministry'.⁶ Next, he refuted the Continental Anabaptist stigma by questioning the veracity of contemporary accounts and accusing the priests of having caused the German wars, as they had caused the recent

¹Ibid., p.3.

²Ibid., p.2.

³Cf. C.R., p.157. Darby's sympathies were with Fullwood in this debate.

⁴Francis Fullwood, The Churches and Ministry of England (London, 1652).

⁵'A Preface to the Reader', p.iii in Fullwood, The Churches and Ministry. Darby added that Collier was 'An infamously famous Sectary' in a marginal notation(Ibid.).

⁶Pulpit-Guard Routed, pp.1-4, 44-45, 103-04. Cf. Corruption, pp. 14-22 and First General Epistle, pp.34-36, 63. Collier's animosity remained unchanged in 1682(Compendious Discourse, 'Epistle Dedicatory').

wars in England.¹ In denying the charge of pacifism, Collier observed that those Hall labelled Anabaptists and Independents had been a significant part of the Army that gained a Parliamentary victory in the civil war.²

Collier identified one of the most basic differences between the factions Hall and he represented when he asserted that Hall's restriction of the pulpit was 'directly against the will of the Lord in the Gospel-dispensation'.³ Hall and his sympathizers were led astray, because they did not understand that in the Gospel age the Lord's commands and covenant were 'only to and with the spirituall seed',⁴ and there was not to be one standard for the church in apostolic times, and another in the present age.⁵

Collier came to an explosive conclusion: 'under the Gospel, the command of Christ is the rule of Saints, and that is it that makes things lawfull or unlawfull'.⁶

Having defended congregational polity as the only one sanctioned by the New Testament, Collier agreed with Hall that there was a distinction between pastors and gifted brethren.⁷ He strongly disagreed, however, concerning the nature of those distinctions. Collier

¹Pulpit-Guard Routed, pp.10, 11, 57.

²Ibid. Cf. also Font-Guard Routed, p.61.

³Pulpit-Guard Routed, 'The Epistle to the Reader', p.i.

⁴Ibid., p.5.

⁵Ibid., p.6.

⁶Ibid., p.31. Cf. also pp.52 ff.

⁷Ibid., pp.14-20.

illustrated the importance of ecclesiological concepts in the ordination controversy. He asserted that election of ministers was not to be by Presbytery, synod, or national church, which the 'New Testament never knew',¹ but by a Gospel church, 'a company of Believers, Saints gathered out of the world by the power of the Lord'.²

It is at this point that a distinction between Collier's Baptists and some other sectarian groups (most notably the Quakers) emerged.³ The supreme authority in such matters for Collier and his followers was the duly constituted, visible church of saints living under the Lordship of Christ. The following passage, although lengthy, is quoted because it vividly illustrates the differences in ecclesiological understanding separating Hall and Collier.

Officers, Pastors and Teachers are not for the being of the Church and Ordinances;...they are rather for the wel-being of the Church; there is nothing to be done in the Church, no Ordinance to be administered, but a gifted brother may do it, with the approbation of the Church; but because of conveniency and order, therefore some men are chosen forth to act in behalf of the whole, for the good of the whole...the work of a Pastor or Teacher doth not consist all in preaching and baptizing, as Priests now adaies think, but in knowing the state of the flock... There is no one thing that I know belongs to a Pastor, but a gifted brother may do it; it is his duty when time, opportunity and liberty calls for it; only the brother doth it according to his gift, as a member; the other waiting on his office, as one entrusted by the Church more then ordinary for that end.⁴

¹Ibid., p.20.

²Ibid.

³Cf. Chapter IV infra.

⁴Pulpit-Guard Routed, pp.28-29 and Ibid., pp.33 ff. Cf. also Confession(1644), Article XXVI.

Acceptance of the concept of the gathered assembly of believers only, and the consequent rejection of the parish concept, led Collier to argue for toleration for all save those engaging in moral wickedness or treason.¹ It also led him to reject all attempts at reformation of the national church as 'but Deformation'.² He exhorted all engaged in such efforts 'to begin anew upon the right foundation, by a right rule',³ namely the New Testament.

Throughout his book Collier repeatedly rejected university learning as a requirement for preaching,⁴ then seized upon Hall's statement that learning was not an absolute necessity⁵ and asserted that 'gifted brethren...stick to that which is of absolute necessity, the Spirit of Christ'.⁶ In a brief Postscript, Collier, seeking to dissociate himself from some of the more radical positions, emphasized that only truly gifted brethren were to preach and then 'in an orderly way'.⁷ He also made reference to a book similar to Hall's written by Collins,⁸

¹Ibid., pp.14, 27.

²Ibid., p.103.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., pp.7, 24, 25, 31, 37-42, 104.

⁵Hall, Pulpit Guarded, p.22.

⁶Pulpit-Guard Routed, p.42.

⁷Ibid., 'The Post-script'. Collier did not argue, as did some proponents of lay preaching, for everyone's unrestricted right to preach. Only those judged by the church as having been spiritually enabled should preach, and even then under the local church's 'order'. He also mentioned that he had written Pulpit-Guard Routed before Pulpit Guarded's 3rd edition appeared.

⁸Ibid. Almost assuredly this is a reference to John Collinges, Vindiciæ Ministerii Evangelici (London, 1651), catalogued by Thomason or 6 June, 1651 (Thom.Tr., i, 836). Cf. D.N.B., iv, 812-13 and Thom.Tr.,

which Collier considered Pulpit-Guard Routed to have answered as well.

The Opposition Responds

The first direct reply to Collier was an appendix to John Ferriby's The Lawfull Preacher, which appeared 20 January, 1652.¹ Ferriby,² an Essex Presbyterian, published his book in response to continued harassment from those who disrupted his Epping lectures against the preaching of those not properly ordained.³ The leader in opposing Ferriby's lectures was a Captain Spencer,⁴ almost certainly John Spencer, the Baptist army leader. Holding common presuppositions, Ferriby mirrored Hall's arguments, and limited himself mainly to ridiculing Collier's lack of classical learning in his appendix.

Richard Saunders penned the second response to Collier, which appeared less than a month after Ferriby's.⁵ As noted earlier, Saunders

i, 880; ii, 5, 74, 90, 109, 200, 207, 214, 246 concerning the continuing controversy engendered by Collinges' book.

¹John Ferriby, The Lawfull Preacher(London, 1652), cf. Thom.Tr. i, 858. The appendix, described as 'The Pulpit-Guard Relieved' on the title page, was paginated separately in The Lawfull Preacher's first printing, but is paginated continuously in the 2nd Impression in October, 1652(cf. Thom.Tr., i, 887).

²Cf. Joseph Foster, Alumni Oxonienses(London, 1891), ii, 492, Harold Smith, The Ecclesiastical History of Essex(Colchester, n.d.), pp. 109, 158, 273, and Shaw, Hist. Eng. Ch., ii, 382.

³Ferriby, The Lawfull Preacher, 'To the reader'.

⁴Ibid., 'The Book-seller to the Reader'.

⁵Saunders, A Balm to Heal Religions Wounds received an Imprimatur on 14 February, 1651(Ibid., p.162). Cf. C.R., p.426, concerning Saunders. Saunders, as part of 'the Committee of the City of Exeter', was one of the signatories of several letters written in August, 1646, which disapprovingly catalogued Army radicals' disregard for Parliament's ordinance(26 April, 1645) against the preaching of the unordained as well as other abuses(Gangraena(iii), 41-45).

responded to Pulpit-Guard Routed to counter Collier's influence. Also, he did not want his defence of the present government,¹ his encouragement of gifted Christians to edify one another, or his temporary suspension of baptism to be misinterpreted as support for Collier's position.²

Saunders' refutation of Collier closely paralleled Hall. He defended learning as a requirement for ministry,³ infant baptism,⁴ and mediate, rather than immediate, revelation in the present age.⁵ Saunders, however, devoted a fourth of his book to refuting Collier's defence of the preaching of gifted brethren without proper call or ordination.⁶

In a revealing passage, Saunders cited Collier's vesting of authority in the church with regard to permission for gifted brethren to preach.⁷ Accusing Collier of duplicity, he said that if Collier desired 'onely that a gifted brother may teach in a constituted Church, by the free and unanimous consent, and desire of Pastour and people', then there would be no basis for dispute.⁸ Saunders asserted that Collier instead sought to encourage

that which he, and his Associates have taken up, of comming tumultuously and forceably

¹Richard Saunders, Plenary Possession Makes a Lawfull Power (London, 1651).

²Saunders, Balm, 'To the Reader', iii-iv.

³Ibid., pp.17-22, 125-133.

⁴Ibid., pp.23-43.

⁵Ibid., pp.43-56.

⁶Ibid., pp.64-124.

⁷Ibid., pp.83-84.

⁸Ibid., p.84.

into Congregations, without consent...to the great scandall of the Gospel.¹

The crucial fact which Saunders ignored, or failed to realize, was that he and Collier held radically different conceptions of the term 'church'. For Collier to disrupt parish assemblies did not violate his principles, since he had made it abundantly clear that they were not in any sense true churches under the Gospel dispensation.

The Debate at Wiviliscoombe

As noted earlier, Collier's growing reputation led him into a public dispute in May 1652 at Wiviliscoombe, Somerset² in which his main adversary was Francis Fullwood.³ Heightened by weeks of intense anticipation in the surrounding area, the debate generated both a large audience and great excitement.⁴

¹Ibid., p.84.

²Fullwood, The Churches and Ministry, pp.1-56 of which is Fullwood's sermon. This is followed(pp.57-73) by a narrative of the debate between Fullwood(assisted by several others) and Collier('with the strength of his party in the West'). It is interesting to note that Fullwood's 'Epistle Dedicatory' was to John Pyne, Collier's old Army Remonstrance ally.

³Fullwood, at this time a Presbyterian pastor in Somerset, was described as a Devon pastor by 1656. Having conformed, he was elevated to the Archdeaconry of Totnes at the Restoration. He was most noted during the latter part of his career for his defence of Anglicanism both against nonconformity and Roman Catholicism. Perhaps Fullwood's most notable dispute occurred in 1672 when his Toleration Not to be Abused (1672) was published in response to that year's Indulgence. Richard Baxter responded to Fullwood with Sacrilegious Desertion of the Holy Ministry Rebuked(London, 1672). Cf. Charles Hardwick's 1847 edition of Fullwood's Roma Ruit(orig.publ.1679), pp.iii-ix and J.I.Dredge, A Few Sheaves of Devon Bibliography(Plymouth, 1889), i, 22-29 concerning Fullwood's life.

⁴Charles Darby, 'To the Reader', pp.iii-iv in Fullwood, The Churches and Ministry.

Collier entered during the opening prayer 'guarded...with souldiers, and a great company of his furious disciples'.¹ Collier and his followers listened to Fullwood's sermon, which dealt affirmatively with the question set for the day: 'Whether the now Ministers of the Church of England, be the Ministers of Jesus Christ Exclusively?'² Fullwood defended the parish churches of England and proclaimed that sectaries were guilty in leaving the true churches and ministry of the national church.³ He vigorously denied the visible, gathered concept of the church⁴ and agreed with Thomas Hall that learning in logic, rhetoric, and languages was necessary for an adequate ministry.⁵

Preoccupation with the concept of the church dominated this debate, as it had with Collier's earlier opponents. Fullwood condemned the sectarian preachers for denying the magistrate a role in ordination and cited a three-fold participation in ordination as more proper to a Christian nation:

Place somewhat in the hands of all three Orders, Classes, or Estates...the Ministry, Magistracy, and people...to the Ministry...examination, ordination, and inauguration; to the Magistrate nomination, presentation, confirmation; to the

¹Ibid., p.iv.

²Ibid., p.iii.

³Fullwood, The Churches and Ministry, pp.4-5.

⁴Ibid., pp.6-19. In 1658 Fullwood addressed the same question and once again defended his position in similar fashion. He referred the reader to his earlier defence (in The Churches and Ministry) in A Discourse of the Visible Church (London, 1658).

⁵Ibid., pp.21-25. Fullwood was deeply influenced by his university training and in his first work, Vindiciæ mediorum & mediatorum. Or, The Present Reigning Errour arraigned at the Barr of Scripture and Reason (London, 1651), he gave a comprehensive diagrammed analysis of the error confuted in the best Ramist-Ames tradition.

people consent, suffrage, approving...Not willing to give all to the Minister with Papists; to the Magistrate with Erastians; or to the people with Libertines, Anabaptists, Brownists,&.¹

Fullwood bemoaned the excesses produced by unordained preaching, and drew the standard distinction between public preaching and private teaching, citing Rutherford, Hall, Collinges, and Ferriby.²

At the sermon's conclusion, Collier and his followers declared their dissatisfaction and demanded that Fullwood defend his doctrines. Collier denied the validity of the established church and listed four reasons to support his contention:

- I. That their constitution was false. 2. Their members are false. 3. Their Ordinances are false. 4. Their Ministry is false.³

In answer to Fullwood's challenge, Collier said that their constitution was false because they had been established not by Scripture, but by the Queen's 'civil power'.⁴ He went on to deny infant baptism on similar grounds, that it had no biblical(i.e. New Testament) precedent.⁵ As with the others, Fullwood's disagreements with Collier stemmed from sharply differing epistemologies. This inevitably brought their differing concepts of the church, ordinances, and ministry to the fore.

The Font Guarded

Thomas Hall's defence of infant baptism had appeared by March,

¹Ibid., p.29.

³Ibid., p.58.

⁵Ibid., pp.59, 63.

²Ibid., pp.48-49.

⁴Ibid., p.58.

1652.¹ He returned to several of his favourite Pulpit Guarded themes, bewailing the blasphemous doctrines of the Anabaptists and the divisions they caused.² He expressed regret that John Tombes was among his adversaries since he respected his abilities.³

Hall defended infant baptism along familiar lines asserting 'a resemblance and analogie between' circumcision and baptism and that 'the covenant of Grace which circumcision sealed' with Israel 'as baptism doth to us'.⁴ After presenting twenty traditional arguments supporting infant baptism,⁵ Hall answered the objections and defences of those attacking the practice.⁶

He then launched a diatribe against Collier entitled The Collier in his Colours.⁷ Hall described Collier as 'a blasphemous...seducing

¹46 March, 1652 (Thom.Tr., i, 865). Font Guarded was 'Occasioned partly by a Dispute at Bely in Worcestershire, Aug. 13 1651' (Font Guarded, t.p.) between Hall and several sectaries.

²Font Guarded, 'To my beloved and approved Friends', pp.i-iv.

³Ibid., p.v. For Tombes cf. D.N.B., xix, 929-31 and C.R., 487-88. The debate on baptism was a long-standing one in which Tombes was deeply involved. Hall occasionally referred to this larger controversy (especially the Tombes-Baxter exchange) and replied directly (Font Guarded, pp. 133-36) to Tombe's Praecursor; or a Forerunner to a Large Review of the dispute Concerning Infant-Baptism (London, 1652), a refutation of Richard Baxter. Cf. Thom.Tr., i, 339, 409, 416, 419, 422, 432, 450, 456, 461, 469, 477, 800, 891; ii, 56, 67, 233 concerning Tombes and his opponents in the baptism debate. Cf. also F.J.Powicke, 'Richard Baxter's Relations to the Baptists and his Proposed Terms of Communion', T.B.H.S., vi(1918-19), 193-215 and Arthur S. Langley 'Seventeenth Century Baptist Disputations', T.B.H.S., vi(1918-19), 216-43 and D.M.Himbury, 'Baptismal Controversies, 1640-1900', in Christian Baptism, ed. by A. Gilmore (London, 1959), pp.273-93.

⁴Font Guarded, p.20.

⁵Ibid., p.1-82.

⁶Ibid., pp.83-118.

⁷Ibid., pp.119-32. Although containing a separate title page, it is continuously paginated with Font Guarded.

Heretick...sowing the Devils seed',¹ and cited Collier's First General Epistle² and Heads and Substance³ as evidence.

The Axbridge debate which produced both Heads and Substance and Conference⁴ revealed one of the most important aspects of the controversies which abounded during these years. Both pamphlets, giving opposing versions of the same debate, illustrated the conceptual and language barrier separating the men of the university-trained world and men like Collier. Collier, unfettered by the thought system of his university graduate opponents, used different terminology and different methods of argumentation. In his version of the debate, Collier complained repeatedly that he only denied certain theological truths 'in the way they hold it forth'.⁵

Contemptuously dismissing Collier's arguments in Pulpit-Guard Routed as 'stuffed with non-sense, ignorance, malice, and falsehood',⁶ Hall declared that there was 'not a more unrighteous man...in England'.⁷ He concluded by commending Ferriby's refutation of Collier.⁸

¹Ibid., p.124.

²Ibid., p.121. marg.note, 125, 126.

³Ibid., pp.123-24.

⁴Cf. Appendix A, #22 n. In this debate, Edward Woollcott was identified as 'Colliers best prompter' (Conference, p.14). In 1669, Collier was licensed to teach in Woollcott's house in Axbridge (Orig. Rec. i, 11; ii, 1122).

⁵Heads and Substance, pp.8, 9. The subjects of the discourse, all theological in nature, are dealt with in Chapters VII-IX infra, dealing with Collier's theological development.

⁶Font Guarded, p.129.

⁷Ibid., p.128.

⁸Ibid., p.132.

The Font-Guard Routed

Collier responded to his critics in The Font-Guard Routed, in which he made specific reply to Ferriby and Saunders, as well as Hall.¹ Once again stressing the new Gospel Covenant, Collier asserted that to fail 'to distinguish between Law and Gospel, Covenant and Covenant' was 'denying Christ to be come in the flesh'.²

Collier denied all of Hall's arguments for the baptizing of infants and for sprinkling as the proper mode.³ He revealed just how radical New Testament, Gospel Covenant presuppositions could be when he informed Hall that 'if Magistrates command any thing contrary to the mind of Christ, we are not to obey'.⁴ Christ alone was 'King of his Church'.⁵

Countering Hall's charges against him, Collier said that he was not against universities, just the elevation of learning above the spiritual qualifications for ministry.⁶ The basis for Collier's refutation of all his opponents' arguments for infant baptism and national, comprehensive church concepts is found in his reply to Saunders' question of where Collier and his cohorts would take the people:

In the light and power of truth, we would carry them to the Lord Jesus; that so they might know and obey him, and worship the Father in him in spirit and in truth...this...is my principle and practise...That we are justified freely by grace...that this Justification where it is in

¹Cf. Appendix A, #19 n.

²Font-Guard Routed, p.11.

³Ibid., pp.12-54.

⁵Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p.18.

⁶Ibid., pp.57-60.

truth enjoyed, works over souls to a holy and humble walking with the Lord...That it is the duty of Believers, according to the command of Christ, and practise of his servants in the Primitive times, to be baptized, and so come into Church fellowship, walking as with the Lord, so one with another in love, performing all duties of brotherly love, as becometh souls made one in so high and heavenly a calling.¹

Thus, when Parliament formed a Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1652 to supervise the parish churches and to examine ministers,² Collier reacted.³ Aware that many had already responded to the committee's invitation to offer proposals,⁴ Collier felt compelled to address the committee himself. In doing so he provided a brief summary of his views concerning church-state relations, views which remained consistent throughout his career.

Collier asserted that Christ's advent had nullified all analogies to the 'Jewish Magistracie'.⁵ Gospel rule also negated a state-maintained ministry which had often resulted in making men ministers, not of Christ, but of the state.⁶ Collier pleaded for the committee to examine

¹Ibid., 'An Answer to a Book written by one Richard Sanders...', p.3.

²Cross, Church and People, pp.213-13.

³Font-Guard Routed, postscript entitled 'Some few Proposals to the Honorable Committee for Propagation of the Gospel'.

⁴Geoffrey F. Nuttall, 'Presbyterians and Independents. Some Movements for Unity 300 years ago', Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, x(1952), 4-5.

⁵Font-Guard Routed, 'Some few Proposals'.

⁶Ibid.

Whether it be not the work whereunto God hath called them, to protect all that live peaceably and civilly, in obedience to the Civil Law of the Nation; and to encourage and protect the Servants of the Lord alike, in the Preaching and professing the Gospel, though differing in their apprehensions, leaving the judgment of Cases of Conscience unto Christ...

During these years Collier was a prominent defender of a Calvinistic Baptist position. Having embraced the visible church ideal, he continued to fight for the right of such churches to define and practice baptism and to worship and evangelize unhindered by the parish system or the civil magistrate.

While Hall continued to defend learning in an extension and continuation of the ordination debate,² Collier moved on to solidify his position as a leader of West Country Baptists and to participate in a very different kind of debate with different opponents, the Quakers.

¹Ibid. Cf. Nuttall, 'Presbyterians and Independents', pp.4-15 for various Independents' views during this period.

²Thomas Hall, Vindiciae Literarum, (London, 1655). Cf. Greaves, 'The Ordination Controversy', and Greaves, The Puritan Revolution in Educational Thought concerning the continuation of this debate.

IV COLLIER CONFRONTS THE QUAKER CHALLENGE¹

The Quakers² sprang to life in northern England during the civil war years³ and with the dawning of the 1650s swept like a theological whirlwind throughout the rest of England.⁴ As numerous students of the movement have observed,⁵ the Commonwealth Quaker movement should not be confused with the more quietistic Quakerism which developed after the Restoration.⁶

The increasing emphasis in English Puritanism⁷ on an inward spiritual experience, noted in relation to the ordination controversy,

¹As Collier's evangelistic activities in the West had been a contributing factor to the formation of the Baptists' Western Association of churches as early as November, 1653 (Assoc. Rec., p.54), his controversy with the Quakers (1656-59) is being discussed out of chronological order. Since the Quaker controversy was a possibly crucial factor in Collier's 1650s theological retrenchment, it was deemed advisable to examine his confrontation with the Quakers before analysing his other writings from the 1653-59 period.

²Cf. Journal (Penney), i, concerning the origin and early usage of the name Quaker.

³Beginnings, p.42.

⁴Ibid., pp.43-240.

⁵James F. Maclear, 'Quakerism and the End of the Interregnum: A Chapter in the Domestication of Radical Puritanism', C.H., xix(1950), 240-70; Alan Cole, 'The Quakers and Politics, 1652-1660', Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge University, 1955; Geoffrey F. Nuttall, The Welsh Saints 1640-1660 (Cardiff, 1957), pp.71-73; Hugh Barbour, The Quakers in Puritan England (London, 1964), pp.154-206; Geoffrey F. Nuttall, 'Overcoming the World: The Early Quaker Programme', in Sanctity and Secularity: The Church and the World. ed. Derek Baker (Studies in Church History, x, 1973), 145-64.

⁶Maclear, 'Quakerism', 240-42.

⁷Cf. p.11 n. supra.

reached its 'logical' conclusion in the Quakers.¹ The belief 'that the Spirit of God was in every man' encompassed the 'essence of the Quaker message'.² Men secure in such experience with, and direction from, God, were fortified in their belief that they could overcome the world.³

Although the Quaker movement was far from monolithic in those first chaotic years of expansion, its social and political programme was radical and aggressive.⁴ Espousing many of the social and legal reforms of the Levellers and other radicals, Quakerism became a haven for many disillusioned followers of earlier radical movements.⁵

The phenomenal growth of the Quakers alarmed the more moderate and conservative Puritans as well as many numbered among the more radical wing. As the 1650s progressed, the Quaker challenge increasingly occupied the attention of Puritan preachers and pamphleteers at the expense of such questions as ordination and lay preaching.⁶ The Baptists, both General and Particular, were significant participants

¹Nuttall, Holy Spirit, p.x.

²Ibid., p.183.

³Nuttall, 'Overcoming the World', 145-48.

⁴Maclear, 'Quakerism', 241.

⁵Nuttall, 'Overcoming the World', 153-164; Nuttall, Welsh Saints, pp.70-72; Richard T. Vann, 'From Radicalism to Quakerism: Gerrard Winstanley and Friends', J.F.H.S., xii(1959-61), 41-46; and Richard T. Vann, 'Diggers and Quakers - A Further Note', J.F.H.S., 1(1962-64), 65-68.

⁶Nuttall, Holy Spirit, p.78.

in the general Puritan controversy with the Quakers.¹

The Baptists paralleled the general Puritan response to the Quaker challenge in many points,² but different emphases did occasionally emerge.³ The Baptist-Quaker debate was influenced by the fact that both were spawned by the amorphous radical wing of mid-seventeenth century Puritanism. Thus, the Baptists, though more conservative in their origins than their Quaker opponents, were closer to them on many points than were their other Puritan brethren. The Baptists as a whole, and Thomas Collier in particular, had defined themselves in opposition to the conservative and moderate Puritan factions in such areas as the ordination controversy and religious toleration.⁴ Now they defined themselves in contradistinction to those to their left, the Quakers.

The Quaker Challenge in the West

The Quakers met with considerable success when they entered the

¹Underwood, pp.50-52. Cf. G. F. Bitterman, 'The Early Quaker Literature of Defense', C.H., xlii(1973) 203-28 and Early Quaker Writings. ed. by Hugh Barbour and Arthur O. Roberts (Grand Rapids, 1973), pp.567-76 for descriptive surveys of early Quaker pamphlets.

²Cf. Ralph P. Bohn, 'The Controversy between Puritans and Quakers to 1660', (University of Edinburgh. Ph.D. thesis, 1955); Barbour, The Quakers, pp.127-59; and 'The Quakers and the Puritans', in Geoffrey F. Nuttall, The Puritan Spirit. Essays and Addresses (London, 1967), 170-76.

³Cf. Underwood; and Craig W. Horle, 'Quakers and Baptists, 1647-1660', B.Q., xvi(1975-76), 344-362.

⁴Cf. G. F. Nuttall, Visible Saints. The Congregational Way 1640-1660 (Oxford, 1957) passim concerning the positions of their Independent and Congregational opponents.

West Country as early as 1654-1655.¹ Here, as elsewhere, they converted many from Baptist ranks.²

Several of the early West Country Friends had been Baptists prior to their conversion. William Bayly of Poole, convinced in 1655, had previously been a Baptist.³ Thomas Budd, converted to Quakerism in 1656, had been a signatory of the Somerset Confession representing the church at Munticue(Montacute),⁴ and thus in all probability was personally acquainted with Collier. Budd was described as a former 'Baptist teacher'⁵ on whose property large Quaker meetings were held.⁶ William Ames, serving as a Baptist minister in Somerset, joined the Parliamentary Army and became a Quaker while serving in Ireland.⁷ Apparently acknowledging Collier's leadership role in the Western Association, Ames wrote to him explaining his separation from the Baptist church in Waterford.⁸

¹F.P.T., 77-83, 221-26; Henry J. Cadbury, 'More First Publishers of Truth', J.F.H.S., lli(1969-71), 163-66; Journal, 230-34, 269-73; Elizabeth B. Rutter 'A Glimpse of Ancient Friends in Dorset', J.F.H.S., v(1908), 35-40.

²Underwood, pp.38-51; Horle, op.cit., 345-48.

³Journal(Penney), i, 435; Underwood, p.40n.

⁴Assoc. Rec., p.105.

⁵F.P.T., p.228.

⁶Journal(Penney), ii, 464.

⁷Underwood, pp.40, 74, 193; Ames moved to Holland in 1657 where he spread Quaker views before returning to England in 1662(Ibid., p.40). Cf. also D.N.B., s.v.

⁸Assoc.Rec., 105, quoting Lyme Church book, 22f.

In addition, several of Collier's direct opponents in the Quaker controversy had been Baptists before becoming Quakers. The authors of Truth Vindicated, John Pitman and Jasper Batt, appended 'A word to those called Baptists'¹ to their pamphlet describing the Baptists as those 'with whom we sometimes fed on Husks'.² Pitman died soon after his conversion,³ but Batt achieved great success in his service to the Quaker cause in Somerset⁴ and elsewhere⁵ until his death in 1702.⁶

He was described by the Bishop of Bath and Wells as 'the greatest Seducer in all the West, and the most seditious Person in the County'.⁷ In later years George Fox corresponded with Batt⁸ and Batt preached at Fox's funeral.⁹ Both Pitman and Batt lived in Street,¹⁰ which became a continuing center of Quaker strength in Somerset.¹¹

¹Truth Vindicated, pp.61-69.

²Ibid., t.p.

³F.P.T., p.223.

⁴F.P.T., pp.221-28. Cf. also D.Q.B., s.v.

⁵F.P.T., pp.79, 82; Short Journal, p.342.

⁶F.P.T., p.221n.

⁷Ibid., citing John Whiting, Persecution Exposed, 1715, p.108.

⁸W. C. Braithwaite, MS. notes and transcripts on Bristol MSS. vols. 1-5, 'Friends House WCB/case 36', Friends House, London, i, 48, hereafter cited as Braithwaite, Bristol MSS.

⁹Short Journal, p.342.

¹⁰F.P.T., p.228.

¹¹Stephen C. Morland, 'Mid-Somerset Friends in the 18th Century. A Study in the Administration of Discipline', J.F.H.S., lii(1969-71), p.249.

If Collier did not have a personal acquaintance with Batt through his Baptist affiliation, he almost certainly had known Batt in his earlier role as secretary to John Pyne,¹ with whom Collier had worked in relation to the Army Remonstrance controversy. One other minor participant in Collier's debate with the Quakers, John Collins (Collens) of Lydford, Somerset,² was cited by Collier as one of several that had separated from the Baptists to become Quakers.³

These Quaker converts from the Baptist fold often described their experiences as Baptists in the most unflattering terms.⁴ This factor, coupled with the Quakers' success in aggressively seeking out Baptists and Baptist meetings in their evangelistic efforts, surely contributed to eliciting Collier's response. Collier had already commenced a theological shift to a more conservative stance theologically by the mid-1650s.⁵ This shift was accelerated as he reacted against Quaker inroads among Baptists in his immediate area.

¹Purge, p.37.

²Collins later fell away from his Quaker faith 'by Transgression' (F.P.T., p.228). This must have been subsequent to May 1672, when he was listed as a Quaker prisoner to be pardoned (E.S.P., pp.345, 353). Collens concluded a statement to the Baptists appended to Salthouse's True Judgment by declaring that he 'was once owned as a Brother amongst you...whilst walking in the vanity of my mind running to the same excess of riot with you' (True Judgment, p.30).

³Hypocrisie and Falshood, cited in Equal Ballance, p.49.

⁴In addition to Pitman and Batt, cf. Underwood, p. 74(Ames), p.193(Bayly).

⁵Cf. pp. 50-51 supra.

Giles Calvert

One indication of Collier's altered attitude was his change of printers during this period. Giles Calvert had printed most of Collier's works prior to Collier's encounter with the Quakers. Calvert had acquired a notorious reputation among the more conservative Puritans for publishing radical writings such as Leveller and Ranter books as well as some works of Boehme and the Familists.¹

In 1646 Thomas Edwards had described Calvert as 'a Sectary and a Book-seller on Ludgate Hill'.² The Worcestershire Petition of 1652 denounced Calvert³ and in 1655 Thomas Hall denounced Calvert's shop as 'that forge of the Devil, from whence so many blasphemous, lying, scandalous Pamphlets for many years past have spread over the Land'.⁴ Calvert was publishing Quaker work as early as 1648 and by 1653 large numbers of Quaker works were pouring forth from his press.⁵ After that

¹Altha E. Terry, 'Giles Calvert, Mid-Seventeenth Century English Bookseller and Publisher, An Account of His Publishing Career, With a Checklist of His Imprints', Columbia University M.Sc.(Library Science) thesis, 1937, pp.14-15, 59ff.

²Gangraena(ii), 9.

³George Fox, The Great Mistery of the Great Whore Unfolded(London, 1659), p.235-36.

⁴Hall, Vindiciae Literarum, p.215.

⁵Terry, 'Giles Calvert', pp.25-32. Cf. also Plomer, Dict.(1641-1667), pp.42-43 and Russell S. Mortimer, 'The First Century of Quaker Printers', J.F.H.S. xl(1948), 42-43 concerning Calvert. Calvert had close connections with the Quakers. A letter from Alexander Parker to Margaret Fell(Swarthmore MSS.I, 162, cited in Terry, 'Giles Calvert', pp.46-48) revealed him in 1655 to be in attendance at a Quaker meeting where Fox, Nayler, Parker, and Judge Thomas Fell were present and that Nayler and Parker were guests in Calvert's house. His sister was Martha Simmonds, one of Nayler's over-zealous followers(Terry, ibid., p.31) and Calvert himself pleaded for leniency on Nayler's behalf

date Collier ceased using Calvert¹ and started using Henry Hills² and a printer noted for publishing 'pamphlets against the Quakers',³ Thomas Brewster.⁴

Collier's Response

By mid-1656⁵ Collier led the Western Association in responding in print to the Quakers. Having decried 'the great departing from the faith' abroad in the land 'under glorious notions of spiritualness and holiness',⁶ the Somerset Confession's Epistle Dedicatory denounced the denial of all forms and ordinances as Satanic.⁷ The signatories pleaded with those who had 'owned the Lord' not to follow others in forsaking Him or denigrating 'his ordinances'.⁸ In an unmistakable reference to the Quakers, the confession disavowed 'such a

(E.S.P., p.23). However, surveying the extant evidence, one noted Quaker historian concluded that Calvert 'was closely associated with the Friends for some years, but never fully threw in his lot with them' (Letter from John L. Nickalls to Altha E. Terry, 29 March 1935 in Terry, ibid., p.69).

¹Collier did not use Calvert again until 1659 when Decision & Clearing was printed by him.

²Cf. p.116 n. for Hills.

³Plomer, Dict. (1641-1667), p.32.

⁴Ibid.

⁵All that can be ascertained with certainty is that Dialogue and Somerset Confession appeared in 1656 and prior to 7 July and 10 August respectively (Appendix A, #114m and #11n).

⁶Somerset Confession, p.64.

⁷Ibid., p.65.

⁸Ibid., p.66.

power as men pretend in these days...a light and a voice within them, without any relation to church or scripture!'.¹

One of his Quaker protagonists asserted that Collier had 'set himself in the fore-front of the battel'.² While Wastfield may have been speaking primarily in a local West Country sense, Collier's anti-Quaker role proved sufficiently prominent to invoke a direct response from several of the most prominent leaders in early Quakerism.

James Nayler and Edward Burrough, 'the leading writers against the Baptists prior to the Restoration',³ both responded to Collier's Dialogue.⁴ Nayler was at this time (prior to his fall in Bristol) a rival of Fox for pre-eminence among the Quakers⁵ and Burrough was a leading Quaker political spokesman during these years.⁶ George Fox placed Collier in his anti-Quaker pantheon by making multiple reference to him in The Great Mistery of the Great Whore Unfolded in 1659.⁷

¹Ibid., p.66.

²Equal Ballance, Postscript.

³Underwood, p.53.

⁴Nayler's Deceit was prefaced by 'The Epistle to the Reader and to Thomas Collier' by Burrough.

⁵Nuttall, Holy Spirit, pp.183-84. Cf. Geoffrey F. Nuttall, James Nayler. A Fresh Approach (London, 1954), J.F.H.S. Supplement No. 26; and Geoffrey F. Nuttall, Studies in Christian Enthusiasm (Wallingford, Pa., 1948), pp. 68 ff. concerning Nayler. Collier called Nayler 'the Head Quaker in England' prior to his fall (Looking-Glasse, p.17).

