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EDITORIAL.

OUR warm thanks are due to the Rev. Frederick Platt, M.A., D.D., Warden of John Wesley's Chapel ("the New Room in Horsefair") for the fascinating address on early Methodism in Bristol which he delivered to the Society on October 12th, 1937. Dr. Platt knows every stone and every association of "the New Room", which, as he told us, is the only building in the world which spans the whole period of Wesley's evangelical ministry. Under the direction of Sir Geo. Oatley the chapel has been restored with the utmost care, even the walls having been scraped back to the original coat of paint. The same clock and candlesticks are there as in Wesley's day, and outside are the stables where the first preachers stabled their horses. Upstairs we saw the rooms where Wesley spent more time in his itinerant life than anywhere else, planned by him in collegiate fashion with separate bedrooms opening out of a common-room. Among the many Wesley mementoes is the clock which was ticking in Epworth Rectory when Wesley was born and which still keeps good time. Interest was shown by the large attendance, and the thanks of the Society to Dr. Platt were expressed by the Rev. K. L. Parry, B.Sc.

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The Annual Meeting of the Society was held at the Memorial Hall on May 10th, the President in the Chair. The officers were re-elected, and in addition the Rev. Geoffrey F. Nuttall, M.A., B.D., was appointed Assistant Editor. The Balance Sheet, printed within, was presented by the Treasurer, and formally adopted. It shows that the Society is gradually "getting on to its feet", and we hope that next year it may be possible to revert to two issues of the *Transactions*—in April and September. This Meeting of the Society will, we think, be historic, for to it the Rev. C. E. Surman outlined his ambitious project of a "Directory of Congregational Biography". Mr. Surman's courage in tackling this tremendous task greatly appealed to the Society, and its members pledged themselves to do all in their power to assist him. As a result of subsequent publicity Mr. Surman has received a large correspondence, but in the tracking down of thousands of men and their ministries a great deal of help is needed. If readers learn of histories of local churches with lists of ministers, will they communicate with Mr. Surman at once (96 Crescent Road, Reading)?

Mr. Surman's work is stimulating research in many quarters. Many of the Colleges are compiling lists of their *alumni*, and many historians of County Unions and local churches are hard at work. Anything the officers of the Society can do to assist such historians will be gladly done. The Congregational Library contains a good deal of unexamined material which may contain valuable information, and it is more than time some of its manuscript collections were gone through with care. In a subsequent issue we hope to describe some of them.

At the moment the Librarian's Room is in the hands of decorators and the Students' Room in a state of chaos compared with which spring-cleaning is as nothing. Eventually it is hoped to have available in that room:

- (1) The usual works of reference such as the *D.N.B.*, the *E.R.E.*, etc.
- (2) Works of reference on Church History.
- (3) The "Carmichael Books" of the last ten years.
- (4) Reports of Reunion Conferences, etc.
- (5) Recent books on Worship.

The Library is primarily a research library for students of Nonconformist history, and it is gratifying to find it is used by American and Continental as well as British students. At the same time it is desired to make it as helpful as possible to the ordinary reader, though, of course, it is out of the question to keep it fully supplied with modern books.

* * * *

While there are many signs of activity on the Congregational front, it is encouraging to note the quantity and quality of the work being published on subjects akin to those with which our Society is specially concerned. Some such books are reviewed by Mr. Nuttall in this issue. Among others Mr. J. F. Mozley has given us an admirable Life of Tyndale, and in the immense output produced by the bicentenary of John Wesley's conversion, the translation of Father Piette's *John Wesley in the Evolution of Protestantism* should not be overlooked: its 200 or so introductory pages are perhaps the most important part of the book. Dr. W. K. Jordan has just issued the third volume (1640-1660) of his very full *The Development of Religious Toleration in England*, and Professor W. C. Abbott the first volume of the *Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*. Miss Garrett's *The Marian Exiles* students of the origins of Puritanism will find of service, though it is a pity she does not tell us more about the exiles after "the Lord showed mercy unto England in removing Queen Mary by

death". Professor J. W. Allen has followed up his survey of political thought in the age of Elizabeth by Vol. 1 of *English Political Thought, 1603-1660*. Unitarian scholars in England have been prominent in recent publication, showing that Alexander Gordon is not without successors, while in Scotland Professor G. D. Henderson and others have produced some good work. Our sister Societies are very active: we were privileged to deliver the Annual Lecture to the Presbyterian Society last winter, and the Baptist Society included in its Annual Meeting a very interesting visit to Lambeth Palace, in which we should do well to follow them some day.

America is now getting to the time of its tercentenaries, and Dr. Oscar E. Maurer, the new Moderator of the General Council of the Congregational Churches, has just published the history of the First Church of New Haven, of which he has been pastor for the last thirty of its 300 years.

This does not pretend to be anything like a complete record of historical activity since the issue of our last number but it will serve to indicate the extent of historical studies of which members of our Society should be aware.

* * * *

Such awareness might be useful in "keeping up to scratch" those responsible for such undertakings as the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Allowing for the fact that religion is now but one of many interests in life, and not the central and solitary interest it once was, we cannot but be struck at the scurvy treatment divines and theologians now receive from the editors of the *Dictionary of National Biography*: soldiers and sportsmen seem infinitely more important in their eyes than scholars (if their concern be religion) and saints. It would be well if all students who become aware of this fact as they use the new volumes of the *Dictionary of National Biography* would make their views known.

* * * *

Our Autumnal Meeting will be of an unusual character. It will be a hundred years in November since Andrew Martin Fairbairn was born, and the Congregational Union of England and Wales is co-operating with the Society in a Fairbairn Celebration. This will be held at the United College, Emm Lane, Bradford, on Wednesday afternoon, October 12th, at 3 p.m. It is peculiarly fitting that the Meeting should be held at the College, for one of the Colleges represented in United is Airedale, of which Fairbairn was Principal before he went to Oxford. The Principal of the College, the Rev. E. J. Price, M.A., B.D., will speak, and the main address will be delivered by Dr. R. S. Franks, Principal of Western College, Bristol, and one of the most distinguished of

Fairbairn's students: his subject will be "Fairbairn's Contribution to Theology". Our President, another of Fairbairn's old students, will be the Chairman. The College Chapel is not large and members of the Society should make a point of being there in good time. Tea will be provided at the College for those who notify the Secretary of the Society before Sept. 12th. As Union delegates are also being invited to send in names for tea on the official form, this notice only concerns those members of the Society who are not delegates.

* * * *

The County Council of Warwickshire deserves all praise for the manner in which it is publishing the County Records. Vol. III, now before us, again skilfully edited by Mr. S. C. Ratcliff and Mr. H. C. Johnson, in production, annotation and indexing is a model of what such a work ought to be. Here we have reproduced the Quarter Sessions Order Book for Easter, 1650 to Epiphany, 1657. It contains astonishingly little about ecclesiastical affairs, but its entries form an intimate picture of life in the rural England of the 17th century. The only entry (the day after the feast of Epiphany, 1650) in which Cromwell is mentioned may be quoted as an illustration of the entries:

Magdalen Varnam, 18d. a week of Birmingham. Upon consideration had of the letters received from his Excellency the lord general Cromwell on behalf of Magdalen Varnam, widow, whose husband died in the services of this commonwealth, and of her petition now exhibited, it is ordered by this court that the overseers of the poor of Birmingham shall from henceforth pay to the said Magdalen towards her maintenance eighteen pence a week until they shall show cause to the contrary to be allowed of by this court.

* * * *

Particulars are still wanted about William Beardsley, aged 30, and his wife Maria, aged 26, who with three children sailed in the *Planter* for America in 1635. There is a note about them in Urwick's *Nonconformity in Herts* saying that they and other passengers "brought certificates from the minister of St. Albans, co. Herts, 2nd Aprilis 1635".

A Directory of Congregational Biography

THE subject-matter of this paper has about it little of that erudition or originality which is normally associated with presentations to such a learned Society as this. It is no more than a brief account of something attempted and an appeal for its practical pursuit to completion.

The late Sir J. M. Barrie, in delivering his Rectorial Address, *Courage*, made reference to the illustrious literary Rectors who had preceded him in that honourable office and deliverance, and added: "My more humble branch of literature may be described as playing hide-and-seek with angels". I defer for the moment any allusion to our denominational historians, but I may perhaps borrow the turn of phrase thus suggested to describe my humble branch of historical recreation as playing hide-and-seek with *the skeleton careers* of some who were a little more than angels and others a little lower than they: the disinterment and re-articulation of the biographical bones of men

who were honoured in their generations, and were a glory in their days, and have left a name behind them to declare their praises,

as well as of many others, largely forgotten men.

When, at the end of the 18th century, John Howie, the Ayrshire farmer, published his tome on the lives of *The Scots Worthies*, he prefaced to his collection these lines:

I considered that to collect into one volume the most material relations with respect to as many of them as could be obtained from such historical records, biographical accounts, and other authenticated manuscripts as I could have access to, together with the substance of the lives already in print, would not only prove useful, as giving the reader a view all at once of that which before was scattered up and down in so many quarters, but also as freeing it of the many inconveniences to which small pamphlets are liable . . .

What Howie felt concerning the desirability of a comprehensive work of reference with respect to the Scottish Covenanters, many have felt regarding our Congregational Worthies, and every would-be writer of the history of a church or churches must have wished that some sort of index of Congregational Biography were existent which would provide "a view all at once of that which was scattered up and down in so many quarters".

The summary lists of Ministers Deceased in the *Congregational Year Books* for 1901, 1926, 1930, *etc.*, are very valuable guides, but the six thousand or so obituary notices included in that publication in the past 92 years represent, I believe, no more than roughly one half of the names and careers of our ministers, and include all too many that are deficient and/or inaccurate. Since 1846, when that hardy annual first made its appearance, there have been many hundreds of faithful ministers, not a few of real eminence, who have no memorial therein, and before this (and especially prior to 1840, when Blackburn's *Congl. Calendar* presented its statistical returns), the searcher for biographical material is in much worse plight. In the *Evangelical and Congregational Magazines* the longer memoirs *are* indexed (though not too well), but the brief paragraphs which record the deaths, removals, *etc.*, of large numbers of our ministers can only be traced by a page to page search through the volumes of 50 years.

Calamy did us good service when he put on record the names and works of the Ejected, and one has sometimes wished that Dr. Peel had made his useful little volume embrace One Thousand Eminent Congregationalists instead of A Hundred—though even that number would not be a tithe of the whole, and historically we cannot ignore the many of no especial eminence save in the sight of God and in their fidelity to their spheres in obscurity.

Thanks to Calamy, just mentioned, to Palmer, and now to the Rev. A. G. Matthews, we have fairly full and accurate information about the Bartholomeans. Some material (imperfectly indexed) about the late 17th and early 18th century ministers and congregations is gathered up in the MSS of Hunter, Evans, Thompson, and Walter Wilson, with some supplementation by Alexander Gordon, by T. S. James's monumental work on the litigation and legislation on the Presbytero-Independent controversies, in Thomas and Joshua Wilson's notes and correspondence, and so on.

In broad outline and some sectional detail, we have printed histories of those early centuries in Neal, Toulmin, Bogue and Bennett, Joseph Fletcher, Robert Vaughan, John Waddington, R. W. Dale, *etc.*, with numerous local works up to the early years of the present century.

Yet, apart from the Rev. Francis Wrigley's account of the Yorkshire Union (1923), the Rev. A. G. Matthews's Staffordshire record of the following year, and Mr. Thomas Whitehead's *History of the Dales Churches* (1930), plus, of course, articles in the *Transactions* and Dr. Peel's Centenary Survey of the Union, *These Hundred Years*, little has been done outside individual

churches to verify, amplify, or publish detailed history of the denomination in the last three decades.

Moreover, the "standard" works on most counties are outdated and frequently unreliable, having been written in days when communication and reference presented greater difficulties than they now do. Miall's *Congregationalism in Yorkshire* is seventy years old, and scrappy, and Bryan Dale unfortunately did not produce a later version (though his MSS remain to be used in the United College Library and some of his local articles are in print in the Yorkshire Union's Year Books). Nightingale's *Lancashire Nonconformity* gathers up Halley, Slate, and many others, but wants 40 years of additions and one index instead of six. His *Cumberland and Westmorland* volumes give us little about the Independents beyond what may now be found in *Calamy Revised* and in Lyon Turner's *Original Records*.

Browne's *Norfolk and Suffolk* history of sixty years ago has in part been revised by Hosken in more recent years, as Urwick's *Cheshire* was by Powicke in 1906: Cleal's *Surrey* of two years later (1908), added a little to Waddington's of 1866, but is notoriously unreliable (and un-indexed, to boot): Davids's *Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex* (1863) and Robert Burls's partial survey of Congregationalism in the same county (1848) take us back beyond living memory. So the list might be extended to Walter Wilson's *Dissenting Meeting Houses, etc., in London* (1808-14), Coleman's *Northants* (1853), Sibree's *Warwickshire* (1855), J. T. Barker's *Lincolnshire* (1860), Caston's *Bristol* of the same year, Urwick's *Herts* (1884), and his *Worcester* record (1897), Stribling's very imperfect *Wilts and East Somerset* (1897), Dr. John Brown's Centenary Narrative of the *Bedfordshire Association* (1896), Elliot's *Shropshire* (1898), Densham and Ogle's *Dorset* (1899), or to W. H. Summers's *Berks, South Oxon and South Bucks* (1905).

A generation has passed since the last of these, and we have not supplemented their work to any appreciable degree, while there remain a number of English County Unions which have no published records at all.

This is by no means due, in the main, to lack of material. In addresses, funeral and commemorative sermons, newspaper and magazine articles, church manuals, pamphlets, County Year Books, and in MS, exist manifold records of our churches and of the lives and labours of our ministers and laymen. Well might John Blackburn¹, practically the first statistician of our Union and

¹ Blackburn reported in the first Year Book, 1846, that full records of all churches to that date, stoutly bound in seven volumes, were securely deposited for the use of later historians. Does anyone know where?

Associations as distinct from the denominational recorders, say (in 1846):

We are a people who have a history, but we neglect our documents.

The very wealth of material probably discourages rather than encourages now-a-days, and if the would-be local historian comes away from his search disappointed, it is not so much because the cupboard is bare, but because the shelves are so crowded and unclassified that he cannot find what he wants. One of the problems, at least, is that of providing an adequate source-book which shall give a conspectus of our history and a key to the treasure chamber.

The field is now so wide, the noble army so numerous, that any attempt at the compilation of a record which should be at once exhaustive *and* literary is manifestly impossible, but the preparation of a Directory bringing together essential details and dates is, I believe, not only over-due but possible. The immediate result may be little more than a collection of bones—and those very dry—but around such a framework a body may be moulded: without it there can be only an incoherent mass or a monstrosity.

The practical problem is, Where and How to begin.

Some years ago your President encouraged me to compile Registers of the student lines of the early Academies and later Colleges in Lancashire and Yorkshire, and while I was searching the records for details of the lives and works of these particular men, I began to file cards giving the names, date and place of birth, Academy, College and/or University, pastoral and professional appointments, publications, time of death, *etc.*, of other ministers to whom I found reference, together with the sources of my information.

An early discovery (not unique or original) was that while in the matter of scope and accuracy our year books and histories excel the kindred publications of most, if not all, other denominations, they left much to be desired.

