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EDITORIAL

THE War played havoc with our Annual Meetings, but with 1946 we make a new start. The Rev. R. G. Martin's paper on "Selina, Countess of Huntingdon," which was lost in the Victory celebrations last May, is printed within. The Meeting this year will be held in one of the rooms at Westminster Chapel on Tuesday, May 7, at 6 p.m., the date and time being chosen to suit our guest speaker and to catch as many people as possible in a busy week. The speaker will be Professor Norman Sykes, who occupies the Dixie Chair of Ecclesiastical History at Cambridge formerly held by Creighton and Gwatkin. Prof. Sykes has made notable contributions to history in his life of Edmund Gibson and his *Church and State in the Eighteenth Century*, and it is interesting to note that he has already added a "Nonconformist" option to the Tripos. Prof. Sykes will have a warm welcome in our midst, and we must secure a good audience to meet him. He will speak on "The Church of England and Non-episcopal Churches, from Hooker to Wake."

In this number we print a List of Members, which will reveal to members those who ought to be members but are not. It should be easily possible by a personal word to add another hundred names during the year.

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The officers of the Society are doing their best to set an example in their activity in historical research, as in other ways. The President, Dr. Grieve, is not only showing what can be done in a village chapel, but is working on the church book of the Bury St. Edmunds Church, which goes back to 1646. That church is celebrating its tercentenary during this year, and a history is in the press. Dr. Peel writes on Congregationalism in Bury St. Edmunds before this church was formed, Dr. Grieve on the Church Book, and the present minister, the Rev. W. Marshall Jones, on the more recent history. The volume will be published during the summer, and reference will be made to it in our next issue. This remark applies also to Dr. G. F. Nuttall's thesis accepted for the Oxford D.D., which is due out almost any time. The Secretary, the Rev. R. G. Martin, whom we congratulate on his appointment as chaplain of Taunton School, is represented by the article within. Similar congratulations must go to the Rev. C. E. Surman, who becomes minister at Erdington, after his exemplary work in Civil Defence in Reading. Mr. Surman's Directory of Congregational Biography proves of inestimable service

to researchers as the days pass: we refer scholar after scholar to it and never in vain. Its gaps are steadily being filled, and we trust all our members will help by replying expeditiously to any inquiries Mr. Surman may send.

Meanwhile we ourselves are clearing away the accumulations of twenty-three years' editorship of the *Congregational Quarterly*, and seizing such days as we can for work on manuscript collections. Soon we hope that the Manuscript Room in the British Museum will be opened; meanwhile the treasures in some of the College Libraries in Cambridge, and of the Yelverton-Calthorpe MSS., have had attention. The programme before us looks presumptuous for one who has just entered his sixtieth year, but the quantity of work possible on Elizabethan printed books and manuscripts is colossal: the idea that such resources have now been exhausted is fantastic in the extreme. At the moment the problem is which work shall be prepared for publication first. In another period the volume relating to Alexander Stewart, to which reference is made within, is ready for press.

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For many years one of our members, Mr. J. C. Whitebrook, Barrister-at-Law, has been investigating the vexed question of the consecration of Matthew Parker as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1559. Despite failing eyesight and many losses through bombing he has persisted in his task, and the result now appears in *The Consecration of Matthew Parker* (Mowbray, 8s. 6d.). Mr. Whitebrook builds up a logical and, up to a point, a convincing case, though his style, and notably the profusion of commas, is sometimes difficult. The hero of his mystery story—for the book has all the fascination of such a book—is Anthony Kitchen, Bishop of Llandaff, who has generally been looked upon as a timeserver at best, and at worst as a "hoary old rogue", as William Pierce used to describe him. For some unexplained reason Henry VIII regarded Kitchen with favour, and left him undisturbed in his see. Mr. Whitebrook does not suggest that the King kept him there to be a link between the Roman Church and the English Church in case of reunion, but he does suggest, and we think proves, that Kitchen was used in the consecration of Parker because Elizabeth, Cecil, and Parker himself desired a ministry that Rome would recognize as regular when the union came for which they at first hoped. The consecration was on 29th October, 1559, and not in December, as the Lambeth register (unreliable in many details) suggests: a smoke-screen was thrown about the ceremony lest the keen Reformers should see what Queen, Secretary, and Archbishop had at the back of their minds. That is the essence of the story, but there are many other clues to follow—

the disappearance of Kitchen's Register at Llandaff, the fact that all along the diocese was administered as if the Reformation had never been, *etc.* Often we have to part company with Mr. Whitebrook, and his book is that of an advocate who has selected his evidence; but the points he makes have to be answered; he and his courage, pertinacity, and industry win our admiration, even while it must be said that many facts he has wittingly or unwittingly omitted must be considered before a final judgment is possible.

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Robert Browne has long been an enigmatic figure, and his mind is said to have been unhinged and his temper, to say the least, uncertain. As he said he had been more than thirty times imprisoned, perhaps there are excuses for him. Certainly few men have been called more names. In a manuscript written within a few months of the publication of his first books in 1582 he is said to have been guilty of these heresies (we copy the manuscript's spelling): *Libertinism, Severianism, Papisme, Anabaptism, Acephalism, Eutichianism, Montanism, Donatism, Macedonianism, Priscillianism, Catharism, Saturnimianism, Basilidianism, Carpocrates, Valentinius, Nestorian, Sabellian, Familist, Pythagorian, Anthropomorphites. Sethians, Orphians, Orphites, Apostolici, Menandrians, Saturnitians, Novatians, Catabaptists, The Hydroparastatae, Eustathius.* Any reader familiar with all these should be able to graduate in one of those Universities where they believe that the history of the Church, if not of the world, ends in A.D. 451.

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Students of history should examine the October issue of the *Church Quarterly Review* for examples of how to do it—and how not. It is generally assumed that the Bishop of Gloucester finances the Review: otherwise it is difficult to see how any editor could have been persuaded to print his "The Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians", a violent and sometimes incoherent attack on Dr. P. N. Harrison, B. H. Streeter, and higher critics in general. Then there is a "Vindication" of Laud, which is perhaps even more outrageous than the Bishop's pages. Here are some of its sentences:

> Devout Anglicans were sick to death of the ministrations of the tinkers and tailors who had obtruded themselves into the Church pulpits. . . . Weak and commonplace preaching produced in its votaries a character of hard and narrow arrogance, intolerant to the core. . . . Self-confidence, not faith, was all-essential to the Puritan. [If Laud had had his way] Churches would not have degenerated into mere preaching booths. Unregulated emotion and undisciplined individualism would have

> disappeared. . . . Hence, by constantly speaking the truth, boldly rebuking vice, and patiently suffering for the truth's sake, Laud is enrolled among the noble army of martyrs.

In another article the writer prints documents from the 19th century, with "f" for the long "s" in every case!

In contrast with these is an admirable account of the Holy Inquisition, packed with information and sound scholarship, and objective in its treatment.

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It is always a matter for regret when industrious and hard-working scholars are found wanting. John Waddington in his day had the reputation of being a discoverer, and many of his contemporaries lauded him to the skies as the historian of Congregationalism *par excellence*. And not only his contemporaries. A year or two ago we happened on an American scholar who had just met Waddington's five-volume *Congregational History*, which, he said, promised to be of the greatest assistance in the work on which he was engaged. At the same time we came across Dexter's review of Waddington's Vol. II, bound up with that volume in the Dexter Collection in the Sterling Library at Yale. Here it is:

> The most conspicuous defect of the book, however, and that one which, were it immaculate in every other respect, would well-nigh destroy its value to the student of the Congregationalism of the past, is the utter and amazing looseness with which it conveys to the reader those documents and those printed extracts, on which Dr. Waddington relies to interest and instruct the intelligent audience which he addresses. It is bad not to be told where in a quarto, or a folio, of some hundreds of pages, one is to look for five or ten lines to which his attention is called, as being specially important; but patience and perseverance will supplement that. It is worse to be left, without the slightest suggestion of help, to flounder through all possible contemporaneous literature, if haply one may so feel after some extract, to which neither author's name nor any book on manuscript title has been given, as to find it; but then, if one can be absolutely sure that *somebody* did say *exactly those words* at that date, there will be value even in such anonymous and unassigned utterances and arguments. But it must necessarily be worst of all, if to other elements of incertitude is to be added the fear—and should it amount to a presumption, so much the more unfortunate—that you are so at the mercy of a careless copyist, an unskilled reader of crabbed and obscure manuscripts, and a general blunderer, as to be prohibited from much

reasonable probability that what you are reading in any case fairly represents the old-time author to your eye: this so fatally dilutes all possible remaining value as to condemn such a volume as a mere cumberer of library shelves. It should, moreover, be borne in mind that all this must be pre-eminently true in the case of a history which is avowedly, and of set purpose, so largely "Documentary" as this is. Dr. Waddington's own claim for his work is (p. 12) "to state the principles of the Congregational churches, to give their international history *with correctness*, and to adduce the necessary evidence at every step *in the form that bears on the face of it the impress of authenticity*. The witnesses are allowed to appear in regular succession *in their proper garb, and to speak for themselves in their own manner. It is due to the memory of those men, of whom 'the world was not worthy', that their words, as well as their noble and heroic deeds, should be recorded"*. This is admirable; but it surely pledges the author in advance to more than the ordinary pains of every respectable writer to deal in the spirit of scrupulous fidelity with all whom he summons to the stand as witnesses. Had he been reasonably faithful to this pledge he would have deserved the gratitude of all whose tastes and occasions lead them over the broad field where he has gleaned.

But Dr. Waddington's volume seems to have fallen into errors of quotation from four causes: (1) There is a want of sufficient care in deciphering some of his originals; (2) in copying from perfectly plain printed pages, he has evidently now and then missed a line or a sentence; (3) his printers appear sometimes to have misread (and so misrepresented) what he wrote, while he has failed to revise their blunder; and (4) he evidently believes in and acts upon a principle of quotation which to all right judgment is vicious, misleading, and wholly indefensible, and whose adoption by any writer should at once throw him out of the company of authors "in good and regular standing."

These four points are examined, and the charges proved up to the hilt; many appalling examples being given. Not only so, but there is an amazing list of instances where omissions in copying a quotation have not been noted—in one case the omission being 38 lines, in another 24 *pages*. It has regretfully to be admitted that Waddington, much-respected divine as he was, was no scientific historian. Often he points the way, often his sources are useful, but he makes work where he could have saved it, and he *must always be checked*.

The United States is fortunate in the existence of the American Church History Society, to which most of the leading church historians belong. Some enterprising young scholars should set to work to establish a similar Society in this country. The American Society has already to its credit an imposing series of publications, the last of which is Dr. Babette M. Levy's *Preaching in the First Half Century of New England History* (from the Society at Hartford, Conn., $3.00). Dr. Levy has much material in the sermons of John Cotton, Thomas Hooker, Thomas Shepard, Charles Chauncy, John Davenport, William Hubbard, and others less well known, and she is able to show what these divines preached and how they preached it—about war, the relation of Church and State, the power of the ruler, hell, and so on. Many readers, we suspect, will be surprised both at the things included in the sermons, and the things missing. Dr. Levy raises one interesting point—how far we have the correct text of what the preacher said: generally the sermons were taken down in shorthand, sometimes the preacher revised the script, but often he did not even see the proofs. In one instance quoted the words given as "naturally able" were obviously "naturally liable", and, of course, there were much more serious mistakes, as well as additions and deletions. The volume is a very interesting study. The Americans are setting us a good example in this field.

Another volume from America (Grand Rapids: Erdmans, $2.50) not yet published in this country is "right down the street" of readers of these *Transactions*—Dr. Peter Y. De Jong's *The Covenant Idea in New England Theology*. After surveying the Covenant Idea in the Reformed and Anabaptist Churches (and how strange that there should be among us those who forget their Anabaptist heritage!) Dr. De Jong outlines the long discussions centring round the Half-Way Covenant. He then examines the influence of the Covenant Idea upon New England Thought, and especially its effect upon New England Calvinism. This is an invaluable study, from which few will not learn much, while it should be compulsory reading for all engaged on negotiations with Presbyterians or others. A fuller account of it may be given later.

A much bigger American book which will give joy and instruction when it reaches these shores is *Puritanism and Democracy* (Vanguard Press, $5.00), by Ralph Barton Perry, of Harvard. Although Mr. Perry is a Professor of Philosophy—and we admit to liking our history and our philosophy (if at all) neat—he has written a treatise historians will invariably find stimulating and suggestive. Perhaps the weakest pages are those dealing with the English background,

where a copied mistake (p. 262) reveals that his knowledge is second-hand, and where he telescopes too much into small space. At any rate he is provocative: we found ourselves wanting to argue about the last four italicized words in this sentence:

> The puritans in the strictest sense were the left-wing protestants *within* the Anglican church during the century from the *liberal* policy of Elizabeth to the *repressive* policy of Charles II, or from Thomas Cartwright, the *reformer*, to Richard Baxter, the *outlaw*.