⁶Hill, The World Turned Upside Down, p.195. Cf. D.N.B. s.v. and Elisabeth Brockbank, Edward Burrough, a Wrestler for Truth, 1634-1662 (London, 1949) concerning Burrough.

⁷Fox, Great Mistery, pp.36-39, 120-23, 299-301. At least one of Collier's books, First General Epistle, was in Fox's library (John L. Nickalls', J.F.H.S. xxviii (1931), 18) and Fox may have been familiar with some of Collier's many early works printed by Calvert.

Collier's encounter with the Quakers characterized the Baptist-Quaker controversy prior to the Restoration both in the issues raised and in the repetition with which they were pressed. Consequently, the sequence of Collier's debate with the Quakers is sketched, followed by an analysis of the main points at issue.

The Debate Unfolds

Collier's Dialogue, by far his most substantial anti-Quaker work,¹ elicited James Nayler's Deceit in response by 7 July 1656.² Nayler accused Collier of massive and deliberate misrepresentation of Quaker positions. Approximately six months later Collier responded with his Looking-Glasse,³ characterizing Nayler's method as 'gathering out the sum of what I have writ, and saying they are all lies'.⁴

One of the main points at issue in the Baptist-Quaker debate was the question of believers attaining perfection in this life. Consequently, a circular letter issued by the Western Association meeting at Tiverton, 18 September 1657, and signed by Collier and two others,⁵ was pounced upon by the Quakers. The letter, a jeremiad bewailing the deadness, formality, and iniquity afflicting the churches in hyperbolic terms, was taken quite literally by the Quakers, who quoted it extensively in

¹Fox, Great Mistery, p.122 cited p.111 of Dialogue.

²Cf. Appendix A, #14n.

³Cf. Appendix A, #25n.

⁴Looking-Glasse, p.1.

⁵Assoc.Rec., pp.92-95; cf. Ibid., pp.107, 108 concerning Nathaniel Strange and Thomas Glasse, the other two signatories. Cf. Appendix A, #32n concerning the circulation of this letter.

their pamphlets as proof of Collier's and the Baptists' sinfulness and lack of true light.

Thomas Salthouse

Thomas Salthouse's Epistle in December, 1657¹ was the first Quaker response occasioned by the Tiverton letter. Salthouse, converted to Quakerism in 1652 while serving as a steward in the Fell household, became the Quaker 'Apostle to the West'.² Accompanied by Miles Halhead,³ Salthouse journeyed into the West Country early in 1655 with Plymouth as his ultimate destination.⁴ They were arrested in Honiton and imprisoned in Exeter. After their release they arrived in Plymouth in May, 1655, via Taunton, Bridgewater, and Bristol.⁵ They established a Quaker group there, were soon imprisoned and evidently remained so until May 1656.⁶

By 1657 Salthouse was actively evangelizing in Somerset.⁷ An evidence of the impact of such labours was the fact that in that year Thomas Budd, the converted Baptist, was hosting meetings of as many as

¹The date 3 December is found at the end of the Epistle(p.7).

²Beginnings, p.203. Cf. L.V. Hodgkin, A Quaker Saint in Cornwall (London, 1927), pp.63-79, D.N.B. s.v., and D.Q.B. s.v. concerning Salthouse.

³Cf. Journal(Penney), i, 396 concerning Halhead.

⁴Thomas Salthouse and Miles Halhead, The Wounds of an Enemie in the House of a Friend(London, 1656), p.1.

⁵Ibid., p.2.

⁶Hodgkin, A Quaker Saint, pp.71-72.

⁷F.P.T., pp. 222, 226, 227.

800 people on his property in Martock parish, Somerset with Salthouse as the main preacher.¹ Imprisoned for these efforts, Salthouse was later released and later, while living in Cornwall,² had a very influential ministry throughout the West Country until his death in 1690/91.³

In his Epistle, Salthouse explained that having seen the Tiverton letter, he was constrained to send his Epistle to them and to issue a call for those thirsting after righteousness to 'come out from amongst them, and be ye separate'.⁴ He also warned the Baptists to exercise caution in the practice of church discipline

for the Lord is working a wonderful work, and creating a new thing in the earth, and opening the eyes of many who comes to see the end of the worlds Ordinances...and such you need not cast out, nor bring under your dealing, but leave them to their freedom, to worship God in the spirit and in the truth;⁵

The implication of this passage is that among those being disciplined by the Baptists were those of their ranks who had embraced Quakerism.

Feeling compelled to defend 'the weak in Faith'⁶ from Salthouse's

¹Hodgkin, op.cit., pp.72, 76. Budd stated under questioning from the magistrate that he had known Salthouse 'About a year' (Ibid., p.75).

²F.P.T., 228; Hodgkin, op.cit., pp.87-89.

³Journal(Penney), i, 435.

⁴Epistle, p.6. Cf. Nuttall, Visible Saints, p.125-26n concerning the early usage of such a call. It was to become quite common among the Quakers, as it had earlier been among the Separatist groups in their dialogues with the more moderate Puritans.

⁵Ibid., p.7.

⁶Answer to an Epistle, p.1.

invitation, Collier quickly issued Answer to an Epistle.¹ He attacked Salthouse's theology and condemned his call for people to come out from the Baptists. He then explained the true meaning and intent of the Tiverton letter and issued his own call for the Quakers to repent and 'to come out' from their 'self-conceited estate'.²

Salthouse responded in kind with a larger tract, True Judgment, published in March 1658.³ Having attempted to refute Collier's charges and assertions, Salthouse once again issued a call for those seeking truth and perfection to come out from the Baptists or other groups and join those 'who have the mind of Christ'.⁴

Collier's Personal Encounters with Quakers

Truth Vindicated appeared in June 1658.⁵ Pitman and Batt, its authors, addressed themselves to Collier's Dialogue, Looking-Glasse, and cited the Tiverton letter as well. They sent Collier a letter in March, 1657, informing him that if he did not 'confess that he had wronged the truth, and us who own it',⁶ in the near future they would expose his wickedness and error in print. As a consequence a meeting

¹Cf. Appendix A, #2n concerning the dating of this work.

²Answer to an Epistle, p.16.

³Cf. Appendix A, #2n.

⁴True Judgment, p.20. Appended to the tract was 'A Lamentation taken up for the Churches of the Anabaptists by John Collens with a call, and a warning for them to come out of the self separation, into the footsteps of the flock, and to turn from the darkness to the true light' (True Judgment, pp.25-30).

⁵Truth Vindicated, p.69.

⁶Ibid., p.2.

was held between Collier and his adversaries at Glastonbury where some of their disagreements were debated.¹

Such encounters were not unusual.² Often they were interspersed with, and contributed to, the written debates. Baptists and Quakers would often visit the meetings of the other party and this could lead to disruption, but often led to formal debate.³

Glastonbury was not Collier's first encounter with the Quakers. Collier testified that he had visited a Quaker meeting at Hemington, Somerset and took the opportunity 'to hold forth Christ amongst them'.⁴ Truth Vindicated identified the leader who opposed Collier at the meeting as Christopher Holder.⁵ Truth Vindicated further revealed that Collier had also participated in a discourse at Bristol with Quakers prior to the Glastonbury meeting.⁶

¹Ibid., pp. 2, 13, 18, 23-24.

²Underwood, pp. 42-44.

³Horle, op.cit., 347-9.

⁴Looking-Glasse, p.2, thus the encounter took place prior to December, 1656. Truth Vindicated questioned Collier's location and suggested that it was Limminton, rather than Himmington [sic] (p.4). It is possible that Collier visited two separate meetings where events developed along similar lines, but since several factors do coincide closely in both accounts it is likely that either Collier or Truth Vindicated's authors are mistaken in their location of the one encounter.

⁵Truth Vindicated, p.4. Cf. Journal(Penney), ii, 440 and D.Q.B., s.v. concerning Holder.

⁶Ibid., p.24.

Collier's Last Response

In 1659 Collier replied one last time to the Quakers in Hypocrisie and Falshood, in which he anonymously refuted Salthouse's True Judgment. Robert Wastfield's Equal Ballance, written in response, presented evidence that Collier wrote Hypocrisie and Falshood¹ and printed a letter circulated 'in several Market Towns' in Somerset. The letter, signed by Jasper Batt, John Collins, John Dando², William Beaton³, and Robert Wastfield⁴, challenged Collier to acknowledge the tract unless he were ashamed of it so they could answer his 'many lyes and false assertions' directly. In the same year George Fox briefly animadverted on Collier's Looking-Glasse, Dialogue, and the Tiverton letter.⁵

Although Collier did not engage in any further printed controversy with the Quakers, they did continue to refer occasionally to Collier. 'Perhaps the most extensively public clash'⁶ between the

¹Cf. Appendix A, #24n.

²Cf. F.P.T., pp.223, 224, 226-28 concerning Dando's work in Somerset and Dorset(F.P.T.,p.79). Cf. also D.Q.B., s.v.

³Cf. F.P.T., pp.224, 226-27; E.S.P. 107, 174, 345; D.Q.B., s.v. and Journal(Penney), i 443 concerning Beaton.

⁴Cf. F.P.T. pp.82, 226-28 and D.Q.B., s.v. concerning Wastfield. Wastfield, 'was serviceable in ye beginning, but declined pretty much for want of faithfulness in his Latter days'(F.P.T.,p.228). His lapse must have been subsequent to 1668 since in that year he was listed as fit to hold Quaker monthly meetings(Braithwaite, Bristol MSS., ii, 10). He died in 1677(Underwood, p.224n).

⁵Fox, Great Mistery, pp.36-39, 120-23, 299-301 respectively. Fox also briefly mentioned Collier during his controversy with Roger Williams, cf. George Fox and John Burnyeat, A New England Fire-Brand Quenched (London, 1678), p.57.

⁶Underwood, p.46.

Quakers and the Baptists arose early in the 1670s with the Baptist Thomas Hicks as a prominent participant.¹ Hicks had challenged George Whitehead, the leading post-Restoration Quaker propagandist against the Baptists,² to a debate as early as 1668 and by 1672 it had been held.³

As part of a continuing controversy with Hicks and other Baptists, which produced debates in London as well as numerous tracts, Whitehead reproduced the Tiverton letter in The Christian Quaker under the title of 'Some Confessions concerning the baptized Churches...in their bewailing Epistle'⁴ with his own marginal notations. Whitehead also cited Collier's Marrow in support of his own position in refuting Hicks and other Baptists concerning the spiritual nature of the resurrection body.⁵

Collier had admitted in 1657 that there were positions expressed in some of his earlier writings, such as Marrow,⁶ and especially in First General Epistle⁷ and Glory of Christ, on which he had now

¹Ibid.

²Ibid. p.53. Cf. D.N.B., s.v. and D.Q.B., s.v. concerning Whitehead as well as his own The Christian Progress of That Ancient Servant and Minister...George Whitehead (London, 1725).

³Underwood, p.46.

⁴The Christian Quaker, p.167. Cf. Appendix A #33n.

⁵The Christian Quaker, pp.157-58. Henry Grigg, Thomas Hicks and William Burnet were the other Baptists (cf. Underwood, pp.65n and 110n concerning Burnet and Grigg respectively).

⁶Personal Appearing, p.ii.

⁷Salthouse cited this work and lamented Collier's changed attitude toward perfection: 'what is become of all those desires and pressing after perfection that once appeared in him! see his general Epistle to the universal Church' (True Judgment, p.7).

changed his mind.¹ Collier catalogued the issues involved, instructing his readers that if they found

any thing either expresst or implyed,...or may seem to derogate from the glorious truths of the Gospel; as the Divinity, Humanity, and Excellency of Christ above all, and Head over all, of Justification through faith in his blood, the truth and authority of the Scriptures, of the Locallity of Heaven and Hell, the Resurrection of the body, the Ordinances of Christ in the Church; as Baptism, breaking of bread, prayer, and Church-fellowship, the Kingdome and reign of Christ at his second comming, &c. all which precious truths I own and witness to; and if in any of my Books you find any thing contrary to these, disown it; for so doe I.²

Collier's statement covered many of the issues debated in the Quaker controversy and reflected both his changed position and his concern that some of his earlier work might be construed as supportive of Quaker belief.

The evidence does not furnish an answer as to why Collier did not employ his pen on the Quaker issue during these years when Quakers were extremely active throughout the Wiltshire area where he now lived.³ Perhaps Collier's theology had altered sufficiently by the early 1670's to divert his interest in engaging the Quakers. Also Thomas Hicks's close connections with the London Particular Baptists⁴ may have deterred

¹Personal Appearing, p.iii. Collier identified Glory of Christ as 'a Dialogue on the Revelations' (Ibid.).

²Personal Appearing, p.iii.

³Reeves, 114-18.

⁴Underwood, p.46n. Hicks was licensed as a Baptist teacher in Devises in 1669 and 1672 (Orig.Rec., i, 117; ii, 1072). Penn described him as a member of Kiffin's congregation (Underwood, p.46n, citing Penn's The Counterfeit Christian, p.75).

him from participating in this particular controversy if his estrangement from that group¹ had already commenced.

The Authority of Scripture

A central question for the Baptists and other Puritans in their debates with the Quakers concerned the role and authority of the Bible. Puritanism was first and foremost a movement centred in Scripture. The Bible formed the final basis of appeal and the supreme authority for the Puritan.² The Quaker, however, interpreted this as reliance on a mere outward letter, and proclaimed that true religion must be based on a personal spiritual experience with the light within.³

This crucial issue in the wider controversy surfaced quickly in Collier's encounter with the Quakers. Prominent among the numerous charges Collier levelled at the Quakers in Dialogue was the assertion that they did not submit to the authority of Scripture.⁴ Nayler responded by accusing Collier of equating the Bible with Christ.⁵ Collier's reply illustrated their differing perspectives.

Collier believed that 'since the Gospel ministration' began men were converted through the use of the Bible and its message.⁶ Respond-

¹Cf. Chapter VI and Narrative, passim.

²Nuttall, The Holy Spirit, pp.20 ff.

³Rachel H. King, George Fox and the Light Within, 1650-1660 (Philadelphia, 1940), pp.81-107.

⁴Deceit, pp.1-7.

⁵Ibid., pp.9-11.

⁶Looking-Glasse, p.13.

ing to Nayler's charge that he had 'limited God to a Bible to convert by',¹ Collier argued that it was not his, but God's limitation.² He explained that the Bible 'was not the efficient cause of converting souls, but the means by which God works repentance and faith unto life'.³

Old Testament saints had been ruled by their written law in Scripture and saints in the Gospel dispensation must submit to the authority of their New Testament law as well. He predicted that the Quakers would either obey the written word or they would 'be broken by it'.⁴

The Quakers often accused their Puritan detractors of ignoring the role of the Spirit in revelation and in Biblical interpretation.⁵ However, the Puritan tradition emphasized the closest relationship between the Scripture and the Spirit.⁶ The Westminster Confession may be taken as indicative of the standard Puritan position when it declared that

The whole counsel of God concerning all things necessary for His own glory, man's salvation, faith, and life, is either expressly set down

¹Deceit, p.9.

²Looking-Glasse, p.13.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., pp.13, 18. Cf. Fox, Great Mystery, p.38. Collier saw Nayler's downfall as a fulfillment of this prediction.

⁵Journal, pp.30-33; Fox, Great Mystery, p.39.

⁶Nuttall, Holy Spirit, pp.20-25.

in Scripture, or by good and necessary consequence may be deduced from Scripture: unto which nothing at any time is to be added, whether by new revelations of the Spirit, or traditions of men. Nevertheless we acknowledge the inward illumination of the Spirit of God to be necessary for the saving understanding of such things as are revealed in the Word.¹

Collier placed himself firmly in that tradition when he concluded

I know the letter of the Scripture is the rule of Saints, and the Spirit the guide to that rule: I know that the Gospel is the ministration of the Spirit; yet not without the letter but in and according to it.²

The Somerset Confession had also emphasized the Spirit's role, stating that Christ, having given the Scriptures 'as a rule...for faith and practice', then 'sent, doth and will...send, his Holy Spirit' to lead them to the truth.³ Thus, the Spirit was always present to guide the saints to the truth in Scripture.

Fox's Challenge

Fox openly challenged the priority assigned to Scripture by the Puritans. In 1649 Fox heard a Nottingham pastor proclaim 'that the Scriptures were the touchstone and judge by which they were to try all doctrines, religions, and opinions, and to end controversy'.⁴

¹Westminster Confession, Chapter I, vi, 91.

²Looking-Glasse, p.15. Collier's position mirrored that of almost all the Particular and General Baptists on this issue (Underwood, pp.60-89).

³Somerset Confession, XVIII, p.83.

⁴Journal, p.40.

Fox described his reaction:

the Lord's power was so mighty upon me...that I...was made to cry out and say, 'Oh, no, it is not the Scriptures!',...I told them what it was, namely, the Holy Spirit, by which the holy men of God gave forth the Scriptures, whereby opinions, religions, and judgments were to be tried; for it led into all Truth, and so gave the knowledge of all Truth.¹

Fox was arrested in the midst of his message and imprisoned.²

Fox's stance on this issue arose out of his personal experience of direct revelation, not mediated through Scripture. He explained that God had revealed directly to him that the light of Christ was in all men.

Now the Lord God hath opened to me by his invisible power how that every man was enlightened by the divine light of Christ; and I saw it shine through all, and that they that believed in it came out of condemnation and came to the light of life and became the children of it, but they that hated it, and did not believe in it, were condemned by it, though they made a profession of Christ. This I saw in the pure openings of the Light without the help of any man, neither did I then know where to find it in the Scriptures; though afterwards, searching the Scriptures, I found it. For I saw in that Light and Spirit which was before Scripture was given forth, and which led the holy men of God to give them forth, that all must come to that Spirit, if they would know God, or Christ, or the Scriptures aright, which they that gave them forth were led and taught by.³

If men acknowledged the light within, they then possessed the same endowment of the Spirit which had indwelt the men who produced

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p.33; Cf. Fox, Great Mystery, p.120 in response to Collier for similar sentiments concerning the supremacy of the Spirit.

the Bible. Thus, Fox rejected the Puritan distinction between the Spirit's 'extraordinary' indwelling of biblical writers and the more 'ordinary' way in which believers of subsequent ages were indwelt.¹

Since the same Spirit that brought forth the Scripture now indwelt the Quaker, Fox denied the oft-repeated accusation that the Quaker Christ within contradicted Scripture. Such an objection by the Baptist Jeremiah Ives prompted Fox to respond,

The light within owns the scripture without:...
and the gift of God owns the scripture in their
place as they were spoken: and none know the
commands and scriptures, but with the light
within; and they are in unity, and the light
within gives the knowledge of them.²

The Quakers 'believed firmly in immediate divine inspiration'³ that never contradicted Scripture. Consequently, they quoted the Bible extensively and used it argumentatively against their opponents, devotionally in their fellowship, and as a means to confirm their spiritual leadings.⁴

Although Fox and the early Quakers assumed their message never contradicted Scripture,⁵ the granting of priority to the Spirit made the Spirit rather than Scripture the touchstone and final authority.

¹Nuttall, Holy Spirit, p.28.

²Fox, Great Mystery, p.63.

³Nuttall, Studies in Christian Enthusiasm, p.24.

⁴Cf. Barbour, The Quakers, pp.119-120 and Nuttall, Holy Spirit, pp. 44-45 concerning Quaker attempts to test their spiritual leadership.

⁵Rachel King, op.cit., pp.165 ff.

It was precisely at this point that the Quakers reached a crucial turning point. As noted earlier, the Puritan movement can be perceived as consisting of three broad parties, conservative, moderate, and radical.¹

The question of authority was important for the Puritans. They were people of the Word, but in the heat of controversy the more conservative and moderate Puritans revealed a predilection for the Old Testament when their adversaries pressed more radical demands based on New Testament texts.² As one moved from moderate to radical on the Puritan spectrum the emphasis on the New Testament as the supreme authority increased until it reached fruition in such groups as the Baptists. This shift was paralleled by an increasing emphasis on spiritual experience at the expense of the mediating influence of Scripture (Old or New Testament) which reached its final conclusion in the Quakers supremacy of the Spirit within.³

Whether the Quakers realized it or not, the emphasis on the Spirit as the final authority placed the Bible in a potentially subordinate role.⁴

¹Cf. Chapter II, pp. 74 ff. supra.

²Israel was the model even for those of the moderate Congregational way, but their eschatological perception 'that in themselves the promised New Israel was taking visible shape at the end of the days' (Nuttall, Visible Saints, p.143) helped to vitiate the Old Testament emphasis. Cf. also Nuttall, Holy Spirit, p.45n.

³The Quakers showed a marked preference for New Testament citations in their writings.

⁴Barbour, The Quakers, p.157.

So long as the Quakers sought to realize a true identity between the Spirit in the apostles, as manifested in the written word, and the Spirit in themselves, and so long as, whenever any discrepancy occurred, they gave the primacy to the Spirit in the apostles as regulative, they must be regarded as within the bounds of Puritanism. To give the primacy to the Spirit in the Word was but making explicit what was meant by giving the primacy to the Word.¹

Increasingly however, the Quakers were viewed by their contemporaries all along the Puritan spectrum as reinterpreting biblical truth by the criterion of their spiritual experience. Whether viewed as passing beyond the outer limits of Puritanism or as a 'logical development'² of the general thrust of the Puritan movement,³ both contemporaries and later observers agreed that a momentous step had been taken.

The Light Within

Two additional beliefs concerning the light within, its ubiquity and its nature, combined with the spirit within's priority in relation to Scripture, significantly influenced early Quaker thought. A certainty that the divine light indwelt all men was the 'contradistinguishing Quaker principle'.⁴ This belief, coupled with their identification of that light, led the Quakers to question several cherished Puritan beliefs.

Fox identified the light within as 'the Spirit of God' which 'was

¹Nuttall, The Holy Spirit, p.29.

²Ibid., p.x.

³Ibid., pp.viii, 14.

⁴Nuttall, The Holy Spirit, p.159.

given to every man to profit withal'.¹ The belief in the universality of the light within resulted in a rejection of the Reformed doctrine of election and reprobation. Fox proclaimed that Christ enlightened all men and defined the reprobate as those who did 'vex quench & grieve'² God's spirit within. In responding to Dialogue, Fox attacked Collier's denial of 'a general state and redemption of all'³ and accused him of denying 'the Light that doth enlighten every man'.⁴

The Quakers tended to identify the light, spirit, or seed within all men as the eternal Christ rather than with the Holy Spirit.⁵ This definition of Christ within led to a de-emphasis on the person and work of the historical Christ and their Puritan opponents on occasion accused them of docetic tendencies.

Salthouse explained that the light within was not 'distinct from Christ' and that the Quakers sought 'to turn people to the true light of Christ in them'.⁶ Their mission was to tell the world that God was light and 'to turn people from the darkness to this light',⁷ since men were languishing in a state of

¹Journal, p.34. Cf. also Fox, Great Mystery, pp.122-23 and Deceit, p.7.

²Journal(Penney), i, 294.

³Fox, Great Mystery, p.122. Cf. also Deceit, pp.16-17.

⁴Fox, Great Mystery, p.300.

⁵Nuttall, Holy Spirit, p.175.

⁶True Judgment, p.13.

⁷Ibid., p.14.

gross darkness, feeding themselves with...
empty shadowes as of a light without; a word
without; Christ without; A Church without;
baptism without; bread and wine without;
ordinances...without; which makes not the
commers thereunto perfect;...¹

Collier joined a great host of Puritans in attacking such positions. He delineated a representative Puritan position when he contrasted the light in all men with that indwelling believers.² All mankind was enlightened by 'the light of nature which all men have by Christ'.³ Collier added, however, that Christ is 'not so the light of the World, as he is light to believers'.⁴

Citing Nayler's Love to the Lost, Collier accused the Quakers of replacing Christ crucified and of professing 'no need of the flesh of Christ'.⁵ Collier raised both Christological and soteriological objections to the Quakers' spiritualized teachings. He asked the Quakers if any before had ever trusted the inner light for salvation instead of 'Jesus Christ without, and what he had done for sinners without them'.⁶ Rhetorically questioning the Quakers, Collier further argued for 'a reall distinction between Jesus Christ and the Spirit' and for Christ as 'truly a man of flesh and blood'.⁷

The concept that Christ himself was in them led the Quakers to speak in terms of a realized eschatology. Pitman and Batt concluded:

¹Ibid.

²Nuttall, Holy Spirit, p.40.

³Looking-Glasse, p.14.

⁴Ibid.

⁶Ibid., p.17.

⁵Ibid., p.3.

⁷Ibid., p.19.

'we know that the Son of God is come'.¹ Fox declared, 'the Just One is now come'.² Wastfield spoke of the Lord as having come in a second advent within his saints.³ He related that Collier had protested against such a doctrine in their Glastonbury debate, Collier having 'affirmed... that he believed in a Christ that was in heaven, and not in the Saints'.⁴ Commenting earlier on a controversy between John Bunyan and Edward Burrough, Collier had concluded 'If the very Christ of God be within them, he cannot come from Heaven'.⁵

Collier's objections to the Quakers and his emphasis on the outward, objective aspects of the incarnation, the atonement, and the second coming reflected a significant shift from his stance a few years earlier. In 1647 he had believed 'that Christ will come in the Spirit, and have a glorious Kingdome in the spirits of his people'.⁶ He spoke of God's working 'an internall and spirituall change' within men, which he described as 'a transformation out of the nature of the first, into the nature of the second Adam'.⁷ He further declared that men had previously

¹Truth Vindicated, p.15.

²Fox, Great Mystery, p.143.

³Equal Ballance, p.50-51.

⁴Ibid., p.51.

⁵Looking-Glasse, p.4. Cf. E(dward) B(urrough), The True Faith of the Gospel (London, 1656), cited by Collier.

⁶New Creation, p.5.

⁷Ibid., p.6.

had very narrow apprehensions of Christ, limiting it to that one man, when the truth is, that Christ and all the Saints makes up but one Christ,...And God as truly manifests himself in the flesh of all his, as he did in Christ,...¹

He now found himself in direct disagreement with men who were using language very similar to his own earlier pronouncements.

Perfection

The Quaker emphasis on their experience of Christ having come within them led them to espouse a perfectionist doctrine which was anathema to the Puritan mind. Fox summed up the Quaker argument for perfection:

He that is in Christ is a new creature, and is not distinct from him...And Christ is justification, sanctification, and wisdom, and righteousness; and if he be not within ye, ye are Reprobates: and where Christ is, he is not without righteousness. Therefore they are not without righteousness, and wisdom, Justification, and Sanctification, if Christ be within, that is within, for where he is, that is not wanting: And the Apostle said they were made free from sin: And let not sin have dominion over your mortall bodies;...old things passe away, and all things become new. Sin is an old thing, from the old deceiver: So while any sin is standing, all things is not made new, and sin hath its dominion.²

Here Fox illustrated the Quaker blurring of the Puritan distinction between justification and sanctification. The Quakers believed men were to move forward toward perfection as an attainable goal.

¹Ibid., p.9. Although he qualified the statement by adding 'although the measure of that manifestation is different', his anti-Quaker writings reveal a different perspective concerning Christ in believers.

²Fox, Great Mystery, p.117.

The Quakers had cited the Western Association's Tiverton letter with its open admission of sinfulness in the churches as irrefutable proof of the false character of the Baptists' message, ministry, and church.¹ Collier responded to such criticism by explaining that sin had existed in the churches which were recipients of the New Testament epistles and 'that God never had yet a Church in the world free from sin'.² Believers were still sinful and stood 'in need of the grace of Christ every day'.³

Salthouse's reply to Collier affirmed Quaker perfectionist doctrine:

we deny all such to be the Church of God, and of Christ as lives in sin, and pleads for sin, whilst in the mortall Estate who makes a profession of the Scriptures and comes not to the Life and power declared of by them.

For the Scripture we own and the Covenant...makes the comers thereunto perfect.⁴

In this passage two phrases occur which recur frequently in early Quaker literature. The Quakers viewed men as 'pleading for sin' when they opposed perfectionism.⁵ The Quakers were horrified with the seeming casualness with which Collier and others accepted sin's continuation in believers' lives. Pitman and Batt reported that Collier had affirmed at the Glastonbury conference 'that persons may be freed from

¹Epistle, pp.1-7; Equal Ballance, pp.5-20.

²Answer to an Epistle, p.5. He cited I John i.8.

³Looking-Glasse, p.11.

⁴True Judgment, pp.9-10.

⁵Cf. Journal, pp.52-53 and Nuttall, Holy Spirit, p.157.

guilt and condemnation, while motion and action of sin remains'.¹

Collier had been far from alone in identifying the Quakers with the Ranters.² Here they turn the tables on him and identify his position as that of 'the Ranters or Libertines'.³

The second frequently used phrase, concerning perfection, was often employed by Quakers to invalidate Baptist and other arguments. John Collens used it to deny Collier's claim that Baptist churches were following Christ-ordained, New Testament ordinances⁴ by proclaiming that all was false 'which doth not make the commers thereunto perfect'.⁵

The Quaker position on perfection was somewhat ambiguous. They often made statements which could be interpreted as stating that they now lived in a sinless state.⁶ Most of them, however, while believing that perfection was possible in this life, did not claim to have achieved it personally. Collier reported that Pitman, Batt, and

¹Truth Vindicated, p.23.

²Looking-Glasse, p.16; Cf. Nuttall, Studies in Christian Enthusiasm, pp.80ff.

³Truth Vindicated, p.23.

⁴Answer to an Epistle, pp.3-4. Collier's defence of ordinances within the church as commanded by Christ underscored the conflict between Baptists and Quakers concerning the priority of the Scripture and the Spirit and the outward vs. inward emphasis. Cf. also Underwood, pp.238-76.

⁵True Judgment, p.28.

⁶Cf. the Fox and Salthouse quotations cited above.

Wastfield all had denied their own personal perfection during their Glastonbury debate.¹

Wastfield's reply to Collier reflected a typical Quaker approach to the question. Wastfield denied that Quakers claimed to be perfect and related their response to Collier at the debate:

we did witness him come, and to live in us, who is perfect; and that we did believe that perfection is attainable in this life through him, and that having this hope, it doth purifie our hearts, even as he is pure, who worketh all our Works for us, and in us, and that in this Faith we are pressing after perfection:...²

Collier had succinctly enunciated a typical Baptist and Puritan response to the Quaker challenge in the main areas of debate in his reply to Nayler.

I know the letter of the Scripture is the rule of Saints, and the Spirit the guide to that rule: I know that the Gospel is the ministration of the Spirit; yet not without the letter but in and according to it: I own perfection by faith in Christ, and personal perfection I believe and wait for at the appearing of Jesus Christ:...³

Scripture, not 'experimentall truth'⁴ was now his guide and perfection must await a physical, outward second advent.

As noted earlier, his encounters with the Quakers had elicited from Collier a theological stance markedly different from that which he held in the late 1640's. Accurately described in those years as

¹Hypocrisie and Falshood, cited in Equal Ballance, p.39.

²Equal Ballance, p.40.

³Looking-Glasse, p.15.

⁴New Creation, p.6.

one of the more extreme within the radical wing of Puritanism 'whose approach has not a little in common with Quakerism',¹ Collier was now espousing positions more analogous to those of the more moderate Puritans.

One factor perhaps influencing Collier's reaction to the Quakers was his major role in the Western Association of churches. He played an influential role in the Association and beyond and had planted several of its churches. His responsibilities within the Association during the 1650's may have led him in the direction of a more conservative stance, much as Fox's leadership responsibilities in consolidating the burgeoning Quaker movement led him in later years to resist further change.² It is to Collier's association activities and other 1650's controversies that attention is now directed.

¹Nuttall, Holy Spirit, p.13.

²Nuttall, 'Quakers and Puritans', p.176.

V. THE WESTERN ASSOCIATION

AND CONTROVERSIES AND ISSUES, 1653-1660.

During the 1640's and 1650's the English Particular Baptists developed a widespread structure of associations of individual Baptist churches.¹

'Closed' vs. 'Open' Membership

It is necessary to distinguish between the 'closed' membership Particular Baptists² and the much smaller group of Baptists espousing Calvinistic beliefs who practised 'open'³ membership in order to understand more fully the significance of the associations.

The fame of several 'open' membership leaders such as John Tombes⁴, Henry Jessey⁵, John Bunyan⁶, and Vavasor Powell⁷ has tended to distort

¹The General Baptists also had an active association life during this period, although it developed somewhat differently from that of the Particular Baptists in that the associations tended to have some authority over individual congregations among the General Baptists (cf. Whitley, Minutes of the General Assembly, and E. B. Underhill, ed., Records of the Churches of Christ gathered at Fenstanton, Warboys, and Hexham (London, 1854)).

²These churches argued for believer's baptism, but did not exclude from fellowship those in agreement in all but this one matter.

³Church membership and communion was restricted to those who were baptized by immersion.

⁴Cf. p.183n supra.

⁵Cf. B. R. White, 'Henry Jessey: A Pastor in Politics', B.Q. xxv (1973-74), 98-110 and B. R. White, 'Henry Jessey in the Great Rebellion', Reformation, 132-53 for Jessey.

⁶Richard L. Greaves, John Bunyan (Abingdon, 1969).

⁷Cf. p.127n supra for Powell.

the actual situation.¹ The vast majority of English Particular Baptists, the group which developed their association so rapidly in these years, was 'closed' membership as 'a matter of deliberate, explicit, unvarying policy'.²

It has been noted that this was a matter of some importance because when Particular Baptist churches and associations

insisted on closed-membership, upon believer's baptism by immersion before admission to church membership and the Lord's Supper, they were following a nationwide policy....this gave the Particular Baptists who accepted the policy a self-conscious sense of denominational membership at a date earlier than is usually recognised by students of the period.³

The 'closed' membership and 'close' communion position of the London Particular Baptists responsible for the influential Confession(1644)⁴ was emphasized in the 1646 edition of that confession.⁵

¹White, 'Eng. Part. Bapts.', 16-17 and B. R. White, 'Open and Closed Membership among English and Welsh Baptists', B.Q. xxiv(1971-72), 330-31.

²White, 'Eng. Part. Bapts.', 17.

³B. R. White, 'Thomas Patient in England and Ireland', Irish Baptist Historical Society Journal, ii(1969-70), 40-41, referring to C. Hill, B.Q., xxii(1967-68), 68ff. (cf. p.9n supra). Dr. Hill's point still serves as a caution to the student (even with the above corrective added concerning Particular Baptists). Cf. also Michael R. Watts, The Dissenters (Oxford, 1978), pp.164-66 for a more general challenge of Dr. Hill and Dr. Claire Cross on this point.

⁴Cf. pp.4n, 51, 108n supra, White, 'Doctrine', 570n, and White, 'Org. Part. Bapts.', 214n concerning Confession(1644)'s various editions.

⁵Cf. Article XXXIX. The 1646 edition of Confession(1644) is reprinted in Underhill, Confessions, pp.11-48. The position was further emphasized in Benjamin Cox, An Appendix to a Confession of Faith (London, 1646), Article XX, which is also reprinted in Underhill, Confessions, pp.49-60. Cf. W. T. Whitley, 'Benjamin Cox', T.B.H.S., vi(1918-19), 50-59 and Assoc. Rec., 207 for Cox. (Cf. White, 'Org.

Confession(1644) and the Association

The London Particular Baptists and their Confession(1644) were of pivotal importance in the development of associations among the 'closed' membership Particular Baptists. The Confession furnished the theological basis for such inter-church relationships. The Particular Baptists had borrowed heavily from the English Separatist True Confession of 1596 in formulating their confession.¹ While they shared many common convictions concerning the church, divergencies of viewpoint were evident.

