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ISSN 0965–6235

Congregational History Society

Magazine

Volume 6 Number 4
Autumn 2011

ISSN 0965–6235

THE CONGREGATIONAL HISTORY SOCIETY MAGAZINE

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Contents

EDITORIAL

In this magazine Nigel Smith of Princeton offers his tribute to Geoffrey Fillingham Nuttall 1911–2007, the centenary of whose birth occurs in November this year. Geoffrey Nuttall's contribution to history, and to Congregational history in particular, is unique, not least because he continued to write and publish well into his 90s. Those of us who knew him were fortunate to have such a fine teacher and demanding taskmaster, as Nigel Smith makes clear in his thoughtful comments on Geoffrey's life and scholarly achievement.

Marilyn Lewis introduces us to the thought of Thomas Wadsworth who tangled with some radical Independents in the London of the 1650s. We also welcome Gordon Campbell to our magazine with his paper on Robert Little which reminds readers that international, denominational and theological boundaries were not set in stone in the 19th century, any more than in our own age.

NEWS AND VIEWS

CHS Secretary

In May 2011 our long serving CHS secretary, Colin Price, stood down from office and was replaced by Richard Cleaves. We thank Colin for his loyalty and interest and for all he has done quietly but consistently to promote the causes for which the society has stood. He will continue to serve on the society's committee. We wish him and Val a long and healthy retirement. Richard has added his own thanks later in this magazine.

Richard Cleaves is minister of Highbury Congregational Church, Cheltenham. He has a doctorate touching on the links between Luther and Cardinal Thomas Cajetan and brings to the role of secretary a fine intellectual curiosity.

Congregational Archives

Some of you may know that the United Reformed Church has decided that its sizeable collection of manuscript records should be moved from its offices in Tavistock Palace, the short distance across London, to the Congregational Library, located with Dr Williams's Library, in Gordon Square, WC1H OAR. The move will occur later this year. The Evangelical Fellowship of Congregational Churches has decided to act similarly and to transfer its records south to the

Congregational Library. These are responsible decisions. Historians and students of twentieth century British Christianity might wish that the Congregational Federation would also see fit to handover its records to the library so that one central repository of Congregational manuscripts, committee and board minutes, memoranda, and other miscellaneous relevant material, perhaps some of it personal, may be housed in one central place. With personal material, it is always possible to place a restricted access rule upon it, especially where sensitivities are involved.

However one major drawback to achieving this desirable aim is that somehow, in the move of offices at Nottingham, it appears that many of the original documents have been lost, rendering any deposit of CF records from that quarter severely limited. In order to rectify or allay this misfortune, if any of our readers, or their ministers, family members and friends, have past minutes of council, committee and/or board meetings, or any correspondence relating to such CF meetings, or to area associations, please do not throw them away but send them, or at least copies of them, for initial sorting and cataloguing, to our CHS librarian and research secretary, Pat Hurry at Bunyan Meeting, Bedford. She will collect and collate the various materials and then send them on, suitably packaged, to the library in London.

This combined archive, currently being assembled at the Congregational Library, has the potential to be of enormous importance for the study of twentieth century Protestant Christianity and of ecumenism. It will undoubtedly be consulted by scholars and research students, attempting to understand what has happened to the Congregational churches in this country and why. If you want such scholarly enquirers to know why you and your churches behaved as you did, then please support the venture to compile a unified archive of the Congregational Federation's activities since 1972. It is vital that the CF's story is told accurately and fairly. This is only possible if its records can be gathered together in one place, and studied in conjunction with other related records. Your co-operation in this matter may be crucial.

Scottish United Reformed and Congregational College

Readers of the CHS Magazine will be interested to note the 200th anniversary of the founding of the Scottish United Reformed and Congregational College. On 13 March 1811 ministers and members of the Congregational churches in Scotland, led by Greville Ewing and Ralph Wardlaw, gathered in order to form an educational institution for training ministers. As Willie McNaughton stated in his article in our Spring 2009 edition, "The metamorphose [sic] of the Glasgow Theological Academy over the years resulted in the Scottish United Reformed and Congregational College". Among the graduates of the college are David Livingstone, Eric Liddell, Peter Marshall and Vera Kenmure (1904–73) who was

the first ordained woman minister in Scotland. She became president of the Congregational Union of Scotland in 1952 and friends may claim, therefore, that she was the first female to attain national leadership of any group of churches in the United Kingdom.

Events to commemorate the anniversary have occurred throughout the year. The improved relations, as regards the college, between the United Reformed Church and the Congregational Federation give grounds for renewed confidence and should provide a firm basis for future co-operation.

Notes from our *new CHS secretary* who asks 'Where are your local church records?'

I am pleased to take over the post of secretary of the Congregational Historical Society from Colin Price and to express my appreciation for all that he has done and the support he continues to give the society. My contribution, I fear, may be less momentous.

History is important: it helps us to understand the people we are. It is important in a church context too. Congregationalists sometimes imagine that the only people who count in a Congregational church are those who belong at this time. That, it seems to me, is mistaken. All those, who have gone before us in the faith in that local church, are not dead and buried and long gone. They are among the communion of saints who are risen and who are still in a wonderful fellowship of glory with us.

In any church something has been handed on by those who have gone before us, helping to make us the church family we are. It behoves us to treasure their memory. We do that as we learn their stories and relate them. That's history! When I became minister of each church I have served, I considered it part of my responsibility to look into the church archive, and get to know the stories of the people who have made the church I am joining what it is. It's a wonderful counter to those voices who insist 'we have always done it this way': they are often the ones who have not actually read the story of the church from its beginning but only dwelled on what they have experienced!

Keeping a church archive can be a challenge. Highbury Congregational Church has a good archive stretching back to 1827 when it was founded by, among others, some from Highbury Congregational College in Islington who were planting churches in new towns across the country, of which Cheltenham was one. For years it was kept in cupboards in the church hall and, at a recent refurbishment, transferred to a loft where the documents were held in plastic, waterproof containers. In torrential rain two years ago, water cascaded through the flat roof and down the wall behind the shelves where the archive is stored. Thankfully, nothing was spoiled. The experience prompted us to think again.

Our scout group, having celebrated its centenary within months of

Scouting's national centenary, placed its records in the county archive. We then decided to deposit our church archive there too. We sorted the records into boxes and did a rough summary, listing the contents of each box. The entire archive was accepted and, within weeks of depositing it, a comprehensive list of all the documents was produced by volunteers working at the County Archive offices. That was returned to the church. In due course it will be published online.

Not only have we a much safer place for our archives, but for the first time ever we have a comprehensive catalogue, listing all the documents. And the real excitement is that that listing will be in the public domain, accessible to all researching the history, not only of our church, but also of the school we ran for half a century more than a century ago! Think seriously about the state of your church archives and consider lodging them in your local county archive office.

I hope to make a register of Congregational churches, indicating where their archives are held and whether they are catalogued online. Contact me with that information on Richard.cleaves@highburychurch.co.uk

CORRESPONDENCE

We have received a card from Morris Sewter, now living near Bury St Edmund's, in response to the article, in our last issue, on the Hampton Court Conference and the King James version of the Bible. He was interested and "surprised" to see that one of the Puritans at the conference was John Knewstub, whose living was at Cockfield, a few miles from his home in Suffolk. Morris notes also in passing that his son attended The Trinity School of John Whitgift, in Croydon. He does not criticise the education which his son received there, though he realises that Archbishop Whitgift "was not a friend to our predecessors".

In addition, Andy Vail has contributed the following comment on

Congregational History on the Internet. The growth of the Internet has opened up many new possibilities for Congregational historians. Of particular value is the website www.archive.org through which downloadable copies of many books and journals from North American and British Libraries have been made available to all. Journals available include the Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society, Vols 1, 8–21, and the Index to vols 1–19, the Congregational Magazine (1822–25, 1827, 1845), The British Monthly (12/1901–3/1905) and World Congregationalism Vols 1–7 (1959–65). Key histories available include Waddington's 3 volume Congregational History, Fletcher's 4 volume history of independency, Dale's History, Gordon's Freedom after Ejection, and the proceedings of the first 4 International Congregational Councils.

Another useful site, perhaps familiar to our readers, is Quinta Press,

www.quintapress.com/PDF_Books.html who have made available on line a large number of books that are either a long way from publication or will probably never be economically viable to print, although many of them have not yet been proofed. They include works by John Cotton, Richard Mather, Thomas Hooker, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Binney, R W Dale, William Jay, J A James, and P T Forsyth.

Up to date information on continuing Congregationalists can be found through the websites of the International Congregational Fellowship www.intercong.org and the World Evangelical Congregational Fellowship www.wecf-cong.org.

LIFE AND WORKS WITH GEOFFREY F NUTTALL

'I think this is so fine I like to think it is what heaven must be like.' We'd walked to the church at Hilterfingen, and were nestled on a bench above the north shore of the Thunersee. It was a fine day in July 1987, but not too sunny. For most years between 1986 and 1996 I went with Geoffrey Nuttall for a week or so during his summer sojourn at Oberhofen, about twenty minutes by *Dampfer* down the lakeshore from Thun. These weeks were partly like the many visits I made to his retirement quarters in Bournville, Birmingham, with long sessions pouring over papers (mine or his) on seventeenth century Puritanism, and chasing references or ideas in the books we had to hand, interrupted by recourse to mineral water, dry bread sticks and squares of Cadbury's or Swiss chocolate. But we also wandered on the steep hills above Oberhofen, turning to look across the lake at the hills, mountains and villages on the other side, straining to see as far as the ski slopes of Wengen, at the heart of the Berner Oberland. Conversation of all kinds was unending, but mostly, once again, Puritanism in its radical form, our shared interest, with more history, literature and philosophy around it (once a long discussion of Kant, often Shakespeare, one year we read Dante's *Il Purgatorio* together in Italian). Somewhere on the slopes behind the hotel was a stone on which a quotation from Martin Buber had been etched: we read it and discussed the best translation of it into English. When I told my wife of Geoffrey's words she wept with the poignant beauty of it, and now I think of going on a Sunday morning to *Gottesdienst* in the church by the bench, and the very confident and loving presence of the pastor: 'All of this glory is His, but for a while it is ours to be thankful for too.' In the evenings we would dine and then sit usually with Geoffrey's longtime friend from Vienna, Fr Dr Helga Lipmann, herself a great Anglophile and translator of English verse into German and vice versa (she paid a lifelong homage: her brother had fled to England from Nazi Vienna and flourished in Manchester).

It is impossible for me to treat Nuttall's scholarship without some account of how he was as a person and how he treated other people. He approached history in a similarly personal way and believed that with application one could make a kind of contact with the dead, with their personalities, with their very presence. He told me that, when working on Richard Baxter, he felt the great man's presence behind him as he wrote. In this he was quite remarkable and unlike most historians of his generation: not in thinking these thoughts but in believing them, and making them so central to his approach.

This attitude might be thought to relate more to the classic Victorian novel with its interest in the complex life of characters. More than once Geoffrey said he believed George Eliot was the greatest English novelist, and his earlier letters to me contained quotations from and allusions to his undergraduate favourite Virginia Woolf, then of course still a new and somewhat disruptive presence in English letters. I admire Woolf greatly but I didn't notice these references at the time, yet one constant theme in our discussions was the consonance between the ability of the Puritans in their autobiographical literature to voice the interiority of the self and the way in which the early twentieth-century revolution in modern fiction involved a turn towards revealing a human interiority.

It was in Nuttall's family home that he would have encountered the novel. His mother Muriel, to whom he was deeply attached, and who died young when he was nineteen, had read English literature at Edinburgh. She was an enthusiastic reader and in early twentieth-century Colwyn Bay, where they lived, the intricacy of the novel's reflection on people and life was continuous with the comfortable, well-governed and very Christian, indeed Nonconformist life that Nuttall learned to lead. When facing adversity, his mother would advise him: 'That's right, dear, turn your heart to Jesus!' Many of his scholarly habits came from these years: his love of gathering lists of significant godly people, and trying to find out as much about them as possible. He had, he told me, a boyhood interest in the lives and ways of all pious people, not just reformed ones, and was especially interested in monks and the monastic life, and how, in the Protestant world, the best of monastic piety, so to speak, might be said to have been relocated. Once on a visit to Bournville he showed me some cuttings about the life of monks from a 1920s educational magazine, and how much he was impressed by Dom David Knowles. Piety from anywhere impressed him, and he knew it through this meticulous, assiduous habit of gathering information on people, when born, where, to which church they belonged, what they wrote if they did. Lists upon lists he would make. Nuttall was Puritanism's great prosopographer, his documentation set out in countless shorter articles and contributions to larger works, like his notes for the Nickalls edition of George Fox's *Journal*, his work on Quaker biography, as well as all the information in his monographs. Perhaps his particular triumph in the realm of the printed book in this respect is his *Calendar of the Correspondence of Richard Baxter* (Oxford 1991), prepared with N H Keeble, a superbly judged and well annotated list of Baxter's letters, with copious quotations from the most important extracts. Baxter understood his age so well and acutely, and Nuttall and Keeble transmit that sense with unerringly helpful detail and confident judgment. He was not so much interested in interpretation as in preserving this documentation so that it would stand for all to see into the future. It is no coincidence that he was born in the age when the Dictionary of National Biography had its first impact, the

DNB, a work that was never far from his desk. Its editor was Leslie Stephen, Virginia Woolf's father. When the Baxter *Calendar* appeared Nuttall was in his 80th year. By that age of course most scholars who have lived that long have largely given up all hope of publishing. Although undoubtedly helped by a younger and sympathetic collaborator, Nuttall's work here feels more like a man at the height of his career in his 50s.

Several times Geoffrey told me that these early skills, that stood him in so much stead for the future, were something of a mystery in their arrival. No one in his family could quite account for how they had arisen. But this discipline was extremely important and would be compensation for some indifferent schoolteaching.[1] Perhaps learning Latin and Greek at school gave him the framework later to push on with Welsh on his own, his facility with which would help him so much with the Puritans. I do not think there is anyone outside Wales (even if we think of him as Anglo-Welsh, born in Wales to English parents and English not Welsh-speaking) who has done so much to explain Welsh religion and Welsh letters of the seventeenth century to the outside world.

Nuttall read classics at Balliol, but before then he was sent to Oxford to finish school and cram for university entrance. He lodged with an older female cousin on Norham Road and hoped to gain a scholarship to Corpus Christi, whose President at the time was the great Erasmus editor P S Allen (whom Nuttall was able to assist with this project). Entrance to Corpus didn't work out, so he went to Balliol, where he would share a set with the future Sir Richard Southern, the very distinguished medieval historian and President of St John's College, Oxford. At that time too Christopher Hill, who would become the most influential seventeenth-century historian of his time, was an undergraduate in the college. Nuttall's education at school and then in Oxford was humanistic in a line that stretched back directly to Erasmus. Although the Nuttalls had been Dissenters since the seventeenth century (and there were lines of Congregational ministers on both sides of the family), Geoffrey lived after the time when a dissenting education meant exclusion from the English universities, so after Bootham's Academy (the Quaker school in York) it was classics at Oxford, Mods and Greats.

It was his Congregational background and his own already well-formed scholarly habits and interests that kept him apart from undergraduate activities. Being interested in people he read the 'new psychology' of those years, but he was not touched by the intellectual crisis that the post-World War I decade with the Great Depression, and the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, produced, a crisis of faith among the young, educated elite with the Protestant establishment that stretched back into Victorian England. You had a choice in the early 1930s

1 For further details see the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* entry by David Wykes.

between embracing Catholicism and Marxism. Hill chose the latter and it would never cease to be a strong presence in his life and every word he wrote. For him, raised in a prosperous northern Methodist family (he was a solicitor's son), the church was not enough. For Nuttall, the church, his church, was what there was, and after three years of utterly indifferent and tired tuition in Balliol, and an undistinguished degree, he set himself on the path of ministerial training and with the intention of being a church historian too.

He trained at Mansfield College, the Congregational college that opened in Oxford in 1886, spent a year in Marburg in 1936–7, where he learned from the scholar of English Puritanism, Theodor Sippell (who, said Nuttall, would decapitate dandelions with his ear trumpet as they walked together through local parks), and then became the Congregational minister at Warminster on Salisbury Plain. It was here, during the run up to and then outbreak of World War II, amidst ministerial work that he did not like, and at a time when the pacifist Nuttall watched those around him going to war, that he researched his first great statement *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience*, which would eventually be published in 1946. The book was developed from his Oxford DD of 1945, he being only the second nonconformist to be granted one.

The Holy Spirit may also have been and may yet be Nuttall's most influential work. In it, he showed how theology (even as seemingly general or variously defined a notion as 'the Holy Spirit') came together with personality in a careful examination of Puritan writing that appeared to make one see Puritanism from the inside, as if one were a seventeenth-century Puritan, or had the vantage point of seeing thorough their eyes. Nuttall's preface notes some early twentieth-century attention to the issue, but that, in the wake of 'the last two decades … the general moral upset and mental chaos have not been without their effect upon theology.'[2] Fascism and Nazism had made humanity seem utterly depraved, divinity necessarily remote and unapproachable. *The Holy Spirit* was a work of history intended to show that it was possible to discern the presence of God's work in our experience, and that it might be valuable in 1946 to do so. Some at least had believed this position in the past, and so a consideration of the theme might help to reawaken interest in the present. This was in its way quite a challenge, a decidedly ministerial call to our attention, and also working against the grain of most church history that remained intra-confessional. By contrast, Nuttall's *The Holy Spirit* compared early nonconformist church traditions (Presbyterian, early separatist, Independent, Baptist) with Quakers, who were hitherto considered beyond the pale. Here they were all together, an intricate map of associations and passageways of faith, a map that remains indispensable for anyone approaching this field. Certainly Christopher Hill would have been

2 *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience* (Oxford 1946) vii.

unable to frame what many people believe to have been his most successful work, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas in the English Revolution* (1972), without Nuttall's guidance, as he acknowledged in his preface. Some of the early reviewers were challenged by this ecumenical approach. Yet this map of English radical religion is unsurpassed, unsurpassable and seems only to be augmentable as opposed to replaceable. David Como's impressive study of pre-1640 antinomianism begins with, learns from and expands Nuttall's early interest in the Grindletonians of Craven, Yorkshire, and their leader Roger Brereley, to which he devoted an appendix.[3] Nuttall had in fact articulated the inner architecture of enthusiasm, with no recourse at all to the pejorative categories that the use of that negative word involved. At the time this was a remarkable achievement and it would have a very considerable impact in the future.

What seemed to me to be the case when I first read the book, in the autumn of 1981, was that unlike Hill (whose work I had already encountered as an undergraduate four years previously), Nuttall was allowing the radical Puritans and Quakers to talk their own language. 'Puritan faith and experience is itself the subject: what is endeavoured is, rather, correctly, to interrelate its own parts and to appreciate it as a whole worth contemplation itself.'[4] For Hill, the point of English radical religion (and politics) was that it was a manifestation of a popular revolution that was squashed first by the newly victorious ruling middle class (the Parliamentarians), who had used the humble lower orders (and Hill tended to see all radicals as such people) to overturn the monarchy and the church only to reassert their own class ascendancy. Puritan faith was genuine enough in its own terms but it was really a mask for a temporarily released popular energy and creativity. This was a version of the Marxist view of the English Revolution and, when he learned of it, Nuttall found it unpersuasive. There is also in Nuttall's approach a firm batting into the distance of several views that might be taken about radical Puritans and Quakers (that they were like or indebted to sixteenth century religious radicals or earlier mystics, or were heavily influenced by Jakob Böhme, or the Cambridge Platonists). This tough and unbending line (part of which I would myself later argue against) might be one of a piece with the very high scholarly standards for which he was famous, an approach that discouraged colleagues from using him as an external examiner. The piercing bright blue eyes really would strike fear into his friends and students. I intuited from his pages a severity that would lead me to defer seeking him out until after my own doctoral dissertation had been completed. There's a lot that Nuttall would have

3 *The Holy Spirit* 178–80. D Como *Blown by the Spirit: Puritanism and the Emergence of an Antinomian Underground in pre-Civil-War England* (Stanford 2004); see also N Smith 'Elegy for a Grindletonian: Poetry and Heresy in Northern England, 1615–1640' *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33 (Durham, NC 2003) 335–52.

4 *The Holy Spirit* 19.

learned from the Quaker scholar Henry J Cadbury, but he did not stint to correct Cadbury's judgments in his own writing.[5]

Nuttall followed *The Holy Spirit* with what I regard as his greatest article in 1954, 'James Nayler: A Fresh Approach', originally given as an address to the Friends' Historical Society. Here Nuttall takes the much demonized early Quaker enthusiast and shows how his writings and actions were part of an explainable environment of enthusiastic profession in the 1650s that touched all social ranks, and that involved a language, or series of 'dialects', of extremely mystical or ecstatic terms. Nayler and his followers, and many others at the time, were thought by contemporaries to be followers of the Family of Love, and Nuttall discusses the extent to which it would have been possible to know the writings of the Familist leader Hendrik Niclaes. The lecture is an extension of the work of *The Holy Spirit* but Nuttall also had a specific agenda: he wanted to show not only that Nayler was not an isolated case, an embarrassment in the early history of the Quakers, but also that Nayler had repented for his sensational simulation of Jesus (for he had ridden into Bristol riding on a donkey in imitation of Christ's entry into Jerusalem). For Nuttall, not only was Nayler a balance against Fox's particular kind of unbending idealism, but importantly and again different from Fox, Nayler understood the ongoing need to cope with sin: he *did* repent for his excessive behaviour, and he had enduring 'pity for the bemused, backsliding Christian'.[6] For Nuttall, Nayler was the Christian radical who prevailed against his enemies by his belief in and love for Jesus. It is the quality of that 'love' that Nuttall saw, and I suspect it connected with Nuttall's own pacifism, the most visible mark of his own Christian radicalism. We should heed it very seriously.