Professor Perry understands and emphasizes the difference between the Puritans and the Separatists, and between the outlook of Plymouth, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. His commentary is sound and thought-provoking, and his summaries concise and helpful: thus, *e.g.*:

> It is not necessary, therefore, that the later historian should build a bridge from puritanism to democracy. The puritans themselves built such a bridge, and many of them crossed it, some decades before John Locke. Men such as Cromwell, Milton, Williams, and Penn belong alike to the history of protestantism and the history of democracy. The separation of church and state, the diversity of religious creeds freely held and lived within a common civil framework, the spirit of inquiry and discussion, the ideal of voluntary agreement, the appeal from the political authority to the universal human faculties of conscience and reason, the sentiments of equality and humanity—all these were all cherished within the bosom of puritanism against the time when their fuller implications could be realized in appropriate political and legal institutions.

A volume not easy to read, but to be read more than once.

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This reference to an American Andrew Reed will fill out articles on Congregational workers among the deaf and dumb which have appeared in our pages. H. K. Rowe, in his *History of Andover Theological Seminary* (1933) writes:

> Thomas H. Gallaudet graduated from Andover in 1814 with bright prospects for success in the ministry, but his interest in the deaf and dumb turned him aside. Presently he accepted an appointment to become the head of the Connecticut Asylum for such defectives at Hartford, and he established it on firm foundations. Later in life he was chaplain of a county prison and then of the Connecticut Retreat for the Insane. He was prominent in philanthropical societies, a writer, and an acceptable preacher.

We hear that a history of the Wilmslow Congregational Church is nearly ready, and hope to refer to it in our next issue. It has been encouraging to notice that during the celebrations of the Triple Jubilee of the London Missionary Society, many Districts have prepared histories of their own contributions to the Society's life and work. We trust that the Society is making a collection of these, and that in due course one will be given to the Congregational Library.

Selina, Countess of Huntingdon

IN his novel *The Path of the King*, John Buchan reminds us that "the things we call aristocracies and reigning houses are not the best places to look for masterful men. They began strongly but they have been too long in possession. They have been cossetted and comforted and the devil has gone out of their blood". Like all generalizations Buchan's statement only expresses part of the truth; another of its facets is expressed in the ancestry and life of the remarkable woman who was the foundress of one of our oldest theological colleges. Lady Selina Shirley, born at Stanton, in Leicestershire, in the year of the Act of Union with Scotland, had the blood of princes, dukes, and earls from the Confessor's time mingled in her veins. She came of imperious stock, and she herself was imperious. At the age of 21 she married into another ancient family which traced its ancestry back to that Duke of Clarence who was brother to Edward IV. Theophilus Hastings, 9th Earl of Huntingdon, had been selected by his peers in the House of Lords to carry the Sword of State in the coronation procession of George II (1727-8); he was the intimate friend of Lords Bolingbroke and Chesterfield, the cynical wits of the day; a *persona grata* at Court; a nobleman of substance and position. His young bride had all the necessary qualifications to fit her to become hostess in the brilliant hospitality of Donnington Park and the London Drawing Room and to take her part in the fashionable life of 18th century aristocracy. One incident in her early married life shows her already to be a woman of spirit, independence, and enterprise. With the Duchess of Queensberry, the Duchess of Ancaster, and other titled ladies she arrived early one morning at the House of Lords to listen from the Strangers' Gallery to the debate on the question of Spanish encroachments on English property, only to find the door shut against her and her friends, there being not an inch of space in the House available for them. The Chancellor had made an order forbidding any more admittances; pleadings with Sir Ian Sanderson were vain until Her Grace of Queensbury announced that they were determined to come in in spite of the Chancellor and his order. The Peers retaliated by attempting to starve their ladies out; but these vigorous Amazons were not to be deterred; till 5 in the afternoon they thumped, kicked, and rapped the door so that speakers in the Assembly were heard only with difficulty. Then the Duchess of Queensberry ordered a silence of half an hour. This unexpected cessation of active hostilities

succeeded in doing what it was aimed to do; the unsuspecting Chancellor, imagining that the besiegers had retired, gave orders for the door to be opened, whereupon the ladies rushed the entrance and pushing aside all competitors occupied the front row of the gallery and beguiled the time till the house rose at 11 o'clock with laughter, jibes, cat-calls, and contempt. Selina and her friends were 150 years before their time: they would have chained themselves to the railings of Buckingham Palace with eager abandon.

But it was not the giddy round of balls and entertainments, nor excursions into politics, which really held the Countess of Huntingdon. Always seriously minded, at the age of nine she had been stirred to dwell on the eternal issues of life and death by the funeral procession of a little girl which she met on one of her walks. Brought up in the culture and traditions of the Church of England, married to a serious and earnest man, practising sincerely, as distinct from most of her class, the tenets and habits of her church, early in her married life she came to appreciate the spiritual fervour of the recently expressed doctrines of the Wesleys through her two sisters-in-law, Lady Margaret and Lady Catherine Hastings, who each married a parson with Methodist leanings. Lady Margaret, indeed, once expressed to the Countess that ever since she had known some of these Methodist preachers and had embraced their doctrines she had been "as happy as an angel". Was Lady Huntingdon as happy as that? She had all that worldly position and wealth could supply to make her happy; she was properly devout in her religious exercises and faithful in the discharge of her religious duties; but she could not rest in the Lord; she did not know joy and peace in believing. Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, was much concerned about her spiritual life when a sudden serious illness settled the matter for her. In her physical weakness she cast herself and her sins upon her Saviour, yielded herself fully to Him, and renounced every other hope. Hearing, during her convalescence, that the Wesley brothers were in the neighbourhood, she sent them a message of Christian greeting, and in doing so seemingly cast in her lot with the despised and derided Methodists, sharing henceforth in the opprobrium and abuse with which they were loaded.

Lord Huntingdon, unlike most husbands of the time, did not attempt to interfere with his wife's religious concerns and activities; though he urged her to see his former tutor, Benson, at that time Bishop of Gloucester. Benson had been the friend and helper of George Whitefield, the Gloucester pot-boy, and had ordained him some years before. Whitefield, at this time in America, had taken London by storm, castigated the fashionable for their vices and scandalized pious Churchmen by his own extravagances. The good Bishop found it difficult to forgive his own haste in ever ordaining

such a firebrand and admitted as much to the Countess, who replied, "My Lord, mark my words, when you are on your dying bed that will be one of the few ordinations which you will reflect on with complacence". Possibly that is so, for shortly before he died, Benson sent Whitefield fifteen guineas and asked to be remembered in his prayers. Apart from this, though Selina's interview with the Bishop was cordial enough, it was not very helpful, save in so far as it confirmed her in the sympathies she was feeling for Methodist doctrines, despite the fact that everywhere Methodist preachers were under an ecclesiastical ban; they were prevented from entering most of the parish churches, John Wesley indeed preaching at least once from his father's gravestone at Epworth, while the church in which his father had ministered was fast shut against him. After her interview with Bishop Benson, Selina became a warm supporter of the Methodist cause, writing to John Wesley when he had submitted an extract of his *Journal* to her, "I think there is not one thing that ought to be omitted. We never forget to recommend you, and all your undertakings, at the throne of grace", while he for his part dedicated to "The Right Honourable Countess of Huntingdon" a *Collection of Moral and Sacred Poems*. "I inscribe these poems to you, not only because you were the occasion of their thus appearing in the world, but also because it may be an inducement to many to read them. Your name indeed cannot excuse a bad poem; but it may recommend good ones to those who would not otherwise consider whether they were good or bad".

John was not insensible to the influence of the Countess upon her own aristocratic circle, which he and his preachers had little opportunity of meeting. In fact, one of the characteristics of the Countess's new-found joy and peace in believing was that instead of leading her to minister among the poor as it has led so many of her social standing, it led her, together with a concern for the depressed, to have an even greater concern for her own large, brilliant, and fashionable acquaintance. She appreciated the strategic value of winning the aristocracy of the 18th century for God, and set herself to do it. To this end, after her husband's death in 1748, and on her removal to Ashley and becoming mistress of the London house, she appointed the golden-tongued Whitefield to be one of her private chaplains, with the express object of having him present the grace of God in the gospel to the smart set who were always eager to attend her drawing-rooms. Such was her own charm and graciousness that her identification with the despised hot gospellers in no way estranged from her the titled company in which she moved as social and political equal. Sarah Churchill, Duchess of Marlborough, the saucy Mrs. Freeman of Queen Anne, can write to the Countess,

> My dear Lady H. is always so very good to me, and I really do feel so very sensibly all of your kindness and attention that I must accept your very obliging invitation to hear Mr. Whitefield though I am still suffering from the effects of a severe cold. Your concern for my improvement and religious knowledge is very obliging, and I do hope that I shall be the better for all your excellent advice. It might be the means of doing me some good, for good, alas! I do want; but where among the corrupt sons and daughters of Adam am I to find it? When alone my reflections and recollections almost kill me and I am forced to fly to the society of those I detest and abhor. Now there is Lady Frances Saunderson's great rout to-morrow night, and all the world will be there and I must go. I do hate that woman as much as I do a physician, but I must go if for no other purpose than to mortify and spite her. This is very wicked I know, but I confess all my little peccadilloes to you, for I know your goodness will lead you to be mild and forgiving and perhaps my wicked heart may get some good from you in the end.

We are not told whether Viceroy Sarah got the good she spoke of; similar uncertainty surrounds many another of those drawing-room devotees, but there were many who, like the wife of Lord Chesterfield and his sisters, were affected; and certainly amid a frivolous and corrupt society a leaven of wholesomeness was at work, while even David Hume the philosopher, present on one occasion, testified that Whitefield's preaching "surpassed anything I ever saw or heard in any other preacher".

Under Whitefield's influence Lady Huntingdon's work began to take on richer and deeper form. Deeply concerned by the exclusion of Methodist preachers from the pulpits of the Establishment, and the often lax theological position of many Methodists themselves, with determination and insight the Countess applied her great wealth and prestige to securing more order and harmony in the Revival movement by the provision of chapels and preaching centres. So began — first as a missionary organization rather than as another denomination — the famous Connexion. It is worth noting that Wesley, the Calvinistic Methodists of Wales, and later the Primitive Methodists, also had their "Connexions" and considered themselves in that way rather than as Churches in the commonly accepted sense. To begin with, the pulpits at York, Huddersfield, Gloucester, Worcester, Lewes, Brighton, Norwich, Margate, Bath, Bristol, and Tunbridge Wells, were mainly supplied by clergymen, and the prayers of the Church of England were read in the services, at the express wish of the Countess; in many of the chapels this is still the custom to-day. Selina hoped her ministers

might occupy a middle position between Anglicanism and Dissent, and enter any doors of opportunity without giving offence to either side; but this hope was never fulfilled and at last she herself was forced by circumstances to secede from the Church of her birth and tradition and become the foundress of yet another sect. The occasion was the dog-in-the-manger attitude of the incumbent of Clerkenwell in respect of Northampton Chapel in Spa Fields. Two clergy of the Methodist persuasion were appointed by the owners as preachers till an ecclesiastical lawsuit gave to the incumbent of Clerkenwell prior rights over the building and the pulpit. As a result the chapel came into the market and the Countess bought it and placed it on a footing with her other preaching stations, under the protection and jurisdiction of a peeress with the name of Spa Fields Chapel. But once again in the Law Courts the incumbent vindicated his rights; and the Countess's preachers were prohibited from ministering there. Secession seemed to her now to be the only available course in order to save the Spa Fields congregation; she withdrew from the Church of England, hoping still to maintain the neutral position between Anglicanism and Dissent. But this expectation proved abortive; not even the Countess could keep Spa Fields and her other chapels as a kind of ecclesiastical no-man's-land; the circumstances of the time drove her in the direction of Dissent while the ordination of six young men from her College at Trevecca at Spa Fields in 1783 caused her societies to assume the form of a separate denomination. It is interesting to record that Dr. Haweis, one of the Countess's chaplains, whom she appointed to be the first minister of Spa Fields in 1779, was 16 years later to be one of the founders of the London Missionary Society. On the site of the chapel to-day stands the Church of the Holy Redeemer.

Meanwhile as the Connexion developed, the need for providing a regular trained ministry became obvious to the Countess, and she consulted her friend, the Rev. John Fletcher of Madeley, near Bath. Trevecca House, near Talgarth, was a massive building believed to be part of an old castle dating back to the time of Henry II, the date over the entrance being 1176. Here the Countess proposed to train Christian young men who desired to enter the ministry of the Church of England or any other Protestant denomination, and with her usual discrimination she invited Fletcher to undertake the superintendence of her College while he still continued as parish priest of Madeley.

