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EDITORIAL

IT was particularly appropriate that the Autumnal meeting of the Society should be held in the Chapel of the United College, Bradford, for it was the occasion of the Centenary Celebrations of the birth of Andrew Martin Fairbairn. In the Assembly of the Congregational Union the Rev. T. H. Martin had moved a Resolution of thanksgiving, setting on record the denomination's appreciation of the work and witness of a great theologian. At our own meeting Dr. Grieve presided, prayer was offered by Prof. J. C. Ormerod, and the papers printed within were read by Principal E. J. Price of the United College and Principal R. S. Franks of Western College, Bristol. Dr. Peel expressed the thanks of the audience, which nearly filled the Chapel, and other speakers were Dr. S. M. Berry and the Rev. Bertram Smith.

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The Annual Meeting of the Society will be held in the Council Chamber of the Memorial Hall on Wednesday, May 10th, at 3 p.m. We are fortunate in having as speaker one of our own members, Mr. N. G. Brett-James, M.A., B.Litt., F.S.A., of Mill Hill, who has recently written a delightful history of the School where he has been so long a master. Mr. Brett-James will speak on "Cromwellian London" : his knowledge of seventeenth century Middlesex is perhaps unequalled, and we hope members will not merely come themselves to the meeting but bring members of the Assembly and of the public along with them.

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The Rev. C. E. Surman's work on *The Directory of Congregational Biography* proceeds steadily : only a student with great industry and pertinacity could hope to bring such a colossal task to a successful conclusion. Mr. Surman is receiving welcome help from many quarters ; we trust members of the Society will remain on the *qui vive* and see that any biographical facts about ministers and their churches which may be of service to him are sent along.

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The Society continues to lend a hand to research students from all over the world who either write or find their way in person to the Memorial Hall, where the treasures of the Congregational Library are not so well known as they should be. Not only so, but many of them are engaged themselves on research work which will add considerably to our knowledge. The Rev. A. G. Matthews is to follow up *Calamy Revised* by an edition of Walker's *Sufferings*

of the Clergy and the Rev. G. F. Nuttall's *Pinney Papers* will shortly see the light and be reviewed in our next issue. By the time leisure is forthcoming we hope to have the necessary financial backing for a definitive edition of the writings of the Separatist Fathers (Browne, Harrison, Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry) both here and in America, and we hope sufficient time will be allowed to make the dream of a *History of Elizabethan Puritanism and Nonconformity* and an authoritative *History of Congregationalism* a reality.

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Among recent works which students of Congregational History should not overlook are Dr. W. K. Jordan's *Development of Religious Toleration in England*; Mr. Douglas Nobbs's *Theocracy and Toleration*; Dr. William Haller's *The Rise of Puritanism*; the new edition of the Clarke Papers published under the title of *Puritanism and Liberty*; Dr. Charles Sturge's biography of Bishop Tunstal; Dr. David Mathew's *The Jacobean Age*; Miss Wedgwood's *Thirty Years' War*; Prof. Notestein's *English Folks*; Vol. IV. of the *Warwick County Records*; and Miss Armitage's *The Taylors of Ongar*. A study which will reward readers is Prof. Arthur Sewell's *A Study in Milton's Christian Doctrine*. Some of these books must be discussed later; Prof. Haller's is of great importance.

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Just as we go to press there comes to hand from the Yale University Library Miss Anne Stokely Pratt's *Isaac Watts and His Gifts of Books to Yale College*. At various dates from 1730 to his death Watts sent to New Haven 43 volumes, representing 39 works, all but a few his own writings. Some of his writings he withheld, notably his *Four Discourses* (on the Trinity), lest he "be charged with leading youth into heresie". Whether Watts be the Arian some thought him or not, he certainly wrote some wise words about the doctrine in a letter to Rector Williams on 7th June, 1738:

> But all the explications I have yet seen do still leave great Darkness upon it, which I expect will be cleared up when C[hris]ts Kingdom breaks forth in its power; for I believe in the Apostles days twas a much plainer and easier Doctrine than all ages ever since have made it, since there were no controversies about it in their Time.

Students of Watts's life and times (when are we to have a modern biography?) will find much in these pages to help them. Miss Pratt's competent work concludes with a bibliographical description of the books in the order in which they were sent. Many of them now find a home in the magnificent new Library, where they must feel strangely out of place.

Dr. Fairbairn and Airedale College.

The Hour and the Man.

FROM the beginning of the 19th century there had been two Congregational Colleges in Yorkshire, *viz.*, Airedale (Bradford) and Rotherham. In the conditions of the time both Colleges were needed. From the middle of the century, however, it was increasingly recognized that conditions were rapidly changing. Railways were facilitating transit and were drawing the two ends of the County together. Moreover, the foundation of Colleges at Blackburn, Nottingham, and Birmingham was tending to narrow the field of operation of the Yorkshire Colleges. Public opinion was increasingly in favour of the amalgamation of Airedale and Rotherham so as to form one representative institution for the whole of the county. There were many practical obstacles. Consultations from time to time showed that, while the principle of amalgamation was generally accepted on both sides, agreement could not be reached upon any specific scheme. Hence, in spite of a strong resolution on the subject passed by the West Riding Congregational Union in 1867, the constituents of the two Colleges failed to take any practical steps.

Meanwhile it was evident that both existing College buildings were unsatisfactory and inadequate, and that new buildings would have to be erected both in Bradford and in Rotherham, if the two Colleges were to continue. A final effort to bring about agreement upon the erection of a single building to serve both Colleges broke down in 1872, and a few months later foundation stones were laid for new buildings in both places.

The results were heavy debts on both buildings, and constant deficits owing to inadequate income from subscriptions and collections which might have sufficed for one College but not for two. In Bradford the position was made even more difficult by the resignations of the Treasurer and the Secretary.

Among the Airedale Governors at this time was a growing recognition of the urgent necessity of raising the educational standard of the College. Dr. Selbie expresses the view that at this period the standard of education in the Congregational Colleges in general was not as high as it should have been, and that, in particular, the preparation in Arts subjects was inadequate. "The older Universities had just been opened to Nonconformists, and for many reasons

they had been prevented from using the opportunities available to them in London and in Scotland as freely as they might have done. It may be said, without injustice, that the outlook in the colleges was somewhat parochial, and though they had done good work under great disadvantages, it was obvious that they were capable of far greater things"[1]. In 1876 there were but two professors at Airedale, viz., Principal Fraser, who taught Theology and Hebrew, and Prof. Shearer, whose subjects were Classics and Philosophy. A third group of subjects including Mathematics and Logic was divided between them with some help from outside. The course was neither wide enough nor deep enough to meet the requirements of a cultured ministry.

The Governors of Airedale were fully alive to the need of revision of the educational policy of the College, and in 1873 they appointed a committee to prepare a new educational scheme with a view to the opening of the new building. The scheme was drawn up. It provided for a higher standard in the entrance examination, for the laying down of a normal course of five years' study, for the inclusion of new subjects in the curriculum, for the appointment of an additional professor together with a redistribution of subjects among the teaching staff, and finally, for the establishment of a Scholarship Fund. Unhappily Dr. Fraser did not see eye to eye with the committee so far as its recommendations affected his own position in the College. He felt impelled to resign and to leave the new situation to be handled by a new man.

The way was now open for a new venture, provided that the right man could be found to lead it. Many names were canvassed, including those of some of the leading men in the denomination, but none was found willing to allow his name to go forward. The search was protracted, and meanwhile Dr. Falding came over week by week from Rotherham to take the classes in Theology, and the Principalship was put in commission. At the third meeting of the committee, some seven months after its appointment, the name of a certain "Mr. Fairbairn" cropped up somehow, but it was not until February, 1877, that it was decided to open negotiations with the "Rev. A. M. Fairbairn" (by this time the Secretary has found out his initials), of St. Paul's Street Evangelical Union Church in Aberdeen, with a view to his being invited to accept the office of Principal. A deputation was sent to interview Mr. Fairbairn. The invitation was accepted and the new Principal agreed to commence his work in Bradford in the Autumn.

It was agreed that Mr. Fairbairn, in addition to the administrative work devolving upon him as Principal, should teach the follow-

[1] W. B. Selbie, *Life of Andrew Martin Fairbairn*, 90.

ing subjects: New Testament Exegesis, Introduction and Theology; Apologetics; Philosophy; and Historical and Dogmatic Theology—a programme that only a giant could even try to carry through. Prof. Shearer was to continue to teach Classics and English and was to share in the Theology, while a new professor was to be engaged to teach Hebrew, Old Testament Exegesis and History, Church History and Pastoral Theology.

Meanwhile the erection of the new building (in which we meet to-day) was proceeding apace. It was opened in June, 1877, when Mr. Fairbairn delivered the Inaugural Address on "The Christian Ministry and its Preparatory Discipline". The Address, as Dr. Selbie characterizes it[2], constitutes a manifesto which is of great significance in view of the condition of theological study in Nonconformist Colleges at the time, and in view of the ideals of which Fairbairn himself was the pioneer-apostle and which he lived to see carried out. In this manifesto Fairbairn laid it down that while the preacher must primarily be a prophet, he must have the tongue of him who is taught. The whole body of truth, so far as it stands related to the knowledge of God, is his concern. Hence such disciplines as history, philosophy and science are needful for the proper appreciation of Theology, which, beginning with the Scriptures in their original tongues, includes also Systematic Theology, the comparative study of Religions, Apologetics, and Christian Ethics. The address concludes thus: "The education which can make a man a theologian ought to make him much more. It ought to make him a man possessed of the divinest truths, acquainted with the holiest facts and persons, living to lift others into the sublime fellowship he himself enjoys. Nature and man are to him a divine speech which he has to interpret. His truths are not cold and abstract, but vital with Eternal love, beautified with Eternal righteousness. They live and make him live: show him that he may show others the universe, in all its parts and elements, existing in the present and active and conscious God"[3]. Such was the Hour, and now for the Man.

Who was this man whom the discerning eye of the Airedale Governors recognized as the very man to carry through their new educational programme and to bring their College into the front rank of Nonconformist seats of learning? For twelve years (1860-1872), before moving to Aberdeen, he had exercised a notable ministry in the Evangelical Union Church at Bathgate. He was trained for the E.U. ministry under Dr. James Morison at the Glasgow Academy and attended classes at Edinburgh University, without,

[2] *Op. cit.*, 89.
[3] *Ibid.*

however, obtaining a degree. He was thus plain "Mr. Fairbairn" without academic ornaments of any kind. His early education was scanty. He began to earn his living as an errand boy at the age of 10. As a student he was eager and painstaking rather than brilliant. There was little sign as yet of those great powers that brought him to the front during his ministry at Aberdeen. He developed late, and his theology was hammered out in his own experience and reading while he was tirelessly seeking to make himself the equal of men who had had much better opportunities than had been his.

Brought up from earliest days in the strict and rigid Calvinism of the United Secession Church, he later rebelled against its theological narrowness and identified himself with the Evangelical Union, whose broader theology and freer spirit were more congenial to his mind. It was by this route that he became a Congregationalist, firmly rooted in the classical tradition. On the principle that no man understands liberty half so well as he who has been in bondage, Fairbairn could appreciate the significance of the Congregational witness even better than most of those who had been nursed from the beginning in its traditions.

Nevertheless, in rejecting Calvinism in favour of the Three Universalities, he came, not without inner conflict, which for a time thrust him into the darkness of agonizing doubt, to a firm and abiding assurance of the central affirmations of the Reformation Theology, and devoted all the developing powers of his mind to the assertion and defence of these affirmations against all comers. In his preaching, he sought to give to his hearers a theology by which they could live, and upon which they could depend as unshakeable truth. To that end he devoted himself to wide-reaching studies in Philosophy and History, and (most notably for his time) in the new Science of Comparative Religion which he was one of the first in the country to employ for apologetic purposes. Out of these studies he shaped an apologetic theology which met the needs of puzzled and doubting minds—of scientists and philosophers no less than of men who made no claim to academic attainments. Thus he was able to meet fearlessly and serenely the naturalistic and secularistic attacks upon Christianity that characterized the third quarter of the 19th century. And withal, his theology was so closely related to life that he found in it inspiration to do battle for the common man by speaking boldly in regard to social injustices, and by giving a central place in his ethic to social service as an implicate of the Gospel of Redemption.

And so it came to pass that Andrew Martin Fairbairn, an errand boy at ten, a minister without a university degree at twenty-two, in the course of twelve years had established throughout Scotland a

reputation as a theologian whose utterances commanded respect even in the most exclusive academic circles. He became Chairman of the Evangelical Union in 1870 and was appointed examiner in the Academy. While at Bathgate, he surrendered his charge for a time, and spent a year in Germany wrestling with the doubts that a widening culture had forced upon his mind. There he made contacts which transformed Germany for him into a second spiritual home. Later, at Aberdeen, his preaching drew students and professors from the University, and on Sunday evenings he delivered courses of lectures on various aspects of Christian apologetic which immensely enhanced his reputation and his usefulness. At the same time he was contributing widely to the Press with articles on theological and ecclesiastical themes.