The Confession(1644) went well beyond that of 1596 in rejecting any church-state links, in espousing believer's baptism by immersion, and in subordinating the ministerial role within the local body.² However, the London Baptists firmly endorsed True Confession's belief in congregational autonomy and also accepted the earlier Separatist belief in the necessity of inter-congregational co-operation and fellowship. Article XLVII of Confession(1644), a verbatim rendering of Article 38 of True Confession stated:

And although the particular Congregations be distinct and severall Bodies, every one a compact and knit Citie in it selfe; yet are they all to walk by one and the same Rule, and by all meanes convenient to have the counsell and help one of another in all needfull affaires of the Church, as members of one body in the common faith under Christ their onely head.³

Part. Bapts.', 214n concerning Cox's Appendix and its relationship to the 1646 edition of Confession(1644).

¹White, 'Doctrine', passim. Cf. Lumpkin, Confessions, pp.82-97 for a reprint of True Confession.

²White, 'Doctrine', 576-81, 590.

³Confession(1644), Article XLVII.

The London Particular Baptists added Scripture references in both 1644 and 1646¹ which underscored their commitment to their churches having 'the counsell and help one of another'.² The animosity and misunderstanding which the first London Particular Baptists encountered from their fellow Puritans may have also fostered their drawing 'more closely together for mutual comfort and support'.³

It should be noted that the Particular Baptists were not the only group believing in the gathered assembly of believers who were experimenting with and developing inter-congregational relationships during this period. That the concept of inter-congregational co-operation was being discussed among London Independents in 1644 is evidenced by the preface to John Cotton's The Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven written by Thomas Goodwin and Philip Nye.⁴ Also, in addition to the General Baptists mentioned earlier, the 'open' membership Particular Baptists maintained at least minimal informal relationships⁵ and the Independent or Congregational churches engaged in numerous fraternal activities.⁶

¹White, 'Doctrine', 583.

²Confession(1644), Article XLVII. In addition, five signatories of Confession(1644) has been linked in some way with the Jacob-Lathrop-Jessey Church, which had a tradition of inter-congregational consultation(White, 'Doctrine', 572, 586).

³White, 'Doctrine', 587.

⁴Ibid., 587-88. As Dr. White has noted, all of these factors convincingly challenge the theory that the origins of English Particular Baptist association life were to be found in the civil war secular associations(Ibid., 584ff.).

⁵Watts, The Dissenters, 161.

⁶Nuttall, Visible Saints, pp.94-100. The quakers were engaging in somewhat similar types of meetings during the 1650's as well.

Although materials recording the co-operative activity of the London Particular Baptist congregations have not survived as they have for other associations,¹ the Confession(1644), itself a product of inter-congregational co-operation, furnishes evidence that such co-operative activity did occur.²

Expansion of Association Activity

By the summer of 1649, at the latest, the Particular Baptists of London were involved in an evangelistic programme which commissioned John Miles and Thomas Proud to return to Wales and evangelize and establish churches.³ By November 1650 the first General Meeting of the churches planted in Wales had taken place.⁴

In England by the fall of 1652 a similar meeting had been held at Wormsley 'of chosen members' of the churches at Henley, Reading, and Abingdon in which they agreed on issues requiring inter-congregational co-operation.⁵ The messengers of the churches agreed that it would be beneficial to meet together for discussion of 'doubtful matters and controversies',⁶ for receiving and relieving financial stress, and for

¹Assoc. Rec., passim.

²White, 'Org. Part. Bapts.', 209-26.

³White, 'John Miles', pp.35-36, citing the 'Ilston Churchbook MS., 164. This is the earliest 'hard' evidence for an evangelistic mission of this type. Cf. pp.4-5n *supra* for evidence of a possible co-operative evangelistic effort by the London congregations in Kent as early as 1643-44.

⁴Cf. Assoc. Rec., 2-17 for the surviving records of the general meetings of the churches in South Wales.

⁵Assoc. Rec., 126-27.

⁶Ibid., 126, citing Acts xv-xvi.

the advancement of God's work through the churches.

Sounding a theme which was to recur again and again in the records and confessional statements of these churches, they stated that churches of like doctrine and practice should associate

Because there is the same relation betwixt the particular churches each towards other as there is betwixt particular members of one church. For the churches of Christ doe all make up one body or church in generall under Christ their head.... Wherefore we conclude that every church ought to manifest its care over other churches as fellow members of the same body of Christ....¹

They further agreed that co-operation among the churches would promote purity, and guard the Gospel from scandal because 'orderly churches' would 'be owned orderly and disorderly churches' would 'be orderly disowned'.² The messengers were convinced that through association together the 'worke of God, wherein all the churches are concerned together, may be the more easily and prosperously carried on'.³ It was agreed that notice should be sent to nearby churches concerning both the date of the next meeting and of the agreements they had reached and were submitting to their respective churches for approval.⁴

¹Ibid. Cf. also Confession(1644), Article XLVII.

²Assoc. Rec., 126. There is a preoccupation and concern throughout the records with the proper 'order' and 'orderly' procedure. The same emphasis is found among the Congregational brethren(cf. Nuttall, Visible Saints, passim.).

³Assoc. Rec., 126.

⁴Ibid., 127. It is advisable to note at this point that while inter-congregational co-operation was encouraged, local church autonomy was respected in doctrine and practice. The scholar most familiar with the Associations' surviving records has concluded that 'the General Meeting or Association had no right to intervene in the life of a member congregation without that congregation's express invitation. Nor

To the second meeting at Wormsley, a month later, the churches at Kensworth and Eversholt sent representatives to join those of Abingdon, Reading, and Henley.¹ Messengers from these five churches met a third time at Tetsworth in December, 1652 and agreed to a revised version of their agreement of co-operation.² In March 1653 the messengers of the five churches 'confirmed and subscribed' what became known as the 'Agreement of the Churches'.³ They also agreed to regular meetings of their representatives and that the churches should 'hold correspondencie by letters' in the intervals between meetings.⁴ Benjamin Cox was a messenger from the Kensworth church at this meeting, which helps provide a definite link of these churches with the London Particular Baptists with whom he had earlier been associated.⁵

Further evidence both of inter-congregational activity among the Baptists in London and of contact between the London Baptists and Baptists in the provinces is provided by a letter sent from the fifth meeting of the Abingdon Association in June 1653. The letter was addressed 'To the church of Christ of which our brethren John Spilsberie and William Kiffin are members and to the rest of the

was any advice from the General Meeting or Association determinative for the policy of a local congregation until that congregation's church meeting had decided to adopt it'(White, 'John Miles', p.67). A Narrative of the Proceedings of the General Assembly of Particular Baptists in 1689 testifies to the maintenance of this principle with its disavowal of any supra-congregational authority(p.10).

¹Assoc. Rec., 127.

²Ibid., 127-28.

³Ibid., 128-29.

⁴Ibid., 129.

⁵Cf. p.221 supra.

churches in and neere London'.¹ The letter informed the London churches² that 'we solemnely entered into such an association as this enclosed copie of our Agreement doth manifest'.³

Also, nine days earlier the Particular Baptist Churches in Ireland had written a letter 'For the Churches of Christ in London when assembled'.⁴ The London Baptists circulated the Irish letter with a cover letter to numerous churches throughout the nation. They explained that they sought 'to obtaine a full knowledge of all the churches in England, Scotland, and Wales...that are one with us in the sound principles of truth'.⁵ The cover letter was signed 'From the severall churches of Christ in London' and dated 24 July 1653.⁶

A further evidence of inter-association communication is found in the Irish letter's statement that they kept the 'first Wednesday in every month' as a fast day.⁷ This was evidently picked up from the

¹Assoc. Rec., 131. Cf. Ibid., 208-209 for Kiffin and Spilsbury.

²The letter's 'Postscript' stated: 'It is our earnest request to the church above named, that this our declaration and the enclosed papers may be communicated to the rest of the churches above signified' (Assoc. Rec., 131).

³Assoc. Rec., 131. This is apparently the first use of the term 'association' in the surviving materials (White, 'Org. Part. Bapts.', 217n).

⁴Ibid., 112ff. This is implicit evidence for the London Baptists' engaging in general meetings by mid-1653 at the latest. Additional evidence for this as well as inter-associational communication is the fact that the Abingdon Association meeting of 20-22 May, 1657 received a letter from 'The brethren and messengers of the respective churches walking in the faith and order of the Gospell in and about London' (Assoc. Rec., 173, cf. also Ibid. 168ff.).

⁵Assoc. Rec., 112.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid., 114.

circulation of their letter by the London Baptists and was practised among the other Associations.¹ The Irish churches also requested the resumption of brotherly correspondence and asked for a list of the churches in communion with the Londoners.²

The tenth General Meeting of the Abingdon Association in December 1654 answered a request by the Warwick church³ for advice in forming an association.⁴ A letter was sent along with a copy of the 'Agreement of the Churches'.⁵ The Abingdon Association messengers also sent a report of the results of the present meeting assuming that the Warwick brethren were 'allready acquainted with the results of former meetings'.⁶ They also decided to send John Pendarves⁷ and Benjamin Cox to represent their Association at any meeting that Warwick might set.⁸

Subsequently, several Midland churches met at Warwick in May 1655 and agreed to a doctrinal statement which has become known as the Midland Confession.⁹ At their second General Meeting in June of that year messengers from seven Midland churches subscribed an agreement that it was 'their duty to hold a clos communion each with other

¹Ibid., 9, 16, 122.

²Ibid., 112ff.

³'The Warwick church was in being by 1652' (Assoc. Rec., 39) and was linked at least informally through Daniel King with the London Particular Baptist Churches (Ibid.). Cf. also p.56n supra.

⁴Assoc. Rec., 134.

⁵Ibid., 134-36.

⁶Ibid., 135.

⁷Cf. White, 'John Pendarves', 251-71.

⁸Assoc. Rec., 135.

⁹Ibid., 18-20. The confession is reprinted in Lumpkin, Confessions, 198-200.

according to the rule of his worde and soe be helpfull each to other'.¹

In specifying the areas in which the churches should assist one another the messengers revealed their knowledge of, and partial dependence upon, the Abingdon 'Agreement of the Churches' which had been sent to them six months earlier.²

The Western Association in which Thomas Collier was to play such a large role had held its first General Meeting at Wells in November, 1653.³ Thus, by June, 1655 the Particular Baptists practising closed membership and close communion had established associations of like-minded local congregations in numerous areas of the country.⁴

The records of these Associations further reveal that inter-associational contact as well as inter-congregational relationship, was often maintained.⁵ The records also reveal that the London Particular Baptists' role was significantly important in providing the

¹Assoc. Rec., 20.

²Ibid., 21.

³Ibid., 54.

⁴Records of varying extensiveness survive for five such Associations: South Wales(Assoc. Rec., 2-17); Midland(Ibid., 18-50); West Country(Ibid., 53-109); Ireland(Ibid., 110-24); Abingdon(Ibid., 125-215). As noted earlier, an Association of London Particular Baptist churches can be inferred from the surviving evidence of the other Associations. This list should not be considered as exclusive, but only as recording Associations for which at least some evidence of inter-congregational meetings have survived. Cf. White, 'Org. Part. Bapts.', 214-16 for churches which may have had some inter-congregational contact in Northern England and Scotland. The Abingdon Association Churches meeting in September, 1656 sent a letter 'To the churches of Newcastle, Eedes-bridge and Dotland-parke'(Assoc. Rec., 164). Cf. Geoffrey F. Nuttall, 'Association Records of the Particular Baptists', B.Q. xxvi(1975-76), 25 for identifications of 'Eedes-bridge' and Dotland.

⁵In addition to previously cited examples, for instance, the

theological impetus and a considerable degree of personal leadership in the development of this nation-wide organisation of like-minded Baptists.¹

The Western Association

While the Western Association should be viewed as 'a partial exception',² in comparison with the other Associations in terms of its direct links to the London leadership and their evangelistic programme, the extent of its distinctiveness should not be pressed too far. Although no evidence has survived which would imbue Collier's numerous early evangelistic activities³ with the same formally commissioned status as that of Miles and Proud in 1649, it should be kept in mind that during those years Collier was by his own testimony a member of Kiffin's church.⁴ Thus, the possibility that he was acting in some formal capacity either of a church or churches cannot be discounted.

Abingdon Association meeting in September, 1656 sent a letter to the Midland Association meeting 'at Allcester the 15th of the 8th moneth 1656' (Assoc. Rec., 166). The Abingdon messengers were in sufficient contact with their fellow Association to know the date and place of their forthcoming meeting. Cf. Assoc. Rec., 29-31 for the Midland records of this meeting.

¹White, 'Org. Part. Bapts.', 226.

²White, 'Org. Part. Bapts.', 226.

³Cf. p.30n supra.

⁴Cf. Narrative, pp.3ff. and p.43 supra. Although Kiffin's church's claim(Narrative, pp.3ff.) that Collier was a member of their fellowship and still under their jurisdiction suggests at least the possibility of their having sent Collier to the West(or at least looked upon him as 'their' emissary), no firm conclusion can be drawn from the surviving evidence.

When Collier returned to his native Somerset and commenced evangelistic activity and church planting there he could have been putting into practice (whether by formal commission or not) the London programme of evangelism and inter-church organisation.¹ In any event, the result (at least partially through Collier's labour) was that by the end of 1653 churches were meeting together who shared a large measure of common doctrine, concerns, and inter-church organisation, not only with each other, but with their sister churches so organised in other parts of the country.²

At the Association's first meeting one of the theological principles providing the impetus for associations was affirmed in an epistle from the assembled messengers to the churches:

it is concluded as a means to prevent divisions and increase communion, as also to be instrumentally helpfull each to other, that some of each church do meet again at Wells.... And we humbly desire the churches to further it without fail, that we may wait further on the Lord and seek his mind in relation to any particular occasion, that may concern any of the particular churches.³

At the Bridgwater General Meeting in April, 1655 the messengers further affirmed association principles in answering a question about a church sending forth a preacher to assist other churches. Echoing both Confession (1644) and the 'Agreement of the Churches', they

¹Cf. Cox, An Appendix, Article XIX (Underhill Confessions, pp. 58-59) and p. 49 supra.

²The marked similarity of the various Association's records is yet another evidence for both a common London influence and inter-associational contact.

³Assoc. Rec., 71. Although extremely brief in comparison to the 'Agreement', this statement does reveal some of the same concern for unity and order and appreciation of inter-congregational potential for assistance.

answered affirmatively on the ground that the universal church is one body and 'members of that body...should assist each other'.¹ They concluded that 'if it be the duty of the churches to assist each other in temporal things, that it is their duty likewise in spiritual things'.²

Inter-Association Contacts

While it is also true that the Western Association did not seem to develop the same strength of relationship with London or the other groups that some other Associations did, they did maintain contact with the wider fellowship of Particular Baptists. The same Bridgwater meeting cited above sent a stern epistle to the churches in Ireland concerning their reported excesses in 'pride in apparel, in needless...deckings of the flesh',³ as well as their ministers accepting state maintenance.⁴ The letter had been preceded, evidently, by a letter from the Bridgwater church itself which had been ignored.⁵

Further evidence of the Association's contact with the wider circle of Particular Baptists is furnished by the Abingdon

¹Ibid., p.60.

²Assoc. Rec., 60.

³Ibid., 73. That this issue was a continuing concern for the brethren in England as well is evidenced by the considerable attention paid to the subject in Somerset Confession's Epistle Dedicatory (pp.67-71).

⁴Ibid., 74. This remained, as will be seen, one of the prime concerns of the closed membership Particular Baptists throughout this period.

⁵Ibid., 75.

Association's John Pendarves's presence¹ at the General Meetings at Chard in September 1655 and Wells in April 1656. The Chard letter was in turn 'presented to the messengers'² of the Abingdon Association at their General Meeting in mid-October, 1655. The assembled messengers

having heard the copie of this epistle did not onely desire that the same might be read to all the churches of this association also but did also desire that upon such reading thereof these churches might be mooved touching the authorising of their messengers at the next meeting to write to the messengers of those churches for a mutuall correspondence.³

Also, Nathaniel Strange,⁴ who had signed the Wells circular letter⁵ with Pendarves and Collier, had contacts with the Newcastle area churches,⁶ with the Abingdon Association,⁷ and with the London

¹Pendarves co-signed the Chard circular letter with Collier (Assoc. Rec., 78) and the Wells letter with Collier and Nathaniel Strange (Ibid., 80).

²The queries and answers from the Chard meeting were dated 24-27 October, but the circular letter was dated 28 September. Since it is almost certain that both documents were produced by the same General Meeting, obviously one of the documents was erroneously dated. The Abingdon records solve the problem. Since the Chard letter was presented to their meeting in mid-October, the Western Association's meeting must have been in September, not late October, indicating that the queries and answers document is dated erroneously.

³No records survive indicating whether this was authorized by the churches or whether the Western Association in such case, responded.

⁴Cf. Assoc. Rec., 107, 209, 212, Capp, 264, and 197n supra for Strange.

⁵Strange also signed all subsequent Association circular letters which contained signatories until September, 1657 when the letters cease in the extant records (Assoc. Rec., 80, 82, 85, 88, 95).

⁶Assoc. Rec., 165.

⁷Ibid., 165, 182-84.

churches as well.¹

It should also be noted that in 1656 the Association explained that the appearance of Somerset Confession should not be interpreted as a repudiation of Confession(1644).

our publishing this narrative of our faith and practice, is not from any dislike we found with the former confession of our beloved brethren, whom we own, and with whom we are one both in faith and practice, neither is there anything in ours contradictory to our brethren, that we know of, that have gone before us.²

Somerset Confession

In fact, the Western churches were anxious to prove their spiritual kinship to the London Particular Baptist churches. They published Somerset Confession in part precisely because many had charged that 'none...that professed baptism'³ truly believed the doctrines espoused in Confession(1644), but instead held 'freewill, falling away from grace, &c., all which, through the grace of God, we disclaim'.⁴

In light of this claim of doctrinal solidarity with Confession (1644), it is necessary to stress the Particular Baptist orthodoxy of

¹Ibid., 183, 209.

²Somerset Confession, p.63.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., 64. At least one other contact of the London leadership with the Western Association should be mentioned. William Kiffin, Richard Deane, Edward(?) Harrison and several others attended the Association's Dorchester Meeting in May, 1658. Whether they came by invitation or on their own initiative cannot be determined from the surviving account of the meeting(Ibid., 96-97, 108).

Somerset Confession on the point of election and free will. Lumpkin, in introducing his reprint of the confession makes several assertions which are extremely difficult to reconcile both with Somerset Confession's statements and other Association materials.

Lumpkin theorized that the Western Association Baptists issued Somerset Confession in part because they wished to moderate Confession(1644)'s Calvinism in an effort to bring about agreement between the area's General and Particular Baptists.¹ Lumpkin cited the September 1655 Chard General Meeting's answer to the question 'Whether Christ Jesus our Lord dyed for all and every man or for the elect only, and if for all, then how far?'.² The messengers answered:

our Lord Christ dyed for all and every man....
to reconcile all to God so as to have their
being continued by him....that repentance and
remission of sins might be preacht in his name
to all men....that so he might be Lord of all
....that he might raise all from the dead in
the order and times appointed by the Father....
Yet he died not intentionally alike for all,
Jn. 17.12, I Tim. 4.10, Heb. 2.10, Is. 53.11.³

Although this statement might possibly be construed as a slight moderation of Confession(1644), its last phrase certainly would not have attracted many General Baptists. Also, Articles IX, X, and XI of Somerset Confession suggest no attempt to attract General Baptists by softening the doctrine of election.⁴ The Taunton General Meeting's

¹Lumpkin, Confessions, p.202.

²Assoc. Rec., 61.

³Ibid., p.61. Collier himself made this distinction on several occasions.

⁴No extant records suggest any attempts during this period at a

answer in September, 1654 to a question concerning free will furnishes additional evidence of more Calvinist orthodoxy concerning election than Lumpkin intimates.

Query 9. Whether a member varying from the faith which at his admission he profest, as in respect of free will, general redemption, and falling from grace, the church may proceed to reject him without some other occasion?

Answer: a person holding general redemption, free will, and falling from grace, stifly persisting therein...notwithstanding the clear light of the scripture brought against his errour to convince him, after due admonition, is to be rejected....And our advice is, that ministering brethren be much in holding forth such truths as may strike against such errors. Also that, in case of need, help be called for from other churches to deal with such persons....¹

The query suggests that a church member had to profess the doctrine of election as one of the requirements for church membership and the answer, while perhaps intimating that Arminianism was a problem, hardly exudes the compromising spirit postulated by Lumpkin.

Association Activity

The surviving Western Association records reveal a group of as many as a score of churches² participating to varying degrees in

rapprochement with the General Baptists by the Western churches. If Collier is granted a major role in the formulation of Somerset Confession(cf. Appendix A#11n infra), it would tend to confirm its orthodoxy on election. Although Collier later altered his stance on this issue(cf. Chapters VI and VIII infra), throughout this period of his career he is on record as supporting election(cf. p.32 supra, Marrow, p.20ff and Gospel Blessedness, 60-62, 72-73, 81, 109).

¹Assoc. Rec., 57.

²Only on five occasions are listings of churches in attendance furnished: Bridgwater, May 1654(Assoc. Rec., 103); Bridgwater, April, 1655(Ibid., 75); Wells, April, 1656(Ibid., 107); Somerset Confession signatories(Ibid., 105); and Dorchester, May, 1658(Ibid., 98, very partial listing).

regular association meetings between 1653 and 1659. Churches from Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Somerset, and Wiltshire are listed as having attended at least once,¹ but the most active were predominantly Somerset churches and those near adjacent.

A collation of the other surviving records with those published by the Association itself reveals that the Association met at least fifteen times from November, 1653 until October, 1659 as follows:²

(i) Wells, 6-9 November, 1653. One query was answered. A circular letter was issued, signed by Collier.

(ii) Wells, 26-27 March, 1654. Eight queries were answered. A circular letter was issued, signed by Collier.

(iii) Bridgwater, 16-17 May, 1654. The main business was 'the more orderly ordaining of brother Thomas Collyer'.³

(iv) Taunton, 18-20 September, 1654. Ten queries were answered. If a circular letter was issued, it is not extant.

(v) Bridgwater, 17-19 April, 1655. Ten queries were answered. The letter to the Irish churches was issued without signatories, but with a listing of the churches represented appended.

(vi) Chard, 24-28 September,⁴ 1655. Seven queries were

¹Not counting the Abingdon, Berkshire church represented by Pendarves at Wells in April, 1656 and listed as in attendance while belonging to another Association (Ibid., 107).

²Cf. Appendix A#32n for a description of the Association's published materials which are reprinted with extensive notes in Assoc. Rec., 54-109. Cf. Ibid., 53 for a description of the three manuscripts which along with Somerset Confession supplement the published materials.

³Ibid., 103 and cf. pp.49-50 *supra*.

⁴Cf. 233 *supra*.

answered. A circular letter was issued, signed by Collier and John Pendarves.

(vii) Wells, 8-11 April, 1656. Three queries were answered. A circular letter was issued, signed by Collier, Pendarves, and Nathaniel Strange.

(viii) The evidence strongly suggests that another, perhaps special meeting of the Association was held between the April meeting in Wells and the date Thomason catalogued his copy of Somerset Confession (10 August 1656).¹ The list of signatories representing the various churches² indicates some kind of meeting which at least approved the confession, if not actually drafting it, and as Dr. White has noted, the disparities between the churches listed in Somerset Confession and the one describing those present at the April, 1656 meeting in Wells makes it necessary to conclude that the confession 'was issued by another later meeting',³ namely one between April and 10 August, 1656.

(ix) Exeter, 6 October, 1656. No record of queries answered is extant. A circular letter was issued, signed by Alexander Atkins, William Facy, Nathaniel Strange, and John Owen.

(x) Bridgwater, 2-6 November, 1656. Seven queries were answered. A circular letter was issued, signed by Collier and Strange.

(xi) Chard, 16-18 April, 1657. Eight queries were answered. Two letters to the churches were issued, one signed by Collier and

¹Cf. Appendix A, #11n.

²Assoc. Rec., 105.

³Ibid., 107.

the other co-signed by Collier and Strange.

(xii) Tiverton, 15-18 September, 1657. Three queries were answered. A circular letter was issued, signed by Collier, Strange, and Thomas Glasse.

(xiii) Dorchester, 10-15 May, 1658. Five queries were answered. A circular letter was apparently issued, but is not extant.¹

(xiv) Wells, 13 May, 1659. Ten queries were answered. A circular letter was issued, signed by Collier and Strange.

(xv) Bridgwater, 11 October, 1659(?). The letter issued from Wells in May, 1659 announced that this was to be the Association's next meeting. No records survive which indicate whether the meeting took place.²

Collier's role in the Association's formation and its operation have been the subject of some controversy.³ Obviously exercising a leadership role within the Association,⁴ Collier had been active evangelistically in the area at least intermittently since 1646.⁵

¹Cf. Assoc. Rec., 96-97 for the only surviving account.

²Cf. pp.47n and 61n supra concerning continuing Association activity after this date.

³Cf. pp.49-50 supra.

⁴Several factors testify to Collier's influential role:

(i) His ordination by the Association(cf. pp.49-50 supra).

(ii) The moral authority that would accrue to him as the founder of some of the member churches(cf. pp.26-27, 46 supra for example).

(iii) His role in the preparation of Somerset Confession(cf. Appendix, A#11n and p.47n supra.

(iv) His editorial role in the contemporary publication of the Association records(cf. Assoc. Rec., 69-70 and Appendix A#32n infra) and his appearance as a signatory on all except two of the Association's signed circular letters.

⁵Cf. pp.26ff. supra.

Two contemporary references to Collier's activity further illuminate the picture of Collier's Western Association role. The Association meeting of November 1656 at Bridgwater received the query whether it was the duty of churches to send forth gifted men 'to preach the Gospel to the world?'.¹ The messengers answered with an emphatic yes, enquired among themselves concerning which churches had brethren fitted to the task, and asked six churches to relinquish one man each for the purpose of preaching.² It was then decided to send a letter

to the respective churches to informe them and encourage them herein. And that our brother Collyer and brother Strange bee desired to visite the churches for the accomplishment of this worke.³

The second and perhaps even more revealing glimpse both of Collier and of the nature of the Association's meetings is provided by the report of the men sent to spy on the Dorchester General Meeting in May, 1658.⁴ The first two mornings of the meeting were involved with 'the receivinge and readinge' of letters from the individual churches which in most cases enquired concerning the state of their sister churches and reported their own present situation.⁵

¹Assoc. Rec., 64.

²Ibid., 64, 104.

³Ibid., 104.

⁴Ibid., 96-97, 108. No Baptist account has survived of this meeting.

⁵Whether the practice of the churches bringing epistles reporting their present condition was a new development is not known, although no record of the practice has survived for earlier meetings. It is interesting to note in this regard that at approximately the same time a similar practice appears in the Abingdon Association records. The April, 1659 meeting of that Association recorded that on the first night of their meeting 'the messengers did read the letters

'The regilater of this affair was one Collier, a clarke, all the while attendinge and recordinge the said epistles'.¹ The informers responsible for the account of the meeting estimated attendance at 'about three hundred persons'.²

The afternoon of the meeting's second day was occupied with answering questions from the churches and with

the perusall of a little manuscript they had got printed, intituled Sertaine queries and answers att fower generall meetings, two whereof were to bee sent to each church who sent there messengers thither....³

This is yet one more evidence of the importance the Particular Baptists of this period attached to their association activities and of their consciousness of participating in the building of a body of case-law decisions for the guidance of their Baptist brethren in the future.⁴

which were brought from the respective churches' (Ibid., 189). The letters were sent from the churches attending plus a report from 'the associated churches of Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire' (Ibid., 193). Those churches having amicably separated from the Abingdon Association in March, 1658 to form their own Association (Ibid., 181ff.).

The Abingdon Association churches continued this practice for the rest of their meetings for which full records survive, namely April and June, 1660 (Ibid., 198 ff.). This practice in the Abingdon Association was probably occasioned by a suggestion in September, 1656 that the messengers report on the status of their churches (Ibid., 168).

¹Ibid., 96.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., 97 with reference to Appendix A#32. That the tract containing the circular letters was dispersed as well is evidenced by the fact that a copy has survived which 'bears the autograph of a noted Baptist, Colonel John Rede, J. P. ...Porton Wiltshire, with the date "May 21. 1658", just a week after the meeting of Dorchester' (Nuttall, 'West. Assoc.', 218). Cf. p.64 supra for Rede and the Porton church.

⁴Cf. p.48 supra.

Association Concerns

The records of the Particular Baptist Associations reveal the issues and problems most concerning them during the tumultuous 1650s. An overwhelming amount of the material was concerned with the local, gathered church. They searched the Bible and sought the Lord together in attempting to answer questions concerning the founding and operation of churches. As they worked out the practical implications of their ecclesiology there was an on-going preoccupation with 'the well ordering of the Lord's house'.¹

As the Western Association circular letter phrased it in May, 1659,

wee desire that you as churches may as much as in you lyeth, presse after and walke up to the primative patterne not only in matter but also in manner of government and discipline with respect to the settlement of elders and deacons which, through the blessing of the Lord, may bee much to his glory and the churches' good. Wee further desire that the concernment of poor friends...may be much upon your hearts before the Lord and that, both at home and abroad, you may much endeavour their conversion...Wee also desire that both in your families and abroad in the world you may walke soberly, faythfully, dealing justly to the prayse of him who hath called you to his kingdome and glory.²

Here are expressed the recurring themes which had furnished the majority of their agenda for the preceding six years in their Association. They sought to discern, restore, nurture, and protect the 'primitive patterne' they believed to be revealed in the New Testament. They were concerned with internal church order and with the disciple's daily walk and witness.

¹Assoc. Rec., 72.

²Ibid., 100-101.

They also sought to establish and maintain the structure of their inter-congregational life together. The Western Association messengers encouraged the churches to 'remember our relation as fellow members of one body though in distinct congregations'.¹ Undergirding all of these concerns was a fervent evangelism which sought the conversion of men and the establishment of those converts in 'New Testament' churches.

During these years the Association Records also reveal that the churches were inevitably responding to the issues and pressures of the troubled society around them. In addition, a vibrant eschatological expectation permeated the records and cannot be totally separated from the ecclesiological concerns of the Baptists.

Millenarianism

Recent studies have stressed the extent and importance of apocalyptic thought in seventeenth century England. Far from being the esoteric preoccupation of a few radicals, it has now been recognized that millenarianism 'was a central theme in Puritanism during the whole course of the Puritan Revolution' and a 'formative influence upon religious thought in general in the first half of the seventeenth century'.² One student of the period has concluded 'that at no other time in England's history has the doctrine of the second

¹Ibid., 77.

²Tai Liu, Discord in Zion, p.3. Cf. Nuttall, Visible Saints, 143ff.; William M. Lamont, Godly Rule: Politics and Religion 1603-60 (London, 1969); John F. Wilson, Pulpit in Parliament; Peter Toon, ed. Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel (London, 1970); Christopher Hill, Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England (London, 1971); Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of the Magic (London,

advent been so widely proclaimed or so readily accepted'.¹ Another, noting the ubiquity of eschatological hope, listed a 'strong sense that the last days had dawned...and...that Biblical religion would triumph and that Christ was soon to return in glory' as one of the six distinguishing characteristics of a Puritan.²

A large number of Puritan Englishmen 'believed themselves to be living in a remarkable age, a new age, perhaps the last age'.³ There was a deep and increasing conviction among seventeenth century Englishmen that God was working his divine purposes through the 'elect' English nation. They were to be entrusted with building the New Jerusalem.

English millenarianism reached the zenith of its appeal in the late 1640's and early 1650's.⁴ The Nominated Parliament of 1653 was the climax of the millennial hopes of many of the Independents and sectarians.⁵ After its dismissal, millenarianism became more and more the possession of a more radical fringe, as many Independents

1972); Bryan W. Ball, A Great Expectation (Leiden, 1975); and Capp. Cf. also Bernard Capp, 'The Millennium and Eschatology in England', 427-34 in The Intellectual Revolution of the Seventeenth Century ed. Charles Webster (London, 1974) for a synopsis of the points of agreement and disagreement between Dr. Capp and Dr. Lamont.

¹Ball, A Great Expectation, p.232.

²Toon, Puritans and Calvinism, p.10.

³Nuttall, Holy Spirit, 102.

⁴Nuttall, Visible Saints, 157-58.

⁵Toon, Puritans, the Millennium, pp.126-29.

and Baptists with varying degrees of enthusiasm supported the Protectorate which replaced it.¹

Long before that date, however, basic differences among the Puritans concerning their eschatological visions had begun to emerge. There had developed a distinct 'contrast between prophetic-reformist and apocalyptic-transformist conceptions of the times'.² Long debates over the issues of church polity tended to obscure the basic theological presuppositions which were the basis of differing conceptions of the church.³

Increasingly the Independents carried on with their eschatological hopes while by the end of the Civil War 'their Presbyterian brethren began to step back towards the past'.⁴ The Independent and sectarian concept of the gathered church had been replete with eschatological significance from the beginning. At the very outset of the period Thomas Goodwin's A Glimpse of Zion's Glory⁵ linked the gathered church concept with millennial hope, believing that it would be the characteristic church form to usher in and consummate the millennium.⁶ Many within the churches of gathered saints believed 'that in themselves the promised New Israel was taking visible shape

¹Tai Liu, Discord in Zion, pp.135ff. As will be seen in Collier's case, most of these men continued to believe that they were living in the last days, but held less optimistic views concerning the role and status of the gathered saints until Christ's second advent.

²Wilson, Pulpit, p.230.

³Ibid., p.234.

⁴Tai Liu, Discord in Zion, p.33.

⁵Ibid., pp.2ff. concerning Goodwin's authorship and a synopsis of the tract.

⁶Ibid., pp.6-8.

at the end of the days, that the Lord was at hand and with Him the Kingdom of God'.¹

As early as the appearance of Confession(1644) there was reflected a possible 'growing interest in an earthly reign of Christ'.² While the Particular Baptists and many of their Independent brethren had rejected the traditional concept of a national church, their eschatological presuppositions helped ensure that their separated churches would be aggressively evangelistic, not withdrawn and detached from society. Theirs 'was an eschatology of amazed joy and hope'.³ The believers in the gathered church of visible saints had separated 'with an evangelical purpose'.⁴ This eschatological optimism helps to explain the 'sense of mission'⁵ which the London Particular Baptists manifested in the development of their nationwide church-planting and association programme during the 1640's and 1650's.

The writings of Collier during this period and the records of the Western Association both reflect these and other preoccupations and concerns. It is to them that attention is now turned.

Laying on of Hands

The very first meeting of the Western Association concerned itself mainly with the troublesome question of 'the practice of

¹Nuttall, Visible Saints, p.143.

²White, 'Doctrine', 577n. citing the differences between Confession(1644)'s Article XX and the parallel article 16 of True Confession(1596).