The College was opened for religious and literary education, and the chapel was dedicated by Whitefield and other chaplains on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1768, the Countess's 50th birthday. Lady Huntingdon with many friends stayed in the College for the opening

ceremony and frequently visited it, particularly at Anniversary time. Added to the expenses of her chapels up and down the Kingdom the cost of maintaining the College would have been too much had not many friends, among them John Newton's patron, Thornton the banker (£1,000), and her own friend and fellow-worker in Scotland, Lady Glenorchy (£1,000), co-operated with her in its upkeep. Her own son, the 10th Lord Huntingdon, never shared but rather opposed his mother's zeal for evangelical religion, and did his best to hinder if not to thwart her enthusiasm for the College. When the lease of Trevecca House expired in 1792, the College linked up, at the Countess's wish, with the well-known Nonconformist theological foundation at Cheshunt, Herts., and was opened on August 24. The affairs of the new College were to be managed by seven Trustees, and to it went the Communion Plate and Library, Lady Huntingdon's original gift at Trevecca. As we all know, the College moved once again in 1905 to its present and, we may hope, its final home in the leading University of the Kingdom; Selina's portrait looks down from her place over the mantelpiece in the Hall upon successive generations of Cheshunt men; her furniture is in the Combination Room, and it is from her Table that the sacred elements of the Sacrament are administered to sons who may justly call their foundress *Alma Mater*. Accounts of early anniversaries make astonishing reading for men reared in the Cambridge tradition of the 20th century. A supper and two sermons on Anniversary eve; at 6 a.m. on the great day, a sermon in Welsh followed by one in English; at 10.30 more sermons in both languages till Mr. Toplady announced the hymn "Blow ye the trumpet, blow!" to people who had been standing since six and who were not to get their dinner till nearly 3. There followed three more sermons and then the Sacrament by the light of the setting sun, administered in a natural dell in the College garden. Modern Commemoration, with short service, an address and tea in the court is small beer compared with the super-abundant spiritual and material feast of the late eighteenth century.

There is one sad feature in the long record of the Countess's story which cannot altogether be omitted — the controversy between Wesley and Whitefield provoked by the attitude of the former to Calvinism at the Methodist Conference in 1770. Twenty years earlier the apostle of grace and the preacher of Calvinism had crossed swords, but the incipient rift between them had been healed by Lady Huntingdon. In 1770, however, the conflict started again and she came down firmly on the side of her Chaplain and decreed that no one holding Mr. Wesley's views could remain in her College. Feelings were aroused on both sides; then a reconciliation seemed near when a tract, written in the early days of the controversy by

one of Wesley's men, John Fletcher, was produced which made the healing of the breach almost impossible. Both sides contended earnestly for what each believed to be the truth; each side would have welcomed a *via media*, but in the circumstances of the time none was to be found. For the remaining twenty years of their lives Wesley and the Countess remained on friendly, even cordial terms, but a real working partnership was no longer theirs.

Whitefield died in 1770, before the Calvinistic controversy was many months old; by a strange coincidence the man and the woman who in the whole course of our history did more for the evangelization of our country than any others were born within a few months of each other when the 18th century was dawning and died within a few months of each other when it was in its last decade. The converts of the Countess among high and low were innumerable; she established chapels for the preaching of the Word and organized and trained men to preach it; she spent her large fortune and sold her precious jewels for the sake of her Lord; before our great missionary societies came into being she poured out her material treasure in support of Whitefield's mission stations, schools, and orphanages in America, for the winning of West Africa for Christ, and in her 84th year was full of a project for sending the gospel to Tahiti; she rebuked the Archbishop of Canterbury for the irresponsible frivolities of Lambeth Palace, and being rebuffed by his vigorous wife appealed to the King to rebuke the lackadaisical prelate.

For a life of such amazing energy, there may to-day be little enough to show in any comprehensive catalogue, neat diagram, or table of statistics; perhaps the Countess lacked John Wesley's penchant for careful organization, but in an indefinable influence which spread over England, in the constant stream of men from her College, Lady Huntingdon is not lacking a memorial.

To Cardinal Newman, the Countess was the high priestess of a poisonous heresy, but he salutes her as one who opened new worlds to the revival, the representative, in an evil day, of the rich becoming poor for Christ: she acted, he says, as one ought to act who considered this life a pilgrimage, not a home.

It is her unique distinction in the course of sixty years from the time of her marriage till her death to have compelled practically every man in England from the King on his throne to the peasant and the artisan in his cottage to give serious consideration to the condition of his immortal soul. Horace Walpole's gibe, "Queen of the Methodists", may be a little hard on one who has given so much to the universal Church, Macaulay's verdict that had she been a Catholic, Rome would have canonized her, may be a little extravagant. Perhaps Whitefield put it best when he called her a Mother in Israel, all aflame for Jesus.

R. G. MARTIN.

Congregational Martyrs at Bury St. Edmunds. How Many?

THE Congregational Church at Bury St. Edmunds celebrates its tercentenary in 1946, and it is fortunate in possessing a minute book which dates from 1646. This commemoration adds interest to a discovery among the Ellesmere MSS. in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

It has long been known that high on the name of Congregational martyrs must be placed William Dennis, executed in 1583 at Thetford—"a godly man, and faithful in his place", Governor Bradford called him—and John Coppin or Copping and Elias Thacker (or Fawker) executed at Bury St. Edmunds in the same year. Bury had long been a centre of Puritan activity, George Withers having been silenced there for a time in 1565. John Handson, curate of St. James's, seems to have been influenced by the teachings of Robert Browne, who was arrested for preaching in private conventicles in or near Bury in April, 1581. At that time Coppin had been in prison for five years: a layman, he refused to allow his child to be baptized by an unpreaching minister, and declared the Queen was perjured in describing herself as Head of the Church. When he was joined in prison by Thacker is not clear, nor do we know how the two of them came to accept Browne's views, but in 1583 they were charged with being "great dispersers" of the books of Browne and Harrison, which had come over from Middelburg (perhaps in sheets to be bound by Thomas Gibson, who was also charged). Gibson was found guilty, but submitted and was reprieved; the other two remained firm, commending everything in the books as good and godly, and declaring that the Queen's rule was in civil matters only. While the Court was still sitting—perhaps to prevent an appeal to Queen, Parliament, or Council, perhaps to avoid popular clamour—Thacker was hanged (4 June, 1583), and Coppin on the following day or two days later (the accounts vary). Bradford, writing long afterwards, said:

> God gave them courage to bear it, and to make this answer: "My Lord [Sir Christopher Wray, the Lord Chief Justice], your face we fear not, and for your threats we care not, and to come to your read service, we dare not".

When, among the Ellesmere MSS., a reference to men put to death at Bury was noted, it was assumed the reference would be to Coppin

and Thacker, and that maybe a date had gone astray, but the date in each case seems clear, 4 and 5 June, 1583, for Coppin and Thacker, and 11 July, 1584, in the Ellesmere document, with "my L. Anderson [Sir Edmund, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas]" as the Judge.

The relevant Ellesmere MSS. are three in number, two of them being duplicates of the same story, and the other a confession of faith. The abbreviations are run out.

I. 2076.C. [on p. 34 a *verso*, upside down]

Set dowen your pen to paper, and write this that was told me of a gentleman of good Credet, that hathe good Frendes in the Courte, who told hym, that some of the Councell had dealt vere earnestly with her Maiestie concerning the execution of those men at Berye, and for their Relygion, & for the depryvyng of the Justices [?,] for the trowblynge of the preachers, & Christyan professors. And her grace did answer, that they were purytanse, & that she was Credebly enformed of them that they wer the worste people in the land & doethe most hurt, & disturbe the Comon Welthe of her Contrey, And my Lord Threzurer stept in & desyred her grace to heare hym speake, who told her, that her land stood cheiffly with three sortes of people, the one was papistes, who wyshethe her deathe, and hopeth for a day, & never prayethe for her. And the greatest sorte of people ar Atheystes & did hold no Relygion But always accordynge accordyng [*sic*] to the lawes, & doethe not Care for you, but are Redie always to serve an other as well as you, what Relygion so ever they be of, but those you call purytanse are your best subiectes, & do always pray earnestly for your grace & most cheiflye care for you, & therfor be most trowbled, & some put to death for their Concyence. Then her grace sayd that it was not her will that any should be put to deathe for their Concyence. And then Commanded that those Judges should be sent for, & lykewyse those Justices that were depryved frome their offycesse nowe what will come of this wee knowe not but let us praye

II. Unnumbered, on 50 a *verso*, foot

Ther wer certayn of the Councell had delt with her Maiestie concerning the execution of those men at Berie & for their Relygion & for the trowble of the preachers & Christian professors. And her Grace answered, that she was credebly informed of them, that they were of the worst people in her land & do most hurt, & disturbe the Comon weale of the Contrey. And then my L. Threz. stept in, & requested her grace to heare hym speake, who told her, that her land stood cheyffly with 3 sortes of people, the one was papists who wyshe her death, and hope for a day, & the greatest sort of the people were Atheists, & did hold of no Relygion, but allways accordyng to the lawes, and do not care for you, but are redy allways to serve an other as well as you, what Relygyon so ever they be of. And those you call purytance are your best subiects, & do always pray earnestly for your Grace, & most of all care for you, & these be more trowbled, & some put to death for their conscyences, & then Comanded that those Justices[1] for sayd she, it is not my will that any shall be put to death for their concyences.

1 Obviously something omitted here.

III. 2066. On 74 recto.

The maner of the faythe wherin the towe men dyed which were put to deathe at berye adiudged by my L. Anderson the 11 of July in Anno 1584.

Wee beleeve in one God Father allmightie maker & governor of all Creatures. And in one Jesus Chryste, our [?] Kynge prophett & priest Our Saveour & Redeemer beynge bothe perfecte God & man, The true Messias, one mediator & advocate.

Even so we beleeve in one holie Ghoste beynge verie God of God, proceedynge frome the father & the Sonne, even of the selffe same nature, powre, and dignetie, whô is our sanctefyer & the Seale of Our Redemption purchased by Jesus Chryste.

And wee beleeve that these three severall persons, are but one everlastynge & lyvyng God.

We beleeve that the father is a person by hym selffe, yet not withoute his Sonne. We beleeve that the Sonne is a person by hymselfe & yet not without his father. We beleeve that the holie Ghost is a person by hym self, yet not without the father, & the Sonne.

We beleeve that Jesus Christe was Conceaved by the holie Ghoste, even of our fleshe, & borne of the Virgen Marie, A man lyke unto us synn excepted. In this his humanity wee beleeve that he suffered deathe, hell torments, & the Sorowes of deathe, to delyver us from synne & the punnyshement which by the laue of God is due to the same.

And that he was buryed, & Rose agayne the third day, for a more confyrmation of his deathe, wherby we beleeve our justificacion is fyneshed, and we are assured that after deathe at the last day by the vertue of his Resurrection to ryse agayne lykwyse frome deathe to lyfe. And so assend with hym in glorie ther to Remayne everlastynglye.

So we beleeve that he hath all power given hym of his father, & that is ment by syttyng on his Ryght hand in the heavens.

We beleve that from heaven he shall come to judge bothe those that are alyve nowe, and then at his comynge, those that are all redie dead.

We beleeve lykewyse that he hathe a Churche wiche is holye (wherof we are members) and he is the head therof, & that is his body to whom he hath granted & given Repentance, & to non but to her, to her onlie hathe he strycken this Covenant, I will put my lawes in their myndes (jeremy 31 chap. 31-34 v.), & in their hartes I will wryt them, & I wilbe their God, & they shalbe my people, for I will be mercyfull vnto theyr unrighteousnes, & I will Remember theyr synnes & inyqytes no more.

their prayer

O God & mercyfull father performe this thy Covenant unto us poore synnfull Creatures to forgeve all our unrighteousnes, & be our God. And in the name of Christ we stryke this Covenant on our Partes severally every one of us to be thy people, & thy Churche acknoweleynge non other heade & Kyng to rule over us spirytually, but thy only begotten Sonne Jesus Chryste our lorde.

Therfor we vowe & swear by the lyvynge God to suffer oure selves, & freely geve our obedyence to be governed & ruled by his lawes, & government to the uttermost of the power which thowe by thy Spirite shalt enhable us withall.

And by the vertue of the same we bynd our selves to be taught by Jesus Christ & his mynisters, whome thow hast or hereafter shall send, for the worke of thy mynysterye. And lykwys by the order of Admonytion which thow has apoynted in thy Churche, that is for every Brother & Sister severally to styrr up one an other & provoke unto love & to good

woorkes, usynge the fellowshipp of Sayntes & thus we will be taught by Christ thy prophett. And even so by vertue of the same oathe we bynd our selves to his preestly office, acknowlegynge hym onlie to be our mediator betwene God his father & us, & non but he. And therfor will use & Receave his Sacraments at the handes of those he shall send withe his word of message. Thus we bynd our selves to be thy people & Churche apparrant, holdynge Christ to be our head captayne & Kynge, & therfor willyngly submytt our selves to his government, & hold hym to be our prophet & teacher, and willingly will suffer oure selves to be taught by hym & his orders apoynted to teache us.