All this was manifestly a preparation for the teaching office, and it was no matter for surprise when in 1876 Mr. Fairbairn was offered the Chair of Apologetics in the Evangelical Union Academy. Nevertheless, while clearly recognizing that it was his destiny to become a teacher, he desired something more in accordance with his powers than the Academy could offer at the time. Accordingly he declined. In the same year, he put forward his name as a candidate for the Chairs of Moral Philosophy at Aberdeen and at St. Andrews, but, although it was generally recognized that he was admirably qualified for either of these posts, his Evangelical Union connections and his lack of a University degree destroyed all hope of success. Shortly afterwards appeared his book *Studies in the Philosophy of Religion and History*, which further enhanced his reputation, and may be described as the foundation of all his subsequent work.

Such was the situation when his name was mentioned to the committee that was seeking a Principal for the new Airedale, then approaching completion. Here was a man with a broad and rich sense of the requirements of ministerial education in a critical age, a man with a firm grasp of all that was significant in Theology and Philosophy, a man who had travelled far already, and was evidently going to travel a good deal farther still, and withal, by conviction a Congregationalist of the first water. The name was mentioned, and, after some hesitation, based no doubt upon lack of personal knowledge of the man, the committee called him and he came, to begin one of the most notable chapters in the history of Nonconformist ministerial training in this country.

The work of Fairbairn at Airedale can here be characterized but briefly. First of all, he was bent on further extending the revised scheme of education prepared by the committee of 1874. He was convinced that a fundamental weakness was due to the scattering of both the staff and the students in having to take Arts subjects

side by side with theological study. In season and out of season he urged that the proper place for the study of Arts was the University, and that the College staff should confine itself to the teaching of Theology in the widest sense. As a matter of fact, up to this time, individual students had occasionally been permitted to go to the University at their own charges before entering upon a theological course, but Fairbairn's contention was that this should be the normal rather than the exceptional state of things. Again and again he urged this upon the Governors, who, however, found it impossible at first to meet the additional expense involved. Fortunately, however, in the very year that Fairbairn came to Bradford, a legacy of £5,000 which was specifically intended to enable students to go to the University, came to the College, under the will of a former Treasurer, Henry Brown. Thereafter, year by year, Brown Scholars proceeded regularly to one or other of the Scottish Universities; and a few years later, as the result of Fairbairn's persistent advocacy, the separation between the Arts and Theological courses was decided upon. Henceforth all students took their Arts course in Scotland and came to Bradford for Theology only. This remains the practice of the College to this day—a practice which has proved of inestimable value to successive generations of students, and gives to the College its distinctive note. As indicative of the affection and confidence inspired by the new Principal among the constituents of the College, it is worthy of mention that the Capital debt which stood at £11,000 in 1879 was completely removed by the generosity of friends whose hearts and pockets had been captured by him.

Another of Fairbairn's notable contributions to Airedale was Dr. Duff—that fiery, impetuous spirit which dwelt in the heart of a child, that dauntless and unsparing critic who at the same time was one of the humblest believers who ever lived. At the time when Fairbairn came to Bradford, Duff was teaching in Canada. The two had met during a visit paid by the young Canadian to his ancestral country. They conceived an immense liking for one another, and when, at length, steps were taken to secure a third professor in accordance with the scheme of 1874, Fairbairn put forward Duff's name, and championed his choice so effectively that Duff was selected without interview; the invitation was sent across the seas, and Duff, having accepted, began his work at Airedale in September, 1878. At first he taught Mathematics as well as Hebrew and Old Testament exegesis, until the time when the study of mathematics was relegated to the University. Fairbairn and Duff carried on a memorable partnership in Bradford. They had a great deal in common besides their Scottish blood. Theirs was a love like that of David and Jonathan, and in many respects their

work was mutually complementary. Duff brought into the partnership an enthusiasm for the new methods of Old Testament study—at that time more than suspect in many quarters—and taught many generations of students to love the Old Testament with understanding. Dr. Selbie remarks[4] that "the change which came over Airedale in his (i.e., Fairbairn's) time seemed, as it were, to set the pace for a new order of things in theological colleges throughout the Free Churches of the land". That is very true, but we may not forget the part played in this change by Fairbairn's *alter ego*, Archibald Duff.

Outside the College Fairbairn gave magnificent service to Yorkshire Congregationalism. He quickly made himself at home in the county, which, in its turn, was able to appreciate the greatness of his mind. He learned to love the West Riding with its splendid tradition of Independency. Indefatigable in his service to the churches, small and large, he took a leading part in all that concerned the religious life of the vicinity. So widespread was the grateful admiration of his leadership that within four years of his coming to Bradford he was called to the Chair of the Yorkshire Congregational Union, and three years later to the Chair of the Congregational Union of England and Wales. This must surely constitute a record in our denominational history.

In the city of Bradford itself, Fairbairn was the acknowledged leader of Nonconformity. He was a constant contributor to the local Press on all manner of social and political as well as religious topics. He was a mighty defender of the Faith. "He was greatly impressed with the keenness, intelligence, and zeal of the working men with whom he came into contact at Bradford, and he spared himself no pains in order to help them"[5]. His courses of lectures on "Faith and modern Free Thought" and "Religion in History" delivered to crowded congregations of working men on Sunday evenings in Horton Lane Chapel are still remembered. His stout defence of Christianity made him the target of attack by the forces of secularism. But no man was better able to deal with these attacks than he. He also delivered courses of lectures at the College for ministers in the neighbourhood. Among his hearers was a certain Peter Taylor Forsyth, then a young and very unorthodox minister at Shipley. It is on record that this young man was audacious enough to heckle the speaker in good Scots fashion.

Fairbairn took the lead in reviving the Bradford Philosophical Society, and along wth Duff founded the Bradford Athenæum, a discussion society of some 24 members composed of representatives

[4] *Op. cit.*, 90.
[5] *Op. cit.*, 119.

of the business and professional classes, which after nearly 60 years is still in existence, and still includes among its members the staff of the College. Furthermore, Fairbairn and Duff were the leading spirits in the formation of a congregation which met for worship in the Airedale College Hall, now represented by its offshoot in Frizinghall, and were largely responsible for the invitation to Rhondda Williams on the part of Greenfield, whither they and others removed when the congregation at the College Hall was disbanded. And finally, not the least of Fairbairn's services to local Congregationalism was the foundation of the Bradford Congregational Association as the result of a Meeting convened by him at the College with a view to bringing the Churches in the city together in closer fellowship and co-operation.

There was great rejoicing in 1878 when Fairbairn received the degree of D.D. from his *alma mater* at Edinburgh, and again in December of the same year when he was appointed Muir Lecturer in the Science of Religion at Edinburgh. This post he held for some two or three years, involving journeys to Edinburgh now and again in order to deliver his lectures.

On several occasions Fairbairn was approached with a view to his leaving Bradford for other spheres. Both New College, London, and Andover, U.S.A., were declined. In 1881 came an invitation to return to Scotland as Principal of the Congregational Theological Hall in succession to Dr. Lindsay Alexander. Here he was confronted with the most difficult choice he had ever been called upon to make. His feelings are revealed in the noble letter he wrote to the Governors of Airedale announcing his decision to remain in Bradford. It had been the great ambition of his life to live, and study, and teach in Edinburgh. He loved the religious atmosphere of Scotland and felt a certain *noblesse oblige* to serve the churches in his native land. Almost all his personal preferences, he said, and all his literary plans and hopes, long cherished and deeply loved, urged him northward. On the other hand, the radical changes recently introduced into the organization of Airedale College at his instance made the notion of departure before the new order of things was consolidated like an undoing of all that had been done. Many of the students had represented to him that they had come to Airedale on his account. "But above all the claims most deeply felt were those of Independency in England with all its splendid history, and, in view of modern tendencies, intellectual and ecclesiastical, the greatest task of any of the Free Churches in England". And so the decision to stay was made under the strong compulsion of conscience. Nevertheless there remained a deep longing for the churches of his Fatherland and for the city he loved above all the cities of earth.

To this letter the Governors of Airedale College, who out of respect for his conscience had refrained from exerting any kind of pressure, replied expressing their devout thankfulness for his decision to stay. His relations with the Governors were always of the happiest, and this correspondence on the invitation to Scotland is a model of the kind of communication that should pass between Christian gentlemen on occasions such as these.

Four years later came the invitation to lead the great venture at Oxford. Of that I will say only this. Here again there was an appeal to conscience, and here again, no other voice was allowed to be heard. For a man with honorary degrees only and none of them from Oxford, to beard the lions in their den, as it were, and to carry through to a triumphant issue a Nonconformist invasion of the most exclusive academic circle in the world, is itself a testimony to the greatness as well as to the courage of the man who, in Bradford, had lifted theological education to a higher plane than had been known heretofore in the history of the Free Churches in England.

E. J. PRICE.

The Theology of Andrew Martin Fairbairn

WHEN I was asked to read a paper on the theology of my teacher, Dr. Fairbairn, I recognized it as a duty to answer the call. Yet it is only right to say that I rather shrank from the task. If filial piety demands that one should do what one can for the honour of a revered master, the same filial piety makes it difficult and indeed ungrateful to engage in criticism of his work. At the same time you will rightly expect from me not merely an account of Fairbairn's theology, but also an estimate of it as it appears at the present day, when a whole generation has elapsed since his death; during which time, moreover, unparalleled changes have taken place in the world, affecting the thought of men in every direction and not least in the sphere of religion and theology. Therefore, I must do the best I can, striving on the one hand to show the greatness of Fairbairn and to explain the remarkable influence that he had on the men of his own time, but endeavouring on the other hand to come to grips with the undoubted fact that to-day his direct influence has come to an end and his books are no longer widely read.

The theology we are to study is contained in the two great works, *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology* and *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*. The former, which contains the dogmatic theology, was published in 1893, and went through twelve editions in the next four years, a fact which serves to show the interest the book then created and the power that Fairbairn had over his time. The latter, containing the apologetic theology, appeared in 1902 : it passed through three editions in the year of its publication, though it was never so entirely successful as was the earlier book.

The key to the theological system contained in these two books is to be found in a passage where Fairbairn distinguishes what he calls the formal and the material principles of his theology, as the consciousness of Christ and the Fatherhood of God respectively. This mode of speech is modelled, of course, upon the distinction commonly current in Continental Protestant theology during the last century : here it was said that the formal principle of Protestantism was the authority of Holy Scripture and the material principle was justification by faith. The meaning was that if we want to know what Christian truth is, we must look into the Scriptures, and that the essence of what we find there is justifica-

tion by faith: all other doctrines are either preambles to this central article or else deductions from it. Similarly, then, Fairbairn means that when we seek to find out what Christianity is, we must refer to the mind of our Lord Himself as described for us in the Gospels; while the fundamental thing that we see there is the Divine Fatherhood—that is the centre of the Christian religion round about which all other Christian truths naturally group themselves.

With this clue in hand we can now proceed to the two books before us and consider how they are related to these twin principles of Fairbairn's theology. It is the purpose of the dogmatic work, *Christ in Modern Theology,* to lead by a process of historical criticism up to the principle of the consciousness of Christ, and from that to draw out the principle of the Fatherhood of God: Then the book goes on to develop the latter principle in an outline of Christian Theology. The apologetic work, *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion,* has the complementary task of philosophically justifying the principle of the consciousness of Christ, on which in the first volume everything is made to turn. The question is proposed: Who and what is Jesus Christ, that we should put so great an emphasis on His mentality? The Christian Church replies that He is the Incarnate Son of God; but this is to establish His Person as a mystery. Fairbairn says that some mysteries are artificial and manufactured, others are real and in the very nature of the thing. He opposes the attempt that has been made to construe the Christian belief in the Incarnation as the artificial product of religious syncretism—it is the object of *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion* to set Jesus Christ in the framework of a true conception of the Universe, and to show how inevitably such a world-view leads up to and culminates in the acknowledgement of the Person of Christ as the Centre of History and the Revealer of God, who in revealing God as the Father reveals Himself as the unique Son of God, as the Christian Church has always believed. In this way the mystery of the Incarnation turns out to be coincident with the highest truth of reason.