³Nuttall, Visible Saints, p.158. ⁴Ibid., p.162

⁵White, 'Doctrine', 582.

laying on of hands'.¹ The question reflected their concern with following the New Testament order in their churches. On the question of laying hands 'on all baptized believers',² they could not come to unanimous agreement³ concerning whether this was 'an ordinance of Christ', although the majority were against the practice.⁴ Consequently, they advised against making the question a grounds for a 'breach in communion'.⁵ At both this meeting and the next meeting in March, 1654 the messengers affirmed their belief that the ordination of ministers by the church was 'an ordinance of Christ...now in force...and ought to be performed with fasting and prayers and the laying on of hands'.⁶

Collier's Right Constitution revealed this to be his view and further revealed the importance of the problem to the churches. In a book in which he sought to provide 'a certain rule of direction according to the Scripture for the right managing of the affaires of the house of the Lord',⁷ he spent almost twenty per cent of his space addressing the question of the laying on of hands.⁸ This question continued to be a subject of discussion and occasionally of dispute among Particular Baptists.⁹ The Dorchester meeting in May, 1658

¹Assoc. Rec., 70.

²Ibid., 54.

³Ibid., 70.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., 54.

⁶Ibid., 55.

⁷Right Constitution, p.iii.

⁸Ibid., pp.70-86.

⁹Cf. Assoc. Rec., 5, 9, 15, 16, 24, 38, 171-72, 175ff.; White, 'Org. Part. Bapts.' 213n; and Ernest A. Payne's 'Baptists and the Laying on of Hands', B.Q., xv(1953-54), 203-15 and his 'Baptists and Christian Initiation', B.Q., xxvi(1975-76), 147-57.

received a query concerning the subject.¹

The account of Collier's ordination at Bridgwater in May, 1654 revealed that John Pendarves and several others had reservations about the laying on of hands even for ordination.²

Not surprisingly, given his role in the Association, Collier's views in Right Constitution, prefaced with an explanation of his new understanding of ordinances' importance,³ closely parallel those expressed in the Association's records. He defined the church as 'a company of people gathered out of the world by the Spirit of Christ in the Ministry of the Gospel'⁴ and asserted that immersion in water was 'not only a constituting but an initiating ordinance into the Church of Christ'.⁵ He also expressed concern that the churches maintain their purity by constant attention both concerning admission and in continued fellowship.⁶ He explained that this meant they must demand 'a heart-confession of faith as far as they can Judge before admitting...and a good conversation after admitting'.⁷

Similar concerns are revealed in the frequent queries at General Meetings concerning admonition, withdrawal of fellowship, and questions of discipleship and conduct.⁸ The Taunton General Meeting in

¹Assoc. Rec., 97.

²Ibid., 103. It was also a question of dispute among the congregational brethren (Nuttall, Visible Saints, pp.91ff.).

³Right Constitution, pp.iv-v. Cf. also pp.49-50 supra.

⁴Ibid., p.8.

⁵Ibid., p.9.

⁶Ibid., pp.3-4.

⁷Ibid., p.4.

⁸Assoc. Rec., passim.

September, 1654 explicitly set out the minimal standard for reception into fellowship.

they may not be admitted...without a declaration of an experimental work of the Spirit upon the heart, through the word of the Gospel and suitable to it, being attended with evident tokens of conversion, to the satisfaction of the administrator and brethren or church concerned in it....¹

Collier was also concerned, as were his fellow Particular Baptists, with a proper and orderly ministry. He emphasized not only their numerous duties, but the fact that they were to be elected 'by the church'.²

Another question, concerned with the proper day of worship, was evidently causing problems in churches in several areas.³ Collier addressed the problem of the rise of seventh day sabbath observance in Seventh Day Sabbath and referred his readers to the work again in Gospel Blessedness in 1659.⁴

The doctrinal stance of the Western Association Particular Baptists and Collier during this period is spelled out clearly in Somerset Confession and Gospel Blessedness. The various doctrines are discussed within the context of Collier's theology in Chapters VII-IX infra.

¹Ibid., 56.

²Right Constitution, p.32. Cf. Assoc. Rec., 6-7, 15-17, 21-24, 26-28, 34, 41, 55-58, 60, 64, 101, 168-172 and cf. also Chapter III supra.

³Assoc. Rec., 158, 190ff., 195, 209, 211ff.

⁴Gospel Blessedness, p.120. Cf. W. T. Whitley, 'Seventh Day Baptists in England', B.Q., xii(1946-48), 252-58 and Ernest A. Payne, 'More About the Sabbatarian Baptists', B.Q., xiv(1951-52), 161-66.

However, two related subjects assumed such importance during these years for Collier and the Particular Baptists in the West and elsewhere that they merit attention at this point.

The Coming Millennium

Most Baptists shared in the belief of their fellow Puritans during this period that they were living in the last age before the second advent. This was certainly true of Collier and the Western Association Baptists. Collier had expressed millenarian expectations in several earlier works.¹ Collier's understanding of the reign of Christ had been largely a spiritualized one,² although he had begun to retrench as early as 1652 when he added a postscript to the second edition of Glory of Christ.³

In Personal Appearing Collier stated that he had indeed changed his mind and now fervently believed in a literal personal appearance and reign of Christ in the earth and viewed it as 'being the great truth of this last generation or age of the World'.⁴

Collier explained that he had written Personal Appearing for three reasons. First, he sought to prove the biblical truth of

¹New Creation, Glory of Christ, Marrow, Vind. Army Remonstrance, and cf. pp.149-50 and 203-204 supra.

²Cf. Personal Appearing, pp.iv-v.

³Works, p.230. Collier argued here for both a spiritual and a literal or 'external interpretation' (Ibid.).

⁴Personal Appearing, p.i. He also explained that he had discussed this issue previously in his 'Epistle to the Jews (p.iv, cf. Appendix A, #12) and his 'Dialogue between a Minister and a Christian' (p.iv, cf. Appendix A #14).

Christ's coming personal reign on the earth.¹ Secondly, he felt the need to show that the saints were to be in 'a suffering state until that time' when the Lord did return.² Lastly, he sought to refute the arguments of John Tillinghast and others 'for the introducing of the Kingdome of Christ by the material sword in the hands of Saints'.³

Tillinghast⁴ was perhaps the most erudite of the Fifth Monarchy Men.⁵ The Fifth Monarchists were distinguished from less activist millenarians in several ways. Perhaps the most important difference was the one mentioned by Collier, himself living in eschatological expectancy. This was their willingness to use violence to usher in the millennial kingdom. They also exhibited a tendency to identify prophetic symbols in Scripture with events and personalities in contemporary history. In addition, they often envisaged a millennium which incorporated numerous contemporary radical political ideals in its framework.⁶

It should be noted, however, that there was a wide variation of viewpoint among those who were identified with or sympathetic to the

¹Ibid., p.ii.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Cf. Capp, 266 and passim; D.N.B., s.v.; Ball, A Great Expectation, 183-89; and Nuttall, Visible Saints, 152-53. Collier replied specifically to Tillinghast's 'Signes of the Times' (i.e. Knowledge of the Times).

⁵So named because they believed that the four beasts of Daniel vii representative of four empires (Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome) were about to be followed by Christ's rule in and by the saints.

⁶Capp, passim.

movement. Two prominent Particular Baptists, the 'open' membership Henry Jessey and the 'closed' membership John Pendarves, have recently been shown to have been in sympathy with the Fifth Monarchy movement and yet not advocates of violence against the government.¹

Even though Jessey agreed to serve as a Trier under the Cromwellian establishment,² Collier and many other Baptists were more tolerant of the Protectorate than most Fifth Monarchy sympathizers, bitterly disappointed as they were with the failure to abolish tithes.

There is evidence of a good bit of support among Particular Baptists for some Fifth Monarchy ideas. A widespread disillusionment with the Protectorate concerning the tithes issue certainly fueled such sentiments. Considering the prevalent belief among them that they were living in the last days, the replacement of the Nominated Parliament with the Protectorate seemed to many a step backward. Such an obstruction of God's timetable insured a measure of hostility toward the Protectorate.³

However, many like Collier, who expressed a repeated belief that

¹White, 'Henry Jessey: A Pastor in Politics'; White, 'Henry Jessey in the Great Rebellion'; and White, 'John Pendarves'; especially 268-69. Cf. also p.3n supra.

²Cf. White, 'Henry Jessey: A Pastor in Politics', 105-106 for an explanation of why Jessey agreed to serve in that position.

³It has been suggested as 'entirely plausible' that the Midland Confession of May, 1655(Assoc. Rec., 18-20) may have contained no reference to the Baptists' obligation to the magistrate was because there was sufficient Fifth Monarchy support to prevent agreement being reached on the issue(White, 'Eng. Part. Bapts.', 25-26).

'the coming of the Lord draweth nigh'¹ and believed that they were living in 'these last dayes'² argued for obedience to the magistrate as a Christian's duty. In Collier's case, he sought on at least two occasions to dissuade the saints from violent action against the Protectorate.³

The Magistrate

Somerset Confession revealed an obvious belief that 'the great and terrible day of our Lord' was 'near at hand'.⁴ Coupled with this however, was a belief 'That the ministry of civil justice (being for the praise of them that do well, and punishment of evil-doers) is an ordinance of God, and that it is the duty of the saints to be subject thereunto, not only for fear but for conscience' sake'.⁵ Here Collier and the Western Association were firmly in the tradition of

¹Assoc. Rec., 65.

²Ibid., 76. One reflection of Collier's continued eschatological hope was his support for allowing the Jews to immigrate to England. In Brief Answer Collier argued on eschatological grounds for admitting the Jews, reiterating his earlier support for their admission expressed on similar grounds in a postscript to Font-Guard Routed (cf. also Assoc. Rec., 79, 81, 87). Cf. also White, 'Henry Jessey: A Pastor in Politics', 106ff. concerning Jessey's support for the admission of the Jews. Cf. also Robert M. Healey, 'The Jew in Seventeenth Century Protestant Thought', C.H. xlv (1977), 63-79; Toon, Puritan Eschatology, pp.115-129; and Nuttall, Visible Saints, pp.143ff.

³Word in Season and Personal Appearing.

⁴Somerset Confession, pp.70-71. Cf. also p.72 and Article XXXIX, pp.99-101.

⁵Somerset Confession, Article XLIV, pp.104-105.

the London Particular Baptists.¹

Where this issue most affected those Particular Baptists of the period not willing to consider violence against the magistrate was in the area of tithes. The General Meeting in Tiverton in September, 1657 was asked what the response of Baptists should be when confronted by a magistrate collecting taxes for ministerial maintenance and possessing the authority 'to distrain in case of non-payment'.² The messengers advised

that at least they ought to bear a publick testimony against it as a soule offending and oppressing yoke, and, if any have faith to expose themselves to sufferings, by refusing utterly to pay through a real scruple in tenderness of conscience only towards God, we desire them to walk according to their faith and understanding uprightly whatever they may suffer from men, with meekness committing themselves to God.³

Obedience to the magistrate on this question was to be a matter of individual conscience, but submission to the magistrate's authority if one felt compelled not to pay was not.

This question had been preceded by a more general question, possibly arising out of Fifth Monarchy agitation, which was asked at the Bridgwater meeting in November, 1656 concerning 'the saints' duty toward the magistrate'.⁴ The messengers' response was

¹Cf. Confession(1644), Articles XLVIII, XLIX, L, Ll. Cf. also Underhill, Confessions, p.45n for changes concerning Article XLVIII in subsequent editions.

²Assoc. Rec., 69.

³Ibid. Cf. Ibid., 153-59 for a similar question and the Abingdon Association's response.

⁴Ibid., 66.

to refer the questioners to Somerset Confession's Article XLIV.¹ Perhaps the brevity of the Western Association's response is partially explained by their answer to a preceding question, which asked, 'What is the saints' most proper and special work at this day?'.² This question the messengers answered fully.

It was the duty of the saints to be much in prayer for God's power to be in His people and to testify to the Gospel message. They were further exhorted to be engaged in 'a diligent search' of scriptural prophecy, but were cautioned 'how they receive any apprehensions that seem to lead us besides plain and positive scripture grounds of practice'.³ They were also be sought not to allow differences of opinion on those less clear issues to cause a breach of communion.⁴

These Baptists believed God was doing a mighty work in the last days before His return, but the saint's duty was to spread the Gospel, plant churches, and seek enlightenment in Scripture, not to bring down the magistrate by their active opposition. Collier, in an earlier defence of the present government, had argued that although the Protectorate might be a disappointment in some ways, 'much we do enjoy, as to the substance of what was expected, though not in the formality of it'.⁵ He had reminded those railing against the Protectorate that God had not ordained any one form of government

¹Ibid., 66. Cf. Ibid. 30 for a more detailed answer to a similar question to the Midland Association in October, 1656.

²Ibid., 65.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Word in Season, p.3.

in the Gospel age¹ and that

If the honor of the Lord doth consist...in the free passage of the Gospel, and a freedom for his people to worship him according to his Will, he is as much, if not more, honored in this particular, than I...can yet see in or under any other way of Government.²

In short, they had the main thing for which they had fought and prayed, comparative liberty to preach, worship, and evangelize. While disturbed by a tithe-maintained national church, they were free to prepare for the Lord's coming by building up His church. Concerning the demise of governments prior to the Lord's return, Collier informed the Fifth Monarchists that he would 'trust no man or men in the world in this great work, so clearly reserved for Christ'.³

State Ministerial Maintenance

The rather different question of whether Baptist ministers should accept state maintenance was one which evidently concerned Baptists on a national scale.⁴ While there was some ambivalence on the issue, the large majority of closed membership Particular Baptist churches were opposed to their ministers accepting state stipends.

The Western Association had rebuked the Irish churches in April,

¹Ibid., p.5.

²Ibid., pp.3-4.

³Personal Appearing, p.31.

⁴Assoc. Rec., 31. Although no discussion of the question is recorded in the South Wales records, perhaps this is best explained by one of their leaders, John Miles, acceptance of state maintenance (Ibid., 14 and cf. 17 as well). The issue was not raised directly in the Abingdon Association either.

1655 for allowing their ministers to receive state funds.¹ At Wells in April, 1656, they judged state maintenance of the ministry unscrip-
tural and condemned its practice.² They counseled the churches 'to
deal with' those continuing in the practice as they would with any who
cause the Gospel to be brought to shame.³

That the messengers' answer met with some opposition is reflected
in their answer to a query at the Bridgwater General Meeting in
November, 1656. Evidently 'several churches' still upheld magisterial
maintenance of the ministry and the meeting's response was to counsel
'the churches that are clear in this case to continue their bearing
testimony against their practice' but not 'to proceed any further'.⁴

In 1657 William Kiffin, the influential London Baptist leader,
vigorously opposed acceptance of state maintenance by ministers in
Baptist churches at a special meeting in Devizes, Wiltshire. The
meeting had been called to settle this troublesome question and the
conclusion was a denunciation of the practice.⁵

Kiffin was a strong supporter of Cromwell and evidently played a
significant role in successfully opposing Fifth Monarchist agitation
at the Dorchester General Meeting in May, 1658.⁶ Collier's consistent

¹Ibid., 74.

²Ibid., 62-63.

³Ibid., 63.

⁴Ibid., 64.

⁵White, 'Eng. Part. Bapts.', 24. Cf. Assoc. Rec., 43-50 for Benjamin Cox's refutation of Edward Harrison's arguments (Ibid., 50) favouring state maintenance of the ministry. Cox mentioned Harrison's 'exceptions to the arguments of our brethren in the West' (p.43, probably referring to the General Meeting at Wells in 1656).

⁶Assoc. Rec., 97.

policy of defending the Protectorate despite its shortcomings, coupled with Personal Appearing, argue strongly for Collier's having sided with Kiffin during the debate.

That anti-government feeling was present to fuel Fifth Monarchist sentiment was indicated by the query presented to the Wells General Meeting in May, 1659 about 'Whether it bee lawfull for a Church of Christ to hold communion with soldiers as they stand servants to the present power of this nation?'.¹ In the face of significant opposition the messengers replied that

the church having nothing more to charge them
with then meerly standing in the army wee judge
it not lawfull...to deny them communion.²

As the Interregnum drew to a close, Collier addressed the issue of the proper role of the magistrate, dedicating his small tract to the restored Rump.³ He proclaimed that Christ had ordained magisterial power until His return and that it was by His appointment that they ruled. However, Christ had reserved certain powers to Himself.⁴ The power that Christ had committed to government was 'to rule...over the Bodies and Estates of men for good, and no other'.⁵

The Lord had reserved to Himself the power of establishing and deposing governments and of judging magistrates at the 'day of Account' concerning their stewardship of their trust.⁶ In addition, Christ had

¹Ibid., 102.

²Ibid.

³Cf. Appendix A#13n.

⁴Decision & Clearing, pp.1-2.

⁵Ibid., p.2.

⁶Ibid., pp.2-3.

reserved to Himself all spiritual things. Matters of worship were entrusted to the Lord's church.¹ Echoing his arguments in the Whitehall Debates, Collier pointed out that Old Testament structures did not apply since Christ 'by his suffering' had 'put an end to that Ministration, and repealed Priesthood-government'.²

Collier perceived compulsion by the magistrate to be spiritual rape which forced the victim to sin by violating his conscience.³ Protestant magistrates were more guilty in this matter than their Catholic counterparts, because they first enlightened the conscience by furnishing the Bible in the vernacular, thus forcing men to sin against greater light.⁴ Collier concluded by proclaiming that he felt it was the 'Lord's work at this day, to untwist this knot, i.e. unity of Church and State, and to let the oppressed go free'.⁵

History has recorded that this was not to be and as the Particular Baptists entered the long years of persecution along with the other nonconformists, they were able to survive, and in some cases to grow, because of the deep roots they had sunk into English society during more than a decade of extraordinary activity. During those years of unprecedented opportunity afforded them by the Civil War and Interregnum, they had actively evangelized and practiced inter-church co-operation on a nation-wide scale. Having examined their, and

¹Ibid., pp.4-5.

²Ibid., p.7. Cf. pp.145-47 supra.

³Ibid., p.11.

⁴Ibid., pp.11-12.

⁵Ibid., p.16.

Collier's response to opportunity, attention is now turned to their reaction to persecution.

VI. PERSECUTION AND

LATER THEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSIES(1674-1691)

The Restoration of the monarchy in 1660 produced profound changes in England's religious life. The failure of attempts to bring about a religious settlement which would at least include large segments of those Puritans who had supported the Cromwellian Established Church was a harbinger of what was to come.¹

Persecution Commences

Parliament and the restored ecclesiastical machinery set about re-establishing the Church of England with a vengeance and erected a framework of repressive acts in order to enforce uniformity in religion.² The Corporation Act(1661), The Act of Uniformity(1662), The Conventicle Act(1664), The Five Mile Act(1665), The Second Conventicle Act(1670), and The Test Act(1673) succeeded in creating great hardship for those who in conscience could not conform to the restored Church of England and its Prayer Book.³

Baptists were not as directly effected by The Act of Uniformity as the Presbyterians and Congregationalists, since their clergy's

¹E. C. Ratcliff, 'The Savoy Conference and the Revision of the Book of Common Prayer', 89-148 in From Uniformity to Unity 1662-1962 ed. by Geoffrey F. Nuttall and Owen Chadwick(London, 1962).

²Cf. Robert S. Bosher, The Making of the Restoration Settlement 1649-1662(London, 1951), and Anne Whiteman, 'The Restoration of the Church of England', 19-88 in From Uniformity to Unity 1662-1962. Cf. I. M. Green, The Re-establishment of the Church of England 1660-1663 (Oxford, 1978), for a considerable revision of Bosher.

³Cf. Records(Broadmead), pp.57-69, and Ernest A. Payne and Norman S. Moon, Baptists and 1662(London, 1962), pp.9-10, 21-28 concerning the various laws, their intent, and their effect.

participation in the Cromwellian Church had been minimal.¹ However, the total effect of these laws was to put them and most of their Puritan brethren in the path of often severe persecution as they sought to maintain their religious life outside the established church.² The legislation enacted after 1660 coupled with already existing legislation (which had been seldom enforced during the Interregnum) created a legal situation in which 'it was virtually impossible to imprison a nonconformist illegally'.³

The Records of the Broadmead Church, Bristol furnish detailed illustration of the privations the nonconforming clergy and laity were often called upon to endure during these years.⁴ In the very early period of the Restoration Baptists were among the most persecuted of the nonconformists. For example, near 'the end of 1661, 289 out of 355 prisoners in Newgate were Baptists'.⁵

This was partially due to the lingering suspicions aroused by the 'Anabaptist' label. It was primarily the result, however, of the

¹Cf. Payne and Moon, op. cit., pp.11-16 and W. T. Whitley, 'Baptists and Bartholomew's Day', T.B.H.S. i(1908-10), 24-41 concerning Baptists who were ejected. Cf. C.R. passim concerning the large numbers of ministers from the other denominations who were ejected. Cf. also Geoffrey F. Nuttall, 'The Emergence of Conconformity', 9-32 in The Beginnings of Nonconformity (London, 1964) for the background that led such large numbers of clergymen to choose ejectment to conformity.

²Whitley, Hist. Brit. Bapts., pp.103-53; Underwood, Hist. Eng. Bapts. 89-115; Payne and Moon, op.cit., passim; and Douglas C. Sparkes, 'The Test Act of 1673 and its Aftermath', B.Q., xxv(1973-74), 74-85.

³Records(Broadmead), p.57.

⁴Records(Broadmead), passim.

⁵Cross, Church and People, p.235.

radical agitation of men such as Thomas Venner¹ and others with radical and Fifth Monarchist connections with whom Baptists were associated in many minds.² London Baptists were sufficiently alarmed by the general situation to produce The Humble Apology of some commonly called Anabaptists in which they disavowed any connection with Venner or other radical movements and emphasized their loyalty to the government.³ One measure of the extent of Baptist concern in this matter was that The Humble Apology was a then unprecedented joint effort of London's Particular and General Baptists exemplified by its being published by the Particular Baptist Henry Hills and sold by the General Baptist Francis Smith.⁴

However, the Presbyterians were soon forced into nonconformity by the rigidity of the Anglican re-establishment. This alleviated some of the pressure on the Baptists and the Quakers by greatly increasing the numbers of those the Church of England sought to suppress. The generally higher social status of the ejected Presbyterians also imparted to nonconformity a new air of respectability.⁵

The entire period from 1660 to 1688 was one of persecution broken

¹Cf. D.N.B., s.v. and Capp, p.267 for Venner, who was never a Baptist.

²Cf. W. T. Whitley, 'Militant Baptists 1660-1672', T.B.H.S. i (1908-1910), 148-155 for radicals who were at least at some point Baptists who engaged in radical endeavours.

³The Humble Apology of some commonly called Anabaptists...(London, 1660), reprinted in Underhill, Confessions, pp.343-52.

⁴Whitley, Hist. Brit. Bapts., p.109. Plomer, Dict.(1641-1667), pp.166-67 and Plomer, Dict.(1668-1725), pp.273-74 for Francis Smith.

⁵Underwood, Hist. Eng. Bapts., pp.96-97.

by intermittent periods of respite such as during the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672 when the licensing of nonconformist teachers and meeting places furnished a brief glimpse into the extent of nonconformist life in the nation.¹ Local factors played a significant role in determining how severe repression of religious dissent was in a particular area at any given time since there was marked variation in the sternness with which local secular and ecclesiastical authorities enforced the law. Persecution was relatively strong, for example in Wiltshire during most of the period.² However, if the surviving records concerning the Petty France Baptist Church's frequent gatherings and activities are an accurate indication of the general London situation, the plight of Baptists in the capital was by contrast less severe, especially after 1672.³

Body of Divinity

It was in a period of renewed persecution after the withdrawal of the May, 1672 Declaration of Indulgence that Collier's first post-Restoration work, Body of Divinity was published. This was Collier's most comprehensive, systematic, and reflective work. There are

¹Cf. pp.58ff. supra.

²Ivimey, History, ii, 580-81. Cf. pp.61-68 supra for the situation in Wiltshire and for evidence that sympathetic local officials could often provide a measure of protection for dissenters within their jurisdictions. Another factor influencing a local situation was the comparative strength of nonconformity in an area. The sheer numbers of nonconformists in the Wiltshire-Somerset border area presented the authorities with tremendous enforcement problems(cf. pp.65-66 supra).

³T. E. Dowley, 'A London Congregation During the Great Persecution: Petty France Particular Baptist Church, 1641-1688', B.Q., xxvii (1977-78), 233-39.

definite indications in the book of a significant change of viewpoint from that expressed in Collier's earlier writings. This is especially true when Body of Divinity is compared with the orthodoxy of Collier's most recent previous theological work, Gospel Blessedness, published fifteen years earlier. Collier's prefatory comments indicated that he was aware that he had changed positions on several issues,¹ and he requested that Body of Divinity be taken (as opposed to earlier works) as definitive of 'my Faith in which I live, and believe that by the grace of God I shall die, and yet live Eternally'.²

In Body of Divinity Collier revealed several beliefs which could be predicted to cause consternation among English Particular Baptists.³ He intimated that Christ was 'considered in his both natures as the Son of God from eternity',⁴ and argued that the heaven where God abode was eternal and uncreated.⁵ He went on to reject at least the contemporary Calvinistic understanding of original sin⁶ and to assert that Christ died for all men.⁷ In discussing calling and election he employed Calvinistic terminology to describe concepts⁸ which fell short of the

¹Cf. pp.68-69 supra.

²Body of Divinity, p.viii.

³Collier's doctrinal positions are dealt with briefly here since they are analyzed in more detail in Chapters VII-IX.

⁴Body of Divinity, p.31.

⁵Ibid., p.46.

⁶Ibid., p.110-11.

⁷Ibid., pp.117-19.

⁸Ibid., pp.117-19, 441-50.

prevailing Particular Baptist standard of orthodoxy as measured by either Confession(1644) or Confession(1677). Collier also stressed that works must be coupled with faith¹ and hinted that the saints final perseverance might depend on continued obedience.²

Evidently Collier's statements in Body of Divinity, especially in regard to Christ's nature, occasioned some negative response and were partially responsible for the appearance of Additional Word in 1676.³ In seeking to clarify his positions, Collier moved even further away from the prevailing Reformed orthodoxy.⁴ In so doing he provoked a strong response from the London Particular Baptist leadership.

The Reasons for London's Involvement

The question arises at this point of why the London Particular Baptist leaders responded so directly and vigorously to what they perceived as Collier's doctrinal aberration? First, their assistance and intervention was requested by some West Country Particular Baptists who were opposed to Collier's beliefs. Collier related that 'several Ministers' met at James Elliot's⁵ house in Warminster on 5 September 1676 where it was decided to communicate with the London

¹Ibid., pp.185-86.

²Ibid., pp.197ff.

³Vind. Veritatis, p.1.

⁴Cf. Ibid., pp.ix-x for a catalogue of what his adversaries regarded as his 'gross Errours'(p.ix).

⁵A James Elliot was the subject of a meeting of several Western Association churches on 26 October, 1669 at Clifford concerning the Crockerton church's rejection of Elliot(Fuller, op.cit., pp.11-12). Crockerton is two miles southwest of Warminster.

Baptist Community about the situation.¹

In addition to their genuine personal theological objections to Collier's views, several other factors may have contributed to the London churches' desire to respond. The Londoners had held a position of leadership in regard to the rest of the country in the 1640's and 1650's as a consequence of their aggressive church planting programme.² Some evidence has survived that the links and the leadership role continued to be maintained.³

During a period when the prospects of the abatement of persecution were high, the Particular Baptists of London had issued a circular letter dated 2 October 1675 which called for a meeting in London the following spring of Particular Baptists from throughout the country.⁴ At a similar meeting held in 1677 a slight revision and adaptation of the Westminster Confession was adopted as Confession (1677) by the Particular Baptists. In the midst of persecution they followed the Congregationalists' Savoy Declaration in adopting the Westminster Confession's wording and order when possible.⁵ This was done in order to illustrate 'our hearty agreement with them, in that wholesome protestant doctrine, which, with so clear evidence of

¹Narrative, p.2.

²Cf. Chapter V, *supra*.

³Cf. Dowley, 'A London Congregation', 235-36, 239 and Assoc. Rec., 212.

⁴Ivimey, History, i, 415-16; McGlothlin, Bapt. Conf., p.216.

⁵Cf. Underhill, Confessions, pp.169-230; McGlothlin, Bapt. Conf., pp.215-19; and Lumpkin, Confessions, pp.235-39 for the changes and alterations from the Westminster Confession and the Savoy Declaration.

scriptures they have asserted'.¹

Their desire to present a united front with their Presbyterian and Congregational brethren may have led them to compromise partially on the baptism issue.

The confession itself did not require a closed membership position on communion. Further, a substantial defence of baptism by immersion and a rejection of the circumcision analogy are relegated to 'An Appendix'² which was omitted from the 1688 and 1689 editions. In the Appendix the Particular Baptists admitted that they were not in unanimous agreement on the issue of holding 'church communion with any other than baptized believers, and churches constituted of such'.³ This changing stance was perhaps reflected in the practice of the congregation at Petty France accepting members from open communion Baptist churches such as Broadmead, Bristol.⁴ At a time when they were seeking to present a united, orthodox front to the Anglican opposition, even to the point of soft-pedaling their baptismal views to a degree, Collier's views were an embarrassment which contradicted and hindered their efforts.

¹Confession(1677), 'To the Judicious and Impartial Reader', p.245. The General Baptists followed the example of the Particular Baptists in publishing An Orthodox Creed...(London, 1678) which sought to show their points of agreement with other Protestant dissenters.

²Cf. Underhill, Confessions, pp.231-46.

³Ibid., p.244.

⁴Dowley, 'A London Congregation', p.234, cf. Records(Broadmead, p.225).

London Responds

As noted earlier, a party of Baptists in the West had written to London expressing their dissatisfaction with Collier's view¹. London responded by sending a letter to all the churches in the area describing Collier as a 'Heretick' and 'promised a Book should be speedily sent forth to detect his Heresies'.¹ This letter disturbed Collier's supporters within the Southwick church and a meeting was called to discuss the matter with several of the Londoners included. Thus, at the end of October, 1676 'Br. Kiffin, Br. Deane, Br. Fitten, Bro. Cox, and Br. Moreton' journeyed to Southwick 'to settle some disorder'.²

Kiffin asserted that Collier was still a member of his church in London. Collier denied this claim. He admitted that he had once been a fellow member with Kiffin in London, but that he had returned to 'his native and proper habitation' and joined the church in Wells, thus negating his London membership.³

The Londoners attacked Collier's theology with Nehemiah Cox claiming that Collier was 'guilty of several desparat Errors and

¹Narrative, p.2.

²Records(Broadmead), p.185, cf. also p.60 supra. 'Br. Kiffin' is William Kiffin. 'Br. Deane' is probably Richard Deane(cf. Assoc. Rec., 108, 214 and Whitley, 'An Index to Notable Baptists', 197, not to be confused with p.115 supra). 'Br. Fitten' is James Fitten(cf. Records(Broadmead), p.290). 'Br. Cox' is Nehemiah Cox, cf. pp.270ff. infra). 'Br. Moreton' is probably 'Mr. Joseph Morton, a baptist minister in London'(Ivimey, History, i, 417) to whom Alexander Gifford wrote in 1675 and which was answered in a letter signed by Morton and most of the London Particular Baptist leadership in January, 1676(Ibid., i, 417-20).

³Narrative, pp.3-4.

Heresies'.¹ After Kiffin had 'admonished him as an Heretick' they concluded the meeting 'with high threatning of the Book before promised to be sent forth'.²

After returning to London Kiffin and his church sent Collier a letter once again asserting his membership with them and requesting his presence in London for further discussion.³ Collier responded by rejecting their claims and questioning 'whether ever he might come to London again'.⁴ The London church 'then proceeded...to reject him as an Heretick...and sent forth their long promised Book'.⁵

Nehemiah Cox and Vind. Veritatis

The book to which Collier referred was Vind. Veritatis by Nehemiah Cox, 'their great Combitant'.⁶ Cox, the son of Benjamin Cox, was admitted to membership in the Bedford open membership Baptist church in August, 1669.⁷ By May, 1670 he was reported for preaching to the Bedford congregation and 'was imprisoned for criticizing the Church of England'.⁸ Through his imprisonment he became part of John

¹Ibid., p.5. It should be remembered that the only surviving account of this episode is Collier's, and its objectivity cannot be assumed.

²Ibid., p.6.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

⁷The Church Book of Bunyan Meeting, 1650-1821, facsimile ed. with intro. by G. B. Harrison (London, 1928), p.27. This is an interesting occurrence in light of his father's closed membership views. Cf. also Assoc. Rec., 214-15.

⁸Richard L. Greaves, 'The Organizational Response of Nonconformity to Repression and Indulgence; The Case of Bedfordshire', C.H., xliv (1975), 474.

Bunyan's and other nonconformists' organized effort to provide a 'network of preachers and teachers throughout northern Bedfordshire and contiguous areas that would be strong enough to withstand further persecution'.¹

Thus, a licence was obtained for Cox as a teacher at Maulden, Bedfordshire under the Declaration of Indulgence in May, 1672.² Cox had been 'called to the works of the ministry' at the same meeting of the Bedford church which appointed Bunyan 'to pastoral office' on 2 December, 1671.³ He was active in the Bedford area until the spring of 1674 when he 'did publicly make an acknowledgment of several miscarriages by him committed, and declared his repentance'.⁴

Cox next appeared at his ordination as an elder and joint pastor of London's Petty France church on 21 September 1675, thus joining

¹Ibid., 472.

²Orig. Rec., ii, 857.

³Church Book of Bunyan Meeting, pp.50-51.

⁴Ibid., p.54. Cox's confession at the church meeting on 7 May 1674 was as follows: 'Whereas several words and practices have been uttered and performed by me that might justly be censured to have a tendencie to make rents and divisions in the congregation I doe declare myselfe unfeignedly sorry and repentant for the same'(Ibid.). There is no indication as to what the words and practices were, although it has been surmised that it concerned the open membership-closed membership controversy(Whitley, 'Benjamin Cox', 58; and Dowley, 'A London Congregation', 238). This is possible, but doubtful since the Petty France church of which he was joint pastor was admitting people from open membership churches(Dowley, 'A London Congregation', 234,238). Also, Collins, his partner at Petty France, is generally credited with preparing the draft revision of the Westminster Confession which became Confession(1677),(Lumpkin, Confessions, p.236) which as noted earlier, did not restrict communion to baptized believers only.

the ranks of the London Particular Baptist leadership.¹ Cox, a qualified physician, practiced medicine and served as joint pastor of the Petty France church with William Collins² until his death in 1689.³

Cox's Vind. Veritatis was prefaced by a brief explanatory statement signed by William Kiffin, Daniel Dike,⁴ Joseph Maisters,⁵ James Fitton, Henry Forty,⁶ and William Collins. These six London Particular Baptist leaders explained that they were 'obliged in Duty and Conscience'⁷ to commend Cox's refutation of Collier in order to keep Collier's errors from damaging the denomination's reputation.

although it be a most unequal judgement, to make
the Errours of one single person under any
Profession, to reflect upon the whole of the
same;...yet woeful experience hath taught us
that there is nothing more usual with the world.
And we did judge, that though we do not hope
hereby to silence the mouth of malice; yet this

¹Ivimey, History, ii, 397, 404-05.

²Cf. Ibid., ii, 397-403 and Dowley, 'A London Congregation', 234 for Collins.

³Ivimey, History, ii, 403-07 and Whitley, 'Benjamin Cox', 58-9. Cf. Arnold H. J. Baines, 'Innocency Vindicated; or, Reproach Wip'd Off', B.Q., xvi(1955-56), 164-70 for the controversy aroused by Cox's and Collins' acknowledgment(along with others) of the King's dispensing power in 1687 and the repudiation of the position under the leadership of Kiffin and others at the General Assembly in 1689.