(That undue reliance cannot be placed on these "official" memoirs will be appreciated by those who have had occasion to try and secure them for inclusion in the Year Book, and by those who consult them for information. Let one example suffice—from the 1880 *C.Y.B.* :

J—— was born "in the *West of England*, 1800. I *believe* his first church was the English Church at Llanelly. I *know* he was afterwards at Cardiff, Newport, and, I *believe*, at Portishead, but I cannot give these places in sure sequence. (There are no dates.)

Other, more apparently certain, records reveal the need for caution and verification. An obituary in the 1876 *C.Y.B.* states that a certain man "served churches at Keighley, Fordingbridge, Paisley and Ledbury" (no dates again). Investigation has revealed that he ministered to at least six other churches in addition to those named, and I am still left with two lacunae in his ministerial record unaccounted for. These are both fairly "modern" cases!)

Fortunately many of our ministers remained faithful to their first love and the story of their life-work is set in one scene: not a few managed to combine an itinerant ministry with their Independency and were true wanderers on the face of the earth. The best—or worst—example I have found thus far is of a man who in the course of 44 years' ministry managed to serve 22 churches in association with six different denominations, of which our own was the one of his last sojourning.

It remained to be found that many churches have no record of their own history—wide correspondence showed that vestry fires have been all too common, and resigning Church Secretaries who took their minute books with them, or—presumably—executors who treated them as so much wastepaper.

A very little inquiry into the published histories of quite a number of our local churches showed that they must have been compiled from unverified tradition or from defective accounts—that dates are wantonly guessed at—and that an all too common phrase, "nothing is known regarding the next ministers, or the next —— years", covers a multitude of sins of omission which could have been rectified if a biographical index had been available to show when and where men had served. Deliverance from parochialism is as valuable historically as religiously.

It became apparent, therefore, that one quite helpful stage in the work lay in the preparation of two indexes: the *first* of the names and stated pastorates of all known ministers of the denomination, as revealed by student rolls, obituaries, published histories and available MSS: the *second* of the ministerial successions of all existing and extinct churches so far as procurable.

Cross-checking frequently revealed gaps and discrepancies in each, and provided names and localities to fill in and emend the other.

Alongside it went a minor series of references giving dates of the formation of societies, the erection, enlargement, demolition, or rebuilding of churches.

This work has now gone about as far as one man can carry it, even if it were made a lifetime's work instead of a leisure-hour occupation.

There are filed about five thousand complete skeleton biographies and a similar number of loose bones, largely identified but lacking joints, representing an analysis of the obituaries in the *Year Books*, *Evangelical* and other periodical magazines, and all published histories of churches and counties on which I have been able to set my hands, supplemented by details from a number of MSS, and correspondence with ministers and church secretaries.

In order to make this as accurate and exhaustive as may be, there is now needed the co-operation of a correspondent in every County or District who would be willing to inquire for wanted data in his area; and probably the issue of a circular something on the lines of one sent out over the name of G. Currie Martin by this Society in 1900 (see *Transactions*, IX. 197)².

This questionnaire read :

The Committee of the above Society have resolved to invite from all Churches (formed prior to the year 1750) answers to the annexed queries in order to facilitate the preparation of accurate historical information. May I ask your kind co-operation in the matter by letting me have as early and full a reply as it is in your power to give?

.....Church

1. Has any history of your Church been issued in any form. If so, can we procure a copy?
2. Does your Church possess any original records of its history? How far do these date back?
3. If such are in your possession, are you willing to have copied for us interesting and important extracts; or, on production of sufficient guarantee, to permit us to have them until such extracts are made?
4. If the original records are not in your possession, can you tell us where they are, or when and where they were last traced?

Though anxious to prevent the overloading of the questionnaire lest it meet with the same fate as the too ambitious one sent out in 1820 by the editors of the *Congregational Magazine*—*vide* Albert Peel, *These Hundred Years*, p. 16,f—I would suggest a fifth inquiry :

5. Would you be good enough to add a list of the pastors of your church from its formation to the present time, so far as they are known, together with the dates of their

² What became of the fruit—if any—of this inquiry? The writer has only been able to find a few isolated replies in the Library.

appointment and resignation or death, indicating, if known, whence they came and whither they removed?

There are in round figures about 4000 possible lists to be gathered in, added to which may be fully another thousand records of churches now extinct.

Where details are not forthcoming, they will need—so far as is possible—to be reconstructed by search of the manuscripts, *Year Books* and other sources available: many dates will need to be supplied or verified, and in the matter of men who left our ministry, or of churches which passed into other hands, correspondence may be necessary with successors, descendants, etc.

This analysis will undoubtedly help to establish the dates of some churches, and to upset others now assigned or claimed. It is to be feared that pride in ancestry has led not a few communities to ante-date their origins without justification. Where a minister was ejected in 1660 or 1662, there is a tendency to assume that there must have been a local Church founded before or at that time, and that it has been consistently Independent ever since, but inquiry and available data suggest that some of our societies are by no means entitled to the venerability they claim in the *Year Book*.

The printed history of one of them in the West Country openly acknowledges that it was not formed until 1688, for example, but it stands in the *Year Book* as gathered in 1662: another in the same county, also alleged Bartholomean, was not formed until 1706; yet another from the opposite end of the country has this considered judgment recorded by a historian of acknowledged repute among us:

For some reason or other, the Congregational Church at W—— is given in the Denominational *Year Book* as originating in 1666. This is quite a mistake. It is not older than the 19th century. An earlier Nonconformist interest of about 1789, whose Minister adopted Socinian sentiments, was abandoned about 1813; but Congregationalism does not appear to have been connected with this movement . . .

Although that was written upwards of 30 years ago, the official dating of the church remains as 1666 in the current *Year Book*.

The intermingling of Presbyterian and Independent strains in the earlier years also raises difficulties which are not easy to lay in a survey even of this kind. When a church gradually evolved from Presbyterianism into Independency, it seems fairly safe, perhaps, to assign a ministerial succession which includes the Presbyterian fathers. But many of our churches were hived

off from Presbyterian stock, the parent and daughter communities existing alongside each other for long periods: some still continue as Unitarian and Congregational respectively. Are we then entitled to date *our* churches to the foundation of the original Presbyterian meeting, as is often done, or only to the time of secession?

The fact of the existence of an early Presbyterian community in a stated town also gives rise to another form of false deduction. It is perhaps best exemplified by a specific case. The church at Romsey, Hants (of which our President was pastor in his earlier years) is almost undoubtedly entitled to its 1662 dating. But its history, as published, indicates its founder to have been Thomas Warren, A.M., the ejected rector of Houghton, Hants, with a Presbyterian succession through Samuel Tomlins, Phineas Wadsworth, William Johnson, John Samwell, M.D., *etc.* But I personally incline to the belief that Romsey Independency really belongs to the contemporary society founded in the same year at Above Bar, Southampton—the records³ of which point to a very definite Independent church life in Romsey alongside the Presbyterian one.

Records of the Congregational Church of Christ in Southampton, including all the members thereunto belonging, *inhabiting at Romsey* and other adjacent places, from the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and eighty-eight . . .

. . . Whereas the number of members at present inhabiting at Romsey, and thereabouts, is something considerable and for the better inspection into the state of the poor, it was consented to, that two deacons should be chosen for those parts, as well as two for Southampton, and accordingly were elected for Southampton, Isaac Watts⁴ and Abraham Johns, and *for Romsey*, Arthur High and Peter Hollis . . .

(These four were set apart, 24 Aug., 1688.)

In 1773 there were certainly reported to be *two* separate communities in the town: whether these coalesced or the Presbyterian line gave place to the Independent one, I have no information, but historically it appears to me quite as probable that this ancestry goes back to Southampton as to the local Presbyterian collateral line⁵.

³ Vide T. Adkins, *Brief Records of the Church of Christ of the Independent Denomination at Southampton* (1836), 46, 484.

⁴ Father, of course, of the learned Doctor.

⁵ The next minister was an Independent, as all his successors have been, which suggests a "Happy Union" about this time.

With this question goes that of men who progressed from one form of government to the other—and those who regressed. The line is not easy to draw. Some present tendencies in our denominational machinery almost incline one to suspect that, if continued and developed, we shall arrive back at presbyteral government again before long, so we may perhaps include all who come to the net: while if doctrinal tests were in vogue, there would not impossibly be other divisions among us on a basis of what the fathers would have regarded as sound doctrine and evangelicalism.

Without detaining you now by any detailed expansion, I venture to submit to your consideration this project for the compilation of a Directory to our Churches and their Ministers, which might provide a helpful fount of information at the Library here and a guide to detail, which is not *per se* history but without which little historical work can be done. Belated it may be, but not I believe untimely or impossible now.

LEAF SQUARE ACADEMY

[Continued from page 117]

The *Secretaries* of the Leaf Square Committee were: for the preliminary arrangements, the Rev. Wm. Roby, Mr. Spear, and Dr. Jarrold, of Manchester; 1810-15, Messrs. John Hope and George Hadfield (co-secs.). The *Treasurers* were Mr. William Kay, 1809-12; Richard Roberts, 1812-13; Dr. Jarrold until the transfer to Dr. Clunie was completed.

No note appears of any official appointment of Chairman, but the meetings were almost all presided over by Robert Spear, Dr. Jarrold or John Potter.

Re-housing History

THE RECORDS OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY

JOSEPH HARDCASTLE, Baltic merchant and first Treasurer of the London Missionary Society, put the Board in his debt by lending his offices at 8 Old Swan Stairs, London Bridge, for its meetings prior to 1814. The building still stands almost unchanged since the days when the Directors sat among the Baltic produce to plan their noble enterprise.

The first separate offices occupied by the Society were at 8 Old Jewry, the tenancy of which began in 1814. In spite of the provisional nature of the earliest Headquarters there still exists a considerable collection of letters and journals from abroad as well as proper consecutive minutes of the Board meetings from the start in 1795. Someone, probably Hardcastle himself, must have given generously in thought and time to the preservation of the records during the nineteen years in which there was no office staff.

Those records were worthy of all care. Some are the sole authority for happenings in times and places in which the only valid witnesses were missionaries. In Tahiti, for instance, the men kept journals in such full detail that it is possible to recapture the scenes and feelings of their daily life for many years after the landing in 1797.

These papers were printed in part at the time in the *Evangelical Magazine* or in the Society's *Transactions*, but the full text has been preserved for students and writers to inspect, and the number of such readers has greatly increased in recent years. It has been a significant and stimulating experience to see the zest with which a student—perhaps from America or Australia—has attacked the dusty bundles of manuscripts, hoping with good reason to light upon some new fact or facet of old history.

But the dusty bundles required much patience and courage, and some there were who retired baffled.

Richard Lovett told the Directors forty years ago that something should be done to preserve the early papers from decay. He had been through them in order to write the standard History of the Society. Fortunately they are on the whole well preserved, except against the inevitable fading and brittleness of age. Some loss there has been: the repeated unfolding of aged letters reduced a few of them to dust and tatters.

Further harm will, it is hoped, be largely prevented by the system adopted in the present re-housing. The old bundles will disappear and each letter or document will be found flattened out in a proper folder, and indexed so that what is sought can be instantly found and handled without damage.

There can be no question about the value and importance of the records, especially the half million or so letters from missionaries in the field. Many of these were written during the early years of the nineteenth century when there was a rapid expansion of white influence in large areas of the earth, previously little known to average people at home. It is only necessary to recall the events in those years in Polynesia, Africa, India, Madagascar, and the West Indies to be reminded of the fact that the agents of our churches exercised a reconciling and protective ministry which often changed the course of events.

Brief electric side-lights on this point frequently appear. One letter records that in the days of the Kanaka traffic a brig arrived at a lonely island in the Society group. The captain sent a man ashore with the enquiry, "Is there a missionary here?". "Yes", was the answer, "there is his house". The ship promptly sailed away.

Our South African missionaries sometimes aroused the wrath of those Cape whites, whose interest in the African was not that of the Society, and Cape historians have repeated and perpetuated the animosity. But the *Cambridge History of the British Empire* (VIII. 850) now tells us that these missionaries

provided a small but valuable leaven of men and women endued with a spirit of self-sacrificing zeal that has contributed something to the formation of national character.

Other competent witnesses give stronger testimony than that, but the quotation shows that historians have reconsidered the doings of Vanderkemp, Philip, Read, Mackenzie, and their companions.

The new appreciation of their efforts is due to a closer study of the facts—not least to the reading of the letters at L.M.S. Headquarters. The people of British Guiana were recently called upon to celebrate the centenary of the death of John Wray, our first missionary to the slave plantations of Demerara. There is, naturally, a general willingness to praise famous men, but there is also a widespread ignorance of what they did to deserve it. British Guiana was fortunate in having a Government archivist who had delved in the old colonial letters in the L.M.S. strong room, and when the centenary came there appeared in the various Demerara newspapers forty columns of authentic notes on the

pioneer. The same kind of service might be given to many others whose doings were not considered news to their contemporaries.

Manifestly something had to be done with the Missionary Society's records, and the matter became urgent when the rapid increase in research during recent years put a greater wear upon them than they had suffered since their first writing.

The Pilgrim Trust, founded by Mr. E. S. Harkness, an American, has been giving large aid for some years past for the preservation of things and places of historic interest or beauty in Britain. Among the objects assisted was the restoring of the archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, whose agents in New England two centuries ago had provided valuable records of that country.

As our Society may be regarded as in the direct Pilgrim tradition it seemed appropriate to ask for the help of the Trust, which was generously given; the Trustees setting aside £1,138 to meet the estimated cost of a plan by which it was expected that the needed work on the documents could be completed within two years. The plan included some necessary structural improvements in the Muniment Rooms and the purchase of files, folders, boxes, etc.

Since last April the L.M.S. records have made steady progress towards an ideal condition. An experienced assistant has been engaged who attends daily, and ten volunteers (retired missionaries) help in the listing of the letters from their own fields as they have opportunity. They all find their job interesting, their only regret being that they did not study the records before they went out into the field. The faded letters bring the readers into the company of Carey, Vanderkemp, Moffat, Williams, Livingstone, Knill, Ellis, Lockhart, Chalmers, and a host of other men and women of high purpose and unselfish life. From them come a new respect for the lost art of letter writing, an added admiration for the writers, and fresh sympathy with the Directors.

No new pattern of history has yet emerged from these vivid fragments, but some of them will make good footnotes to Lovett's *History of the L.M.S.* and also to that companion volume, *These Hundred Years*, which makes the life of the home Churches so real to us. Here are two examples from the home side.

A letter from William Roby of Manchester to George Burder, L.M.S. Secretary, deals with a definite proposal as early as 1806 for a general Union of Independent Churches in England. Roby wrote (11 May, 1806):

Besides our County Union we have three distinct Associations of Ministers in Lancashire. The opinion is that no church would suffer interference from a National Union in its inner affairs.

Dr. John Campbell, entrenched in his *British Banner* office, could discharge uncommonly virile letters from his profuse pen. In 1849 he sent a long letter full of current gossip to his friend J. J. Freeman, then in Africa. He writes about the May meetings and the *Banner* thus (23 May, 1849):

The little Duke was exceedingly at home. If this young man live, he bids fair in some degree to redeem the Aristocracy. They have for a long time been a set of barbarous dummies . . . but such men as Argyll¹ promise to inspire them with new life.