It is noteworthy that in all the above process of thought in both books the underlying motive is that of the serviceableness of reason to faith. In the first book it is reason which, by a critical process dealing with the history of the Christian religion, discovers the consciousness of Christ as the true Christian authority—it is reason which in the second book justifies this authority and exhibits its deliverances as harmonizing with a true understanding of the world and of human history. Since this agreement of faith and reason is the presupposition of all Fairbairn's thought, I cannot do better than quote an extended passage from *The Philosophy of*

the Christian Religion, in which he explains and defends it against the opposite view which regards reason and faith as incompatible. The passage goes to the very heart of his thinking and reveals the man himself. He says as follows :—

> Of course, a too timid faith may doubt whether it be pious to regard the Person of Christ as in any proper sense a fit subject for philosophical discussion; and it may urge that as the knowledge of it came by revelation, it is only as revealed truth, attested and authenticated by inspired men, that it ought to be accepted and understood. The only proper method of elucidation and proof is the exegesis of the sacred Scriptures, while the precise sense in which it is to be construed has been defined by the great Councils of the undivided Church. The Incarnation is a mystery that transcends reason, and it can enter into the categories of metaphysical criticism only to be mishandled, profaned and misjudged.
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> But to this it may be sufficient to reply, it does not lie in the power of any man or any society to keep the mysteries of faith out of the hands of reason. Nature and history, the very necessities of belief and its continued life, have combined to invite reason to enter the domain of faith. The only condition on which reason could have nothing to do with religion is that religion should have nothing to do with truth. For in every controversy concerning what is or what is not truth, reason and not authority is the supreme arbiter; the authority that decides against reason commits itself to a conflict which is certain to issue in its defeat. The men who defend faith must think as well as the men who oppose it; their argumentative processes must be rational and their convictions supported by rational proofs. If it were illicit for reason to touch the mysteries of religion, the Church would never have had a creed or believed in a doctrine, nor would man have possessed a faith higher than the mythical fancies which pleased his childhood. Without the exercise of reason we should never have had the Fourth Gospel or the Pauline Epistles, or any one of those treatises on the Godhead, the Incarnation or the Atonement, from Athanasius to Hegel, or from Augustine to our own day, which have done more than all the decrees of all the Councils, or all the creeds of all the Churches, to keep faith living and religion a reality. The man who despises or distrusts the reason, despises the God who gave it, and the most efficient of all the servants He has bidden work within and upon man in behalf of truth. Here, at least, it may be honestly said there is no desire to build Faith upon

> the negation of Reason; where both are sons of God it were sin to make the one legitimate at the expense of the other's legitimacy (pp. 18, 19).

I have quoted this passage *in extenso* because it contains a veritable *apologia pro theologia sua* on the part of Fairbairn: the essential man and thinker is there—intellectual and religious passion throbs in it, so that after the lapse of many years it still speaks with a power that may enable us even now to understand a little of what Fairbairn means to his own time.

I now propose to show in rather more detail how Fairbairn worked out his theme of the agreement of faith and reason. I have already summarized in a couple of sentences the contents of *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology* and *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*. We must now go a little further into the contents of these great books, great in size as well as in matter, since together they contain no less than eleven hundred pages.

Christ in Modern Theology opens with a recognition of the change that historical criticism has made in the outlook of the Christian minister—not only the criticism of the Scriptures but also the criticism of the doctrinal development in the Church is here included. Fairbairn says that he intends to present a theology that shall take account of historical criticism. He observed that in his time in England at any rate theology and criticism ran in separate channels. Theology continued mainly either along Anglo-Catholic lines in the Church of England or as a modified Calvinism within Presbyterianism and Congregationalism; in neither case was historical criticism seriously taken into theological account, while at the same time criticism was intensively studied and pursued, often to the complete neglect of theology. Fairbairn felt that these things ought not to be, and he set himself accordingly to the problem of new construction in theology, such as might meet the demands of the time. I have quoted already from *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion* a passage which exhibits the fundamental principle of Fairbairn's whole work: a somewhat shorter passage from *Christ in Modern Theology* will show what he contemplated as the end of all his endeavours. He writes as follows:—

> We all feel the distance placed by fifty years of the most radical and penetrating critical discussions between us and the older theology, and as the distance widens the theology that then reigned grows less credible because less relevant to living mind. Does that mean that the days of definite theological beliefs are over, or rather that the attempt ought to be made to re-state them in more living and relevant

> terms? One thing seems clear: if a Christian theology means a theology of Christ, at once concerning Him and derived from Him, then to construct one ought, because of our greater knowledge of Him and His history, to be more possible to-day than at any previous moment. And if this is clear, then the most provisional attempt at performing the possible is more dutiful than the selfish and idle acquiescence that would simply leave the old theology and the new criticism standing side by side, unrelated and unreconciled (pp. 296, 297).

I have called my former quotation, taken from *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, Fairbairn's *apologia pro theologia sua*: let me call the present quotation from *Christ in Modern Theology* his theological programme. We must now ask, What does he mean when he says that our knowledge of Christ and His history is greater than that of former times? Why are we in a position to construct "a theology of Christ, at once concerning Him and derived from Him"? The answer to these questions is to be found in the first or critical part of *Christ in Modern Theology*. Here, in a survey whose brilliancy has been universally recognized, Fairbairn traces the history of Christian theology from its first beginnings in the second century down to the seventeenth century, when the results of the development stood fixed in the theologies of the various Christian churches, as they existed after the Reformation had run its course. Fairbairn shows, what is now well known, that Christian theology started with a double bias, derived on the one side from Greek philosophy and on the other from Roman law: he shows further, what is equally certain, that all the attempts made to correct this bias during the period mentioned were based, not on the consciousness of Christ, but on the teaching of the Apostle Paul. He attributes the new sense for history and consequent deeper regard for the historic Christ to the literary and philosophical movement which took place in Germany during the latter part of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century. If Strauss was the *enfant terrible* of this movement with his attempt to dissolve the story of Jesus into myth, the reaction from him brought a new knowledge of the historical Jesus such as none of the centuries from the second to the seventeenth had possessed. Fairbairn goes on to study the New Testament as the reflection of the consciousness of Christ alike in the story of the Gospels and in the experience of the Epistles: he finds the fundamental affirmation of this consciousness to be the Fatherhood of God, as I have already noted.

Here, then, and nowhere else, is the true starting point of Christian theology. Fairbairn challenges especially the Calvinistic

theology of the Divine sovereignty which was still influential in the Free Church thought of his time. God is indeed Sovereign, but first of all He is Father. His is a Regal Paternity, or a Fatherly Sovereignty. The fundamental truth of Christianity is the Fatherhood of God. I do not propose, now, further to follow the master in the way in which he works out the consequences of this first principle in an outline of Christian theology: it would take too long, and there is besides another reason for the abstention, to which I shall come presently. Instead, therefore, of proceeding further with *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology*, we will go on to the other book, *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, and see in more detail how Fairbairn there justifies his emphasis on the consciousness of Christ.

He begins far away from Christianity and from religion with the fact of our knowledge of the world. He argues that the world intelligible by the human intellect must necessarily proceed from an Intelligence, which is not only the cause of it as a whole but also of the intellect which is found within its confines. This is the first step: the second is taken by the consideration of conscience and the moral order it reveals. The ground of the Universe and of man is thus seen to be not only intelligent but also moral: thus we have already a good part of what we mean by God. To go further we must become concrete and consider history as the sphere where God and man actually come into relation with one another, and where God reveals Himself in the process. Now the core of history is religion, which is no mere survival from the childhood of the race, but rather the very pulse of its true life.

Religion, once more, becomes concrete in the religions, which Fairbairn classifies and examines with the result of discovering Christianity as the one true monotheism free from Jewish participation and free also from the legalism of Islam, the one religion that is really spiritual as God is a spirit, and in which He is worshipped in spirit and in truth. But, then, this is the strange thing about this true monotheism and spiritual religion that it is simply the perpetuation of the mind of its Founder: His personality dominates it: He, indeed, is the one real institution of Christian worship, through whom we come to God. The revelation of God's Fatherhood is bound up with the Sonship of Christ, through whom we too learn a filial trust in God, and that in spite of the sin which everywhere exists through the misuse of human freedom, except only in Jesus Himself, whose moral transcendence marks Him out from all others and exhibits Him as the perfect Son of God. Fairbairn recognizes the physical transcendence of Jesus, or, in other words, the miraculous element appearing in the Gospel history; but he insists that the special mark of the Gospel picture is that

the physical transcendence in it is everywhere subject to the moral transcendence. The essential supernaturalness of Jesus is that He is a moral miracle.

From the Gospel history *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion* now moves on to the apostolic interpretation of the history, and the importance of this interpretation is emphasized. It is the doctrinal Christology that has made Christianity a universal religion, translating as it does the reality of history into the language of the ideal, and so liberating it from the particularity of time and place. The conclusion of the book deals with the details of this apostolic interpretation, which, however, we need not now pursue. The end of the argument is the establishment as a truth of reason of that supremacy of Christ as the revealer of God which forms the first principle of the dogmatic theology contained in *Christ in Modern Theology*. We may sum up the whole reasoning of Fairbairn's two books by saying that it turns on the identification of the Divine Logos with the Son of God, just as we find it in the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel. The manifestation of the Logos or Divine Reason in the world culminates in the Incarnation, the result of which is Jesus, the Christ, the Son of God, and the Revealer of the Father.

II

I have now come to the end of what I propose to do in the way of stating Fairbairn's theology: I have next to proceed to the much more difficult task of appraisement. I have already explained why I find it difficult. There is the fact to be faced that in spite of the great impression Fairbairn made on his own generation, his books seem to be no longer a living force in ours. There are a number of reasons for this change, into which I now propose to go.

The first reason, entirely creditable to him and to his work, is that he did it so well that many of us who were either actually his personal pupils or else learned of him from his books as they appeared, became entirely established in the main principles for which he stood; so well established in fact that we have never gone back upon them or even needed to revive their mastery over us by fresh contact with his writings. The agreement of faith and reason, the rationality of the Christian revelation, the founding of theology upon the consciousness of Christ, the dominance of all Christian doctrine by the central doctrine of the Fatherhood of God —these are principles which have become to us more than mere intellectual principles: they have come to be part of our very selves, to be, in fact, as Wordsworth expresses it, "felt in the blood, and felt along the heart". Yes: Fairbairn did his work well. It is impossible to describe to a new generation the personal impression

that he made on those whom he taught or who may have listened to his speaking and preaching; but the ancient adage still comes true, *si monumentum quaeris, circumspice*. The influence of Fairbairn is still to be seen in the Liberal Evangelicalism that he fostered in his pupils, and that still, in spite of so many changes, continues as a powerful religious and theological current among us to-day.

The second reason, however, why Fairbairn's books are not read widely to-day is of another character. There is an imperfection to be admitted in his work, which perhaps in the circumstances was almost inevitable. Fairbairn laid his theological fundations well and truly; but the execution of the edifice built upon them is inadequate. Certainly, he himself never proposed to give more than an outline of the new dogmatic; and no outline can ever satisfy. But that is not the whole of the explanation; nor is it sufficient further to say, what is the truth, that he shaped his system at a time when in England both Old Testament and New Testament criticism were in a very transitional stage: his Old Testament work is pre-Wellhausen and his New Testament work does not sufficiently distinguish the Synoptic from the Johannine tradition.

What, then, is the real explanation of the undoubted inadequacy of Fairbairn's detailed construction? It is in my judgment that his theology is "mediating theology" in the unsatisfactory sense of the word. Of course, in one sense all theology is mediating: it mediates between the original revelation in the Scriptures and the mentality of those whom it serves for the interpretation of this revelation. But that is mediation in a good sense: what I mean by "mediating theology" in a bad sense is the theology that blurs its outlines by talking two different ways at once. I read not long ago a description of a theologian, who shall be nameless, where it was said that if he saw a fence he could not resist the temptation of sitting on it. It would be most unjust to Fairbairn to describe him in that way. As we have seen, on the main principles he is firm and definite; nay, more, he is trenchant in the extreme. But in the working out of the details of his theology he uses the traditional Trinitarian and Christological conceptions, while at times he throws doubt on their validity: moreover, in the interpretation of Scripture, and especially of St. Paul, he often reads his own meaning into the passage and modernizes it in a way that is impossible as sound exegesis. If there is one thing that I hope we may have learned since Fairbairn's time it is that in giving the sense of Scripture we must give the historical sense, whether we like it or not: it is another question altogether what weight we give to the passage in question in theological construction. I say I hope we have learned this; but I fear it has not been learned altogether.

The objectionable practice of reading modern meanings into Scripture still goes on in too many quarters.