⁴Cf. D.N.B., s.v.; C.R., p.176 and Ivimey, History, ii, 328-31 for Dike, who was joint elder of Devonshire Square Baptist church from 1668 until his death in 1688.

⁵Cf. Ivimey, History, ii, 183-87 and Payne and Moon, op.cit., p.17 for Maisters, pastor at Theobalds, Hertfordshire.

⁶Cf. Ivimey, History, ii, 66-68 and Whitley, 'An Index to Notable Baptists', 201-202 for Forty, who was connected with Jessey's Swan Alley church, as was Fitton.

⁷Vind. Veritatis, p.i.

might be a means, to set us right in the thoughts of₁ those who are not byassed by evil affections.¹

They expressed disappointment that Collier's earlier errors (from which he had repented as a consequence of their efforts) had not served to deter his present heterodoxy.² Anticipating that some might be offended by the author's youth, the six leaders concluded by explaining that Cox had been persuaded to undertake the work 'by several of the Elders' of mature years and that they were all well pleased with the product of his labours.³

Cox, in his preface accused Collier of Pelagianism and Socinianism as well as of being tainted by Jesuit beliefs.⁴ Cox admitted that Additional Word contained numerous statements which made him suspect that even worse errors than those openly expressed were at the root of Collier's doctrine.⁵ He added that Collier's earlier heresies caused him to mention his suspicions, although he had

for the present passed over many things...that are of an harsh sound in Christian ears, though clouded in ambiguous terms; expecting that his Rejoynder will either give me occasion to put a better sense upon those phrases, then the words at present seem well to bear, or else engage me to a further detection of his abomination couched in them.⁶

Cox also mentioned Collier's 'General Epistles' as being

¹Ibid. The 'Anabaptist' aspersions cast upon them in earlier years had obviously left them extremely sensitive to charges of heterodoxy within their group.

²Ibid., p.i.

³Ibid., pp.i-ii.

⁴Ibid., p.iii.

⁵Ibid., vi.

⁶Ibid., p.vi.

blasphemous and although he admitted having heard that Collier had recanted the errors espoused in those works, he wondered why he had not done so publicly and in print.¹ He then proceeded to list the principle errors espoused by Collier in Additional Word. These alleged teachings of Collier included advocacy of the eternity of both of Christ's natures, eternal heavens, Christ's having died for the universe, Christians falling from grace, and that punishment for the lost might in many cases be finite.² Cox then proceeded to a point by point refutation of Collier's positions from a standard, Calvinist perspective.³

Sober and Mod. Answer

Collier's response to the Cox and the London leadership was Sober and Mod. Answer, published in 1677.⁴ Collier commenced by claiming that Cox and the other Londoners had misrepresented and misquoted him.⁵ Acknowledging his former error 'in some things relative to

¹Ibid., p.vii. In citing the General Epistles Cox used pagination which indicated he was using the Works edition(cf. Appendix A,#40). Collier had of course recanted parts of his General Epistles in Right Constitution(cf. p.50 supra) and Personal Appearing(cf. pp.203-204 supra) as well as in Body of Divinity's blanket statement(cf. pp.68-69 supra), which Collier pointed out in Sober and Mod. Answer, p.ii.

²Ibid., pp.ix-x.

³Cox's refutation is not summarized here because his positions and objections to Collier's views did not differ significantly from those of others for whom Confession(1677) was an accurate expression of belief and Collier's views are contrasted with that confession in Chapters VII-IX.

⁴It should be noted that Sober and Mod. Answer's publisher was Francis Smith, the noted General Baptist, cf. p.263 supra.

⁵Sober and Mod. Answer, p.i.

faith and worship',¹ he questioned the Christian spirit of these men who were mentioning this error for 'not the first nor second time'.²

Incensed by their claims to have been the means of his being rescued from earlier errors, Collier related that the Lord alone had convinced him of his mistakes and that this occurred while he was '100 miles distant from them'.³ He also stated that he was acquainted with only one of the six men at the time in question(circa 1652-1654).⁴

Following Cox's example, Collier prefaced the main body of his work with a three page 'taste of some of the abuses, falshoods, wrestings and adding to what',⁵ Collier had written in Sober and Mod. Answer. He felt that Cox had misrepresented several of his positions, but acknowledged that there were significant differences between their views of what the Bible taught on various subjects.⁶

Collier proceeded to explain his position more fully on the question of Christ's existing eternally in both natures⁷ before repudiating limited atonement, election, and reprobation(as defined in any acceptable Calvinist sense) in the most explicit language he had yet employed.⁸ Cox had detected a further movement away from Calvinist orthodoxy concerning election between Body of Divinity and Additional

¹Ibid., p.ii.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p.ii.

⁴Ibid. In light of his earlier statements about being a fellow church member of Kiffin's, undoubtedly Kiffin was the one to whom Collier was referring.

⁵Ibid., p.vi.

⁶Ibid., pp.iv-vi.

⁷Ibid., pp.1-16.

⁸Ibid., pp.16-28.

Word¹ and that shift was even more pronounced in Sober and Mod.

Answer. Collier summarized his position by declaring 'that Christ in love to the world gave himself a ransom for all men' and that 'the condemnation of men will be of themselves, and not from any reprobated design of God, distinct from sin, as the just and deserving cause thereof, nor from the deficiency of the means and helps afforded'.² It would be hard to find a phrase in Collier's statement that would not offend any supporter of Confession(1677).

Further denying Calvinist dogma,³ Collier acknowledged that he took 'the Doctrine of impossibility of falling from grace, and Justification by Faith alone without works to be both alike dangerous, to

¹Vind. Veritatis, pp.28-29.

²Sober and Mod. Answer, p.68.

³It is advisable at this point, before examining Collier's theology vis-a-vis that of the Particular Baptists as expressed mainly in Confession(1677) to define 'Calvinism' and 'Calvinist' as employed in this study. It has been pointed out that there are distinct differences both in content and emphasis between Calvin and his successors in the Calvinist or Reformed tradition(Basil Hall, 'Calvin Against the Calvinists', pp.19-37 in John Calvin, ed. by G. E. Duffield(Appleford, Abingdon, 1966), cf. also p.116n supra). Important changes were wrought in Calvinism by Beza, Perkins, and the Synod of Dort(Ibid., cf. also John T. McNeill, The History and Character of Calvinism(New York, 1954) and Fred H. Klooster, 'The Doctrinal Deliverances of Dort', pp.52-94 in Crisis in the Reformed Churches, ed. by Peter Y. DeYong(Grand Rapids, 1968) concerning the Synod of Dort. The Westminster Confession reflects that tradition and can be taken largely as definitive of the Calvinist tradition in mid and late seventeenth century England(cf. John Murray, 'Calvin, Dort, and Westminster on Predestination-A Comparative Study', pp.150-60 in Crisis in the Reformed Churches). Confession(1677) serves that role for the Particular Baptist derivative of that tradition as Savoy Declaration does for Congregationalists(cf. pp.267-68 supra).

the power and life of Religion, and to the souls and bodies of men'.¹

After explicitly rejecting the Calvinist definition of original sin's consequences,² Collier devoted the rest of Sober and Mod. Answer to a detailed explanation of his eschatology³ which included the concept of a probably finite punishment for some after the judgement in the world to come.⁴

The West Country Debate Continues

During the period that Collier was preparing Sober and Mod. Answer the controversy continued in the West Country. As Narrative explained, Collier's supporters within the Southwick church remained loyal since they were convinced that their 'Member and Minister'⁵ had been dealt with most unfairly and that their opponents had attempted to usurp authority over their local congregation.⁶

The opposition within the church, however, was able to prevail upon Collier's supporters to agree to another meeting designed to resolve the dispute. Congregations not yet directly involved in the controversy were to be called upon to send messengers to this meeting to provide objective advice to the Southwick church.⁷ According to

¹Sober and Mod. Answer, p.37.

²Ibid., pp.38-39.

³Ibid., pp.40-70.

⁴Ibid., p.69. Cf. also Chapter IX infra.

⁵Narrative, p.7, cf. p.60 supra concerning Collier's ministerial role in the Southwick church.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

Collier and the others¹ who testified to the accuracy of this section of Narrative, the messengers from the other churches had been contacted by the opposition and came to the meeting resolved to decide in favour of Collier's opponents.²

One of the messengers, Walter Penn,³ attempted to have authority granted to the visiting messengers to decide the matter, explaining that their presence would otherwise be useless.⁴ Collier's opposition within the church readily consented to this suggestion, but Collier and his supporters protested.⁵ Collier spoke on the issue and pointed out that Penn and his fellow messengers requested that which the

¹Ibid., p.12. This section of Narrative was signed by Bartholomew Tookey, Thomas Web, Thomas Randal and William Hill as well as Collier. A Bartholomew Tookey was sent with a letter to the Crockerton church, signed by messengers from several churches in October, 1669(cf. p.266n supra). Thomas Web, alias Long served as a deacon of Porton Baptist church in 1655 and was ordained a minister there in 1679(Tucker, 'Porton Baptist church, 1655-85', 56,59) having been elected an elder in 1675(Reeves, 113). He had been licenced to teach in his own house in Amesbury in 1672(Orig. Rec., ii, 1074) and cf. Reeves, 102 for his possible earlier Ranter connections. Thomas Randal could possibly be the husband or relative of the woman in whose house Collier was licensed to preach in 1672(cf. p.59n supra).

²Ibid., p.8.

³Walter Penn was probably assisting the Porton church's cause in Salisbury from 1657 to 1679 and was elected along with Thomas Web as an elder in the Porton church, being ordained in 1679(Reeves, 113). Cf. also Ivimey, History, ii, 582-84 and Tucker, op. cit., 56-61 as well for Penn. In light of the Collier controversy, it is interesting to note that Penn was approved by the Porton church to assist the Southwick church 'at their request, in preaching the Word there, on the next first day fortnight'.(Porton Church Records, p.19, entry dated 5 August, 1677). Penn attended the General Assembly in 1689 as a representative of the Porton church(Narrative of the Proceedings, p.25).

⁴Ibid., pp.8-9.

⁵Narrative, p.9.

'Church could not in honour grant'.¹ He explained that if the church surrendered its authority in this way it would 'cease to be a Church of Christ'.²

Penn persisted with his suggestion, however and Richard Gay, another visiting messenger, supported his efforts.³ When it was clear that their suggestion would not be adopted, they withdrew, held their own meeting and decided the issues in favour of Collier's opposition.⁴ After a sharp exchange with Collier, Penn evidently asserted that the London church⁵ 'was the representative of all the Churches in the Nation', and that this justified their former actions in regard to Collier.⁶ 'By all which doings and sayings', concluded Narrative, 'the prudent may easily discern the Classical, if not the Popish Headship getting up in the Churches'.⁷

Collier and his supporters published Narrative as an appeal to

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid. Richard Gay and his house in English Combe, Somerset were licensed under the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672(Orig. Rec., ii, 1081) and he attended the General Assembly in 1689 as 'Minister' of the Bath-Haycomb church in Somerset(Narrative of the Proceedings, p.23). He had been recommended by Quakers for Justice of the Peace as a moderate(E.S.P., 107).

⁴Ibid., pp.9-10. This account would suggest that Collier's supporters had a majority within the church. Otherwise, his opposition could have won by a vote within the membership without an appeal to outside authority.

⁵Presumably the Devonshire Square church.

⁶Narrative, p.10.

⁷Ibid.

the churches against the injustice and irregularity of the London churches and several surrounding churches' proceedings against them.¹ As part of their appeal they reproduced 'a Letter from Bristol at a Meeting of several from London, and elsewhere',² which presented the charges against Collier.³ This letter was a response to a letter from some in the Southwick church.⁴

The letter from the Bristol meeting was dated 2 August, 1677⁵ and the signatories were Joseph Morton, Samuel Lark,⁶ Alexander Atkins,⁷ Roger Cator,⁸ John Ussel, William Higgins, Daniel Dike, Mauris King,⁹ Andrew Gifford, John Cary,¹⁰ Richard Gay, George Stert,¹¹ John

¹Ibid., pp.11-12.

²Ibid., p.12.

³Ibid., pp.12-16.

⁴Ibid., p.12.

⁵Ibid., p.15.

⁶Possibly this is Sampson Lark, pastor of the church in Lyme from shortly after 1660 until his execution in 1685 in the wake of Monmouth's Rebellion and reportedly a member of the Glasshouse Yard church in London circa 1650(Ivimey, History, i, 237 and ii, 154ff.).

⁷Atkins signed Somerset Confession in 1656 as a representative of the Bridgwater church and later that same year signed the association circular letter from Exeter(Assoc. Rec., 82, 105, 108).

⁸Cator was pastor of the Westbury Leigh church from its inception in 1662(having earlier been a branch of the Southwick church) until his death in 1693(Doel, op. cit., pp.91-93, and Ivimey, History, ii, 587-88).

⁹Morris King was a representative of the Devonshire Square church along with Kiffin and William Clark in 1689 when he attended the General Assembly(Narrative of the Proceedings, p.22).

¹⁰Possibly the John Cary who is mentioned as attending the Western Association meeting at Dorchester, May 1658, if that John Cary's identification with the regicide John Carew is incorrect(Assoc. Rec., 97-98, 108-109. There was also a John Cary who, in his capacity as Justice of the Peace, signed Thomas Salthouse's mittimus(E.S.P., 106-8).

¹¹Possibly the George Stant (?) attended the General Assembly in 1689 as minister of the Wedmore church in Somerset(Narrative of the Proceedings, p.24).

Williams,¹ John Parris, and James Elliot. Narrative appended the notation that Nehemiah Cox 'was chief in this Meeting, though nameless...., probably because they refer so much to his Book in the matter'.² The date and the presence of Dike and Cox suggests that the meeting was held in conjunction with the ordination of Andrew Gifford which Records(Broadmead) records as being done 'by Br. Dike and Br. Cox' the next day.³

Concerning the doctrinal charges against Collier, the Bristol letter defended the labeling of Collier as a heretic, defining heretic as one who had previously professed the Christian faith and then persists in espousing views which subvert fundamental Christian truths.⁴ The views for which they declared him a heretic were his view of Christ's two natures, his denial of original sin and his questioning of eternal punishment for all.⁵

The letter from Bristol is followed by the Southwick church's answer 'as it was sent to the dissenting part of the Church, from whom they received this Bristol Letter'.⁶ Citing both Additional Word and Sober and Mod. Answer, the church's letter refutes the charges not by denying Collier held such views, but by defending them as scriptural.⁷

¹John Williams attended the General Assembly in 1689 as part of the Knolles(East Knoyle) church(cf. Narrative of the Proceedings, p.25 and Reeves, 112).

²Narrative, p.16.

³Records(Broadmead), p.191.

⁴Narrative, pp.13-14.

⁵Ibid., pp.14-15.

⁶Ibid., p.16.

⁷Ibid., pp.16-23. Cf. also Chapters VII-IX infra.

Obviously, Collier had convinced his fellow church members of the correctness of his stance.

That the dispute on doctrine continued is evidenced by the publication of Collier's Confession(1678).¹ In the confession Collier reiterated the views expressed in Body of Divinity, Additional Word, and Sober and Mod. Answer² as well as attacking Confession(1677).³

In 1682 Collier's Compendious Discourse appeared, which was an even more detailed refutation of Calvinist doctrine and explanation of his own views. That the disputes with opponents both within the area and beyond continued was intimated by the fact that Collier mentioned Elisha Coles's and John Owen's defences of election and limited atonement⁴ and stated that he would not have mentioned these works 'had they not been sent in by some designedly to lead us aside from that which we believe to be the truth of the Gospel'.⁵ Collier wrote that in Compendious Discourse he had 'stated the truth about these matters, to the best of mine understanding from Scripture light, which if true' would cause both Coles's and Owen's books to 'fall to the ground'.⁶

¹Cf. pp.69-70 supra. Collier once again employed the General Baptist Francis Smith as his publisher.

²Confession(1678), pp.1-41.

³Cf. p.70 supra.

⁴Cf. p.70 supra. Cf. D.N.B., iv, 775 for Coles.

⁵Compendious Discourse, p.xv. It is interesting to note that Cox quotes extensively from Owen's Salus Electorum in Vind. Veritatis, pp.42-48. Cox cited Owen's The Doctrine of the Saints' Perseverance Explained and Confirmed(London, 1654) as well(pp.100, 103).

⁶Ibid.

Collier's last work, the posthumously published Self-Denial¹ also testified to at least the effects of his controversy with the Calvinists. Published with Self-Denial and designed to serve as a balance with it was Short Confession.² Short Confession in large measure reflects the teachings of Collier's post-Restoration writings. Several 'Baptized Congregations in the West, in the County of Somerset, or near adjacent,'³ brought forth Short Confession.

Because we are looked upon as a People degenerated from almost all other Baptized Congregations(at least in our parts of the Nation); So that they...are even afraid to have affinity with us, in the Work, Worship and Service of the Lord; which did incline us to appear in Publick, after this manner: To give a short Account of our Faith in the great Things of the Gospel: that so, if possible, we may have more Acquaintance, Acceptance, and Fellowship with these Churches of Jesus Christ that we believe are one with us, in the most material things of the Gospel, both relating to Matters of Faith and Practice: who, it may be, do carry themselves strange for want of a right understanding of our Faith:...

Short Confession rejected limited atonement, total depravity, election, perseverance, reprobation, and justification by faith alone.⁵ This accounted for many of the area's Particular Baptist

¹Cf. pp.5-7, 70 supra.

²Cf. p.5n supra. Self-Denial encouraged one to right practice and Short Confession to faith 'so that Faith and Practice necessary to Salvation' were united together(Self-Denial, p.ii).

³Short Confession, t.p.

⁴Short Confession, p.2.

⁵Ibid., passim.

churches withdrawing from the churches producing Short Confession. Having expressed their desire for more fellowship with their estranged Particular Baptist brethren, they also made an appeal to the General Baptists for increased fellowship.

In the treatise appended to Short Confession¹ it was explained that 'forasmuch as many of our Brethren, that(with us) do own the general Grace of God to the World, do differ from us about the matter of Laying on of Hands; We shall endeavour briefly to give our Reasons, why we cannot own and practice it...as they do'.² This was done because they desired 'more Christian-Fellowship, in the Work, Worship, and Service of our God' with the General Baptists.³ They expressed their sorrow that differences concerning the laying on of hands should 'lie as a Bar in the way of our Christian-fellowship with those whom we so highly honour and esteem' and with whom they were 'so near...in the most material Points of Christianity'.⁴

¹Cf. Appendix A, #17n..

²A Treatise Concerning The Laying On of Hands(London, 1691), p.1. That the General Baptists are intended here is clear both from the reference to general grace and the laying on of hands. The practice of the laying on of hands on all baptized believers(as opposed to the Particular Baptists who commonly employed the practice only in the ordination of church officers) was the virtually universal practice in General Baptist circles(cf. An Orthodox Creed of 1678, Article XXXII, and Payne, 'Baptists and Christian Initiation', 150-52.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p.2.

Was the Southwick church one of the churches putting forth Short Confession with its rejection of 'Antinomianism, and Personal Reprobation',¹ and its appeal to those espousing 'general Grace'?² The surviving records do not furnish enough evidence to provide a definite answer to this question. However, Self-Denial's publication with Short Confession certainly indicates a close relationship between Collier and the churches producing the confession.³ Also, although Southwick sent men to the Particular Baptist General Assembly in 1689, both representatives, John Layes(or Lawes) and Joseph Holton, later were connected with the Trowbridge wing of the Southwick congregation which may have become a separate church as early as 1697 with doctrinal differences being a contributing factor.⁴

Although Southwick ultimately remained an orthodox Particular Baptist church, the emergence and later history of the Conigre (Trowbridge) church from within the Southwick church indicates the possibility that many of those influenced by Collier's teachings may have later gravitated toward the Conigre assembly.⁵

¹Short Confession, t.p.

²A Treatise Concerning The Laying on of Hands, p.1.

³Cf. pp.5n, 70n supra, and Appendix A#17n infra.

⁴Reeves, 126 and Doel, op. cit., pp.32-35, 100. Both Holton and Lawes gave evidences of Arian tendencies in later years(Doel, op. cit., pp.34, 100-105).

⁵Doel, op cit., pp.35-36, 100-105. Cf. Ibid., pp.35-36 for the suggestion that the Conigre church may have continued to hold services in Southwick for those desiring to continue under the pastoral care of John Davisson, pastor of the Conigre church after the

It should be remembered that the Conigre group was part of the one Southwick congregation during Collier's lifetime. This could indicate that Collier retained the considerable support for his beliefs within the Southwick membership which Narrative and Confession(1678) reveal as present in the late 1670's.

Given these factors, in the absence of contradictory evidence, it could be assumed that Collier remained in fellowship with the Southwick church until his death and that many within the fellowship continued to embrace his teachings. If so, then there would have been considerable support for Short Confession within the total Southwick membership in 1691.

original Southwick church's division and also later connected with Socinianism(Ibid., p.32).

VII. THE BIBLE, AUTHORITY, GOD
AND THE HOLY SPIRIT

Thomas Collier, unlike most seventeenth century authors of theological works and treatises, did not have a background of theological training at Oxford or Cambridge. Though uneducated in a formal sense, Collier's theology was not created in a vacuum. The numerous controversies spawned by the extraordinary era in which he lived helped shape his theology and his participation in many of those disputes often both influenced and revealed the changing nature of those views.

Were there other factors which influenced his beliefs? Unfortunately, Collier has left little record in his writings of those authors or groups which might have significantly shaped his beliefs. In fact, Collier claimed repeatedly in his works that the Scripture was the source of his beliefs. The Bible, understood with spiritual assistance, was his absolute standard and authority.¹

The Bible and Authority

Collier's belief that the Bible was the source of religious truth and was God's accurate word to man hardly set him apart from the overwhelming majority of seventeenth century Englishmen. It

¹If Collier did study standard theological works to any significant degree, perhaps his belief that Scripture alone should be the source and rule of all religious truth, led him to refrain from citing those authors he may have read in the course of his career. Alternatively, he may have realized that if he attempted to quote theological authorities with men such as Thomas Hall, his lack of formal training would place him at a decided disadvantage.

in fact placed him firmly within the Puritan tradition.¹

To say that Collier believed the Bible and employed it as his standard does not explain his numerous and fundamental disagreements with many of his non-Baptist Puritan brethren (or his differences with his fellow Particular Baptists), both of whom affirmed an equally high view of Scripture and its authority.

As was the case with virtually all of his contemporaries, Collier viewed the Bible from a particular perspective, which significantly coloured his views. By what remain unknown events and means Collier had embraced a Particular Baptist theological perspective by 1644, which meant that he approached the Scripture in a certain way, giving primacy to the New rather than the Old Testament. The basic epistemological decisions which Collier made in becoming a Particular Baptist explain his disagreements with the Presbyterians and the Independents.²

The intermittent differences of opinion which plagued Collier's relationships with his Particular Baptist colleagues emerged at least partially from his lack of formal theological education. He had not been rigorously trained in any theological system, or taught the necessity of any such consistent interpretative structure. Unfettered by the constraints of any comprehensive system of interpretation, and emboldened by the firm conviction that each saint

¹Cf. pp. 152ff. and 205-07 supra.

²Collier, like most of his contemporaries, was almost certainly unaware that he approached the Scripture with any presuppositions.

could interpret God's word for himself with the Holy Spirit's promised assistance, men like Collier were much more likely to produce an erratic, unpredictable theology than university-trained men such as John Owen or Hanserd Knollys. Collier was seldom inconsistent on the subject of the Bible and its authority however, and he certainly gave no indication in his earliest works of departing from the view of Scripture expressed in Confession(1644).

Although it should be remembered that both Confession(1644) and Confession(1677) were produced in a milieu designed to promote theological orthodoxy rather than to reveal doctrinal distinctives,¹ they can be taken as indicative of where the majority of Particular Baptists were located on the theological landscape in the mid and later seventeenth century. Consequently, they are viewed as representative of at least the 'majority' Particular Baptist position on theological issues and it is with them that Collier's views are compared.

Confession(1644) and the Bible

The Particular Baptists' first confession, produced in part to dissociate themselves from the taint of supposed Anabaptist excesses, was clear in its stance on Scripture both by statement and usage.² While not devoting a separate article to the subject,

¹Cf. pp.220-23 and 267-68 supra.

²More attention is afforded Confession(1644)'s doctrine of the Bible than on other issues because unlike Confession(1677), there is not one particular article dealing with the subject.

Confession(1644) was permeated with a belief that Scripture was God's truth. The confession's first articles expounded the doctrine of God and of man's fall. It is an omniscient and trustworthy God who brings His decrees to pass. The confession's third article explained that this God had revealed Himself through 'sayings' which when properly understood 'alwayes agree' with God's truth.¹

Having dwelt with man's fall,² the confession next spoke of knowing God through Christ³ and revealed the source of such knowledge:

The Rule of this Knowledge, Faith, and Obedience, concerning the worship and service of God, and all other Christian duties, is not mans inventions, opinions, devices, lawes, constitutions, or traditions unwritten whatsoever, but onely the word of⁴ God contained in the Canonickall Scriptures.

Article VIII followed and firmly related the Scriptural revelation to Christ and His offices. Christ in His prophetic office had 'perfectly revealed the whole will of God...that is needful for his servants to know, beleeeve, and obey',⁵ thus removing man's ignorance of God.⁶

¹Confession(1644), Article III.

²Ibid., Articles IV and V.

³Ibid., Article VI.

⁴Ibid., Article VII.

⁵Ibid., Article XV.

⁶Ibid., Article XIV.

Having intimately connected the Father and the Son to the revelatory process and its product, the Bible, the confession next spoke of the Holy Spirit's role:

That Faith is the gift of God wrought in the hearts of the elect by the Spirit of God, whereby they come to see, know, and beleieve the truth of the Scriptures, & not onely so, but the excellencie of them above all other writings and things in the world, as they hold forth the glory of God in his attributes, the excellency of Christ in his nature and offices, and the power of the fulnesse of the Spirit in its workings and operations; and thereupon are inabled to cast the weight of their soules upon this truth thus beleaved.¹

The believer, having been regenerated, came to understand God in His fulness as Father, Son, and Spirit as revealed in the Bible. He had come to what men of a later century would call an experiential knowledge of the truth of the Scripture to which he had previously given intellectual assent.

Further, Confession(1644) was replete with Scripture references which were viewed by its framers as proving the confession's pronouncements. Also, the individual congregations were 'all to walk by one and the same Rule' and it was evident that reference was being made to the Scripture.² Finally, lest anyone be mistaken, the confession's concluding article reaffirmed its commitment to the Bible:

And if any take this that we have said, to be heresie, then doe wee with the Apostle freely

¹Ibid., Article XXII.

²Ibid., Article XLVII.

confesse, that after the way which they call heresie, worship we the God of our Fathers, beleeving all things which are written in the Law and in the Prophets and Apostles, desiring from our soules to disclaime all heresies and opinions which are not after Christ.¹

Collier's Aberration and Recovery

Certaine Queries and Three Great Queries, Collier's earliest published works, contained no hint of deviation from the view of Scripture expressed in Confession (1644). Certaine Queries, eschewing any source other than Scripture, sought to answer questions concerning the nature and form of a true church and the civil magistrate's relationship to that church.² Collier called for Parliament to dismiss the Westminster Assembly because there was 'no rule in the Booke of GOD for such an Assembly'.³ Bringing the churches into conformity with the Bible's 'certaine rule',⁴ was to be a continuing preoccupation of Collier and his Particular Baptist colleagues in the Western Association and elsewhere.

However, Collier by his own admission passed through a phase (circa 1647-1651) where his view of Scripture was less than satisfactory from a Particular Baptist perspective. In 1657 he admitted

¹Ibid., Article LII [sic], incorrectly numbered in the original, actually it is Article LIII.

²Certaine Queries, passim, and p.31 supra.

³Ibid., p.27.

⁴Right Constitution, p.iii, cf. p.247 supra. Cf. also Exaltation, p.243, and pp.181-87 and pp.247ff. supra.

that he had earlier been in error on several issues including 'the truth and authority of the Scriptures'.¹ He explained that he had been 'for a season deceived' by Satan and engaged in such 'Allegorizing of the Scriptures...that...much of the precious truth of Scripture, was turned out of doors'.²

Collier believed that his temporary adoption of an erroneous view of the Bible and its authority had led him into other doctrinal errors, which Collier confessed were contained in Marrow, Glory of Christ, and First General Epistle.³

First General Epistle contained Collier's most explicit statement questioning scriptural authority and accuracy. Collier declared that he did not doubt the Bible's truth and that his purpose in writing was

not to fetch off any from the Letter: but rather to informe you of the mystery of the Law in the Spirit, that as the same Spirit working in you, may deliver you into its own light and glory.⁴

Thus, Collier asserted that the written word was 'not

¹Personal Appearing, p.iii, cf. also pp.203-04 supra.

²Ibid., p.iii. Twenty years later, Collier's response to Cox's attacks on his eschatological views revealed that he still rejected the allegorical method of interpretation. Dismissing Cox's 'Metaphorical' interpretation, Collier declared, 'I must believe the Scripture' and further warned that 'turning the Scripture into Allegories and Metaphors' was 'the way to lose the truth thereof' (Sober and Mod. Answer, p.55).

³Ibid., p.iii and pp.203-04 supra.

⁴First General Epistle, pp.42-43.

sufficient in it selfe' to impart saving knowledge of God, apart from the Spirit's ministry.¹ He complained that many made the Bible an idol, elevating it above the Spirit.² To this point he had said nothing which was in disagreement with Westminster Confession's statement on the Bible.³

Collier seemed to endanger the Puritan emphasis on the Scripture's primacy as an objective touchstone⁴ for all truth and experience when he wrote that men should 'judge of the Letter by the Spirit, and not of the Spirit by the Letter'.⁵ Curiously, Collier's most damaging statement about the Bible was made as he focused attention on those holding too low a view of Scripture

looking on it as a thing of nought, as from the flesh, and not as from the Spirit, questioning the truth of it, not acknowledging it to be, as it is in it selfe, a Declaration of God, who is Truth: Not that I minde every letter or circumstance in it, but for the substance of it, as it declares purely the God of Truth.⁶

Collier added that he was aware of the 'probability' that the Scripture had been corrupted, even in the original languages because of its long period of transmission by 'Papists'.⁷ Consequently, only when one judged the Bible by the Spirit could truth

¹Ibid., p.28.

²Ibid., p.29.

³Cf. pp.206-07 supra.

⁴Cf. pp.207-11 supra.

⁵First General Epistle, p.31.

⁶Ibid., pp.31-32.

⁷Ibid., p.32. Espousing a rather novel argument, Collier asserted that the Bible's adherence to 'strict rules of Grammar'

be discerned.¹ Collier thus concluded:

I can look upon the Scripture, and see much glorious Truth in it, I cannot but by experience set to my seal, that it is Truth: not that it is any Article of my Faith to believe every word or circumstance there written, but what Truth God hath made known to me, that I must acknowledge....²

Collier revealed more than he knew concerning his view of the Bible. He stated both here and later that he had not intended 'in the least to derogate from the truth of Scripture'.³ However, although Cox's later contention that First General Epistle revealed Collier's 'contempt of the holy Scriptures'⁴ was too harsh, Collier, by his own later acknowledgment, had here enunciated a view of biblical authority which fell short both of the prevailing Particular Baptist stand⁵ and his own later view.

Collier's stance at this early point in his career diverged

in the Greek and Hebrew texts proved that the texts had been corrupted by men (Ibid., pp.35-36). He reasoned that the Bible's original authors, 'poore Fisher-men, and the like' could not have been 'as well furnished with the Smoake of the bottomlesse pit, as University men' or 'that they spake as truly the Language of the Beast, as men now adaies' (Ibid., p.36).

¹Ibid., p.33.

²Ibid., p.33.

³Ibid., p.36 and cf. Personal Appearing, p.iii.

⁴Vind. Veritatis, p.vii.

⁵Cf. pp.289ff. supra and Confession(1677) which commenced with the following statement: 'The Holy Scripture is the only sufficient, certain, and infallible rule of all saving Knowledge, Faith, and Obedience' (Confession(1677), Chapter I, p.248, this opening statement being the only addition which was made to the Westminster Confession's article on the Scriptures).

from the prevailing Puritan view¹ both in assigning the Spirit a more ascendant role and in suggesting error in the text of Scripture itself. The question of the extent of the Spirit's role in First General Epistle is underscored when contrasted with Collier's position during the Quaker controversy. There he asserted that the Spirit worked 'in and according to' the Scripture,² a limitation not made here.³

Concerning the question of error, by 1654 Collier argued strenuously against the corruption of Scripture, refuting some of the very arguments he himself had put forward in First General Epistle.⁴ From 1651⁵ onward Collier was again insisting in the old way that the Scripture was the only rule and authority for Christians. In 1656 Somerset Confession owned the Scripture 'as a rule and direction unto us both for faith and practice',⁶ and in 1659 Gospel Blessedness declared

That the Scripture is the true and faithfull
word of God, and is so to be believed....

¹Cf. Westminster Confession, Chapter I and pp.207ff. supra.

²Looking-Glasse, p.15, cf. pp.207ff. Cf. Somerset Confession, Article XIX, as well, which stated 'THAT the Spirit is administered by or through the word of faith preached'.

³In fact, Collier asserted that the 'Spirit...is the alone Rule of a spirituall Christian, although a Rule without may be usefull to the weake' (First General Epistle, p.39).

⁴Right Constitution, pp.60-64.

⁵Cf. Chapter III, passim, supra.

⁶Somerset Confession, Article XVIII.

And that all believers actions are, or ought¹
to be ordered according to the Scriptures....¹

Even as Collier drifted away from Particular Baptist (and in some instances Protestant) orthodoxy in his later years, he continued to affirm a high view of the Bible. In Body of Divinity he proclaimed that 'the Scripture alone is the ground of our Faith',² encouraged all Christians 'to bring their minds to the Scripture, and not the Scripture to their minds',³ and sought to prove

the holy Scriptures to be the Word & Will of God, the holy...Truth of God, it being a matter of concernment for Christians to be established in, next to believing that there is a God, and indeed we cannot savingly believe that God is, unless we believe the Truth of his Word, that it is the Divine Revelation of his Will, relating both to matters of Faith and Practice, in order to our spiritual and eternal well-being.⁴

In Sober and Mod. Answer, under attack from Cox and the London Particular Baptist leaders, Collier quoted Ussher's Body of Divinitie to the effect that God's word did not contain contradictions.⁵ Five years later Collier sounded the same theme declaring the 'Holy Scriptures to be the alone ground and rule of Christian

¹Gospel Blessedness, p.108.

²Body of Divinity, p.24.

³Ibid., p.vi.

⁴Ibid., p.48.

⁵Sober and Mod. Answer, p.1.

faith'.¹ In concluding Compendious Discourse he described the Bible as 'the divine and revealed Word and Will of God' and argued that anyone rejecting that premise 'denieth the ground of all Christian Faith and Religion'.²

As noted earlier,³ Collier viewed the Bible from a decidedly New Testament perspective and this figured prominently in his ecclesiology.⁴ Collier changed his mind at various intervals throughout his career about what the Bible taught, but except for one brief period early in his career it was his supreme authority as the Spirit gave him light to understand its teachings.