It was a belief in the highest standards, the quest for an intensely focused material accuracy of reference that made possible this isolation of the seventeenth-century (especially radical) Puritan voice with its emphasis upon the witness of experience and set imaginatively in a time when the very discussion of what the 'self' might be was so various and productive. Later historians with their own interests in the developing history of the self, such as the pre-eminent historian of political thought Quentin Skinner, or the social historian Sir Keith Thomas, would come to value Nuttall's work in this respect especially. It is worth noting that this commitment to faith as a lens, through which to make manifest faith in the past speak in the present, was shared by Sir Richard Southern, not in his own early prodigious work but by the late 1930s when he was on the way to producing his first book. That severity as well as sweetness was

5 Eg Nuttall 'James Nayler: A Fresh Approach' reprinted in G F Nuttall *Early Quaker Studies and The Divine Presence* (Weston Rhyn 2003) 94, n 34.

6 In *Early Quaker Studies* 103.

part of Nuttall's outlook, as it would be for Southern, and that it involved a bridging of faith and scholarship, is evident in an Oxford University sermon called 'Love's Constraint?' preached by Nuttall in October 1972:

> The love of Christ, we said at the beginning, is a gentle thing. And, *because* it is, if we respond to the call to live under its restraint, we shall find not only paternalism *and* violence shut *out*; we shall find *ourselves* shut *in*, to Christ's 12 own way of persuasion, encouragement and forgiveness. It is indeed a broad place, where we have room to breathe the divine air of the heavenly places where Christ is King; but it *has* its limits: the limits set by the constraint of his love.[7]

This stance, and the fact that he spoke from within the free churches in a growingly secular world, made Nuttall not the obvious first port of call beyond the particular nonconformist and Quaker readers, especially as seventeenth century studies expanded within the different humanities disciplines during and after the 1960s. Hill had helped set up the influential journal *Past and Present* in the 1950s, originally the journal of the Communist Party's historical study group. It would soon become the most exciting outlet for innovative academic history, and after mass defections from the Communist Party after the 1956 Hungarian risings were brutally repressed, Hill began to publish in the mainstream and attracted growing attention.[8] You had to be more patient and discerning to find Nuttall, and to let his pages speak to you. At this earlier stage of his writing, Nuttall had no interest in Levellers and the popular politics of the New Model Army, to whose existence Hill would draw so much attention, as radical Puritanism was turned into democratic or radical politics, and this association was the very appeal that made Hill's work popular. *The Holy Spirit* has no references to any Levellers and just one reference to Gerrard Winstanley the mystical communist in which he is mistakenly identified as a Leveller rather than a Digger, and as someone who did not become a Quaker, which in fact he eventually probably did.[9] This is a most unusual lapse for Nuttall, and suggests that his focus was decidedly religious and not political, certainly not in the terms in which seventeenth century radical politics would be understood from the 1950s.

I did feel upon reading *The Holy Spirit* at first a certain amount of 'constraint' but then too enormous suggestiveness, and if you went back to Nuttall's sources, primary and secondary, that suggestiveness grew until it became a driving motor of one's own impressions. It was a denial of the historian's ego, as the organizer of overarching patterns of historical transformation, for the sake of drawing the

7 *Love's Constraint?* in *Early Quaker Studies* 272.

8 See eg C Hill *Puritanism and Revolution; Studies in Interpretation of the English Revolution of the 17th century* (1958), idem *Society and Puritanism in Pre- Revolutionary England* (1964).

9 *The Holy Spirit* 136. See now J Gurney *Brave Community: The Digger Movement in the English Revolution* (Manchester 2007).

reader into the very substance of the material evidence, so that you too would be connected with it. Some might think his focus on Puritanism and radical Puritanism too narrow but it is in fact situated in as broad a range of consideration as any historian of his generation could make. The opening chapter of *The Holy Spirit* travels the broad extent of Christianity in time and space, with particular attention to the Roman Catholic position on the Spirit (the Jesuit martyr Edmund Campion is given particular attention), and it is assumed that the reader can follow Latin and German, the former being quoted readily in the text without translation, the latter in the footnotes.

The degree of sympathy with the radical Puritan and Quaker position is striking and opens many doors. Nuttall understands perfectly well the 'conservative' position of Baxter and Owen who doubted the reality of a contemporary indwelling spirit (and he would later devote pages to their better understanding, especially Baxter, with whom he felt a special sympathy), but in his earlier work he placed first emphasis on the radicals, as he defined them. At a time when doctoral research on religious radicals was apparently forbidden in Oxford, this stance was extremely important.[10] Nuttall himself would find it difficult to publish an early collection of papers on 'Christian Enthusiasm' in Great Britain so they first appeared in the United States in the Quaker heartland of Pennsylvania.[11] In *The Holy Spirit* one hears the excited to and fro of dispute concerning the meaning and place of the Spirit, relative to the Word, how it was to be discerned, how it related to prayer and prophesying. Nuttall quotes his radicals and their opponents at great length, up to two thirds of a page of small font and in dense succession. If you did it today there would be considerable disapproval but he saw it as part of his purpose: 'there is bound to be much quotation, but an attempt has been made to quote no more than is needed for the purpose of the immediate argument.'[12] Behind it was a growing and ultimately unsurpassed knowledge of printed and manuscript sources. Nuttall managed to master the holdings of the major nonconformist collections, especially Dr Williams Library in Gordon Square, London, New College, London, and the Library of Friends House, on the Euston Road. The published calendars and reference work in these libraries left by Nuttall is testimony both to the authority and indispensability of his work.[13]

10 Austin Woolrych was not allowed to proceed with a thesis on the Fifth Monarchists: personal testimony of Woolrych to Nigel Smith.

11 *Studies in Christian Enthusiasm, Illustrated from Early Quakerism* (Wallingford, PA. 1948).

12 *The Holy Spirit* viii.

13 As in his contributions to the Dictionary of Quaker Biography, his typescript *Early Quaker Letters from the Swarthmore MSS to 1660* (1952), his *Calendar of the correspondence of Philip Doddridge, DD, (1702–1751)* (1979), and his jointly authored calendar of Baxter's letters.

The sympathy for the Puritans is rooted in an optimistic or at least balanced appreciation of the origins of Puritanism, which is to say that he saw it in 'the Renaissance' as much as in the 'Reformation', and this was a view derived from the German scholarship that influenced him at an early stage. What he meant by this claim was that a broad spectrum of those called Puritans equated the Holy Spirit with reason, from John Preston and Richard Sibbes through John Goodwin and the poet John Milton to such true radicals as John Robotham and Walter Cradock. I find this view compelling, so that although Puritans often placed the Spirit higher than reason, nonetheless they valued the latter greatly. Today this view is often entirely forgotten and Puritans are represented as deadly killjoys, driven by the Calvinist doctrine of double predestination, obsessed with the need for the punishment of all sins, and decidedly anti-rational. This is in part driven by the perception that early modern Puritans were the predecessors of modern day southern American biblical fundamentalists. A recent work on Milton gravely misrepresents him and Puritanism by attempting to argue that he was no Puritan, a preposterous claim for someone who publicly attacked episcopacy, was a friend of Roger Williams and was thought worthy of employment by Oliver Cromwell.[14] More serious scholarship has played up a sober Puritan piety over and against the Christian liberalism and liberty seen by Nuttall and the rebellious version of this played up by Christopher Hill.[15] Worthy attention is paid to the 'conservative' figures in this new wave of scholarship, nearly all of which Nuttall would have welcomed, but the baby (GFN) has been thrown out with the bathwater (Hill). Thus the recent Cambridge Companion to Puritanism contains a decidedly undersized appreciation of the radicals howsoever it tipped its hat most respectfully to Nuttall.[16]

The Holy Spirit put the premium on the theology of 'experience', of knowing God 'experimentally'. The extensive theological foundations for this position would be set out in subsequent studies, and Nuttall's work was a foundation for almost everything that followed. That the 'confession of experience' was at the heart of the idea of an Independent or Congregational church was explored in his next book length study, *Visible Saints. The Congregational Way 1640–1660* (Oxford, 1957). Characteristically this was not a detailed account of the technical theological issues of church governance by which the Congregationalists came to know themselves distinctly from the Presbyterians. In this respect Nuttall's book differed

14 Catherine Gimelli Martin *Milton among the Puritans: The Case for Historical Revisionism* (Farnham and Burlington,VT 2010).

15 See eg J Spurr *English Puritanism, 1603–1689* (1998).

16 See eg J Coffey *Politics, Religion and the British Revolutions: The Mind of Samuel Rutherford* (Cambridge 1997); J Coffey and P C H Lim eds *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (2008).

from several studies published close in time to it.[17] What it does tell, through copious vivid examples, is how the Independents were moved, one by one, to take the stance they did, and what their sense of fellowship was, what were its limits—who was considered 'fit' for church membership. In other words, in addition to the formal matter of the subject of experience, Nuttall focuses on the experience of being a very early Congregationalist both in the general sense and with a view to capturing precise historical moments, as they related to the movement, such as John Owen's sense of shock when he read John Cotton and became immediately convinced of the Congregational position.[18] Chapter III, 'A Willing Mind: The Principle of Freedom' is a tour de force of Nuttall's method, gathering energy as it goes of the personally expressed conviction that a true church required that each member voluntarily decides to be a Christian as a matter of conscience and so then agrees to join the church. Freedom lies in this act, and in not being compelled by an external force. As in *The Holy Spirit,* Nuttall was interested in getting at the 'immediacy' of his subjects' response, and if you will the 'immediacy' of the working of the Spirit. This approach has certainly frustrated those who have been more interested in the mechanics of particular institutional debates, such as the working of the Westminster Assembly of Divines.[19] It may be that Nuttall's approach left much to be said and passed over literal issues too quickly. But he did not ignore the political dimensions of Independency's (early Congregationalism's) attempt to make new church awareness and matters of state harmonized during the brief period of Barebone's Parliament in the summer and autumn of 1654. *Visible Saints* powerfully renders the sense of excitement and purpose as a church movement takes hold, just as he had done with the Quakers on previous occasions. There seems to me to be a ministerial intention here which would be to bring alive the faith of current Congregational clergy by making them have the closest, most meaningful encounter with the fathers and mothers of the earliest Congregationalists. *Visible Saints* is thus deeply moving:

> You know how any in this very nation in the days not long since passed, yea how many thousands left theyr native soyle, and went into a vast and Howling wildernesse in the utmost parts of the world, to keep their soules undefiled and chast to theire deare Lord Jesus, as to this of his worship and institutions.[20]

It was this ability to empathize so closely with the subject that led some to feel the need for greater analytical exposition, a more extensive and explanatory treatment of a subject's place in history. This was so for some with Nuttall's biography *Richard Baxter* (1965).

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17 See eg E S Morgan *Visible Saints: The History of a Puritan Idea* (Ithaca, NY, 1963).

18 *Visible Saints: The Congregational Way, 1640–1660* (Oxford 1957) 16.

19 R S Paul *The Assembly of the Lord: Politics and Religion in the Westminster Assembly and the "Grand Debate"* (Edinburgh 1985).

20 Owen quoted in Nuttall *Visible Saints* 68.

Nuttall's background, education and outlook meant that he would be no insular historian of the English or English-speaking Puritans, even if we find his writings most interesting when they focus on the Puritan language from the seventeenth century that is most authentically English. He took in a broad swathe of the European Reformation and understood the subjects that most interested him to be a part of what we now call the European radical reformation. In his study there was always a major work of European church history that he was reading, in addition to the volumes of Thucydides from which he was building a Greek lexicon, a daily exercise that occupied him after breakfast (famously cereal garnished only with vitamin powder, if also with toast and marmalade). Thus he took care, for instance, to examine Dutch scholarship on the interaction between English religious groups in the Netherlands and native Dutch ones. He would enjoy a fruitful association with Jan van den Berg and Alastair Hamilton, both of the University of Leiden, both historians of Dutch religious radicals, but before then he performed the signal role of publicizing the findings of Hylkema's massively detailed 1900–02 study of the relationship between the Dutch Collegiants and the Quakers, both sharing a sense that some kind of spiritual revolution was necessary in order to address the shortcomings of all extant churches.[21]

Unlike many historians, Nuttall's knowledge of languages was not merely instrumental but was a living key of access to his subjects and to the business of making history; competent philology was the key to true church history. Later he would write a study of Dante; he would later dedicate his literary skills to an engagement with John Bunyan.[22] *The Holy Spirit* quotes Puritan poetry because it is poetry as well as pious. The perception that the seventeenth century was the time of the remaking, or even the making, of the idea of the self is a quintessentially literary judgment, and here Nuttall was the inspiration behind a number of significant literary studies.[23] One area of theology that crosses with literature is typology, the system of biblical interpretation where an Old Testament event or character is seen to stand for or prefigure an event in the life or the person of Christ. One of Nuttall's favourite supervised doctoral theses was that of Carolyn Polizzotto on Puritan typology.[24]

Nuttall was a remarkable and unusual talent; a man whose ability to

21 'Early Quakerism in the Netherlands: Its Wider Context' in *Early Quaker Studies* 153–68.

22 G F Nuttall *The Faith of Dante Alighieri* (1969).

23 See eg O C Watkins *The Puritan Experience* (1972); N H Keeble *Richard Baxter Man of Letters* (Oxford, 1982); I Rivers *Reason, Grace, and Sentiment: A Study of the Language of Religion and Ethics in England, 1660–1780*, 2 vols (Cambridge 1991–2000).

24 C M Polizzotto 'Types and Typology: A Study in Puritan Hermeneutics' (unpublished PhD thesis, Univ. of London 1975).

remember facts and organize them was matched by an unusually keen sense of being able to listen to voices for the Puritan past. He was not a regular historian or church historian of his time: he cared not for and was not persuaded by all of the major theories of historical explanation in our time. He did think, as minister and teacher of ministers, that he was bound to relay what he had found in the past for the present and the future, a future he thought we must embrace in a sense of Christian hope. He was in some ways a Christian radical and saw much to admire in the history of the radical reformation, the English part of which he became a special guardian: he felt kinship with separatism and with the belief in the reality of the presence on the Holy Spirit among godly people. His humanist education made him at one with many of his subjects, especially the well-educated early Congregational divines even though some of them he found had forbidding personalities. He stood against persecution, and in that respect was like many of his Congregational forebears; he wholeheartedly embraced pacifism, and there he stood with the Quakers (if not all of the earliest ones). He was nonetheless a social conservative and cared little for social intransigence in history, such as those committed to bringing on the millennium with violent action rather than prayer. Belief for him was a very literary matter as well as a matter of faith, but it was an approach that he believed should be available to all. The road to understanding Puritanism today should begin with Nuttall's works. They lead us with a renewed and real sense of the excitement that went with the founding of the early gathered churches in the 1640s and 1650s. It is a very real inspiration.

Nigel Smith

THOMAS WADSWORTH (1630–76): THE MAKING OF A PLATONIC DISSENTER

Thomas Wadsworth is well known to historians of Dissent as a minister of some stature during the Protectorate and Restoration. The outline of his career can be briefly recounted.[1] He became minister of St Mary's, Newington Butts, Southwark, in 1653 but was forced to resign the living in 1660 in favour of James Meggs, the incumbent sequestered by Parliament in 1643. He then lectured on Saturday mornings at St Antholin's, Watling Street, and on Monday evenings at St Margaret's, New Fish Street Hill, both in the City of London, until the parishioners of St Laurence Pountney, also in the City, invited him to accept a perpetual curacy in January 1662. In August of that year he was ejected from the curacy under the Act of Uniformity. For the sake of his health, he spent a good part of his time at Theobalds, near Cheshunt in Hertfordshire, where he ministered to a Presbyterian congregation. His former parishioners in Southwark also invited him to preach to them; this gathered church met first in Globe Alley and then, after the Great Fire, in a purpose-built meeting house in Deadman's Place. Wadsworth divided his time between the two congregations, supported by his own income and raising money for the families of ejected ministers. Despite his designation at the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672 as a Presbyterian, Wadsworth's ministry to the Southwark gathered congregation should qualify him as a Congregational minister whom readers of this journal will find worthy of interest.

1 R Baxter 'To The Reader' in T Wadsworth *Mr Thomas Wadsworth's Last Warning to Secure Sinners* (1677) (a4)–(c6)^{V}, [Anon] 'The Preface' in T Wadsworth *Remains* (1680) 1st pagination 2–89, S Clarke *The Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons in this Later Age* (1683) 177–85, E Calamy *An Abridgement of Mr. Baxter's Life and Times* (1702) 199, idem *An Account of the Ministers, &c. who were Ejected after the Restauration, of King Charles II* vol 2 (1713) 26–7, idem *A Continuation of the Account* vol 1 (1727) 22–7, W Wilson *The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches in London, Westminster and Southwark* vol 4 (1814) 150–4, W Urwick *Nonconformity in Herts* (1884) 509–10, J Peile *Biographical Register of Christ's College, 1505–1905* (hereafter *BR*) vol 1 (Cambridge 1910–13) 515; E E Cleal *The Story of Congregationalism in Surrey* (1908) 5–9, [Anon] 'Henry Jacob's Church in New England' *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society* (hereafter *TCHS*) 7 (1916–18) 169–70, J and J A Venn *Alumni Cantabrigienses* Part I (1922–4) s v Wadsworth, Thomas (1647), A G Matthews *Calamy Revised* (Oxford 1988) (hereafter *CR*) 505, idem *Walker Revised* (Oxford 1988) 54, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (hereafter *ODNB*) s v Wadsworth, Thomas (1630–1676), M A Lewis 'The Educational Influence of Cambridge Platonism: Tutorial Relationships and Student Networks at Christ's College, Cambridge, 1641–1688' (Univ of London unpublished PhD thesis 2011) 125–8, 168–9.

Thomas Wadsworth
by Robert White
line engraving, published 1680
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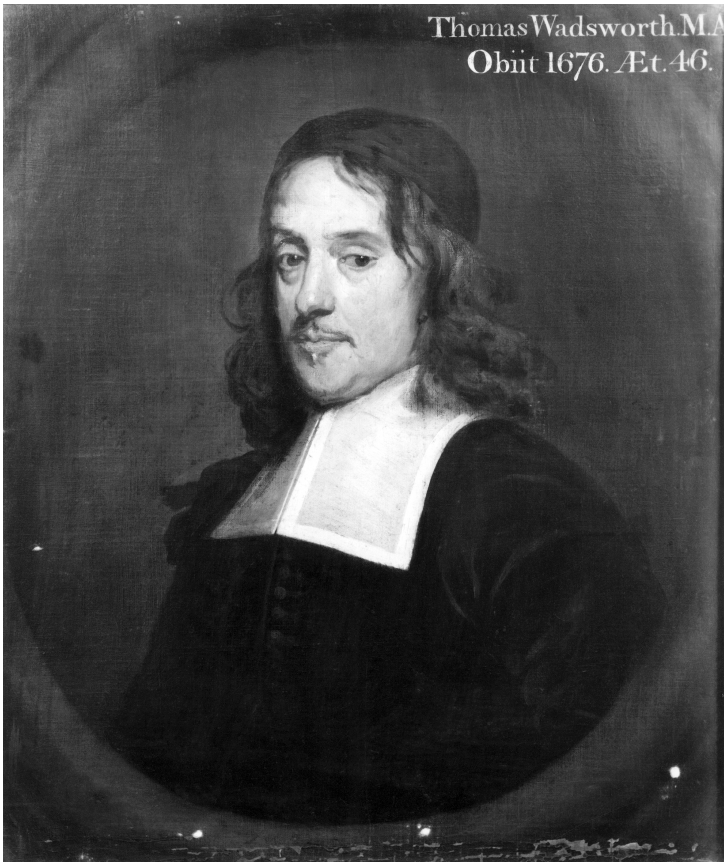

Thomas Wadsworth
By Unknown Artist
Oil on canvas
Private Collection, photograph National Portrait Gallery, London

Seventeenth-century accounts of Wadsworth's life and late nineteenth- and twentieth-century studies in Dissenting history stressed Wadsworth's exemplary piety and steadfast Nonconformity, but this article will focus on Wadsworth's intellectual and ecclesial development. We shall see that his schoolmaster, the educational reformer Hezekiah Woodward, very likely planted an early interest in Arminianism and Platonism as well as sympathy for eventual Dissent in the young Wadsworth. Samuel Bolton—a family friend and minister at Southwark as well as master of Christ's College, Cambridge—doubtless influenced the choice of college for Wadsworth's university education, encouraged Wadsworth to pursue the ministry rather than a life of scholarship, probably counselled him to receive Presbyterian ordination and may well have fostered his devotion to the Lord's Supper. At Christ's, Wadsworth was tutored in his first year by the intruded Puritan fellow Peter Harrison, who probably encouraged his godliness. After Harrison vacated his fellowship, Wadsworth's Platonism was nurtured by the circle gathered around the philosopher Henry More, especially by his second tutor William Outram. As a young minister, Wadsworth turned to Richard Baxter for pastoral and ecclesial advice. We shall explore the ways in which these personal influences were expressed in Wadsworth practical ecclesiology and published writings. By trying to understand the particular sources of influence in Wadsworth's intellectual development, we can better appreciate the ways in which he related to his contemporaries both within and without the Dissenting community. By freeing us from a discourse in which conformity and nonconformity to the Church of England, as well as soteriological and ecclesial divisions within Dissent, are the dominant historiographical polarities, this study of Wadsworth's individual mental growth contributes to a more contextualised—and therefore richer, but more complicated—reconstruction of the intellectual and ecclesial life of later seventeenth-century England.