The third and last reason for the neglect of Fairbairn's theology is of course the tremendous change in temper that has come over theology since the Great War. Even before the war the interpretation of Jesus had been profoundly modified by the eschatological outlook popularized by Schweitzer's *Quest of the Historical Jesus*. Dr. Selbie, in his life of Fairbairn, records a shrewd criticism of his *Christ in Modern Theology* by Professor Clemen; and says that at the time only a German could have thought of such a criticism: it was to the effect that with all its emphasis on the consciousness of Jesus, the eschatological element in it was entirely neglected. The criticism was just: Fairbairn interprets the Kingdom of God simply as a religious-ethical society, as did also his great contemporary, Ritschl—both in this respect were children of their own age.

There, then, was one factor in the change of thought: eschatology came into prominence. Then, along with the war itself, there came rapidly Otto's book, now translated as *The Idea of the Holy*; Barth's *Commentary on Romans*, and Dibelius's *Gospel-Tradition*, introducing the principles of *Form-geschichte*. The result of all this is well known. These books embodied the spirit of the time when confidence was so profoundly shattered by the world cataclysm. There was, on the one hand, a return to the theology of Calvin, with its emphasis on the Divine Sovereignty; on the other hand, there came about a certain scepticism as to the Gospel history. In some quarters to-day it is customary to defend the Fourth Gospel by saying that the Synoptics are equally works of faith and not history in our sense of the word: when I come across such statements I remember Fairbairn and his insistence that two blacks do not make a white. You will already see what I think of this last general reason for the depreciation of Fairbairn's work, *viz.*, the different theological temper of our time. I think that his principles of the agreement of faith and reason, of the mind of Christ as the canon of Christian truth, and of the Fatherhood of God as its central affirmation, would serve as a most wholesome tonic for the thought of the present time; and that it might be well worth while to study his works once more, if by so doing we could regain His spirit. Historical scepticism and the "Altogether Otherness" of God are most unsatisfactory foundations on which to build either Christian theology or the Christian Church.

It is to be admitted that in some quarters the new emphasis on God's Fatherhood led to a shallow and easy-going optimism and to a Gospel in which the hope of social progress obscured the need of

the forgiveness of sins. But Fairbairn is not to blame for such misapplication and impoverishment of his teaching. No one can read his books without realizing his deep religious faith and moral earnestness : if he had a fault, it was not that he conceded too little, but rather too much to penal ways of thinking of God's action. There is really no ground whatever for the calumny that to accept God's Fatherhood *ex animo* is to think lightly of sin. As Fairbairn himself says over and over again, the Father judges sin even more strictly than the Sovereign, just because of His love for the sinner and His inability to be satisfied with anything but a complete change of him into the image of Christ.

Therefore, on this occasion, as a grateful pupil I rejoice to pay tribute to the memory of a revered teacher, and to say that whatever defects there are in his work (as there are defects in the work of all of us), I consider that his principles still stand, and were never more needed than to-day.

What seems to me most necessary at the present time is a theological system conceived in Fairbairn's spirit, but avoiding as far as may be the imperfections which belong to the transitional character of the criticism of his generation and to the too easy and too indefinite way of mixing old and new which I have spoken of as "mediating" in an unsatisfactory sense. I cannot believe that a theology founded upon sheer authority and upon the absolute unlikeness of God and man will ever permanently satisfy the human mind ; nor does it make much difference here whether we say that what authority reveals is the Trinitarianism and Christology of the creeds, or over and above this is the whole body of Reformation doctrine contained in Calvin's *Institutes*. Moreover, I think that Fairbairn was absolutely right when he made the consciousness of Christ the norm of Christian thought. It is said to-day, as it has been said in the past, that the Person of Christ and His redeeming acts are more than His teaching ; and that is true. But surely it is equally true that His teaching must be the canon by which to test the soundness of any theological development that seeks to interpret the Person and the acts : whether this development comes from Paul, Origen, Augustine, Calvin or Schleiermacher. Jesus must be the prime interpreter of His own Person and work.

So if the theological pendulum has swung away from Fairbairn in these days it may yet swing back to him. He reacted from Calvin and now there has been a reaction from him back to Calvin again. One thing we may certainly well learn from Calvin, and that is the thoroughness with which that great theologian carried out his system into detail, so that it has remained for generations a mighty monument of thought. I have admitted that it is here that Fairbairn is wanting : not to speak of Calvin, he has not the

completeness or accuracy of theologians who stand nearer to him, such as Schleiermacher and Ritschl. If, then, the principles of Fairbairn are to compete with those of Calvin, they must be developed with the same remorseless energy with which Calvin has worked out the theology of the *Institutes*. It would be a task worthy of the efforts of any British theologian to complete the work of Fairbairn in this way.

Note.—The quotations from Fairbairn's *Christ in Modern Theology* and his *Philosophy of the Christian Religion* are printed by the courtesy of the publishers, Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton.

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CHRISTIAN FREEDOM. By ALBERT PEEL, M.A., Litt.D. Independent Press. 3s. 6d.

In these five lectures delivered to the General Council of the Congregational Churches of U.S.A. at Beloit in June, 1938, Dr. Peel surveys "the contribution of Congregationalism to the Church and to the World". If his hearers enjoyed the spoken word as much as I have enjoyed the written word, their joy must have been great indeed. I can only hope that many readers will share this experience. Briefly put, his argument is that in this day when the tide seems setting towards regimentation in every department of life, it is our especial and distinctive duty to emphasize the need for liberty. After reviewing our past efforts and achievements he comes to grips with the present situation and the need for a revision and clarifying of our witness on such points as the freedom of individual and Church in the face of new claims of the State, and spiritual liberty within the Church in regard to scripture, creeds and sacraments, church organization, and social justice. All these themes are handled *suo more,* lit up by apposite quotations which of themselves make an anthology of Christian freedom, and by telling passages from the author's personal experience. There are many shrewd but kindly digs at current practices and tendencies in our own Union, and the whole book is suffused with evangelical passion. The Church to-day has great and mighty resources. It has the same Lord and the same guarantee of His leadership. What it lacks is faith and courage—to launch out into the deep, an adventure in which it is our proud privilege, by heritage and conviction, to lead the way.

ALEX. J. GRIEVE.

* * * *

It is hard to think of a book which could be put more suitably into the hands of young or intending church members than that comprising four talks by Mr. Bernard Manning and entitled *Why Not Abandon The Church?* (Ind. Press, 1s. 6d. & 2s. 6d.). It is written with all Mr. Manning's accustomed pungency and caustic wit. To readers of these *Transactions* the second talk, "A Congregational Church: What it is and what it is not", will perhaps prove the most interesting. "In Congregationalism, properly understood, nothing important is whittled down, nothing improper is added." For Mr. Manning it is nothing if not full-blooded—which is a tonic in anæmic days.

G. F. NUTTALL.

Sir Thomas Andrewes, Lord Mayor and Regicide, and His Relatives

TO the circumstances of the execution of Charles I so much of interest attaches, the emotions and opinions aroused by its recountal are still so unexpectedly determinate, that any fresh material, relative to those who shared in the procedure, has worth towards the completion of opinion. Of some of the regicides we have pictures, painted with the master touch of inspiration : the zeal of the fanatic delivering his message in the face of agonizing and certain death. We know for ever what sort of man Thomas Harrison was ; the accounts of Cavaliers, and of his contemporaries were almost unnecessary additions to his speech upon his trial.

> I have earnestly desired of God, the Searcher of Hearts, that if I have done amiss, I might receive some conviction upon my Conscience, but, though I have sought it with tears, many a time, of that God, in respect of Whom you, My Lords, and all nations are but as a Drop of the Bucket, to this moment I have rather received Assurance of the Justice of what I have done.

That may be fanaticism, but it is certainly great prose.

There is not extant the record of a single sentence uttered by Sir Thomas Andrewes. Some of his letters are preserved in the State Papers ; they have about the same emotional value as would attach to invoices of biscuits of the like dates. The most that can be ascertained of the man is that he was loved and trusted in quite an unusual fashion by his children. Yet this least known of Lord Mayors lived through a cycle of revolutions, had the financial control of the nation in his keeping, proclaimed the downfall of the Monarchy and ushered in two Protectorates, whilst he maintained his privacy in a half shop at the base of a steeple.

For clues to his identity, we are indebted to a couple of paragraphs of abuse contributed by his contemporaries, and to the optimist who claimed from Charles II a sinecure, as a reward for having thrown stones at the ex-Lord Mayor.

The two Caroline writers who have left record of Andrewes are George Bates and Winstanley. George Bate, or Bates, printed *The Lives, Actions and Execution of the Prime Actors of that Horrid Murder of our late Pious and Sacred Sovereign, King Charles the First.* This little book, of 1661, has a brief account

upon page 124, to the effect that "Alderman Thomas Andrewes—a Linnen Draper upon Fish Street Hill—with his brother, Allen, one of the Treasures (*sic*) for the sale of the lands of the late King, and of the Queen and Prince—was a regicide, signatory to the Warrant of Execution". He continues that Alderman "Reynoldson", Lord Mayor in 1649, refused to be present at the proclamation of the Act for abolishing Royalty, and was fined £2,000 and imprisoned five months. Andrewes was Mayor in Reynardson's absence, and Mayor in the succeeding year. He was knighted by the Protector, and assisted at Richard Cromwell's proclamation. He had many children, who died so that "he was hardly out of mourning for one, before he had occasion to mourn for another". A Suit of Law had been brought, just before his death, for alleged injurious detention of money. He died suddenly, full of years, in 1659.

The brother, Allen, to whom Bate refers was Alderman Francis Allen, a brother in deeds, not in blood. Contrary to the account of Bate, Andrewes was not a signatory to the Death Warrant, a matter to which reference will be made later.

To these particulars, Winstanley adds that Andrewes was a linen-draper in Cheapside[1]. Quite certainly, the author of The Loyal Martyrology intended to convey a cutting censure, by exposing the fact that one who presumed to judge a king had been of lowly origin; in fact, a linen-draper. Whether Cheapside added to the offence, as would now "Houndsditch", does not appear. So far as existing records aid verification, Bate would appear to be the more accurate in recalling the place of business. Bate had had close association with the Republicans. He had reported the sermons of Christopher Love in shorthand for Colonel Venn, the regicide.

Andrewes may have been resident on Fish Street Hill. He certainly dwelt near there, in New Fish Street, at the time of the Heraldic Visitation of 1633 to 1635. He was then of the Ward of Bridge Within, the ward of the parish of St. Margaret's, New Fish Street, with which he was associated to the day of his death. In the pedigree, which he signs, he shows himself as the son of Robert and Margaret Andrewes of Feltham, Middlesex, the husband of Eleanor, daughter of Henry Bonwick of Horsley, and the father of five children; Thomas, John, Samuel, Nathaniel, and Elinor.

Henry Bonwick of Horley, Surrey, his father-in-law, had died, after a prolonged illness, in 1624, leaving, as befitted a yeoman of small substance, a dowry of sixty pounds to the daughter yet to be

[1] Fifty years later, a Lancelot Andrewes was a linen-draper there.

advanced, and ten shillings to daughters already married, whose like portions had, doubtless, been paid. His Will (Arch. of Surrey, Yeast, f. 139) indicates the testator's trust by the appointment of Thomas Andrewes as Overseer. These duties were performed to the satisfaction of the Bonwicks apparently, for, thirty years later, amicable relations existed between Andrewes's children and the son of the testator. The days of Andrewes's youth could not have been days of greed, for sixty pounds was but a small dowry for a City tradesman.

The record of the residence of Thomas Andrewes in the parish of St. Margaret's, from the year 1631 to the date of his death, is contained in the churchwardens' accounts. These accounts together with the early registers must have been among the first books to have been rescued from the Great Fire.

Under the steeple of the Church of St. Margaret's were two or more shops, the upper of which was rented at this time by a Mr. Leake, who does not enter further into the narrative. Of the lower shop or shops, one sold, amongst other articles, books which by the time of the end of the Commonwealth bore trace of Fifth Monarchy influence. The bookseller in 1659 was Andrew Kempe. The other, or the same shop, for the total number appears more likely to be two than three, was tenanted in 1630 by Mr. Wm. Ayerst, the Clerk of the parish. His shop was perhaps smaller than that of Mr. Leake, since he paid for it only thirty shillings a year, whilst Mr. Leake paid for the upper one £2. 10s. This tenement was occupied by Mr. Ayerst until his retirement, and, perhaps, after his retirement.

He was pensioned before 1666. When the Great Fire started, a maidservant in a house close to the church smelt the burning, either of the coffins in the charnel-house (for room was being made in the churchyard for fresh interments) or from an over-heated bakery that adjoined the charnel-house, and found that the adjoining building beneath her own bedroom was well alight. She woke the house by screaming, found the stairs cut off, and would have jumped from her room. But whether from modesty, lest in saving herself she might appear in the negligé of the night, or from fear that, in struggling through the narrow opening, she should pitch upon her head, she hesitated too long, and succumbing to the imbecility of her sex, fell back into the flames and perished miserably : the first victim of the fire.