God and the Spirit

Collier's views concerning the nature and attributes of God were within the realm of orthodoxy throughout most of his career, the one exception being during the phase which produced the General Epistles and Heads and Substance. His orthodoxy concerning God and the Trinity was testified to by Somerset Confession,⁵ Gospel Blessedness,⁶ Body of Divinity,⁷ Confession(1678)⁸ and Compendious

¹Compendious Discourse, p.121. ²Ibid.,200.

³Cf. Chapters III, IV, and V supra.

⁴Cf. Chapter IX infra. Collier consistently maintained the primacy of the New Testament for faith and practice as illustrated from his statement in Confession(1678) that 'the doctrine of the Gospel... is the alone Ground and Rule both of Faith and Practice'(p.15).

⁵Somerset Confession, Articles I, XVIII, and XIX.

⁶Gospel Blessedness, p.105.

⁷Body of Divinity, pp.1-47.

⁸Confession(1678), p.3.

Discourse.¹

In Body of Divinity Collier revealed a continued reluctance to employ the word person with reference to the Godhead as being unscriptural language:

That there is...three Persons in the Divine Essence is a Language I do not yet understand, is made use of in the Scriptures; therefore I avoid the terms, though I am not willing to question, or doubt, but that those who use it... do it thereby to express the Truth of the Scripture-distinction in the Trinity, i.e. that there is Father, Son and Spirit₂ in unity of Nature, and is but one God....²

This did not prevent him from enunciating what many would probably have considered an acceptable Trinitarian doctrine

The sum of all is this, That God is One, Eternal, Infinite, Substantial Being, distinguished into Father, Son, and holy Spirit, and in all there are Divine and Distinct Relative Properties and Operations, yet in all ₃no one wills, no one acts, without the other.³

Earlier, Collier's reluctance to use such terminology led him to use language in First General Epistle to describe God that would be much more difficult to contrive as Trinitarian, being at least susceptible to modalistic interpretation.⁴ In the controversy which produced Heads and Substance Collier betrayed a serious lack

¹Compendious Discourse, pp.200-03.

²Body of Divinity, p.43. Cf. also Sober and Mod. Answer, p.7.

³Ibid., p.44.

⁴First General Epistle, pp.3-12, especially pp.7-9. He was also much more intolerant of those employing the term person to explain the Godhead, implying that they were blasphemers(Ibid., p.8). Cf. also Heads and Substance, pp.11-12 and Conference, pp.7-8.

of understanding of the formal theological distinctions involved in Trinitarian theology and once again exposed the spiritualizing tendencies which he later repudiated.¹

That Collier maintained an orthodox stance regarding the first and third persons of the Trinity during most of his career was indirectly witnessed to by the fact that his opponents, who continued to attack what they considered to be his unacceptable views on other matters, did not insert the doctrines of the Trinity or the Holy Spirit into the debate after the early 1650's.

Collier affirmed the deity of the Spirit but was more concerned with the nature of the Spirit's work than with a detailed understanding of the nature of His person.² A similar preoccupation was evidenced in Collier's writings on other subjects as well. He was much more concerned with Christ's saving work than with speculation about His nature or His relation to the other members of the Godhead.³

However, the place where Collier's statements were most open to question during the period of the General Epistles and Heads and

¹Conference's version of the debate even more clearly illustrated the gulf of misunderstanding as well as genuine disagreement between Collier and his more formally trained opponents.

²Consequently, the Spirit's work is dealt with further in relation to various subjects such as man, salvation, ecclesiology, and eschatology.

³In these chapters an attempt is made to reflect Collier's emphasis, with more attention being devoted to those theological subjects which he stressed as a consequence of his preference or because of the controversy they aroused.

Substance was Christology,¹ a subject which was to arouse debate again in the 1670's. It is this crucial subject upon which attention is next focused in attempting to understand Collier's theology.

¹Collier's later disavowal of his theology of that period acknowledged this, cf. p.204 supra.

VIII. CHRISTOLOGY AND SOTERIOLOGY

Collier's doctrine of the person of Christ was attacked by opponents at two different points in his career. Collier's earliest works, while not directed to this issue, betrayed no hint of any deviation from orthodoxy concerning Christ's person. In Exaltation he spoke of 'Jesus Christ, in whom dwells the fulnesse of the God-head bodily'.¹

The Suspect Years

However, when Collier spoke of the second person of the Trinity in First General Epistle he used language which left him open to the charge of acknowledging less than Christ's full deity.² This impression was enhanced by Collier's assertion that God was 'in the Saints, as he was in Christ'.³ Such statements caused many to deride Collier as a heretic.⁴ Cox cited First General Epistle almost thirty years later in charging Collier with teaching that 'Christ is no more then a Christian'.⁵

In the debates which produced Heads and Substance Collier, obviously confused by the theological subtleties of his opponents, made several statements with significant Christological implications.

¹Exaltation, p.iii.

²First General Epistle, pp.12-14.

³Ibid., p.15. Cf. Third General Epistle, pp.31-105 as well.

⁴Cf. Heads and Substance; Conference; and pp.183-84 supra.

⁵Vind. Veritatis, p.vii.

Collier, rejecting all argumentation but Scripture proof,¹ argued that he had never 'denyed Jesus Christ to be the eternall Son of God, but that he was so by generation'.² Collier explained that he believed the Son 'lay hid in silence in the Father' until manifested and that 'begotten' meant 'the bringing forth of that word of wisdom and power which was before all beginning with God'.³ To Collier, it was those insisting on the generation of the Son who 'denyed the eternity of the Son'.⁴ If Christ were eternal then he could not be generated, reasoned Collier, but instead was brought forth at the Incarnation.⁵

By 1656 Collier was employing much more orthodox language concerning the person of Christ both in Somerset Confession⁶ and in his encounters with the Quakers.⁷ He further affirmed his orthodoxy on the subject in 1659's Gospel Blessedness.⁸

The Later Controversy

By the time Body of Divinity appeared, however, an altered form

¹Conference, p.3.

²Ibid., p.2.

³Heads and Substance, p.4. Cf. also Conference, pp.2-5.

⁴Ibid., p.4.

⁵Ibid. Cf. Heads and Substance, pp.8-9, 11-12 and Conference, pp.7-11, 17-19 as well for other Christological aspects of this debate.

⁶Somerset Confession, Articles II, XII, XIII.

⁷Cf. Chapter IV supra.

⁸Gospel Blessedness, pp.105-06.

of the Christological problem had reappeared in Collier's theology.

Collier argued

that where-ever the Scripture speaks of Jesus Christ the Son of God, it intends him as in both Natures, not as two, but as one Son, whether it be in his creating, preserving, ruling, judging, or saving redeeming power, it's always in relation to the Union of the two Natures, as God-Man and Man-God, and so he was and¹ is the Son of God, so not two, but one Son.

Reacting to the exceptions of Cox and the London leaders Collier explained his view more fully in Additional Word² and Sober and Mod. Answer. He advanced the concept that

Christ was(and is) the Son of God in the divine and humane nature only....his divine nature really existing in and with the Father, and his humane nature in counsel and will, so as to be in time:...that Jesus Christ came into the World in time, the same and no other....was so known...and accounted by the Father, who in his eternal knowledge could, and doubtless did realise him to himself in his whole person in which he was to be in time.³

Thus Collier did not believe that Christ's human nature existed in any tangible sense eternally, but that God always had perceived and experienced Him as He was to be after the Incarnation. Collier concluded that only by believing 'that God created all things by Jesus Christ, the human nature being considered in the eternal will

¹Body of Divinity, pp.30-31.

²Vind. Veritatis, p.7ff.

³Sober and Mod. Answer, pp.8-16.

and work, so as to be united in time'¹ could Christ's immutability be preserved.² In further explaining his position Collier frequently illustrated that he was no longer reluctant to use 'begetting' terminology in relation to the Son.³

It should be noted that Collier's concept bore similarities to his earlier view with the idea of Christ's human nature always existing 'so as to be in time' replacing the idea of the Son who was hidden 'in silence in the Father',⁴ before the Incarnation. The 1670's concept is much more refined and well-developed, but its antecedents in the earlier concept can be discerned. This is significant in that most of Collier's controversial views in the 1640's and early 1650's bore little similarity to those of his views causing controversy in the post-Restoration era. Once he had repudiated the earlier views, they usually did not surface again in altered form as was the case here.

When the Londoners brought charges of heresy against Collier in 1677, one of the accusations levelled at him was that he believed

that Christ is the Son of God only as considered in both Natures, which...doth subvert the Faith concerning the Person of Christ, with respect to his eternal subsisting in the Divine Nature, in the incommunicable property of a Son...⁵

¹Ibid., p.16.

²Body of Divinity, pp.36-38.

³Cf. Ibid., pp.30ff.; Sober and Mod. Answer, pp.8-16.

⁴Cf. p.303 *supra*.

⁵Narrative, p.14.

The reply of Collier's supporters in Southwick revealed the extent to which Collier had catechized them in his theological persuasion.

They testified to Collier's absolute belief in Christ's full and eternal deity.¹ They added that Christ crucified and resurrected was 'the foundation of Gospel-Faith'² and that as a consequence they found no scriptural warrant for insisting on a doctrine of 'the incommunicable Property of a Son in the Divine Nature only'.³ It was the Christ of whom Collier spoke upon whom salvation depended and thus they found 'nothing of Error, much less of Heresie in this matter'.⁴ Collier continued to proclaim this view of Christ's person in Confession(1678) and Compendious Discourse.⁵

The Gospel and Election

From the very first stages of Collier's career one of the most consistent tenets of his faith was a belief in salvation by grace through faith in the sacrifice of Jesus Christ on the cross. It was only through Christ's blood atonement that peace between God and sinful man was possible.⁶ If Christ had not borne the sins of men on the cross there would be no pardon available for any man.⁷

¹Ibid., p.17.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p.18.

⁴Ibid., p.19.

⁵Cf. Confession(1678), pp.4-5 and Compendious Discourse, pp.201-02. Cf. Short Confession, pp.5-6 for a further continuation of the view espoused by Collier.

⁶Exaltation, pp.16-18.

⁷Ibid., pp.34-36.

By 1645 at the latest Collier had enthusiastically embraced the doctrine of election.¹ He apparently did make one slight alteration in his position. In Three Great Queries he would not acknowledge that Christ died for any other than the elect.² However, by 1647 he believed that Christ died for all men in that in His death he had borne the sin of all the world. Thus all men were saved in an 'external' sense 'from the present curse and death pronounced, and so the whole world have a being in Christ, and a redemption, a salvation, a peace...a mercy that they are not sensible of'.³

Collier quickly added that none can accept Christ's freely offered salvation unless enabled by the Spirit's intercession and power. Only those 'beloved of God from everlasting' are drawn to Christ.⁴ Consequently, 'all externally partake' of God's salvation from some of the effects of sin's curse on the world, but 'internally, onely believers',⁵ partake.

¹Cf. p.32 supra, and Certaine Queries, pp.10, 17, 20.

²Three Great Queries, p.18-19.

³Marrow, p.19, citing Col. i.20. This change in position was truly more apparent than real because in Three Great Queries he had stated that God had placed the sins of unbelievers as well as believers on Christ(p.19). Consequently, the basis for the 'external' salvation with which Marrow was concerned was present, but the possible implication not made explicit.

⁴Ibid., p.20.

⁵Ibid., p.21. Cf. Solt, Saints in Arms, p.39 citing Thomas Gataker, A Mistake, or Misconstruction Removed(London, 1646), p.26, in response to Collier's Marrow. Cf. p.235 supra for similar sentiments expressed by the Western Association.

Collier's belief that God had elected those who were to be saved and they only would be drawn savingly to Christ remained constant right through the phase of his career where it has been seen that so many other doctrines were questioned. Both Second General Epistle¹ and Third General Epistle² embraced this doctrine.

In 1651, in the midst of denying the 'satisfaction' theory of the atonement,³ Collier revealed that his belief in election continued unabated. He had objected to the satisfaction concept in order to stress that God's redemption of man was 'purely from the Father's Love'.⁴ In supporting his position he explained that God

sheds abroad his love and peace in the hearts
of his secret hidden ones, that so they might
come to be possessed with...that redemption,
that peace and love which was purposed by the
Father and made manifest in the Son for them.⁵

In his confrontation with Hall and throughout the period of the Interregnum Collier continued to embrace election again and again.⁶ It was one of the few constants of the first two decades of his career.

Reprobation

Collier's views on election were within the boundaries of

¹Second General Epistle, pp.33-34, 45.

²Third General Epistle, p.24.

³Conference, pp.12-13.

⁴Heads and Substance, p.9.

⁵Ibid., p.10.

⁶Cf. Pulpit-Guard Routed, p.10; Font-Guard Routed, pp.21, 25, 32-24; Somerset Confession, Articles IX and X; Gospel Blessedness, pp. 31, 42, 60, 62.

orthodoxy of both Confession(1644)¹ and Confession(1677)² during these years.³ Collier also held a view of reprobation which closely paralleled those confessions. In Three Great Queries Collier shied away from the Westminster Confession's doctrine of double predestination and defined it in contrast to Election as follows:

That God before he made the World he saw man fallen, he intending to make Man mutable, and seeing man fallen, he takes out of the Lumpe of mankind, a certaine number for himselfe, in whom he intended to manifest his Grace, and to glorifie his Mercy, through Christ, this I call Election, and to leave the rest in a lost undone condition...not intending ever to help them out of that Condition, they have now cast themselves into, this is Reprobation, God foreseeing the Creatures sinne and fall resolving there to leave them.⁴

In Marrow, two years later, Collier expressed similar sentiments, stating that God chose His elect, 'leaving others to believe if they would or could'.⁵

Both Confession(1644) and Somerset Confession revealed the same hesitancy concerning double predestination or reprobation since neither confession mentioned it in its articles on election. This is particularly significant in regard to Confession(1644) where

¹Cf. Confession(1644), Articles XXI and XXII.

²Cf. Confession(1677), Chapter III.

³However, Collier's statement that 'nothing(on God's part) hinders the eternal salvation of all, with relation to the purchase, or price paid'(Marrow, p.21), is not in complete agreement with the concept of limited atonement or particular redemption.

⁴Three Great Queries, pp.19-21.

⁵Marrow, p.21.

Article III concludes with God 'leaving the rest in their sinne to their just condemnation, to the praise of his Justice'.¹

Confession(1677) omitted explicit references to reprobation contained in the documents of which it was derivative, Westminster Confession and Savoy Declaration. Confession(1677) replaced those confessions' 'and others fore-ordained to everlasting death',² with 'others being left to act in their sin to their just condemnation'.³ Both Westminster Confession and Savoy Declaration contain the following segment omitted from Confession(1677):

The rest of mankind God was pleased,
according to the unsearchable counsel of
his own will, whereby He extendeth or withholdeth mercy, as He pleaseth, for the
glory of His sovereign power over His
creatures, to pass by; and to ordain them₄
to dishonour and wrath, for their sin....

Avowal of election symbolized the Particular Baptists' acceptance of the other main soteriological tenets of seventeenth century English Calvinism.⁵ Inevitably, this led them, and Collier to view man as cursed by original sin and in desperate need of the Holy

¹True Confession's article 3, upon which Confession(1644)'s article is based, retained a concluding sentence making double predestination explicit(Cf. Lumpkin, Confessions, p.83). Cf. also p.222 supra concerning Confession(1644)'s relationship to True Confession.

²Westminster Confession, Chapter III, iii, 95.

³Confession(1677), Chapter III, 3.

⁴Westminster Confession, Chapter III, vii, 96, and Savoy Declaration, Chap. III, vii, 80.

⁵Cf. Confession(1644), passim.

Spirit's direct intervention to convict and regenerate.¹ Aside from a brief period in which he tended to confuse the role of Christ and the Spirit in the indwelling of believers,² Collier maintained this orthodoxy through the entire Interregnum.

That Collier had moved away from any hint of heterodoxy on the question of the Spirit's indwelling and ministry in the believer's life was signified by Right Constitution,³ Somerset Confession,⁴ and Gospel Blessedness⁵ as well as the books he produced in his encounters with the Quakers.⁶

Calvinism Abandoned

With the appearance of Body of Divinity in 1674 it was apparent that the doctrinal position with which Collier had entered the Restoration had changed. The publication in the following three years of Additional Word (1676) and Sober and Mod. Answer (1677) indicated that the drift away from Calvinistic modes of thought had accelerated.⁷

¹Ibid., Articles IV, V, and XXII.

²Cf. pp.263-67 supra concerning Collier's changed position on this issue as reflected in his debates with the Quakers. Cf. also Marrow, pp.ii, 35ff.; New Creation, p.9; First General Epistle, pp.17ff., Second General Epistle, pp.iii-v, 60; Third General Epistle, pp.36-38, 65ff.; and Heads and Substance, pp.13-17.

³Right Constitution, pp.60-64.

⁴Somerset Confession, Article XVIII.

⁵Gospel Blessedness, pp.10-11.

⁶Cf. Chapter IV supra.

⁷Cf. pp.266, 275-76 supra.

The rebuttal of Calvinist concepts of election and reprobation was to become a main theme of Collier's works for the rest of his life.

Election and Perseverance

Collier argued more forcefully than previously in Body of Divinity that Christ had died for all men.¹ Collier asserted that God had elected some to salvation, but had provided 'both Means and Helps sufficient' for others to be saved, if they would.² Collier believed that God had elected some to salvation because of 'the Covenant, and Contract between the Father and the Son' in order that Christ's death would not be for nought.³ Collier reasoned that God had foreseen that man's sinful state subsequent to the fall was such that none would willingly accept the salvation purchased by Christ.⁴ Consequently, to uphold His and the Son's honour, God had elected some before the creation.⁵

Buried in the middle of Body of Divinity was the following crucial statement:

God's Electing some, that he might not lose his design wholly in the restauration work, is no bar to hinder any, because he affords means and helps to all; so that

¹Body of Divinity, pp.117-18.

²Ibid., pp.120-21.

³Ibid., p.120.

⁴Ibid., pp.243, 447.

⁵Ibid., pp.446-47.

men shall one day acknowledge, that God is righteous, and their damnation is of themselves,...¹

Collier expanded this concept in Additional Word and in Sober and Mod. Answer and made the concept of two different kinds of election explicit.² In answering Cox, Collier explained that

the special gift of some to Christ, no whit derogates from the Grace of God to men, but that who ever do believe and obey the Gospel shall be saved, which includes all the special Elect, and all others, whoever do believe and obey the Gospel shall be saved.³

Collier termed his concept a 'second special Election'⁴ and defined it as

Gods Gospel grace to men, that who ever believeth and obeyeth the Lord therein shall be saved, and that the election in the first and strictest sense tends no way to hinder the salvation of any, nor are we so to understand the decrees of God which are secret, as to make void his Law of Grace ...revealed in his Word, to save all that do believe and obey him therein....⁵

Collier's explanation helps to explain his seeming ambiguity in Body of Divinity concerning the possibility of falling from grace.⁶ The implication in the above quote is that those not the objects of

¹Ibid., p.243.

²Sober and Mod. Answer, pp.17-18, citing Additional Word, p.29.

³Sober and Mod. Answer, p.18.

⁴Ibid., p.18. Cf. also Compendious Discourse, p.37..

⁵Ibid.

⁶Body of Divinity, pp.170-72.

the first type of election must continue in obedience in order not to fall from grace. Collier made the point explicitly when he declared 'that the special elect, or gift to Christ, shall be supplied with grace so as never to fall finally from him'.¹ Others could indeed fall away through disobedience.²

Continuing on the offensive, Collier declared that the doctrine of limited atonement and election of only the few perverted the Gospel and made 'God and Christ lyers'.³ Collier continued his attack the next year with the publication of Confession(1678) proclaiming that the doctrine of limited atonement and election destroyed the foundation of the Gospel.⁴ Further explaining his beliefs in 1682 Collier declared that his main concern was to illustrate that the Bible taught both particular election and general grace and that they 'may stand together' if understood in the light of the two different types of election he had postulated.⁵

Reprobation Rejected

Collier's rejection of reprobation was progressive as well, at least as it is revealed in his works. In Body of Divinity he defined it as 'non-election'⁶ and progressed beyond his earlier definition

¹Sober and Mod. Answer, p.32. Cf. also Confession(1678), pp.20-21 and Compendious Discourse, pp.102-03.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p.69.

⁴Confession(1678), pp.5-15.

⁵Compendious Discourse, pp.37-38.

⁶Body of Divinity, p.451.

of it only in that he now believed that God furnished 'great and blessed means for man to believe and be saved'.¹ In Sober and Mod. Answer² and especially in Confession(1678) he was much more vocal in his rejection of the doctrine.

Collier acknowledged that Confession(1677) had not explicitly advocated reprobation, but that it was 'covertly and hiddenly, yet absolutely and fully stated'.³ Collier referred to absolute reprobation by God's decree as a 'horrid Doctrine',⁴ an 'untimely born Monster',⁵ which 'strikes a deadly blow to the whole Name, Nature and Being of God, as opened to us both in his Word and by his Works'.⁶

Collier also rejected irresistible grace and perseverance as espoused by Confession(1677).⁷ He attacked the confession's concept of divine providence and decree,⁸ declaring that

But I believe it to be an Abomination to be abhorred, to believe that all the actions of Angels and Men, are the conception and birth of the eternal Decree of God. All that is good, being of and from God, and all the evil acts of Sin being of and from the Devil, and Men themselves....

¹Ibid., p.453. Cf. pp.308-11 supra.

²Sober and Mod. Answer, p.69.

³Confession(1678), p.42.

⁴Ibid., p.44.

⁵Ibid., p.56.

⁶Ibid., p.53. Cf. Compendious Discourse, pp.8-17.

⁷Ibid., pp.43-44.

⁸Confession(1677), Chap. V, 2.

....That God by his Providence ordereth
and governeth all things well...¹

He added that although God did not decree any sinful acts, He fore-
knew their occurrence²

and by over-ruling Providence brings about his
own designs thereby to his own praise; but
that Providence hath an over-ruling hands in
the Sins of Men, for accomplishing thereof,
according to his eternal Decree, (any otherwise
than by bare permission, and over-ruling there-
of as before I said) I protest against, as
most unholy to imagine.³

Man and His Ability

As Collier moved away from election, he began to also change
his views concerning man's nature. In Body of Divinity, Collier
defined original sin as the defilement of man's nature caused by
Adam's sin.⁴ He asserted that men were condemned by God, however,
for their own transgressions, not Adam's.⁵ Man's own sin brought
about the second death.⁶

This view formed the basis for another of the heresy charges
brought against Collier by the London Particular Baptists in 1677.⁷
Once again, his Southwick supporters upheld his view.⁸ In

¹Confession(1678), p.62-63.

²Ibid., p.63.

³Ibid., 63. Cf. also Sober and Mod. Answer, p.31.

⁴Body of Divinity, pp.110-12.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Sober and Mod. Answer, pp.29, 38.

⁷Narrative, p.14.

⁸Ibid., p.20-21.

Compendious Discourse Collier discussed the question at length and concluded that it was

a great ignorance and errour, in any to assert the second Death to be the wages of the first transgression, and very cruel and hard thoughts of God, to damn all(or any) Infants Eternally(so dying) for they know not what, and that which they could no more prevent than their conception in the Womb....I conclude, that neither Adam's Transgression, nor the Defilement of our Nature thereby (whatever it be) without act or consent to sin, shall bring under the guilt and punishment of the second Death.¹

Although Collier now rejected total depravity, he still believed man to be in a disadvantaged state as a consequence of his Adamic inheritance. God in His grace, however, enabled men to respond.² The extent to which Collier's view of man's condition had altered was reflected in his frequent assertion that men were not so depraved that God had to overwhelm them with irresistible grace.³ Instead, 'what is affected is not contrary to that natural capacity and understanding that is in man, but orders it the right way'.⁴

¹Compendious Discourse, p.117. The issue of infants had been raised in relation to this question in Sober and Mod. Answer, p.21 and Narrative, p.21 as well. Cf. Short Confession, p.48 as well. Cf. Michael J. Walker, 'Baptist Theology of Infancy in the Seventeenth Century', B.Q., xxi(1965-66), 247-50 concerning the similarities of Collier's position in relation to infants to that of the General Baptists.

²Cf. Confession(1678), pp.17-19 and Compendious Discourse, pp.83-108.

³Confession(1678), pp.17-19 and Compendious Discourse, pp.87-96.

⁴Sober and Mod. Answer, p.28.

Faith and Works

Collier had insisted in earlier years,¹ as had his fellow Particular Baptists,² that true conversion would be accompanied by obedience and good works. Now, however, Collier began increasingly to emphasize continued obedience and works as an integral part of saving faith³ for those not the objects of his first type of election. Since no one in this world could identify himself as being so, he believed it behooved all Christians to give serious attention to obedience, thus assuring their eternal salvation.⁴

Collier's last work, Self-Denial, was an exhortation to that obedience and denial of self necessary to assure and maintain Gospel salvation.⁵

¹Gospel Blessedness, p.108.

²Confession(1644), Article XXVI and Somerset Confession, Article XXIII.

³Body of Divinity, pp.175-76, 185-86, 268-69; Confession(1678), pp.15-17; Compendious Discourse, pp.78, 200-04.

⁴Body of Divinity, pp.196-97; 241-42.

⁵Cf. p.283n supra.

IX. ECCLESIOLOGY AND ESCHATOLOGY

The Church

There was no doctrine on which Collier remained more steadfast and consistent throughout his career than the doctrine of the church. The only period that produced any deviation at all was during those years when he believed that there was a life above all forms and ordinances for those to whom God had spoken in a special way.¹ This persuasion of Collier's was brief, produced no major position changes, and was permanently repudiated by both word and action in 1654.² Collier had quite accurately corrected his detractors in 1652 by declaring that he had never 'denied the Ordinances of Jesus Christ' and added that it was his 'judgement and practise to walk in the use of them'.³

Collier's vision of the church was governed by his acceptance of the concept that the New Testament's covenant had replaced Old Testament principles. Never particularly enamoured with classic Puritan covenant theology, Collier's concept of the covenants, consisting of two doctrines, was as stark in its simplicity as it was revolutionary in its implications. First, the Scripture contained but two covenants, the old and the new. Second, Christ had removed the first covenant and had 'established the

¹First General Epistle, pp.65-69; cf. pp.32-33 supra.

²Cf. p.50 supra.

³Font-Guard Routed, p.37.

second'.¹ Collier was convinced that in the new Gospel Covenant ushered in by Christ was 'wrapt up the sum of the Gospel and marrow of Christianity'.²

So crucial was this concept in Collier's mind, that he frequently asserted that to fail 'to distinguish between Law and Gospel, Covenant and Covenant'³ was 'to deny Christ to be come in the flesh'.⁴

Separation, fellowship, freedom, and holiness⁵ were the foundation principles of those espousing the gathered, visible church ideal, and all four were evident in Collier's perception of the New Testament church from the outset of his career. By 1645 at the latest he had defined the visible church as a called out assembly of regenerate believers.⁶ He reiterated that definition at intervals throughout his career, in debate,⁷ in theological treatise,⁸ and in confession.⁹

¹Gospel Blessedness, p.3. Cf. also Body of Divinity, pp.469-70.

²Ibid., p.iii.

³Font-Guard Routed, p.11.

⁴Ibid., p.20. Cf. also Certaine Queries, pp.21-2.

⁵Cf. Nuttall, Visible Saints, pp.43-155 for the classic treatment of these concepts.

⁶Certaine Queries, pp.9-10.

⁷Font-Guard Routed, pp.33-34 and Chapter III supra.

⁸Exaltation, pp.243ff.; Right Constitution, pp.8-9; Gospel Blessedness, pp.110-11; and Body of Divinity, pp.457ff.

⁹Somerset Confession, Articles XXIV, XXV.

Separation and Fellowship

Collier accepted the concept of the invisible church, consisting of 'the elect of God' throughout the ages, but insisted that the only true churches constituted on the earth were

...Particular congregations constituted according to Gospel order, i.e. united to Christ their head by faith, and each to other by love, agreeing together to walk in all the ordinances of Jesus Christ in the new Covenant of his grace.¹

Men were to give evidence of repentance and faith before acceptance into the visible assembly.² Baptism by immersion, subsequent to conversion was also a prerequisite to church membership in Collier's view.³ As part of his rejection of infant baptism, thus some contended leaving elect infants unbaptized, he proclaimed, 'We are not to Administer Ordinances from God's election, but from faith's manifestation'.⁴

The gathered churches, although separated by experience and calling from the world, were to seek fellowship with each other. Collier firmly believed that gathered, rightly constituted churches had an obligation to fellowship with one another. His activities in the Western Association bore eloquent testimony to his belief

¹Gospel Blessedness, p.111.

²Certain Queries, pp.9-10.

³Ibid., pp.9-10; Right Constitution, pp.8-9; and Somerset Confession, Article XXIV, which stated that those immersed were 'thus planted in the visible church or body of Christ'.

⁴Ibid., p.17.

in this principle.¹ He revealed his continued devotion to the principle of voluntary association and fellowship in his discussion of inter-church relationships and obligations in Body of Divinity.²

Freedom and Holiness

His commitment to the principle of fellowship in no way detracted from his career-long belief in the autonomy of the local, gathered congregation. There is manifold evidence in his writings that he never acknowledged any supra-congregational, coercive authority over than Christ. Collier denounced the attempt of any person or group, secular or ecclesiastical, to assert authority over a gathered church of visible saints as a usurpation of the authority of Christ.³

Collier pleaded eloquently for religious freedom for both the individual and the local church, basing his arguments on the contention that in the Gospel dispensation ushered in by Christ there was no scriptural warrant for the magistrate's interference in the Lord's churches.⁴ Men must be free to follow the dictates of

¹Cf. Chapter V supra.

²Body of Divinity, pp.488-96.

³Certain Queries, p.21; Exaltation, p.222. Cf. also pp.145-47 and Chapter V supra. If there was one thing he remained even more constant on than the church, it was this issue. Even in writings which were controversial on other issues, his intolerance for any coercive authority over man's conscience or the local church other than Christ was evident(First General Epistle, pp.71-73, 90-91).

⁴Ibid, pp.21ff. Cf. also Decision and Clearing, passim.

their consciences and to respond to the Spirit's call to become part of a visible church of the saints.

Collier believed the local church had to be free to practice its sole and proper authority in the admission of members and in the calling and ordination of officers.¹ This freedom to exercise the local church's authority was also necessary for the maintenance of discipline with regard to the continued membership of church members because Collier was an advocate of the fourth principle of the gathered church ideal as well, the principle of holiness. It was the duty of the church and its officers to seek to maintain the purity of the body, including the withdrawal of fellowship from those who remained unrepentant in the face of admonition concerning prevailing sin in their lives.²

An examination of Collier's career and writings reveals him to be in agreement with his fellow closed membership Particular Baptists on virtually all substantial ecclesiological issues.³ This of course, placed him, as it did them, in opposition to most of his Puritan contemporaries.⁴ Thus, Collier's controversies concerning ecclesiology came with those outside the fellowship of the

¹Right Constitution, pp.19-20 and Chapter III supra.

²Cf. for example Somerset Confession, Article XXV, and Gospel Blessedness, pp.111ff.

³Cf. for example Confession(1644) and Confession(1677) in comparison to Right Constitution, Somerset Confession, Gospel Blessedness, and Body of Divinity.

⁴This was true even of the Independents on the issue of the necessity of Baptism.

closed membership Particular Baptists.¹

Eschatology

If the issue of ecclesiology proved to be his most consistent subject theologically, perhaps the most inconsistent was his doctrine of last things.

The Dispensation of the Spirit

As noted in relation to other doctrines, Collier was prone to interpret the doctrine of last things in a highly allegorical and spiritualized manner during the late 1640's. This tendency extended at times even to the spiritualizing of Heaven and Hell into conditions or states, rather than places.²

The controversial theological interpretations Collier espoused during these years were derived from his current eschatological view. Several of his writings in the period 1647-1649³ reveal him to have believed in an approaching new age of the spirit. Collier was convinced that God's building of a spiritual kingdom of heaven in the saints was the 'great Myserie' now being revealed by God.⁴

¹Cf. Chapter III supra.

²New Creation, p.5; First General Epistle, pp.47-51, 56-58. Cf. also Heads and Substance, pp.5-7 and Conference, pp.5-7. Cf. p.204 supra for Collier's acknowledgment of this.

³New Creation, Marrow, Glory of Christ, First General Epistle, Second General Epistle, and Third General Epistle.

⁴New Creation, p.i.

Perphaps Collier's clearest expression of these views occurred in his sermon at army headquarters in September, 1647. Collier explained that 'in these latter daies of the Gospell'¹ God was about to usher in a new dispensation, a dispensation of the Spirit which was 'coming on apace'.² Collier perceived God to be progressively 'manifesting himselfe in the spirits of his people'.³

As first, in the times of the Law, God made himself knowne to his people under dark shadowes and types; there was a glory, but it was such a glory which made them exceedingly to quake and tremble.

Secondly, In the daies of Christ, who put an end to those shadows, there was a higher manifestation of light and glory, wherein was more clearnes of light and joy, which was the young or middle age.

But thirdly, In this last time, or third dispensation of God to, and in his poeple, will be much more glorious, much more in the spirit, and therefore called, a new heaven;⁴

There are obvious parallels in this three-fold dispensation to Joachim of Fiore's concept of the progression of history.⁵ This raises the question of whether Collier was influenced by

¹Ibid., p.4.

²Marrow, p.85.

³New Creation, p.7.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Marjorie Reeves, 'History and Eschatology: Medieval and Early Protestant Thought in Some English and Scottish Writings', Medievalia Et Humanistica, n.s., Number 4(1973), 101.

Joachimite ideas or whether both arrived at similar conclusions from studying the same material, the Bible. Collier could have been brought into contact with Joachimite ideas through his acquaintance with John Saltmarsh, who wrote the preface to Marrow and who expressed similar ideas in his Sparkles of Glory in 1648.¹ Another possible source could have been Giles Calvert, who had printed some of Jacob Boehme's works which expressed Joachimite ideas.²

In the absence of any conclusive evidence that Collier was indebted to Joachim of Fiore's thought, perhaps the most that should be said is that the parallels with Joachimism found in Collier, Saltmarsh, and others sprang 'from a particular type of religious experience and hope common to both Joachites and Puritans, rather than from the direct influence of the one on the other'.³ Collier later repudiated such views⁴ and such methods of scripture interpretation.⁵

¹Ibid., 115-16, 122. There is no direct evidence that Saltmarsh was influenced by Joachim and it is not impossible that Collier may have influenced Saltmarsh. They were both using the same terminology during a time when they were at least acquainted through their Army service. They both also spoke of the three dispensations in terms of 'the first, second and third heaven' (New Creation, p.7 and Reeves, 'History', 115).

²Hill, The World Turned Upside Down, p.118, citing A. L. Morton, The Matter of Britain, 102. Cf. p.194 supra for Calvert.

³Reeves, 'History', 116, citing Nuttall, Holy Spirit, p.104.

⁴Cf. p.204 supra.

⁵Personal Appearing, pp.ii-iii.

The Orthodox Years

Perhaps as early as 1652,¹ or even earlier,² Collier had begun to abandon his spiritualized eschatology and by 1654 his reversal was complete.