And lyk wise we will hold hym to be our heighe preist of attonment betwene God & us, & our Contynuall mediator & advocat & will make no prayers to the father, but in his name.

And thus wee beleeve all that wee have here proffessed by our mouthes, to be the only truthe even withe our hartes, & ended their lyves to the good of many athests papists & lybertyns which confessed that they wer never so lyvely touched to the quyck as by this their pacyence & prayers for her Maiestie & all their enemyes, &c.

So far we have been unable to discover anything about the 1584 executions. Some information about their trial should be forthcoming, but inquiries so far have been fruitless.

ALBERT PEEL.

The Beginnings of Dissent in Painswick,

SOME HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS

A PATHETIC little note opens the old Church Minute Book of the Painswick Congregational Church. It reads:

> In consequence of the neglect of our forefathers in committing to paper the accounts of their churches, we in the present age (1863) have but scanty materials wherewith we can fill this important section (Historical Account) of this valuable book. We hope that coming ages shall not be compelled to make the same complaint. . . .

The very note serves as a challenge to seek out the beginnings, and once having undertaken the task it is surprising how much may be gleaned. While a detailed account of the beginning and immediate continuance may not be secured, the fact was actually placed on record because it was historically important.

The middle years of the 17th century were marked by a strong demand for religious liberty, and those who had been active in the more populous centres migrated to other regions to secure that for which they sought. The Cotswold Hills harboured many of that cast of mind, and the knots of Christian revolutionaries which they gathered eventually were formed into churches. In the immediate Cotswold region there are five Congregational Churches which claim 1662, or an earlier date, as their commencement. The actual date, however, is often selected as the earliest general declaration of dissent, since it is not known how many of them were gathered as churches prior to this[1]. There were few, if any, meeting-houses for them, so the Dissenters continued in uneasy communicant membership of the Established Church, and it would appear that many of the priests in charge were of a like temper. At length, however, it was inevitable that the simmering demand for freedom should become active.

In the story of the Painswick Congregational Church, a cross-section of English history in which it is set reveals some fascinating fragments of the jig-saw of early Nonconformity.

The first fragment on record in the story of dissent at Painswick is dated 1644, a date which is much involved in the civil disturbances in Britain. The fragment reads:

> 1644, The Rev. George Dorwood turned the family of the Rev. Thomas Wild (or Wilde), the minister, into the street in the depth of winter, and he commenced the Nonconformist cause. . . .

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[1] For Congregationalism in Gloucestershire during the Commonwealth, *cf.* G. F. Nuttall, "Congregational Commonwealth Incumbents", in *Transactions* for 1943

There the narrative broke off and gave no clue to further developments. On the face of it, the obvious conclusion is that Thomas Wild was the "Nonconformist" who started the cause. The term itself, in this connection, is somewhat previous since it did not come into definite usage until 1662. Evidently that scrap of information was written with a backward glance. Of the result of George Dorwood's action nothing is known—from the Free Church angle. It is easy to see that whatever attempt to secure liberty there might have been, it was abortive.

Twelve years later, however, that is, by 1656, it is seen that the desire for freedom is not dead, for, by the eventual strength of the Dissenters, it may be safely held that the "Nonconformist cause", once begun, could not be easily uprooted. The question as to the actual founder of this "Nonconformist cause" is partly answered by the records of the Parish Church. I quote from the book by the late Sir Francis Hyett, entitled *Glimpses of the History of Painswick*. By 1641, the right of appointment of a vicar was vested in certain trustees on behalf of the people, but there was a clause that a certain

> Thomas Wild (who was a royalist) should be presented. This was accordingly done in 1641-2, and it led of course to complications. Wild was forcibly ejected in or about 1644, when his successor, George Dorwood, who was probably the first vicar chosen by the parishioners, took possession of the living.

It is a principle of Congregationalism that each gathered company has the right to invite its own minister. Here was the principle in action, and the fragments fit together with fair compactness.

It was Dorwood, therefore, not Wild, who was the reforming spirit, and his action was in keeping with the temper of the people themselves. It has been stated that the Rev. George Dorwood became the first Dissenting minister, but this is so only in an oblique sense, and not in the actual sense of taking charge of the Dissenting body. Cornelius Winter's written account, now in our possession, reads:

> The Revd. George Dorwood minister of this parish in the close of the last century laid the foundation of the little interest over which I have presided as Pastor from July 1788. . . . On the death of Mr. Dorwood a division ensued for the choice of another minister. The number of them who were strainous (strenuous?) for evangelical doctrine being overpowered by the influence of Sir Robert Atkins . . . congregated together in a private house under the charge of the Revd. Mr. Tippets. . . .

As for George Dorwood the man, a pen picture of him is given by Winter, who recorded what was commonly said about him:

> It is remarked of him that he seldom left the pulpit with a dry shirt or dry eyes. . . .

There is actually a gap in Winter's account and it has not been possible to bridge it from local sources. This refers to the period between the disruption and the coming of Andrew Tippett (or Tippets) in 1690 or 1705. The Parish Church records, too, are extremely sparse. Civil war swept the hills during 1640-44; Charles I and his army occupied Painswick for a period, and the following years were unsettled. Sir Francis Hyett records that "the Parish Registers for the years 1628-1653 have disappeared". A few years later, by 1662, George Dorwood subscribed to the Act of Uniformity, which disposes of the conjecture that he was the first minister of the Dissenting company.

After ten years, however, the Dissenters are seen to be strong enough to support a "Teacher", and the Rev. Francis Harris, Curate of Deerhurst, Gloucestershire, having been ejected under the Act of Uniformity, took out a Licence under the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672, to be a Congregational Teacher at Painswick, and his house was licensed as a meeting-place. That, again, is an interesting fragment. Nothing more is known of Francis Harris, whether he died in Painswick, or removed elsewhere.

The church comes into the bigger picture of the Nonconformist tradition during the latter years of the 17th and the early 18th century. Cornelius Winter gives the information that three outstanding men

> were distinguished under the denomination of Presbyterians, which, however unwarrantable, being unconnected with any Synod, is the name by which our neighbours now distinguish us. . . .

It is here that Winter mentions Mr. Tippets, in whose ministry a chapel was secured. Whether this was the original meeting-house licensed by Francis Harris or another is not mentioned. In connection with it, however, it became necessary, during the ministry of Cornelius Winter, to declare the right to it. The manuscript has no date. It reads:

BE IT KNOWN

That the place of worship called the upper Meeting-house in this town is the sole property of the Congregation worshipping therein being purchased by them in the year 1705 consequently all expenses incident thereto must be borne by them. The aforesaid meeting being copyhold of inheritance is subject to fines and other expences attending surrenders— The late Mr. Thos. King died in the possession of it his widow according to the manorial custom would enjoy (the?) free-bench which made two surrenders in court necessary the first a surrender of her free bench to the congregation second their surrender of the fee-simple to Mr. Jn. King whom they have chosen for their present trust: further—to prevent its being claimed as private property by the trust or by his heirs & in case of his demise he gives his bond to two elligible members of the Church that it shall continue (bona fide) the property of the congregation for the worship and service of God the expence incur'd by surrenders, fines,

copies & Bond is - - - - - £5 12/- which is paid by volluntary contribution in manner following

	£	s.	d.
Revd. Cornelius Winter	1	1	0
John King		10	6
John Horlick		10	6
Saml. Wood		10	6
A Friend		5	0
Jno. Holder		10	6
Timothy Wood		5	0
Wm. Hogg		5	0

It does not state how the remainder of the money was found.

As in other places—for instance, at Tewkesbury—there was some confusion between Presbyterian and other Dissenting bodies. It appears to have arisen because of the strength of the form of the Church in Scotland, and by the action of the Long Parliament in abolishing Episcopacy—at any rate for a time. At Painswick, this was merely a common misapprehension and led to no Synodic links.

Step by step Nonconformity grew in strength. By 1715, Dissent was of sufficient strength to permit ministers to be ordained by those of their own conviction. Hence, Leonard (or Leoline) Edwards, who settled in Painswick about 1715, had been ordained by Matthew Henry.

Spanning the century swiftly, we come to the humble figure of Cornelius Winter himself. By 1788, the year in which he came to the place, Nonconformity had dwindled considerably. Wars with France and America had made severe inroads on the resources of the land and its people. To offset such adverse influence, however, there were other, and more important, factors at work. Persons are more powerful than organizations in the long run, and this was the case when Wesley set out on his campaign, and the preaching of Whitefield roused men.

One of Whitefield's hearers at the Tabernacle society was the young Cornelius Winter. It is recorded, sadly, that Winter was not altogether kindly treated by the great preacher, but he acknowledged that he had at least received education from Whitefield. Later, Winter laboured among negro slaves in Savannah and afterwards returned to Britain intending to seek episcopal ordination. This was curtly refused him because of his earlier association with Whitefield. Shortly after this, guided by the counsel of Rowland Hill, he was ordained as an Independent preacher, at Christian Malford, Wilts. From that centre he travelled through the Cotswold and Severn Valley villages. His first settled pastorate was at Marlborough, where, in addition to his ministerial activities, he kept an academy. One of his pupils became the Rev. William Jay, of Bath, and Winter's biographer.

Cornelius Winter was 46 years old when he responded to the invitation to Painswick. Here again, to augment his stipend, he took pupils. He ministered at Painswick from 1788 to 1808.

Little is known of the several chapels which have been erected on the site of the present building. Notes gathered in 1903 state that the site is that on which the first meeting-house for Dissenters was built. In 1892, the chapel, which had been erected by Cornelius Winter on the site of the earlier chapel by Tippets, was itself rebuilt, and, in honour of a man who held a settled pastorate during turbulent times, it was given his name as Winter Memorial.

T. E. MORRIS.

£100 Prize

We hope members of the Society have noticed the offer by Independent Press of a prize of £100 for a manuscript on theology, apologetics, or church history by an author who has not yet published a work sold at more than 5/-. It would be encouraging if the prize could be won by a member of our Society for a work on church history.

Cavendish: Further Notes

THE last section in the Toleration Act of 1689 enacted that "no congregation or assembly for religious worship shall be permitted . . . until the place of such meeting shall be certified to the bishop of the diocese or to the archdeacon . . . (or to the justices of the peace at the general or quarter sessions . . .) . . . and registered in the said bishop's or archdeacon's court . . . or recorded at the said sessions; the register or clerk of the peace . . . is required to register the same, and to give certificate thereof to such person as shall demand the same" [fee not to exceed 6d.].

Since 1852 such places have been certified to the Registrar-General. Through the skill and kindness of Rev. W. Marshall Jones of Bury St. Edmunds the following items have been extracted from the archidiaconal records of Sudbury. They show that Independency in our village had a much earlier birth than we supposed.

1703—Nov. 24. It was certified by John Rae of Bury St. Edmunds grocer that the dwelling houses of Elizabeth Price, widow, and John Rowell, situated in Cavendish were set apart for the religious worship of protestant dissenters. [John Rae also certified for a place in Clare 1718.]

1711—Oct. 19. John Morley of Bury certified that the house of Thomas Revell, grocer, in Cavendish, was set aside, *etc.*

1713—June 16. Robert Haward of Bury, a grocer, certified for the house of John Wilshier, yeoman, of Cavendish.

1718—April 3. John Rae of Bury certified for the houses of John Revell (Webster), Abram Thompson (weaver) and John Relton (weaver) all of Cavendish.

1840—July 29. J. S. Garrett certified for a building, the property of Elizabeth Garrett, as set apart, *etc.*
This was our first chapel, enlarged in 1843 and rebuilt in 1858.

NOTES:

1. Evidently the 18th century was a period of cottage meetings, the church in the house.
2. John Revell (1718) and Thomas Revell (1711) were probably kinsmen; so perhaps also John Rowell (1703)—in the handwriting of the time 'ow' and 'ev' are almost identical.

3. Mr. Jones has also collected similar references to Clare and Sudbury; they bear witness to the evangelistic zeal of the Church at Bury which celebrates its tercentenary in 1946.
4. There are also certifications for Baptist (1831) and Wesleyan (1818) meeting places in Cavendish, but neither of these were perpetuated. Our cause has become a real Free Church (Congregationalists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Methodists dwell together in unity).

A. J. GRIEVE.

Life at Hoxton College[1]

1820—1823

BEING PART OF THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF
ALEXANDER STEWART,
written for his children.

MS. II 1-16, with one or two omissions.

ALEXANDER STEWART was born at Kirkcaldy, 27th May, 1790. He ran away to sea when a boy, and had many adventures and narrow escapes from drowning. Before he was fifteen he was a prisoner of war in the hands of the French, and the next eight years he spent in captivity in France; at one period he and his companions were marched 800 miles, chained by their necks. He survived many hardships, picked up some education, and at last reached England. After a voyage to St. Petersburg, he became a teacher at Hammersmith, Egham, and Mr. Lemon's school at Islington in turn. He then decided to enter the ministry and became a student at Hoxton in 1820.

