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8. Contained in the letter of recommendation preserved in the Bridlington church book.
9. *Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society*, Vol.5, pp.202-218, give records of the Baptist Board meetings. Machin and Rees were never present together at the same meeting. Machin appears to have attended his last meeting on 1st April 1735.
10. In his time at Bridlington he baptised six persons. On 22nd January 1745 the Baptist Board considered an application for financial relief from his widow.
11. Representatives from the Newcastle and Hamsterley-Rowley churches had been instrumental in the formal establishment of the church and messengers from the church usually attended the association meetings (*Records of the Northern Baptist Association 1699-1726* MS in the Angus Library).
12. Letter recorded in the Bridlington church book.
13. Letter preserved in the Bridlington church book.
14. In 1716 the Midland Association commented to the church at Bewdley: 'We allow that every Church of Christ hath an Independent Right to elect and appoint their own Officers, yet the advice and help of the ministers of ye Sister Churches for the Ordination of them is expedient and makes the matter much more beautiful'. (*Midland Association 1715-1754* MS in Angus Library).
15. A statement explaining in full was made at an ordination at Salendine Nook in 1743, in which Alvery Jackson also took part. (*Baptist Quarterly*, 15, p.205).
16. James Hepburn was one of the original members of the church. After the death of Robert Prudom, Hepburn served the church for four years until it was decided that they could not call him to the pastorate.

STEPHEN COPSON, *Minister, Erdington Baptist Church, Birmingham*

REVIEWS

K. D. Brown, *A Social History of the Nonconformist Clergy in England and Wales, 1800-1930*, Clarendon Press, 1988. 244pp. £25.

Readers of this journal have already had opportunity to benefit from Professor Brown's extensive researches into the lives of Free Church ministers. Careful scrutiny of Year Books, Obituaries, Biographies and Autobiographies feeds into a remarkably complete analysis of clerical life and service which will long serve as a rich mine to be quarried by all posing questions about the context and substance of the careers of our ministers. Here are tables on their occupational and social backgrounds, their geographical and national origins, on references to ministerial conversion and the age when that change was experienced; in this Baptists stand near to Primitive Methodists in revering such an experience and apart from Congregationalists and Wesleyans who were increasingly reticent in their testimonies. Further tables analyse the training of ministers, the percentage with degree-type qualifications, the wastage in college years, the quality and experience of the educators. The age at the commencement of pastoral ministry is tabulated, as is the number of recruits from the manse; thereafter we trace the cause of ministerial losses by age cohorts, by reason of emigration, denominational or college office, death, disease or change of denomination. At the same time the analysis shows the percentage of those required to stay in ministerial harness after normal retirement age because of the lack of financial means. Statistics are also offered on length of pastorates,

the ratio of married to unmarried clergy, marriage ages, percentage of second and subsequent marriages, size of manse families and ages at death. A further display tries to show the extent of clerical involvement in community and connexional affairs. But figures are never allowed to stand alone and are always interpreted in relationship to the qualitative evidence culled from extensive reading in obituaries and memoirs. At this point I have a query: some of the anecdotal material for Baptists clearly comes from Strict Baptist sources, but I imagine the statistical analysis relates to ministers recognised by the Baptist Union, though I may be wrong.

Throughout the century a significant percentage of Baptist ministers came from a superior social class, though such a figure is partly explained by ministerial sons following their fathers. Recruitment for the Baptist ministry also increased at the bottom of the social scale, this being largely a reflection of the specialised task undertaken by Pastor's (Spurgeon's) College, indeed by 1911 almost a quarter of Baptist ministers had been trained there, a statistic all the more remarkable in the light of the fact that almost a quarter of Spurgeon's students in the first half century of the college's existence emigrated. Entry into college was not easy and involved a testing of the candidate's sense of call, his preaching potential, his academic ability and, for Welsh students coming to Bristol, their command of the English language; losses at Bristol during training ran at about one in six, but this included transfers to other institutions and those prematurely entering the pastorate, a practice which the colleges vainly sought to outlaw. The pressure on the colleges could only increase as knowledge developed, education became more widespread, and as the number of pulpits to fill expanded, and the new towns of industrial England looked for a more relevant pattern of pastoral care.