I believe the public have paid for the *Banner* during the brief space of its existence somewhere between £11,000 and £12,000. These are tales which it has seldom been the privilege of Editors to tell, and the matter, as to the *Banner*, is all the more marvellous seeing that it only came in to glean after the harvest had in a measure been reaped by existing publications.

We are far ahead of all our contemporaries of the same class, and indeed, with the exception of the two or three wicked Sunday papers, of every class.

Of the nineteen principal London journals, weekly, we are ahead of all and have actually a wider circulation than seven of the daily papers, and are exceeded only by *The Times*.

Like the domestic spring cleaning, this work on the L.M.S. records is constantly throwing up fresh tasks which were not expected. Yet, with the excellent start given by the Pilgrim Trust, we can confidently look forward to the day when an inquirer, with the new annotated catalogue in his hand, will see at once what there is and where it is. It is surely important that students, journalists, and historians should have access to these wonderful sources of the history of the best kind of human effort, and that every possible expedient should be directed to making research rapid and easy.

It is certainly of the highest importance that the members of the Society should have their records saved from decay and used for guidance and encouragement in future days. Loss of memory is often an embarrassment to a man, but to a Community it may well prove a disaster.

DAVID CHAMBERLIN.

¹ The Duke had presided at the Annual Meeting of the L.M.S.

Bishop Pecock and the Lollard Movement

THE neglect of the Lollards by English historians is hardly stranger than the neglect of their protagonist, Reginald Pecock. Pecock's life is interesting (he was deprived of his see of Chichester on the charge of heresy, expelled from the Privy Council, and sent to Thorney Island, there to end his days in obscurity, without even pen or ink); but the present study will be confined to his thought, and to his thought in relation to the Lollard Movement. Of his extant works three have been published since 1920 by the Early English Text Society; the other two are in the Rolls Series and in an edition by Professor J. L. Morison respectively.

The controversy between Pecock and the Lollards may be described as one between rationalism and biblicism. The biblicism of the Lollards and the faith in inspiration implied in it are interesting, and must receive attention later; but the extent of the bishop's rationalism, together with his neglect of ecclesiastical authority, is far more remarkable. For the claims of reason he has the most absolute respect: he speaks of it as the inward book lying in man's soul in contrast to the outward book of Scripture, quaintly identifies it with the writing in man's heart of *Jer.* 31³¹, and calls it the largest book of authority that ever God made, the greatest doctor that is this side God Himself. He admits its fallibility, but reduces the significance of his admission by pointing out that our senses are no less fallible and yet we trust them, and by arguing for the formal infallibility of the syllogism. The syllogism is, moreover, practically all-inclusive: the truths which cannot be proved by a syllogism are merely parenthetical in his thought. It is here, in his blindness to the place of intuition, that his weakness, in common with other rationalists, lies; but one cannot escape a sympathetic admiration for his never-wearying insistence that for the knowledge of any truth we must have convincing evidence. This principle continues to hold, he affirms, where faith is concerned: unless we fearlessly examine the evidence for our faith, we shall be misled as often as the bay horse goes between the shafts, and for the examination we have no other power but reason. On reason he is confidently content to rely. In his life, like Erasmus, he found it better in the end to submit to the Church, but in his thought the Church's authority finds no place. It is true that he expects laymen to trust to the conclusions of the majority and of the more knowledgeable of the clergy, but that is solely on the ground that the clergy are better educated. For

himself he is not afraid to abandon an article of the Church's faith, where no convincing evidence for its truth can be found. On this ground he rejects not only a basic patristic dictum of St. Gregory's but the article of Christ's descent into Hell in the creed: "it is not al trewe that bi holi men is in parchmyn ynkid".

It is dangerous to compare men of different centuries, but the two whom Pecock resembles most nearly at first sight are perhaps Peter Abelard and Richard Hooker. Abelard and Hooker, like Pecock, had a great faith in reason; their attitude to authority, particularly ecclesiastical, was similarly negative; and they are objectively connected by their apologetic interest, and by their disapproval of tendencies which appeared to them to be obscurantist. The differences between Pecock and each of the others are still more significant for an understanding of his position. For Abelard reason remained in the sphere of divine inspiration and of the supernatural, while for Pecock it was natural in the fullest sense; with Hooker the contrast is rather in the spirit of the men, in that Pecock's rationalism is proud and contemptuous, whereas Hooker's is combined with a humble acknowledgment of the divine mysteries.

Before proceeding to a consideration of the Lollards and of their conflict with Pecock, it will perhaps be of service very briefly to recall the scholastic development in regard to these matters. The earlier medieval tendency, which persisted so long as the traditional approach with its roots in Augustine was sovereign, was to fuse the two functions of faith and reason as being merely different aspects of the same activity, an activity fundamentally supernatural. The triumph of Aristotle meant the triumph of the humanist theory of reason as natural, and may be called the turning-point of medieval theology. Henceforward faith and reason were more and more separated from each other, until at last their provinces became wholly distinct. Aquinas's attempt to harmonize the new reason with a theology built upon Augustine was magnificent, but it was an unstable harmony of incompatibles which he produced. In Scotus we see a reaction, in which an irrational scepticism demanded a new stress on the supernatural authority of the Church and on the moral autonomy of the will; but reason once admitted refused to be evicted, and in Pecock the wheel is come full circle. *His* scepticism is a rational one, it is in favour of reason at the expense of the Church; and, in that by him faith and reason are brought back into the closest relationship, it is at the expense of faith too, as faith was then understood.

To turn to the Lollards is to find ourselves in a completely different world. Perhaps the most certain thing we know about

them is that they were simple, uneducated folk. They had as little of Wyclif's scholasticism as the early Methodists had of Wesley's learning. What distinguished them from their fellows was that they read the Bible for themselves; and, because they read it freely, they were not slow to see how alien to it was much of contemporary religion and to criticize accordingly. Like other undisciplined readers of it, they were prone to be captured by exaggerated ideas, of which Pecock delighted to make mock. If nothing is to be allowed except what is specifically permitted by the Bible, not only clocks and other modern conveniences must be abandoned but the more intimate necessities of life must be omitted. In fairness to Pecock it should be said that his contempt for the Lollards and their folly is tempered by a certain good-humouredness. It was hard for him that his rational preference to argue with them rather than to persecute them should have led to the Church's persecution of himself. He also went some way with the Lollards in his attitude to the Bible: he not only granted that the clergy might err in its interpretation and that only what was "conteynyd expresseli" in the New Testament was to be regarded as "catholik feith", he also admitted that Scripture "ful oft expowneth hir silf", and even that sometimes one simple person may be wiser to declare what is the true sense of Scripture than is a great general council.

The conflict came over the question of authority: by what criterion was the Bible to be interpreted? The Lollards saw no necessity for a criterion. Any man might understand the Bible, they said, and he would understand it better according to his meekness, by which they meant his readiness to receive light from on high. Pecock had naturally no difficulty in showing, with a glance at disturbances in Bohemia, that such an idealistic doctrine provided no means of settling a dispute between differing interpretations by the Lollards themselves: the only possible judge, in fact, was reason, and reason dispassionately regarding the evidences offered. On this issue of evidence Pecock certainly had a case, and a case against the Church as well as against the Lollards, as the Church (to his pain) soon realized. The intensive biblicism of the Lollards evidently tended to produce, as again at the Reformation, a *Schwärmerei* of varying kinds, as the broad conception of individual inspiration, on which the notion of the individual interpretation of Scripture was ultimately based, narrowed to a conception of individual revelation. To Pecock's rationalism such a conception was entirely foreign, and not unjustly. It is amusing to find him deriding a Lollard for claiming a special revelation on the matter of total abstinence; to show

sufficient evidences that God wills such an abstinence, he says, is hard, "but if thou were in state of a prophet".

This was the cleft which inevitably divided the parties to the controversy. With all the dangers involved in the fact, and without sufficient recognition of them, the Lollards were "in state of a prophet". Their rediscovery of the Bible had given them a new approach to life, at the root of which was a new prophetic insight. Naturally they could not express it so themselves, but that it was so becomes clear from the theories of faith which Pecock puts into their mouths and condemns. These theories are twofold. One is that faith knows a thing not by evidence judged by the understanding but by assignment of the will, and that faith varies in strength according to the strength of the will to believe; the other is that, even as the sun, by giving light to the eye and to a colour, makes the eye to see the colour, so God, by giving light to the understanding and to an article of faith, makes the understanding to believe the article, and to believe it with "suerte" though not with "cleerte". The first of these theories Pecock stigmatizes as "abhominable", the second as "childeli fantasies". His cavalier treatment of them is remarkable, and significant either of his blindness or of his small concern for authority, since both theories have a respectable tradition in scholasticism. What is more important is their implication for the Lollards. Probably they would not have expressed themselves just so, as the traditional form of the theories indicates: probably Pecock was throwing into as good a rational form as he could devise the fact that, as he elsewhere complains, the Lollards put all their motive in their affection or will and not in their intellect or reason, "and in lijk maner doon wommen". What the Lollards had found in the Bible, as Pecock expressly admits, was an experience as delightful as their life: such an experience was something new, and, because it was new, it would not fit into the normal categories; if normal categories were to be found, Pecock's choice was very just. The Lollards were not theologians but prophets, too content with the light they had found to seek to theorize about it; and, if their biblicism sometimes led to crude absurdities, it also laid the way for an apologetic of inspiration and intuition which in their time still lay implicit.

It may be noticed that in the last resort the authority Pecock advanced for his faith was not so different from that of the Lollards. If pressed, Pecock could only have admitted that the reason, by which articles of faith are to be proved, is its own intrinsic authority, which is a telling illustration of the non-rationalism, ultimately at one with the non-rationalism of a religious conviction, to which the rationalist is eventually driven

back; for he would have found it hard to defend the authority of reason by reason. A pragmatic defence he could and did give: "we han noon other power"; but at least implicit in the Lollards' biblicism, as we have seen, was the assertion of another power, in its own sphere as imperious and impregnable as reason, the power of divine inspiration. Reliance on the one power is in the end on exactly the same footing as reliance on the other; and to live entirely by logic would be as absurd as the life to which an uncritical biblicism also led.

Conflict between the two is still a matter of experience, and the struggle between the logical and the intuitive, the classical and the romantic, the Aristotelian and the Platonic, is written large on history's face. The absorbing interest of this particular struggle is that it was the last occasion before the spirit of emancipation and individualism, which animated the combatants on both sides, revealed itself as single. Within a century Pecock's appeal to reason and the Lollards' dependence on inspiration through Scripture combined, and the combination became part of the breaking of the Middle Ages. This neither side could foresee: the Lollards could hardly divine the part which rationalism would play in assisting and developing the individualism of the Reformation, while Pecock would have scorned to recognize the force brought to the Renaissance movement by the spirit, at once lay and mystical, of the common *bourgeoisie*. Whether they foresaw it or not, it came. When, with a reference to *I Cor.* 2¹⁵, Luther asserted his right as a Christian to private judgment, both Pecock and the Lollards were behind him, now at one. This is the meaning of the fact that Pecock came to be so closely associated with the Lollard Movement, a fact which seems at first strange, and which, so far as conscious purposes are concerned, is not, indeed, to be justified. The Church was not wrong in recognizing the same ultimate danger in each of them: both rationalism and illuminism have an independent outlook, and, though in their extremes they may degenerate to deism and to ranterism, it was in their fusion, in the recognition of the *Christian's* right to *judge*, that the glory of the Reformation was revealed.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

Llanvaches, Monmouthshire

THE FIRST INDEPENDENT CHURCH IN WALES,
FORMED IN 1639.

MY first visit to Llanvaches took place about forty years ago, when the ministers of Monmouthshire spent a "Quiet Day" at the Tabernacle Chapel. The day remains as a green island in my memory. The Rev. E. Walrond Skinner, of Newport, Secretary of the County Union at that time, was profoundly interested in Llanvaches, and did his utmost to secure *Wroth* Cottage, Carrow Hill, for the denomination. My second visit was in November, 1936, and my host, Mr. A. H. Hollister, Secretary of the Church, took me in his car to see spots made sacred by the first Independents in this district. Mrs. Dawes, the owner of *Wroth* Cottage, stated that the name *Wroth* was preserved at the instigation of Mr. Skinner, and at the bottom of the garden may be seen the site of the first chapel. The church removed to the present chapel, called Tabernacle, Llanvaches, in 1802. The new arterial road has brought Llanvaches, once so isolated, near the stream of modern traffic. Tabernacle Chapel stands on the left-hand side of this main road, as you proceed from Newport to Chepstow, and is about equidistant from both towns. Behind the fertile meadows a ridge of hills stands as sentinel, and the beautiful peaks afford charming views of the country and the Bristol Channel. An ideal spot for the new venture in religion. Long before Newport Corporation discovered the site for a reservoir in the hills above Llanvaches, men and women from all parts of South Wales and the English Counties who were thirsting for the pure water of the Gospel came thither to draw water from the wells of salvation. The Rev. William Wroth, Vicar of Llanvaches, whose concern for souls led him to other parishes and brought him to the Bishop's Court, formed the first Independent Church here, in November, 1639, and was aided by the Rev. Henry Jessey, of Southwark, London, the first Independent Church in the Kingdom¹. John Penry had agonized for his native country, and how fitting that Southwark Church, London, which the Welsh martyr had served so loyally, should send its minister to assist "old Mr. Wroth and Cradock and others" in the formation of the first Independent Church in Wales. Because he would not read the "Book of Sports" Wroth was deprived of his living in 1638, and he immediately set about gathering his followers into a church, "according to the Gospel order of Church Government". The new church had no building for many years,

¹ A claim some would vigorously challenge! [Ed.]

but the houses of the members and their barns were utilized for preaching services at Llanvaches and other parishes. Within two years there were branches of the mother-church at Mynydd Islwyn, Cardiff, and Swansea. The Rev. William Erbery in his *Apocrypha* gives a memorable description of the first members of Llanvaches Church. "Spirit and life" were their chief characteristics. Their minister, William Wroth, well deserved the name given him in the *Broadmead Records*, "the Apostle of Wales". His passion was soul-winning, and his holy character was admitted even by his enemies. As members of the first formation we find such reformers as William Erbery, Walter Cradock, Richard Symmonds, Ambrose Mostyn, Henry Walter, and David Walter. The church was remarkable for its officers, members, order, and gifts. It was the Antioch of the Independents. Bristol owes South Wales a deep debt of gratitude for the services of Wroth, Cradock, Symmonds, Mostyn, and others, as the *Broadmead Records* testify, but on the other hand Wales owes Bristol like gratitude for sheltering the leading members of Llanvaches Church when the war between Charles I and Parliament broke out in 1642. Wroth foresaw this conflict, and prayed God that he would be removed before the war-drum sounded, and his prayer was answered, for he passed hence a few months before the Battle of Edgehill.

Walter Cradock succeeded Wroth as minister, but after a conference of the Church members it was agreed that the minister and the male members of fighting age should cross over to Bristol, which was then in the possession of the Parliamentary party. The old men and women who remained at home were diligent in their religious exercises during the four terrible years of the war, and Walter Cradock testified in 1646 that there were above 800 members added to the Church in the meantime. The Gospel had run over the mountains like "fire in a thatch".