In 1823 he became pastor at Barnet, and shortly after opened a school for boarders and day boys. From 1833 he began to take students for the ministry, some preparatory to entering Highbury and other colleges, others for a full course. From 1847 he and his sons conducted a school in Holloway, though he continued his pastoral charge at Barnet for some years. He died 3rd November, 1874.

Toward the end of his life he wrote a narrative for his children, which describes the years spent in France in considerable detail, and brings the story down to 1869.

Two sons, George and Halley, became ministers, Halley at The Croft, Hastings, and Caledonian Road, London, for some years before turning to the business career which in due course led to the foundation of the Sir Halley Stewart Trust.

The narrative is now in the possession of Sir P. Malcolm Stewart, Bart., Alexander Stewart's grandson. A volume will shortly be published containing the narrative of the early years in full, and the rest of it summarized. The whole gives a picture of the life of a Congregational minister whose training, equipment, and career were altogether out of the ordinary. We are indebted to Sir Malcolm Stewart for permission to print *in extenso* parts of the narrative. In this number will be found the account of life at Hoxton from 1820

[1] Compare John Stoughton's account of life at Highbury College, 1828-31, in *Recollections of a Long Life* (1894), 16 ff.

to 1823, and in the following number Stewart's account of the men he trained for the ministry. [EDITOR.]

I begin with a brief account of my College course. I had become a Dissenter from conviction, and of course joined their ranks. The English dissenters had at that time a number of small colleges, situated in different parts of the kingdom, for the training of young men for the ministry, supported by voluntary contributions, and managed by Committees chosen for the purpose, at the head of each a Treasurer and Secretary. The students had instruction, board, and lodging free, when unable to defray their own expenses. The Committee chose the Tutors.

I made application to the College at Hoxton, one of the largest of the number. It was afterwards transferred to Highbury, and then, with some others, incorporated in New College, St. John's Wood. Thomas Wilson of Highbury, one of the most benevolent of men, was Treasurer, Dr. Wm. Harris resident Theological Tutor, Dr. Burder Mental and Moral Philosophy, the Rev. Mr. Hooper Classical Tutor.

Before making application I made myself acquainted, as well as I could, with all the requisites for such a course. In addition to other preliminary knowledge I had reason to conclude I now possessed a sufficient knowledge of Greek and Latin, and I presumed I had the religious experience required. But pounds shillings and pence were the desideratum. I had saved 50£, but this was scant means for clothing, books, *etc.*, for a three years' course. Mr. Lemon[2] offered me help in the following way—he offered to pay me well it I could continue to come twice a week to teach French. This I did for a year and a half; and in this way I was enabled to pay for tea, sugar, and coals—extras which each student had to provide for himself. What disturbed me most was the paying of my mother's rent, which I had done for some years past. With economy, however, I managed it while at College as well as when I was teaching.

I had been informed the Treasurer of the College had a small Fund entrusted to him to enable him to assist necessitous students, but I never applied for any. I never had a turn that way—though often sharp run I maintained myself by the work of my own hands. When I left College I owed no man any thing.

I made my application to the Committee, stating as requested "my experience" as it was called—my religious views—my denominational sentiments—my scholastic knowledge—the books I had read, *etc.*, and soon received a favourable answer, with a request to appear before the Committee on a given evening—to engage in prayer before them—deliver a short sermon—and then undergo a questionary by the Committee, as the whim might take them severally, before they gave me a final answer.

This was an ordeal at which my heart revolted at the time, and certain parts of which I have never since seen in a more favourable light.

I attended at the time appointed. It was in the evening. I knocked at the door of the house, a servant opened and led me along a dark passage, opened a door, and put me into a dark room, where I had to grope about for a seat. Such a process was little calculated to soothe a heart already sufficiently palpitating with anxiety. When I had been here about ten minutes the door opened again and somebody entered, and before I could well draw my breath I heard heavy sobbing, which continued until the door opened again, when I was called by my name. The name of my unsuccessful

[2] In whose school he had been teaching.

sobbing companion I never knew. I was at once ushered into the Committee room. The president in a very unceremonious way asked me to engage in prayer. This over, he then asked me to deliver my address, which I did, though not without some choking of feeling and some incoherence of thought and expression. I was then asked a few questions which, when answered, I was requested to withdraw. I was re-conducted to the "cachôt", whence I was again sent for, in a few minutes of *time* but many by the beating of my *pulse*. On entering the Committee room the chairman, Mr. Thomas Wilson, congratulated me on being elected by the Committee. He wished me success. I bowed and retired.

Some time after this, during the College vacation when the students were absent from town, Mr. Wilson wrote and asked me to preach at some of the places where they were accustomed to supply. This request took me "all a back", and yet I could not refuse. I engaged to go, and set about getting up a few sermons with all speed. I was not without certain inklings of pride at times, in view of holding forth in public, even in small places, but as the time and place approached they vanished.

I preached my first sermon in a small chapel at Chertsey, near Windsor. I cannot describe my feelings on going into the pulpit, assuredly there was no pride felt just then, and though on returning home I had reason to thank God and take courage my conscious shortcoming checked the pride which my natural feelings suggested. Such was my general experience at the beginning of my preaching career.

I entered Hoxton at the beginning of the next session, 1820, with a very scant supply of "kit" and clothing. Each student had a small study for himself—the bedrooms were large and numbers slept in the same room—one general room for washing, far from the bedrooms. The studies we had to furnish ourselves. I got a lamp, a chair, a desk with drawers which I have still, a tea caddy, a coal scoop, and at length some shelves for my books. . . .

I reached the College in the evening in common with many others. Next morning we all met at breakfast. The scene was novel and as pleasing as novel to me. There was indeed a little scanning and quizzing, but I very well bore my share of that.

In the course of the morning the juniors—newcomers—met the Tutors. After a little questioning and conversation they said to me, You had better join the second year class, for you already know all the first will have to do this year: we only suggest this course to you, it is for you to decide. I decided at once as they suggested, for I felt that in many respects and especially in a money point of view it was the wisest course in my circumstances.

We now set to work in good earnest with our studies—Hebrew, Theological Lectures, Old Latin and Greek Divinity, with Dr. Harris, and sermons of our own composing to be read and criticized by the class and by him. This was sometimes a sharp ordeal, yet it was a salutary one: each man got his angular points rounded in his turn. This process is of vast moment to a young man, especially to one who had not had the advantage of regular school training. How nicely it brings each one to his proper level!! Dr. Burder's department was the Mathematics, Mental and Moral Philosophy, Logic, *etc.* To read up for these was hard work. To this Tutor we had also to write and read essays which were criticized as the sermons to Dr. Harris. Mr. Hooper required us five days in the week for Latin and Greek. In these several ways I found quite as much as I was able to do with my two afternoons a week at Mr. Lemon's.

Dr. Harris was prosy in his Lectures, well up in the Hebrew, a candid critic on our sermons, a well-read Noncon. of the old school. He often produced deep emotions and even drew tears from many of us in many of his common prayers at the family altar.

Dr. Burder had a clear but narrow mind, prim, stiff, and formal in all his intercourse with the students, always the gentleman but no less always the distant Tutor.

Mr. Hooper was the students' favourite, a genial man in all he did, plain in manners and dress, often very amusing in his teaching and explanation of the authors we read with him. He seemed as if he could mimic the tones of Demosthenes well, and at times he sang to us whole pages of Homer—he had a fine voice.

My "kit" of books was very small, only working tools—Scott's Commentary of [*sic*] the Bible, which I had well read at Lemon's; Rollin's Ancient History; Enfield's Philosophy mental and moral with its early history; Edwards on the Freedom of the Will; Paley; Dr. Chalmers; Gregory's Letters; Lesslie on the Evidences of Christianity; Blair's Lectures; Jones on the Figurative Language of the Scriptures; Claude on the composition of a sermon; Dr. George Campbell and Fénelon on Pulpit Eloquence; Part of the works of Dugald Stewart on the Philosophy of the Mind and Morals; Dr. Wallis' Logic; Irving's Elements of Composition and Walker's Pronouncing Dictionary which two were my daily companions—such is a specimen of the kind of books in which I had felt the most interest for some years past.

I had never been in circumstances to have access to any books but those I purchased or occasionally got on loan from a friend. I knew of no Loan Libraries such as are now so common. You will easily conceive then what a new world opened to me when I found free access at all times to the large College Library. Here I could get often in an hour what I had often sought for in vain for months.

It was customary with the students to start various topics at the breakfast table for a little friendly conversation or sparring as the case might be, sometimes matters of etiquette among ourselves—the politics and "on dits" of the day. This was a good nursery for conversational purposes—when and how best to introduce a subject; how to bear contradiction in the best spirit, how not to be too readily elated by applause. That breakfast school did me much good.

This practice was much farther cultivated in a Debating Society, in which most though not all the students took part. This Society captivated me at once, and when I had been about a year at College I became its President and continued so till I left.

Strange to say, one of the topics most warmly debated was that of Dissent—yes, Dissent debated at a Dissenting College, and from conviction, and not merely from debating purposes. The fact is that most of those who separated from the Established Church up to that time were rather nonconformists than dissenters—they did not object to an Establishment of religion by the civil government, but to the incidental peculiarities, much the same as most of the Wesleyans and the Free Church in Scotland at the present day—an Establishment *per se* they approved, provided only that it were one on their own model. On every hand were found members of our churches and regular attendants at our chapels who deemed themselves happy in "being *allowed*" by the Established Church and the Government to worship God in their own way, even though debarred from the right of "marrying" and from every civil appointment except on the condition of taking the Sacrament at the parish church.

A few of us were Dissenters on principle and never would yield an inch—we gradually gained converts—we had no deserters. When I left the majority of the students were Dissenters.

I was at first also in a very decided minority on two important subjects discussed, *viz.*, capital punishment and the literal restoration of the Jews, and yet I have lived to see my views become, if not in the ascendant, yet widespread in the public mind. I have ever considered that the Giver of Life and no one else has the right to take it away, and that the restoration of the Jews is figurative and not literal. I long retained a very pleasant recollection of those debates and have no doubt that they much aided in the culture of my mind.

On these occasions we never touched on any topics strictly religious. Some of us had separate special associations for religious enquiry and discussion—twos and threes as taste and inclination determined used to meet occasionally in our studies to compare notes and seek Divine assistance. The Inspiration of the Scriptures and the Atonement were the most fully inquired into.

We had our times of relaxation, in a "big boys" playground. It was well enclosed. There we could jump, wrestle, *etc.*, at pleasure, and most of us used it freely. By the way, on one of these occasions a grave country deacon, who had come to Hoxton for a pulpit supply for the next Sabbath, on passing through the corridor happened to look out of one of the windows and saw what he saw—he raised his hands and his eyes heavenward and exclaimed—and these ministers of the Gospel!! He seemed all at once seized with the tremor of the "unco guid" Scotsman who dared not trust the celebrated Erskine to baptize his child when he found out that Erskine played on the fiddle.

Thursday evenings were always looked forward to with some anxiety, for then the preaching List for the following Sabbath was put up in the Hall. That List was generally regarded as the index of the personal feeling of the sub-committee and more especially of the presiding genius, the Treasurer, who was seldom ever absent. Some students "happened" always to have good places while others as regularly "happened" to have poor ones—at least such was the prevailing feeling among succeeding generations of students. The pockets of some of us made us quicker-eyed on such a point and perhaps not the most impartial and charitable.

Our preaching rounds were very interesting, from which many anecdotes were supplied at the breakfast table on Monday mornings. Had I a turn that way I might fill pages with these. We met every kind of treatment when out on these occasions, from the most gentlemanly to the opposite, from the most generous to the most penurious while our own feelings lent their coulor [*sic*] to not a few. When on one occasion I was at Leatherhead . . . a sudden death in the Sabbath School room prompted me to an extempore address of nearly an hour. Much was said of that address for some time after.

Much of human life might be learned in these preaching tours, and especially by me, for I was moving in a sphere entirely new. I knew what it was to be complimented without being elated and to be frowned on without being discouraged. One specimen of the latter I may note as showing the vulgar habits we met with in some deacons of our churches. One Sabbath morning on entering the vestry I was thus accosted by one of the deacons—"the sermon!! well!! it may be very fine, but it's not the Gospel".

But I pass on to other matters. I had not been long at Hoxton when my knowledge of the French language became known and especially my

being able to speak it. However common such a thing may be now, it was rare then. Several of the students wished much to learn the language. This resulted in my establishing a class for this purpose. It was quite gratuitous—ten or a dozen joined, among the number John Harris, afterwards Dr. John Harris, Theological Tutor of Cheshunt College, and Ashton, the Secretary of the Congregational Board. We met in the Library several times a week. This course afforded me much pleasure and improved my position among the students. When I left Hoxton this class made me a present of Saurin's Discourses in French, which I think has never been translated into English—the copy is still in my Library.