This was signified by his declaration in Right Constitution that 'the time of the Gospel' was 'an age of the world' which would continue until Christ's second coming.³ He warned his readers that it was 'but a fancie to imagin a dispensation of the Spirit to us...more than was in the Apostles time'.⁴

Whenever Collier addressed himself to the question of the second coming from this point until the Restoration, he revealed an eschatology which consisted of a belief in a personal second advent of Christ followed by judgment, an avowal that the state of the saints until then was to be one of suffering, and an expectation that the return was imminent.⁵

The Restitution of All Things

When Collier appeared in print in 1674 after a fifteen year

¹Cf. p.250 supra.

²As early as First General Epistle Collier may have been signalling a change to the extent that the spiritual coming might not be the 'only' one taught in Scripture when he said, 'Not that I in this place question his coming to put a finall end to all things'(p.83).

³Right Constitution, p.46. Cf. also Seventh Day Sabbath, p.9.

⁴Ibid., p.53.

⁵Cf. pp.250-53 supra. Cf. also Word in Season, pp.5-8; Somerset Confession, Personal Appearing, and Gospel Blessedness.

hiatus, he revealed numerous changes in theological perspective. In no area was that change greater than in his eschatology.

In Body of Divinity he stated that 'the design of God by Jesus Christ was the recovery and restauration of all again',¹ and that God was going to bring this about through the coming personal reign of Christ on this restored earth.² Revealing that his eschatological hope still burned bright, he encouraged Christians to believe that there were 'grounds to believe and hope that' the Lord's return was 'not far away'.³

Collier asserted that the Fifth Kingdom of Daniel had 'begun already in the way of grace as a preparative in order to glory',⁴ and that the Kingdom would be perfected at the Lord's coming.⁵ He explained that when Christ returned the Jews would be gathered from the dispersion and returned to the Lord.⁶ After admitting that he was less than certain about some of his ideas, he called them 'probable apprehensions',⁷ he concluded with an exhortation to be preparing for this great day of the Lord.⁸

¹Body of Divinity, p.122

²Ibid., p.132.

³Ibid., p.552.

⁴Ibid., p.578.

⁵Ibid., pp.571-78.

⁶Ibid., pp.595-601.

⁷Ibid., p.602.

⁸Ibid., pp.604-05.

As with several other doctrines, Collier's expansion of his views in Additional Word caused Cox and the London leadership once again to charge him with heresy.¹ Collier defended himself and his views in a rather lengthy section of Sober and Mod. Answer.² Collier reminded Cox that he had spoken on somewhat tentative grounds concerning these matters, and then proclaimed his beliefs again with less than a tentative style.³

Collier explained that the 'restitution of all things' by Christ had been God's design from the beginning and that the Bible contained an 'abundance of promises...of special, and general grace, relating both to the Saints and to the Nations, that cannot be performed in this World, but in the World to come'.⁴ He further explained:

That to understand the Eternal Judgement as is usual, viz. That Christs the Lord and Judge, when he comes again from Heaven, will pass the sentence on all the World, and send them away to Hell, Eternally with the Devil, without any kind of remittance at all, and carry away his Saints into the highest Heaven, there to be with him Eternally, seems to derogate much from the muth of Scripture, the design of God to the World by the promised seed, and the truth and glory of Christs Kingdom with his Saints in, and over the world to come.⁵

¹Vind. Veritatis, pp.104ff.

²Sober and Mod. Answer, pp.40-70.

³Ibid., p.41

⁴Ibid., p.40.

⁵Ibid., p.40.

Collier argued that Genesis xii.3, xviii.18, and xxii.18 taught

Some kind of blessing by the promised seed to all the Nations, except such as the Lord himself hath excepted, viz. Such as willfully sin away all share in this blessedness, which may be the portion of all willfull and malicious Persecutors of the Gospel, and such as do wickedly against the light of nature, as of those who sin willfully against the light and Spirit of the Gospel.¹

He believed that the Bible taught 'a threefold distinction' in the restored world to come which he identified as the saved, those serving and praising God after a time of punishment, and those suffering eternal judgement.² Collier stated his belief that 'wilfull transgressors must expect the eternal Judgement in the lake of fire',³ but others, not having the opportunity to respond in this life, may have 'some sutable favour in the world to come'.⁴

¹Ibid., p.49.

²Ibid., p.54, citing Psalm lxiv.7-10; Isaiah xxvi.1-2, 9-11; lxvi.8-14, 23-24.

³Ibid., p.68.

⁴Ibid., p.69. The most comprehensive, yet brief statement of this idea is found in Compendious Discourse: 'That there shall be... not only a special Salvation to some believers...with Christ in Glory...But a more General and Common Salvation of the World from the penal part of the Second Death, in times to be Effected, after they have past the Judgment and born their Punishment that the Generality both of Jews and Gentiles, shall in time partake of a General and Common Salvation in the World to come, is as great a truth, and as fully and plainly stated in the Scriptures of truth, as the Salvation of believers with Christ in Glory, only let this be understood, that I intend not all and every one, but the Majority and Generality of the World, wilful Transgressors that rebel against the Light, especially against the Light of the Gospel I intend not. (p.135).

The London leaders attacked his teaching 'that none shall be eternally damned, but those that sin against the Holy Ghost' as gross error and heresy.¹ His followers in Southwick once again defended him by advocating his interpretation of Scripture.²

By 1678 Collier's eschatological beliefs were assuming an increasing place in his theology as was illustrated by half of Confession(1678) being concerned with the subject.³ His emphasis on the importance of his beliefs concerning the restitution of all things reached a climax in Compendious Discourse where he intimated that it was part of salvific doctrine. Having described the core of the Gospel message(including 'the restitution of all things') Collier declared that since these doctrines were 'the great parts of the Gospel, faith therein, and obedience thereto, must needs be the faith of the Gospel to which the salvation thereof is promised'.⁴

Thus had Collier's concept of the visible second coming of Christ, embraced in the 1650's, been altered in three decades of theological development.⁵

¹Narrative, pp.14-15.

²Ibid., pp.21-23.

³Confession(1678), pp.22-41.

⁴Compendious Discourse, p.78. Cf. also Ibid. p.83 and also p.79 where Collier argued that Abraham's faith included a belief in a general blessing on all men in the world to come and concluded: 'Which must likewise be our Faith, if we will prove ourselves to be his Children'.

⁵Cf. Short Confession, Chapters XXV, XXVI, and XXVII for evidence of the continuation of some of Collier's eschatological opinions.

CONCLUSIONS

Thomas Collier emerged from his native Somerset and played a significant role in the life of the closed membership Particular Baptists for almost half a century. He produced more than a score of books, established numerous churches, and was the leading figure in one of their most vigorous associations of churches in the 1650's.

Collier's role as a fairly prominent figure in Particular Baptist life becomes more significant when it is realized that there were only relatively brief periods of Collier's career when he was unquestionably orthodox by what the Particular Baptists themselves published as their theological standards, namely Confession(1644) and Confession(1677). The available evidence from Collier's writings reveals him to have been within acceptable Particular Baptist standards on most issues from approximately 1652 through 1659. There is nothing in his two publications prior to 1646 which would suggest a problem, but from the publication of Exaltation in 1646 until the early 1650's both his writings and his opponents suggest beliefs that were on occasion questionable not only by Particular Baptist, but also by Protestant doctrinal precepts.

Little, if anything is known about his theological persuasion between 1659 and 1674, but Body of Divinity indicates that Collier's theology had undergone significant change during the intervening fifteen years since the publication of Gospel

Blessedness. After 1674 it is clear that Collier's soteriological and eschatological concepts increasingly placed him beyond the boundary of what would be expected to be acceptable Particular Baptist limits.

As a consequence, the situation which the research presents is a figure, Thomas Collier, routinely accepted as a Particular Baptist leader both by his contemporaries and by historians alike, who is known to have agreed with most segments of Particular Baptist theology for only brief periods of his career. In fact, based on the extant evidence, it could at least be suggested that Collier seldom, if ever, fully accepted the doctrine of particular redemption from which the denomination later derived its name.

Such a situation suggests several possibilities. First, both Confession(1644) and Confession(1677) were produced by men under considerable pressure to present statements as conformable to Calvinist orthodoxy as conscience allowed. Collier's ability to function on a continuing basis within closed membership Particular Baptist life may indicate that strict Calvinism was not as ubiquitous among them as their confessions would suggest.

If so, then perhaps his sharp and bitter controversy with the London Particular Baptist leadership and the disaffected segment of his own church serves as an indication not only of Collier's increasingly radical views, but also of a growing denominational consciousness and sensitivity to doctrinal

deviation. The estrangement which Short Confession laments is another possible indication of increased doctrinal solidarity among West Country Particular Baptists in the late seventeenth century.

It should be noted, however, that the period of Collier's early doctrinal deviation coincided with the war-disturbed years of the denomination's infancy, when his substantial orthodoxy concerning ecclesiology, the sine qua non of Particular Baptist existence, may have been sufficient to satisfy most of his colleagues. Also, his major deviation from Calvinism, as understood in a Particular Baptist, non-dual predestination sense, came during the post-Restoration years.

In addition, the period when his denominational participation was greatest, 1653-1659, coincided with the period of his most complete theological orthodoxy. Is it possible that his theological consistency during those years was at least partially the result of his regular interaction with other Particular Baptists? It is true, that such consistent contact was not possible earlier because of his evangelistic travels and Army service and was at least partially disrupted after the Restoration by persecution.

The development of divergent views by a denominational leader such as Collier during the period of persecution implies that a certain amount of doctrinal diversity may have developed around charismatic figures during a period when effective

denominational oversight was hindered. Such occurrences would help explain the problems experienced by the London General Assembly in 1689 and afterward.

Collier's continuing theological unpredictability should serve as a caution to observers of the seventeenth century. Men such as Collier, being first generation Baptists had not been programmed by formal education or by a collective denominational folk memory to think in a systematic or predictable manner. Consequently, they were often capable of startling changes of opinion. A fervent belief in the overriding authority of the Bible, in the absence of a strong learned or inherited interpretative tradition, proved to be an explosive combination, especially in a revolutionary age. Thus, they were much more likely to produce living theology as they interacted with the Sitz im Leben within which they did their thinking about God. Caution should be exercised so that too much significance is not placed on denominational affiliation or their theological position at any given time.

As a minor participant in the Whitehall Debates in 1648 and through active involvement in agitation for the king's trial, Collier was close to the centre stage of the nation's political life. During the years of the Interregnum he actively participated through his writings in several important controversies which had political significance. After the Restoration, however, his access to such participation in the national life

was severely restricted. As a consequence, the later chapters reflect the increasing estrangement of nonconformity from the mainstream life of the nation.

APPENDIX A

A Critical Bibliography of the Writings of Thomas Collier

The following list of abbreviations is used for Collier's writings throughout the thesis. The number to the right of each abbreviation is the entry number for the critical bibliography where the full reference for each work is given:

Abbreviation	Bibliographical reference
<u>Additional Word</u>	1
<u>Answer to an Epistle</u>	2
<u>Body of Divinity</u>	3
<u>Brief Answer</u>	5
<u>Catechism</u>	7
<u>Certaine Queries</u>	8
<u>Compendious Discourse</u>	9
<u>Confession (1678)</u>	10
<u>Corruption</u>	6
<u>Day Dawning</u>	12
<u>Decision & Clearing</u>	13
<u>Dialogue</u>	14
<u>Exaltation</u>	18
<u>First General Epistle</u>	20
<u>Font-Guard Routed</u>	19
<u>Glory of Christ</u>	21

<u>Gospel Blessedness</u>	15
<u>Heads and Substance</u>	22
<u>Hypocrisie and Falshood</u>	24
<u>Looking-Glasse</u>	25
<u>Marrow</u>	26
<u>Narrative</u>	4
<u>New Creation</u>	16
<u>Personal Appearing</u>	27
<u>Pulpit-Guard Routed</u>	28
<u>Right Constitution</u>	29
<u>Second General Epistle</u>	30
<u>Second Volume</u>	38
<u>Self-Denial</u>	17
<u>Seventh day Sabbath</u>	31
<u>Severall Pieces</u>	39
<u>Sober and Mod. Answer</u>	33
<u>Somerset Confession</u>	11
<u>Third General Epistle</u>	34
<u>Three Great Queries</u>	35
<u>Vind. Army Remonstrance</u>	36
<u>Word in Season</u>	37
<u>Works</u>	40

The purpose of the bibliography is to list each of the pamphlets and books written by Thomas Collier or which can be ascribed to him by contemporary evidence. One entry is given for each of Collier's

writings and cognizance is taken of subsequent editions or printings of an individual work in a footnote notation to the appropriate bibliographical entry.¹ Whenever possible the earliest known edition of each work is listed as the main entry in the bibliography and is used for reference and citation purposes throughout the thesis.² When reference numbers have been assigned to one of Collier's writings by

¹Several of Collier's early works (prior to 1652) went through various printings and editions some of which were issued together with general title pages as collected editions of his 'works' (cf. bibliographical entries 38, 39, and 40 *infra*). The precise number of such printings and editions issued is difficult to ascertain since the collected editions prior to 1652 had separate title pages and pagination for each piece within the volume. It seems that various printings were not only bound together to comprise collected editions but often circulated as separate pieces as well.

However, a statement by Collier in the Epistle Dedicatory to Personal Appearing in 1657 does much to alleviate concern about this difficulty. Collier admitted he had altered his position (from opinions expressed in earlier writings) on several theological questions. He acknowledges that he 'had intended long ere this, the Printing of my Books again; and have them by me, corrected for some years, but cannot yet attain it, neither do I know whether I may attain it; therefore take this for a right understanding'. (p. iv).

This statement has been carefully checked against variant printings and editions of Collier's works and has been found to be accurate. There are indeed no significant changes in the text of any of the pieces (other than a postscript added to the Glory of Christ). As a consequence of different typesettings however, variant paginations do occur frequently. So it seems that with the exception of the revisions mentioned by Collier in Personal Appearing and which were apparently never published, no notable revisions (other than some typographical corrections) are contained in the various editions of Collier's writings (1647-1652). The following libraries' holdings on Collier were consulted in the process of comparing the different printings and editions: Baptist College, Bristol; Cambridge University Library, Cambridge; British Museum, London; Congregational Library, London; Library of the Religious Society of Friends, London; Dr. William's Library, London; John Rylands Library, Manchester; Bodleian Library, Oxford; Angus Library (Regent's Park College), Oxford.

²When a later edition or reprint is used for reference it is noted under the individual bibliographical entry. When an individual piece cannot be dated with certainty a question mark follows the year given.

Wing, Whitley, or Starr in their standard bibliographical works these numbers are listed with the appropriate bibliographical entry.¹

An attempt has been made under each bibliographical entry to give the libraries in the United Kingdom where copies of Collier's writings are located.² The abbreviations used to denote the libraries follow where possible the abbreviation system employed by Wing.

Abbreviations and symbols used:

BB	Baptist College, Bristol.
BBN	Bevan-Naish Library, Birmingham. ³
C	Cambridge University Library, Cambridge.
L	British Library, London. ⁴
LCL	Memorial Hall, Congregational Library, London.
LF	Library of the Religious Society of Friends, London.
LW	Dr. Williams's Library, London.

¹Cf. Wing, Whitley, and Starr respectively.

²American locations are rarely given unless there are no British locations known to exist. Numerous American locations of the various writings are given in both Wing and Starr.

³This location provided by Wing proved at first to be difficult to find. Evidently the Bevan-Naish Collection was purchased in approximately 1890 and became part of the Library of the Friends Meeting House Birmingham. It is now the property of the Warwickshire Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends and is located at Woodbrooke College, Bristol Road, Selly Oak, Birmingham. (I am indebted to the staff of the University of Birmingham Library and Dr. Geoffrey F. Nuttall for this information.)

⁴The Wing references to the British Museum (L) and the Thomason Collection of the British Museum (LF) have been combined in this bibliography because if an individual work appears in the Thomason Collection it is noted as such (including Thomason's entry date, under the appropriate bibliographical entry).

- MR John Rylands University Library of Manchester,
Manchester.
- O Bodleian Library, Oxford.
- ORP Angus Library, Regent's Park College, Oxford.
- YM York Minster Library, York.
- [] When placed around Collier's name signifies that
a work cannot be identified as Collier's by
other than indirect, less than conclusive evi-
dence or it is not clear whether Collier is the
sole author.
- + No copy is presently known to be extant.

I. INDIVIDUAL WORKS

1. Thomas Collier, An Additional Word to the Body of Divinity; being
the Substance of Christianity, added on special occasion,
about the Doctrine of Election, Universal and special Grace.
Being an Essay for Peace, and Union amongst all the Sons and
Daughters of Peace. (1676) +1
2. _____, An Answer to an Epistle, written by Thomas Salthouse, to
the Churches of the Anabaptists, so called. Wherein his Epis-
tle being weighed in the Ballance, is found too light. With a
word to the Churches and another to the people called Quakers.
(1658?)² BB

¹Evidence is available from several sources concerning the existence of this work by Collier. Collier refers to it in Narrative(p.1) as having been written in 1676 and as being the cause of the controversy he then proceeds to describe. It is also advertised at the end of the pamphlet as well as at the end of Collier's Confession(1678) (p.64). Although not extant, the contents of Additional Word are partially recoverable from Nehemiah Cox's Vind. Veritatis which was written in response to it.

²If this work ever possessed a title page, it is now missing from the only extant copy which is located in the Baptist College, Bristol where it is bound with several other rare seventeenth century pamphlets in a volume shelfmarked J.Ja.9. The contents of this volume are described in detail by A. J. Westlake, 'Some Rare Seventeenth Century Pamphlets', B.Q., xiii(1949-50), 109-15. Answer to an Epistle has previously had 1657 ascribed as its publication date, cf. Whitley, Wing, and Nuttall, 'West. Assoc.', 217. However, when the dates connected with

Wing (2nd edn. rev.),
Whitley

#C5267B
#28-657

3. Thomas Collier, The Body of Divinity, Or, a Confession of Faith, Being the substance of Christianity: Containing the most Material things relating to Matters both of Faith and Practise. London, 1674.¹ C, L, LCL, O, ORP

Wing
Whitley

#C5268
#4-674

4. Thomas Collier, A Brief and true Narrative of the unrighteous dealings with Thomas Collier, a Member and Minister of the Church usually assembling at Southwick in the County of Wilts... Whereunto is annexed a Letter from Bristol, with the Churches Answer thereto. (1677?)² LCL

Whitley

#16-677

the other writings concerned in this particular controversy are examined, the ascription must be called into question. The circular letter issued from the Tiverton meeting of the Baptists' Western Association in September, 1657 occasioned Thomas Salthouse's Epistle in response. (Cf. bibliographical entry #32 infra concerning the materials and records concerned with the Western Association). The date 'the third day of the tenth Month, 1657' appears alongside Salthouse's name at the conclusion of his Epistle. When the date(o.s.) is corrected it becomes clear that if the pamphlet came into Collier's possession on that day (which is unlikely) he would have had less than a month to reply before the new year(n.s.) commenced. Further, Salthouse's True Judgment written in response to Answer to an Epistle is dated 12 March 1658 (p.25). Thus, Collier must have written Answer to an Epistle during the period between 3 Dec. 1657 - 11 March 1658 and in all probability 1658(n.s.) should be assigned as the publication date.

Having answered Salthouse, Collier concludes Answer to an Epistle by addressing 'a few words' to 'the Churches' and then 'to the people called Quakers'. (p.14).

¹This work is listed in Term. Cat., i, 167 as having been published in 'Easter Term, 1674'. The date 1672 is incorrectly ascribed to it in Records (Broadmead), p.286.

²This is an extremely valuable work in that it reveals previously unknown details about Collier's origins, personal life, and place of abode at various stages of his career. Narrative is catalogued in Whitley, ii, 204 in the 'addenda' as 'A brief and true narrative' with no additional information other than notations indicating that no publication date was given in the pamphlet and that LCL possessed a copy.

5. Thomas Collier, A Brief Answer to some of the Objections and Demurs Made against the coming in and inhabiting of the Jews in this Commonwealth. With a plea on their behalf, Or some arguments to prove it not only lawful, but the duty of those whom it concerns to give them their liberty and protection (they living peaceably) in this Nation. London, 1656¹ BB, L, LCL

Wing	#C5269
Whitley	#9-656
Starr	#CC324

6. . A Brief Discovery of the Corruption of the Ministry of the Church of England: Or, Three clear and evident Grounds from which it will appear that they are no Ministers of Christ. London, 1647² C, L, MR, O, ORP, YM

Wing	#C5270, C5271, C5272
Whitley	#41-647
Starr	#Cc325

The work was evidently not known to any previous student of Collier and was misplaced within LCL for an undetermined period. (It was located as a consequence of a request to examine the work which was made as part of the present study.) The LCL copy (shelfmark TT/d/4) is the only extant copy known to exist. It bears the MS. date 1677, which was also the date ascribed to it by Whitley(16-677). This ascription is consistent with the internal evidence which consists of a letter dated August, 1677 reproduced in the text(pp.14-15). Also, an advertisement appears on the pamphlet's back page for Sober and Mod. Answer(1677) as well as Body of Divinity and Additional Word, but not for Confession(1678). This suggests that Narrative was published after Sober and Mod. Answer but prior to Confession(1678). Thus, while the possibility of a publication date early in 1678 cannot be completely excluded, the pamphlet was probably published in the latter third of 1677.

¹A copy of this tract was catalogued by Thomason for his collection on 4 February, 1656(Thom. Tr., ii, 140). Brief Answer was reprinted as part of a Works Project Administration project in Paul Radin, ed., Pamphlets Relating to the Jews in England during the 17th and 18th centuries(San Francisco, 1939). A copy of the reprint is located in L where the reference in the catalogue to it under Collier is misspelled as 'Rodin'.

²Thomason dated his copy of Corruption 20 July, 1647(Thom. Tr., 534), but it does not appear under Collier in the index at the end of vol. ii of Thom. Tr. The original edition of 1647 totalling 36 pages in length is used for citation (Wing #5270). The ORP copy of the original edition is missing pp. 1-2 of the text. Another edition (27 pages long) was printed in 1647 by Giles Calvert (the earlier edition listed no printer) and was used in Severall Pieces. This appears to be the same printing used in Second Volume with no year appearing on Corrupt-

7. [Thomas Collier], A Catechism, or usefull instructions for youth.
(1656?) ⁺¹

8. _____. Certaine queries: Or, Points now in Controversy examined, and answered by Scripture, for the Satisfaction of all those that desire Information in the Truth. _____, 1645.²
L, ORP

Wing	#C5273
Whitley	#29-645
Starr	#CC328

9. _____. A Compendious Discourse About some of the greatest matters of Christian Faith, pronounced and explained between a Minister and an enquiring Christian, designed for clearing the truths of the Gospel, the honour of Christ, and advantage of men. And also may serve for an answer to two books, one called, The practical Discourse of the Sovereignty of God, the other called, the Death of Death by the Death of Christ, written by J. O. Whereunto is annexed a very brief Appendix. London, 1682.³ O, ORP

Wing	#C5274
Whitley	#4-682
Starr	#CC320

ion's title page. Another edition appeared in Works. Cf. also bibliographical entries 38-40 infra. The locations for Second Volume and Works (cf. bibliographical entries #38 and #40 respectively) have been listed under each of the individual pieces contained in the two volumes since there are no significant differences (other than pagination etc.) in the various editions.

¹Although apparently no longer extant, this work is advertised as Collier's following the Epistle Dedicatory of Somerset Confession in Bristol Baptist College's volume (J. Ja. 9), (cf. Westlake, op. cit. and footnote to bibliographical entry #2 supra). Catechism also appears in an advertisement following the final page of An Antidote Against the Infection of the Times (London, 1656) as 'A Catechism or Instruction for Youth' in the same volume.

²The date assigned by Thomason to Certaine Queries was 24 July, 1645 (Thom. Tr., i, 387).

³This work is listed in Term Cat., i, 469-70 as being published in 'Hilary Term, 1681/2' (p. 470). Whitley lists this work under Collier in the index, but in the text it is listed under 'J. O.' which implies that Whitley mistakenly understood Collier to have penned only the Appendix to Compendious Discourse. Whitley's mistake has misled others into suggesting that the 'J. O.' who 'wrote' Compendious Discourse and

10. Thomas Collier, A Confession of Faith, Published on special occasion. Wherein Is contained the Substance of the most material Principles of the Gospel, and Christian Faith, in contradistinction to the Errors and Heresies by some held and maintained, in opposition thereunto. Whereunto is annexed, A Postscript, with brief Animadversions on some things, contained in a Confession of Faith, lately published in the name of the Elders and Brethren of many Congregations in London and the Countrey. London, 1678. L, ORP

Wing	#C5275
Whitley	#16-678
Starr	#CC329

11. [Thomas Collier, ed.] , A Confession of the Faith of Several Churches of Christ in the County of Somerset, and of some Churches in the Counties neer adjacent. London, 1656.¹ BB, L, O

Wing	#C5801
Whitley	#38-656
Starr	#CC329

the John Owen who signed the circular letter from the Western Association meeting at Exeter(1656) might be the same individual(cf. Nuttall, 'West. Assoc.', 215 n. and Assoc. Rec., 108). In fact the J. C. mentioned in the title is the John Owen(1616-1683).

¹Thomason dated his copy of Somerset Confession 10 August, 1656 (Thom. Tr., ii, 157). Cf. also Assoc. Rec. 104-05, 107 and Nuttall, 'West Assoc.', 216 concerning the date of this document. The Somerset Confession was signed by representatives of the various churches with Collier's name appearing in a more prominent manner than that of the other signatories. It is probable that Collier was the author of the piece or at least was responsible for its fundamental shape in his role as a leader among the Western Association Particular Baptists. Consequently, this study follows the example of the Brit. Mus. catalogue and Nuttall, 'West. Assoc.', 216 in referring to Collier as the 'editor' of the confession.

Lumpkin erroneously interprets a reference to Somerset Confession by the Association meeting at Bridgwater in November, 1656(Assoc. Rec., 66) as evidence that it was at this meeting that the confession was approved for publication(Lumpkin, Confessions, pp.200-201). This conclusion ignores Thomason's date notation. Lumpkin also suggests that Somerset Confession 'may have been originally drawn up before 1656, possibly in 1653', but his evidence for this supposition is unconvincing (Lumpkin, Confessions, p.201). Concerning authorship, Lumpkin concludes that while others may have assisted in its preparation Collier was the 'principal author' of Somerset Confession(Lumpkin, Confessions,

12. Thomas Collier, The Day dawning, relating to the calling of the Jews and Christs second coming. (1656?) +¹
13. Thomas Collier, The Decision & Clearing of the Great Point now in Controversie about the interest of Christ and the Civil Magistrate, in the Rule of Government in this world. Stated according to the Word of Truth; and Presented to the Parliament of this Common-Wealth: And to all other Powers in the World where it may come; Or, to any that desire satisfaction

pp. 200-01).

Somerset Confession was reprinted in Underhill, Confessions (pp. 61-106) in 1854 and this edition is used for citation in this study. It was also reprinted earlier by Crosby, i. Appendix III, and this text was used for the reproduction which appeared in McGlothlin, Bapt. Conf. and both omit scripture quotations and the important 'Epistle Dedicatory' which is reproduced in Underhill, Confessions, pp. 63-75. Lumpkin, Confessions, p. 202 lists the 'Manchester British College Library, Manchester' as an additional location for this work. Wing (#C5801) lists Somerset Confession under the title as it appears in bibliographical entry #11.

¹This pamphlet, of which no copy is known to be extant, is advertised following An Antidote Against the Infection of the Times (London, 1656) and following the Epistle Dedicatory of Somerset Confession (cf. note to bibliographical entry #7 supra). The latter advertisement lists the work as 'a Treatise concerning the calling of the Jews, and Christs second coming'. Since Somerset Confession appeared in August, 1656 (cf. entry #11 supra) it seems safe to assume that Day Dawning was published prior to that date, but the possibility of its being published prior to 1656 cannot be excluded.

In the Epistle Dedicatory to Personal Appearing (1657) Collier answers an objection to his writing again on the pamphlet's subject as he had earlier addressed himself to the 'Personal reign and the suffering state of Saints in the Epistle to the Jews, and the late Dialogue between a Minister and a Christian'. (Personal Appearing, p. iv). Collier admits this in his reply but insists that the persistent 'discontent' arising from this question compels him to speak further. (Personal Appearing, p. iv). This acknowledgment by Collier leads one to answer negatively the question of whether Day Dawning could in fact be the same work as Brief Answer as the latter work does not address itself to the above mentioned subjects. In addition, Brief Answer is advertised in the same list as Day Dawning following the Epistle Dedicatory to Somerset Confession.

in this Matter. London, 1659.¹ BB, L, LC, O, ORP, YM.

Wing	#C5276
Whitley	#77-659
Starr	#CC333

14. Thomas Collier, A Dialogue between a Minister of the Gospel and an enquiring Christian, about the Authority of the Scriptures, and the Principles of the Quakers: (1656?) +2

Wing (2nd edn. rev.)	#C5276
Whitley	#35-656
Starr	#CC334

¹That Decision & Clearing was directed to the restored Rump of the Long Parliament which had been recalled in May, 1659 can be deduced from the internal evidence of the prefatory address 'To the Supream Authority, the Parliament of the Common-wealth of England, and the Dominions thereof' which includes the following statement: 'You being once more come to it at stern in this Commonwealth; who knows but that God hath been proving and refining you, that so you by whom he began the work in these Nations, might be honoured by him, above all others in the further perfecting of it?' (Decision & Clearing, p. ii).

Wing (2nd edn. rev.) removes the LCL location listed in his earlier edition, but continues to list a work (Wing #5289) 'The interest of Christ. 1659' with LCL as the only location. In fact, however, Wing #5289 is Decision & Clearing and Wing evidently has followed the Catalogue of the Congregational Library, Memorial Hall... (London, 1895), i, 75, in erroneously listing Decision & Clearing as 'The interest of Christ'. However, LCL has now catalogued it in their card catalogue under Decision & Clearing. The ORP copy of Decision & Clearing (G. A. c. 182) has a defaced title page and a damaged text. The ORP copy of the Angus Cat. has an MS. notation '1600?' for the date since the date is missing from the title page. Wing (2nd edn. rev.) also lists St. John's College, Cambridge (CS) as possessing a copy of Decision & Clearing.

²Although no longer extant, we know of Dialogue's existence, and of Collier's authorship, from James Mayler's Deceit which was **written** in reply to it. Deceit bears a prefatory epistle 'to the Reader and to Thomas Collier' dated 7 July, 1656 and signed by E. Burrough which means that Dialogue was published prior to that date. The contents and main argumentation of Dialogue are partially recoverable from the major replies occasioned by it, Deceit and Truth Vindicated. Whitley listed a copy of Dialogue in LF, but there is in fact no such work in the library. Wing (2nd edn. rev.) evidently followed Whitley in locating Dialogue in LF. Dialogue is also advertised following T. Higgenson, A Testimony to the True Jesus (London, 1656) and after the Epistle Dedicatory of Somerset Confession in BB volume

15. _____. A Discourse of the true Gospel Blessedness in the New Covenant, or The distinction of the two Covenants, New and Old, First and Second. With the doing away of the first, and the establishment of the second, and likewise the Mediatorship of Christ in the New Covenant, with some Principles, Duties, Promises, and Priviledges of the New Covenant. London, 1659.¹ L

Wing	#C5277
Whitley	#61-659
Starr	#CC337

16. Thomas Collier, A Discovery of the New Creation. In a Sermon Preached at the Head-Quarters at Putney, Sept. 29, 1647.² C, L, MR, O, ORP, YM.

Wing	#C5278, C5279
Whitley	#59-647
Starr	#CC338, CC340

17. _____. A Doctrinal Discourse of Self-Denial. London, 1691.³ C, O, ORP

described in Westlake, op. cit. and in note to bibliographical entries #2 and #7 supra. George Fox also briefly refutes Dialogue in The Great Mistry of the Great Whore Unfolded (London, 1659), pp. 36-39.

¹Thomason evidently received his copy of Gospel Blessedness in November, 1659 (Thom. Tr., ii, 268).

²The date appearing in the title is also the date under which New Creation is catalogued in Thom. Tr., i, 561. The first printing of New Creation (1647) was 40 pages in length. Apparently this same edition appeared as part of Severall Pieces in the same year, (cf. McAlpin, ii, 476). Another printing (of 25 pages length) appeared in 1649 as part of Second Volume which is used by this study for citation purposes. It was also reprinted in Works. (Cf. bibliographical entries #38-#40 infra). Extracts from New Creation appear in Puritanism & Liberty, pp. 390-96.

³Cf. pp. 5-6n supra for evidence from Term. Cat. that Self-Denial may have been published late in 1690 and for the significance this has concerning the date of Collier's death. Whitley inexplicably listed the title of Self-Denial as 'The doctrine and discipline of self-denial' and Starr apparently following Whitley, applied the same title to the work.

A Short Confession (Whitley 13-691) is published with Self-Denial and it is clear from Self-Denial's prefatory note that the two were intended for joint use so that 'this Book may be of great use unto thee,

Wing
Whitley
Starr

#C5280
#14-691
#CC341

18. Thomas Collier, The Exaltation of Christ in the dayes of the Gosnel: As the alone High Priest, Prophet, and King, of Saints. London, 1646.¹ C, L, LW, MR, O, ORP, YK.

Wing
Whitley
Starr

#C5281, C5282, C5283, C5284
#35-646
#CC343-CC346

the former Part to lead thee into the Practical Faith'. The introduction to Short Confession is signed by John Collier (the author of Self-Denial's prefatory note) and John Pockridge. Short Confession is followed by A Treatise Concerning the Laying on of Hands, which although it possesses a separate title page and pagination, is a 'Postscript' to the confession (Short Confession, p. 3). Short Confession was erroneously perceived by McGlothlin, Bapt. Conf. to be a General Baptist confession. This error is corrected in Lumpkin, Confession, p. 335, where Chapters VI, VIII, XVIII, XX, and XXI are reproduced (pp. 336-39). Lumpkin follows the text of Crosby, iv, Appendix 1. Lumpkin, Confessions also lists a copy in 'the Manchester College Library, Manchester' (p. 335n).

¹The Thomason copy of this work was dated 27 April, 1646 (Thom. Tr., i, 435). This original edition of 1646 was 259 pages in length. The 'second Edition, corrected by the Author' 1647 was also 259 pages long, but most of the errata listed following the Table of Contents in the 1646 edition were corrected. The second edition (1647) was used in Severall Pieces (cf. bibliographical entry #39 infra). The 'third Edition, corrected and amended' (227 pages long) was the edition published in Second Volume and evidently appeared with title pages dated 1647 and 1649 respectively [(cf. McAlvin, ii, 476-77, Exaltation in Second Volume (ORP copy shelfmark 23. c. 36.) and bibliographical entry #38 infra]. A 'fourth Edition, corrected and amended' bearing the date 1651 on its title page appeared in Works. Whitley (p. 23) lists a 1651 'corrected and amended edition' which was mistakenly taken by Starr (CC345) to be a '3rd ed. 1651'. Exaltation bears an 'Epistle to the Reader' by Hanserd Knollys and this apparently caused Whitley (8-645) to catalogue a damaged copy of Exaltation (the title page and pp. 1-2 of Knolly's 'Epistle' are missing) with Hanserd Knollys as the author. This volume is in fact a copy of the second edition of Exaltation in the Gould Collection (G. A. d. 26) in ORP. The pagination differences in the four editions are the result of different typesetting and noteworthy alterations do not appear. The first edition (1646) is used for citation purposes in this study.