Hezekiah Woodward, master of St Saviour's School, Southwark

Of the earliest influences during Thomas Wadsworth's childhood, we know only that his 'honest Parents' dedicated him to the ministry when he nearly died in infancy and that his father was an affluent artisan. Formative childhood experiences of remorse after stealing a tulip and of injuring his hand on a 'Tenter-hook' while loitering in his father's workshop on the '*Lords-day*' suggest a pious household. Wadsworth's earliest biography, an account drawn from 'his own Note-book, and those that knew him best'—his successor at Theobalds Robert Bragge, Richard Baxter and his colleague at Southwark Andrew Parsons—has little to say of his schooling: 'He did timely shew himself to be an ingenious and apt *Scholar* in the *Free-School* of that place of his *Nativity*; where the strict and skilful Master encourag'd by his Fathers liberality, found him every way ready to receive

instruction, till about the *16th year of his age*, he was fitted for *Academical* Studies.'[2] Wadsworth's record of admission to Christ's College, Cambridge, names his school as Southwark and his schoolmaster as Mr Woodward.[3] These fragments of information reveal that Wadsworth's schoolmaster at St Saviour's School, Southwark, was Hezekiah or Ezekias Woodward, one of the leading educational reformers of the Civil War period.[4] In evaluating Woodward's possible influence on the young Wadsworth, however, some caution is necessary. If Wadsworth started school at St Saviour's when he was about seven, his first schoolmaster will have been John Phillipps, of whom nothing further is known. A list of books owned by the school when Woodward became master in January 1644 includes five dictionaries and grammars, probably an indication that grammar had been taught in the traditional manner. There is no extant evidence concerning the degree to which Woodward was able to implement his pedagogical reforms at St Saviour's. He cannot have taught Wadsworth for more than three and a half years before he went up to Christ's in June 1647, so whatever influence Woodward exerted will have been confined to approximately the final third of Wadsworth's schooling, when he was perhaps already formed as a grammarian.[5]

Hezekiah Woodward was a friend and associate of Samuel Hartlib, a German-speaking Pole who had settled in London and acted as the centre of a large network of correspondents interested in new ideas, especially science and technological discoveries. With John Dury—a Scot, whose life's work was an unsuccessful attempt to reconcile continental Lutherans and Calvinists—Hartlib advocated education grounded in usefulness, preparatory to the work of the world and public affairs, rather than the traditional scholastic and literary studies based on classical texts, grammar, logic and rhetoric. Hartlib and Dury were in touch with the Czech educationalist Jan Amos Comenius, and Woodward was one of a group of signatories to a letter inviting Comenius to England in 1641. Comenius' pedagogical inspiration was Sir Francis Bacon's *The Advancement of Learning* of 1605, which argued that education should focus on the secondary physical causes of 'things' rather than on the primary metaphysical causes of 'words'. Comenius agreed that educators should pursue new fields of enquiry so that new discoveries

2 Wadsworth *Remains* title page, 1st pagination 3–5.

3 *BR* (1) 515.

4 A Wood *Athenæ Oxonienses* (2 vols 1691–2) (2) 394–6, Calamy *Account* (2) 90 (error for 99), idem *Continuation* (1) 133–4, calls him Thomas Woodward in both places, J Foster *Alumni Oxonienses, 1500–1714* (2 vols 1891) (hereafter *AO*) s v Woodward, Ezekias (1610), *BR* (1) 515, *CR* 545, *The Victoria History of the County of Surrey* ed H E Malden vol 2 (1902–14) 180, R C Carrington *Two Schools: A History of St Olave's and St Saviour's Grammar School Foundation* (1971) 61–4, *ODNB* s v Woodward, Hezekiah (1591/2–1675).

5 *VCH Surrey* (2) 180. For traditional teaching of grammar see H F Fletcher *The Intellectual Development of John Milton* vol 1 (Urbana 1956) chs 9, 14–16, I M Green *Humanism and Protestantism in Early Modern English Education* (Farnham 2009) chs 3–4.

could improve the material circumstances of human life. He advocated a revolutionary method for learning Latin which he termed 'precognition'—learning based on the recognition of things already known, which was then applied to the understanding of general principles. Comenius' scheme for teaching Latin began with a child's knowledge of his mother tongue and advanced gently from particular words and categories of words to grammatical principles, rather than beginning with the abstract rules traditionally memorised by children who often failed to understand their application. Knowledge of 'things' should also advance by means of precognition from individuals to universals—induction rather than deduction—employing immediate observation, pictures, emblems and symbols to achieve more general understanding of the world.[6] Comenius' plan for *Pansophia*—universal knowledge—reached its fullest statement in *Via Lucis*, written during his stay in London during the winter of 1641–2 but not published until 1668. Jan Rohls has argued convincingly that Comenius' scheme for universal knowledge through the reading of three books written by God—the visible world, human beings and Scripture—was based on a Platonist light metaphysics which accepted the role of innate ideas implanted in the human mind by God.[7] Thomas Wadsworth's Platonism may well have grown from a seed first planted by Comenius and watered by Hezekiah Woodward. Woodward's own educational writings form the earliest coherent statement of Comenius' educational principles in English. His pedagogical works begin with *A Childes Patrimony*, in which Woodward discusses the crucial role of parental supervision and encouragement in a child's development, and *A Child's Portion*, where he stresses the child's obligation to respond in humility, gratitude and obedience to her parents and to God.[8] In *A*

6 The Hartlib Papers (Sheffield HROnline 2nd ed 2002) 7/52/1A-2A, 7/74/1A-2B, 34/1/1A 2B 3A 4B 5A 6B 13A 14A-B, J W Adamson *Pioneers of Modern Education, 1600–1700* (Cambridge 1905) chs 1, 3–9, G H Turnbull *Samuel Hartlib: A Sketch of his Life and his Relations to J. A. Comenius* (Oxford 1920), idem *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius: Gleanings from Hartlib's Papers* (Liverpool 1947), R F Young *Comenius in England: The Visit to England, 1641–42* (Oxford 1932), J A Comenius *The Way of Light* trans. E T Campagnac (1938), C Webster ed *Samuel Hartlib and the Advancement of Learning* (Cambridge 1970), idem *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform, 1626–1660* (2002) 104–15, 231–2, F Bacon *The Advancement of Learning* in *The Works of Francis Bacon* vol3 part I ed J Spedding, R L Ellis and D D Heath (1996) 254–491, *ODNB* s v Durie [Dury], John (1596–1680), Hartlib, Samuel (c.1600–1662).

7 J Rohls 'Comenius, Light Metaphysics and Educational Reform' trans. A W□rn and D Leech in D Hedley and S Hutton eds *Platonism at the Origins of Modernity: Studies on Platonism and Early Modern Philosophy* (Dordrecht 2008) 63–74, see also J Piaget 'Jan Amos Comenius (1592–1670)' *Prospects* 23 (1993) 173–96.

8 H Woodward *A Childes Patrimony* and *A Child's Portion* (issued together 1640, 1643), 1640 ed also contains *Vestibulum*—a short work addressed to ministers, C B Freeman 'A Puritan Educator: Hezekiah Woodward and His "Childes Patrimony" *British Journal of Educational Studies* 9 (1961) 132–42.

Light to Grammar, a short work addressed to schoolmasters, Woodward adopts Comenius' technique of precognition for learning Latin. In *Gate to Sciences*, Woodward demonstrates how precognition can be used to learn moral lessons through observation of the natural world.[9] Both of these latter works stress sympathy for a child's natural desire to play and the necessity of love between the master and his pupil, without which no learning can take place. Woodward places great emphasis on the need for thankfulness and obedience to God as the foundation of all learning. While there is no certain evidence that Woodward encouraged Wadsworth to accept Arminianism, some degree of Platonism and a Dissenting ecclesiology, the tenor of Wadsworth's later writings might indicate that Woodward played a role in his intellectual formation beyond instruction in grammar. Significantly for Wadsworth's later thinking, Woodward believes that the Calvinist doctrine of predestination is likely to lead to despair if unaccompanied by a trust that repentance and holiness of life will always make a believer acceptable to God.[10] As we shall see, Wadsworth's writings reflect liberal beliefs held by the Cambridge Platonists and Richard Baxter, but Woodward might well have introduced his pupil to Arminian soteriology. Platonism is evident in Woodward's use of Comenius' theory of precognition and his approving references to Plato and Clement of Alexandria.[11] This perhaps suggests no more than that when Wadsworth encountered Platonism at Christ's College he might have been predisposed to accept it, but Woodward will not have prejudiced him against Platonism. Woodward would later become a private chaplain to Cromwell. Although he had earlier advocated Presbyterianism, in the 1650s he would gather a 'select Congregation … of those that were to be saved' out of his parish of Bray in Berkshire, and he would resign the living in 1660 to forestall ejection.[12] He cannot have discouraged the young Wadsworth in the devout Puritanism which would lead to ordained ministry in 1653 and Nonconformity at the Restoration.

Samuel Bolton, minister at St Saviour's and master of Christ's College

Samuel Bolton had been minister of Wadsworth's home parish of St Saviour's, Southwark, as well as lecturer at St Anne and St Agnes, Aldersgate, from 1641; he continued to preach in both parishes regularly after his appointment as master of Christ's College in 1646. Bolton was a friend of Wadsworth's father and examined the young Thomas on his religious knowledge and 'School-learning'

9 H Woodward *Light to Grammar, and All other Arts and Sciences* and *Gate to Sciences, opened by a Naturall Key* (issued together 1641).

10 Woodward *Child's Portion* 10–12, 31–5.

11 Woodward *Child's Portion* 159, idem *Light to Grammar* A7^{v}, 24, 51, 54, idem *Gate to Sciences* 44.

12 Wood *Athenæ Oxonienses* (2) 395, *ODNB* s v Woodward, Hezekiah.

at home before he went up to Cambridge. The choice of Christ's was almost certainly due to Bolton's influence. When Wadsworth was deliberating whether to retain his Christ's fellowship or accept an invitation from the parishioners of St Mary's, Newington Butts, to become their minister in early 1653, 'his particular friend' Dr Bolton was pleased that he chose the latter. As a moderate, orthodox (Calvinist) Presbyterian and a member of the Westminster Assembly, Bolton very likely encouraged Wadsworth to seek Presbyterian ordination and thus contributed to his eventual Nonconformity. Edmund Calamy's funeral sermon for Bolton shows the esteem in which he was held by other leading Presbyterians, and several laudatory poems by Cambridge academics were appended to the published version.[13] Bolton's published sermons generally suggest that he set Wadsworth an example of rigorous godliness.[14] In 1644, when Wadsworth was fourteen, Bolton published *The Guard of the Tree of Life*, a book derived from sermons he had preached at St Saviour's on the ordinance of the Lord's Table. Bolton urges his hearers and readers to come to the ordinance frequently, preparing carefully so as to approach the Table penitently and with assurance of salvation, receiving the bread and wine in faith and responding in lives of grateful obedience. In instructing his parishioners in their duty, Bolton's tone lacks the devotional fervour of Wadsworth's *Pathetical Meditation on the Passion of Christ; to be read by Communicants before their reception of the Sacrament of the Lords-Supper* and *A Meditation on the Death of Christ, Preparative to the Sacrament: Pen'd for his private use*. It seems possible, however, that Wadsworth had developed these devotional texts over many years, initially responding to Bolton's direction to prepare for the ordinance by '*Meditation*, into what place, into whose presence, about what businesse we goe'.[15]

Peter Harrison, intruded Puritan fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge

On 22 January 1644, Parliament passed an ordinance for 'Regulating the University of Cambridge, and for removing of Scandalous Ministers in the seven Associated Counties'. The earl of Manchester, charged with summoning all the

13 E Calamy *The Saints Transfiguration: Or the Body of Vilenesse changed into a Body of Glory* (1655) 23–7, Wadsworth *Remains* 1st pagination 4, 46; J Peile *Christ's College* (1900) (hereafter *CC*) 168–71, *BR* (1) 368–70, *AC* s v Bolton, Samuel (1625), J Twigg *The University of Cambridge and the English Revolution, 1625–1688* (Woodbridge and Cambridge 1990) 103, 105–8, 116, 131, 153, 178, 188, 290, *ODNB* s.v. Bolton, Samuel (1605/6–1654).

14 S Bolton *A Tossed Ship Making to Safe Harbour* (1644), idem *The Arraingment of Errovr* (1645), idem *The Trve Bovnds of Christian Freedome* (1645), idem *Hamartolos Hamartia: or, The Sinfulnes of Sin* (1646), idem *Deliverance in the Birth* (1647), idem *The Dead Saint Speaking, to Saints, and Sinners Living* (1657).

15 S Bolton *The Guard of the Tree of Life* (1644) 41, Wadsworth *Remains* 2nd pagination 1–49.

heads and fellows of the colleges, was to judge delinquents (royalists), expel them and appoint others approved by the Westminster Assembly in their places.[16] Eleven fellows were ejected from Christ's College during April and replaced by fairly undistinguished Puritan scholars.[17] From Thomas Wadsworth's admission to Christ's in June 1647 to sometime early in 1648, he was tutored by Peter Harrison, the first of the intruded fellows.[18] Since Harrison published nothing, we have no certain knowledge of his theological or political opinions. Harrison's brothers—John, a Presbyterian royalist divine, and Jeremiah, a lieutenant-colonel in the parliamentary army—indicate a politically balanced Puritan family background. Peter Harrison conformed at the Restoration, retaining the rectory of Cheadle and being created DD by royal mandate.[19] According to John Peile, the historian of Christ's College, Harrison and the second intruded fellow, Samuel Ball, 'were the tutors whom the Puritans affected' and Henry Pendlebury—later an ejected minister of great stature—was the first of a number of Lancashire men whom Harrison attracted to Christ's. Pendlebury was admitted to Christ's in May 1645, so he was a close contemporary of Wadsworth, but John Chorlton's 'Brief Account' of Pendlebury's life says only that he took his degrees at Cambridge; neither Harrison nor Christ's College is mentioned.[20] The biographical preface in Wadsworth's *Remains* names his Cambridge tutor as 'Dr. *Outram*', whom Peile gives as Wadsworth's second tutor after Harrison had vacated his fellowship in 1648.[21] Of Harrison's influence, then, little can be safely asserted, but he may have encouraged Wadsworth in the experimental religion which is apparent in his student diary of 1650–51, recounting his association with 'with an honest Club of Scholars of his own and other *Colledges* … to promote the *great business of real godliness and growth in grace*'.[22]

16 C H Firth and R S Rait eds *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642–1660* vol 1 (1911) 371–2, J Twigg 'The Parliamentary Visitation of the University of Cambridge, 1644–1645' *English Historical Review* 98 (1983) 513–28, idem *Cambridge and the Revolution* 90–8.

17 *CC* 164–7, Twigg 'Parliamentary Visitation' 522, idem *Cambridge and the Revolution* 293.

18 Calamy *Account* (2) 397, J Walker *The Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England in the late times of the Grand Rebellion, 1642–1660* (1714) part II 261. *BR* (1) 434 notes that Harrison was said to have been incorporated MA from Oxford but he does not occur in *AO*. *AC* s.v. Harrison, Peter (1641), indicates that he was incorporated MA from Dublin but he does not occur in G D Burtchaell and T U Sadleir *Alumni Dublinenses* (Dublin new ed. 1935). Lewis op cit 166.

19 Calamy *Account* (2) 397, Walker op cit part II 261, *BR* (1) 434, *AC* s v Harrison, Peter (1641), Harrison, Jeremiah (1645), Harrison, John (1632), Harrison, Nathaniel (1645), *ODNB* s v Harrison, John (1614–70).

20 J Chorlton 'A Brief Account of the Life of the Author' in H Pendlebury *Invisible Realities the Christian's Greatest Concernment* (1696) vi, *BR* (1) 434, 494.

21 Wadsworth *Remains* 1st pagination 4, Calamy *Continuation* (1) 23, *BR* (1) 434, 515.

22 Wadsworth *Remains* 1st pagination 5.

William Outram, Cambridge Platonist tutor

The philosopher Henry More, who had held a Christ's College fellowship since 1641, survived the earl of Manchester's purge in 1644, although he always denied having taken the Covenant.[23] By 1647 when Wadsworth was admitted to the college, More had established himself as a Platonist Christian poet, publishing *Psychodia Platonica* in 1642, *Democritus Platonissans* in 1646 and a combined and expanded edition of the two poems as *Philosophicall Poems* in 1647.[24] Although More published no more poetry after 1647, he would continue to write and publish prose works elaborating his Platonist vision of Christian truth until his death in 1687.[25] In 1654, Ralph Cudworth would become master of Christ's, moving from the mastership of Clare Hall on the death of Samuel Bolton.[26] In four sermons preached and published during the 1640s and 1660s, Cudworth began to set out his own synthesis of Platonism and Christianity.[27] Although his great work *The True Intellectual System of the Universe* would not be published until 1678, his friendship with More created an intellectual atmosphere which allowed the ideas of the movement we now call 'Cambridge Platonism' to flourish within the college.[28] Several younger philosophical divines migrated to

23 Bodleian Library MS Tanner 61.271, Cambridge University Library MSS Mm.45.60, Mm.48.16[v], *CC* 164–5, *BR* (1) 405, 414, M H Nicolson 'Christ's College and the Latitude Men' *Modern Philology* 27 (1929) 38, R Ward *The Life of Henry More: Parts 1 and 2* ed S Hutton, C Courtney, M Courtney, R Crocker and A R Hall (Dordrecht 2000) 114.

24 H More *Psychodia Platonica* (Cambridge 1642), idem *Democritus Platonissans* (Cambridge 1646 Los Angeles 1968), idem *Philosophicall Poems* (Cambridge 1647), idem *The Complete Poems of Henry More (1614–1687)* ed. A B Grosart (Edinburgh 1878), idem *Philosophical Poems of Henry More, comprising Psychozoia and minor poems* ed. G Bullough (Manchester 1931), idem *A Platonick Song of the Soul* ed. A Jacob (Lewisburg 1998), M H Nicolson 'More's *Psychozoia*' *Modern Language Notes* 37 (1922) 141–8, Ward op cit 212–32, R Crocker *Henry More, 1614–1687: A Biography of the Cambridge Platonist* (Dordrecht 2003) chs 2–3.

25 For More, including a bibliography of More's published works and secondary material to 2003, see Crocker op. cit., see also Lewis, op cit 26–36.

26 *CC* 160, 176–7, *BR* (1) 464–5.

27 R C[udworth] *A Discourse Concerning the True Notion of the Lords Svpper* (1642), idem *The Union of Christ and the Church; in a Shadow* (1642), idem *A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons at Westminster, March 31. 1647* (1647), idem *A Sermon Preached to the Honourable Society of Lincolnes-Inne* (1664).

28 R Cudworth, *The True Intellectual System of the Universe* (1678 1743), idem *The True Intellectual System of the Universe with the notes and dissertations of Dr J L Mosheim* trans. J Harrison (3 vols 1845). 'The Cambridge Platonists' is a term invented by John Tulloch, used as the subtitle of vol. 2 of his *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century* (Edinburgh 2 vols 1872, 1874). For a Cudworth bibliography to 1996 see R Cudworth *A Treatise Concerning Eternal and Immutable Morality, with A Treatise of Freewill* ed. S. Hutton (Cambridge 1996) xxxii-xxxiv, see also Lewis op cit 22–6.

Christ's after graduating Bachelor of Arts in other Cambridge colleges, taking fellowships in order to read under More and Cudworth's direction for their Master's degrees. William Outram—Wadsworth's second tutor—was the first of these, coming to Christ's from Trinity College in 1648.[29] George Rust, the future bishop of Dromore, would migrate from St Catharine's, taking a Christ's fellowship in 1649.[30] As master, Cudworth attracted Thomas Burnet, the future master of the Charterhouse and author of *Telluris Theoria Sacra* (1681)[31] and Abraham Brooksbank, who would tutor the future archbishop of York John Sharp, from Clare Hall in 1655.[32] Although Wadsworth had graduated Master of Arts and left Christ's before Cudworth's arrival, his university experience coincided with an early stage of Cambridge Platonist development at Christ's.

Three important themes in Cambridge Platonist thought were clearly influential on Wadsworth. First, the Cambridge Platonists firmly rejected the Calvinist doctrine of double predestination. More and Cudworth believed that goodness rather than power is God's pre-eminent characteristic, and they taught that God requires simple and habitual goodness from all human beings, rather than arbitrarily electing a few to eternal bliss and damning the majority through no fault of their own. More and Cudworth held that the admittedly defaced image of God in every person must be cherished, enabling us to grow in deiformity—godlikeness—which will eventually enable us to see God face to face. Although the Cambridge Platonists were accused of Pelagianism by their Calvinist opponents, they had a robust doctrine of inherent grace, stressing the love of God for his own image in every person and his constant assistance in its

29 British Library Add MS 5877.116, J Aubrey *'Brief Lives', chiefly of Contemporaries, set down by John Aubrey, between the Years 1669 & 1696* vol 2 ed A Clark (1898) 114–15, *BR* (1) 483, W W R Ball and J A Venn, *Admissions to Trinity College, Cambridge* vol 1 (1911) 375, *AC* s v Outram, William (1644), *ODNB* s v Owtram [Outram], William (*bap.* 1626, *d.* 1679), Lewis op cit 123–5.