During one of our vacations I visited Dorsetshire with my friend and fellow-student Attkins[3]. This was his native county. On returning home the coach, on the top of which I was riding, was upset—some of the horses shied and threw us into a ditch—one lady was seriously hurt, we left her at an Inn, whose landlord engaged to take care of her. I was thrown into the ditch, which being low saved me from being injured by the coach which was above me. While lying where I was and unable to move the forefeet of the horses were prancing close to me. I was frightened, but none of them touched me. Several of us were bruised, but quite able to return to London with the coach.

During another vacation I visited Scotland, when we had as fellow-passenger the celebrated Thomas Erskine, Treasurer of the Glasgow Theological College presided over by Dr. Wardlaw, author of the Internal Evidences of Christianity, an Essay on Faith, and other works of sterling worth. I did not know him at first, yet his venerable appearance drew my attention. I often noticed him reading alone in his cabin—afterwards I found he was reading his Greek New Testament. On Sabbath morning I found him in deep and earnest conversation with two gentlemen on the Quarter Deck. These turned out to be Professors in the university of Edinburgh—all three seemed quite willing that others should share the conversation. I soon learnt they were either disputing in earnest about the Trinity or were having a friendly sparring on the subject. I felt great interest. The professors said they could not understand the Trinity, they could not conceive *how* it could exist. Erskine seized this *how* and showed them it was the *what* and not the *how* that concerned us in the matter in dispute as in the case of the union of *spirit*, soul, and body in our own persons.

In the evening the weather became rough; some of the lady passengers became frightened; one of them sitting by Erskine asked him if he was not afraid: afraid of what, he asked—of being drowned—oh no, said he, I shall not be drowned. What, not if the ship sinks? No, not even if the ship sinks. The *I*, the conscious *I*, the thinking, feeling *I* which converses with you cannot be drowned, and the Christian *I* will only exchange earth for heaven. Does not the Saviour say, "The spirit that believes in me shall never die?" Don't you believe what he says?

Before the voyage ended I often got into conversation with him. I told him I was a student from Hoxton, of which Institution he seemed to know much more than I did. He invited me to go with him to his house near Dundee or at any time to pay him a visit there.

[The next paragraph describes a visit to his home town of Kirkcaldy to see his family, and his experience of preaching in the Independent Chapel on the invitation of the minister, Mr. Aikenhead.]

The next vacation I spent at Manningtree in Essex at the request of the church there, among whom were many who wished to invite me to be their

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[3] Obed [Obadiah] Atkins, Hoxton, 1820-25, Wymondham, 1825-43.

minister and yet I never felt much attracted to the place though there were several families whose society and friendship I could not but have prized highly. Here I wrote my first piece in an *album*. I wrote it in French, and for a young lady, the daughter of a neighbouring minister who kept a Boarding School in the town and attended the chapel.

For a few Sabbaths of the following vacation I supplied at Whetstone. [Describes two experiences in Whetstone—a struggle with a young man who had cut his throat: "At the Inquest I received the thanks of the Coroner and the Jury"—and refused the reward on returning a watch he had found. The first brought him the local name of "Barnabas", the second the description "an honest man".]

Not long after this vacation I left Hoxton, but in the meantime I had the misfortune of incurring the displeasure of Mr. Wilson, the Treasurer. It was occasioned as follows. A misunderstanding had arisen between the Committee and the students in which I was in no way personally concerned while I was for a Sabbath or two supplying again at Manningtree. The students had been invited through Dr. Harris to attend an ordination service at Tooting. The students were meantime privately informed of this fact. Dr. Harris took no notice of this ordination till the time was past. On the day of its occurrence, however, many of the students, acting on their private information, absented themselves from Lectures and went to the ordination. This the Dr. reported to the Committee, a collision ensued and threatened to become serious—there were even threats of expulsion.

The students wrote to me at Manningtree and Bunter another student who was absent to come to the College as quickly as we could. On arriving we were informed how matters stood and requested to act as intermediaries in the matter. Bunter went privately to some of the Committee, I went to others, among whom was Mr. Wilson. We had a long conversation, in the course of which I admitted there were occasional laxities and irregularities among the students, while he admitted some of the Committee were hard and overbearing. The Committee met. Bunter and I were called to meet them. Wilson was in the Chair, and had informed the Committee before we entered what I had admitted to him. They asked me to specify particular cases. This I not only refused to do, but also protested against acting on what I had said as coming personally from me. I maintained it was a breach of confidence. Wilson got offended. He would not sit in that Chair and allow such language from a student. I then appealed to the Committee to say whether they approved such a course. No one answered. Then, Gentlemen, I said, I must take the liberty to tell you also what the Chairman admitted to me. Wilson rose from the Chair and was going to leave the room. I stood firm for a few seconds. Dr. Harris came to me and in his own quiet gentlemanly way said to me, Don't you think it better to let the matter drop? I said, I go with pleasure, if *you* advise it. I immediately left the room.

On reaching the Library where the students were assembled waiting the issue of our interview with the Committee, Bunter briefly told them what had transpired. They almost all rushed round me. I had such a handshaking and shoulder-slapping as one could not well bear long, nor readily forget.

The matter between the students and the Committee was compromised through the Tutors. But from that day I long stood at zero in Wilson's esteem. But the afair [*sic*] had taken wings—it soon got far beyond the College walls, and disturbing echoes returned which led the Committee to print an address to the supporters of the Institution. With much of that address I could not agree. I drew up strictures on it and read them to the

students and had their approval. I have preserved a copy of their address and also one of my Strictures. They are on the File.

A reference to this episode is made in Joshua Wilson's *Thomas Wilson*, 356 ff. Writing to John Sibree, 19 March, 1823, Thomas Wilson says:

> I feel obliged by the respect you manifest towards me, and the more, because I have lately been treated by some at Hoxton with marked indifference, to say the least, notwithstanding my desire to serve pious young men, intended for the ministry, which has been my employment for nearly thirty years.

Joshua, a dutiful son, says this refers to

> a painful subject—a spirit of insubordination, which had risen among the students of Hoxton Academy, leading them, under the influence of strong temporary excitement, to make a combined resistance to the authority of the committee, but which terminated in their submission. On such trying occasions, my father uniformly exhibited the characteristic qualities of his mind—firmness, energy, and decision, animated by a strong sense of duty. Referring to this "very unhappy dispute", he says, "Knowing that the committee were right, I felt no uneasiness for the result".

Soon after this a yet more serious cloud darkened Hoxton. The former was between the Committee and the students, this was chiefly among themselves. Bunter's glod [*sic*] watch was stolen from his study. We met in the Library for consultation and enquiry. The Tutors were informed. The servants and all the Dr.'s family were questioned and requested to say distinctly and positively whether they knew anything about it. They all denied any knowledge of it. I then said I thought we ought to do the same thing as openly and firmly. This offended their "amour propre", some even hissed me. I defended myself and said if the most select and the best Society that ever existed in the world had a Judas among twelve, am I to be put down for supposing it possible a culprit might be among forty. The fact was that some really incurred suspicion—they attended Theatres, kept late hours and pursued other courses which involved spending of much money.

The watch was found at a Pawnshop. The culprits were discovered—two students[4] —— from Wales, and ——, son of the popular minister at ——. They were expelled.

For years before I went to College, while there, and for many years afterwards I used to rise about 5 every morning. I was often employed to call any one who wished to rise early. In remembrance of this the students made me a present of a match Box, which had just made its appearance and was the first to supersede the celebrated old tinder box—the flint and steel—a process which would often irritate a saint before he could get light in the morning—rapt knuckles—damp tinder—poor matches. Well I remember all this. For you it is but a thought and then it vanishes. You have your [?][5] box—light in an instant. The box the students gave me cost 7s. 6d. It patented. This box I kept for many years and some of you may even remember taking it to Smith the chemist at Barnet for a new supply of phosphorus.

What a contrast between the gas of today and the tallow-candle of my most studious days, between the meanest match and the tinder-box!! But I must stop or I know not where such contrasts will end. Happy are they

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4 The names are given.

5 Illegible word.

who feel grateful and make progress according to their privileges and advantages.

I close this part of my narrative with a brief statement of the several invitations to a settlement which I received, some before, and some after, I left College.

[These summarized, and then thus outlined in greater detail.]

Of the Manningtree invitation [called "unanimous and orderly" in the summary] I have little to add. I long felt the friendly feelings created there between some of the families and myself, yet on the whole I never regretted declining it.

The case of Malacca was thus—about the time of my leaving Hoxton an Educating Institution was in the course of formation under the guidance of the London Missionary Society, to be superintended by Dr. Milne, who was well acquainted with China and Malacca. Its primary object was to teach young Chinese and Malays both in their own literature and in that of Europe as subservient to missionary purposes. That Society applied to the Tutors of Hoxton for some one they could recommend to unite with Dr. Milne in this undertaking. From being engaged in tuition before I entered College, and from my knowledge of French as well as English all the Tutors recommended me.

This became a matter of deep anxiety to me and after serious reflection I respectfully declined having my name sent in: yet I was long harassed with doubts as to the decision I had made. This Institution flourished long under the name of the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca[6].

Soon after the above the Russian case was presented to me. The Rev. George Burder and father of our Tutor, the first Secretary of the London Missionary Society wrote me and asked me to call on him at the Society's office. When I saw him he told me his object was to bring under my consideration a request which they had received from a Russian nobleman to send him out to Moscow a suitable young man to teach his children—naming the French and English as well as the classics as requisites, and also to distribute Bibles, Tracts, *etc.*, on his estates—no doubt chiefly among his serfs—and elsewhere as openings might present themselves. I thanked him for the compliment he paid me and requested time for consideration.

Let me note here an historic fact of no minor importance. When in 1814 the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, &c., came to England on the overthrow of Bonaparte it was ascertained that the Emperor Alexander was decidedly favourable to the distribution of Bibles, Tracts, and the location of Missions in Russia, and that many of the nobles cherished the same spirit. The knowledge of this fact made the overture to me more promising, and yet I was led to decline it, partly because it did not seem to me sufficiently ministerial, and in the course of a few years I had reason to thank God for inclining me to decide as I had done. Alexander soon died and was succeeded on the throne by his younger brother Nicholas, under whose iron hand the missionaries, among whom were Knill and Stallybrass, part of whose family was well known to Ma and me, were obliged to leave the country, and I should have been among them had I gone.

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6 Probably Milne was no longer alive when Stewart was considering this proposal, for he died in June, 1822, and the news would take long to reach England. He had gone out in 1813 to assist Robert Morrison (a Hoxton student, by the way), but the Portuguese authorities refused to allow him to stay at Macao, and in 1815 he established the Ultra-Ganges Mission at Malacca. The men who went to help him proved failures—"no one likes to be second", said Morrison—and so the Society turned to Stewart.

Some time after I settled at Barnet I had yet another pressing offer from the London Missionary Society. It was to take the superintendence of the Mission at Madagascar. Much correspondence took place between the Secretary and me, and some of his arguments had weight and could not easily be set aside, the chief being my being able to converse freely in French which was not the case with any other young minister he knew. This was an important consideration for a station where French was the language of the Court and the upper classes in the Island, as it was in England for many years after the Norman Conquest. I was to reside in the capital, under the sanction and protection of Radama the King, a professed Christian as were many of the nobles and others.

Such an offer—nay, I may say such a request—was not readily to be set aside, but after a struggle in my own mind, with the advice of some valued friends, it was thought best to remain at Barnet for a season and give it a fair trial.

It may seem strange to you, for it has always seemed so to me, that after the preceding openings, some of which had special attractions, that I should accept one from Barnet with less to recommend it than either of these foreign offers. It would be tedious for me to detail to you the complication of reasons, feelings, and circumstances which led to this preference. I cannot doubt the thing was of God, though misgivings have not seldom entered my mind in certain phases of my subsequent course.

Reviews

The church worshipping on Castle Hill, Northampton, made famous by Philip Doddridge's ministry and now bearing his name, is notable, among many other things, for being the mother of daughter churches, among which is one at Primrose Hill. This was not formed till 1903, but in *The Story of Primrose Hill Church, Northampton, 1865-1945*, Mr. Bernard S. Godfrey, a son of the present Castle Hill Church Secretary, traces its pre-history to the establishment of a Sunday School in that area by the Rev. Thomas Arnold, then minister of Castle Hill, as far back as 1865. Mr. Godfrey, whose work is based largely on the manuscript records of Castle Hill and Primrose Hill, presents a readable account of some 25 pages, and adds an appendix giving biographical notes on the eight ministers. Copies may be obtained from Mr. Godfrey, 46 Baring Road, or from the Rev. E. E. White, 103 Queen's Park Parade, Northampton, at 1s. 6d. each.