When Walter Cradock, Henry Walter, and Richard Symmonds returned to Wales after the Civil War, Parliament commissioned them to be Itinerant Preachers, and therefore not one of them had charge of Llanvaches. However, Thomas Ewins, of London, was set apart by prayer and fasting as minister of the church. Llanvaches had no separate meeting-house from the time of its formation till the end of the war in 1646, but from that year till 1660 the State Church was free for religious services and the Independents used the building. Ewins was a popular and influential preacher, and Bristol invited him to be minister there in 1651. The church members at Llanvaches were unwilling to part with their pastor, but in the end agreed to loan him to Broadmead, but the loan was never returned. In 1654 Ewins was baptized by immersion, and therefore his return to Llanvaches was impossible.

The first Church was Independent, and all the members separatists from the world and its evil customs. If the fellowship in the State Church had been purified we should not have heard of Separatists and Nonconformists. Within a few years of the formation of Llanvaches Independent Church, the Baptists began after the immersion of the Rev. John Myles, Ilston, and later came the Quakers. The Quakers carried on their ministry among professors of religion, and their first converts in Wales were Independents and Baptists. Although the church at Llanvaches was weakened, the work spread throughout the whole Principality. The Rev. William Erbery, in a Tract printed in 1652 when the Independents used the Parish Church for worship, regretted that the gathered churches at Llanvaches had become so divided in their religious views. While in England, the members, although scattered by the sword, continued with their pastor, teacher and ruling elder, but after their return to Wales, first their ruling elder was removed, then their teacher. According to him the spirit and power of godliness were lost by going into a church way and by looking on forms.

The Rev. Thomas Barnes followed the Rev. Thomas Ewins. He was one of the six preachers sent from All-Hallows Church, London, into Wales, with Walter Cradock. Barnes ministered at Llanvaches and Magor Churches until ejected in 1662 by the Act of Uniformity, and afterward remained minister of the Independent Church at Llanvaches till his death in 1703. He was regarded as a most able preacher, and the Church of Dr. John Owen gave him a call to succeed the great theologian.

After the passing of the Act of Uniformity the Church at Llanvaches had its share of persecution and suffering. The members met in secret, but we have no records from 1662 to 1688, except that the members were numerous, and that many were wealthy, and that the gift of preaching was most marked among them.

In 1669 the Archbishop of Canterbury ordered that statistics be prepared of the Separatists in the various dioceses, and these may be seen in the Library at Lambeth Palace. The church at Llanvaches is represented as worshipping in dwelling-houses in the neighbouring parishes. The names of the owners of these dwellings are given, the preachers, and the approximate number of worshippers. In the parish of Llanvaches Nathan Rogers allowed the use of his house for meetings; while in the parish of Magor the houses of Samuel Jones, Little Salisbury, and Thomas Jones, Milton, are given. In Caerleon parish—Henry Walter, Park Pill; Llanfair-Discoed parish—Major Blethin, Dinham; Caldicot parish—Hopkin Rogers; Newport—Rice Williams; Llantrisant—George Morgan; Llangwm—four addresses are given. The frequenters at

meetings in the above places totalled 500, and we are informed that among those at Llangwm were men worth £500, £400, £300, and £200 a year. The preachers named are Thomas Barnes, William Thomas, Henry Walter, Rice Williams, Joshua Lloyd, and Watkin Jones. The following were repeaters (or local preachers): Samuel Jones, Hopkin Rogers, Henry Rumsey, Robert Jones, George Edwards, and Watkin George.

In the year 1672, when Charles II granted a measure of liberty to the Separatists, the houses of James Lewis, of Caldicot; Walter Jones, of Magor; Mrs. Barbara Williams, of Newport; George Morgan, of Llantrisant; Levi Usk were licensed for preaching. Thomas Barnes and George Robinson as preachers had licenses for their own houses. Altogether about 30 licenses were granted. Some time before 1700 the church met at Carrow Hill Chapel, and Mill Street, Newport, formed part of the pastorate of Llanvaches.

In 1715 Dr. John Evans prepared a List of Separatist Churches in England and Wales, with the names of the ministers, number of worshippers, and their social status. Llanvaches had 236 members, among whom were six gentlemen; sixteen men who lived on their own land; twenty-eight business men; nineteen farmers; and thirty workmen. The members of the church had twenty-three votes for the Parliamentary election (County) and nine votes for the Borough. This list records nothing about the spiritual condition of the church.

The first chapel, at Carrow Hill, served the members for over a hundred years, and was situated in the parish of Llansantffraid, Lower Gwent, adjoining that of Llanvaches.

Thomas Lewis, Llanvaches, gave the site of the present Tabernacle to the Independents for 999 years for one peppercorn a year (if requested). The deed bears the date Nov., 1802, but the chapel at Llanvaches was built the previous year. It occupies a position midway between the old chapel at Carrow Hill and Llanvaches Parish Church, and about half-a-mile from Carrow Hill. The cause has witnessed many fluctuations during the three hundred years of its existence, but it has never been without members. The following list of the ministers of the Church may be of interest.

William Wroth, B.A. (1570-1642). Buried under the threshold of Llanvaches Parish Church, where he laboured for forty years.

Walter Cradock—d. 1659. Buried in chancel of Upper Llangwm Church, Nr. Usk.

Thomas Ewins—removed to Bristol.

Thomas Barnes—d. 1703.

David Williams—d. 1754.

Roger Rogers—d. 1776.

Thomas Saunders—d. 1790.

- Howell Powell—removed to America.
 William George—removed to Ross.
 Walter Thomas—removed to Glamorganshire.
 James Williams—removed to Llanvapley.
 James Peregrine—removed to America.
 James Griffiths—removed to Wiltshire.
 David Thomas—1828-64.
 John P. Jones—1867-70.
 W. J. Price—1871-1887.
 George Thomas—1892-1899.
 William John Price—1901-1907 (who was also minister from 1871-1887).
 William Alfred Freeman—1908-1913.
 John Wm. Davies—1917-1926.
 David John Beynon—1926-1931.
 John Charles—1931-1935.
 W. Haydn Morgan, B.A.—1937-.

In November, 1939, the Church intends to celebrate its tercentenary, and what a thrilling story it will be able to relate! Monmouthshire supplied the first reformers, and their names are fragrant—Wroth, Cradock, Walter, and Symmonds¹.

T. MARDY REES.

¹ For Wroth see *D.N.B.*; for Cradock *D.N.B.* and *Trans. C.H.S.*, XIII. 11-21.

Sherwell Sunday School, Plymouth.

THIS Sunday School has been in existence for 125 years. It would appear, from an old minute book, that a meeting of the members of the Church was called on Monday, May 17th, 1813, when it was decided "that a school be formed immediately and that it be called the New Tabernacle Sunday School."

The third resolution passed was: "In order to meet the circumstances of everyone disposed to subscribe, it is resolved that a subscription of 4d. per month or upwards be considered a membership of the Society" and

"That none but subscribers are to recommend children to be admitted to the school as scholars."

So full of good works were these people that an adjourned meeting took place on May 20th—only three days afterwards—and then the President, Secretary, Treasurer, collectors, and no less than seven Superintendents were appointed, together with a Committee of sixteen members, who met on the first Wednesday in each month, to admit children to the School.

Rules were laid down as to the instruction of the scholars, but it was emphasised "that the children be instructed by means of gratuitous teachers from the alphabet to the Bible Class, and taught Dr. Watts' and the Assembly Catechisms."

Further, the Committee had the power conferred on them of selecting the teachers from among those persons who might come forward to offer themselves for that purpose.

The School was started in the Church and permission was obtained to erect (at the expense of the School Society) a Schoolroom on some part of the ground belonging to the Church.

When Sabbath schools were first established, their object was less definite than at present, and secular education as preliminary to religious instruction constituted an indispensable part of Sabbath school labour. At first the number of children who were prepared by previous education to devote the entire Sabbath to religious instruction was comparatively few, but the large and constant increase of week-day schools in time relieved the Sabbath school teachers from these services.

On June 2nd it was decided to purchase "50 of the Assembly and 50 of Dr. Watts' Catechisms with 50 of Dr. Watts' Hymns for the children, from the Religious Tract Society." Later 100 each 1st and 2nd spelling books, and 50 historical catechisms were purchased.

On June 16th, the Church having given permission to erect the Schoolroom, it was decided to obtain tenders, and on June 23rd a tender was accepted and the work of erection commenced.

There are entries of admission of the children to the School—nine on June 2nd, nine on June 16th, two on June 23rd and so on.

It was resolved on June 23rd “that as a stimulus to the exertion of the children that tickets be adopted as the best plan and six tickets to be of the value of a penny, the children to have what books they pleased in return for the tickets.” Teachers received one ticket for each two scholars. No scholar could receive more than two tickets in one day. Later the value of the tickets was increased to four a penny.

To give effect to the above, it was decided “that there shall be a Quarterly Meeting of the Committee for the purpose of examining the children, settling the rewards and for the teachers to draw lots for the exchange of classes.”

On October 20th, a “General Visitor” was appointed to inquire into the causes of the children absenting themselves from school. At the same meeting no less than nine scholars were dismissed for non-attendance, their names being given in the Minute Book. A tenth was also discharged, but re-admitted in consequence of his mother’s expression of concern for his past misconduct.

The following Minute was also passed: “That it having been represented to the Committee that the attendance of many teachers is very uncertain and irregular, and which materially affects the well being of the School, they shall draw up a set of Rules for their private government, which will no doubt, prevent a complaint of a similar nature being made again.”

On November 3rd the different classes were examined:—

The 6th class boys said the Assembly Catechism with proofs, the 5th class without proofs, the 4th class Dr. Watts’ 2nd Catechism, the 6th and 5th class girls, Dr. Watts’ 2nd Catechism, 4th class, Dr. Watts’ 1st Catechism.

The children were rewarded according to the value of their tickets. One boy had to forfeit one-half of his tickets for improper behaviour on the Sabbath, during service.

The Deacons consented to a collection being taken on behalf of the School.

It was arranged that the Anniversary should be held on the second Wednesday in every May and a sermon be preached on the Sunday preceding.

The first Anniversary sermon was to have been preached by Rev. W. Stodhart, of London, on Sunday, May 6th, 1814, and 300 bills were printed and distributed for the purpose of giving publicity. But through indisposition, Mr. Stodhart was unable to do so and

“a few bills were printed to contradict this former advertisement.”

Ultimately the Rev. R. Davis preached the Anniversary sermon on June 8th, 1814.

At this time it was deemed expedient that the subscriptions of the children be set aside towards the Missionary cause, and ever since Sherwell Sunday School has been a great Missionary School.

On 14th October, 1812, the young people attending the Church had formed a Plymouth, Devonport and Stonehouse Auxiliary Missionary Society.

At the Annual Meeting it was found that the system of seven Superintendents working in rotation was not a success and these were reduced to three, and later to two acting alternately.

One or two of the rules of this School make interesting reading :

First.—“The hours of the School are from 9 in the morning till public worship begins and from half-past one o’clock till quarter before three in the afternoon. As it is a regulation that the School shall be opened and closed with singing and prayer, it is expected that all children should be then present. Late attendance will be particularly noticed and if continued several Sabbaths, the children so offending will be dismissed.”

Third.—“If any scholars do not come cleaned, washed and combed, or be guilty of lying, swearing, pilfering, talking in an indecent manner, or otherwise misbehaving, and after repeated reproof the scholar shall not be reformed, he or she shall be excluded the School.”

Sixth.—“It is earnestly recommended to the parents of the children to set them proper examples at home and especially to keep holy the Sabbath day and attend a place of worship, without which no blessing can be expected on their labours. Parents are required to be punctual in the observance of these rules as it will materially assist the instruction of their children, and to ensure such observance it is recommended to fix up this copy of them in some conspicuous place in their dwelling.”

Is it any wonder that with such a rule as this the School prospered, that by the end of 1817 a resolution was passed that no more children be taken into the School until three months had elapsed? The School continued to grow until in the year 1880 there were over 1,000 scholars, and extra accommodation had to be obtained near by.

On Christmas morning 1816, the Scholars were provided with a breakfast, after which they had to repeat pieces. At the Anniversary in 1817, the 1st Classes of girls and boys repeated questions 20 to 30 in the Assembly’s catechism : and other children recited 2 Chron. 6. On Christmas Day, 1817, the children attended a Service in the Chapel in the morning, where as usual, they

repeated various pieces. They were then given a dinner in the Guildhall, the kitchen utensils being borrowed from the nearby Workhouse. At the Anniversary in 1819, the children recited *Psalm* 84 before, and 1 *John* 2 after Prayer. In 1823 it was decided that the children should cease to recite at the Anniversaries and on Christmas Days.

In May, 1818, it was resolved, by a ballot by beans, to pay the bill for the erection of the gallery for the children.

In November 1819, Tracts were distributed to the children, "particularly those issued by the Tract Society, with a view to counteract infidel principles."

At the end of 1819 there is a resolution minuted as follows:— "That a subscription of 10s. 6d. per year from the funds of the School be made to the Society in London for extending Sunday Schools," so that Sherwell is one of the oldest subscribing Schools connected with the National Sunday School Union.

In October 1823, it was resolved that as Mr. G. and the Superintendent did not attend to their offices, they were considered as having left the School.

On 28th June, 1838, in connection with the Coronation of Queen Victoria, all the Sunday School children in the Town walked to the Market, where they were treated to a good dinner. Each child had a plate with several slices of cold beef, hot potatoes, and a roll. There were no Bands of Hope then; a pint cup of cider was placed between each pair of children, each one drinking alternately.

In the year 1864 the congregation had so outgrown their Church building, which was built in 1797, that it became necessary to leave the "New Tabernacle" and build the present Church and Schools called "Sherwell."

STANLEY GRIFFIN,
Church Secretary.

The Book of The Independent Church of Christ at Tollesbury in Essex¹.

IN the Riches of Divine Mercy, it hath pleased God, to visit our neighbourhood, with the Gospel of his "Beloved Son". We trust this Gospel, has been sanctified to our hearts; leading us to the enjoyment of Peace, and Salvation, thro' Christ Jesus our Lord (altho' we are utterly unworthy of the least Mercy of our God). We, therefore as the Disciples of Christ, desire to be found walking in all the commandments of the Lord; and in all the Ordinances which he has instituted, in his Holy word—for this end, we wish to form ourselves into a Christian Church, for which purpose we have met, to seek divine direction, and to converse with each other upon the leading Doctrines of the Gospel, etc. etc.

The following are our views of truth, etc.

We believe in One God, who is infinite, in Wisdom, Power, and Glory, who is Eternal and Incomprehensible—we acknowledge three Persons in the Godhead; The Father, The Son, and The Holy Ghost: these three, we believe to be but one Jehovah. This glorious Jehovah created man in his own Image, and invested him with Power, either to stand, or fall; withall he made him, an accountable Creature.

Man being thus created, he was placed as the Representative, of all his future Posterity. Adam by his transgression fell from his God; lost his Master's Image; cut himself off from happiness: and entailed Sin, and all its miseries, upon all his unborn offspring. Thus all mankind, were exposed to the miseries attending sin here; and to the fire of Hell hereafter.