30 Tulloch *Rational Theology* (2) 433–7, *BR* (1) 486–7, W D de Pauley *The Candle of the Lord: Studies in the Cambridge Platonists* (1937) 177–85, S Hutton 'Rust, George (d.1670)' in Andrew Pyle ed *The Dictionary of Seventeenth-Century British Philosophers* (Bristol 2000) (2) 700, *ODNB* s.v. Rust, George (c.1628–1670), Lewis op cit 132–6.

31 [R Heathcote] 'An Account of the Life and Writings of the Rev Thomas Burnet, LLD' in T Burnet *The Sacred Theory of the Earth* vol 1 (7th ed 1759) xvii-xxxv, *CC* 203–4, *BR* (1) 569–70, V L Nuovo 'Burnet, Thomas (1635?-1715) in Pyle op cit (1) 140–5, *ODNB* s v Burnet, Thomas (c.1735–1715), Lewis op cit 55–7.

32 T Sharp *The Life of John Sharp, DD, Lord Archbishop of York* vol 1 ed Thomas Newcome (1825) 9–10, *BR* (1) 532, 590, *AO* s.v. Sharpe, John (1660), *AC* s v Brooksbank, Abraham (1650), Sharp, John (1660), A T Hart *The Life and Times of John Sharp, Archbishop of York* (1949) 43, 46–7, *ODNB* s v Sharp, John (1645?-1714), Lewis op cit 153–8.

restitution.[33] This teaching perhaps reinforced the Arminian emphasis on the necessity for holiness of life which Wadsworth had learned from Hezekiah Woodward and which would find expression in his own writings. Second, More and Cudworth constantly battled against the atheistic materialism inherent in the writings of Thomas Hobbes and, to a lesser extent, of René Descartes.[34] More's *The Immortality of the Soul* (1659) set out to prove the reality of the immaterial substance of the soul in Platonic terms.[35] We shall see that quotations from More in Wadsworth's works show his acceptance of More's understanding of the nature of the soul. Third, while More and Cudworth would both conform to the restored Church of England at the Restoration, they would be accused of the lax attitude towards doctrine and liturgy labelled 'Latitudinarianism' by their High Church opponents.[36] Between More's election to a fellowship in 1641 and the Restoration, about fifty students who would later become Dissenting ministers were admitted to Christ's.[37] More's own tutees between 1646 and 1653 included the Presbyterian Owen Stockton, the Independent Robert Gouge and the Socinian William Manning.[38] The Presbyterian John Howe was an exact contemporary of Wadsworth during their first year at Christ's; Howe was tutored by Samuel Ball for one year but then migrated to Brasenose College, Oxford, where he graduated BA in 1650. At Christ's, he began a life-long friendship with More, and writers since Calamy have noted the '*Platonick* Tinkture' of his works.[39] We have noticed that Henry Pendlebury was Wadsworth's tutorial partner under Peter Harrison. Richard Frankland, the founder of the Rathmall

33 G R Cragg *From Puritanism to the Age of Reason: A Study of Changes in Religious thought within the Church of England 1660 to 1700* (Cambridge 1950) chs 2–3, R L Colie *Light and Enlightenment: A Study of the Cambridge Platonists and the Dutch Arminians* (Cambridge 1957) chs 1–3, H C Porter *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge* (Cambridge 1958) epilogue, M B Gill *The British Moralists on Human Nature and the Birth of Secular Ethics* (Cambridge 2006) chs 1–2.

34 S I Mintz *The Hunting of Leviathan: Seventeenth-Century Reactions to the Materialism and Moral Philosophy of Thomas Hobbes* (Cambridge 1962) 96–102, 126–33, A Gabbey '*Philosophia Cartesiana Triumphata*: Henry More (1646–1671)' in T M Lennon, J M Nicholas and J W Davis eds *Problems of Cartesianism* (Kingston 1982) 171–250, P Zagorin 'Cudworth and Hobbes on Is and Ought' in R Kroll, R Ashcraft and P Zagorin eds *Philosophy, Science and Religion in England 1640–1700* (Cambridge 1992) 129–48.

35 H More *The Immortality of the Soul* (London 1659), ed. A Jacob (Dordrecht 1987).

36 Nicolson op cit, J I Cope 'The Cupri-Cosmits' *Huntington Library Quarterly* 17 (1953) 269–86, Crocker op cit 79–84.

37 My rough count from *BR* (1) 475–620, (2) 1–111.

38 *BR* (1) 502, 514, 530. More's influence on Stockton and Manning is discussed in Lewis op. cit. 111–22. For Gouge, see also *CR* 229, *ODNB* s v Gouge, Robert (1629/30–1705).

39 E Calamy *Memoirs of the Life of the Late Revd Mr John Howe* (1724) 7–8, *BR* (1) 513, *CR* 279, M Sutherland *Peace, Toleration and Decay: The Ecclesiology of Later Stuart Dissent* (Carlisle 2003) 37–8, *ODNB* s v Howe, John (1630–1705).

Academy, graduated BA from Christ's in 1652.[40] So Christ's during the late 1640s and early 1650s was something of a nursery for later Nonconformity, and Wadsworth's own Dissenting stance must be placed within this context.

According to the biographical preface in Wadsworth's *Remains*, his tutor Dr Outram 'had a great value for him as long as he liv'd'.[41] Wadsworth's esteem for Outram must, then, have survived the two verse theses defended by his former tutor for his Cambridge DD: Outram asserted that the Covenant was not a binding oath and that separation from outward conformity to the Church of England was schismatic.[42] Although most of the evidence which connects Outram with More and Cudworth dates from after his fellowship at Christ's (1648–57), it is worth recounting in order to substantiate his place within the Cambridge Platonist circle. Three letters of November 1664 from Cudworth to John Worthington, who had been the Commonwealth master of Jesus College, Cambridge, concerned Cudworth's doubts over the dedication of a sermon to Gilbert Sheldon, archbishop of Canterbury. Cudworth was relying on Sheldon's support in retaining the mastership of Christ's during his long-standing feud with a fellow of the college, Ralph Widdrington. Although Outram was then rector of St Margaret's, Westminster, Cudworth told Worthington that Outram 'knows more of the present circumstances of things how they stand with Christ's College than any body, and wishes well to me and the College'.[43] In a manuscript draft of Joseph Glanvill's *Anti-fanatical Religion, and Free Philosophy* (1676), Outram appears as one of the 'Cupri-Cosmits', divines who maintained 'reasonable' religion during the late enthusiastic turmoil, whose portraits hang in a palatial gallery in the fictional Bensalem. Outram is 'Ottomar', 'a solid, Wise and Grave Person', who 'used his parts and knowledge with much Piety and Prudence'. In 'the Times of Enthusiasm and Confusion', he was 'almost [the] only man that taught the sober and reasonable Religion', teaching 'Plain, Intelligible, Reasonable, Practical Divinity'. The manuscript's twentieth-century editor, Jackson I Cope, comments that Outram's 'chief reputation has rested upon the frequent contemporary references to his Rabbinical learning, but he is not usually associated with Latitudinarianism'; we note that his inclusion by Glanvill emphasises his friendship with Cudworth and More, who also appear in the Bensalem portrait gallery.[44] Outram's esteem for More was recorded in his comment at the archbishop of Canterbury's table, '*That he look'd upon Dr*

40 *BR* (1) 520–1, *CR* 211–12, *ODNB* s.v. Frankland, Richard (1630–1698).

41 Wadsworth *Remains* 1st pagination 4.

42 J J Hall *Cambridge Act and Tripos Verses, 1565–1894* (Cambridge 2009) 24.

43 Cudworth *Sermon Preached to Lincolnes-Inne* was printed without a dedication, *The Diary and Correspondence of Dr J Worthington* ed R C Christie (Chetham Society 36 1855) 135, 150–1.

44 Cope op cit 278–9, for Cudworth 273–4, for More 280–3, Ward op cit xxiii.

MORE, *as the* Holiest *Person upon the Face of the Earth*. And at another Time he said, *Whenever there was any more than Ordinary Occasion for the Exercise of* Prudence *and* Virtue*, he never knew* Dr MORE *to fail*.'[45] The catalogue for the auction of Outram's library in 1681 shows that he owned a large number of books by More, as well as Cudworth's sermons and *The True Intellectual System of the Universe.*[46]

A letter of October 1677 from More to his close friend Edmund Elys concurs with Elys' favourable judgement of Outram's recently published *De Sacrificiis*.[47] This work is a learned discussion of sacrifice in the Old Testament and in pagan religions, followed by a discourse on the uniqueness of Christ's vicarious sacrifice. Outram rebuts the doctrines of both Calvinist limited atonement and Socinian exemplary atonement. The benefits of Christ's sacrifice are available to all but contingent on each believer's personal response of faith, repentance, obedience and a holy life. But, while the death of Christ stimulates the believer towards love and obedience, this affection is only effective soteriologically because Christ has offered himself as a true sacrifice for the sins of the whole world.[48] *De Sacrificiis* was published in 1677, twenty years after Outram had left his fellowship at Christ's, but in 1656 Wadsworth had assured Richard Baxter that, although 'there is ordinarily a more free Genius runs through it [Christ's College] than any other Society besides it', it was innocent of Socinianism and only objected to Calvinism on the point of reprobation, suggesting that Outram's stance towards both Socinianism and Calvinism had remained constant.[49] The main theme of Outram's posthumously published sermons was holiness of life and sincere obedience to God. His essential message was summed up in his twelfth sermon: 'if we stedfastly persevere in the choice and practice of our duties … then we shall preserve our own integrity, continue in Gods grace and favour … [and] inherit the Kingdom prepared for us from the foundation of the World'.[50]

Wadsworth shared Outram's opposition to Socinianism, declaring in 1670 that 'there is no *Socinian* in Heaven' because all will see the glory of Christ's divinity.[51] Wadsworth's own sermon on the sacrifice of Christ was published in

45 Ward op cit 54, the archbishop was almost certainly Gilbert Sheldon.

46 W Cooper *Catalogus Librorum … Gulielmi Outrami* (1681) 20, 32, 35, 37, 50, 61.

47 Ward op cit 204, 365 n 137, see also Christ's College, Cambridge, MS 21.29.

48 W Owtram *De Sacrificiis* (1677) trans. J Allen *Two Dissertations on Sacrifices* (2nd ed. 1828) iv, 1–4, 325, 329, 340, 345–6, 350–1, 356–7, 360.

49 N H Keeble and G F Nuttall eds *Calendar of the Correspondence of Richard Baxter* vol 1 (Oxford 1991) 203–4.

50 W Owtram *Twenty Sermons preached upon Several Occasions* ed J Gardiner (1682) 288–9.

51 T Wadsworth *Faith's Triumph over the Fears of Death* (1670) 37.

1675, two years before *De Sacrificiis*, but it briefly summarises Outram's arguments about the perfection of Christ's sacrifice, in a way which also resembles Cudworth's 1642 sermon, *A Discourse concerning the True Notion of the Lord's Supper*. Wadsworth went on to rebut the sacrifice of the mass in terms similar to those of Henry Pendlebury, his tutorial partner during his first year under Harrison, perhaps indicating the conjunction of influences on Wadsworth as an undergraduate.[52] Less ambiguous is Wadsworth's acceptance of Outram's rejection of predestination and stress on the necessity of obedience and a holy life for salvation. *A Serious Exhortation to an Holy Life* (1660) is subtitled *A Plea for the absolute necessity of inherent righteousness in those that hope to be saved*, although in 'A Postscript' Wadsworth excuses himself for having stressed inherent righteousness at the expense of imputed righteousness, in which he also affirms his belief. In *Faith's Triumph over the Fears of Death* (1670), he states that the 'Law of the Covenant of grace' is that God will 'certainly acquit every poor humble, modest, penitent believing soul'. In *A Serious Exhortation unto Self-Examination* (1687), Wadsworth urges his readers not to die in a state of reprobation; 'this reprobate state may be altered … upon … Conversion', and redemption is possible because 'God does love his Image wherever he sees it' and 'will never throw to Hell one that hath his *Image* upon him'. Wadsworth's soteriological position, then, is consonant with the moderate Arminianism characteristic of Cambridge Platonism.[53]

Outram's influence seems even clearer in his transmission of an admiration for More's works to Wadsworth. In 1653, More published the first edition of *An Antidote against Atheisme*, the third part of which tries to prove the existence of God by recounting 'paranormal' stories demonstrating the reality of spirits.[54] In 1657, Wadsworth recommended it to Richard Baxter, who found it 'a very usefull booke'. Baxter particularly liked the 'storyes of Witches and apparitions' from

52 C[udworth] *Discourse concerning the Lord's Supper*, [T Wadsworth] *Christ Crucified the only Proper Gospel Sacrifice* in N Vincent ed *The Morning Exercise against Popery* (1675)—all contributions are anonymous but the British Library copy has 'Mr Wadsworth' in MS on the title page of this sermon (784), H Pendlebury *Sacrificium Missaticum, Mysterium Initquitatis* (1768).

53 T Wadsworth *A Serious Exhortation to an Holy Life* (1660) 'A Postscript' E7–8, idem *Faith's Triumph* 101–3, 115, idem *A Serious Exhortation unto Self-Examination* (1687) 2, 6–7, 32, 99.

54 H More *An Antidote against Atheisme* (1653, 1655, 1662 in *A Collection of Several Philosophical Works of Dr. Henry More*), T H Jobe 'The Devil in Restoration Science: The Glanvill-Webster Witchcraft Debate' *Isis* 72 (1981) 343–356, P Elmer *The Library of John Webster: The Making of a Seventeenth-Century Radical* (1986) 7–14, A Coudert 'Henry More and Witchcraft' in S Hutton ed. *Henry More (1614–1687): Tercentenary Studies* (Dordrecht 1990) 115–36; A R Hall *Henry More: Magic, Religion and Experiment* (Oxford 1990) ch. 7; Crocker op. cit. ch. 9, see 140 n. 3 for the word 'paranormal' rather than 'supernatural' or 'occult'.

Remigius and Bodin, saying that he might have omitted them from his own *The Unreasonableness of Infidelity* (1655) if he had realised that More had already published them.[55] Although Wadsworth's works contain no 'paranormal' stories, his recommendation of them to Baxter links him with the circle around More who altered James I's phrase '*No Bishop, No King*' to read '*No Spirit, No God*'.[56] The title of Wadsworth's *Antipsychothanasia: or, The Immortality of the Soul* combines the titles of More's poem *Psychathanasia*, the second part of his *Psychodia Platonica*, with that of his treatise *The Immortality of the Soul*. Wadsworth's book is deeply Morean, in its refutation of the doctrine of the sleep of souls until the final judgement and of those who would deny the existence of all spirits, and in its affirmation of the duality of soul and body, of the soul's excellence above that of the body, of the indiscerpibility (indivisibility) and self-moving nature of spirit and of the soul's power of sensation and memory. Wadsworth agrees with More that soul can penetrate body, but he disagrees with More's doctrine that the soul is extended. Wadsworth directly quotes a poem by More on the incorporeality of the soul and joins him in refuting the 'speculative Atheism' which denies the soul's existence.[57] Wadsworth completed his task by writing *Faith's Triumph over the Fears of Death*, a 'practical improvement' of *Antipsychothanasia* to help the reader prepare for death. Here, he refers to Plato as a 'divine Philosopher' and discusses the 'pulchritude of the soul', when the 'image of God that was lost by sin, is now perfectly restored'. Again specifically citing More's *Immortality of the Soul*, Wadsworth deals sympathetically with the reader's fear of death, saying that 'there are no things so absurd but melancholy is able to perswade us'. Wadsworth asked for a copy of 'his own Book, concerning the Immortality of the Soul, and Faiths Triumph over the Fears of Death' on his deathbed.[58] The Cambridge Platonist catch-phrase 'The candle of the Lord'—meaning the God-given light of reason (Proverbs 20:27)—occurs in his posthumously published poems, as does another Morean discussion of the immortal soul.[59] The Christian mortalist writer Henry Layton—who criticised Wadsworth's *Immortality of the Soul* in a tract published about 1700—was well

55 More *Antidote against Atheisme* 132–7, 142–3, R Baxter *The Unreasonableness of Infidelity* (1655) part III 82–107, Keeble and Nuttall op cit (1) 238.

56 More *Antidote against Atheisme* (1653) 164.

57 More *Psychathanasia* in *Psychodia Platonica*, idem *Immortality of the Soul*, idem *An Explanation of the Grand Mystery of Godliness* (1660) 15–30, T Wadsworth, *Antipsychothanasia, or, The Immortality of the Soul* (1670) A3–6^{v}, 1–4, 13–18, 33–8, 134–9, for Wadsworth's quotation from More's poem on 29 see *Psychathanasia* 52.

58 Wadsworth *Faith's Triumph* 46–7, 68 (citing More *Immortality of the Soul* 490) 90, Clarke op. cit. 181–2.

59 Wadsworth *Remains* 2nd pagination 201, 208–14, R A Greene 'Whichcote, the Candle of the Lord, and Synderesis' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 52 (1991) 617–44.

aware of the Platonic nature of Wadsworth's arguments.[60] Perhaps largely through Outram's tutelage, then, Wadsworth's writings displayed a considerable degree of Cambridge Platonist influence.

Richard Baxter, experienced pastor

Wadsworth was called to the pastoral charge at St Mary's, Newington Butts, when he returned to Southwark to attend his father's deathbed in 1652. In ministering to his father and comforting his family and neighbours, his gifts for pastoral care and preaching became known, and the Newington Butts parishioners petitioned the Westminster Assembly for his appointment on the death of their moderate Presbyterian incumbent, John Morton. Wadsworth received Presbyterian ordination by the eighth London classis in the church of St Mary, Axe, London, and was accepted into the tenth London classis which covered the parishes of Southwark.[61] Richard Baxter was Wadsworth's mentor during the early years of the latter's pastoral ministry. Baxter supported Wadsworth in an experimental form of church order which drew on principles of both Presbyterianism and Independency. Baxter also encouraged Wadsworth to hold fast to the liberal soteriology he had learned at Christ's College. Wadsworth had greatly admired Baxter's *Aphorisms of Justification* and *The Saints Everlasting Rest*, but he had not met the older minister when he initiated a correspondence with him, an invitation to which Baxter responded graciously and generously.[62]

Wadsworth first wrote to Baxter on 7 April 1655 to ask for advice in resolving his doubts concerning the best form of church order to be implemented in his parish at Newington Butts: 'Independencie I rejected as

60 H Layton *Observations upon Mr. Wadsworth's Book of the Souls Immortality* 8, 156–7. The English Short Title Catalogue dates this book 1670, but that date, appearing on 1 (the title page is missing), properly refers to Wadsworth's *Immortality of the Soul*. *ODNB* s.v. Layton, Henry (1622–1705) assigns this work to 1699–1703. Layton thought that the soul died with the body and that the whole human being was raised at the last day.

61 Wadsworth *Remains* 1st pagination 45–6, 49, Clarke op cit 178, Calamy *Continuation* (1) 23, Keeble and Nuttall op cit (1) 172–3, WA Shaw *A History of the English Church during the Civil Wars and under the Commonwealth, 1640–1660* vols 2 (1900) 402–3, ODNB s v Wadsworth, Thomas, P C-H Lim *In Pursuit of Purity, Unity, and Liberty: Richard Baxter's Puritan Ecclesiology in its Seventeenth-Century Context* (Boston 2004) 171. For John Morton as a petitioner against the regicide see D Neal *The History of the Puritans* vol 3 ed J Toulmin (1822) 451. S Bradley and N Pevsner *London: The City Churches* (2002) 142 indicates that the church of St Mary Axe was demolished during the 16th century, so the site of Wadsworth's Presbyterian ordination remains uncertain. The site is now occupied by the modern building popularly known as 'The Gherkin'.