19. Thomas Collier, The Font-Guard Routed: Or. A Brief Answer to a Book written by Thomas Hall, superscribed with the Title, The Font Guarded with 20. Arugments: Therein endeavoring to prove the lawfulness of Infant-Baptism. London, 1652.¹
LCL, LW, O, ORP.

Wing	#C5285
Whitley	#64-652
Starr	#CC347

20. _____. A General Enistle to The Universall Chvrch of the First Born: Whose Names are written in Heaven. Even to all the Saints, in the unitie of the Spirit: Grace, and Peace bee multiolyed. London, 1648.² C, L, ORP, YM.

Wing	#C5286, C5287
Starr	#CC348-CC350

¹Font-Guard Routed, written in reply to Thomas Hall's Font Guarded (1652) also contains several other pieces. 'A Reply to Thomas Hall' (pp. 55-62) which is an answer to Hall's 'The Collier in his Collours: or, The Picture of a Collier' possesses a separate title page, but shares continuous pagination with the main refutation of Hall (pp. 1-54). This is followed (pp. 63-66) by 'A Word of Reply to Iohn Ferriby, in an Appendix to The Lawfull Preacher: called The Pulpit-Guard-Relieved' (cf. Lawfull Preacher, 1652).

'An Answer to a Boock written by one Richard Sanders of Kentishbeer; entituled, A Balm to heal Religions wounds. Called, An Answer to the Pulpit-Guard Routed; written by Thomas Collier' is the next piece contained in Font-Guard Routed and has separate pagination (pp. 1-57). The concluding piece in the work is 'Some few Proposals to the Honourable Committee for Propagation of the Gospel'.

A Catalogue of the Congregational Library ... (London, 1910), ii, 110 lists a copy of Font-Guard Routed as the '4th Ed. n. d.'. This volume in LCL has no such inscription printed on it and the present library staff found the catalogue's notation inexplicable. Since no evidence has been uncovered of any editions of Font-Guard Routed subsequent to 1652, this notation must be disregarded. Wing also lists a copy of Font-Guard Routed in Trinity College, Cambridge (CT). Whitley catalogues Collier's answer (59-652) to Saunders Balm separately from Font-Guarded which is in Whitley's Addenda to vol. i.

²First General Epistle was evidently first published in a 106 page edition in 1648 (cf. Wing #5286 and McAlpin, ii, 552). It was then published in 1649 in a 98-page edition (Wing #5287) which was the edition used for Second Volume. (This edition is used by this study for citation purposes.) First General Epistle was also published in Works (1652) with a separate title page dated 1651.

21. Thomas Collier, The Glory of Christ, and the Ruine of Antichrist, Unvailed, as they are held forth in Revelation, by the Seales, Trumpets and Vialis, Dialoguewise, between a Minister of the Gospell and an inquiring Christian, for the information and consolation of all those who love the Truth in the mystery and power of it. _____, 1647.¹ C, L, MR, O, ORP, Ym.

Wing	#C5288
Whitley	#80-647
Starr	#CC351-CC352

22. _____ . The heads and substance of a Discourse; First private, and afterwards publike; held in Axbridge, in the County of Somerset, about the 6th of March, 1650. Between Iohn Smith of Bodgworth, and Charls Carlile of Bitsham, & c. on the one part; and Thomas Collier of Westbury on the other... Published by the said Tho. Collier of Westbury, London, 1651.² L

Wing	#S4091
Whitley	#30-651

¹Glory of Christ was published in 1647 and appeared in Severall Pieces(1647). The same edition appeared in Second Volume(1649). The concluding pages in this edition are misnumbered 101, 104, 105, 108 while in fact they should read 101-04. A 'second Edition corrected, amended, and enlarged, with a Postscript' appeared with no date on its title page in Works(1652). Glory of Christ is listed on the title page of Works(1652) as 'Mysteries unveiled, or the glory of Christ' and while it is not titled this way on the title page immediately preceding the work, it led Starr to catalogue it separately (CC363).

²When the date appearing on the title page(o.s.) is converted it becomes clear that the public debate which formed the basis for Heads and Substance was held about 6 March 1651 and subsequently published sometime during that year. The piece is catalogued by Thom. Tr. (i, 788) under the date appearing in the title. Collier explained in the dedicatory epistle that an earlier debate had been held privately 'upon which they [Smith and Carlile] drawing forth the heads, wresting what was spoken as they please, sending it abroad, calling it my absurdities and blasphemies' and that this had led him to demand a public debate where he could refute their charges (Heads and Substance, p.ii). The work referred to above which was sent 'abroad' has not apparently survived.

Starr's listing of 'Narrative of the Conference between John Smith and Thomas Collier. 1652. London. McIntyre' (CC363) has not been found to be extant by this study and no location is given in any standard bibliographical work. [Starr's reference to McIntyre is to W. E. McIntyre, Baptist Authors. A Manual of Bibliography, 1500-1914. (Montreal, 1914).] Whether this should be taken as synonymous with Heads and Substance or Conference(1652 indicates a reprint), as yet a third version of the earlier private debate, or as the work sent 'abroad' cannot be deduced with certainty from extant evidence.

23. Thomas Collier , The humble Petition of divers Gentlemen, Ministers, and well-affected Inhabitants in the County of Somerset. London, 1648 (o. s.).¹ L
Wing T1428
24. Thomas Collier , The Hypocrisie and Falshood of Thomas Salthouse discovered, a noted Quaker; in Vindication of a former Book written by Thomas Collier. (1659?)²
Whitley #78-659
Starr #CC354
25. Thomas Collier, Looking-Glasse for the Quakers, Wherein They may behold themselves; and others also may behold their pernicious ways. Or, Deceit returned upon the Deceivers heads. Being an Answer to James Naylor's pretended Answer to Thomas Collier's Book, called, A Dialogue between a Minister and a Christian, Wherein the Truths asserted in the Dialogue are clearly proved; and James Naylor and the Quakers are proved to be the liers and deceivers; and so indeed they have made lies their refuge, and under falshood have they hid themselves. London, 1657.³
L, LF, O
Wing #C5290
Whitley #51-656
Starr #CC357-CC358

¹ Cf. Appendix B, infra for a reproduction of this work and for evidence concerning Collier's authorship.

² This work was evidently published anonymously in reply to Salthouse's True Judgment (1658). The major source of information concerning Hypocrisie and Falshood is Westfield's Equal Ballance (1659). (Whitley lists a copy as being in LF, but the library possesses no such volume so the work must be assumed to be non-extant.) In the title page of Equal Ballance Westfield speaks of Hypocrisie and Falshood as a 'Libel published by (or in the behalf of) Thomas Collier' and refers to the book's 'unnamed Author'. Westfield, however, is convinced that Collier is the author and argues this point vigorously. (Equal Ballance, pp. 1-5). In the postscript to Equal Ballance Westfield asserts that information has been received 'from some of the People call'd Anabaptists, that Thomas Collier did write the said sheet of paper'. Westfield gives a variant title for the work as the following: 'The hypocrisie and falshood of T. S. discovered, a noted Quaker; manifested in a pretended line of true Judgement' (Equal Ballance, pp. 3-4). Cf. also Nuttall, 'West. Assoc.', 217 concerning Hypocrisie and Falshood.

³ The copy of this work in the Thomason Collection is dated 13 Dec., 1656 (Thom.Tr., ii, 169).

26. Thomas Collier, The Marrow of Christianity: Or, a spiritual Discoverie of some Principles of Truth, meet to be known of all the Saints: represented in ten Sections. London, 1647.¹
L, MR, O, ORP, YM.

Wing

#C5291-C5293

Whitley

#14-647

Starr

#CC359-CC362

27. Thomas Collier, The Personal Appearing and Reign of Christs Kingdom upon the Earth, Stated and proved from the Scripture of Truth. And The state of the Saints till then, proved to be a state of suffering, and not of Reigning and Conquering with a Materiall Sword as some imagine. With an Answer to Mr. Tillinghast's grounds for such a practice: as they are stated in his book called, The Signes of the Times. And some other Arguments and Objections answered tending to the same thing.

¹Marrow was dated by Thomason as having been received by him on 2 March, 1647 (Thom Tr., i, 497). This 1647 edition was 133 pages long and was badly mispaginated in the middle portion of the work. Another edition (112 pages) with a differently arranged title page was published in Severall Pieces (Cf. McAlpin, ii, 477). The same edition that appeared in Severall Pieces was also published (with the same title page) in Second Volume (cf. bibliographical entry #38 infra). Another edition (also 112 pages) of Marrow was published in 1650 with a differently arranged title page which listed 1650 as the date of publication and gave the name of a different printer. Another edition of Marrow appeared in Works (1652) with a title page citing 1651 as the publication date. The first edition (133 pages) of 1647 is used for citation purposes throughout this study. Confusion has at times arisen concerning Marrow's last segment (which follows what appears at first perusal to be the conclusion of the tenth section. At this point in the text one finds the word 'FINIS' (p. 112) followed by a new heading reading 'A breife Discovery of Antichrist, both in the Mystery and in the Historie' (p. 113). This in turn is immediately succeeded by information ascribing authorship to Collier along with the date 1647. The text of this segment begins with the sub-heading 'section I!'. Indeed, the segment is presented in such a manner that one could easily assume that this was the beginning of a new piece by Collier which was published with Marrow and shared continuous pagination with it. However, Marrow's Table of Contents makes it clear that 'A brief Discovery of Antichrist' is in fact the second part of Marrow's tenth section.

London, 1657.¹ BB

28. . The Pulpit-Guard Routed, in its Twenty Strong-Holds.
Or, A brief Answer, To a large and lawless Discourse, Written
by one Tho. Hall of Kings-Norton, Intituled, The Pulpit-Guarded,
with Twenty Arguments, Pretending to prove the unlawfulness,
and sinfulness of Private men Preaching. London, 1651.²
 BB, L, LF, LW, MR, O, ORP, YM.

Wing
 Whitley
 Starr

#C5295-#C5295A
 #21-651
 #CC365-CC367

¹The only known copy of Personal Appearing is found in the BB volume described in the footnotes to bibliographical entries #2 and #7 supra (cf. also Westlake, op. cit., 113-4).

²Thomason dated the copy in his possession 25 September, 1651 [Thom. Tr., i, 847 (incorrectly printed as p.877 in index)]. When a second edition of Pulpit-Guard Routed appeared in 1652 the only noteworthy change was the addition of 'The second Edition, Corrected by the Author' to the title page. The first edition is 104 pages in length, but the last page is mispaginated as 164. The second edition is also 104 pages long and the pagination fault is corrected. Both editions contain a two-page postscript. The first edition is used for citation purposes throughout this study.

Starr has catalogued Pulpit-Guard Routed with two entries for 1651 (CC365-CC366) citing the McAlpin Collection in Union Theological Seminary, New York City as his source for the second entry of 1651. There is no evidence to justify such an entry as the McAlpin copy is the same edition as the first edition of 1651 (cf. McAlpin, ii, 735). Wing (#C5294) lists a work by Collier entitled 'Pulpit-guard and font-guard routed, 1652' and cites the Baptist Union Library, London (LB) as well as BB and LW as location. Wing seems to have been led astray by the Catalogue of the Library in Red Cross Street, Cripplegate; Founded Pursuant to the will of the Reverend Daniel Williams, D. D. Who Died in the Year 1716 (London 1814), ii vols., which lists Pulpit-Guard and Font-Guard Routed as having been written by Collier and as being in their (LW) possession (i, 82). Neither BB, LB, or LW possess a copy of this work and one must conclude in face of the lack of any evidence to the contrary, that such a work never existed, but was rather the result of an error in the catalogue (LW) cited supra.

Wing lists additional copies of Pulpit-Guard Routed at Trinity College, Dublin (DT), and the Bristol Reference Library (BR). Whitley lists copies as being located at Sion College, London (LSC), Northern Baptist College, Manchester (NAB), and the Baptist Union Library, London (LB). LB does not in fact possess a copy of Pulpit-Guard Routed. There is however, a copy in the library of the University of Edinburgh (E) which is not cited by Wing Catalogue of the Printed Books in the Library of the University of Edinburgh (Edinburgh, 1918-1923), iii vols.

29. Thomas Collier, The Right Constitution and True Subjects Of the Visible Church of Christ. With Its Order, Ordinances, Ministry and Government. Wherein Several Arguments made against the Practice of Ordinances and Church-Fellowship are briefly Answered; And the Practice of the Imposition of Hands briefly discussed. London, 1654.¹ L

Wing	#C5296
Whitley	#33-654
Starr	#CC369

30. Thomas Collier, A Second generall Epistle to all the Saints, Wherein is unfolded the Covenant of grace, as its a Law in the spirit of light, liberty, righteousness, holiness, power and glory. As likewise as it is a Law of peace, love, and edification. London, 1649² C, L, MR, O, ORP, YM.

Wing	#C5297
Whitley	#31-651
Starr	#CC370-CC371

31. _____. The Seventh day Sabbath Orened and discovered, as it is brought forth, and to be observed now in the Days of the Gospel: And the first Day of the Week, the Time for Publique Worship. London, 1658.³ BB

32. Thomas Collier, ed. Several Resolutions and answers of Queries, sent in from several Congregations, at several general meetings of Messengers from the said Congregations, in the County of Somerset and the Counties near adjacent; (1658?).⁴ LB

¹The copy of Right Constitution in the Thomason Collection is dated 12 May, 1654 (Thom. Tr., ii, 65).

²Second General Epistle appeared in 1649 and was used in Second Volume (cf. bibliographical entry #38 *infra*). Second General Epistle was also published as part of the 1652 edition of Collier's Works with a separate title page bearing the date 1651. Apparently misled by the erroneous notation concerning Works in the Bodleian Catalogue, Whitley catalogues Second General Epistle under the year 1651 (31-651) with a cross-reference to 86-649 and 87-649 and 87-649 respectively.

³The only copy of Seventh Day Sabbath known to be extant is found in the BB volume described in the footnotes to bibliographical entries #2 and #7 *supra*. Cf. also Westlake, *op. cit.*, 113-4.

⁴The only extant copy of this tract is found in the library of BB, shelfmark [T. F. 8. (5)]. There is no title page to the tract (thus no date or printer given) and the title listed in entry #32 *supra* is the caption with which the pamphlet commences. The text (comprising fifty-

Whitley
Starr

#17-657
#CC373

seven queries and the replies they occasioned plus a brief postscript by Collier) is reprinted in Assoc. Rec., 54-69. Bound with and immediately following Several Resolutions in the BB volume is an imperfect copy [T. F. 8. (6)] of the exhortatory circular letters issued from meetings of the same Baptist Western Association that answered the questions in Several Resolutions. The only copy of this second tract (with intact text but no title page) is in LF, shelfmark (T. 323. 10). As has been noted, however, when one considers that both of the pamphlets were designed and printed 'for what may be called domestic purposes, their rarity and lack of title-page is not surprising'. (Nuttall, 'West. Assoc.', 214 n.). The complete text of this pamphlet of circular letters is reprinted in Assoc. Rec., 70-95.

The postscript to Several Resolutions and the preface to the collection of circular letters (both signed by Collier) make it clear that Collier compiled and edited both tracts. In the postscript to Several Resolutions Collier explains that he had 'occasioned some few of these to be printed only for the churches' benefit..., being likewise desired by some brethren to do so.' (Assoc. Rec., 69). He commences the preface to the circular letters by stating that he had 'endeavoured the compiling and publishing of the epistles from the messengers to the churches at the several general meetings' and that he had undertaken to do this 'at the desire and appointment of the brethren at the general meeting at Tiverton' (Assoc. Rec., 70). Both the crucial role Collier played in the Western Association during these years and the fact that he signed (either solely or with others) the great majority of the circular letters must draw one almost irresistibly to the conclusion that Collier was intimately involved not only in the editing, but also in the composition and the final form of the Association's answers to queries and circular epistles (Nuttall, 'West. Assoc.', 213-15). Cf. also footnote to bibliographical entry #11 supra. Given that the date of the Tiverton meeting (which provided the catalyst for at least the second tract's publication) was 15-18 September 1657, it is probable that both pamphlets were published in 1658 (cf. Nuttall, 'West. Assoc.', 214-15 and Assoc. Rec., 53, 97).

Since the answers to the queries presented at the various meetings of the Association were intended for the guidance of the various churches and the circular epistles were instructive and exhortatory in design, it is most probable that these documents (or the substance contained therein) were carried back to the churches by the messengers sent to the various association meetings. The fact that some of 'the epistles from the messengers to the churches at the several general meetings' announced the place and date agreed upon for the next meeting lends further credence to the supposition for an earlier circulation (Assoc. Rec., 70). Although it is not clear in what form (MS. or otherwise) these documents were made available prior to 1658, it seems that at least one was printed before that date. Harvard University Library has in its possession a broadsheet printed for Thomas Brewster in 1657

33. Thomas Collier, A Sober and Moderate Answer to Nehemiah Coxes's Invective(pretended) Refutation(as he saith) of the gross Errors and Heresies Asserted by Thomas Collier, In his

commencing with the words To all the churches of Jesus Christ...and signed by Collier, Nathaniel Strange, and Thomas Glasse, Wing(2nd edn. rev.), #C5300A. This seems to be identical to the epistle issued from Tiverton 18 September, 1657 which involved Collier in further dispute with the Quakers and was printed together with other of the Association's circular letters in 1658(cf. #32 supra). A comparison of the 1657 broadsheet edition with that of 1658 reveals only minor alterations of spelling and punctuation. Further evidence of a printed edition of the Tiverton epistle is the following statement: 'Lately I saw printed Epistle, signed by Thomas Collier and others, wherein your condition in some measure was expressed and confessed'. (Epistle, p.3, emphasis mine.) Cf. also footnote to bibliographical entry #2 supra. As a consequence of the Quaker replies to the Tiverton letter, Whitley catalogued the epistle under entry #17-657. Cf. also Starr #CC379. Major portions of the Tiverton epistle are reprinted with sharply negative marginal notations by George Whitehead under 'Some Confessions concerning the baptized Churches, made by their Messengers in their bewailing Epistle from Tiverton,...and signed...by Thomas Collier, Nathaniel Strange, and Thomas Glass' in The Christian-Quaker, and his Divine Testimony Vindicated by Scripture, and Reason and Authorities; Against the Injurious Attempts, that have been lately made by several Adversaries, with Manifest Design to render Him Odiously Inconsistent with Christianity and Civil Society. In II. Parts. The First more General, by William Penn. The Second more Particular, by George Whitehead(---, 1674). The Tiverton letter is found on pp. 167-70 of the second part(the parts being paginated separately). George Fox also addresses himself to the Tiverton circular letter in The Great Mistery of the Great Whore Unfolded(London, 1659), pp.299-301.

As noted earlier, the complete text of the two pamphlets edited by Collier is reproduced in Assoc. Rec. and is supplemented as well with materials from manuscript sources concerning the meetings and activities of the Western Association(cf. Assoc. Rec., 53 concerning the additional sources used). All citations to the Association's documents used in this study refer to the reprints in Assoc. Rec. Additional information concerning Several Resolutions is found in the account made by the agents of John Thurloe of the Dorchester meeting of the Association. The meeting was held in May 1658 and Thurloe's agents reported concerning the queries presented to the meeting and then stated that 'All that was donn besides was the perusall of a little manuscript they had got printed, intituled Sertaine queries and answers proposed and answered att fower generall meetings, two whereof were to bee sent to each church who sent there messengers tither, the contents whereof I could not understand'. (Assoc. Rec., 97). Cf. Nuttall, 'West. Assoc.' 218 for evidence that the other tract containing the circular epistles was sent into circulation as well.

An examination of the imperfect BB copy of the tract composed of the circular letters may yield at least a possible explanation for

additional word, wherein his Refutation is examined and found too light. London, 1677.¹ BB

Whitley

#11-677

34. Thomas Collier, A Third General Epistle to all the Saints. VWherein is contained a brief Answer unto severall proposals of weight and concernment. Whereunto is annexed. A brief Discourse and Discovery of Gods dwelling in Saints, and of Saints dwelling in God. London, 1649.² L, MR, O, ORP, YM.

Wing

#C5299

Whitley

#87-649

Starr

#CC374-CC376

35. _____. Three Great Queries Novv in Controversie, Cleared from the Word of Truth. Namely, 1. The extent of the Death of Christ, wherein Election and Reprobation is cleared. 2. What power the Creature hath to Beleeve. 3. Whither a Beleever once in Christ by Faith may fall from Grace. London, 1645. ORP

Starr's erroneous entry (#CC373) which concludes by identifying 'Several resolutions' as being the 'Action of a meeting held at Chard, April, 1657'. The BB copy contains pp. 7-22 only and thus the last page of this copy contains the statement 'Written from the general Assembly at Charde the 18th day of the 2nd month 1657' (Assoc. Rec., 92, cf. also LF . . copy for original pagination). This is followed immediately by the introductory caption and the first two lines of the text of the Tiverton epistle and the tract then abruptly ends since pp. 24-26 (containing the rest of the Tiverton letter) are missing. It is at least possible that McIntyre (cited by Starr here) had had access to the incomplete BB pamphlet and had been thus confused as to the meeting responsible for the letter.

¹Sober and Mod. Answer is Collier's reply to Cox's Vind. Veritatis. Cf. also bibliographical entries #1 and #4.

²Third General Epistle appeared in 1649 and was bound with Second Volume (with separate pagination and title page) although it does not appear on Second Volume's general title page as being contained within the volume. It was also issued as part of the 1652 edition of Collier's Works with a separate title page bearing the date 1651. The 1649 edition appearing in Second Volume is used for citation purposes throughout this study. The annexed 'brief Discourse' mentioned in the title commences on p. 31 and continues to the end (p. 105) of Third General Epistle.

Wing
Starr

#C599A
#CC377

36. Thomas Collier, A Vindication of the Army-Remonstrance While they act sutable to those things therein remonstrated: Being a Brief and Moderate Answer to Mr. Sedgwicks Boock, Intituled, Justice upon the Army-Remonstrance. London, n. d.¹ C, I, C

Wing
Whitley
Starr

#C5301
#49-648
#CC380

37. _____. A Word in Season To a Distracted and Troubled People. Or, Some Grounds tending to Unity, and a settling of the minds (in peace) of all those who are the Sons of Peace. Faithfully and tenderly presented in this our Day of Peace, Though a day of thouble in many hearts: For the preventing (if possible it may be) the breaking forth of another war, or that if any such thing should be, yet that those who profess to follow the Lord may not be the Causers of it. London, 1655.² BBN

Wing
Starr

#C5302
#CC381

II. Collected Editions of Works

38. Thomas Collier, The Second Volume of the Works of Thomas Collier: ... London, 1649.³ L, ORP, YM.

Wing
Whitley
Starr

#C5298
#66-649
#CC372

¹This work was dated by Thomason 20 December, 1648 (Thom. Tr., i, 704). As suggested by the title, it was written in reply to William Sedgwick's Justice and Sedgwick answered Vind. Army Remonstrance with Second View.

²This extremely rare piece is Collier's brief 10-page defence of Cromwell's Protectorate written in response to the increasingly harsh criticism to which it was being subjected.

³Second Volume appeared in 1649 and the title page listed the following works as being contained within: First General Epistle, Second General Epistle, Corruption, and New Creation. Although Third General Epistle is not listed on the general title page, it appears immediately following Second General Epistle. Each of the five pieces is paginated separately and has its own title page. Second Volume was

39. Thomas Collier, The Titles of the Severall Pieces written by

the second collected edition of Collier's writings to be issued, the first being Severall Pieces (cf. bibliographical entry #39 *infra*) and has been the source of considerable confusion. This confusion arises from the fact that from the copies of Second Volume that have survived, it is impossible to conclude with any firm degree of certainty whether one or two volumes were issued separately or together since no general title page for a first volume is known to be extant (if one ever existed). The problem is compounded by the fact that the ORP and Union Theological Seminary, New York (NU) copies are misbound (cf. McAlpin, ii, 630-31). The surviving evidence suggests the following possibilities:

(i) Brit. Mus. notes, under Second Volume: "The 'First Volume' appears to have consisted of a reissue, in one volume, of 'The Glory of Christ, and the Ruine of Antichrist unveiled,' 'The Exaltation of Christ' and 'The Marrow of Christianity.'" Indeed, it may be that the 1649 edition of Collier's 'Works' was issued in this manner with the first volume (with or without a general title page) comprised of Glory of Christ, Exaltation, and Marrow with the Second Volume consisting of the works listed on its general title page plus Third General Epistle. Cf. also McAlpin, ii, 631 where this possibility is suggested by the entry for Collier's Works in 1649 despite the acknowledged lack of a general title page for the postulated vol. i.

(ii) It is also possible to theorize from the evidence that eight pieces were issued in one volume, with Glory of Christ, Exaltation, and Marrow preceding (again with or without general title page) Second Volume and the five pieces contained therein. The L copy of Second Volume is now bound this way, although it must be remembered that this order of presentation and binding may have taken place subsequent to the original date of publication. The L copy of Second Volume (shelfmark 3751. aa. 16*) is bound in the following order:

<u>Glory of Christ</u>	3751. aa. 16 (1)
<u>Exaltation</u>	3751. aa. 16 (2)
<u>Marrow</u>	3751. aa. 16 (3)
(General title page to <u>Second Volume</u>)	
<u>First General Epistle</u>	3751. aa. 16 (4)
<u>Second General Epistle</u>	3751. aa. 16 (5)
<u>Third General Epistle</u>	3751. aa. 16 (6)
<u>New Creation</u>	3751. aa. 16 (7)
<u>Corruption</u>	3751. aa. 16 (8)

Since no general title page (other than for Second Volume) is known to have existed for the collected edition of 1649 and since the L copy is used for citation of this edition by this study, it was decided to list all eight pieces in the 1649 edition of Collier's collected writings under Second Volume. Thus, all references in previous bibliographical entries to the various individual pieces (including Glory of Christ, Exaltation, and Marrow) appearing in the 1649 collected edition have

Thomas Collier... London, 1647.¹ NU

Wing #C5300
Starr #C378

40. Thomas Collier, The Works of Thomas Collier. Preacher in the West of England... London, 1652.² MR, O, ORP

Wing #C5267A
Whitley #46-652
Starr #CC382

been to Second Volume. This should not be interpreted by the reader as indicative of the writer's preference for one of the three theories here discussed. The ORP copy (shelfmark 23. c. 36) of the collected edition of 1649 also contains all eight pieces, but misbound in the following manner: 1) Exaltation; 2) Marrow; 3) Glory of Christ; 4) First General Epistle; 5) Second General Epistle; 6) Third General Epistle; 7) New Creation (followed by general title page to Second Volume); 8) Corruption.

(iii) A third possibility which cannot be discounted based on the less than complete evidence available, is that the 1649 collected edition could have been circulated both as two separate volumes and as two volumes in one.

Whitley lists additional copies of Second Volume as being located in Sion College, London (LSC) and O (which does not in fact possess a copy).

¹The only known copy of Severall Pieces is found in the McAlpin Collection of Union Theological Seminary, New York (NU). Severall Pieces appears to be the first collected edition of Collier's writings and consists of a general title page followed by five of Collier's works (each with its own title page and pagination). The writings comprising the volume are: 1) Exaltation; 2) Marrow; 3) Glory of Christ; 4) Corruption; and 5) New Creation. (cf. McAlpin, ii, 477.) Since New Creation was not preached until 29 September in 1647 it is safe to assume that Severall Pieces was published in the last quarter of that year.

²Works was published in 1652 and was the first collected edition of Collier's writings in which continuous pagination was employed throughout the volume. A general title page dated 1652 commences the work and is followed by eight of Collier's works each with its own title page dated 1651 (with the exception of Glory of Christ which has no date). The pieces comprising the volume are as follows: 1) Exaltation, pp. 1-116; 2) Marrow, pp. 117-79; 3) Glory of Christ, pp. 180-230; 4) First General Epistle, pp. 231-80; 5) Second General Epistle, pp. 281-336; 6) Third General Epistle, pp. 337-88; 7) New Creation, pp. 389-410; and 8) Corruption, pp. 411-31.

The O copy lacks the general title page but is otherwise identical

III. Published Correspondence

41. Thomas Collier, Letters dated Gilford [sic. Guildford], April 20, 1646 and London, May 2, 1646.¹

Starr

#CC356

to the NR and ORP copies of Works. Unfortunately the lack of a general title page in the O copy has led to great confusion. Whitley (cf. #31-651), following notations in the Bodleian Catalogue came to the conclusion that the pieces in Works were published in 1651 and treated them as 'reissues' and was uncertain as to 'whether' they 'were old or new stock'. Consequently, quite often Whitley, Wing, and Starr listed the pieces contained in Works as if they were separate 1651 editions of the various pieces.

¹These letters, signed by Collier, were first published by Thomas Edwards in his Gangraena(iii), 51-52 and recently and much more accessibly reprinted in White, 'Collier and Gangraena', 107-8.

APPENDIX B

The Somerset Petition

To the Honorable

The Commons assembled in Parliament:

The humble Petition of divers Gentlemen, Ministers, and
well-affected Inhabitants in the
County of Somerset,

SHEWETH,

THat your Petitioners calling to minde the continue actions of your Enemies for years past (especially those mentioned in your several Declarations) and their late Design for a second War, finde their Aymes destructive, and their Malice adjusted, and can expect no Peace from them (their specious pretence notwithstanding:) But when your Petitioners reflect their thoughts on that powerful Providence which hath still attended your Preservation (even to the height of Miracle) and frustrated that late Design (laid confidently for your Ruine) by the hands of a few of your dispersed Army, weakened by neglect of Friends, and fighting a potent enraged Enemy (ambolded with assurance of Success) We your Petitioners rest in admiration of Gods mercy towards you; and do hope shortly to enjoy a well-grounded Peace (if the Vote of No further Address be not too much forgotten) and a Reformation, according to the Word of God (the result of our witness and prayers) and to see Justice executed, the ends of the National Covenant. In pursuance of which we humbly pray,

That you accept of that Peace which God, your Protector, tenders, and not take one from flesh, or from the hands of your Enemies, lest the Kingdom, your selves, and we, become their prey.

That a Reformation be speedied and settled, according to Gods Word.

That Iustice be done on great Offenders (a second time brought before you) in satisfaction of the blood shed in your quarrel, confessed by your very Enemies to be innocent, and not to be quieted (we are confident) by an Act of Oblivion, or otherwise, then by an impartial Iustice.

That your Armies (approved faithful) be encouraged, duly paid, not laid aside, until your Enemies have laid down their thoughts of Blood and Slaughter.

That the pious Ministry may have a settled sufficiency, and not deprived of their augmentation; the fruits of your Iustice, and reward of their Sufferings.

Die Ievis, 21 Decembr. 1648.

THE House being informed, That some Gentlemen of the County of Somerset were at the door, they were called in; and there presented a Petition, which was entituled, The humble Petition of divers Gentlemen, Ministers, and well-affected Inhabitants of the County of Somerset, which after the

Petitioners were withdrawn, was read: The Petitioners being afterwards called in, Mr. Speaker gave them this Answer;

Gentlemen,

The House hath read your Petition, which consists of three Points, which sheweth your great care of Iustice, Safety and Religion; wherein you deserve extraordinary Thanks, and the House hath commended me to give you Thanks, and I do give you Thanks accordingly. And the House hath commanded me to tell you, That it is their Resolution with all speed to take into their serious consideration the three Points of your Petition consisting of Justice, Safety and Religion.

Ordered by the Commons assembled in Parliament, that this Petition by forthwith printed and published.

H : Elsynge, Cler.Parl.D. Com.

London, Printed for Edward Husband, Printer to the Honorable House of Commons, Jan. 5. 1648

NOTE CONCERNING COLLIER'S AUTHORSHIP OF THE ABOVE PETITION:

Underdown accepts Collier as 'apparently its author' (Purge, p. 178) in both Purge and Somerset. The key piece of evidence for Collier's authorship is a letter from Joshua Garment contained in State Papers, 29/1 (State Papers of Charles II, folio 94). Garment's letter is referred to by the following entry for May(?), 1660 in C.S.P.D., i, 5: '55. Information of Joshua Garment that Col. Pine and others were concerned in a petition, which went through many places by subscription, that the late King should be brought to justice, as being the main instrument in hindering the work of the Lord; Thomas Collier of Westbury, near Wells, said he was the author of it: also notices of others who were resolved against kingly power, is a faithful subject, and will try to discover the murderers of the late King'. Judging from other entries in C.S.P.D. for the same approximate period as Garment's letter, the Restoration prompted a rush of communication with the King either from men informing him of traitors or of men seeking pardon for offences against the well-known and the obscure are represented, Figures such as Col. Robert Lillburne and John Lambert appear alongside lesser lights of the period. Illustrative of the material reaching the court in the first days of the Restoration was Edward Cosyn's request for a pardon 'being by the ugly witchcraft of the late rebels, employed as a clerk and secretary to the Committee under them' (C.S.P.D., i, 8). Sir Thomas Wroth of Somerset was if anything, more direct in requesting a pardon. As summarized in C.S.P.D.: 'Many things have been done by reason of late various changes, for which he stands in need of one' (p. 9). Garment's letter is transcribed below:

As the Late King Charles the first
 was traitorously murdered by wicked men
 The way and meanes of procuringe his maiesties death
 was to my knowledge as followeth :
 a petition was brought to me to subscribe which I
 refused. the substance of the petition was that
 justice should be executed uppon the kinge for
 he was the maine and Chiefe Instrument hinderinge
 the worke of the Lord as they called itt ----
 this petition went thorough many places in England
 These mens hands I saw with severall others
 Tho, Colloer of Westbury, neere Wells in Somerset
 as he told me he was the author of itt
 Colonell Pine
 Justice Goode and his sonn of glassonbury
 Captaine Freinde of Tanton
 Captaine Jasper near brige water
 John Blendman Clothier now living in shepton malle
 with several others that I cannot remember

These men are resolved alsoe againste kingly power
 Nicolas Sceddinge neere tanton who told me he had the
 command of 120 men for Lambert last february
 Mr. Trevers formerly living in Queencamill now in London
 David Barrett of Wells that murdered deane Raleigh
 Hare of Lin [or Pin?] neare Barrok
 Captaine Barker [or Barber?] of hiham
 Doctor Cape [or Cope?] of Wellington
 John Semes and Wells a glasier of bridge water
 as I am sworne subject to our blessed sovareign
 kinge Charles the second I believe it to be my duty
 to discover the way and meanes that wicked men
 did invent to murder our Late kinge
 and shale indeavor God assistinge me soe longe as I
 live be a faithfull subiect to our Gracious
 kinge

pme Josua Garment

(Note on reverse side): 'Information of Joshua Garment againts several persons.'

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¹Based on H. Wheeler Robinson's editorial in B.Q., viii (1936-37), i and Seymour J. Price, 'William Thomas Whitley', B.Q., xii (1946-48), 357-63 it seems safe to conclude that any unsigned article or note appearing in T.B.H.S. or B.Q. prior to 1936 should be attributed to Dr. Whitley in his role as editor. This is signified by placing his name in brackets on those articles. Whitley provides an example of such unattributed authorship in a signed review of Orig. Rec. (T.B.H.S., ii (1910-11), 270-72) where he claims authorship for an unsigned article appearing in T.B.H.S., i (1908-10), 156-71.

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