The great Jehovah, in his eternal Mind foresaw the misery, and wretchedness, to which man by sin would reduce himself; and provided means of Recovery in the Person, of his only begotten Son; whom, he appointed as the Sinners Surety, and then did choose a certain Number from the Race of man, for whom, Christ should die; and who thro' his death, should be made the Partakers, of Righteousness, Peace, and eternal Life.

We believe that Christ came, in the fullness of time, that he was born of a Virgin, that he was perfect God, and perfect Man, and by the Union of God and man, in one Body he became, the Christ of God. He obeyed the Law, in all it's commands, he died under the Law, and bore it's curse in the room; and stead; of his People.

¹ The spelling and punctuation are followed. Where an entry is summarized square brackets are used.

Now Justice is satisfied, God is well pleased, and his People, are saved with an everlasting Salvation.

We believe that as Christ died for our Sins; so, he arose again from the dead for our Justification; and is now seated at the right Hand of God, where he intercedes for his People: and it is thro' his Intercession, God hearkens to our Prayers.

We believe that whosoever is led to exercise faith in the Righteousness, and Atonement, of Christ shall not perish, but have everlasting Life.

We believe that a sinner, is justified, by faith and, not by works, nevertheless faith, is accompanied, by good works as evidences of it's being true faith.

We believe in the certainty, of the Salvation, of God's Elect, that they shall be convinced of Sin; be led to exercise Repentance toward God, and Faith toward the Lord Jesus Christ; that they shall be made the Possessors of Christ's Righteousness, and in Heart they shall have that Holiness, without which no man, shall see the Lord.

We believe that altho' the Saints may be left to commit sin, and thereby fall from happiness for a Season; yet they cannot fall from Grace: but shall be brought at last to God's Kingdom in Glory.

We believe the Holy Spirit, is the only efficient cause, of mans conviction, Regeneration, Faith, and Perseverence (*sic*).

We believe there will be a General Resurrection of the Dead; the (*sic*) the Righteous shall rise to everlasting Life; but the wicked, to shame, and contempt.

We believe Christ will come to judge the World, and that he will receive the Righteous, to himself; and will condemn the Ungodly, to everlasting Punishment in Hell.

We believe the Word of God is the Rule by which the Christian, ought to walk while in this State.

We hold that the Church of Christ, in general, is the whole Number of Persons, who profess friendship to Christ, as their Saviour. But, the Church in particular, is that Number of Persons, whose Names are written, in the Lambs Book of Life.

In a more limited sense, a Church, is a Number of Persons, who profess faith in Christ, who are gathered together for the glory of God—the Good of mankind, and for their own Edification; Christ is the Head, of this Church, and his Laws, are the Rule and Government of this Society; this therefore we believe to be a real, visible, and Scriptural Church.

There are two Ordinances, which Christ in his word commands us to observe; namely, Baptism, by which Persons are initiated into the Visible Church, this is for Believers and their Infant offspring.

The Lord's Supper, is the Ordinance at which the Church confesses her faith, in the Atonement of Christ, and thus she shews forth her Lord's Death, till he comes.

With regard to Church Government; we hold, that the Church alone ought to choose it's Pastor, and Deacons,—the Members, of this Church, ought to exercise the Eye of Charity, over each other; that if any man fall, he may be restored again, in the Spirit of Meekness, furthermore, we ought to pray for one another that the Spirit of Love and Unity, may prevail among us.

All Business, belonging to the Church, is to be confined to the Church, entirely; that Church affairs be not spoken of in the World.

Church affairs, are to be conducted by the male Members of the Society.

The Church Book, is to be kept at the Meeting House.

P.S.—To shew, that these are our views and that this is our Faith, we have hereunto set our Names.

Francis Chatterton
 Daniel London
 Benjamin Sharpe
 John Otley
 Adam Polley Chatterton
 Thomas Chapman
 Thomas Martin
 James Bowls
 Elizabeth Nott
 Elizabeth Payne
 Mary Lee
 Thomas Withams.

This Christian Church was solemnly formed on the Congregational, or Independent plan, on November 10, 1824. In the presence of us—W. Merchant, Pastor of the Church of Christ at Layer Breton in the County of Essex—and J. Trew officiating Minister at Tollesbury.

[There is an admission by transfer in 1824, a deacon is appointed in 1825, and another in 1829. J. B. Barker, invited to be minister in Dec., 1831, adds notes to members' names, such as "Died"; "Withdrawn from the Church having imbibed other sentiments".]

Then the book reads [in Barker's handwriting] :

It was unanimously agreed by the Members of the Church in harmony with the wishes of the people that the Rev. J. B. Barker should be invited to preach in this part of the Lord's vineyard for the space of 6 months, which invitation the Rev.

J. B. Barker accepted and commenced his labors at Tollesbury on the 2nd Lord's day in January, 1832.

Regular Church Meetings have been held on the last Friday evening in each month. Lamentable to record, that little regard has been paid in times past to the laws of Christ as head of the Church in the administration of the spiritual affairs of this body of people. Great laxity of discipline having prevailed in deference to the standing members of the Church and little attention paid to the Scripture declarations or to the real and necessary qualifications of candidates for Church fellowship, it is not, nor ever should be, a matter of astonishment that errors in doctrine and anomalies in disposition and practice should discover themselves to the great grief of the godly minister and the upright and spiritually minded members of Christ's true and mystical body.

At a Church Meeting held Oct. 5th, 1832, the Rev. J. B. Barker being president, it was deemed advisable and in accordance with the word of God, that the Deacons should kindly but firmly remonstrate with several members of the Church in reference to views of doctrine and the manifestations of spirit, alike contrary to the simplicity of the new testament and the practice of the primitive churches. The Lord grant that the poor, injured, sickly, wanderers may be brought to their right minds and again restored to the fold over which Christ is the great shepherd.

At the Church Meeting above mentioned Thos. Withams having imbibed Sentiments at variance with those preached by J. B. Barker and held by his brethren and Christian Churches around, according to his own wish was dismissed from the Church.

At a Church Meeting held Feb. 28th, 1833, J. B. Barker, President, Messrs. Chatterson and Nott resigned their office as Deacons which resignation was accepted by the Church then assembled.

Feb. 4th, 1836. Ann Pudney was received into Church fellowship J.B.B. Pd : at this meeting of the members it was proposed by J. B. Barker they hold it was desirable the ordinance of the Lord's Supper should be regularly administered and it being found to be inconvenient to procure the assistance of neighbouring Ministers some steps might be immediately taken to secure that object—but such was the coarseness of the reply and such the subsequent procedure of the members that all hope of reducing them to order was abandoned—and in October of the same year J. B. Barker administered (by consent) the ordinance to those Members who could receive each other in love and act in concert with the Minister and with each other for the advancement of personal religion and the public good after due notice.

On the first Sabbath of October, 1836, J. B. Barker administered

the ordinance of the Lord's Supper to Daniel London, Robert Keeble, and Jane Barker.

Michaelmas, 1837. Divine Providence, having removed Mr. Barker from Tollesbury; at the request of the Church, Mr. John Goodrick, having previously supplied the Pulpit several Sabbaths, undertook to supply it regularly, and with the consent of the Trustees, took possession of the Chapel House and premises, at the same time.

At a Church Meeting held *Dec. 21st, 1837*, it was unanimously agreed by the Members present, with the sanction of the Rev. Mr. Burls, that the sacrament of the Lord's supper should be administered, to the Church, by Mr. John Goodrick, in consequence of the inconvenience, and expense, connected with procuring ministers to administer it.

[After bare entries of the dates of meetings of the Church and administration of the Lord's Supper for some pages John Carter was invited to be Minister at the end of 1846.

His influence is soon seen in Rules to be observed by the Church submitted to and adopted by its Members at a Church Meeting held on the 2nd of April, 1847.]

I Rule—Admitting of Members.

- Sec. 1. No person shall be admitted a member of this Christian Church who does not give Evidence of personal piety or who holds doctrines contrary to the word of God.
- Sec. 2. When anyone wishes to join this Christian Society Their name shall be given in at a Church Meeting when time and place shall be appointed to meet the candidate for examination and every Member shall be at liberty to attend on such an occasion.
- Sec. 3. Should any Member know any thing objectionable in the candidate as to their character and conduct, they shall mention those objections to the Minister or to the Deacons before the Meeting of examination.
- Sec. 4. The Sabbath after the Meeting of examination The members shall be called together to decide on receiving or rejecting the Candidate for Church fellowship. Should they be approved of they then shall be received into communion next Church Meeting.

II Rule—As to offences and Scandal.

- Sec. 1. As to private offences. Here the Rule is laid down in plain terms by our Lord and to depart from this Rule would be sinning against Him whom we acknowledge to be the Head. See Mat. 18—15 to 17.

Sec. 2. Public offences and scandal or offences against Christ and His Church.

1. Scandalous sins. Such as are guilty of these shall be separated from our communion. I Cor. 5-11. But now I have written unto you not to keep company if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator or covetous or an idolater or a railer or a drunkard or an extortioner; with such an one no not to eat. And at the 13 verse it says Therefore put away from among yourselves that wicked person.
2. Severe measures are to be adopted to those who make discord and disturb the peace of the Church. Rom. 16, 17 and 18. Now I beseech you brethren mark them which cause Division and offences contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned; and avoid them. For they that are such serve not our Lord Jesus Christ but their own belly and by good words and fair speeches deceive the hearts of the simple. So also in Gal. 5-12. I would they were cut off which trouble you. Again Paul says II Thes. 3-6 Now we command you brethren in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly and not after the tradition which he received of us.

Sec. 3. According to the Inspired Apostles direction such as are guilty of scandalous sins shall be cut off for the Credit of the Church for the honour of christianity and for the good of the offender. I Cor. 5.4. In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ when ye are gathered together and my Spirit with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ. To deliver such an one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh that the Spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus.

Sec. 4. In less heinous cases all means shall be used to bring the offender to repentance. But should such continue impenitent and all means of reclaiming them fail, then such shall be excluded.

III Rule—Relates to other matters necessary to be observed by Christ's Church.

Sec. 1. When any member absent themselves from Christ's instituted ordinances Especially that which is called the Lord's Supper The Deacon or some other Member shall be appointed to visit such and ascertain the reasons for their absence and report it to the Church. "Forsake not

the assembling of yourselves together as the manner of some is", etc.

Sec. 2. Should such continue to neglect the Lord's Supper time after time the Church shall proceed to deal with them as in its wisdom it shall think best.

"Let all things be done decently and in order."

Sec. 3. We agree to admitt members of other Churches who hold Jesus Christ as the Head to the Table of the Lord as occasional communicants but such shall have no voice in the Church.

Sec. 4. Lastly what is attended to by the Church at its Meetings shall be kept within the limits of the Church and not be told to persons of the world.

1.3.50. [The Rev. John Spurgeon, father of C. H. Spurgeon, invited.]

15.12.50. [Spurgeon tackles non-attender.]

1.10.52. The Lord's Supper omitted on account of illness of J. Spurgeon.

8.5.53. It was resolved at a General Church Meeting that any member absenting himself or herself from the Lord's Table for three successive months without assigning a reason for so doing shall be visited by two Messengers appointed by the Church, and if no justifiable reason be given and the Brother or Sister still continuing to absent himself or herself, then such Name shall be erased from the Church books.

30.9.53. A Church Meeting held at which Sarah Bowles Senr. Widow of Tollesbury was admitted a member of this Church. This has rejoiced the Hearts of each of us, is a token for good.

3.6.55. Lord's Supper administered by J. Spurgeon. All Members present excepting three who are ill.

6.7.56. Lord's Supper administered by J. Spurgeon. A Large Proportion of the Members Present, how pleasing.

4.6.57. Church Meeting held. A conversation was held respecting some of the Members who did not communicate they attending with the Baptists at Goldanger and elsewhere. The subject was adjourned till next Church Meeting.

3.8.60. Wm. Harvey and Wm. Carter appointed to visit — report their belief that he has walked contrary to the Word of God and wished to have his name erased from the Church Book, but, the Sin of Drunkenness called forth the discipline of the Church, and the Church has in her Wisdom withdrawn herself from him.

- 2.9.60. From the Report of the Messengers — — was not admitted thinking him not fully understanding the Scriptures.
- 2.11.60. From the Report of the Messengers. Lydia Wood was unanimously received into Church Fellowship as one having been translated from the Kingdom of Satan into the Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.
- 9.2.62. Church Meeting called and the Pastor urged upon the Members the necessity of choosing another Deacon so that in future accounts may be kept of all monies received and expended in connection with this place of worship, etc.
- 4.3.63. A Sermon was preached by Rev. Walford of Layer Breton after which a Public Meeting was held in the Chapel after which was presented by Mr. Chatterson, Sen. to Mr. and Mrs. Spurgeon an Electro Plated Tea Service of the value of Ten Pounds purchased by subscriptions from the members and inhabitants of the Village. Mr. Charles White Farmer and Churchwarden very kindly occupied the Chair. The same was presented as a token of esteem and respect to Mr. and Mrs. Spurgeon from the Subscribers.
- 12.3.63. A Special Meeting was held in the Vestry for the purpose to consult what should be done as Mr. Spurgeon had accepted a Pastorate at Cranbrook, Kent. It was decided by the Church to make application to the Essex Congregational Union for a future Supply to occupy the Pulpit and on the 16th day of March the Deacons and some Trustees were met and consulted with respecting the same by the Rev. Wilkenson and Mr. Isaac Perry of Chelmsford which very gladly took up the matter for the Church and Congregation to find supplis and as soon as possible a stated Minister.
- 22.3.63. The Lord's Supper administered by J. Spurgeon which was the last time, and also the last Sabbath that he spent with the friends at Tollesbury as being their Pastor, the separation was indeed very much felt by the Pastor and also by the Church and Congregation but so it was in the order of Divine Providence.

Some of the more interesting entries follow :

- 2.6.65. Church Meeting held at which time some things of various kinds in connection with the Church and Congregation were discussed and gone into, principally the new Hymnbook.

- 30.6.65. Church Meeting held and the Introduction of the Hymnbook sharply discussed.
- 4.8.65. New Hymnbook again gone into which the Church were not willing to accept.
- 1.9.65. Church Meeting held. Eight only were present.
- 3.11.65. Things discussed in relation to the new Hymnbook by the Consent of the members of the Church, Mr. Chatterson Sen. agreed to name the Hymns in both books, the Church still leaning to the old ones as usual.
- 1.12.65. Hymnbook again sharply discussed.
- 2.3.66. Church Meeting held. The New Hymnbook again suggested by Mr. T. Juniper as wishing to see it generally adopted. After some long consultation the matter was again dropped, not being accepted by some of the Church.
- 4.5.66. Church Meeting held at which the Hymnbook question was again discussed the Friends still preferring the old ones Watts and Rippons the new Hymnbook was not altogether adopted although it was resolved and agreed to give and read them from the new Book.
- 19.8.66. Mr. Sowter of Tiptree Chapel preached, when the new Congregational Hymnbook was generally adopted the Hymns given out of the new Book and not named from the old ones, although the old ones were laid aside, they were Preferred by some of the Church and others in office.
- 28.9.75. A Church Meeting held at which the question was mooted by F. Banyard Relative to the change of the Church Book from *himself* to Mr. Anstey as suggested by A. Spicer, Esq., of Woodford. It was proposed by Mr. Anstey to stand over for one month for the Church to think over.
- 4.11.75. A Church Meeting held at which the Church Book question was again spoken of. The Church generally requested F. Banyard to keep it as usual.
- 27.2.79. It was proposed by F. Banyard and seconded by A. Chatterson that in the future any person desiring to become a Member should be allowed to give their experience in writing if preferable to their being waited upon by Messengers. The same was carried by all then present.
- 3.1.84. The Question if anything could be done to make the Ordinance of the Lord's Supper better attended too, as Regards attendance of the Members of the Church the Question was fully discussed and it was proposed to ask

the Church to stay after the Ordinance and report the same to those that should be then assembled, which was unanimously *carried*.