62 R Baxter *Aphorisms of Justification* (1649), idem *The Saints Everlasting Rest* (1650), Keeble and Nuttall op cit (1) 172. For a bibliography of Baxter's works and secondary material to 2004 see Lim op cit 231–53.

tending to[o] plainly to confusion, Presbyterie I approved of as the better, because I thought it had more of order', yet he feared to follow the Presbyterians 'to[o] closely'. Wadsworth thought that the system Baxter and his Worcestershire colleagues had set out in *Christian Concord* would be the best choice. Rather than a classical presbytery, Baxter's system involved a voluntary association of ministers who met regularly for mutual support and a system of church discipline which was applied to those parishioners who voluntarily accepted the authority of their minister. Wadsworth was worried that he might not be able to persuade his parishioners to accept the system, although he had already experienced success 'above my expectations'. He was also concerned that the other ministers in the tenth classis might think that he wanted to separate himself from them, especially as they seemed unwilling to risk disturbing their parishioners by requiring 'a stricter tie'. He therefore asked Baxter whether it were 'convenient' that he should proceed on his own and whether he might distribute printed copies of Baxter's 'Profession' in his parish so that his people could understand the terms on which they were being invited into church membership. He also asked whether Baxter might elucidate the section in *Christian Concord* on the 'single Pastors power', since he was unable to find elders to assist him at Newington Butts. On being reassured by the older minister, Wadsworth persevered in the kind of house-to-house pastoral visiting and catechising, recommended by Baxter in *The Reformed Pastor*, and he soon engaged a pastoral assistant. By January 1656, some 140 people in his parish had engaged themselves by a '*profession of their faith*' modelled on Baxter's 'Profession':[63]

> *I do consent to be a member of the particular church of Christ at* Newington-Butts, *whereof* Thomas Wadsworth *is Teacher and Overseer, and to submit to his Teaching and Ministerial guidance and oversight according to Gods word, and to hold communion with that Church in the publick worshipping of God, and to submit to the brotherly admonition of fellow-members, that so we may be built up in knowledg, and holiness, and may the better maintain our obedience to Christ, and the welfare of this society, and hereby may the more please and glorifie God.*[64]

In exercising discipline at Newington Butts, Wadsworth was assisted by deacons who were chosen by the church as delegates—not as 'unordained Elders'—and

63 R Baxter *Christian Concord* (1653) also contains the 'Profession' C2–4^{v}, idem in Wadsworth *Last Warning* (*a*4)-(*b*5), idem *Gildas Salvianus: The Reformed Pastor* (1656) ed J T Wilkinson (1939) 27–9; Wadsworth *Remains* 1st pagination 50–3, Keeble and Nuttall op cit (1) 172–3, 175–6, 190, 200–4, 213–16, 236, 238, 258, (2) 191–2, Lim op cit 44–51, 128–38. I M Green *The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England, 1530–1740* (Oxford 1996) 736 lists Wadsworth's *Short Catechism of Twelve Questions* giving the date as 1676 (probably a reference to Baxter in Wadsworth *Last Warning* (*b*3)^{v}, (*c*6)^{v} but no copies appear to be extant.

64 Wadsworth *Remains* 1st pagination 51–2.

they met with him monthly to hear causes requiring 'admonitions', 'private reproofs' and eventually excommunications.[65]

Although Wadsworth gathered his particular church from among the parishioners of Newington Butts, he did not implement a fully Independent church order; the role of the church meeting seems to have been confined to the selection of deacons to assist the minister in administering discipline. Neither was his system fully Presbyterian: Wadsworth wrote to Baxter in May 1656 that the Southwark classis was a 'useless and unprofitable thing to me, as good as nothing; for they scerse ever meet'. Wadsworth did not even have the support of the kind of local ministerial association that Baxter and his colleagues had formed in Worcestershire.[66] He exercised an experimental pattern of ecclesial government under the constraints of his local circumstances. After the Restoration, some of Wadsworth's former parishioners from Newington Butts invited him to preach to their gathered church gathered in Southwark. Wadsworth accepted their call but was not able to devote himself entirely to this church, as his health required that he spend most of his time in the country. He therefore engaged Andrew Parsons, the ejected minister of Wem, Shropshire, as his assistant in Southwark. Wadsworth gave any money contributed by church members to Parsons, 'who needed it'. Parsons was licensed as a Presbyterian at the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672, although this designation more likely refers to his previous membership of the Shropshire classis than to the polity of Wadsworth's Southwark church.[67] No further evidence of how discipline was exercised in this Southwark church is extant, but the historiographical discussion in the early twentieth century concerning its relationship to Henry Jessey's gathered church of the Interregnum strongly suggests its Congregational polity.[68]

Retreating to the country for his health, Wadsworth also ministered to a Presbyterian congregation at Theobalds, near Cheshunt in Hertfordshire. William Urwick describes a good deal of Nonconformity in the area of Cheshunt, Waltham Cross and Theobalds, but he makes no mention of a functioning

65 Baxter in Wadsworth *Last Warning* (*a*8)^{v}–(*b*).

66 Keeble and Nuttall op cit (1) 214, see also P J Anderson 'Sion College and the London Provincial Assembly, 1647–1600' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 37 (1986) 74.

67 Baxter in Wadsworth *Last Warning* (*b*4)$^{r\&v}$, Calamy *Account* (1713) (1) 556, (2) 26–7, idem *Continuation* (1) 25, J Waddington *Surrey Congregational History* (1866) 292, *AO* s v Parsons, Andrew (1634), F Bate *The Declaration of Indulgence, 1672: A Study in the Rise of Organised Dissent* (Liverpool 1908) xxxix, *CR* 381; *ODNB* s v Parsons, Andrew (1615/16–1684), Wadsworth, Thomas.

68 E E Cleal 'The Church of the Pilgrim Fathers' *TCHS* 2 (1905–6) 201–5, idem *Congregationalism in Surrey* 5, 7–9, T G Crippen 'The "Church of the Pilgrim Fathers"', *TCHS* 2 (1905–6) 288, [Anon] 'Historic Communion Plate' *TCHS* 3 (1907–8) 154.

Presbyterian classis there, which would anyway have been unlikely during this period of persecution. It is probably safe to assume that Wadsworth was again a 'single Pastor'. At the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672, Wadsworth was licensed as 'a Presbyterian Teacher' at the house of Jonathan Pritman in Theobalds, and Pritman's house was licensed as a 'Presbyterian Meeting-place'. A Congregational church also met at Pritman's house, under the ministry of the ejected vicar of Cheshunt, John Yates, apparently separately from Wadsworth's church. But Wadsworth's congregation does seem to have shared worship with a Baptist congregation under Joseph Maisters, although they probably kept their ecclesial discipline distinct—Wadsworth and Maisters preached on alternate Sundays. Maisters was so tolerant of the various patterns of Puritan church order that he requested that the pallbearers at his funeral should be 'two Baptist, two Independent, and two Presbyterian ministers'. A paedobaptist minister, Jeremiah Hunt, preached his funeral sermon at Bunhill Fields in 1717.[69]

In August 1674, John Sharp preached a sermon entitled *The Things that make for Peace* before the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen of the City of London at the Guildhall. In this sermon preached early in Sharp's career, his High Churchmanship is already apparent. His essential argument is that Christ saves the whole church corporately rather than individual believers; individuals become incorporated into the church through baptism. Dissenters are guilty of schism in separating themselves from the Church of England. The unity of the body of the national church is much more important than the very light impositions which distress the tender consciences of Dissenters.[70] Sharp's connection with Christ's (he was a protégé of More) did not prevent Wadsworth from publishing a robust, albeit anonymous, rebuttal of the printed version of Sharp's sermon. Sharp's son and biographer, Thomas Sharp, comments that Wadsworth 'treated him with better temper, and in a gentler strain than is usual with men of that persuasion', and A Tindal Hart says that Wadsworth 'replied to Sharp's arguments but in the same friendly and co-operative spirit that the latter had employed'.[71] Nevertheless, Wadsworth's position directly contradicts that of Sharp. In *Separation yet no Schisme*, Wadsworth asserts that 'individual sincere Christians have all qualifications that are absolutely necessary to Salvation' before they are baptised or become members of a church and that churches exist only

69 J Hunt *A Funeral Sermon Occasion'd by the Death of the Reverent Mr Joseph Maisters* (1717), W Urwick *Nonconformity in Herts* (1884) 507–11, Bate *Declaration of Indulgence* xxxi, lxix lists a personal licence for Joseph 'Masters' but lists neither personal licences for Wadsworth and Yates nor a place licence for the house of Jonathan Pritman, A Mearns ed *London Congregational Directory and Church Guide* (1889) 17.

70 J Sharp *The Things that make for Peace* (1674) especially 10–15, T Sharp op cit (1) 51–4, Hart op cit 86–7.

71 T Sharp op cit (1) 15, 54, Hart op cit 53, 87.

'for the sakes and subordinated to the welfare of particular Christians'.[72] We have seen that Wadsworth accepted the moderate Arminianism of the Cambridge Platonists, and this was a soteriological position which he also shared with Baxter. As Baxter says, Wadsworth believed in the 'universal conditional gift of pardon and life which is found in the Gospel'.[73] Wadsworth accuses Sharp of denying 'Universal Redemption' because of the latter's insistence that salvation is only through membership of the church.[74] Wadsworth seems to have taken to heart Baxter's advice that personal pastoral care of his parishioners—even before, perhaps especially before, they became members of Wadsworth's particular church—was more important than 'the *forme* or *way* of Governm*ent* or Order'.[75]

Thomas Wadsworth, an individual in context

As a case study in intellectual and ecclesial development through the personal influence of teachers and mentors, Thomas Wadsworth emerges as a figure at once more complicated and more interesting than the pious accounts of his Dissenting ministry might suggest. The examination of his career and writings, in the light of the influence of Hezekiah Woodward, Samuel Bolton, Peter Harrison, William Outram and Richard Baxter, has allowed us to chart his mental growth during a challenging period of intellectual and ecclesiastical change and conflict. While Woodward, Bolton and Harrison doubtless strengthened the young Wadsworth's tendency towards godliness and eventual Dissent, Woodward might have been initially responsible for the Platonic tendency of Wadsworth's mature pneumatology. The Platonist influence of Henry More, through Outram's tutelage, has emerged as the major finding of this study. Wadsworth's continuing esteem for Outram, despite Outram's publicly justified conformity in 1662, suggests that the historiographical boundaries between conformity and Dissent have often been too sharply delineated. Wadsworth's experimental ecclesiology, encouraged by Baxter—a practical hybrid of Presbyterianism and Independency—also warns us to avoid rigid ecclesiological categorisation in this early period of Nonconformity. Likewise, his cautious Arminianism—fostered probably by Woodward and certainly by Outram

72 [T Wadsworth] *Separation yet no Schisme* (1675) 8, 10. For the ascription of this pamphlet to Wadsworth, see Wadsworth *Serious Exhortation unto Self-Examination* following 141, idem *Remains* 1st pagination 85, Calamy *Continuation* (1) 26, T Sharp op. cit. (1) 54, A Gordon in *Dictionary of National Biography* ed L Stephen and S Lee (63 vols 1885–1900) s v Wadsworth, Thomas, *BR* (1) 515, G F Nuttall and R S Paul 'Editorial' *TCHS* 17 (1952) 35, *ODNB*, s v Wadsworth, Thomas.

73 Baxter *Aphorisms of Justification* 91–2, 108–13, 235–43, 286–335, idem *Saints Everlasting Rest* 4–5, 17–18, 134–64, idem in Wadsworth *Last Warning* (a5)^{v}, G F Nuttall *Richard Baxter and Philip Doddridge: A Study in Tradition* (1951) 2–3, 22–3, Keeble and Nuttall op cit (1) 188–9, 213–14, 216, Lim op cit 173–82.

74 [Wadsworth] *Separation yet no Schisme* 12.

75 Keeble and Nuttall op cit (1) 175.

and Baxter—places Wadsworth in a somewhat anomalous category if the division between Calvinism and Arminianism is maintained without subtlety. As Michael Hunter has said in his 'New Theory of Intellectual Change', which criticises 'austerely thematic studies' in the development of late seventeenth-century ideas, we need to re-evaluate some of the received polarities in order to 'understand the "bundle" of ideas which each individual formed', taking into account their 'intellectual proclivities, social priorities and inherited preconceptions' as well as their writings. The resulting 'unexpected complexity' leads not only to 'puzzling anomalies' but to 'a kaleidoscope of patterns shaped by the reaction of individuals to the categories presented by contemporary polemics'.[76] This study of Thomas Wadsworth reveals a more complex and more interesting mind than the blanket categories of Dissenter and Presbyterian minister would suggest. It is to be hoped that it might provide a pattern for the re-examination of the careers and writings of other Dissenting divines through a careful investigation of the influences on their mental development. This approach could rescue particularly some minor figures from the pious oblivion imposed by the rigid polarities of an historiographical discourse confined to the divisions between Dissent and conformity to the Church of England, as well as between rigid categories of Puritan ecclesiology and soteriology, resulting in a richer understanding of people and ideas in later seventeenth-century English Christianity.

A Note on Portraits of Thomas Wadsworth

The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography mistakenly lists three portraits of Wadsworth, but only two exist. The oils portrait, by an unknown artist, at Dr Williams's Library, London, unfortunately cannot be viewed at present, although a planned picture store with mobile racking should provide access to the portrait at a future date. The copy of this portrait illustrating this article comes from a photograph held by the National Portrait Gallery. The engraving by Robert White—also reproduced with this article—was originally printed as a frontispiece in Wadsworth's *Remains* (1680). The oils portrait said by the ODNB to be at Christ's College, Cambridge, is actually a print from this engraving. For assistance in this matter, my thanks are due to Dr David Wykes, Director, Dr Williams's Library; to Erika Ingham, Assistant Curator, and to the Rights and Images Department at the National Portrait Gallery; and to Dr William Steen, Keeper of Pictures, Christ's College, Cambridge.

Marilyn Lewis

76 M Hunter *Science and the Shape of Orthodoxy: Intellectual Change in Late Seventeenth-Century Britain* (Woodbridge 1995) 11–18.

WANDERINGS—SPIRITUAL AND PHYSICAL: THE MINISTRY OF ROBERT LITTLE

Robert Little was born in London in 1762.[1] Of his early life, details are scanty, though he may have been "brought up within the Methodist movement"[2]. His first charge was the Paradise Street Independent Church in Birmingham (of which he was the first minister) from 1791 until 1797. His wife was called Ann—and during his time in Birmingham, he baptised two of their children—Elizabeth Emma in 1795 (on 5 June) and Robert Pierey in 1796 (on 6 June).

Paradise Street is a short street in central Birmingham—where no traces of the independent chapel now remain. Some 80 years after Little left, a College of Science was founded here with the intention of equipping graduates to serve local industry. Amongst its many former students who served in much wider spheres were Stanley Baldwin and Neville Chamberlain—both to become Prime Minister. Mason's College eventually metamorphosed into the University of Birmingham, with the building itself being demolished in the 1960s to make way for a new central public library.

Staffordshire Congregationalist

In 1797, Little moved just under 50 miles north to Hanley in Staffordshire. He was called to be the second minister of a church which was just thirteen years old. In the 1851 census, Hanley had a population of 91,433. Fifty years later, the town had more than doubled in size to 188,241. In due course, Hanley would become known as the capital of the Potteries—it was one of the six towns which came together in 1910 to form Stoke-on-Trent. In 1797, however, Hanley's population was just 25,270.

John Middleton, the Anglican incumbent, had been appointed curate in 1737—so had been ministering in the area for an impressive sixty years by the time Little arrived. Middleton's designation changed to vicar from 1768 and rector from 1791.[3]

The first Methodist Chapel in Hanley had opened in 1783.[4] When John

1 W D McNaughton *The Scottish Congregational Ministry 1794–1993* (hereafter *TSCM)* (Glasgow 1993) 83.

2 J D Bowers *Joseph Priestley and English Unitarianism in America* (Pennsylvania 2007) 228.

3 J G Jenkins (Ed) *A History of the County of Stafford* Vol 8 (1963) 154–157.

4 Architectural History Practice Ltd *Churches and Chapels of North Staffordshire: An Architectural and Historical Review* (Report for English Heritage and the Diocese of Lichfield) (2009) 15.

Wesley preached there in 1784, he recorded that it was too small to hold the congregation. The chapel formed the lower rooms of three cottages with the internal walls removed—but at the pulpit end, the upper room of the cottage was also added by removing the floor and joists. Only those in the end room could see the preacher, as his head and part of his body were above the greater part of the room!

A Particular Baptist Church had opened in Hanley in 1789. An induction in 1798 brought to an end a four year vacancy. The origins of the Hanley Tabernacle (to which Little had been called) lay in the preaching visits of Rev George Burder[5] and of Captain Jonathan Scott. Burder was born in London in 1752. His first employment was as an engraver—but he began preaching in 1776. He was pastor of an Independent chapel in Lancaster from 1778 before becoming a "travelling preacher in England and Wales". He then ministered in Coventry and London until his death in 1832. He was a founder member of the British and Foreign Bible Society and the Religious Tract Society, and also helped found the London Missionary Society. Scott entered the army at the age of seventeen, rising to the rank of captain-lieutenant in the seventh dragoons. When he started to preach:

> at the various places to which his military duties took him … it was hinted to him that … he had best sever his connections with His Majesty's forces. Accordingly in 1769 he sold his commission and retired into civil life, though he was always thereafter known as Captain, and often appeared in the pulpit in uniform.[6]

Scott's wife, Elizabeth Cley of Shropshire, had considerable wealth. With her resources, and also those of Lady Glenorchy of Scotland, Scott worked to found several independent congregations in Staffordshire. The work of Burder and Scott was sufficiently high-profile and successful to cause bitter resentment on the part of John Wesley.

The preaching of Burder and Scott led to a "long room" being hired in Hanley—prior to a chapel being built in 1784. Little's predecessor at Hanley had been James Boden who had been born in 1751 in Chester (in the house in which the Biblical commentator, Matthew Henry[7], had once lived). He professed his faith in Christ at the age of sixteen, and studied for the ministry at Homerton College. Hanley was his first charge—and here he laboured for about fifteen years—before transferring to Sheffield in 1796.[8]

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5 *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (hereafter *ODNB*).

6 A G Matthews *The Congregational Churches of Staffordshire With Some Account of the Puritans, Presbyterians, Baptists and Quakers in the County during the 17th* Century *(1924) 132.*

7 *ODNB.*

8 J Morison *Fathers and Founders, London Missionary Society, A Jubilee Memorial New Ed* (1844) 525.

Boden had opened a Sunday school in 1785. Besides furthering the work of his own chapel, he helped greatly in Congregational evangelical work. Little continued this tradition of outreach. By 1800, the Tabernacle not only had a good congregation, but was also regarded as the centre of Congregational work in the north of Staffordshire. In 1799, for example, there was a meeting at Hanley of all the local Congregational ministers (from Shropshire, Cheshire, and Staffordshire) to discuss plans for the maintenance of itinerant preachers and for training ministers. Although this project was not realised, the later North Staffordshire Lay Preachers' Association regarded Hanley Tabernacle as its centre and usually held its meetings there.

Little was in demand as a preacher beyond his own church and it is known that he preached at the opening of new chapels in Whitchurch[9] (in 1798) and Cheadle[10] (in 1799).

Perthshire

Staffordshire seems a long way away from Scotland—even more so in the late 18th century. In 1799, however, Little did visit Scotland.[11] Burder also visited Scotland that year. On 5 June 1799 Burder wrote to his son from Perth:

> Two serious friends from Birmingham accompanied me in a post-chaise all the way, which rendered my journey very pleasant … the general assembly of the church of Scotland … have now made a law, that no preacher shall be permitted to preach in any of their parish churches or chapels who has not been educated or ordained in their church, so that neither Episcopal or dissenting ministers of England or Scotland can preach in the churches, which before was frequently allowed. But they have gone much further; and, with a view of crushing the cause, have ordained that a pastoral letter of admonition be read in all the churches warning people against vagrant teachers (of whom I am one), and Sabbath schools, which they artfully insinuate are for seditious purposes.[12]

Burder did not record for posterity the identity of his two companions, but it is surely his influence that led to Little preaching in the Tabernacle in Perth in November and December 1801, before being inducted in May 1802.

Congregationalism in Perth traced its origins back to 1794, but in just eight years the fledgling community had been led by three ministers in three different buildings. Little succeeded Ralph Wardlaw[13] who (not yet ordained) supplied the church in 1801. Wardlaw would go on to be a distinguished Congregational leader with a Glasgow ministry spanning half a century. On his death, the Year Book of the Congregational Union of England and Wales recorded:

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9 *Evangelical Magazine* Vol 6 (1798) 162.
10 *Evangelical Magazine* Vol 7 (1799) 437.
11 Ibid 284.
12 H F Burder *Memoir of the Rev George Burder* (1883) 185–187.
13 *TSCM* 166.

> As a preacher, Dr. Wardlaw acquired true fame rather than popularity. His sermons were more didactic than oratorical in their construction. His chief aim seemed always to be to convey fully, clearly, and forcibly to the mind of his audience the truth presented by the part of Scripture from which he was discoursing.[14]

Even at the start of his ministry, it is likely that Wardlaw's preaching in Perth followed a similar form—in contrast to (as an example) Hugh Blair (parish minister of St Giles, the High Kirk of Edinburgh 1758 to 1800) whose sermons were described as "perfect examples of Moderate preaching of 'mere morality' in highly cultivated literary form".[15]

> In doctrine the Moderates *(in the Church of Scotland)* were ostensibly if tepidly orthodox, but theology did not figure among their interests … in their sermons moderate preachers avoided all reference to the great doctrines of the Church, and to the Reformation doctrines of sin and grace, and the Plan of Salvation. They confined themselves to inculcating the moral virtues with illustrations drawn from secular literature even more than from Scripture.[16]

James Haldane's[17] practice was to "attend the Sunday morning service in the parish church, and later in the day to hold a meeting in the open air at which he attacked the minister of the parish when his doctrine came short of the evangelistic standard".[18] Hugh Miller[19] demonstrated how in parishes such as Cromarty which enjoyed an evangelical ministry, "the 'Haldanites' could not find a footing".[20] This probably explains what Perth Congregational Church would have expected in calling their new minister, and Little's approach to preaching. It also suggests that in Perth (where John Knox's[21] Reformation could be said to have started), Moderatism had taken hold in the national church.