Either Mr. Ayerst, or other, obtained the books from the burning church, and took them across the river to the parish of St. Mary Magdalene, Bermondsey, where the Clerk died, probably of shock. There is certainly a record there of the death of the Clerk at Bermondsey, but whether in the Plague or the Fire Year only

fresh search would show. The early register, which must have been among the books rescued, was extant until the date of the Parliamentary Return, and has been lost within the last ninety years. Such, within the last two paragraphs, is the account, pieced together from written and verbal information, probably true in great part, but needing confirmation before it can be accepted as much more than a reasonable hypothesis to account for the preservation of the books.

The first record of Mr. Andrewes noted in the churchwardens' accounts mentions a payment for the burial of a child in the churchyard. In 1634, he took half of Mr. Ayerst's shop, and paid the whole rent, retaining his use during the successive years ending 1637. In 1639, Mr. Ayerst had resumed possession of the shop, which was let in 1640 to Mr. John Andrewes, probably the brother of Thomas. In 1641, Alderman Andrewes (that is, probably the original tenant) reappears at the same rental, and also pays £1. 10s. for part of Mr. Chapman's shop. In 1644, at the same rental, he became tenant of part of the White Horse, which he retained until 1648. In that year he paid £5 for avoiding the office of churchwarden.

It is not to be supposed that Church property would have been let to one conspicuously a Puritan or Separatist. Thomas Andrewes and his son Thomas Andrewes Jnr. upon many occasions audit the churchwardens' accounts, and there is no reference to any act that would intimate lukewarm churchmanship, save that occasionally the elder pays for a dispensation to eat flesh upon days of fasting. He subscribes to the repairs, and refuses the churchwardenship only in a year when Puritan domination had already commenced. He was obviously one of the moderate men slowly driven to extremism by the drift of events.

In 1647, '8 and '9, Thomas Andrewes rented the glebe land for £6 5s. per annum, and had as a co-parishioner Mr. Adrian Lenthall, who during those same years neglected to pay his poor rates. In 1650 and 1651 there is record still of "My Lord Mayor for half a year's rent for the parson's parlour, 15/-". In 1651-2 the phrase is, "Of Alderman Andrewes, for a Room at The White Horse belonging to the parish, called the parson's parlour, £1.10s." and the statement is made that the room forms part of Mr. Chapman's shop. Some pride is shown in the distinction of the tenant, and the name Sir Thomas Andrewes is written very largely in 1657-8. The last record is subsequent to Alderman Andrewes's death, and acknowledges the receipt of rent until March, 1660.

The "parson's parlour" had probably received its name from use to which it had been put in connection with the Church. The White Horse was almost certainly not an inn, but a house named

after the fashion of the time from the sign that it displayed. The White Horse seems to have adjoined the Church, or to have been one of the houses built on the steeple-side, and the parlour was used, perhaps, for parish business as the parlour in St. Lawrence Jewry is, or lately was.

Andrewes must have had other residence. He had a wife and five children. He had civic responsiblities and duties. In 1643, he was High Sheriff of London and Middlesex, and from that year offices and functions were heaped upon him. His retention of the half shop is an interesting incident in a strange career. He was within a few yards of his dead children, whom he mourned so conspicuously. Perhaps in the crowded churchyard lay their mother, his £60 wife. The truth may be that this monstrous regicide, the man of relentless action, was nothing but a sentimentalist, as absorbed in his family as they were in him, a kindly man, once driven to violence.

Of a public career so utterly incompatible with the modest residence in a corner of a graveyard, the record is sufficiently found in the volumes of Domestic State Papers. The office of High Sheriff was not followed immediately by the Mayoralty. Andrewes was probably excused city office, even as he had been excused the functions of churchwarden, in order that he might engage more fully in the business of the State. In March, 1645, he and Alderman Francis Allen and six others were appointed Treasurers at War to secure the sum of £80,000, needed for the expenses of the year ending December following. The deplorable innovations of that revolutionary era had made the fiscal year to coincide with the civil, instead of beginning and ending, as formerly and now, with the date of the vernal equinox conventionally calculated according to the inaccuracies of a calendar dating from a pre-Christian era.

In 1649, he was one of the judges appointed to try the King. He was present when sentence was pronounced, but does not appear to have signed the warrant. Since his act in this matter must have received comment, the general effect would be to separate him from those who had not hesitated in the completion of an act that they had sanctioned by opinion. Possibly the influence of his son's friend, Sidrach Simpson, long the curate and lecturer at St. Margaret's, was exercised over him. In 1629, Mr. Sidrach Simpson had been convented by Laud for breach of the canons of the Church, at St. Margaret's, and having promised submission in all things, "My Lord very moderately forebare further proceedings". Mr. Sidrach Simpson left the kingdom, but returned at the commencement of the Civil War, to exercise

a moderating influence upon extremists who had had evidence of his willingness for sacrifice, and of his integrity.

If Andrewes had wavered over the work of blood, he made his republican sympathies clear within the next few days. Sir Abraham Reynardson, a Royalist of some distinction and courage, Merchant Taylor, and Lord Mayor in 1648, refused to publish the Act for the exheredation of the royal house, and with Sir John Langham, the Sheriff of 1642, and Sir John Gayre, the Mayor of 1645, was sent to The Tower. Thomas Andrewes thereupon undertook the duties of declaring the Act, became Lord Mayor for the remainder of the term that Reynardson should have served, and, subsequent to election, fulfilled the office in the following and added civic year, the first alderman of one of the lesser companies to fulfil the office.

During his mayoralty, exchange operations, to which recent inflations and depreciations of currency have accustomed this generation, were adopted by the Mint, to the disadvantage both of soldiers paid in the coinage apparently intended for export purposes, and to that of foreigners who accepted the spurious money. Such is the allegation of a complaint made in the State Papers, which adds the damaging insinuation that the export had been supplemented by private venture, that charges of counterfeiting had been made; and that such charges had been suppressed by authority, and in particular by the late Lord Mayor, during his term of office. This allegation (*D.S.P.*, May, 1652) must be regarded as having been determined finally in favour of Andrewes. There is probably an authoritative work upon English coinage during the Commonwealth and Protectorate, from which the fact whether there was any such private depreciation as is alleged could be ascertained; the mere absence of knowledge of such coinage being insufficient evidence. But this much is certain, no procedure of any kind was undertaken against those at whom the charge was hinted, and there is no sort of positive evidence of any portion of its truth.

The advances made by Andrewes to the State were moderate, and within the means of any merchant of the day with pretensions to prosperity. They were comparable in magnitude with the loans of the Bushells to the King of Portugal. The balance of the indebtedness of the State in 1658 was £3,000, reduced by 1659 to £2,200.

Corruption and worldliness were naturally alleged and rather venomously asserted by some of the Baptists and Fifth Monarchy men whom Cromwell had disappointed. His entourage shared the hatred with which Cromwell was regarded by the extremist faction. Even the more moderate of the sectaries, who had not

renounced the service of the State under the Protectorate, remonstrated with Cromwell over the knighthood of Andrewes. This had been authorized by an Act of Parliament, of June 6th, 1649, whereby the Speaker of the Rump had been empowered to create Thomas Andrewes, the Lord Mayor, Isaac Pennington, the late Lord Mayor, and Thomas Atkin, late Lord Mayor, knights. To such grant, which was conducted with sword and ceremonial, Cromwell added his own, for, in March, 1654, Vernon wrote to reprove his old comrade-in-arms for the investiture into the order of knighthood conducted upon the previous 16th December.

The worthy Quartermaster-General's letter, Add. MS. 5156, f.47, is as follows:

> When you spoke tremblingly as Ephraim, and, with Moses, chose affliction with the people of God, the wisdom you sought with teares among his simple despised ones directed you, and led you safely, when (I bear you witness) you were far more afraid of having from men the honour due unto his name than of any adversary, and endeavoured with tears to keep men from thinkeing of you above what was meet. In which path God truly honoured you according to his promise. Ah, your posture and some practices now seem to call the proud "happy" (as Malachi speaks). That of knighting the Mayor (on that day wherein the Lord was so little honoured and sanctified before all the people) speaks to the World your approbation of the former evil custom of conferring honour upon grounds of vanity.

Beyond modernizing the spelling, there is very little necessary to alter in this letter, and very possibly in their heart of hearts both Cromwell and Andrewes would have concurred in its opinions.

Sir Thomas Andrewes represented the City at the installation of Richard Cromwell, and continued his active public life throughout the period of anarchy. Claims of account against him and those associated with him for settlement of balances are recorded in the State Papers, and indicate nothing to his discredit. He died in August, 1659, and his burial is recorded in the register of St. Andrew's Undershaft thus: "Sir Thomas Andrewes, Alderman, was buried the 30th day of August, 1659".

A letter of his, dated the following 1st November, is indexed in the Domestic State Papers of 1659-1660. The error is one of transcription and identification. The signatory of the letter, which recommends two candidates as fit for the command of the ship, *Success*, was Thomas Andrew, Governor, whether Governor of the East India Company or no, not being indicated.

The obscurity of the career of Sir Thomas Andrewes must pardon many errors, of which some, no doubt, are contained in this narrative. Those in Beavan's *Aldermen of the City of London* will be apparent, as will also be the valuable information that supplements this portion of the account of Andrewes's career.

> Thomas Andrewes (Sir) Leatherseller, bur. Aug. 20, 1657. Master of Leathersellers' Co., 1638-9. Adm. Aug. 20, 1659.

The administration to which Beavan refers is that not of Sir Thomas Andrewes, but of a Thomas Andrewes, late of the parish of St. Martin in the Fields, granted to his principal creditor, William Peas.

There is evidence of the holding of some of the leaseholds of Thomas by his son Richard, who long survived him. Such succession of a member of his family, as tenant under the lease, is not consistent with administration for the benefit of creditors. Whilst the existence of a will, whether admitted to probate or not, is probable, of it no record exists. If the will related to real estate only, probate was unnecessary and conveyance under it could have been effected legally, despite the statutory provisions that followed. Such conveyance could apply to any general devise of lands, which would be construed then as now to include leaseholds, despite their chattel nature.

The first parliament of Charles II confiscated the property of Sir Thomas Andrewes. 13 Charles II, cap. 15, provides for the escheat of the estates of certain living and dead regicides, amongst whom he is named, and excepts from the operation of the Act *bona fide* conveyances made before 25th April, 1660, and enrolled before 1662, and all conveyances prior to 24th September, 1659. Some but not all of Sir Thomas's lands were escheated under this Act. Part of the operation of the Act had been anticipated by the decrees of the Convention.

D.S.P. vol. 13, no. 93, of August, 1660, contains the petition of Anne Blount and Mary Copley, daughters of the late Edmund Church, who desire a letter to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's for re-admission to the tenancy of Mucking in Essex, wrested from their late father, taken prisoner at Shrewsbury, who lost £8,000 in the King's cause. Alderman Andrewes, who bought it, is convicted of treason, as one of the judges of the late king.

Probably the petitioners were partly successful, for the son of Andrewes held the manor of Mucking Hall upon a lease subsequent to the date of petition.

Petition 47 in Volume xx, and in October of the same year, 1660, is for a grant of so much of the forfeiture of the late Sir Thomas

Andrewes, deceased, and Gregory Clement, forfeit for murder, as concerns his estate, they having bought from the Commissioners of Drury House some of Bunce's houses and lands, which sale is made void by Parliament, and his arrears given him, by order of the House of Lords.

The final mention of Sir Thomas Andrewes in the State Papers is that contained in the petition of Richard Green, who seeks the place of Purveyor of Corn for the great bakehouse. Among his services he recounts that he threw a stone at Andrewes, Lord Mayor of London, when proclaiming the Act for the abolishing kingly government.

Of the sons of Sir Thomas Andrewes, at least four predeceased him, and the fourth generation from him ended his whole known descent, male or female. The comment of George Bate had its accuracy apparently.

The records of St. Margaret's, New Fish Street, contain notes of payments for the interment of an unnamed son of Mr. Andrewes in 1632, and for the chancel burial of another in 1648. The eldest son, Thomas, married Damaris, the daughter of Matthew Cradock, at St. Swithin's, Cannon Street, upon 12th April, 1642. In 1650 he became what his father is said to have been, Alderman of Bridge Ward. How probable the confusion between the father and son, both Aldermen, is to be seen by comparison of entries concerning them in Black's *History of the Leathersellers' Company* and in Beavan's *Aldermen*. The dates and particulars suggest doubt immediately:

(i) Thomas Andrewes [Regicide], Alderman of Tower Ward, 20 Jan., 1641, migrated to Bridge Within, 27 Aug., 1650. Master of Leathersellers' Company. [*Black.*]

(ii) Thomas Andrewes, Clothworker. Alderman. Aug. 27, 1650, Bridge. [*Beavan.*]

The second entry undoubtedly refers to Thomas Andrewes Junior, who describes himself as a Leatherseller in his will.