6.1.84. Question as to the better attendance of Church Members to the *Ordinance* was gone into Relative to each Member to have tickets for the year which would then show who attended and who did not attend which was objected too by two or three and was referred to the next *Church Meeting*.

31.1.84. Church Meeting held at which the above matter was not unanimously agreed too—those who were for it did not wish to force the tickets. Mr. Carter wishing to see what could be done at the next Church Meeting.

28.2.84. Church Meeting held at which the matter referred too was objected too by a few—two or three members.

22.4.84. On Tuesday the 22nd day of April 1884 on that morning at a quarter after nine o'clock a terrible shock from Earthquake was felt by the inhabitants of Tollesbury. A chimney of Mr. George Harvey's was shaken down, in other parts of the surrounding villages, and the town of Colchester received great damage to the extent of some thousands of pounds, Wighborough, Peldon, and Mersea Island almost every house was severely damaged.

1893. Rules of the Tollesbury Congregational Church adopted at Church Meeting held March 2nd, 1893.

1. Membership

This Church is ready to welcome to its Fellowship any persons who give satisfactory evidence of faith in, and love and loyalty to, the Lord Jesus Christ.

2. Admission to Membership.

Applications for Membership should be made through the Pastor or Deacons who shall first be satisfied of the sincerity of the applicant. The Candidate shall then be proposed at a Church Meeting (two members being at the same time appointed Visitors) and shall be admitted to Membership by vote of the Church at the next Meeting, provided that the Visitors then report that the conditions of Rule 1 have been fulfilled.

Candidates who prefer to write a letter to the Church instead of being visited by Messengers may be received by vote of the Church on the testimony contained in such letter.

3. **Transfer, etc. of Members from other Churches.**
Members from other Evangelical Christian Churches may be received by vote of the Church on presenting a letter of Transfer, certificate of Membership, or other satisfactory credentials of Christian character and consistency.
4. **Church Meetings. The Lord's Supper**
The ordinary Meetings of the Church shall be held monthly and the Ordinance of the Lord's Supper shall be observed on the first Sunday in every month.
5. **Withdrawal from fellowship. Revision of Register.**
Any Member absent from the Lord's Supper for six consecutive months shall be visited or written to and if no satisfactory reason is given shall be regarded as withdrawing from Fellowship. The name of such member after being read at a Church Meeting shall be liable to removal from the register. The register shall be revised at least once during each year.
6. **Cases of Discipline.**
The Pastor and Deacons shall form a Standing Committee of inquiry into cases of discipline and shall report to the Church if necessary.
7. **Election of Deacons.**
Deacons shall be elected for a term of three years. The Church shall from time to time decide on the number which it is expedient to elect. The election shall be by Ballot and no person shall be declared elected unless he has received the votes of at least one third of the total number of members voting. Deacons shall be eligible for re-election at the end of their term of office.
8. **Church Secretary and Treasurer.**
After each election of Deacons is completed the Church shall appoint one of its members Church Secretary and another Church Treasurer for the ensuing term of three years.
8. **Notice of Business.**
One month's notice shall be given of new business to be brought before the Church except that which is introduced by the Pastor or Deacons.
10. **Annual Meeting.**
A report of the Church's work during the year and a financial statement duly audited shall be presented at the Annual Meeting of the Church.

Leaf Square Academy, Pendleton, 1811-1813.

THE records of the Leaf Square Academy (or *Lancashire Independent Academy*, as it was designated in some Minutes) and those of the Leaf Square Grammar School are, somewhat unfortunately, merged in one, and although, like the waters of the Rhone and Arve below Geneva, the different streams are broadly manifest, it is difficult to determine the precise contribution of each.

Our immediate consideration is the "Leaf Square Academy for the Education of Pious Young Men for the Dissenting Ministry", an attempt at ministerial training sponsored, though apparently not too widely supported, by the constituent ministers and congregations of the infant Lancashire Congregational Union.

As was noted in a preceding article¹, Mr. Roby's Academy was brought to a close in 1808, when Mr. Robert Spear, its "Patron," removed from Manchester. *Nightingale* rightly comments :

No private individual could reasonably be expected to carry the burden of such a work for any length of time, and the next attempt in this direction, made almost immediately, was definitely made by the Union itself.

Even before the dissolution of Roby's seminary, the Union was being urged to provide alternative and more comprehensive facilities, and the First Annual Report (January, 1808) pleads :

What mighty effort were it for our united congregations to support, on an extensive and liberal scale, a County Seminary, in which godly and hopeful young men should be well instructed in Theology, and the original languages of the Holy Scriptures, with a special view to the evangelising of Lancashire? The object only wants to interest our feelings as it deserves, and it would easily be effected.

At the Third Annual Meeting of the Union Society, held at Warrington in April, 1809, it was resolved,

That it appears highly expedient that an Academical Institution for the education of young men for the Ministry be established for the benefit of the Independent Churches in the Counties of Lancaster, Chester and Derby,

and the Union Committee was instructed to explore the possibilities. In June of the same year, Messrs. Roby, Blackburn (Noah), Spear and Fletcher (Joseph) were requested to mature a plan for the formation of an academy, and on 13th July a General Meeting

¹ *Trans. C.H.S.*, XIII. 41.

of the Union was held in Mosley Street Chapel vestry when Roby submitted such a plan, and it was resolved,

That a Grammar School embracing the most liberal plan of education be established for the Youth of Protestant Dissenters—that this be incorporated with an Academy for the instruction of Young Men for the Ministry—that both be under the direction of a Committee and that the emolument, if any, arising from the School be applied to the support of the Academy.

The *School* was opened in January, 1811: the first three students of the *Academy* began their course in the following June, being non-resident during the term of their probation, and it is not until November that we find, "That the three students be admitted to the house immediately." (Mr. Roby had undertaken to find them lodgings and also to direct their studies until the arrival of Jenkin Lewis, the tutor. In the following February an allowance at the rate of £30 a year was made to them towards the expenses of their board from June to November.)

The projected plan anticipated a term of education extending over at least three years, to be increased to four years at the discretion of the Committee. The first year's course was to embrace English and Latin Grammar, the Principles of Composition and Elocution, and the commencement of a Theological course with the evidences of the Jewish and Christian Revelations. For a second year the curriculum was: Latin, Principles of Composition applied to the formation of Sermon Plans, Greek, Principles of Logic and Moral Philosophy, Theology, with particular reference to a review of Doctrines and Controversies. For the third session were prescribed: Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Composition, Elocution, Natural Science, Systematic Theology, *Critica Sacra*, General and Ecclesiastical History. The estimated cost was "that for twelve students it would take £1,000 *per annum* for three years," to which it was noted that from sums promised, "it appeared that only the sum of about £148 18s. 0d. could be expected"! The position was somewhat eased by promises of £100 each from Robert Spear and John Potter, and 50 guineas each from Robert and William Kay, with which assistance, and "after a good deal of desultory conversation" respecting the propriety of establishing an Academic Institution at all, on the ground of its interfering with Rotherham and the probability of Dr. Williams's mind being hurt at the establishment, it was resolved, "to forward the business with all expedition." Premises were found to accommodate the School in a house leased from Mr. Leaf, in Leaf's Square, Pendleton, while an adjacent house was apparently rented subsequently from the same gentleman for the accommodation of the Theological Tutor

and students with Mr. Lewis's advent. The rent of the first house was £42, it to be "finished in a plain neat style to the satisfaction of the committee."

To the Presidency of the intended School and Academy, the Rev. Mr. Phillips was invited in July, 1810, at a salary of £200, "besides his board, washing and lodging during his residence at the Academy, but not including Wine or Liquors."

The Rev. George Phillips, M.A. (Glasgow), was born at Haverfordwest, 15th November, 1784, a descendant of Peregrin(e) Phillips, ejected from Llangone and Fresthorpe, Pembroke, in 1662 (*Cal.*, III. 506, and *Lyon Turner*, II. 1212). He studied at Wymondley Academy and Glasgow University, and then supplied churches at Liverpool, Haverfordwest, Kidderminster, and Southampton. About the same time as he accepted the appointment to the Academy, or a little later, he assumed the pastoral charge of New Windsor Church, Salford, and was ordained there on 29th May, 1811. In October of the same year he resigned owing to ill-health, and died at Glastonbury on 24th Oct., while en route to Sidmouth. His untimely death was a hard blow to the Committee, but he had seen the venture launched and rendered valuable assistance in the equipment of the School. During his brief tenure of office, John Dalton, the eminent mathematician and scientist, was appointed to the position of First Mathematical Tutor to the Academy and School, to attend for two-and-a-half days each week, an appointment he retained until 1813. M. le Chevalier de la Radière was, at the same time, appointed French Tutor (resigning in 1812) and a Mr. Weidman (or Wiedman?) as junior master (1810-13), with James Pridie (see account of Roby's students) as "assistant for the instruction of the younger children." Some temporary assistance was also given by Mr. William Hope, who was invited some years later to the Classical Chair of the Blackburn Academy and later became Principal of the Congregational School, Lewisham.

Shortly before Mr. Phillips's resignation, it had been proposed to separate the Offices of Head Master of the Grammar School and President of the Academy, and an invitation had been given to, and accepted in July by, the Rev. Jenkin Lewis in the second capacity. Mr. Lewis did not reach Manchester until four days after Mr. Phillips's death, and for a time had to assume responsibility for both sections of the work. He was engaged at a salary of £100, with the board of himself and his wife—"and he expressed his perfect satisfaction with the terms."

The Rev. Jenkin Lewis, D.D., was born at Brithdir, Gelligaer, near Merthyr, on 12th August, 1760. His education was obtained in a school at Merthyr and the Academy at Abergavenny. When

the Academy was removed, he was invited to go to Oswestry as an assistant to Dr. Williams, but at the time he declined, although subsequently accepting the position in 1782. He became pastor at Wrexham in 1783, and was asked to succeed Dr. Williams as tutor at the Oswestry Academy, which was removed to Wrexham in 1792 to facilitate his superintendence. These positions he retained until his removal to Leaf Square in October, 1811, where he held office until the closure of the Academy in 1813—a period which a biographer declares him to “have considered the most trying season of his life.” After the dissolution of the Academy, he continued to reside at the Academy House until 1815, declining an invitation to the pastorate of New Windsor Chapel, Salford. In March, 1815, he settled at Newport, Mon., received a D.D. “from the Board of an American University” in 1831, and died on Thursday 11th August in that year².

As successor to Mr. Phillips in the charge of the Grammar School, the Rev. John Reynolds was appointed in January, 1812, on like terms to those offered to Mr. Lewis, “Mr. Lewis to be considered Superintendent Tutor in the Academy and Mr. Reynolds in the School.”

Reynolds was born at Hampstead, 11th June, 1782, the third son of Dr. Henry Revell Reynolds, physician-in-ordinary to H.M. George III. He was educated at Westminster School and Oriel College, Oxford, but did not graduate. On coming down from Oxford he held appointments at the War Office, in the office of the Secretary of State for Home Affairs, and as private secretary to the Duke of Portland. He was also a Royal page and served about the person of the King. At length, he entered the army and bore a commission in the North Lincoln Militia, serving under General Yorke in the Irish Rebellion, being at the time “a gay and dissipated young man of fashion.” Marrying against his father’s consent (his second wife was the sister of Joseph Fletcher of Blackburn, later the first President of the Blackburn Academy), it was determined that he should leave the country, his father promising to provide for him so long as he lived out of England. America was chosen, and he remained there about five and a half years.

There under the ministry of Dr. Mason, of New York, it pleased God to meet with him and his wife. He was peculiarly concerned to seek a reconciliation with his father and his family, and Mrs. Reynolds came to England for that purpose but failed in her object.

About a month after her return, both Mr. and Mrs. Reynolds sailed for England, but

² *Evang. Mag.*, 1831, 509 f.

Mr. Reynolds never obtained an interview with his father after his return to England, although the Dr. still continued his allowance. The father died shortly after, and it has been no inconsiderable grief to Mr. R. that he died without the reconciliation which he so eagerly sought. In his will, however, the Dr. did not omit him, but left him the sum he had allowed him, as an annuity for life. After the death of his father, Mr. R. took a cottage at Hitchin in Hertfordshire. He there sat under the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Williams, to whom he was much attached . . . By that gentleman he was at length introduced to the Rev. Dr. John Pye Smith, of Homerton, who recommended him as a suitable person to fill the office of Head Master in the then recently established Dissenters' Grammar School at Leaf Square, near Manchester. In his situation as Master of the Grammar School, Mr. Reynolds was much beloved by his pupils, and few perhaps ever maintained a stricter system of discipline with less severity³.

Reynolds also assumed the pastorate of New Windsor Chapel, vacant by the death of his predecessor, George Phillips. On leaving Manchester in 1813 (the precise date of his withdrawal not being recorded, nor the reasons for it⁴), he accepted the pastorate at Chester, and subsequently at Romsey, Hants, and at Halstead, Essex, where he died, 15th Feb., 1862. He was Chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales in 1843, and the father of Dr. Henry R. Reynolds, President of Cheshunt College, 1860-95.

A further assistant was appointed in January, 1812—Joseph Wadsworth, writing master. He was born at Rishworth, near Halifax, in April, 1792, and apart from one year in a school at Chester, was self-taught. Leaving Leaf Square, from which he was "discharged" in 1813, he returned to his native village and opened a school. When about 21 years of age, he entered the

³ *Raffles MSS.*, from which some earlier details are also drawn.

⁴ Whether Mr. Reynolds withdrew because of the advent of Dr. Clunie and the projected transfer of the school to him, or Dr. Clunie was installed because Mr. Reynolds had resigned is not apparent. The last Minute referring to Mr. Reynolds (Sept., 1813) reads: "A letter from Mr. Reynolds to the Secretary dated 31st *ult.* was read, complaining of being charged with inattention to the School by a deputation of the Committee and wishing to be informed of the names of the persons who first made the charge. The letter also states that notices had been given of the removal at Michaelmas of the following boys, viz., George Rylands, John Rylands, Richard Rylands, George Dawson, John P. Clapham, Thomas Bradford, William Bradford, Jabez Wilson, and Edward Sedgwick, and of Charles Norris at Christmas. The Committee request the Secretary to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Reynold's letter and to inform Mr. Reynolds that the Gentlemen to whom he refers were not a deputation from the Committee to him. . . ."

Academy at Idle, and after a four years' course, settled at Clitheroe, Lancs, in 1817, where he continued until 18th March, 1850, the time of his death. He published: *Lectures on the Apocalyptic Epistles, Fact and Truth, Scripture Illustrations*, and a volume of sermons⁵.

Wadsworth, Priddle, and others of the junior "ushers" on the staff were probably in some measure pupils as well as teachers, but their names are never referred to as among the "Students" of the Academy.