From Little's later ministry it is known that his preaching was learned but eminently understandable. Whilst in Perth he delivered a course of lectures on Christian evidences and introduced an edition of Isaac Watts's[22] psalms. Watts is often called the "father of English hymnody". Whilst he granted that David was unquestionably a chosen instrument of God, Watts claimed that his religious understanding could not have fully apprehended the truths later revealed in Jesus Christ:

> … it must be acknowledged …, that there are a thousand Lines in it [the Book of Psalms] which were not made for a Church of our Days, to assume as its own

14 *Congregational Year Book* (1855) 240.
15 J H S Burleigh *A Church History of Scotland* (Edinburgh 1960) 296–7.
16 Ibid 304.
17 *ODNB.*
18 Burleigh op cit 311.
19 *ODNB.*
20 H Miller *My Schools and Schoolmasters* (14th ed Edinburgh 1869) 474.
21 *ODNB.*
22 *ODNB.*

> … I would rejoyce to see a good part of the Book of Psalms fitted for the Use of our Churches, and *David* converted into a Christian: But because I cannot persuade others to attempt this glorious Work, I have suffer'd my self to be persuaded to begin it …[23]

Watts maintained, therefore, that the metrical psalms sung by Christians should be "renovated" as if David had been a Christian. They should, as Watts put it in the title of his 1719 metrical psalter, be, "imitated in the language of the New Testament". Introducing this "renovated" psalm book to Perth caused bitter controversy in the congregation—and led to seven church members being excluded from the fellowship.

Exclusive use of the psalms in public worship had continued in Scotland for longer than in England. It was only in 1781 that the *Translation and Paraphrases, in verse, of several Passages of Sacred Scripture* appeared, "and even then the collection received only interim approval" from the Church of Scotland's General Assembly.[24] As recently as 1794, the Relief Synod had agreed to enlarge their Psalmody by "literal versions of particular portions of Scripture and also by hymns agreeable to the tenor of the word of God".[25]

Sandemanianism and Unitarianism

Initially Little's theology was Calvinist.[26] He himself described his early religious principles as "High Calvinist". Scholars call this position supralapsarianism (from the Latin *supra* meaning 'above' or 'before' and *lapsus* meaning 'fall'). Low Calvinists maintained that the Fall was planned—but that it was not predetermined who would be saved. High Calvinists argued that the Fall occurred partly to facilitate God's purpose that some should be destined for salvation and others for damnation.

> If Calvinism is often perceived as a negative phenomenon, this is even more true of High Calvinism.[27]

One Baptist theologian of the late 18th Century described High Calvinists as "more Calvinistic than Calvin himself".[28] Another writer complained that he

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23 "The Preface 'Hymns and Spiritual Songs'" (1709) reprinted in S L Bishop *Isaac Watts: Hymns and Spiritual Songs 1707–1748* (1962) lii-lv.

24 H Sefton "Revolution to Disruption" in D Forrester & D Murray *Studies in the History of Worship in Scotland* (Edinburgh 1996) 81.

25 G Struthers *The History of the Relief Church* (Glasgow 1843) 374–375.

26 "Obituary—Robert Little" in *The Monthly Repository and Review of Theology and General Literature New Series, Vol 1* (hereafter *ORL*) (1827) 927.

27 I J Shaw *High Calvinists in action: Calvinism and the City, Manchester and London* (Oxford 2002) 6.

28 A G Fuller (Ed) "Memoir of Andrew Fuller" in *Works of Andrew Fuller* (1862) lvxii.

had "no objection to the *height* of the Calvinists; but … to the miserable narrowness".[29]

By the time he left Perth, Little's stance had moved to Sandemanianism.[30] It is interesting that this change took place at this time, for Robert Sandeman[31] was born in Perth (though died before Little arrived in the Fair City). Sandeman's father-in-law, John Glas[32], had been parish minister at Tealing in Angus before being deposed (by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland) for his *Testimony of the King of Martyrs.* Glas was a, "kindly and pleasant man, unambitious and deeply devout. Neither he nor his wife showed the slightest anxiety about the problems of bringing up a family of fifteen without a guaranteed income".[33] Glas's views expressed in his treatise were at odds with the Church of Scotland—indeed Glas concluded that the "New Testament speaks nothing of a national church: so that there is no such thing instituted by Christ."[34] When Glas died, Sandeman assumed leadership of the denomination.

Glasite Churches tried to conform with what they understood the structure of the New Testament Church to have been. Members followed dietary laws and abstained from blood and from things strangled. They regarded their property as subject to the demands of the church and the poor. In worship they practiced the kiss of peace, and washed one another's feet in literal obedience to the Gospel command. In particular, Glas saw the weekly eucharist as the central act of worship of the early church. Between morning and afternoon services there was a common meal—the 'Agape'. This sharing of a common meal (often soup) was "an opportunity for the rich to share with the poor as a sign of brotherly love"[35] and led to the Glasites being nicknamed the Kail Kirk.[36]

Little did introduce weekly communion to the Perth Congregational Church. Inwardly his theological outlook was changing. He rejected all notions of privilege, and stopped using the designation Reverend. He was against seat rents—as well as being opposed to the notion of a stipendiary ministry. Yet he did not fully embrace Sandemanianism. His understanding of the Election was too broad for that—and he was also committed to the admission of non-baptised persons to communion.

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29 W A Knight *Colloquia peripatetica: deep sea soundings: being notes of conversations with the late John Duncan LLD, Professor of Hebrew in the New College, Edinburgh* (1879) 10.

30 *ORL* 927.

31 *ODNB.*

32 *ODNB.*

33 A L Drummond & J Bulloch *The Scottish Church 1688–1843* (Edinburgh 1981) 46.

34 J Glas "The Testimony of the King of Martyrs" (1729) in *The Works of Mr John Glas in Four Volumes* (Edinburgh 1761) 34.

35 Sefton op cit 76–77.

36 *Kail* being the Scots word for cabbage.

It is not clear exactly what happened (or when) but presumably Little's changing theology no longer matched that of the congregation which had called him as minister. It seems reasonable to assume that he decided it was time to move on. In 1806 we find him again in Birmingham—back at the Paradise Street Chapel.

Paradise Street had described itself as a "congregation of Protestant Dissenters, not originally Baptists" but in 1807 the church decided to abandon infant baptism. The Baptismal Register records:

> Paradise Street Chapel having given up the practice of Infant Baptism, from conviction of its being unscriptural, this Register is continued of the Births only of such Children of such as are or may be in fellowship with the Church in future.[37]

In Birmingham Little also compiled a hymn book for those who follow the faith and practice of the primitive Christians. Again Sandemanianism may be an influence here. The Glasites used spiritual songs in worship (and Glas himself composed a paraphrase of Revelation 5 which was sung at the end of the communion service[38]).

The Paradise Street church moved to Little Cannon Street, Birmingham on 10 December 1809. The Littles had a third child, Maria Jones, on 26 November 1810. In 1811 Little published *A defence of the author's conduct in certain changes of opinion and practice* in which his views were distinctly Unitarian.[39] Around this time Little did approach the Sandemanian Baptists—but their respective theological standpoints did not match. As Little moved towards Unitarian principles, perhaps he reflected that, as recently as 4 April 1797 (when preaching at an ordination in Warwickshire), he had fulminated against "the poisonous heresies of Socinians and Universalists".[40] It is interesting to note that one of Little's assistants in Perth was John Small[41] who entered Homerton College in 1804 to train for the Congregational ministry, but after 1810 was ministering with Unitarians. When Little was in Perth, a close neighbour was John Campbell,[42] another Congregational minister. Campbell would become a Unitarian Baptist, and then Unitarian minister at Pittsburgh.

In 1817 Little was minister of the Unitarian Church in Gainsborough in Lincolnshire. His name appears just once in the Baptismal Register there, on

37 G E Evans *Midland Churches: A History of the Congregations on the Roll of the Midland Christian Union* (Dudley 1899) 262–263.

38 Sefton op cit 81.

39 L Staples *Robet Little, First Minister of the First Unitarian Church, Washington DC* (unpublished c1980).

40 *Christian Reformer* (1827) 468.

41 *TSCM* 148.

42 *TSCM* 23.

5 December 1817. In January 1819 the Monthly Repository carried a review of Little's sermon at Gainsborough on 20 December 1818 on *Death and a Future Life*. The reviewer states that:

> We fear we must accept this as a farewell sermon, the author being on the point of removing to America. Whether he exercises his profession or not in the United States, he will, we are persuaded, continue in the service of truth, and our best wishes attend him.[43]

United States Unitarian

In 1819 Little emigrated to America prompted by "family considerations".[44] His plan was to take up secular employment—and his luggage included dried goods and hardware, with which he set up a store on Pennsylvania Avenue.

When the Little family set foot in the United States, the President was Thomas Jefferson, the third holder of that office. One of Jefferson's biographers wrote that his

> religious tone was … that of most healthy English souls before religion became intense and opinionative … equally incapable of fighting a bishop or stoning a Quaker … religion was never a system or a salvation. It was the supreme decency, the highest etiquette, with the addition of bell-ringing and Merry Christmas.[45]

As a fledgling nation established its common life—deciding which traditions from home to keep and which to jettison—so too theologies were reassessed.

> In American churches, Unitarianism was less a statement about the nature of Jesus than it was a cluster of theological ideas that gradually developed in congregations of the Puritan tradition … Early American Unitarians—who preferred to be known as liberal Christians, practical Christians, or just Christians—rejected traditional Puritan belief in the essential sinfulness of humanity in favor of a more optimistic view of human possibility.[46]

Joseph Priestley[47] and his family took voluntary exile in America after the antagonism expressed against Dissenters, and supporters of the French and American Revolutions. On Sunday, 1 June 1794, his son and daughter-in-law were publicly barred from the communion table of the Presbyterian meeting in New York by the preacher. As known Unitarians, they had "denied the divinity of Christ".[48]

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43 *The Monthly Repository of Theology and General Literature Vol XIV* (1919) 509.

44 *ORL* 927.

45 J Parton *Life of Thomas Jefferson, Third President of the United States* (Boston 1874) 738.

46 B T Marshall *Unitarians and Universalists of Washington, DC* (Charleston, SC 2010) 7.

47 *ODNB.*

48 D McKie "A Note on Priestley in America" in *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* Vol 10, No1 (1952) 52.

Yet in an 1810 address to an annual convention of Congregational ministers in Boston, Eliphalet Porter summarised a growing liberalism.

> Running down a long list of doctrines, including the five points of Calvinism and the doctrine of the Trinity, Porter declared that 'I cannot place my finger on any one article' in the entire roster, 'the belief, or the rejection of which I consider essential to the christian faith or character.'[49]

The key thing was to imitate Christ and lead a moral life. James Walker, at the same conference, agreed.

> The great principles of religion … are few and simple. To be understood they need but to be but stated.[50]

Unitarianism certainly captured the mood of the age. Jefferson, declared in 1822, "I trust that there is not a young man now living in the United States who will not die a Unitarian".[51] His Secretary of War (John C Calhoun) is said to have declared that same year that Unitarianism would become the religion of the whole country within fifty years.[52]

A group of Unitarians had been meeting in Georgetown, across the Potomac River from Washington, since 1815. At its peak the society was about one hundred and fifty strong. Somehow a community started to gather round Little in Washington. The community included two brothers who had been part of the Georgetown Society. Thomas and John Wright were brothers of Richard Wright[53]—sometimes called "the Unitarian John Wesley" because of his travels throughout Britain for the Unitarian cause.[54] After gathering in 1819 in private houses and then in a schoolroom, a long room over a public bath was opened for Unitarian worship on Sunday 4 June 1820. Soon the group decided to build a church. In a letter to Jared Sparks (Unitarian minister in Baltimore), Little expressed amazement at:

> how it is that I have gone on so far, for the disadvantages I have labored under … and the want of books, which renders almost every attempt at composition a tax on my memory.[55]

The First Unitarian Church of Washington was formally organised on 11 November 1821 when Little was elected minister on a stipend of $1,000 per annum.[56] He may have continued with the hardware store, at least for a time—

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49 L Buell "The Unitarian Movement and the Art of Preaching in 19th Century America" in *American Quarterly* Vol 24, No 2 (1972) 176.

50 ibid.

51 C Ghodes "A Contribution to the History of Southern Liberalism" in *American Studies in Honor of William Kenneth Boyd* (Durham, NC 1940) 327.

52 ibid.

53 *ODNB.*

54 Staples op cit.

55 H B Adams *Life and writing of Jared Sparks* (Boston 1893) 196.

56 Staples op cit.

and there is also a suggestion that he had part-time employment in the Government's Treasury Department. The founding members of the congregation included John Quincy Adams and Charles Bullfinch (who designed the first church but is better known as the architect of the US Capitol). The church building was eventually dedicated on 9 June 1822.

Under Little, the First Unitarian Church attracted "some of the most intelligent and cultivated families of the young capital".[57] In his preaching, Little "applied the test of reason to religious claims and sought to find rational explanations for the 'miracles' of the Bible". Very firmly he "argued for the right of each individual to 'judge for himself' on matters of faith".[58] He had moved far from his Calvinist origins. Yet Little was not liberal in all his views. He had no doubt, for example, that the resurrection of Jesus was a physical event.

Little played an important part in wider society. He was an active member of the Columbian Institute for the Promotion of Arts and Sciences (the first learned society in Washington) and, "Under his fostering hand the Botanic Garden had begun to flourish".[59] He was also editor of the (short-lived) *Washington Quarterly Magazine* which was devoted to "whatever promoted the agricultural, commercial and manufacturing interests of the county".[60] Each edition carried a report by Little compiled from his own meteorological observations. He was an outspoken opponent of slavery, and preached in the hall of the House of Representatives[61] (at the invitation of the Speaker).

In the first of his two sermons preached on Independence Day 1824, Little declared that Christianity

> is not confined in its instructions or consolation to individual men, it is adapted to elevate, dignify and improve the species; it has already in all its forms ameliorated the condition of humanity, and even where it is most imperfectly understood, and encumbered with much remaining superstition, it has excited aspirations after knowledge and liberty, which, however suppressed by circumstances, will never cease to operate unseen, till the nations shall attain intellectual maturity, and cast away their 'childish things'. National happiness cannot be secured without religion.[62]

Little seems to have been sick all winter in 1821. Reporting to the church's third annual general meeting, in November 1823, he said that he intended to

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57 J Scudder *A Century of Unitarianism in the National Capital 1821–1921* (Boston 1922) 11.

58 Marshall op cit 11.

59 *ORL* 927.

60 Scudder op cit 48.

61 Ibid 47.

62 R Little *The National Anniversary in Two Sermons Preached July 4th*, 1824, in the First Unitarian Church, Washington City, With a Short Address respecting the views of the Colonization Society (*Washington 1824*) 4.

have August and September absent from the city and wished the members to regard this arrangement "as settled and permanent". It may be that the summer heat was too much for him. In 1825 he seemed to be enjoying "an improved condition of health".[63]

At the beginning of August 1827, he left Washington with his family at the start of a two months holiday. The plan was to spend the summer in the Pennsylvanian mountains. On Saturday, 4 August, they rode all day, from York to Harrisburg PA, where an old friend, James Kay, another British Unitarian minister, was attempting to start a congregation. Little preached twice on the Sunday to this new congregation—but died of inflammation of the brain on the Monday, and was buried on the Tuesday (upriver at Northumberland—beside the grave of Priestley).

Quincy Adams, by then President of the United States, paid this tribute:

> This is a fact greatly to be lamented by his congregation of whom I am one. I had continually attended his ministrations these past seven years.[64]

Adams' tribute is even more significant when we learn that "Ministers noted that he was a demanding parishioner".[65]

Conclusion

The Paradise/Little Cannon Street congregation dissolved in 1814. The Unitarian Church in Gainsborough no longer meets. Perth Congregationalists split over infant baptism, and the Baptists took possession of the Tabernacle around 1809. The Congregationalists would have some five homes over the next nine decades, before uniting with the Evangelical Union Chapel to form the Congregational Church of Perth in 1896. The church building opened in 1899 has been home to the congregation ever since.

First Unitarian Church has been renamed All Souls, Unitarian and worships in its third building (dating from 1921). Today the All Souls' membership is close to one thousand, and it has three ministers. The National Intelligencer reprinted a tribute to Little which appeared in the (Washington) National Journal. The editor of the Intelligencer explained his decision:

> Its fidelity to truth, and beauty as a composition, entitle it to the place we now give it; but its merit is more brightly reflected, in considering that it is from the pen of one whose religious tenets are entirely at variance with those of the deceased.[66]

Perhaps Little's own varied theological past explained why:

63 Staples op cit.
64 Ibid.
65 Marshall op cit 14.
66 *The National Intelligencer* (Washington 1827).
67 *ORL* 927.

He found among his admirers and friends, some of all creeds—from those of the Church of Rome, to the followers of Whitefield and Wesley; and if they could not acknowledge all his religious sentiments to be just, they were ready to bear testimony to the sincerity of his faith, and the purity of his character.[67]

Gordon A Campbell

REVIEWS

***Scholar, pastor, martyr. The life ministry of Balthasar Hubmaier (c. 1480–1528).* By H. Wayne Walker Pipkin. Pp 118. International Baptist Theological Seminary of the European Baptist Federation, Prague, 2008), ISBN 978–80–87006–07–8.**

H. Wayne Walker Pipkin is a prominent scholar of Anabaptist history in the 16th century. His interest in Balthasar Hubmaier has culminated in his translation into English of the reformer's main works. As a result, he is perfectly qualified for writing Hubmaier's biography. This brief work is an extension of a number of lectures given by the author at the 2006 Hughey Lectures on the theme 'The life story and reforming work of Balthasar Hubmaier (ca. 1480–1528)'.

Hubmaier is one of the most influential Anabaptist scholars and pastors; he was born in Friedberg near Augsburg c. 1480. In 1503, he enrolled at the University of Freiburg where he met Johannes Eck and Johannes Faber, which meetings had a crucial impact on his life, as both became fierce supporters of the Pope and enemies of Balthasar. After attaining a Doctorate in Theology, Hubmaier became pastor at Regensburg and started to distinguish himself as a preacher.

In 1521, he moved to Waldshut, a small town near the Rhine in Habsburg territory. Up to this point, Hubmaier was still a follower of the Catholic faith; however in 1522, his views begun to change. He communicated and befriended leading humanists, as well as Swiss reformers. Indeed, the following year he took Zwingli's side during the Second Disputation in Zurich. Unfortunately, the relationship between the two reformers quickly deteriorated since Hubmaier became convinced of the unfoundedness of infant baptism, which he thought to be not supported by scripture. On the other hand, Zwingli feared that the baptisers' real aim was to create a separate church and therefore, strongly criticised them.

In Waldshut, Hubmaier implemented a number of innovations and preached reformist ideas, which were upheld by the population but not the Habsburgs. In 1525, the latter re-established control of the town, re-introduced Catholicism and forced Balthasar to flee first to Zurich, and then to Nicolsburg in Moravia. There he established a thriving Anabaptist community and wrote extensively about his interpretation of scripture. Balthasar enjoyed great freedom to implement his ideas as Nicolsburg was ruled by a prince sympathetic to the reformer's beliefs. Despite the fact that the town was not part of the Habsburg lands, Archduke Ferdinand had Hubmaier arrested and taken to Vienna. In 1528, he was found guilty of heresy and burned at the stake.

Pipkin's work is well written and sensibly structured. It provides readers with substantial background information on the people who surrounded Hubmaier,

as well as the events that had an impact on Balthasar's life. He thoroughly analyses and gives an explanation of the reformer's *Catechism*, but unfortunately, he does not assess in a similar way other works by Hubmaier.

Furthermore, Pipkin includes a comprehensive bibliography and a critical analysis of a large number of works on the reformer, an invaluable tool for anyone wishing to further their understanding of him. The only regrettable aspect of the book is the introduction, where the author compiles an extensive biography of himself and of the reasons why he became interested in Hubmaier. This section, while interesting, does not contribute to an understanding of Balthasar. Nevertheless, this is an excellent and thoughtful account of the Anabaptist pastor's life and would be of interest to anyone studying him.

Micol Barengo The Huguenot Library

***Begat—The King James Bible and the English Language*. By David Crystal. Pp viii + 327. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2010. £14.99 hardback, £8.99 paperback. ISBN 978–0–19958–585–4.**

Scholarship is not always fun. David Crystal may or may not be "the world's greatest authority on the English language", as the blurb on the cover of *Begat* claims, but he certainly knows how to entertain with his scholarship. In his exploration of 'the King James Bible and the English Language', Crystal sets out to test a statement made by Alan G Thomas in his *Great Books and Book Collectors.* It is a statement echoed by many during this 400th anniversary year, "No book has had greater influence on the English language."

Crystal quickly establishes that, unlike Shakespeare, the translators of the Authorised Version have contributed very few new words to the English language. He suggests there is a conservative streak among them and they are, after all, heavily indebted to a significant number of previous translations into English.

Carefully reading through the King James Bible from cover to cover, Crystal noted all those phrases that he intuitively felt had entered into modern, popular, idiomatic English. He deliberately excluded phrases which are used in religious circles by Jew and Christian alike, often as straightforward quotations. Instead he was on the lookout for idioms that are common parlance still. This approach is both strength and weakness. Its strength is that it gives Crystal a firm basis for drawing the conclusion that he eventually does, assessing the impact of the King James Bible on the English language. Its weakness, from my point of view as a Christian, is that it discounts the impact that the Christian faith itself has had on the development of the English language.

This is a book of two halves, a popular idiom David Crystal would be the first to acknowledge is not derived from the King James Bible. Before the Interlude, he works systematically through the books of the Old Testament in order and comments on idiomatic phrases as they arrive. A surprisingly large number of Old Testament books have contributed no memorable phrases still in

popular use. Deuteronomy to Ruth, for example, he describes as a 'linguistic wilderness'.

