
A table of contents for the *Transactions of Congregational Historical Society* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_congregational-historical-society-1.php

EDITORIAL

PROF. NORMAN SYKES'S presence drew a good attendance to the Annual Meeting in 1946, and his paper on "The Church of England and Non-episcopal Churches, from Hooker to Wake" was greatly appreciated. We hoped to be able to print it in this issue, but, unfortunately for us, it has to appear separately, in revised and expanded form, for other purposes. Our readers, we know, will be on the look-out for it. All the officers were re-elected. The balance-sheet disclosed a modest balance, and we began to have hopes of two issues of the *Transactions* a year as of old. But for the moment rising costs and continued shortages stand in the way.

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So far from its being unfitting for the senior editor to welcome his colleague into the ranks of authors, we are sure that readers would desire him to do so, for they have owed much to Dr. Nuttall's contributions to these pages during the years. *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience*, accepted for the Oxford D.D. degree, is an important book, and one which should have special interest for members of the Society. It is fully documented —its catena of quotations will long be of service—but it is no mere dry-as-dust compilation. Indeed the chapter, "Critical Conclusion," is perhaps the most useful in the book: Dr. Nuttall is not one of the historians who hesitate to draw conclusions; he has convictions, though he never goes beyond his authorities, and he states them fearlessly.

What is the relation of the Spirit to the Word, to preaching, to the sacraments? In what sense is the Spirit's operation limited? How can the spirits be discerned, and how can liberty be prevented from becoming licence? How far did the Puritans share the Quaker witness, and where did the two differ? These are some of the questions Dr. Nuttall discusses, and it will be seen that they are not irrelevant to present-day controversies.

Dr. Nuttall, although his title may suggest otherwise, does not make the mistake of so many thesis writers, of covering too big a period. As a matter of fact, the thesis suffers from starting too arbitrarily: remembering Dr. Nuttall's admirable work on the Lollard period, and with our own Elizabethan interests, we looked in vain for an account of the subject in the centuries before Puritanism *per se* emerged. There is much in the Elizabethan writers very relevant, and Dr. Nuttall has now the task of working back-

wards, and of showing us what ideas of the Holy Spirit are to be found, not merely in the writings of the early Independents, but in the works of men like Richard Greenham, William Perkins, and a host of others.

The valuable chapters on tolerance and toleration will also bear expansion: there is much to be written about the Spirit's influence on individuals in a church-meeting leading to a *consensus*, as well as on the training in democratic self-government such meetings furnished. Scarcely enough is said about the sense of joy found in the fellowship of the saints: here classic passages in Barrow and John Robinson would have paved the way.

The book bears some of the marks of its origin (though several times we are surprised to find quotations at secondhand); it breaks far too often into the tongues, even when adequate English words are available (*e.g., Selbstbildnisse* and *Blütezeit* on p. 8). The number, even of ministers of religion, who read both Latin and German, is few, and Dr. Nuttall has a message which should go far beyond ministers of religion. We hope, therefore, that now it may be assumed that he has won his spurs, and henceforth he will write *for the people* in a language they understand, consigning the Latin and German to the footnotes.

We welcome this book both for what it is and for the promise of that which is to come. Its author has laid the foundation of sound learning, and he has a knowledge of the history of our churches few can claim. The reception of this work we trust will be such as to be of great encouragement.

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While working on the biographies of eminent American Congregationalists we learnt of some who had lost their lives in the service of the Gospel. Already we had compiled a list—and it is far longer than is generally recognized—of Congregationalists who were put to death or died in prison in Elizabeth's reign, and it suddenly occurred to us that — incredible as it may seem — there had never appeared a complete Congregational martyrology. This, of course, must be put right at the earliest possible moment. Dr. F. F. Goodsell and his colleague, Mrs. Dunlap, of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, gave ready help, and they have prepared (what has never previously existed) a list of missionaries who have met death by violence while in the service of the Board. With a similar list from the London Missionary Society, we should have a fairly complete record. It depends on the final length whether this will appear as an article in our next issue or as a separate booklet.

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It is good to know that Miss Mary Ellen Chase, whose writings about New England are so widely welcomed, is at work on a biography of Jonathan Fisher, Congregational minister of Blue Hill, Maine, from 1796 to 1837. The sketches prepared by Fisher's descendants, and Miss Chase's references in *A Goodly Heritage*, have already acquainted us with the gifts of one of the most versatile men who ever served in the Congregational ministry. What single-track men we seem as we read Miss Chase's account (in *A Goodly Heritage*) of one whose memory still lived in her home town, though he died forty years before she was born:

> His genius was indeed a multifarious one, mechanical, financial, intellectual, social, spiritual. His energy was exhaustless. Once arrived at Blue Hill with his young wife, he began the erection of a substantial and beautiful home. The design was his own, even to the minutest details; much of the actual building he did himself. During an evening walk he discovered yellow ochre on a portion of the land allotted to him as settlement and was freed from any further anxiety on the score of paint. Practically every piece of furniture he made with his own hands. He constructed a clock which ran for fifty years without repair and with no attention save winding. He built the first windmill in town, and to be served by it a machine for sawing wood. . . . He was, of course, a farmer, raising practically all the food which his family of nine children consumed. He was also the surveyor for the community, utilizing his knowledge of mathematics to accomplish the work made possible by the surveying instruments he invented. He found leisure to adorn the walls of his dwelling with pictures, to paint a portrait of himself as he sat before a mirror, and to paint also a picture of Harvard College as it was in his days as a student. . . .
>
> He devised a system of shorthand which enabled him to write any ordinary morning's discourse on one-eighth of a sheet of foolscap [thus saving $70.00 in 30 years!]. . . . His Hebrew lexicon, still in manuscript, remains the great achievement of his life.

Having no horse he used to walk 35 miles to the Trustees' Meetings of Bangor Seminary.

Ministers who, in days when they have to perform duties many and varied, cannot wait for Miss Chase's volume, should turn to Vol. II of Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit* to see what is there said about Fisher, or try to get Mr. G. C. Hall's *Biographical Sketch* and its *Supplement*.

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A fanfare can scarcely be deemed either history or biography,

but the notes added to each chapter of Miss Edith Sitwell's *Fanfare for Elizabeth* make the reader believe that the author considers it either the one or the other. A glance at the books and authorities mentioned in these notes is sufficient to assure the student that the book is little more than fiction, and to give him considerable amusement. Miss Sitwell neither knows what authorities are important nor how they should be used, and she is ignorant of the meaning of common Elizabethan words. One wonders why this book was written at all: it brought back to mind the reviewer's description of *Hilda Lessways* as "the prolonged squeezing of a dirty sponge". The adulteries, infidelities, familiarities, of the Tudors and their Courts, plus more or less irrelevant descriptions of the plague and the pox, cures and recipes, make up the book, with a few of Miss Sitwell's prejudices thrown in. Miss Sitwell has nothing new to tell us: there is not a thing in the book which is not well known to students, and it is regrettable that she has again stirred the putrid waters. Any who wants a reliable account of Elizabeth's youth will find it in Prof. J. E. Neale's *Queen Elizabeth,* which is readable without being a fanfare!

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While perhaps only one of our Colleges—New College, London—has a Library at all comparable with that of New College, Edinburgh (had Mansfield received Acton's library, as it nearly did, there would have been a different story to tell), yet many of them have had a longer and a not less interesting history. We wish that all of them would make that history available in as readable and handy a form as the Principal (Dr. Hugh Watt) and the Librarian (Dr. A. Mitchell Hunter) have done in *New College, Edinburgh: A Centenary History* (Oliver & Boyd, 15/-). Dr. Watt describes the story of the College through the various crises from its foundation: the rally of the Free Church after the disruption, the shock of 1904, and reunion with the Church of Scotland. We are given lists of the principals and professors, with biographical and bibliographical notes, all well arranged. The Library shared in the College's vicissitudes, and in 1904 the then Librarian nearly succumbed to the temptation to remove some of the most valuable books before the House of Lords decision took effect: indeed he did succumb, but restored one night the volumes he had taken home in a cab the previous one! The Library has now been made easily accessible to students, and in this volume Dr. Mitchell Hunter, who rightly takes pride in it, describes some of its treasures. Would that anyone could take pride in the condition of the Congregational Library at the Memorial Hall!

Accounts of the various Students' Societies, *etc.*, add to the value

of a fascinating volume which will always be a valuable work of reference.

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We give a warm welcome to Mr. Martin S. Briggs's *Puritan Architecture and the Future* (Lutterworth Press, 8/6), though it would have been as well if its historical pages had been vetted. Mr. Briggs is a son of the Congregational Manse, and an architect of standing, and he has made some notable contributions to the study of his craft. He believes that there is a Puritan tradition in church building, and that it should find expression in the new buildings to arise under "reconstruction"; he aims at

> the elimination of all restless, discordant, and unsymmetrical features in the ritual requirements of the auditorium: pulpit, communion table, organ, and font. The result should be a very simple and restful church, leading the average mind to worship instinctively because of the lack of distractions, whether such distractions be consciously apprehended or not.

The plates and line drawings give some idea of what Nonconformists have done in the way of church building, recently as well as in times long past, and a study of Mr. Briggs's pages should prevent any addition to the monstrosities of which, it is to be feared, they have sometimes been capable.