Early in 1813, grave concern was being felt at the lack of support attending the Academy, and it was resolved that

unless there was more liberal support from the Churches and Congregations, the institution for the Students could not be carried on.

The Seventh Annual Meeting of the Lancashire Union declared in April,

That the County Union *does* consider itself bound to support the Academy, and that there shall be collections made to defray the expence of carrying on the Academy; the Students to pay £30 each per annum,

and an appeal was circulated, but no great response was evinced:

There was not held out any probability of a larger sum being received annually than about £60,

in the light of which it was further resolved:

That it appearing to this meeting that the present system of Education in the Academy at Manchester is not sufficiently extensive, a Committee be appointed to prepare a new and enlarged plan, to be submitted to a general meeting (of the Lancs Union) to be held at Manchester in Dec. next.

In December it was resolved,

That the reduced state of finances and the many discouragements which the Academy labours under compel this meeting to dissolve it.

⁵ *v. Cong. Year Book*, 1853, 231-2. Nightingale, *Lancashire Nonconformity*, II. 203-4, records that during his Clitheroe ministry Wadsworth sustained a minor academy, and "not the least important part of his work was the training of young men for village preaching, by whom many of the small country churches in the neighbourhood of Clitheroe were kept supplied. Some of these have for many years faithfully served in the Congregational ministry of Lancashire, viz., Rev. Giles Scott, late of Knowle Green, John Robinson, of Elswick. To these may be added the names of Lawrence Strickland Dewhurst, a promising young minister, who died at Pateley Bridge, 21st Nov., 1871, and Bulcock Booth, late of Newton". He also issued a small religious monthly, *The Voice of Truth* (H. Whalley, Clitheroe, 1830).

The remaining minutes, covering the period to July, 1815, are concerned mainly with the transfer of the Grammar School to Dr. John Clunie, with an appendix of others (subsequently re-written into the Blackburn Academy Minute Book by Mr. George Hadfield, who was secretary of both institutions) recording the steps taken to replace the Academy. A few months previous to the dissolution of the Academy, as already hinted, negotiations had been opened with the Rev. John Clunie, who was appointed Classical Tutor in succession to John Reynolds, and shortly after his settlement plans were drawn up for transferring the School to him, which was ultimately done in 1815; it was run by him as a private venture for something like 40 years.

John Clunie was born in London in April, 1784, and after serving part of his apprenticeship to a Mr. Reed, woollen-draper of Conduit Street, he entered Hoxton Academy in 1805, being a contemporary there of Richard Slate of Preston and Dr. Robert Morrison, the missionary. He gained a Dr. Williams' Scholarship to Glasgow University in 1807, where his co-students included H. F. Burder and Joseph Fletcher, later of Blackburn and Stepney. He was ordained to the pastorate at Guildford in 1809, but his health shortly failed and he became tutor to a gentleman's family in Kensington for some two years. His name was first brought before the Leaf Square Committee in 1812 as a potential Classical Tutor, but there was at that time no vacancy. Assuming the Principalship in 1813, in later years "he acquired a competency and retired from scholastic work." He appears to have directed a seminary at Seedley Grove in addition to the Leaf Square School. His savings were lost when the Bank of Manchester failed, but some of his old pupils purchased him an annuity, and he resided in Tipping Street, Manchester, until his death on 23rd June, 1858. Like the other Leaf Square tutors, he was for a period in pastoral charge of New Windsor Chapel (1813-16). He received the degree of LL.D. from Glasgow University, of which he was already a Master of Arts, and in his later years was associated with Grosvenor Street Chapel. He gave much time and service to the affairs of the Lancashire Union, Blackburn Academy, Lancashire Independent College, the L.M.S., and the Manchester Branch of the Evangelical Alliance.

Before proceeding to some notes regarding the students of the Academy, we may perhaps quote part of the last official report of the School, and the first presented by John Clunie, August 1814, just prior to its being made over to him, which contains what he terms "an *exposé* of their principles"—

In presenting a brief view of the present state of Leaf Square Grammar School, the Committee think it not improper to

advert, for a few minutes, to those sacred principles on which it was first established and which it is highly desirable ever to pursue. It had long been a subject of deep regret to the pious and reflecting parents among Protestant Dissenters that, although very ample provision was made for the classical education of the sons of the Establishment, not only in the numerous Grammar Schools placed under its immediate patronage, but at those seats of learning which have been honourably designated the Two Eyes of Britain, there were but few opportunities afforded to the sons of others to obtain even a respectable acquaintance with classical and general literature. In some of these also there was too much reason to fear the acquisition would be at the expence of their moral witness and religious principles—a sacrifice far too great for the highest possible attainments in learning and science. These persons were sensible also, that much of the delight and pleasure that is acknowledged to be felt in reading the writings of our distinguished Nonconformist Divines, is to be attributed, next to their unfeigned piety and zeal, to their having early possessed a complete education as to all the mysteries of the Schools It could not therefore but become an object of serious inquiry whether the mere orthodox Dissenters could not once more enlist true learning under the banners of the Cross; and generally secure for their sons no despicable rank in the schools of general knowledge and science. It should, however, be remarked, that, at the same time that they ardently wished to afford every facility to those persons whose hearts God had touched by His grace and disposed towards the honourable functions of the Christian ministry, to prosecute their studies with success; yet it was never in their contemplation to constrain, or even encourage any one to look forward to such a work, who did not in the judgment of charity promise to satisfy every reasonable enquiry on this point. And in the former case—altho' they entertained little fear that all the learning and science that the body of Professors referred to could possibly possess could be able to overturn the faith once delivered to the saints; yet they were convinced that it was proper not only that our Ministers should in some cases at least be able to meet the foe in armour of equal strength and with weapons of equal temper so that if their enemies wore swords they might wear them too; but that the rising generation in general should be able to rise superior to all the little cavils of a false philosophy, and at least repel and render innocuous the impotent darts of sophistry and scepticism—which they conceived would be most effectually

accomplished by bestowing on them a truly classical and philosophical education, combined with one equally moral and religious; for it is only from the union of the two that those sacred advantages can be expected to be derived. Impressed with these general and particular facts, the friends of religion and letters in the Metropolis had several meetings convened in 1807 in order more fully to carry the purposes of their hearts into immediate execution; and the happy consequence was the establishment of *Mill Hill Grammar School*, where the interests of both religion and learning are happily combined. That Institution soon abundantly prospered, so that it has at present about 80 pupils; and many applications are refused for want of room. The noble example of what may be called not only the emporium of the world as to commerce, but the Emporium of Benevolence, soon produced some correspondent emotions and energies in the breasts of others at a distance, who aimed to emulate their example and to tread in their steps. It is with great pleasure that the Committee observe that the friends of Religion and Learning in Lancashire were among the very first who established similar Institutions by founding Leaf Square Grammar School. This Institution, it will be remembered, was at first incorporated with another immediately connected with the Christian Ministry, which subsequent events have separated from it, for it would be too much to say that the Religious public have relinquished so necessary an object

The Theological Students at Leaf Square Academy do not seem to have been more than four in number :

ISAAC LOWNDES. BORN 1791 (?)—a member of the Church at Knutsford. Studied at Leaf Square and then at Gosport Academy. Appointed to the Greek Mission of the London Missionary Society—ordained 8th August, 1815, at Chester, and sailed in October, 1816. He was at Malta from 1816 to 1819, when he removed to Zante, and thence to Corfu in 1822. His connexion with the L.M.S. terminated at the end of 1844⁶. At the commencement of the next year (1845) he was appointed by the British and Foreign Bible Society as agent in charge of their Malta Auxiliary, which he had helped to found in 1817. From this post he retired in 1860, having at that time the superintendence of an area covering Greece, Malta, North Africa, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. Returning to England, "in the quiet of Cornwall he prepared marginal references to the Modern Greek Bible

⁶ Sibree, *Register of L.M.S. Missionaries*, No. 163.

which he had assisted to translate."⁷ He died, aged 83, at the house of his only daughter at Basel in 1874. His Literary work included :

English and Modern Greek Lexicon, 1827.

Modern Greek and English Lexicon, 1837.

Hebrew Old Test. and Mod. Greek Lexicon, 1842.

He also carried through the press the first translation of the N.T. into Albanian, and revised the Modern Greek Bible in 1850.

JOHN MORRIS. Born at Denbigh, 10th Nov., 1788. After the death of his father, he was apprenticed in Manchester and there became one of Roby's lay-preachers. After leaving Leaf Square, which he entered at the same time as Lowndes, he went to Hoxton Academy, and then became first co-pastor with, and then successor to, the Rev. Mr. Hillyard at Olney. From there he removed to Leatherhead, and then to Glastonbury, Som., 1851-58, where he died of cholera, Saturday, 8th September, 1866 (*v. Year Book*, 1867, 303).

WILLIAM LEES. The third of the original students. Came from Tintwistle, having been born at Bugsworth, Derbys., 20th Aug., 1785. Proceeded to Rotherham College, Jan., 1814 : supplied Sutton and Thirsk, Yorks., for a time and then settled at Knottingley. Removed to Dogley Lane, Huddersfield, Jan., 1820, where he continued till his death, 13th Aug., 1831. (*Memoir, Evang. Mag.*, 1832, 133-8.)

THOMAS CHESTERS⁸. Commended by the Church at Sandbach, and entered in December 1812. He left in November, 1813, having accepted an invitation to the pastorate at Gatley, Cheshire, without the sanction of the Committee and before completing his course. He was here until about 1824, after which date there is no record of the Church in the Cheshire Union annals for about 40 years, and all contemporary records of the Church itself are lost. A note in the Cheshire Union Report for 1820 states that he also devoted himself to the villages of Heaton (Mersey), Cheadle Hulme, Long Lane, Hey Head and Hale Barns. He applied to the Committee of the Blackburn Academy for admission to that institution when it was opened in 1816 and was "received on probation," but there is no evidence that he ever availed himself of the per-

⁷ Canton, *Hist. of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, III. 215-6.

⁸ Powicke, *History of the Cheshire Congl. Union*, gives Chester. The Leaf Sq. and Blackburn Minutes always Chesters.

mission, and his name is never mentioned again in the Blackburn Minutes, nor does his name ever appear as one of its students. Nothing is known as to later career or date of death.

So far as the Leaf Square Grammar School is concerned, there is very scanty information. No roll of pupils is preserved, though there are stated at various times to have been about 50 in residence. The following boys are specifically mentioned in the Minutes—mainly on appearing before the Committee to answer for various misdemeanours, or when notice of their withdrawal was given :

— Bowdon (of Hull), Thomas Bradford, William Bradford, John P. Clapham, — Cole (of Chester) and his brother, Joseph Dalton (of Salford), George Dawson, William Grime, — Hilton (of Darwen), Cyrus Jay (of Bath), — Lee (of Manchester), — Middleton and his brother, Charles Norris, — Parsons (of Chorley), — Parsons (of Leeds), — Platt (Delph), — Rymer or Rhymer, George, John and Richard Rylands (all of Warrington), Edward Sedgwick, James Thom(p)son, — Williamson (of Chester), Jabez Wilson, — Wrigley.

Some of the names are fairly easily identified, as, *e.g.*, Jay, Parsons, Rylands, while conjectures could assign others to Congregational families of the period and district. Williamson and the Coles were "Parlour Boarders" at £80 *per annum*; the others apparently on the ordinary basis, which was 40 guineas *per annum* for children under twelve and 45 guineas for those above twelve, from January 1811 to Midsummer 1813, when the terms were increased to £50, £46 and £42 respectively, for three classes, though the basis of this fresh classification is not stated.

It is interesting to discover pacifist principles at work, as evidenced by the following :

It having been reported that some soldiers had attended the school to teach the boys to march and the broad-sword exercise, it was resolved that directions be given to the teachers to prohibit such practices for the future and that Mr. Roby be requested to give the information.

After the arrival of Mr. Clunie, the minutes record the appointment of four further junior members to the staff to replace Weidman, Pridie, and Wadsworth, *viz.*, G. B. Sharp, Hamilton, Paxman, and Brindle, but each remained only for a brief period (one for 24 hours and another for four days only!), and no details are known concerning them.

[Continued on page 77]

New College (London) MSS

[COPY]

Wymondley House.

December 2nd, 1807.

Dear Sir,

One of our Students, Mr. Nottage, has been drawn for the *Militia* in this County. Upon a former occasion I recollect you informed me, that Mr. Coward's Trustees would pay the sum that might be required for a substitute, if any of the Students were drawn. We are allowed to the 17th of this month to settle the business, at which time Mr. Nottage may be freed from the effects of this Ballot, on paying the sum of *Twenty Pounds*. I judge it necessary to acquaint you with these circumstances; and if Mr. Coward's Trustees will pay the expence to be incurred by this business, I shall be obliged to you to remit me £20 for that purpose, for as it is near the end of the year, it will be rather inconvenient for me to advance that sum. Hoping this line will meet you in the enjoyment of comfortable health, I remain, Dear Sir,

Your obedt. and obliged Friend and Serv.,

(sgd.) WM. PARRY.

[To the Secretary of Mr. Coward's Trustees.]

5 Barnsbury Street,

Islington.

16 June 1840.

To the Trustees of Coward College.

Gentlemen,

For nearly five years I had the privilege of pursuing my studies under the care of Mr. Bullar of Southampton, and feel thankful to God for all the advantages I enjoyed under that excellent man.

With the hope that God will realize the desire of my heart, by permitting me to enter into the ministry, I should prefer Coward College from the advantages which, I understand, are connected with that institution.

In making this application to the Trustees to be admitted into Coward College, I trust I am led by the love of Christ and therefore wish to return my gratitude to Him by consecrating myself to his service. Knowing that my heart is desperately wicked and deceitful above all things, I hope I have not been actuated by any worldly motive. I trust also I have been led to make this application out

of love and compassion to immortal souls which have not yet heard the gospel and are dwelling in the shadow of death, that I may be educated and qualified to instruct them in things pertaining to their eternal welfare. It is my wish to promote the glory of God and to extend Christ's kingdom as much as it is in my power and to give to Him the glory who is the giver of every good and perfect gift.

I remain, Gentlemen,

Yours respectfully,

E. K. CAMPBELL.

— Endorsed :

W.C.

1840.

E. K. Campbell,

5 Barnsbury St.,

Islington. 16 June.

Application for Admission to C. College.

Congregational Historians in the Making

CLEARING out a desk in the Congregational Library recently I came across some howlers collected from the papers of junior children some years ago: the examination was on denominational history. Among men who went to Mansfield College were Robert Browne, John Howard, and David Livingstone. Silvester Horne and J. H. Jowett, however, seem to be the "star turns", to judge by the examples given below:

Silvester Horne used to wear a light grey suit and brown shoes. He taught the men to smoke and the women to sow and so make the evening enjoyable.

Silvester Horne was a quiet, reserved, little bowed shouldered old man when he became Minister at Whitefields.

Silvester Horne went about his work quietly and peacefully.

Silvester Horne was a good working-man.

Silvester Horne was a small little man who was so enthusiastic in his sermons that he was the friend of all people.

In Daniel Buck's Church people were few—not unlike those in the earliest Christian Churches, but more reasonable in their ideas; however, they were of a poor class.

Livingstone joined himself to Dr. Muffet's but he obtained permission from Queen Elizabeth to go back to Africa.