> By this Will, 332 Brent, dated 20 Aug., 1652, and proved upon the 7th May following, Thomas Andrewes leaves the customary third of his personal estate to his wife, Damaris; to his daughter Damaris, who afterwards married Sir Edward Abney, £600; to each of his sons, save the eldest, £300; to his father, Thomas Andrewes of London, Alderman, £400; to his uncle, Richard Andrewes, £20; to his brothers, John and Samuel, £20 each; to his brother, Nathaniel, and Elizabeth his wife, £15 apiece; to his brother (*i.e.*, bro.-in-law), Francis Warner, and Eleanor his wife, £15 each; to his aunt,

Catherine Heiburne, £10; to his uncle, Richard ffloyd, £10; to his father-in-law (*i.e.*, wife's step-father), Benjamin Whichcott, and his wife, £10 each; to Mr. Sidrach Simpson, £10; to Dr. Thomas Cox, doctor of physick, £10; to Samuel Cradock, Fellow of Emmanuel, £5; to Mr. William Ayerst, clarke of the parish wheren I now live, £5; to the poor, £5; to my cousin, Thomas Vincent and his wife, £2. 10s. each; to my cousin, Richard Hall senr., and Robert Smyth senr., £2. 10s. each; to my uncle, Henry Bronwick of Horley, Surrey, and to my friend, John Brett, Merchant Taylor, £2. 10s. each. The lease of the dwelling house upon Fish St. Hill he devises to his second son living at the time of his decease with remainder to the younger children, excluding his eldest son. The residuary gift appears not to include this clause of disherison, but the father Thomas Andrewes was sole executor, the brother Nathaniel, the brother-in-law, Francis Warner, and Richard ffloyd were overseers. The eldest son is not mentioned by name. It is difficult to understand how at nine years of age he could have escaped any memory of kindness from a father conscious of the approach of death. Even if the settlements of marriage provided for him the omission of any mention is strange. The witnesses were John and Edmund Rolfe and Thomas Heath.

The widow of Alderman Thomas Andrewes, Junior, was the Damaris Andrewes who married Dr Ralph Cudworth and by him had several sons and one daughter, named like her mother and step-sister, Damaris. This Damaris Cudworth married Sir Francis Masham, and in later life attained much repute as the friend and occasional collaborator of John Locke.

For the children of Thomas Andrewes, their mother and their step-father exhibited a constant assiduity of importunity, and by letters addressed to Williamson, the Secretary, and by amiabilities of acknowledgment, achieved for them Fellowships and oblivion of the group of regicides with whom they were connected. The longest-lived of her sons by Damaris Cudworth's first marriage was Richard Andrewes of the Inner Temple, who died in the same year as his mother, 1695.

Of the other children, Nathaniel Andrewes had died in 1653. He had varied the staid and prosperous progress common to the members of his family by a venture in privateering, in which he was joined by that Edward Bushell, who later established an everlasting right to remembrance in connection with the Penn and Mead case, and the establishment of the rights of immunity to upright jurors. In July, 1653, Nathaniel Andrewes and Bushell had

petitioned to be allowed to impress men for eight ships, which they desired to commission as privateers, and to have forty men protected to sail from the Thames to Plymouth. Such romantic and comparatively unremunerative, speculative, ambition was scarcely to be expected from an Army contractor engaged in the supply of biscuits for military and naval consumption. The change from constructive patriotism to active service may have hastened the end of Nathaniel. His will, proved on April 13th, 1654, was, unfortunately, seven years old at the time of his death, and, therefore, does not indicate what, if any, issue he left.

> The testator desires that his wife should be paid £1,100 according to an agreement upon marriage between Thomas Andrewes, testator's father, the testator himself, and his "father David". He adds £500 to this amount. To his father, Thomas Andrewes, Alderman, he bequeaths £300. The residue to such children as the testator shall have, with remainder to father, sole executor. To this will the witnesses are Henry Colbron, John Ellis, Val. Crome. The first codicil gives to his wife £400, to make up the amount already bequeathed to £2,000, together with all jewels, plate, and household stuff whatever. A second codicil "which the within-"named Nathaniel Andrewes added to his Will the morning "before he died, being the five and twentieth day of October, "1653, in an audible voice", left his whole estate to his father, Thomas Andrewes, and stated that the testator had done well for his wife and of his father's care in that business he had no doubt. It was testator's particular wish, orally expressed, that £30 should be given to Mr. Simpson. The witnesses to this codicil were Thomas Coxe, previously mentioned in connection with Thomas Andrewes Junior, Damaris Andrewes, and John Bancks.
>
> Elizabeth, *née* Wall, survived Nathaniel, her husband, scarcely three weeks. Her Will, 472 Alchin, limits her funeral expenses to £250, and bequeaths, among many legacies, considerably to her uncle, John Banks, and in less amounts to her "dear and ever-loving father, Alderman Andrewes", to Sidrach Simpson, to Damaris Andrewes, and to her brother-in-law, Warner.

Of the remaining children of Sir Thomas Andrewes, Eleanor married Francis Warner, an alderman and leatherseller, frequently mentioned in the Domestic State Papers of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, and identified by Beavan with the member of Parliament for Tiverton whose will, P.C.C. 121 Carr, was proved in 1667. Nothing in the will aids the identification.

The eldest known grandchild of Sir Thomas Andrewes would appear to be the John Andrewes who became a Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, and died in 1675. An interesting account of him is contained in Dr. Peile's College History. Therein is recorded :

> Andrewes, John, son of Thomas, born in London. School (i) Cambridge under Mr. Wighbrow, private (2) Stortford under Mr. Leigh. Admitted pensioner under Mr. Brookesbank, 9 July, 1664, age nearly 15. B.A. 1668/9. M.A. 1672. Stepson of Ralph Cudworth. Elected Fellow before Midsummer 1669, in place of Chris. Bainbridge. His last payment was at Michs. 1675. He had a fair number of pupils from London and elsewhere, of good position; 9 in 1674, the last being entered on 3 July, 1675. Apparently he died about 26. At the end of the year, Mr. Rich. Andrewes paid to the Library £10 for Mr. John Andrewes, late Fellow. In a MS. account by Dr. Covel of the Lodge in the time of his predecessors (partly printed by J. W. Clark in *Architectural History* 2.214) it is mentioned that in the room where Mr. Maynard keeps (*i.e.*, the room over the dining-room of the Lodge), there was acted, while it stood empty, a Pastoral by Dr. Cudworth's children and some others, contrived by Mr. John Andrewes, to which I was courteously admitted as a spectator.

The remaining grandson of Sir Thomas Andrewes is Richard Andrewes, the son of Thomas Andrewes, the younger, and Damaris his wife. To him and to his brothers, Ralph Cudworth, their step-father, exhibited a kindness that may have been sometimes touching upon partiality. He had lacked a father for his own boyhood, and the term, "son", that he applies to his step-child, reflects, probably, the conscious determination of a morose man to be affectionate where his duty lay.

However, the habit produced a problem. Entered in the days of Ralph Cudworth, in the Register of Christ's College, Cambridge, is :

> Richard Andrews, son of Ralph, born in London. School, Stortford under Mr. Leigh. Adm. Fellow-Commoner under Mr. Burnett, 18 Mar., 1662/3. Age 17. Matric. 13 July, 1663. Adm. at Inner Temple, 8 June, 1663.

To this record, Dr. Peile has added the note in his College History :

> Richard was probably a cousin of John Andrews, son of Thomas and Damaris Andrews. This John had a brother, Richard, not of this College.

Almost certainly the record has reference to Richard Andrewes, son of Thomas and Damaris. The slip, "son of Ralph", is one that Cudworth could easily have made. He was primarily a metaphysician, not a registrar; a parent, doubtless, but, as the entries relative to his children evidence, extraordinarily oblivious of their existence at times. That he should have omitted Thomas and Charles Cudworth from his record and entered Richard Andrewes as his son is entirely credible.

If there were two Richard Andrewes, they were exactly contemporaneous, and of like career.

Richard, the son of Thomas and Damaris, died in 1695; shortly before his mother. His Will, 213 Irby P.C.C., is dated 20th December, 1694, and was proved upon 2nd September, 1695.

> Précis. Richard Andrewes of the Inner Temple, London, Gent. The farm formerly in the possession of Gillman and now of Lake to mother, Mrs. Cudworth, for life. By fine levied in Mich. 1693, I have settled upon Sir F. Masham, Sir Edw. Abney and Francis Barrington of Tofts in Essex the manor of Malgraves and lands called the Perryhills at Bulban all in Essex and tenements in Crown Court, Broad St., in the parish of St. Peter the Poor, London. I bequeath the same to my god-daughter, Mrs. Anne Andrewes, the last-named being those settled upon my mother upon her marriage with Thomas Andrewes, my deceased father. Failing issue of the said Anne, remainder to my god-daughter and niece, the Lady Parker. To Anne Andrewes, two closes of lands copyhold at Horndon upon the Hill in the occupation of Joseph Kinsman, two closes called Streathouse in the parish of Horley, Surrey, in the tenure of John Shoe or Michael Thornton at the present rental of £5 and a noble, with like remainder. To Lady Parker the manor of Mucking or Mockinghall Essex leased from the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's by lease dated 19 Nov. 1688, and 22 acres part of the manor of West Leigh Hall in the County of Essex the wood called Puttock Grove, being 4 acres and a rood, and a cottage leased from the Dean and Chapter. I think the Estate at Mucking is onerous, and the sea-walls have cost me much. To Lady Parker the tenements without Bishopsgate known as the Harp tenements or Walnut Tree Court, being four houses held by virtue of a lease made by the Company of Goldsmiths dated 21 March 1652, and granted to my late grandfather Alderman Thomas Andrewes for 80 years to commence from Michaelmas 1671 at £10 ground-rent. The greater part being fit only for the reception of such poor people by whom more trouble than any-

thing of profit is to be got, I advise sale for re-building, which viewing the large compass of ground may well be. I object to gifts of mourning. Out of the bond of £300 I have from Sir Edward Abney, I give him and Lady Abney £5 each, for rings. To my honoured mother, to my brother, John Cudworth, to Sir John Parker, to Lady Parker, to my sister Chetwood and her daughter Mrs. Anne Andrewes, to Dr. Cradock, provost of Eton, my relative (this was Zachary Cradock, J.C.W.), and to Francis Barrington, each £5, for rings. To Francis Cudworth Masham, my godson, £10, to Cousin Mary Slade, £10, to my man John Casey, £10. All my gold or plate to my sister, Lady Masham. Books to her and her son. Residue to Sir Francis Masham, testator's executor.

An unimportant codicil is dated 30, April, 1695.

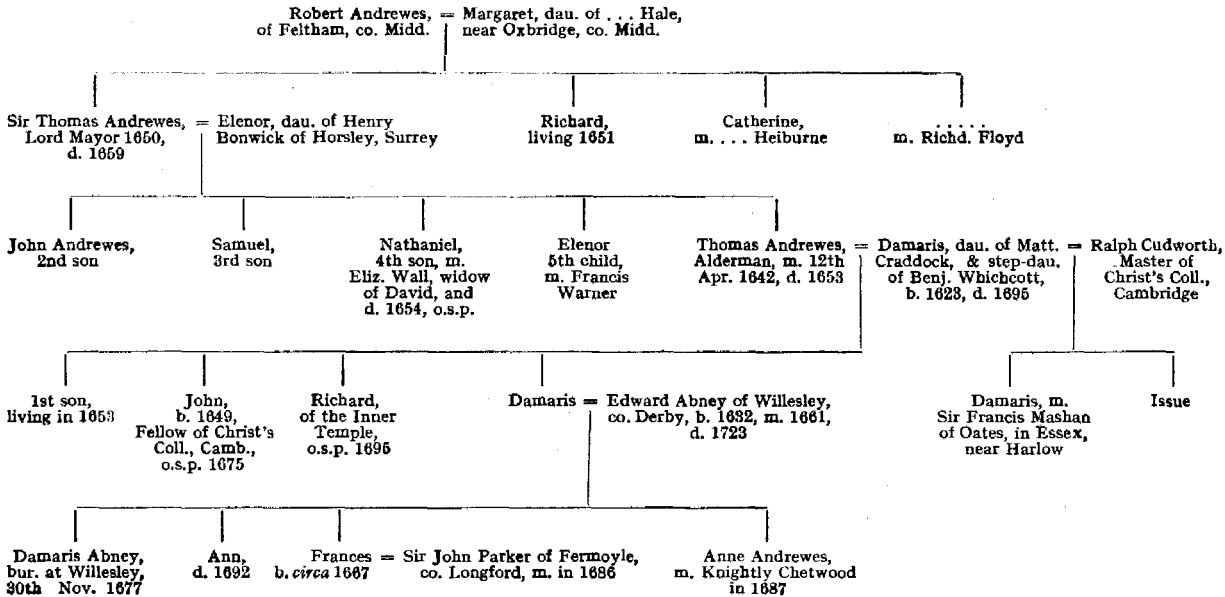
All of which is plain-sailing, save as for Richard's sister, Chetwood and her daughter, Mrs Anne Andrewes. A marriage-licence of December 14th, 1687 (Faculty Office of the Abp. of Cant.), issued for Knightly Chetwood of St. James in the Fields, Mddx., Bac. 30, and Anne Andrewes of St. Andrew's, Holborn, London, 23, at her own disposal; at St. James' aforesaid, Lincoln's Inn Chapel, or St. Sepulchre's, London. The description of the parties is peculiar. Was Anne Andrewes spinster, or widow?