After reflections on the very different contribution the New Testament has made he then finds that virtually every book of the New Testament has contributed a plethora of sayings to the modern language. I was a little disappointed that he changed tack at this point to cluster the sayings thematically. It would have been interesting to have surveyed the indebtedness of the English language to the different books and writers of the New Testament. No matter it detracted little from his entertaining analysis.

It would seem that Crystal has put each of the 257 phrases he has uncovered into Google, and he thoroughly enjoys sharing the eclectic mix of paraphrase he comes up with. He discounts the common Christian use of the phrase 'the way, the truth and the life', suggesting that is not such a claim on the influence of the King James Bible on the English language, as the entry in the Urban Dictionary for *awesomesauce* ('something that is more awesome than awesome' I kid you not', comments Crystal which at one point goes biblical *Awesomesauce is the way, the truth, and the awesome."* For some unexplained reason this is about the only idiom referenced to its source in the text.

The fact that the phrase 'holier than thou' becomes 'hippier than thou', 'prettier than thou', 'funnier than thou', 'healthier than thou', 'funkier than thou' and 'geekier than thou' is evidence for a linguistic influence from the King James Bible that goes very deeply into modern English usage.

David Crystal's lavish use of Google search and his rich use of such examples tempts one to liken his book to one of Schott's Almanacks. What it lacks by way of footnotes and bibliography it more than makes up for in its two appendices and four indices.

This is where the real gold is in this book. The first Appendix lists all 257 expressions discussed in the book, and at the same time lists the equivalent words in five earlier translations: Wycliffe, Tyndale, Geneva, Bishops and Douai Rheims. The Appendix itself is divided into 10 sections. The first section identifies only 18 expressions that are apparently unique to the King James Bible. Crystal then lists expressions that are common with first one, then two, then three, then four, then all five of the earlier translations. He is careful to give credit where enormous credit is due to those earlier translations and translators. Various other categories are subsequently included too. It is this detail that makes the book a treasure, and adds credibility to Crystal's carefully nuanced argument that for 'innovative idiomatic expressions' and for their lasting use in 'modern spoken or written English', though not for 'innovative lexicon' or 'innovative grammar' the KJB has left a lasting mark on the English language in a way no other single work has done.

The second appendix gives the spread of those expressions throughout the Old and New Testaments, demonstrating their predominance in the New Testament, and the swathes of the Old Testament where they simply do not appear. Be it noted Jude is in the New Testament and not as listed, the Old Testament. As if the contents were not helpful enough with its listing of 42

chapter headings, each clearly indicating the idiomatic expressions discussed, the first index runs to nine pages listing the expressions discussed. The second index lists all references to the earlier Bible translations. The third index is perhaps the weakest, listing all references to the books of the Bible; but without chapter and verse this is not as helpful as it might have been. The fourth index is most fascinating of all: in thirteen pages it lists, among other references, all the modern usages covered in the book … from Douglas Adams to zombie films, via David Beckham, Usain Bolt, Perry Como, Miami Vice and Star Wars!

Begat is a very different kettle of fish from the other books on the King James Bible in this anniversary year. Its narrow focus on those 257 expressions is what gives it scholarly credibility and immense entertainment value.

***Manifold Greatness—the Making of the King James Bible*. Edited by Helen Moore and Julian Reid. Pp 208. Bodleian Library, Oxford, 2011. £19.99 paperback. ISBN 978–1–85124–349–5.**

Of the many books published to mark the 400th anniversary of the King James Bible, this is distinctive for the range of scholarship that has gone into it and for the lavish illustrations. Published to accompany a major exhibition on the King James Bible, first at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and subsequently at the Folger Shakespeare Library in the USA, it is a collaboration between the two institutions and contains pictures from the Bibles, books and other manuscripts that appeared in the exhibition. If you missed the exhibition, the web site that accompanied it complements the book and is worth a visit. It is a treasure, and yet in two respects I found it wanting.

The first chapter by Diarmaid MacCulloch (professor of the history of the church in the university of Oxford) and Elizabeth Solopova (research fellow in the faculty of English at Oxford) tells the story of the English Bible in the centuries before the King James Bible. It is a story, rarely told, of the work of translation that began 'with the Christianisation of the Anglo-Saxons' at the end of the sixth century. It is so easy to start the story of the English Bible with Wycliffe and to miss the richness of the centuries before. The key part played by Erasmus in his editions of the Greek New Testament is described and the story of William Tyndale, the 'ancestor of all Bibles in the English language', is told.

It is as Judith Maltby and Helen Moore explore 'the Origins of the Project' that I became conscious of my first reservation. As the story of the Puritan controversy at the Hampton Court Conference unfolds, I became uneasy at the loaded use of adjectives. While Rainolds was described as 'the most substantial theologian at Hampton Court to argue the Puritan case', the absent Separatists receive only a passing mention by way of Robert Browne who is described as 'a notorious separatist'. My reaction prompted me to be on the lookout for a political critique of the way the 'King James Bible' aimed to tame the translation of the Bible and make it subservient to the King: I found such a critique missing in this adulatory volume.

My irritation became more pronounced in what seemed to be the weakest

chapter on the Afterlives of the King James Bible by Peter McCullough and Valentine Cunningham. Again I found the references to Milton, Bunyan and Defoe condescending. Describing Milton as 'republican, regicide and enemy of established churches' seemed to lessen the observations made about his use of Latin, Greek and Hebrew texts in preference for the King James Bible. Likewise, describing John Bunyan and 'little Daniel Defoe' as 'Geneva Bible men' lessened the impact of the critique of the King James Bible that is hinted at. To say that the King James Bible is 'the version for which … Charles I was stubbornly martyred' misses an opportunity to reflect on the politics behind the association of 'the Bible' with 'The King'.

Most curious of all in this chapter was the way Isaac Watts and Philip Doddridge, 'the great Nonconformist hymn-writers', are linked via George Herbert to John and Charles Wesley and their hymns. To say of the Wesleys and their early followers that 'nary a one was bothered by singing the Bible of the Anglican Church' caused me more than a little consternation. No mention is made of the New Testament translation John Wesley saw fit to provide his preachers with, a translation that differs frequently from the King James Bible!

While Hannibal Hamlin, Judith Maltby and Helen Moore, exploring the 1611 King James Bible and its cultural politics, are fascinating on the literature, the style of the translation and its reception, they miss an opportunity to explore the politics of power behind the King's involvement in the translation.

Fascinating chapters on The Oxford Translators (Julian Reid, archivist at Merton College library, Oxford), the King James Bible in America (Hannibal Hamlin) and the Lives of Early English Bibles in the Folger Shakespeare library (Steven K Galbraith) add to the interest of the book.

Excellent chapters on The Oxford Translators by John Reid (archivist at Merton College library, Oxford) and 'Materials and Methods' by Gareth Lloyd Jones (emeritus professor in the school of theology and religious studies, Bangor university), Helen Moore and Julian Reid, touch in interesting ways on translation, but somehow miss the mark for me in avoiding any in-depth exploration of the reason why as for John Wesley in the 18th century, for the revisers in the 19th century and for the many translators of the 20th century new translations were necessary, not only because of a changing language, but also because of the great advances made in biblical scholarship. Among the contributors there is a marked lack of scholarship from the world of biblical studies.

For all that, *Manifold Greatness* makes a stimulating read, bringing together the faculties of theology and English in Oxford, the curator of books of the Folger Shakespeare Library and two contributors from Bangor university and Ohio State university.

Richard Cleaves

***Unexampled Labours: The Letters of the Revd John Fletcher of Madeley to Leaders in the Evangelical Revival*. Edited by Peter S. Forsaith. The Epworth Press, Peterborough, 2008. £25.00 paperback. ISBN 978–0–71620–605–7.**

This volume publishes all the available letters from John Fletcher to John and Charles Wesley, Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, and George Whitefield. They represent about half the two hundred or so manuscript letters from Fletcher that survive. This in itself would justify the publication as many have never been published before, and, for those that have, much of the earlier editing is very unsatisfactory, even bowdlerised. The edition is based on research first undertaken into Fletcher's correspondence with Charles Wesley by Peter Forsaith for his doctorate, to which are now added letters to the other correspondents. The goal of this edition is to provide the most authoritative text possible. The editing does appear to meet modern scholarly standards, with the identification of scriptural quotations, Latin tags, and the individuals mentioned, though the style used to cite individual letters is rather quirky. There is a relatively brief, though useful, introduction. The index, principally to correspondent and by date of letter, is not very user friendly. A system using page numbers would have allowed much easier navigation as there are no running headers containing the dates of letters. The early letters to Charles Wesley were written in French, and the editor provides an English translation in addition to a transcript of the original. Less satisfactorily the collection consists of only one side of the correspondence, the letters from Fletcher. Some replies do survive, but, as in the case of Charles Wesley, they are being edited separately.

Fletcher is a key figure in early Methodism and the Evangelical Revival. Born Jean Guillaume de la Fléchère at Nyon in Switzerland, he came to England in 1749 having studied at Geneva University, after a failed attempt at a military career. He was vicar of Madeley, Shropshire, from 1760 until his death in 1785, where he exercised a noted evangelical ministry amongst the colliers and poor of his extensive parish. He also served briefly as President of Lady Huntingdon's college for training ministers at Trevecka in South Wales, until he took Wesley's side in the doctrinal dispute with the Countess. He was a friend of Charles Wesley, with whom he maintained a warm and personal correspondence in French until matters cooled at the end of 1770, after which they wrote to each other only in English. Fletcher's relations with John Wesley were always less easy. Wesley vehemently opposed Fletcher's accepting the parish of Madeley for he had great need of the help of an ordained minister to give the sacraments to members of the early Methodist societies. He also tried to recruit an unwilling Fletcher to work more directly with him, naming him as his successor on at least two occasions.

The letters are valuable for their account of Fletcher, his relations with the Wesleys and other leading evangelicals, his part in early Methodism, and his work as a Shropshire vicar and evangelical preacher. They have also been used to revaluate Charles Wesley's role in the founding of Methodism, challenging the

traditional pre-eminence given to his brother John. They are of local interest, describing life in one of the early industrial areas. Iron Bridge was built in Fletcher's parish. Perhaps for those outside the Church it is Fletcher's experiences as a parish incumbent which are the most interesting. Attempts to take the message to the settlements of the industrial workers nearly resulted in Fletcher's prosecution under the 1669 Conventicle Act. Evangelicals who belonged to the Church faced a particular dilemma. Unwilling to give up their status as members of the Church of England, they could not obtain the protection of the 1689 Toleration Act by registering the barns and cottages in which they preached. By their refusal to conform, Fletcher and his flock were as vulnerable to prosecution from a determined opponent as dissenters had been before 1689. Fletcher, as the incumbent, had some protection when he preached in his own parish (but not when he evangelised outside it) but his supporters did not. In May 1762 the widow who had provided the accommodation, and the young man who read and prayed on an occasion when Fletcher was not present, were arrested, taken before the local magistrate and threatened with the law. The other magistrates refused to proceed, claiming that the case fell under the spiritual courts. Fletcher was told that the Conventicle Act could be put into force against 'the Mistress of the rock Church & the young man who praid that night I was absent; and against 20 or 30 people who met together' (p. 147). Fletcher continued his mission and in May 1765 there was talk of him being deprived for having preached illegally (p. 213). Though Fletcher may have been frustrated by canon law, he had little time for the attempts to reform the Church from within, such as the Feathers Tavern Petition (pp. 289, 326). He attacked Quakers locally (who included some of the major employers in the parish), and he was virulently anti-catholic. Fletcher also illustrates some of the more obvious features of the mid-eighteenth century Church. He is a clear example of the importance of patronage, for he was neither naturalised nor did he have a degree, both likely bars to preferment. The Hill family, who provided him with his first English post, found him a parish so that he might be ordained. Yet Fletcher adapted in many ways to the late Georgian Church and the tensions within it: he was clerical and hierarchical in his views of Church order, yet pastoral and evangelical in the performance of his ministry. The collection will be of particular interest to historians of early Methodism, historians of the Church, and local historians interested in industrial development in the West Midlands, but there is much to interest historians of Congregationalism: from the Church's attitudes to dissent and the different denominations, to the concern at the spread of irreligion, unbelief, and the evidence for the circulation of cheap Socinian texts.

David L. Wykes, Dr Williams's Library

***Dissenting Praise: Religious Dissent and the Hymn in England and Wales*. Edited by Isabel Rivers and David L Wykes. Pp xiii + 299. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2011. £65 hardback. ISBN 978–0–19954–524–7**

This collection of essays arises out of a one-day conference held by the Dr Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies. The centre is a collaboration between the school of English and Drama, Queen Mary, University of London and Dr Williams's Library. The editors represent the two institutions respectively.

Dissenting Praise consists of an introduction by the editors, nine chapters by different authors, followed by a series of useful bibliographies and indexes. After the first chapter, the next six each focus on one influential figure in the development of hymns among English dissenters, from the mid-17th century to the early 20th. The final two chapters discuss, in turn, the development of the music, to which the hymns were sung, and Welsh hymnody throughout the period commencing with the English Reformation.

In their introduction the editors explain that most recent studies have concentrated on hymnody within the Church of England. This is despite the introduction of hymn singing—distinct from psalm-singing—in public worship being largely the work of Dissenters. Methodism is not specifically part of the study but is not excluded, in that its hymns were adopted by Dissenters, and the contribution of the Wesleys is not examined, as they remained clergymen of the established church. Perhaps there would be no room for them without seriously distorting the direction of this study. For those unfamiliar with Dissent, a short outline is given of its origins and developments from 1662 to the early 20th century. This is useful, as far as it goes, but it seems bizarre to cite those forerunners of Dissent who desired "a more godly religion", without mentioning Puritans or Puritanism. The name was coined as a term of abuse, and remains one, but it usefully describes those, within the Elizabethan and early Stuart established church, who shared that desire.

We are led by Elizabeth Clarke through a minefield of controversies in the 16th century about whether hymn-singing or any singing should be permitted. Calvinists objected to anything not specifically sanctioned by scripture. This meant that metrical psalms and direct paraphrases of scripture were allowed, although some feared that singers would not be sincere in their hearts and doubted whether women could be allowed to sing at all, in the light of I Corinthians 14:34. Indeed she states that in the early 1650s this was as hot a topic as infant baptism. Happily both psalm paraphrases and hymns became acceptable by the end of the century and several authors published books of hymns, although much sung now of that era was regarded as poetry then. Curiously she too avoids the term Puritan, in contrast to the authors of the next three chapters who clearly acknowledge the Puritan inheritance of their chief characters.

Now onto the stage comes Isaac Watts, the hymn-writing colossus, who dominated the next century and a half. J R Watson describes the arrival and reception of Watts's hymns and psalms in the dissenting context of his day. Published separately, in 1707 (revised 1709) and 1719, they came to be bound

together and dominated the dissenting hymn scene to the extent that published hymn collections for the next century were issued as supplements to Watts—as we are reminded in subsequent chapters. With many quotations from Watts and his accompanying text, Watson gives a flavour of Watts's style and how he thought the hymns and psalms should be used. He states that Watts's references to "saints" were describing ordinary believers, although he attributes this not to the Pauline epistles but to Richard Baxter who rescued it from the usage of extremists in the interregnum. Given that the introduction assumes non-Dissenters will read the book, Watson could make the meaning clearer where Watts refers to "saints above", referring to believers whose earthly life has ceased. Yet these same hymns appear in High Church hymnbooks where they are understood—incorrectly—as canonised saints. This is important because part of Watson's point in highlighting "saints" is to make clear Watts's expectation of Dissenters, especially Independents, that they should outshine members of the established Church with "greater degrees of holiness".

Philip Doddridge, Watts's younger contemporary, is the most prominent of several ministers who composed hymns to follow their sermons. Françoise Deconinck-Brossard describes the problem of establishing correct texts for the hymns which were not published during Doddridge's short lifetime but circulated in manuscript. She relates that one of Doddridge's hearers not only kept notes of his sermons but also of the hymn that followed. She is however puzzled by his writing them down, so that what we should expect to be a verse of four lines appears as two much longer lines. Her explanation is that this is a space-saving measure, which is reasonable, given the cost of paper. Another explanation might be that this represented the way hymns were "lined out" (read out by the clerk or precentor to a congregation without printed copies). Bill Ashley-Smith, an earlier editor of this Magazine, maintained that two lines were read out, then sung by the congregation and then the next two lines and so on. This explains, he said, the punctuation of Watts's and Doddridge's hymns where there is always a clear break in the middle of each four-line verse.

We move to compilers of hymn collections, though they often wrote hymns too. First Ken Manley writes on the Baptist, John Rippon (1751–1836), noting that in supplementing Watts's Hymns and Psalms, Rippon selected other verse by Watts, published in his other works. His *Selection* included Baptists, who supplied hymns for baptisms, but he also chose Doddridge, the Wesleys and evangelical Anglicans. Published in 1787 it went through numerous editions for 40 and more years, twice being much enlarged. Setting the way for future Dissenting collections, the hymns were arranged in categories relating to their subject matter. Rippon gave himself the freedom to alter the hymns of others, although in 1801 he issued an edition of Watts which aimed to correct errors in later eighteenth century editions. Rippon's *Selection* was used by some Congregational churches, although we do not know if they opted to have only paedobaptist hymns in the baptism section.

Josiah Conder's *Congregational Hymn Book* was published in 1836 at the behest of the newly formed Congregational Union of England and Wales. David

Thompson describes how Conder held Watts in such regard that his book was only a supplement to Watts. Conder is the only subject of a chapter in this book who was not a minister. Rather he edited journals. Thompson quotes in full four of Conder's own compositions, including "The Lord is King! Lift up thy voice". Thompson also suggests that Conder had very advanced sympathies, exemplified in the range of hymns in his collections. Nevertheless Thompson also makes clear that Conder expressed a broad evangelical faith which excluded hymns which are "too much of the mystic school of piety".

Clyde Binfield, writing on W Garrett Horder (1841–1922), leads us in his inimitable way through Horder's family to build up a picture of the man, taking more than half the chapter to do so. Horder's five hymn collections were not sponsored by the Congregational Union but were mainly used by Congregationalists. His work on hymnnology *The Hymn Lover* (1889) offered a wide discussion of the subject. He praised Conder but criticised him for not dealing with the "problem" of Watts. Binfield takes issue with B L Manning's criticism of Horder's most influential collection *Worship Song* which includes only 14 Watts hymns: Horder, Binfield argues, "saved Watts for Manning to celebrate". Horder embraced many 19th century hymns, some American among them, and was not afraid to include those of Quakers and Unitarians. His was, Binfield states, a liberal hymnbook which was adopted by some "advanced" Congregational churches of its day.

In discussing James Martineau, Alan Ruston, with help from the editors, describes the needs of those, then moving away from Trinitarianism, for a substitute for Watts's Hymns and Psalms. This gradual process began in the mid-18th century with books that selected mostly from Watts but incorporated a few others. Some collections were in use among Unitarian churches in 1840 when Martineau published his first compilation, *Hymns for the Christian Church and Home*. This went through nineteen editions, with alterations, including both new hymns and theological amendments. It was slowly adopted by more Unitarian churches, even though it was not an official publication. Martineau, well respected outside Unitarianism, gained permission from many authors to alter their words in his *Hymns of Praise and Prayer* (1876). Ruston suggests that many of the extensive changes were not theological, but aesthetic. Finally he describes the first Unitarian denominational hymnbook, *The Essex Hall Hymnal* (1890), and the use of Unitarian hymns in other denominations. It is unfortunate that in concluding his chapter (p196), with a list of widely used hymns and their Unitarian writers, he includes J G Whittier whom he has previously correctly given as a Quaker (p186).

In writing on the Music of Dissent, Nicholas Temperley revisits Puritan controversies about singing in worship. Eventually it is allowed if the entire congregation is involved. Thus, because not all could either read or afford books, the practice of lining out emerged. Always regarded as temporary, it persisted to the point that some thought it worth preserving, although it detracted from the musical quality of the tunes. Gradually, in the early 18th century, "regular singing" gained the upper hand, with the influence of Methodism and the

Wesleys increasing throughout the century. In the 19th century the promotion of Tonic Sol-Fa by John Curwen encouraged the learning of music as a mass movement. This enabled anthems and chants to be sung by the congregation and eventually, late in the century, for oratorios to be acceptable in Nonconformist chapels. Temperley also points out the significance of music in enabling worshippers to express religious feeling.

E Wyn James surveys the development of the Welsh hymn, particularly in the Welsh language. The Reformation in Wales was largely imposed from outside but went native when The Book of Common Prayer and the Bible were translated into Welsh. Some religious verse was written then but the great outpouring of Welsh hymns began with the Evangelical revival, particularly among the Calvinistic Methodists who in Wales eventually become a denomination. William Williams of Pantycelyn was especially significant. James underlines how hymn singing pervades Welsh culture even today, with its association with rugby matches.

Having read this book, I am left wondering how music and hymns were used in worship through the period of this study. We learn that hymns were needed for the Lord's Supper (p60) and for baptism (p107) and that they were sung after the sermon (pp70, 95). How many were sung in any one service and when exactly in that service? One unfortunate aspect of the book is editorial indecision over Congregational as an adjective and Congregationalist as a noun. We read of a "Congregationalist friend" (p112) almost immediately followed by "Congregational hymnody" (p113).

This is a valuable survey and will be a worthwhile read for those interested in hymns and their origins.