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Sir John Lloyd writes:
"That Trevecca House (now College Farm) bears date 1776 (*Trans.*, p. 61) is a misreading of 1576. Theophilus Jones exposed the error in his *History of Brecknockshire*, Vol. II (1809), under Talgarth."

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ANNUAL MEETING, 1947

This year we have another distinguished visitor for the Annual Meeting, Dr. E. F. Jacob, Fellow of All Souls, Oxford, who will speak on "Lollardy and the Reformation". The meeting will be held in one of the rooms of Westminster Chapel on Wednesday, May 14th, at 5.30, and we hope members will make it widely known to delegates to the Congregational Union and others.

Alexander Stewart's Students at Barnet

IN the last issue of the *Transactions* (XV.75-83) we printed Alexander Stewart's account of life in Hoxton Academy from 1820 to 1823. In the latter year he settled at Barnet, and in 1827 opened a school for boys. Before long he was employing older boys as pupil teachers, and almost invariably they entered the ministry. With "ten or twelve boarders and rather more day scholars" and only a pupil teacher for help, Stewart thought his hands were full. Here his narrative* takes up the story:

I soon found that additional work was cut out for me. The Rev. Thomas James[1] of Woolwich, wrote and asked if I could take a young man from the West Indies, who was under his care and who wished to enter the ministry, on trial for a time as he did not like to take all the responsibility on himself of either recommending or discouraging him. I agreed to this at once.

Shortly after I received a letter from Thomas Wilson, Treasurer of Highbury College, informing me that the Rev. W. Scott[2], who had for many years had charge of the preparatory studies of young men for that college, had been invited to take the principal chair in the college recently instituted at Airdale in Yorkshire, and had accepted it, and thus left vacant the position he held in connection with Highbury. Mr. W. said also that he would be glad to see me for some conversation on the subject. You may readily suppose that this letter took me no less by surprise than gratitude after the coolness that so long had subsisted between us, even though I had of late seen some faint indications that his aversion to me was abating. I went to see him at once, and perceived in the course of a few seconds that the matter was already decided in his mind, and it came out some months afterwards that both he and the Highbury Committee were so well pleased with the training Bevan[3] had received, and the Tutor's recommendation of me to the College at Malacca[4] that it was agreed Mr. Wilson should see me on the subject.

I agreed to take the students on the same terms and conditions as Scott, viz. at 40£ a year, and to keep them during the holidays unless they wished themselves to relax their studies at such times.

About a year afterwards I had a similar request from the London Missionary Society.

When it became pretty well known that I thus took students some came

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* See the previous article for a description of the narrative, now printed for private circulation by Sir P. Malcolm Stewart, Alexander's grandson.

1 1789-1873. Brother of John Angell James. Leaving Woolwich in 1843 he was Secretary of the Irish Evangelical Society from 1843, and of the Colonial Missionary Society from 1850.

2 Walter Scott (1779-1855), Minister at Rothwell from 1812, and had an Academy there, 1816-33, Tutor at Airedale (which Stewart always spells without the "e" in "Aire"), 1834-56.

3 See below, p. 104.

4 See *Trans.*, XV. 83.

to me on their own account and paid for themselves, and others came from different churches direct, and not through any other institution; hence some went to other colleges than Highbury and others direct to the ministry.

In this way I was supplied with students for a number of years, having sometimes as many as ten at a time. But the average number was about five.

As our two houses were too small to accommodate these students as well as our boarders I acquired additional room from the house adjoining the school-house. Here I obtained, first two, then three, rooms, in one of which I taught the students separate from the boys. We cut a doorway into this house from the stairs of the school-house and nailed up the doors which led to the parts of the house which we did not occupy.

Now I felt afresh that I must have more assistance in the school than Nisbet[5] could give me. I advertised for an assistant . . . It happened at that very time that my friend Samuel Taylor had a youth whom he had trained for teaching, in whom he took much interest and wished to get advantages his own school did not afford. He came to Barnet to talk to me on the subject. The result of this was that George Jones came to me almost immediately: he was then about twenty years of age and fully answered my purpose. He taught in part, and in part I taught him, in some things with the students, in others in school. I paid him nothing, he paid me nothing. Mr. Taylor assisted him.

I will here state in brief the course of studies through which I led these students. Cæsar, Virgil, Horace, Greek Minora, The Dialogues of Lucian, Homer, Hebrew Grammar, Part of Genesis and some Psalms, Euclid, Taylor's Elements of Mental Philosophy, Ancient and Modern History, Paley's Natural Theology, Butler's Analogy, Digest of Blackstone on the Laws of England, Pinnock's Outline of Natural Philosophy. Draw up outlines of sermons, write Essays, Smart's Elocution, and weekly recitations. We took our relaxation generally together. I walked with them, ran with them, jumped with them, wrestled with them, and took a most active part in the playground at our game of Fives.