The well-known Knightly Chetwood, who in the following year was Archdeacon of York, would surely have been described as cleric, and not merely as bachelor. He was, moreover, 37 years of age and not 30 at the time of the licence. As he lived to 1720, his wife, Anne *née* Andrewes, living in 1695 must have been a widow before her twenty-third year, the widow of a man also named Andrewes, and so the mother of a daughter, Anne, the devisee of the Will of Richard Andrewes.

The administration to his estate in the year 1720 adds to the difficulties. He is described as "Reverend". The register, usually punctilious, should have yielded him the title "Very Reverend".

Perhaps with this last touch upon the proper title of a rather High Church dean, the account of Sir Thomas Andrewes, Republican and Regicide, ends aptly. The history of the world is a tale of enthusiasms that have waned, and of ideals used and obscured by those who should have perpetuated them. The oblivion of Sir Thomas was convenient to a generation unwilling to remember the singular turning of England's face towards Liberty in the days of the Good Old Cause.

Andrewes, of St. Andrew's Undershaft, and St. Margaret's, New Fish Street.



Anabaptists: the Main Body.

ALLUSIONS to Anabaptists indicate that most Englishmen think of one episode in 1535, and imagine this ended their existence[1]. A few inquirers are better informed, but when writing for English readers do not free themselves wholly from the confusion that obtained in England during the seventeenth century, between the German Anabaptists of Münster and the English Baptists a century later. Outside professional historians, it seems hardly known that the Anabaptists of the Continent have had a continuous history since 1524. They live to-day not only in many European lands, but in many parts of North, Central and South America. One of them was at Edinburgh in 1937 attending the Conference on Faith and Order. They are a body as distinct as Lutherans or Presbyterians, and have no more relation with Baptists than those Churches have. In such towns as Amsterdam, Philadelphia, in such States as Switzerland and Manitoba, may be found Anabaptist churches and Baptist churches, as distinct as Methodists and Anglicans. Because they have not a single church in England, and no church of English Anabaptists is known to have existed at any time, there is great mental confusion. English Baptists were nicknamed Anabaptist, despite their steady repudiation of the title. Not five Englishmen can be named even in the sixteenth century who were Anabaptists, and their tenets have little or no relation to the tenets of Baptists. It may be worth while to sketch briefly the main lines of this body, so little known to Englishmen.

Anabaptists came to the front in Zurich when Zwingli was heading a reformation there in 1523. Within four years they issued statements of their beliefs, near Schaffhausen, at Bern, Lichtenstein, Augsburg, and in Moravia. The Swiss agreed that they should quite abjure physical force; that none of them would be a magistrate, much less enlist; and that as truth was always obligatory, oaths were needless and wrong. These points were accepted everywhere, and to the present day there is a record of 400 years of consistent Pacifism. Lichtenstein and Moravian preachers taught that "Christ is not God . . . Christ did not do enough for the sins of the whole world . . . Within two years the Lord will come from heaven and will deal and war with the worldly

[1] See Peel, *A Conscientious Objector of 1575*, for an account of an Anabaptist in England in that year.

princes". Some tended to communism, even saying that "he who has property may not partake of the Lord's Supper".

Another group in and near Saxony came into conflict with Luther. Some of them felt a direct inspiration, and the Prophets gave a distinct flavour in these quarters. In South Germany there were saner leaders, many of them well-educated humanists, who organized believers into congregations, and these by synods. From Tirol down the Rhine to Strassburg they were numerous. A fourth district centred in Amsterdam, and here a strong lead was given by those who believed not only that Christ was about to return, and war against the ungodly, but that He wanted followers to prepare the way for Him. This led to armed rebellion, both in Amsterdam and in Münster. The suppression of this in 1535 has left an indelible stain, not on the murderous besiegers, but on the misguided Anabaptists. It availed little that a Congress next year, only a few miles away, repudiated the Fifth Monarchy notions which had for a few years captured some adherents; it availed little that the whole body of North German and Dutch Anabaptists formally adopted Pacifism. Many men think that Anabaptists were essentially rebels, and came to an end in 1535. Englishmen, who had never seen a real Anabaptist, credited every slander, lumped together every isolated fact, and evolved a caricature, which was destined to be drawn afresh for 150 years.

All Anabaptists from 1536 were Pacifists. They obtained two leaders, whose names they came to adopt, just as we hear of Lutherans, Calvinists, Wesleyans. In the south, they followed Jacob Hutter; in the north, Menno Simons. Even at the present day, the different emphasis of these two organizers and thinkers can be readily traced.

Before 1547 Peter Riedemann printed an account of the religion and faith of the Hutterites. They proved such excellent citizens that many nobles welcomed them when persecution dislodged them from their homes. Modern students of communism have set forth with sympathy the story of their industry. In Moravia they did well, until the Jesuit counter-reformation sent them further afield. The rulers of Muscovy needed diligent settlers, and promised to respect their religious views. Right down till the new pattern of communism introduced by the Bolsheviks, the Hutterite colonies were model settlements.

In the Netherlands, Menno linked the congregations by an elaborate system, where bishops superintended. From medieval times they continued a strict discipline, which maintained a life which in many respects was model. It proved so rigid that divisions came about with a view to greater freedom : it is noteworthy that Conduct, not Creed, was the cause of these fissures.

Mennonites have never put forth an official confession; though when English Baptists were considering the possibility of union, or of fraternizing, two prominent pastors did state their own views in 40 very elaborate articles. One of these repudiates war; another points out that only those parts of the Old Testament are valuable which are consonant with the doctrine of Christ and the apostles; another confines baptism to believers (it was generally administered by pouring); another enjoined obedience to magistrates in all things agreeable to the word of God, but said that they would not accept office; another disclaimed oaths. When Mennonites were drawing together again in 1632, another Confession was written, which has been widely adopted in France, Germany, and America.

For in 1650 emigration began, to New Amsterdam at the mouth of the Hudson, and it has never ceased, though there have been occasional great waves. Notably William Penn attracted many from the Rhine to Germantown in 1683. The revolutionary war of 1774-1783 so disgusted the Mennonites that many migrated to Canada. The Napoleonic wars sent many into Russia, where they gradually became aware of their Hutterite cousins. The reaction of the Holy Alliance sent thousands from South Germany to America. Every war since has induced new emigrations, Russia 1857, Germany 1866 and 1870, Europe 1914. They searched for some land where they would be free from conscription, so that Mexico and Paraguay have colonies of Mennonites.

To-day the Mennonites in America are slowly coming out of their shell, are learning to speak English, and publish a Quarterly which is beginning to make accessible to all readers their very remarkable history. In their fastnesses they still retain many German customs, dress, tools, waggons, of two centuries ago. But the rising generation is becoming less unlike the Americans in neighbouring towns.

Those who stay in Europe are looking more and more to Amsterdam as their centre, because for over two centuries there has been a theological seminary in that city, which has produced good leaders, and because important societies have been founded there, especially in 1778, 1784, 1811, which deal with social problems. On the other hand, while elsewhere Mennonites are simply old-fashioned, the Dutch group has never been impeccable on the doctrine of Christ; some members are probably Unitarian. To unity of doctrine, as contrasted with actual behaviour, they have seldom attached importance.

To call them "Anabaptist" to-day would of course be absurd. The chief people who baptize afresh those who have already been baptized, are Roman Catholics. W. T. WHITLEY.

WESTERN NOTES

I—A NONCONFORMIST MINISTER ON A CHURCH

Why will these professionals follow the traditions of the Pharisees, and think only of the outside and the appearance to the eye, forgetful of the inside and the use of the building? Above all, why will they defraud us of the blessed light of heaven, shutting it out as much as they can with their mullioned windows and heavy pillars and arches, as if we had too much sunshine beneath our sober skies? A dimly lighted Church may do very well for a dark religion or twilight faith, but never for the intelligence, freedom, and confidence of *Congregationalism*. For my part, I care very little what sort of place I preach in, if I have two requisites, light and air, and can see the people well grouped together, not split up into sections by transepts, or peeping out of cornices and burrows beneath the roof. But to come into one of those gothic prison houses, gloomy as the grave, and find the service bestuck and intermingled with collects and anthems, oh, it tries one's patience; it tempts one to wish that both architect and innovators were shut up in the crypt of a Cathedral for the rest of their days—or until they repented.

The above remarkable extract appeared some years ago in the Building News. From *The Western Antiquary*, 1887.

II—DARTMOUTH CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH

Dispute at Dartmouth. A document preserved among the muniments of the Corporation of Dartmouth shows that the accounts of Palmer and Calamy were erroneous. The document is endorsed :—

"An agreement made by General Desborough concerning Mr. Geare and Mr. Flavel." 7th August, 1656.

For the composing of the differences in the Corporation of Dartmouth and their trustees.

It is this day ordered before the Right Honorable Generall Desborough agreed as followeth.

That the presentation made by Mr. Edward Spurway and Mr. John Plumleigh (Feoffees or Trustees of ye Rectory impropriate of Townstall in trust for the Corporation of Dartmouth) of Mr. Allen Geare to the Vicaradge of Townstall & Chaple of St. Saviours by consent shall stand. And that all Caveats entered against it shall be forthwith withdrawn and all writes of Quare impedit or other writtes or proceedings against the Institution and induction of the said Mr. Geare shall be discontinued and withdrawn to the end Mr. Geare may have free Institution and induction upon the same presentation. That Mr. John How or some able pious Minister shall be appointed (?) as Lecturer at Townstall and Dart-

mouth to be chosen by Mr. Thomas Boone Esq. Mr. Stephen Knowling Mr. Obidiah Widger Mr. Edward Elliott Mr. Robert Baker Mr. Anthony Plumleigh Mr. Richard Aylwin Esq. Mr. John Whiteway Esq. That ye profits of the Vicaridge and the augmentations now or hereafter to be settled on both or either churches shall be equally divided between them. That the weekly lecture in the Chaple shall be performed by both Ministers in turns and the revenue for maintenance thereof by subscription be equally divided between them. That ye proffitts of ye said Rectory (wch the Corporation of Dartmouth doe freely give for ye said ministers' better encouragement) or other publicke maintenance shall be equally divided between them. But the rents issuing of the same and all rates and taxes first fruits and tenths are to be first deducted nor is any tyeth fish to be demanded. That it is intended by all parties and the true meaning hereof is that Mr. Geare shall officiate at the usual hours on the Lord's day in the Chaple And Mr. How at Townstall unless it shall be otherwise agreed between themselves. And it is further intended and agreed that both the said Ministers shall signifie their consents by subscribing their hands hereunto. (signed) Thos Boone, Steph. Knowlinge, Robert Blake[1], Rich Aylwin, Will Barnes, Edw. Wheeler, Joseph Cubitt, Edw. Spurwaie, John Favell, John Plumleigh, Allen Geare.

Genl. Desborough mentioned in the above document was one of Cromwell's Major-General's, and as religious affairs had become inextricably woven with secular ones, these major-generals looked after the Church as well as the world. Desborough had charge of the western district, comprising Devon and Cornwall, and in 1654 he was returned to Parliament for Totnes, but in October of that year elected to sit for county Cambridge.

Mr. Boone was a leading man of influence; there is still "Mount Boone" at Dartmouth. Mr. Howe's proposed appointment was, it will be noticed, in conjunction with Mr. Geare about whom the dispute arose, and Howe not accepting Flavell was appointed, he was at that time rector of Diptford, Devon.

Totnes, Devon. EDWARD WINDEATT.

From *The Western Antiquary*, 1890.

STANLEY GRIFFIN.