Much of the statistical material here presented is relevant to many of our contemporary debates: the production of more ministerial candidates than immediately demanded by the churches is certainly no new phenomenon, whilst it is interesting to note that Baptists lost fewer college graduates to other denominations, Charles Booth noting that Baptists possessed a deeper religious commitment than the Congregationalists, who as a result of the attacks of the the Biblical critics, in Henry Reynold's judgment, were losing far too many young men to Rome 'and High Anglican ideas of the church and of authority'. Spurgeon certainly conceived of the output of his college not in terms of a static but a dynamic denomination: some of his graduates were accordingly sent out to be church-planters, and when the plant did not thrive, then the minister, resources depleted, had to move on. In 1891 the President of the Union acknowledged a serious over-provision of ministers which provoked a writer in the *British Weekly* to claim that three-quarters of the unemployed ministers were Spurgeon's men, a charge indignantly rebutted by the college. Managing the forces of supply and demand was an unenviable task: in the years following 1918, the loss of a generation of ministers led to almost 30% of those in pastorate in 1931 being aged 60-80, whereas the comparable figure for 1911 was under 12%.

There were, of course, wide discrepancies in recompense: Stowell Brown in Liverpool had in 1861 a salary of £900, whilst 77 Welsh Baptist churches in 1862 paid their settled ministers a total of £1905 or an average of less than £25 each. The need for A Society for Augmenting the Income of Our Pastors, established in 1869, was obvious, but it only operated on a voluntary basis, effective change awaiting the compassionate bureaucracy of Shakespeare in 1909.

More profound than financial pressures, real as they were, were all the pressures of pastoral performance, not only in the spiritual realm but very often

as the visible and busy representative of chapel within the wider community. The other side of this coin was nonconformity's ongoing historic sense of social and political exclusion, which perhaps found its Indian summer under the leadership of John Clifford in the Passive Resistance Movement, in which Baptist ministers were the most active of all the nonconformist clergy. By contrast, the problem of the post-war decades was shared with the clergy of all denominations: the increasing marginalisation of the ministry in the general life of the community.

JHYB

N. H. Keeble, *The Literary Culture of Nonconformity in Later Seventeenth-Century England*, Leicester University Press, 1987, 356pp. £35. ISBN 0 7185 1207 3.

This book of heartening intelligence, sensitivity and scholarship is a comprehensive and sustained defence of nonconformist literature from the 1660s to 1700 against the excessive attention that has been given instead to courtly and fashionable 'Restoration literature'. The cumulative effect of the wide range of nonconformist literature Dr Keeble discusses is to redraw the map; no longer do we have Milton and Bunyan as, respectively, a hangover from the Renaissance (and militant Puritanism) or an exception of rustic genius. Instead, we are given a firm sense of their work in the context of a well-populated literary culture, informed by nonconformist theology and Christian humanism as well as the response to persecution. 'Political defeat was the condition of cultural achievement', he argues.

As we might expect from the author of *Richard Baxter: Puritan Man of Letters*, the range of authors and denominations discussed is wide and sympathetically presented. Particularly important here is the treatment of the Quakers, especially William Penn, in establishing the nonconformist interest in liberty, though Keeble is aware of how different and even threatening other nonconformists found them. The discussion of Penn's attack on romance is also of great interest, particularly when set against the new Restoration fiction.