Mr. V. H. H. Green's *Bishop Reginald Pecock: A Study in Ecclesiastical History and Thought* (Cambridge Press, 12s. 6d.), which won the Thirlwall Prize for 1941, is a painstaking piece of work, which usefully fills a gap in the history of the medieval Church. To Free Churchmen Bishop Pecock is of interest both for the evidence he provides that in the middle of the fifteenth century the Lollard Movement was still flourishing, and for his own anticipations of the larger place to be given to the right to think for oneself. On the later Lollard Movement much still remains to be done, and Mr. Green, in his chapter on the Lollards, does not go beyond *c.* 1450, when Pecock wrote his *Repressor* against them; nor have the limitations of his essay permitted him to undertake the scouring of episcopal registers which is desirable. On the place and nature of reason in Pecock's argument —"The 'doom of reason' is the central feature in his thought"—Mr. Green is detailed, sound and interesting: he brings out well the medievalism and the new spirit, the balance of which makes Pecock so fascinating a figure.

Besides a full sketch of Pecock's life, Mr. Green writes on Pecock as scholar, critic and theologian, notes his importance in the development of the English language, and adds a striking appendix on his biblical references, whence it appears that he built his argument more on the Gospels than on the Epistles. Acknowledgment is made to the work and support of Bernard Manning, but the extensive bibliography lacks a reference to an article published in these *Transactions* in 1938.

It is something that Nonconformist architecture should be noted and illustrated at all in a history of the subject; and one is always loth to find fault with Batsford books. The following, however, from Mr. A. H. Gardner's admirable *Outline of English Architecture* (Batsford, 12s. 6d.), can hardly be let pass:

> Nonconformist chapels are first represented by the Quaker meeting houses of the closing years of the seventeenth century, such as Spicelands, near Uffculme, Somerset, or Jordans, Buckinghamshire, built before the ban on nonconformist buildings. Then came the Wesleyan chapels, . . . (p. 93).

On this it must be said: 1—Nonconformist chapels were not *first* represented by the Quaker meeting-houses, in fact it is hardly true to say that, as a whole, they were represented by them at all. The elders' gallery and the absence of pulpit and communion table puts Quaker meeting-houses in another class from the Presbyterian, Independent and Baptist, which were the true representatives but receive no mention. 2—The first Quaker meeting-house mentioned, Spiceland (not -lands), Devon (not Somerset), does not illustrate the argument save as an archaism; for, though the original meeting-house was erected in 1683 (not *ca.* 1700, as stated under the charming photograph), this was pulled down in 1813 and the present building erected in 1815. 3—To what "ban on nonconformist buildings" after this time (Jordans dates from 1688) does the author refer?

G. F. NUTTALL.

Another Way of Union

ON 27 Oct., 1896, the Rev. James Cooke Yarborough, Vicar of Romsey, wrote thus to the Abbey Congregational Church:

Gentlemen,

I am sure that you will sympathize with me in an earnest desire to leave no means untried to promote the cause of Christian unity. This desire on my part is the reason, after careful consideration, of what may seem to you an unexpected proposal.

I have perceived for a short time past that you have not as yet appointed a Minister to your congregation in Romsey, & I have felt very strongly that this delay may under God's guidance present an opportunity for a mutual drawing together. The differences which part the congregation of the Abbey Church from those of the Abbey Chapel are, I am convinced, comparatively small, & most of the causes which operated when your chapel was founded some centuries ago have ceased to operate. There is, too, owing to our divisions a heavy burden imposed upon the shoulders of our members in providing for the support of the ministry and there are other expenses that would not be needed if those divisions were removed, & above all, who is there who does not realise, how our hands would be strengthened and our hearts cheered against our real dangers of sin & indifference if only we were more united?

I am, therefore, Gentlemen, writing to ask if you would be willing to intrust me with the ministry of your chapel, upon my undertaking with the assistance of my colleagues to maintain the same number of services as at present.

I need hardly say that if you accept the offer I should consider myself bound to conduct the services with such simplicity and absence of ritual as should avoid hurting the feelings of your worshippers, I would of course continue in office all the present Churchworkers, Sunday School Teachers and office holders, & I would leave the entire question of finance in the hands of those who at present manage such matters, nor would I ask for any Stipend in return for my labours.

I do not propose that the Prayer book service should be used except in the morning service, the afternoon and evening services retaining their present character of extempore prayer and sermon.

I would invite you very earnestly, Gentlemen, to consider this proposal. I have myself made it a matter of prayer for Divine guidance and I believe that in making this offer I am seeking the best interests of our common Christianity. It may be that such an opportunity of healing the divisions that we all deplore may not occur again for many years, and I implore you to hesitate before you decide whether to accept or reject my offer. Mutual charity and forbearance are all that we need, and I venture to ask you at least to permit me to meet and confer with your representative members as to the possibility of our coming to some understanding.

That God may guide your deliberations to accord with his holy will and in His own good time reunite us again is the sincere prayer of your faithful servant in Christ,

James Cooke Yarborough,

Vicar of Romsey.

Surely a nice and Christian letter on the face of it, even if it does betray colossal ignorance of what a Congregational Church is and does. Unhappily, however, the Romsey Congregationalists had reason to think that there was more in it than appeared on the surface, and at that time feelings between Anglicans and Nonconformists were inclined to be bitter. It is said to be the only time when the silent deacon of the time was roused to speech, while a letter to a previous minister, William Crosbie, brought this answer to Mr. Roles, who is still a member of the church:

> The letter of the Vicar of Romsey is an *extraordinary* production. Not knowing the Vicar I cannot divine his motives. The letter *seems* to breathe a catholic spirit; nevertheless, it is an *impertinence*, and an *insult* of the *greatest* kind to the Abbey Congregational Church, with its *long* and *honourable* history, and *noble* traditions. A proposal from the Abbey Congregational Church *to take over the Abbey Episcopal Church, and all its belongings*, would just be as *reasonable*, and have *as much right* in it, as this proposal of the Vicar's. The poor man must surely have taken leave of his wits!
>
> The Abbey Congregational Church should *close its ranks*, and stand *shoulder to shoulder* in its resistance of this kind of thing.

The italics are almost as bad as Queen Victoria's, and looking back after fifty years one cannot but say, "Doest thou well to be angry?" After all, Crosbie did not know the vicar, who was probably a well-meaning but ignorant man, who had not the slightest intention of insulting the Congregationalists, who on 5 Nov. passed this resolution:

> That this meeting of members and subscribers at the Abbey Congregational Church, while desiring most heartily to reciprocate the wish of the Rev. J. C. Yarborough for more union among all sections of Christ's Church, feel that the differences between the principles of Nonconformity and the Established Church are such that the suggestions made by the Rev. J. C. Yarborough's letter would be decidedly impracticable.

Eighteenth Century Sidelights on Derbyshire Nonconformity

Extracts from *The Derby Mercury:*

1732—April 20:

April 14, 1732.

Stray'd from FINDERN near DERBY, a brown bay Gelding, about Fifteen Hands high, comes Seven Years old, with a Star and Snip, and Two white Heels behind, black Tail and Main: Whoever brings him to Dr. LATHAM's at *Findern*, aforesaid, or to NICHOLAS CHARNELL's Esq; at *Snareston* in *Leicestershire*, shall have Half a Guinea Reward.

1733—October 18:

TO BE SOLD,

A new milch'd ass and She foal six Weeks Old; Enquire of the Rev. Dr. LATHAM at *Findern* near *Derby*, or Mr. JOHN BINGHAM in *Derby*. N.B. The Ass is but three Years Old.

1735/6—March 18:

Derby, March 18th. Upon receiving the News by the Post on Monday last that the Dissenters had miscarry'd in their Endeavours to get the Corporation and Test Acts repeal'd; Orders were given for ringing all the Bells in each of our Parish-Churches, which was continu'd most Part of the Afternoon, at Night Bonfires were made in several Streets of the Town, some few Houses were illuminated, and the Night concluded with Huzza's and drinking Healths round the Bonfires. Upon this Occasion it may be remark'd that not one of our Publick News-Papers have as yet given us any Account of any publick Rejoicings in London or any other Place.

1738—April 27:

This Day was published (Price One Shilling)

A Further Defence of the Common Rights of Christians, and of the Sufficiency and Perfection of Scriptures, without the Aid of Human Schemes, Creeds, Confessions, &c. occasion'd by Mr. SLOSS's pretended True Narrative of the Case of JOS. RAWSON, who was Excommunicated by the Congregation of Protestant Dissenters meeting in Castle-Gate, Nottingham, . . . by JOHN TAYLOR, Minister of the *Gospel at* Norwich, *and late of* Kirkstead *in* Lincolnshire; *Author of the* Prefatory Discourse to *Rawson's* Narrative. Printed for Richard Hett, at the Bible and Crown in the Poultry, London: and sold by W. Ward, and T. Collier, in Nottingham; Jer. Roe in Derby, and J. Slater in Chesterfield.

—July 27:

JUST PUBLISHED, *The things that make for Peace and Edification amongst Christians;* Recommended in a SERMON preached at an Assembly of Ministers, at the *High Pavement* in *Nottingham, June* 28, 1738. And Published at their unanimous Request. By J. CLEGG, *V.D.M.* M.D. *Nottingham*. Price Six-pence.

1738/9—February 1:

WHEREAS an Incendiary LETTER, was put under the Door of the Rev. Mr. ROGERSON, the last Night; in order to the Discovering the Author, or Authors of such villainous Letter, the Worshipful the MAYOR, and JUSTICES of this Corporation, do promise to pay One Guinea to any one that can discover the Hand Writing of such Letter; and Ten Guineas to any one that shall discover the Author of the said Letter, or any Person therein concern'd, so as that he, or they, may be convicted thereof.

ROBERT WAGSTAFF, Esq; Mayor.
THOMAS GISBORNE, Esq; Alderman.

N.B. The Original is left at Mr. Jer. Roe's, Bookseller, to be view'd by any one.

The following is an exact COPY of the aforemention'd Letter, and in the Manner as it was spelt, *viz:*

For the Revd. Mr. *Rogerson* Jn *Derby.*

Sir, You are desired to la 5 gines at the Middle Dore Stone of the Meeting houce on thorsday the 1st of febuare or by god I will born doun youre houce to Dust for I have a Grate Sum of Munny to Rase or elce I wold not trobble you but by god I must heav It at this time &c by ten o Clock or I will born doun youre houce by a Leven If it is not there; Do not wach for If you do I shall know &c there fore Mak no Delays for I must not be trifel'd with now so as you prise youre self La the Munny or Els take wat fouls.

Sir I am youre Most
Humble Servant.

1739—June 7:

Yesterday was committed to this County Goal, Mr. S. Brentnal, a Preacher among the Dissenters; being charged with Counterfeiting Moidores and 36s. Pieces; he is sworn against by one —— Ashmole, who hath been strongly suspected to have made several 36s. Pieces, and hath on that Account absconded for several Months, during which Time, he, or his Relations, have in vain made several Attempts to extort Money from the said Mr. Brentnal, by threatening to swear against him if he did not supply them. The said Ashmole is also committed to Goal, since he swore against Mr. Brentnal, for Horse-Stealing.

—August 16:

Yesterday, Mr. Samuel Brentnal, a Dissenting Minister, was try'd for High Treason, by filing a certain Number of Guineas, sworn to by Geo. Ashmore, whose Evidence not being sufficient to convict him, he was Acquit. He was afterwards try'd for coyning Moidores and 36s. Pieces, the former of which he was convicted of, and receiv'd Sentence, To be imprison'd for Life and to forfeit all his Estate, Goods and Chattels. Geo. Ashmore, the chief Evidence against Mr. Brentnal, was acquit on every Thing he stood charged with.

1739/40—March 6:

To be SOLD altogether, or by distinct Farms, or in Parcels. SEVERAL Freehold Estates and Farms lately belonging to Mr. SAMUEL BRENTNALL, of *Oslaston,* in the County of DERBY; consisting of one very good capital Mansion, or Hall House, and other substantial Farm Houses, with Lands Arable, Meadow, and Pasture, suitable to each Farm House,

all inclosed in very good Condition, and well Tenanted; containing in the whole about 400 Acres of Land, with a Quantity of Timber growing thereon, lying and being in *Oslaston, Thurvaston,* &c. all in the Parish of *Sutton,* in the said County of DERBY, five miles from DERBY and six miles from the Market Town of ASHBORN, in the said County of DERBY. . . .

N.B. The Day for selling up the personal Estate of the late Mr. BRENTNALL's, at Osliston-Hall [*sic*], will be on *Tuesday* the 11th of this Instant *March,* where Cows, all manner of Household Goods, Wood, Boards, Hay, and Husbandry Implements will be sold.

—March 13:

On Thursday Night last George Ashmore, (who turn'd the King's Evidence against Mr. Brentnal, the last Assizes, for Coining) was again committed to our Goal, on Suspicion of having made a Key to unlock the Prison Door, and thereby set the Felons at Liberty, who now lie confined, in order to take their Tryals at the approaching Assizes.