Robert Browne was a preacher who also believed in religion.

John Penry was for the same bullseye as Greenwood and Barrowe.

Americans visit Scrooby because they *degenerated* from the Pilgrim Fathers.

They [the Pilgrims] saw no land for a good while. They then came to a little place called United States of America.

Henry Jowett went about preaching and became a Doctor because his speeches were about doctorien (presumably doctrine).

Jowett was imprisoned for hitting a village constable.

Jowett brought Congregationalism into high society.

Jowett could not stand on a platform and make a speech without being prepared, but Silvester Horne could make a speech anywhere at any time.

Jowett was very advanced in the way he used his language.

Jowett was often persecuted by the King and his officers but he managed to avoid them for a long time before his death.

Isaac Watts was a man who found religion easy.

Isaac Watts wrote hymns—also comic songs.

Watts passed on to the land of never-withering flowers of which one of his hymns were composed.

Isaac Watts was a Congregational Minister although he was small.

John Milton was the poet who wrote beautiful poems, the best of which is "The Tulip and the Butterfly".

Livingstone—a stone that will for ever live.

Livingstone founded the Victoria Falls.

I wasn't here when we learnt about John Howard.

Queen Elizabeth had a large Church called Whitefields, but the Pastor was dead when Silvester Horne took it on.

In my exams. at school I ask Christ to help me a little and then I do the rest myself.

The first Congregationalists were called "Brownies".

Watts changed the way they gambled through the services.

The Americans visited Scrooby because the post-master's house is in ruins and they would like to steel away the building materials to America.

J. H. Jowett was another torch bearer who taught in Carrs Lane and other places out of the reach of the law.

J. Henry Jowett tried to do all he could. At first he thought he would be a bachelor but saw people needed something more than that, so he became a Minister.

John Penry had a secret typewriter called a Marprelate.

Scrooby was one of the sauces of Congregationalism.

Silvester Horne was both a religious man and an M.P.

Silvester Horne wrote two hymns—one a funny one and the other quite fascinating.

A Congregational Church is free to a certain extent. It is free to choose its own Pastor, Deacons and so on, but our Pastor could not get up and preach anything.

You do not have to pay a price to belong to a Congregational Church.

The rule of Congregational Churches is not to have any fancy services, only plain, and to obey the minister's rules.

There are a lot of Congregationalists now—we are a grand company.

Congregationalists can copy Livingstone and Howard by abolishing the Froth blowers, etc.

ALBERT PEEL.

The William Bradford House, Austerfield

YORKSHIRE Congregationalists are mourning the death of Lady Fisher-Smith of Halifax. We received one of the last letters Lady Fisher-Smith dictated. It spoke of her intense interest in the house at Austerfield which was almost certainly the house in which William Bradford, Governor of the Plymouth Colony, lived as a youth. Lady Fisher-Smith wrote an article in an American journal about the house, and we have permission to print part of it. It will speak for itself. [EDITOR.]

There is an old house in Austerfield, undoubtedly the survival of the Austerfield where Governor Bradford spent his youth and boyhood, which is called the Manor House, and has been visited by thousands of Americans who were under the impression that it was the birthplace and early home of Governor Bradford. The origin of this tradition is unknown and no evidence of any kind has been found to prove that the tradition is founded on facts that can connect it with the Bradford family; for the reason that at the time the Bradford family were living in Austerfield the Manor House was known to be in other possession. Incidentally, there is nothing in the memorial history of Austerfield to warrant the application of the term "Manor House" to this building.

It was, however, the dilapidated condition of this famous Pilgrim Father relic that led to the present investigation by a small group of interested people—inasmuch as the Doncaster Rural District Council brought it to the notice of the public through the Press that the house was unfit for human habitation and that the supposed Bradford birthplace was threatened with destruction.

A small committee was formed, one member of which, a London business man, spent a good deal of time in investigation amongst documentary records during and after the Governor's lifetime and succeeded in making discoveries which set the matter in an entirely new light.

The first discovery was a *Survaie of the Mannors of Bawtry*, made under the authority of the Office of the Auditors of Land Revenue in 1608, the very year in which William Bradford and the other Scrooby Separatists succeeded in making the migration to Holland which was the prelude to the *Mayflower* adventure. Prominently mentioned as landowners and tenants at Austerfield in this survey are two uncles of Governor William Bradford—his father's brother, Robert Bradford, and Robert Hanson, a brother of his mother.

Of Robert Bradford it is recorded that as a freeholder he "holdeth one messuage with th'appurtenances, nyne acres of land one rood of meadowe in Bawtry Burres One close called 'Sponge Close' containing one acre and one croft and half an acre" of land in Austerfield.

Further particulars of land tenure of Robert Bradford set forth in the survey are the following :—

<i>particular</i>	<i>Acr.</i>	<i>Rod.</i>	<i>Perch</i>
In the Hall close meadowe	1	3	0
In Arable Land ther	1	0	0
In the West feild Ar.	7	0	0
In the Ridding feild	7	0	0
In the Low feild Arr.	6	0	0
Com. of pasture on Austerfield			
Moore and in the Carr Valet p annu			xl.s

Robert Bradford died in 1609, a year after this survey was made, and among the bequests made in his will was one to his son Robert of the reversion of the lease of "all the Kings land which I have in Austerfield". It is significant that in this will his grandfather describes himself as a yeoman—a term which in Elizabeth's reign denoted those next in rank below the armigerous gentry living usually on land of their own.

Of Robert Bradford the younger, Joseph Hunter (Governor Bradford's first cousin) writes lugubriously in his *Founders of New Plymouth*, depicting him as "sinking, it is to be feared, into poverty and obscurity". "Before 1628", said Hunter, "he had sold his lands, or at least portions of them, but probably all".

That Hunter took an unduly gloomy view of the fate of the family from which Governor William Bradford separated himself in 1608 is evident from the other document unearthed in the course of Mr. Ruffin's investigations, which shows that the Bradfords remained at Austerfield as owners as well as tenants of land for at least a century and a half after the exodus of the Pilgrims of the district.

This document is an enclosure award made in 1767 which described Robert Bradford as "the Proprietor of two freehold houses or tofts and of one copyhold house or toft and of several parcels of freehold and copyhold enclosures in Austerfield aforesaid and also of several parcels of freehold and copyhold lands in the said open arable feild in Austerfield having such right of common as aforesaid". Under the awards a number of separate pieces of land were allotted to him aggregating an area of 84 acres, and these are delineated on a map which was registered along with the award itself.

It is this map, recently found, which shows quite clearly that in 1767 Robert Bradford was the occupier of the land running in a narrow strip from east to west down to the village street on which stands the ancient building which is the subject of the present article. This building, which is itself marked on the map, stands beside a larger house still occupied, which may well have been built at the time of the enclosure although it may possibly be older, but of the antiquity of the neighbouring buildings the evidence is plain enough, and there can be no doubt that it was in existence at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and probably much earlier.

In view of what has been established concerning the position of the Bradfords as owners and tenants of land at Austerfield in 1608 and 1767, there seems no reason to doubt that the old building is the one occupied by Robert Bradford, uncle of the Governor, at the time when his nephew left Austerfield for Holland. It may have been the home of Governor William's father, and, indeed, the Governor's birthplace, but in default of definite evidence of this no such claim should or would be made.

All that is known of William Bradford's early life is the scanty account given by Cotton Mather in his well-known work on New England origins, *Magnalia Christi Americana*. Here it is stated that after the death of his parents William was brought up first by his grandparents and afterwards by his uncles. His father died in July 1591, when William was sixteen months old. His mother, who had married again, died in 1597 and his paternal grandfather, the Elder William, in 1596—his first wife, grandmother of the Governor, having been dead many years when the latter was born.

On the maternal side, the Governor's mother, Alice Bradford (afterwards Alice Briggs), was daughter of John Hanson. A parishioner of that name was buried in 1601 and his widow, Margaret, in the following year. There were two uncles on the mother's side, Robert Hanson and George Hanson, who died in 1605 and 1610, and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that these "Hansons" had some part in Governor William's upbringing after he had been left an orphan and deprived of his grandparents; but the balance of probability would be in favour of his having chiefly been under the care of his father's relatives.

Of these, the only one known to have been in a position to exercise such care from the end of the sixteenth century onwards was Robert Bradford, yeoman, his uncle; while all the Pilgrim Fathers' origin in the Old Country must inevitably have been surrounded by a great deal of obscurity. There does appear to be strong ground for believing that it was under the roof of the Austerfield

yeoman, Robert Bradford, that the illustrious nephew spent those years when he came under the influence of Pastor Clyfton and threw in his lot with the Scrooby congregation.

It would be from the old house, still standing, that—after the breach with his relatives who, as Cotton Mather more than hints, “were utterly out of sympathy with his religious convictions”—he set forth in 1608, sadly but resolutely, with the Scrooby flock to Holland.

After a few years in Holland they became unhappy for several reasons. First, the difficulty of getting adequate remuneration to support their families, and, secondly, seeing their children becoming more Dutch than English, led them to turn their faces to the New World.

The small committee already formed have now spent two years in investigating the old houses in Austerfield, and Harold G. Murray, Esq., Secretary-General of the General Society of the Mayflower Descendants in U.S.A., has written a letter to the Hon. Secretary in which he says: “At this time the only authenticated house standing in which we have every right to presume the Governor lived”, is the one that the Committee have discovered. He advises us to hasten matters.

They in the U.S.A. have already collected 3,500 dollars (£700) for the purchase of the Robert Bradford House on terms agreed upon that we in England raise £400. This seems a small sum towards creating a monument to the first great builder of a great nation.

Small or large sums will be gratefully received and contributions may be sent to:

A. Stockil, Esq.,
 Martin’s Bank,
 Halifax, Yorks.,

or to:

Guy W. Bingham, Esq., Chairman,
 Editor *Doncaster Gazette*,
 32 Printing Office Street,
 Doncaster.

When sufficient has been raised a Trusteeship will be formed of prominent men and women in America and England, some of whom have already consented to act.

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REVIEW.

THE THEORY OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN ENGLAND, 1603-39. By T. Lyon, B.A. Cambridge University Press. 7s. 6d.

SOME POLITICAL AND SOCIAL IDEAS OF ENGLISH DISSENT, 1763-1800. By Anthony Lincoln. Cambridge University Press. 8s. 6d.

THE CHARITY SCHOOL MOVEMENT: A STUDY OF EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PURITANISM IN ACTION. By M. G. Jones, M.A. Cambridge University Press. 21s.

For these three books students of Nonconformist history owe the Cambridge Press a real debt. The first two are university prize essays and relatively slight; the third is a larger, exhaustive work.

Mr. Lyon takes the various attitudes towards the idea of religious freedom adopted in England between the accession of James I and the commencement of the Long Parliament, and examines them with a cool and almost unsympathetic detachment: his book is essentially the study of a theory. The positions taken up by Anglicans, Separatists, Catholics, Latitudinarians and Erastians are severally examined, without much attempt being made to show what their contribution was to the toleration in practice at the time or later. Dr. Michael Freund's *Die Idee der Toleranz im England der grossen Revolution*, which Mr. Lyon does not mention, covers much of the same ground and is a more satisfying work.

Mr. Lincoln's book is much warmer in its atmosphere, and there is a definite style about his writing which makes it pleasurable reading. A lively picture is presented of the Rational Dissenters, who, the author has no difficulty in showing, possessed an importance rarely recognized to-day: "perhaps England never witnessed so prominent a minority". "The keyword of their writings, the text of their apology, the sum of their ideology was 'candour'." Mr. Lincoln, who pays special attention to the successive and abortive attempts to have the Test Act repealed, has as his thesis "the attempt of Protestant Dissent entirely to *secularize* its relationship to the larger community; . . . to be recognized not as sectaries but as citizens", a purpose, which "wielded a great influence in the final secularization of politics, as what were at first claimed as Christian liberties were transformed into the Rights of Man". Both this and Mr. Lyon's book are well documented.

Miss Jones's work on the Charity School Movement is one which will earn the gratitude of all students of English education

as well as of religion. The purpose and nature of the charity schools and the relation of the movement which founded them to religion and politics are exhaustively discussed; and this is followed by a thorough consideration of the special conditions pertaining in Scotland, Wales and Ireland, and of the bearing of these conditions on the movement. Miss Jones describes the enmity in the schools towards Dissenters and the concentration of the Dissenters on higher education, and asserts that "the direct contribution of Methodism to the cause of popular education in the eighteenth century was a curiously negative one". John Howard's interest in the Irish schools is noticed, and there is a lengthy account of the circulating schools in Wales, which the clergy called "the Nurseries of the Methodists". "In broad outline the Sunday school movement was a replica of the early charity school movement". Lists of the schools throughout Great Britain, classified by counties, maps showing their distribution, and an extensive bibliography and index complete a work of admirable scholarship.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

In his lecture, *Presbyterianism in England in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (Manchester; Aikman, 1s.), the Rev. F. J. Smithen, the Editor of the Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, recounts the emergence of Presbyterianism in Elizabeth's reign, its development in the 70's and 80's, and its disappearance in the 90's. We scarcely think Mr. Smithen is right in calling Humphrey and Sampson Separatists, and he certainly accepts too confidently Dr. R. G. Usher's depreciation of the Presbyterian movement and its leaders.

Among the local Church histories are the Rev. L. D. Dixon's *Seven Score Years and Ten* which tells the story of Islington Chapel for the last 10 years, and the Rev. Pitt Bonarjee's *History of the Countess of Huntingdon's Church, Brighton*.

The *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* (1938) contains the annual lecture given by Dr. Peel on Robert Crowley (since reprinted separately); an appreciation of the President, Dr. Carnegie Simpson, by the Rev. J. Hay Colligan; Dr. S. W. Carruthers's annotated extracts from Contemporary News Sheets about St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662; Mr. R. S. Robson's useful list of Congregational Histories (*i.e.*, the history of local Presbyterian Churches); the Rev. R. D. Whitehorn's "Presbyterians and Baptists in Eighteenth Century Oxford"; and Mr. W. B. Shaw's "Fasti of English Presbyterian Theological Students".

EDITOR.

Congregational Historical Society

Summary of Accounts for Year ended 31st December, 1937

128

	<i>Receipts.</i>		<i>Expenditure.</i>			
		£ s. d.		£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.						
To Balance brought forward—		£ s. d.	By Printing <i>Transactions</i> , 1937	24	8	6
Current A/c ...	£18 19 9		,, Hire of Hall, Annual Meeting	1	1	0
Capital A/c ...	21 0 0		,, Subscriptions	5	0	
		39 19 9	,, Expenses Editor	10	0	
,, Subscriptions, 1937	40 12 1		,, Postages, Receipts and Stationery, etc.	2	0	0
,, Arrears	2 15 0		,, Registration North West Building Society			6
,, Advance Subscriptions	1 15 0		,, Investment North West Building Society	25	0	0
		45 2 1	,, Balance at Bank—			
,, Interest on Investment ...	6 9		Current A/c ...	£32	3	7
,, Capital (Life Membership) ...	12 12 0		Capital A/c ...	12	12	0
		£98 0 7			44	15 7
					£98	0 7

BALANCE SHEET

Audited and found correct.

C. LEE DAVIS,
Hon. Auditor.
7/5/1938.