[1] This can scarcely be the Admiral, as he was off the coast of Portugal in August, 1656. Apparently Thomas Boone desired that John Howe should be appointed to the perpetual curacy of St. Saviour's, Dartmouth, and asked Cromwell to make the appointment. The Protector invited Howe to preach at Whitehall and, it is said, gave him his text while a psalm was being sung. Howe was turning the hour-glass for the third time when Cromwell stopped him, subsequently saying he must come to London and be his domestic chaplain. Howe was unwilling, but yielded when it was arranged he could serve Torrington three months in each year. Thus he never became minister at Dartmouth. EDITOR.

George Whitefield and Gloucestershire Congregationalism

Dates

1714 George Whitefield born at Gloucester.

1718 Thomas Cole becomes Minister of the Southgate Church, Gloucester.

1734 G.W. at Oxford. "The Holy Club."

1736 G.W. ordained.

1739 G.W. very popular. First meets Howell Harris and the Countess of Huntingdon. Thomas Cole leader of the Methodists in Gloucester.

1741 The Calvinist Controversy. Moorfields Tabernacle built. G.W. among the Presbyterians in Scotland.

1742 Death of Thomas Cole.

1743 Futile attempt to re-unite the Calvinists, Arminians and Moravians.

1744 G.W. makes 3rd visit to America.
Howell Harris becomes leader of the Whitefield Societies.

1744-1748 G.W. in America. The Whitefield Societies fall into chaos.

1745 Cennick joins the Moravians.

1748 G.W. returns. Becomes Chaplain to the Countess of H.

1749 G.W. relinquishes to Howell Harris the oversight of the Tabernacle Societies.
Another conference between G.W., the Wesleys and H.H.

1750 Riots in Cork.
Rodborough Tabernacle opened.
Rupture between H.H. and Welsh Calvinists.

1751 Death of the Prince of Wales. H.H. cedes from the Calvinistic Methodists in Wales.

1753 Moorfields New Tabernacle built.
Bristol Tabernacle built.

1756 Tottenham Court Road Chapel built.

1762 Rodborough Tabernacle Register begins.

1763 Andrew Kinsman ordained.
Daniel Rowlands excluded.

1764 Dursley Tabernacle Trust Deed executed.
Tottenham C.R. Chapel and Moorfields Tabernacle registered "Independent."

1765 G.W. appoints Kinsman and Adams to preach at T.C. Chapel.

1767 The Six Oxford Students opposed and expelled.

1770 Death of Whitefield, Thomas Adams, and Howell Davies.

* * *

1772 (c) Capt. Torial Joss ordained at Rodborough.

1774 Ordination of Hawkesworth.

1779 Rowland Hill, Torial Joss and all Dissenters excluded from C. of H. pulpits.

C. Ernest Watson.

Congregationalism in 1655.

In August, 1655, Henry Scobell, Clerk of the Council of State, addressed a circular letter to a number of ministers asking them to forward at once lists of the Congregational and Presbyterian ministers in their districts, with suggestions as to which of their incomes needed augmentation. Some of the replies are given in Vol. II. of Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, and are reprinted below. It is interesting to note that William Bridge, of Yarmouth, is in receipt of £100 a year from the State, and that there appears to be no compunction or hesitation about receiving or recommending State grants. Other replies will be printed in the next issue, and there some hesitation is expressed. For Bridge and Scobell see *D.N.B.* A. P.

Henry Whitfield. To Henry Scobell, Clerk of the Council of State, 14 August, 1655 (n.p.[1]).

Sir,

1. I received your letter, in the day I make answere to it. I am glad to see the breathings of your spirit in this way, wherein you may doe our Lord much service.

3. The truth is, the want of meanes doth very much hinder the gatheringe of churches in the nation. I suppose much more might have binn donn, if such a course might have binn taken.

3. We are not so happy in this countie, as to reckon many churches gathered, especially in the purest way. Here be diverse godly men that are presbyterians, that have gathered some churches in a hopeful way, and some are now gatheringe. The time you set me for the returne of answere is so short, that I have no time to make any inquirie in the countrie. But I shall doe it with all the care and speed I can; and give you a farther account of your letter.

4. Here is neere unto us a German stranger, a godly man, that was driven out of his countrie many yeers since for his religion; who came into England, and hath binn a preacher for about eighteen years. Hee is a good scholler, and painfull in his place. Hee hathe a livinge (as they call it) of xl. *l. per annum*, with an augmentation of x. *l. per annum*. Hee hath

[1] Can any reader identify Whitfield? A Mr. Whitfield of Conington was a member of the Cambridgeshire Voluntary Association at this time.

a wife, and ten children. His wife is great with the eleventh. All little, and at home with him. This man, having but a small parish, is nowe gatheringe together the godly minded of his parish, and resolving to enter into a church way according to Christ. His straits are great, by reason of his great charge. I should desire that this man's condition might bee taken into consideration, if it might sute with what you intend. Surely some small yeerly allowance would much refresh the bowels of him and his family; and would much incourage him in his worke begunn. But I shall leave it with you; and your selfe to the guidance of our Lord Christ, in all your purposes and endeavours for his praise; in whom I rest.

Your very loving friende.

William Bridge of Yarmouth to the same; 16 Aug. 1655.

Honored Sir,

1. I have receyved your letters, and am glad that you are so sensible of the concernments of our Lord Christ in the ministry of his word.

2. The presbyterian and congregational churches in Norfolk are many; and, in soe short a time as one day, I am not able to enquire into their state and condition. But, haveing lately receyved a lettre from Mr. Nye[2], in reference to the congregationall, I have enquired after them the more diligently, and send you the names of all those churches in Norfolk; with the names of their pastors, and the townes where they are seated, and the worth of their liveing; so neere as I can.

3. The presbyterian churches I have lesse acquaintance with; and, if you please to give me longer time to enquire, I shall serve you therein. Onely, Sir, I can tell you now, that here are four ministers in this town, and no set maintenance for any, unless c. *l.* which I have from the state, given me by the long parliament. The other ministers are all good men and worthy, and no revenue, but the peoples charitie.

4. Six miles from us there is a market towne, and the only great town in the ileland; the liveing is not worth xl. *l. per* annum. If l. *l.* may be laid to it, and a good man put into the place, it would be very influentiall upon the whole isleland. The gift of the living belongs to the lord protector. The town hath bene malignant; called Laystoffe; knowen to his highness beeing part of the first-fruits of his great labours. Much service might be done for Christ in setling this place; and if the

[2] Philip Nye and Bridge were leaders of the Dissenting Brethren in the Westminster Assembly.

Lord will give you hearts to pitty this great town, many soules will blesse God for your bowels. I will trouble you noe farther, but present this thing to your goodness, and your selfe to the grace of God, who is able to supply all one wants according to his riches in glory by Jesus Christ, in whom I continue.

Sir,

yours in all christian observance,

I pray you be pleased to send this inclosed to Mr. Nye by the first.

A list of the independent teachers, who are pastors of churches in the county of Norfolk[3].

1. Church at Norwich. Pastor Mr. [Timothy] Armitage, who hath an augmentation already.
2. Church at Yarmouth. Mr. [Job] Tooky*, teacher. Mr. Bridge*, pastor, who hath c. *l.* per annum from the state
3. Church at North-Walsom. A market town. Pastor Mr. Brabiter* [Breviter, Richard]. The living about xl. *l.*
4. Church at Windham. A market town. Pastor Mr. [John] Mony*. He hath an augmentation alreadye.
5. Church at Hapton. A small town and a small liveing. Noe pastor. Mr. Wale beeing gone to Ireland.
6. Church at Tunsted and Slowly. Noe pastor; the revenew of both about lxxx. *l.*
7. Church at Alby and Thwait. Pastor Mr. [Nathanael] Brewster. The liveing about l. *l.*
8. Church at Lesetingham. Pastor Mr. [Peter] Cushin. The living about c. *l.*
9. Church at Fowlsome. Mr. [Richard] Worts* pastor. The worth of the liveing known to Major-General Skippon.
10. Church at Edgefield. Pastor Mr. [John] Martin. The liveing competent.

Adoriram Byfield[4] of Marlborough to the Same. 14 Aug. 1655.

Honored sir,

1. Yours of the x. of August instant I have received, and rejoice to see in it hopes of a doore open for any incourage-

[3] Although John Browne often refers to the list in his *Hist. of Cong. in Norfolk and Suffolk*, he does not print it. From his work and from A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, some Christian names have been supplied. The asterisked names are in *Calamy Revised*.

[4] Byfield was one of the scribes at the Westminster Assembly. See *D.N.B.*

ment to publique preachers; and shalbe glad to take any opportunity to be serviceable in so good a worke.

2. You shall for the present (so far as the shortnesse of time will permitt) receive a list of those preachers, both presbyterian and independant, commonly so called, who are pastors of churches within our county; which list is here inclosed.

3. When I have named these, I must adde, that they are the most eminent men in our county, and such who may be very useful in any way shalbe thought fit of holding correspondence with them for the better carrying on the interest of the gospel of the Lord Jesus.

4. Besides these we have many others, who are looked upon as able and faithfull in the worke of the gospell, who yet have not been so happy as to see the fruite of their ministry amonge their people, as to finde a number to joyne withall in the pure administration of the ordinances of Christ. And, if their names be also desired; uppon the least intimation from you, I will send them up.

5. Whereas, in your letter, you mention particularly the case of such as are straightned in maintenance; I am able, at present, onely to give you this account; that, in this list inclosed, those who are settled in their several livings in the country, have a comfortable subsistence, arising out of their places; but all those, who are settled in corporations (as in Salisbury, and in Marlebrough) they have little subsistence, but what they have from their several augmentations; which are so hardly gotten, as doth often put them to great streights. What their particular augmentations are I shall give you an exact account of (if it be expected) by the next, when I have more particularly informed my selfe of it.

6. Because you give me soe faire an overture of holding correspondence, I cannot let this opportunity passe, of giving you some further account of some things, as to the present state of our county; in which you may be serviceable to the concernments of our Lord.

7. In our proceedings upon the ordinance for ejection, many places are made voyde (I did not imagine ever to have found soe much prophanesse, ignorance and negligence in such as call themselves the ministers of Jesus Christ) soe that if due care be had above, in settling godly, able and faithful men in their places; I hope, in a short time, the gospel will have a freer passage amonge us.

8. But that which I am most especially sollicitous about, and desire your most serious thoughts of, is the case of great and populous congregations, which have so small and incon-

siderable maintenance, as I do almost despaire of having an able minister settled in them; except some speedy course be taken for an addition, by way of augmentation. For the present, I shall onely mention these great and populous parishes, the Devises, Calne, Chippenham, Highworth, Greate Bedwyn, Cricklade, Ramsbury, *etc.*

9. The premisses I leave to your serious consideration; and shalbe ready at more leisure to give you a further account as I shall heare from you; being desirous to approve my selfe,

Sir,

Yours in the Lord Jesus.

A list of the names of publique preachers within the county of Wilts, both presbyterian and independent, who are pastors of churches[5].

1. Dr. Humfry Chambers*, of Pewsy.
2. Mr. Nicholas Proffet, of Peter's in Marleborough.
3. Mr. William Hughes*, of Marie's in Marleborough.
4. Mr. John Strickland*, of Edmund's in Sarum.
5. Mr. —— Rashleigh*, of the Close in Sarum.
6. Mr. William Eyre*, of Thomas in Sarum.
7. Mr. Peter Ince*, of Dunhead.
8. Mr. John Watts*, of Newton Tony.
9. Mr. John Woodbridge*, of Barford.
10. Mr. [John] Barcroft*, of Broughton.
11. Mr. Phillip Hunton*, of Westbury.
12. Mr. James Hounsel*, of Chilton.
13. Mr. [William] Spinadge*, of Paulshot.
14. Mr. —— Harrison, of Alborne.
15. Mr. [John] Legg*, of the other Dunhead.

* * * *

The Baptist Quarterly (Jan., 1939).

The longer articles in the *Baptist Quarterly* for January, 1939, are "The Reformation and the Word of God" by Dr. Townley Lord, "The Permanency of Religion" by Dr. A. C. Underwood, "The Present Position of Old Testament Studies" by the Rev. J. N. Schofield, "Baptist Expansion in N. America" by Dr. R. E. E. Harkness, "Dan Taylor (1738-1816) and Yorkshire Baptist Life" by Mr. F. Beckwith, and "Col. Paul Hobson" by Dr. Whitley.

The Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society (Oct., 1938).

An interesting number, in which Mr. Ernest Axon's " 'Reverend' and some other styles of the Nonconformist Ministers" contains valuable information. The Rev. H. W. Stephenson continues his study of Thomas Firmin and the Rev. H. J. McLachlan his account of Old Nonconformity in Fulwood; both these articles contain things that Congregational scholars should not miss. There is also an account of early Nonconformity in Stourbridge, and more about Communion Plate and other Treasures. The proof reader should give an eye to the small print; there are two bad blunders on p. 396.

[5] The names with an asterisk are in *Calamy Revised.*