1740—March 27:

On Friday last the Assizes ended here. . . . Geo. Ashmore to continue in Goal till the next Assizes.

—April 17:

Last Friday a Letter, directed to Geo. Ashmore, now in our Goal, was intercepted, and carried to Thomas Gisborne, Esq; one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, and being open'd has made a fresh Discovery of his having been concern'd in Coining several Guineas and Crown Pieces in the Month of Feb. last; since which strict Orders has [*sic*] been given for his closer Confinement, to prevent him making his Escape.

—August 6:

On Tuesday last the Assizes ended here, when Geo. Ashmore, jun. was try'd and convicted of High Treason, in counterfeiting the Current Coin of this Kingdom, and receiv'd Sentence of Death for the same. . . .

Samuel Brentnall, having received his Majesty's most Gracious Pardon, as before-mentioned, pleaded the same, and was discharged.

—August 14:

Yesterday it was very currently reported about this Town, that Geo. Ashmore (now under Sentence of Death for Coining,) had obtain'd a Reprieve till the next Assizes; but we are credibly informed the said Report is entirely false, and that his Execution is fix'd for Friday the 22nd Inst.

—August 21:

On Monday last a Special Messenger was sent up to the Lords of the Regency, in Behalf of George Ashmore, now under Sentence of Death for Coining, and we hear he return'd this Afternoon, but without Success; since which Orders have been given for executing him To-morrow at the usual Time.

—August 28:

We are inform'd that Geo. Ashmore will certainly be Executed To-morrow.

—September 4:

On Friday last George Ashmore was Executed here, pursuant to his Sentence at the last Assizes, for High Treason, in Counterfeiting Guineas and Crown Pieces; for a particular Account of whom we refer our Readers to his Confession, printed and sold by the Printer of this Paper.

—October 16:

On Saturday the 11th Instant, died after a lingering illness of seven Weeks, Mrs. Elizabeth Shaw, Wife of the Rev. Ferd. Shaw, M.A. who has been Minister of the Congregation of Protestant Dissenters in this Town, upwards of Forty-two Years.

They lived together in constant conjugal Happiness upwards of Thirty-two Years.

She was one of the Daughters of that worthy Gentleman W. Eyre, of Holme, in the County of Derby, Esq; by Catherine his Wife, one of the Daughters of the second Sir John Gell of Hopton, in the said County, Bart.

It is somewhat remarkable that two of the Sons of this worthy Pair changed their Names from the Name of their Father. The Second Son Sir John Gell, Esq; died at his Seat in Derbyshire in 1738. The Eldest Brother W. Archer, Esq; died at his Seat near London in 1739, when he was Knight of the Shire for Berks.

The Excellent Spirit, Affable Disposition, Condescending Humility, Genteel Behaviour, and unlimited Christian Charity of the Deceased, most deservedly gained her the Respect of all who knew her. She was always ready *to do Good to all, and to speak Evil of no one.* And it is universally agreed by all her acquaintance, that it may with as much Justice be said of her, as of any Person in the *present Age, That she was Righteous before God, walking in all the Commandments, and Ordinances of the Lord blameless.*

1744/5—February 1:

Derby, January 31. On Saturday Night last died, aged 72, The Rev. FERD. SHAW, M.A. who had been Minister of the Congregation of Protestant Dissenters in this Town 46 Years. He was a Gentleman of great Worth, and endu'd with many Christian Virtues; amongst others, he was very patient under the most acute Pains, and many Years Confinement; of a chearful and agreeable Temper during any Mitigation of them; and Diligent and Faithful in the Ministry, notwithstanding his Bodily Infirmities: He was affable and courteous to all; generous, and extensive in all his Charities to the Poor, not confining them within the narrow Bounds of any particular Sect or Party, but did Good to all, to the utmost of his Power; which gain'd him an universal Esteem and Good-Will from all who knew him. His Corpse was this Afternoon brought from his Dwelling-House (The Pall being supported by six Dissenting Ministers) and carried into the Chapel, where a Sermon suitable to the Solemnity, was preach'd to a very numerous Auditory, by the Rev. Mr. Rogerson; He was afterwards carried to be interr'd in the Parish Church of St. Werburg, followed by the People of his Congregation, as a Testimony to their Last Respect to so worthy a Man.

1748—November 4:

Derby, November 3. We hear from Mansfield that on Tuesday Night last died suddenly of the Gout of his Stomach, the Rev. Mr. Samuel

Shaw, Minister of the Dissenting Meeting-House there, and only Son of the late Rev. Mr. Ferdinando Shaw of this Town.

REGINALD MANSFIELD.

IDENTIFICATIONS

1. EBENEZER LATHAM, M.D. (d. 1754); Minister Findern, Db., 1720-46; Derby 1746-54.
2. JAMES SLOSS, M.A., Minister Castlegate, Nottingham, 1733-72.
3. JOSEPH RAWSON—For account of this controversy, see A. R. Henderson, *Hist. Castlegate Church, Nottingham*, (1905), 141*ff*.
4. JOHN TAYLOR, D.D., Minister Kirkstead 1715-33; Norwich 1733-57 (formed Octagon Chapel there, 1754); Div. Tutor, Warrington Academy 1757— d. 1761 (*D.N.B.*)
5. JOHN PLATTS—Minister Loscoe and Ilkeston 1708-35; d. 30 Nov., 1735.
6. JAMES CLEGG, M.D., Malcoffe 1702- and Chinley 1711-55. d. 1755 (*D.N.B.*)
7. JOSIAH ROGERSON—Friargate, Derby, 1724-1762/3.
8. SAMUEL BRENTNALL—Oslaston Hall, Derbys before 1715-? (late Mr. B., 1740). (? Presb. minister, Duffield, Derbys).
9. GEORGE ASHMORE—executed 29 Aug., 1740.
10. FERDINANDO SHAW—son of Samuel, ejected Long Whatton, Leics; minister Derby 1699-1745. (*D.N.B.*, s.v. Cantrell, H.)
11. SAMUEL SHAW—son of above. Minister Dronfield 1730-38; Mansfield, Notts 1738-48.
12. JOHN GELL—cf. Sir John Gell (1593-1671), *D.N.B.*

C. E. SURMAN.

OUR CONTEMPORARIES

In the *Journal* of the Presbyterian Historical Society of England for May, 1945, the Rev. C. M. Hilton Day recounts the 250 years' story of 'Whitehaven Presbyterian Church", and the Rev. J. Hay Colligan discusses "Metrical Psalms in England".

Historical articles in the two issues of the *Baptist Quarterly* for 1945 include the Rev. Percy Austin's account of "Barton-in-the-Beans" ("a prolific mother of churches within its own Midland area"), Dr. F. Mott Harrison's study of "The Portraiture of John Bunyan" with illustrations, and the Rev. E. W. Burt's observance of "The Centenary of Timothy Richard", a Baptist missionary to China.

In the *Transactions* of the Unitarian Historical Society for October, 1945, Dr. H. McLachlan tells what is known of the "Bridgewater Academy, 1688-1756?", and the Rev. F. A. Amphlett Micklewright urges "A New Approach to Unitarian History" of a sociological nature; "The Architecture of the Old Meeting Houses" and mission work in Birmingham are the subjects of other articles.

The *Proceedings* of the Wesley Historical Society is largely taken up with Mr. D. Coomer's "The Local Preachers in Early Methodism", who were "to some extent an excrescence": "Methodism, in its essence, was the Society *meeting*, not the Church *worshipping*".

G. F. N.

Seats and Graves from the Poole Church Book

Poole, 18 November, 1777.

Whereas the New Meeting House being nearly finished and it is become necessary to form a plan for the regulation of the Seats, we have therefore thought the following rules the most eligible, for the preservation of the public peace, and in order to give general satisfaction.

1. That the Minister have his choice of a Seat.
2. That the six Old Trustees have the next choice.
3. All the other Subscribers to take their Seats according to their Subscription to the Minister, and if it happens that some persons subscriptions of that sort are alike, the preference to be given to him that has subscribed most to the building of the New Meeting House— but if the subscriptions are alike in all respects, then to be determined by lot.

These rules appear equitable to us whose names are underwritten.

Richd. Miller	Robt. Bayly	Wm. Thomas
George Kemp	John Taylor	N. Fryer
Thos. Tile	Robt. Coward	

It is agreed that no persons shall have liberty at any time to put any Banisters, Linings or any thing that shall be above the Coppings of the Seats.

About "the Ground appointed for a Burying place" —

all persons who shall hereafter be buried there, being subscribers to the minister, their Friends or relations shall pay for the opening of the Ground four shillings — to the Minister two shillings and to the person digging the Grave one shilling and sixpence, if it be a Common Grave, but if any extraordinary depth to pay in proportion — such persons as do not belong to the Congregation are not to be allow'd a burying place in the said Ground, unless in particular cases at the request of some Subscriber, in which case (if the privilege be granted by the persons who are entrusted with the management of affairs respecting the burial Ground), there shall be double fees paid for such person or persons buried there, not belonging to the Congregation — the fees to the minister not to be paid at all in case there should be a funeral sermon for the person buried and a present be made to the Minister on that account, but if nothing be paid for the Sermon, the fees shall be paid to the Minister as before.

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(* = LIFE MEMBER)

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G. R. Barrett, Esq.
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Harold Boag, Esq.
Bolton. Mawdsley Street Congregational Church.
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Bournemouth. East Cliff Congregational Church.
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W. A. B. Leach, Esq.
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Liskeard Congregational Church.
Sir John E. Lloyd, F.B.A.
London. Clapton Park Congregational Church.
London. Church End, Finchley, Congregational Church.
London. Sydenham Congregational Church.
Mrs. E. M. McCappin.
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Rev. Reginald Mansfield.
J. W. Marriott, Esq.
Rev. R. G. Martin, M.A.
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Harold Nuttall, Esq., M.A., M.D.
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*R. Austin Pilkington, Esq.

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Principal E. J. Price, M.A., B.D.
Seymour J. Price, Esq.
Rev. Isaac Pugh.
A. S. Pye-Smith, Esq.
S. J. Rea, Esq.
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Reading. Trinity Congregational Church.
Reigate Congregational Church.
*T. Gwyn Rees, Esq.
Rev. T. Mardy Rees.
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W. J. Rowland, Esq.
Rev. Arnold W. Sims, M.A.
Stephen S. Slaughter, Esq.
Rev. A. H. Sayers.
*Dr. A. G. Sleep.
Rev. F. W. Smith.
*Sir P. Malcolm Stewart, Bt.
Rev. Charles E. Surman, B.A.
A. W. Sykes, Esq.
Taunton. North Street Congregational Church.
F. J. Tebbutt, Esq., J.P.
Rev. Harold Thomas, M.A.
Rev. J. Penry Thomas.
Rev. R. W. Tomalin.
Rev. R. R. Turner, M.A.
Sydney G. Turner, Esq.
Rev. George Walker.
Warminster Congregational Church.
H. Wash, Esq.
*Sir Angus Watson, J.P.
H. Whitebrook, Esq.
Rev. W. T. Whitley, M.A., LL.D.
D. J. Williams, Esq., M.A.
Wilmslow Congregational Church.
Wilsden Congregational Church.

National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.
City Library, Birmingham.
Congregational Library, Boston, U.S.A.
Yorkshire United Independent College, Bradford.
Public Library, Gloucester.
Huntington Library, San Marino, California, U.S.A.
Public Library, Leeds.
Public Library, Liverpool.
Friends' Historical Society, London.
New College, London.
John Rylands Library, Manchester.
Dr. Williams's Library, London.
Lancashire Independent College, Manchester.
Public Library, Manchester.
Hills Library, Newton Centre, U.S.A.
Public Library, New York, U.S.A.
Manchester College, Oxford.
Mansfield College, Oxford.
Paton College, Nottingham.
School of Religion Library, Indianapolis, Ind., U.S.A.
Public Library, Stockport.
Union Theological Seminary, U.S.A.
Library of Congress, Washington, U.S.A.
University Library, Yale, U.S.A.

Accounts for Year Ending 31st December 1945

Income	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Balances brought forward—		
Current Account	49 0 9	
Capital Account	74 12 0	
		123 12 9
Cash in Hand		5 16 7
Subscriptions—		
Current Account, 1945 ...	26 19 3	
Arrears	5 15 0	
In Advance	2 6 0	
Gift from Congregational Insurance Co., Ltd.	10 0 0	
		45 0 3
Interest on Investment		1 5 0
		£175 14 7

Expenditure	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Printing 1945 *Transactions* ...		37 15 6
Postage and Envelopes for *Transactions*		1 15 2
Treasurer's Postage Expenses ...		1 17 3
Balances carried forward—		
Current Account	42 15 4	
Capital Account	84 12 0	
		127 7 4
Cash in Hand		6 19 4
		£175 14 7

ROLAND H. MUDDIMAN, *Hon. Treasurer.*