The strategy is to try to escape from apologising for nonconformity by means of its occasional 'great authors', and instead to discover the coherence of its spiritual, ethical, intellectual and imaginative programme. The examples are sometimes familiar, for example when he cites Bunyan's mystery/key theory of reading in the discussion of the suspicion of sensuousness in art; but then he will discover a refreshing new way of expressing it, as in this quotation from John Corbet, 'Never terminate in the sensitive pleasure, but make use of it to raise thy Heart to God', or there will be an important revision of the accepted categories, as in the distinction between 'humane learning', or arid scholasticism, and the more acceptable forms of learning, even to the less educated nonconformists.

Readers of *The Baptist Quarterly* will not only recognise some material published in these pages; they will recognise a well-informed historian at work. This is undoubtedly a contribution to nonconformist history, as well as literary criticism, which revises our sense of the nature as well as the achievements of early nonconformity. But I suppose the book really stands and falls on its literary judgments. Here there is much trenchant and convincing argument. For instance, the comparison between the poetry of the Cavalier Lovelace and Bunyan in response to imprisonment is original and revealing. And the way in which the 'world' of Restoration comedy is characterised as 'self-preocccupied, withdrawn, indulgent' in contrast to the larger and more varied world of nonconformist writing has itself the authentic nonconformist scorn for self-

satisfied politeness. Delicious! But in the end, what the book has to offer is not so much new readings of the major figures (plenty of them on offer anyway) as resitings of them in a newly constructed perspective. Few new discoveries, however, are made amongst the literary Second Division which might stretch the canon and make the study of nonconformist literature more attractive - though I shall certainly be re-reading Penn with new interest.

This is a good book, judicious, Christian, liberal and humanist in the best sense, and I hope it is attended to. It has a somewhat dour title, but is not dourly written. Baxter would have loved it, and Sir Roger L'Estrange would have banned it. That will do for me.

ROGER POOLEY

Alexander Ganoczy, *The Young Calvin*, T & T Clark, 1966, English translation 1987, UK edition 1988. 408pp. £19.95.

Although over twenty years old, this careful study of Calvin's career down to the publication of the first edition of the *Institutes* (1536) is still most valuable and its translation makes a useful contribution to Calvin studies in English. Recognising with candour that the papacy early in the sixteenth century 'was no longer able to offer a witness that was clear and worthy of the Gospel'.(p.309), the author, an Hungarian Roman Catholic priest, writes both as a believer seeking to get inside Calvin's mind as a reformer and as a catholic with the temptation that perhaps he is too willing to make Calvin a Catholic reformer late in the 1530s.

The preface to the English edition has provided Dr Ganoczy with the opportunity to provide both a review of his reviewers over the years and a very useful survey of much recent Calvin scholarship.

Firmly establishing Calvin's thought and development in the humanist scholarship of the day, Ganoczy argues that Calvin's conversion was not 'sudden' in the sense of happening out of the blue. In spite of the fact that Calvin says so little himself about it, there is enough evidence from his life down to the end of the 1530s to suggest that it *may* have had a small crisis which was in some sense 'sudden' - the word he uses in his own only reference to it - but that there is good reason to see the change developing quite gradually also. Ganoczy says that Calvin, in speaking of a 'subita conversio' was half-consciously conflating it with Paul's Damascus Road experience, writing as prophet rather than as historian, condensing the flow of events into one dramatic moment. Certainly there is hardly any evidence outside this for a sudden change either in terms of a crisis of penitence or of confessional commitment. This, the author suggests, is why it is so difficult to mark a moment during the 1530s when Calvin moved from being a catholic to being a protestant reformer.

Of course, there is much more to this book than its discussion of Calvin's conversion. A great deal of attention is given to the various influences upon the thought of the first edition of the *Institutes* and, building upon the work done by other scholars, Ganoczy shows that a considerable debt was owed to Luther, Melanchthon, Zwingli and Bucer, and also to the scholastics Calvin criticised so fiercely and the humanists to whom he owed so much of his academic training. Above all, however, the portrait is of a man overwhelmed by a call to be a Reforming leader.

This is a book that no-one seriously interested in Calvin should neglect.

B. R. WHITE