Peter Young

***Baptists Through the Centuries: a history of a global people*. By David W Bebbington. Pp 315. Baylor University Press ,Waco, 2010. £33.50 paperback. ISBN 978–1–60258–204–0.**

This book offers a summary of the emergence and development of Baptists from the beginnings in Europe to their becoming a global phenomenon by the end of the twentieth century. The author is one of the foremost contemporary analysts and chroniclers of evangelical thought, who brings together accessibility and academic rigour.

This does not pretend to be a nation by nation survey. For that, we are still largely reliant on Albert Wardin's *Baptists around the World* (1995) and one of David Bebbington's aims is that his work should encourage and inspire historians of national Baptist conventions and unions to record and tell their own story. The primary focus falls on Europe and the United States as the seedbed for Baptist witness. In truth much of the global presence has been nurtured from here, although in the twentieth century there was some evidence of transglobal mission, with Baptists from Brazil, India and elsewhere developing their own

engagement in mission. So, it is transatlantic ideas that have taken root, often accompanying traders, soldiers, missionaries and empire builders, and shaping a family likeness in doctrine, practice and ecclesiology.

Starting with discussion of the relationship between continental Anabaptists and early English Baptists, the story unfolds chronologically through the Civil War period and persecution during the Restoration and reaches toward the influence of the European Revival and the American Awakening, when revitalised Baptists moved from a minority group towards numerical security and began to spread across the globe. The story is pursued through the last two centuries. In his survey the author examines strengths and weaknesses, points of agreement and issues that divided to give a rounded appreciation of this global movement.

According to Bebbington, the genius of Baptists is their adaptability. In a variety of cultures and contexts, Baptist convictions have taken root. Given the predominant transatlantic sponsorship of mission, it is interesting to reflect on what a self-starting domestic Baptist witness might have looked like—if such a thing were possible. Such a discussion would usefully consider the ecclesiology of the Church of North India, in which Baptists participate, or the recent proposals in Sweden for a uniting non-state sponsored evangelical church, and the appointment of Baptist bishops in Georgia, as ways in which Baptists have been creative and adaptive with traditional core values.

From the beginning the stories of Baptists in Britain and America have been interwoven, each resourcing the other with ideas and people, albeit latterly the flow appears more from west to east. They have faced common challenges, albeit their answers have varied—the impact of scientific discoveries, the challenge of Biblical scholarship, the changing role of women in society and churches. Some tensions have been more sharply felt in one arena than the other—race in the US and secularisation in Britain, for example.

The Baptist movement has never been homogenous. There have always been distinctions whose boundaries are marked by theological interpretation, personality and missiological emphases. Yet the Baptist World Alliance, formed in 1905, now embraces over 200 groupings with around 47 million members worldwide, although the Southern Baptists, the largest US grouping, withdrew in 2004, citing its suspicion of liberal tendencies among the BWA—an echo of the dissidence of Dissent.

Baptists have usually been strong on congregational accountability, religious liberty and the need for missionary activity. This has sometimes given them a united purpose that overrode theological difference and was the pathway that allowed the Baptist Union and the New Connexion of General Baptists to unite in 1891.

Bebbington also considers the deceptively simple question of what constitutes Baptist identity, where Christological and atonement issues, open and closed communion, interpretation of scripture and differing styles of leadership might lead the uninitiated to see as much divergence as convergence. He identifies seven strands as characteristic within the Baptist streams: liberal, classic

evangelical, pre-millennial, charismatic renewal, Calvinist, Anabaptist-minded and a "high Church" Baptist position. Some more influential and populous than others, this analysis helps to undermine the myth that Baptists are the products of fundamentalist cloning.

It should be noted that this book does not explore the innumerable bypaths and curiosities of the Baptist story but concentrates on the major streams of witness in England and America. This is a good introduction to the life and witness of Baptist churches—readable, informed and informative. For those looking for a concise and clear introduction to Baptists, look no further.

***European Baptists and the Third Reich*. By Bernard Green. Pp 270. Baptist Historical Society, 2008. Available from the Revd Dr Roger Hayden, 15 Fenhurst Gardens, Long Ashton, Bristol BS41 9AU. £18.00. ISBN 978–0–903166–38–6.**

In most European countries in the1930s, Baptists represented a minority of Christians. Perhaps this has made some national Baptist historians wary of addressing this period in their history or of appreciating the significance of their own stories and the ways in which they responded to the rise of Fascism and the outbreak of war.

This book, by a former general secretary of the Baptist Union of Great Britain, is therefore a ground-breaking effort, as it seeks to explore the relationship between German Baptists and the National Socialists under Hitler, when the state began increasingly to control the denominations through political functionaries. Then it traces the impact of war upon Baptists of neighbouring countries that were occupied territories, with the disruption of the mass movement of people groups and some conscription into the German armed forces.

As Hitler rose to power in Germany, he made it clear to Baptists that as long as they kept out of politics he was willing to grant them the freedom to gather and worship. The state Lutheran church had never accepted Baptists and rarely treated them with respect as equals. So Baptists welcomed the space that Hitler offered. The attitude echoes the politically quiescent pietism that had been a feature of some German Christianity since the 18th century. Was this a man sent from God to free them to worship and evangelise? Was Hitler a bulwark against godless Communism? Bound in this bifurcation of spiritual and political, no equivalent to the Confessing Church emerged. In 1934 the Baptist World Alliance congress was held in Berlin, and the extant photographs show the rostrum decorated with swastikas and Nazi insignia.

Green is both sympathetic to the dilemma in which German Baptists found themselves and also ready to be critical of the actions they took. It is perhaps all too easy to judge from a distance. English Baptists in the early 1930s showed some of the same signs of ambiguity, as did Christians of other traditions. By the outbreak of the war, Baptists were caught up in the Nazi paranoia that saw in everything un-Nazi a political threat. Informers attended services. Anything

deemed political comment was avoided. In 1941 the Baptist Union joined with other small Evangelical groups in a Union that blurred Baptist distinctives. Church work was disrupted. With the outbreak of war, Baptists were enlisted in the army, the seminary affected and the churches stripped of worshippers.

As war spilled into neighbouring territories, Baptists there were caught up in the hostilities and the occupation of their countries. Green tells the stories of Baptists in several countries. There are stories of resistance, of aiding Jewish refugees and of simply existing as best as possible in abnormal circumstances.

Inevitably after the ending of the war, in Germany reactions among Baptists were mixed. Baptists were patriots too and for some the taste of national defeat was bitter. Ministers who had been influential before the war still remained in positions of leadership. Despite partial acknowledgements, and the efforts of some to raise the painful issue, a final acceptance of the extent of complicity with the Nazi regime was not forthcoming until 1984. A generation of Baptist work and witness had happened under a partial cloud of evasion.

After the war, the focus quickly changed to reconstruction in Europe. Generous aid was marshalled by American Baptists, and English Baptists too, though battered by the effort of war, made their contribution. This positive response helped to lay the foundations of reconciliation and trust that made possible the formation of the European Baptist Federation in 1948, as a collaborative and co-operative organisation bringing together a broad range of Baptist Unions to offer a unique Europe-wide perspective. Hence the end chapter, "A New Beginning".

Due to the author's failing health, the book has been edited by Professor John Briggs who adds a thoughtful reflection to add to the research done by Bernard Green. This is a significant book and yet hopefully will not be the last on the subject. Green has drawn largely on English Baptist sources for information. The hope is that national Baptist historians of the current generation will be emboldened to explore their countries' own experience of this terrible decade of European history.

Stephen Copson

***Pentecostalism, A Very Short Introduction*. By William K. Kay. Pp 160. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2011. £7.99 paperback. ISBN 978–0–19957–515–2.**

Kay, who is a professor of theology at Glyndwr University, in north Wales, has written widely on Pentecostalism in Britain. In this book he gives a succinct historical and theological overview of the worldwide Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements. He begins by looking at precursors to Pentecostalism including Montanism, Pietism, Methodism, the Catholic Apostolic Church and the Welsh Revival. He then outlines the impact of the Azusa Street, Los Angeles revival of 1906, but goes on to show the multiple origins of the movement, with revivals also breaking out in Korea from 1903 and Mukti, India from 1905. He

identifies the key tenets of early Pentecostalism, including some which are less prominent in parts of the movement in recent years, such as racial equality, women preachers and pacifism. He helpfully identifies not only common features of Pentecostalism, but also some issues that have divided them, such as whether tongues were necessary as a sign, whether they should use medicines or participate in warfare and how they should be governed—one of the larger denominations, the Assemblies of God, adopted a congregationalist model. He also explains the origins of 'Oneness' (non-Trinitarian) Pentecostals. He goes on to outline the impact of the Charismatic Movement originating in the late 1950s and 1960s, both within established denominations, and those who left or were driven out of their former churches to form 'House Churches' or 'New Churches'. Disappointingly from a British perspective, the narrative appears to end at this point, with nothing about the impact of the Fountain Trust, John Wimber and the Calvary Chapel and Vineyard Movements, the 'Toronto Blessing' or the Alpha Course. The establishment in Britain of West Indian Pentecostals (such as the New Testament Church of God) and West African Pentecostals (such as Britain's fastest growing denomination, the Redeemed Christian Church of God) are also overlooked. Chapters follow on specific issues including prosperity doctrine, spiritual warfare, the end times, mega-churches, race, ecumenism and politics.

Congregationalists are mentioned once—in the context of the Charismatic movement. However, individual Congregationalists mentioned include the revivalists Jonathan Edwards and Charles Finney and the Pentecostal pioneer John Alexander Dowie.

This is a helpful overview, but look to his other works or those of Allan Anderson for a detailed introduction to individual Pentecostal denominations.

***Christian Ethics, A Very Short Introduction*. By D Stephen Long. Pp 152. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2010. £7.99 paperback. ISBN 978–0–19956–886–4**

Long is professor of systematic theology at Marquette University and a United Methodist minister who has written this brief but wide ranging review of Christian ethics. In his introduction Long spends some time defining the terms, ethics and Christian, with the latter seeking to recognise the diversity of Christian tradition. The remainder of the book is split into 4 sections: a historical overview of pre-Christian ethics, a historical survey of Christian ethics, an examination of the impact of modernity and one chapter looking at examples. Disappointingly this means that only 17 of the 122 pages of the main text are actually spent examining 3 issues of Christian ethics: Sex, Money and Power.

The American origins are also obvious with illustrations such as baseball terms and most of the sources and bibliography are also American (even when quoting British authors such as Oliver O'Donovan). There is no reference to some publications relating to ethical issues which have been significant in British churches in recent decades, such as the Church of England's 'Church and the

Bomb' and 'Faith in the City' reports, or the URC's report on Human Sexuality.

As an introduction to the concepts of Ethics and Christian Ethics, it is a useful volume, but for a practical examination of the same ethical issues I should commend Richard Foster's 'Money, Sex and Power'.

Andy Vail, Birmingham

***The History of a History Man or, The Twentieth Century Viewed from a Safe Distance. The Memoirs of Patrick Collinson*. By Patrick Collinson. Pp 214. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge. Church of England Record Society. 2011. £45.00 hardback. ISBN 978–1–84383–627–8.**

The recent death of Patrick Collinson (on 28 September 2011), aged 82 years, renders this memoir the more poignant, and its review timely. As one of the most eminent historians of post-Reformation English religious history, his name will be familiar to all who have studied that period. However Collinson was not only among the most distinguished historians of English Puritanism and an inspirational lecturer but he was also a generous, friendly and approachable Christian who remembered people. He acknowledged in his book's introduction that God had been good [to him], although he had known "shadows" and felt "regrets". Patrick was born with a large birth mark covering his entire left cheek but, he stated with a complete lack of vanity, it never caused him much distress.

This memoir consists of an introduction and seventeen illustrated chapters, arranged chronologically. Collinson begins with explaining that many friends had pre-deceased him (thirteen mountain climbing friends from his student days among them) and that he could drop the names of only a few celebrities, although he had known "media dons", like Lisa Jardine, Simon Schama, David Starkey and Roy Strong. He saw this exploration of his past as a question of identity.

He was born in Ipswich on 10 August, 1929. His mother, Belle Hay Patrick, although qualified as among the first woman lawyers in Scotland, had instead joined a Christian mission in Algiers, which led to marriage to (William) Cecil Collinson, an unusually evangelical Quaker, who attended the Keswick Convention, and who was a "gracious" middle-aged widower with four children, who felt called to convert Muslims. Patrick described his childhood home as an "evangelical hothouse" in which he too seemed set to become a missionary to the Muslim world. A number of accidents led to his father having responsibilities in London, and Patrick's childhood was spent in Ipswich and then Highbury. Later when his parents were overseas, he lived in a Suffolk farm, before boarding school in Goudhurst, Kent, and back to London where he witnessed the Blitz and later survived the doodle bugs and V2 rockets. Having been evacuated to Huntingdon, he attended the grammar school (where Oliver Cromwell had studied), learned to fish in the Ouse, and in 1942 began attending the King's School, Ely where he suffered daily beatings from older boys.

In the late 1940s he had notions of becoming a marine biologist but his poor

mathematics led him instead to concentrate on history, English and French. He won an exhibition to read history at Pembroke College, Cambridge, where he arrived in 1949 after national service with the RAF, and which college he loved. For two years other interests took precedence over academic studies. He was a member of the Cambridge Inter-Collegiate Christian Union (CICCU), rowed in Pembroke's first eight, and joined the university mountaineering club. He considered that he was not taught history well but in his third year he studied more seriously, taking a special subject class in 17th and 18th century ecclesiastical history, taught by Norman Sykes, the Dixie Professor, and also taken by, among others, the cricketer and future Bishop of Liverpool David Sheppard and John Elliott, who would, like Collinson, in time become a regius professor.

His postgraduate studies 1952–56 in London were supervised by Sir John (Jimmy) Neale who told Collinson to research Elizabethan Puritanism because it would be useful for the second volume of Neale's history of the Elizabethan Parliaments, on which he was working. Neale had recently been sent boxes of notes on Puritanism, compiled by his former student Edna Bibby who had died in 1929. This material was handed to Collinson who was given a room in University College, London to house it. This situation was unusual, as Collinson recognised, but the Bibby archive saved him time. Neale, however, proved a lamentable supervisor who never read any of Collinson's work until he presented his massive thesis of over 500,000 words, leading the university to establish an upper limit of 80,000. Collinson clearly relished London's abundant historical facilities, among which he numbered "that curious little time-warp, Dr Williams's Library".

He found that being Neale's protege was no asset when applying for academic jobs, because Neale had made himself very unpopular with many academics. So, following spells as a research assistant, and having entertained romantic intentions towards the local historian, Esther Moir, he accepted a post at the University of Khartoum, in Sudan. There in 1959 he met, and in December 1960, married Elizabeth (Liz) Selwyn whose family included some notable Anglicans and whose parents had been linked to a more recent Kenyan scandal. Their Ethiopian honeymoon coincided with the first unsuccessful uprising against Emperor Haile Selassie.

Collinson had in 1960 decided to offer himself for ordination but, learning Neale wanted him to apply to King's College, London, he became a lecturer in ecclesiastical history there in 1961. Throughout the previous decade he had been almost endlessly travelling; but for the next eight years, during which his four children were born, he stayed in the UK and was happy at King's where he taught, among others, the future Archbishop Desmond Tutu. He recalled his first beginning of term service in King's chapel where Professor Tasker announced sonorously, "There was a man sent from John whose name was God"! In 1967 his first book, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement, elicited a cutting review from A L Rowse, although Hugh Trevor-Roper and Christopher Hill enthused. This book, which made his name, showed conclusively that the puritans were not an

aberrant group outside the Church of England but the most dynamic force within it. Among his colleagues in London was Geoffrey Nuttall, a "source of constant inspiration and encouragement, laced with the most astringent criticism" who, wrote Collinson, "really should have got" the chair of ecclesiastical history at King's.

In 1969 Collinson moved to Australia as professor of history at the University of Sydney where he remained six years. He enjoyed his time there, so much that he dreamt of Patonga Creek and its marine life every night for a year after his eventual return to England. In 1976 he was appointed professor of history at the University of Kent at Canterbury and in 1978 delivered the Ford Lectures at Oxford (published as The Religion of Protestants: the church in English society 1559–1625), an honour which led to his election to a British Academy fellowship in 1982. However in 1980 Collinson suffered the loss of his left foot, after alighting from a moving train in Canterbury station. He responded with courage and cheerfulness but the following year his son was diagnosed with a rare form of non-Hodgkin's lymphoma, from which mercifully he was to survive. In 1984, his Kent department faced job cuts, so Collinson moved to the chair in modern history at Sheffield.

In 1987 a letter arrived from Prime Minister Thatcher (a shock to this Guardian-reading, left of centre scholar), inviting him to succeed Sir Geoffrey Elton as Regius professor of modern history at Cambridge, in 1988. Having spent a year as a visiting fellow at All Souls, Oxford, and then as Andrew W Mellon fellow at the Huntington Library, California, he arrived in Cambridge and became a fellow of Trinity College which college, he saw, as "very heaven" .

Modestly Collinson saw himself as having two indispensable gifts, which aided his work as a historian—a good memory and the faculty of loosely relating one thing to another. These enabled him to write and edit more than 300 books, essays, articles and reviews. His life of Elizabeth I for the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, the longest entry at 36,000 words, was issued separately in 2007 as a paperback. In his last major work, The Reformation (2003), he displayed his narrative gifts and referred to aspects of the Reformation in Europe which linked directly to English events. For him Luther was pivotal, not Calvin ("that quintessential control-freak") because Luther affected history, not by erecting theological systems, but by declaring his impassioned revelation that only faith—not good deeds and visible worship—brings about salvation.

Collinson had a huge impact on scholarly debates without upsetting other historians—a rare achievement. He wrote of himself as having "sought and promoted" all his life an "almost comatose consensuality" which readers might take to mean he wanted people to agree with each other rather than clash. He remained a communicant member of the Church of England, but was hurt by the disagreements that threatened to fragment the Church. Indeed he felt that the Church of England, as it had been 1965–95, was ceasing to exist for it was a broad church or nothing. This is a revealing read, almost too revealing of a humble and very human scholar. We meet few people who leave us better than we were before. Patrick Collinson was one of them.

***Congregational Pie. A selection of articles etc on .. the .. Congregational Federation .., as reflected in* The Congregationalist *from 2000 to 2011*. Pp 84. 2011. Available from editor, Ian Gregory, 16 Grice Road, Stoke on Trent, ST4 7PJ. £10.**

This collection of articles, pictures, cartoons and comments on the work and witness of the churches of the Congregational Federation is an interesting glimpse into contemporary, nonconformist Christianity. Here are photographs galore—mostly of lively congregations at work and play—and opinions aplenty. In 10 or 50 years the researcher, wishing to know something of his/her ancestors' attitudes to worship and witness, will find much here to reflect upon. Indeed much of the opinion is that of the erstwhile editor, Ian Gregory, himself, in his various guises and noms de plume, and that opinion varies from the ephemeral to the more enduring, from musicians and clowns to the place of the sermon and the continuing strength, or otherwise, of local church membership.

Coming on his retirement from the editor's office, this collection is timely. However members of the CHS will note that it is journalism and bears the benefits and weaknesses of that discipline. It shows Gregory's willingness to apply himself to an immediate issue, which may prove of passing interest. And it reveals his preparedness to write, in the absence of outside copy, attempting to stir up a debate where sustained interest may be lacking. More damning may be the journalist's failure to perceive the underlying issue, the real story, which need not be artificially created but which is overlooked because our eyes are turned to the instant. How many such stories were missed in the decade under discussion?

Yet, compared to the journals and newspapers of other denominations, the Congregational Federation has produced a readable and stimulating in-house magazine and has been well served by this irrepressible, independent hack whose ideas have moved apparently seamlessly from conception to paper. He has proved to be his own man and readers will enjoy savouring a slice of this pie.

***A Journey in Life and Faith: A Christian Pilgrimage for the Twenty-first Century. Memoirs of a Lifelong Christian*. By Hazel Day. Pp 116. Bound Biographies, Bicester 2011. £10 including p&p from the author at: 42 Lewington Court, 591 Hertford Road, Enfield, EN3 5UP. ISBN 978–1–90517–847–6.**

This is the autobiography of a United Reformed Church minister and relates her story from birth in 1925 and childhood in Southgate, north London, to her retirement in Enfield. In between, readers learn of what she terms her "Spirit-led" development to her acceptance of less traditional ways of understanding Christian doctrine and her changed appreciation of the Bible. She was confirmed an Anglican before she was 16, and later joined Arthur Macarthur's Presbyterian church in New Barnet. In 1950 she began studies at Carey Hall, Selly Oak, Birmingham to prepare for mission work.

She became a church sister, later termed a deaconess, serving in Poplar and

Greenwich. She then spent 17 years as a social worker and became an elder of St Columba's Presbyterian church, Cambridge, before re-locating to Bristol, London again, and back to Cambridge where eventually she trained at Westminster College for the ministry. She ministered in Twyford and Woodley, in Berkshire, and in Buckhurst Hill and Debden, in Essex.

This short book contains a brief bibliography and several photographs but lacks an index. Hazel Day is to be applauded for her courage in writing her life and for her transparent honesty.

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Contributions to the *Magazine* should be addressed to the Editor. Please note that the views expressed are those of the contributors and not those of the Congregational History Society.

Typeset by Quinta Press, Meadow View, Weston Rhyn, Oswestry, Shropshire, SY10 7RN
Telephone: 01691 778659 www.quintapress.com
Printed by Printflow Ltd, Citybridge House, 235–245 Goswell Road, London EC1V 7JD
Telephone 020 7689 8686 www.printflow.com