They occassionally preached for me, especially when I did not feel quite well. In the Hay season, every Sunday, they went and addressed the men in every direction — were often sent for to supply Pulpits in the neighbourhood, while most of them took an interest and a part in our Sunday school, Tract Society, and in my social meetings for prayer and exhortation in different houses in the town.

They gave a healthy tone to the boys in the school, increased our influence in the town, while as critical hearers, to some extent, they had their influence on my own preaching.

As I consider my course in connexion with the students, seeing it included a treble course — my ministry, the school, and themselves — the most laborious, the most interesting, and the most useful in my life, a brief account of the students and some incidents connected with them may claim a place in this Narrative . . .

Most of the students came to me from Mr. Wilson, so that they necessarily went to Highbury College when they left us. Others went, some to Cheshunt, some to Airdale, some to Newport Pagnell, one to Spring Hill: others went direct into the ministry, and the missionary students who went for teachers, went also direct into their respective fields of labour.

I shall notice first those who were with me as Teachers as well as students, and then those who were students only.

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[5] See below, p. 104.

Bevan[6] was the first; he came to me as a pupil in the year '27 when I began school, when fifteen years of age, and in a year or two afterwards partially assisted me in the school while I continued to instruct him. I found him a very interesting youth from the very first of his coming to us — was always in great favor with the boys and all in our house — he came a decided Christian under my ministry — held frequent prayer-meetings with the boys — wrote much for me in my study — with my approval entered the ministry — came often from College to see us and sometimes to preach for me — and when he left College, settled at Wellingboro, where Dr. Halley stated the nature of a Gospel Church and I gave the charge at his ordination. When his Father died he left me as the Executor of his Will, his brother Charles came to us as a pupil, and his two sisters . . . joined the Misses Sherley and Adams in my school for French, etc.

When he got hold of the few hundred pounds — nearly a thousand — which came to him after his father's death, he became a little extravagant, and almost foppish for a time, and caused him to leave Wellingboro*, but he soon rallied, obtained a charge in Liverpool, became Secretary of the Evangelical Alliance, was congratulated by Lord Brougham for his promising oratory at an Anti-Slavery meeting. He has lately[7] had a church and congregation at Bow. Though our intercourse of late has been little, unbroken friendship has continued from the first. I have just destroyed the mass of letters which have passed between us, ever abounding in expressions of grateful feelings towards me.

Nisbet[8] came to school much about the same time as Bevan. He was at first a Day Scholar — his father was a butcher in Barnet, his mother a member of our Church. I found he had promising talent and took an interest in him, induced his father to leave him longer at school than he intended or indeed could afford. I then took him in Bevan's place, though I got much less with him than I had with Bevan. At last indeed his father declined to pay anything at all. I then took him entirely at my own cost.

Like Bevan he became a Christian under my ministry — wished to enter the ministry which I encouraged, but could not send him to College for want of pecuniary means. He continued to teach and I to instruct him for two or three years, when an opening for his services in Van Dieman's Land presented itself, and was accepted by him. I got Mr. Thomas Wilson to pay his passage, and managed to get him a good fit out in Barnet. Dr. Halley of Highbury and John Clayton of the Poultry Chapel took part with me in his ordination in our chapel. I got him a ship and he left for Van Dieman's in the year '35 where he has been ever since. Thence he wrote me many long letters giving me full particulars of all his movements for several years till he returned on a visit here for a short time with a family by the name of Hopkins[9] . . . He was engaged to one of the daughters of this family, and evidently he was lifted up and changed. He lived with them in their splendid appartments in town, and came but once

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6 William Bevan (1812-74). Salem, Wellingborough (1835-7); Newington, Liverpool (1837-47); Sec., Evangelical Alliance (1847-9); Snow Hill, Wolverhampton (1849-60); Harley St., Bow (1861-74).

* Stewart's note: "write a letter to Bevan on his leaving Wellingboro for Liverpool in March/37, on his dressiness, and some other matters."

7 Written in 1868. 8 John Nisbet (1814-99?). Hobart Town, Tasmania (1835-51); New Town, Tasmania (1852-95).

9 Hopkins, who was a wealthy merchant, tried to persuade Stewart to go to Van Dieman's Land to establish a Collegiate School.

to Barnet, when he refused to go and see his Father, for which I blamed him. He got offended and has never written to me since. Nor has he ever returned me several volumes of Skeletons of Sermons, by Simeon of Cambridge, which I lent him when he first left us. I have ever regretted this because these volumes were a part of the books which the boys at Lemon's gave me when I went to college.

I have burnt all his long letters to me, as well as mine to him, except one or two to show his feelings of gratitude to me when he first left Barnet.

George Jones[10] . . . helped me in school long before Nisbet left. He came, like Bevan and Nisbet, under the felt influence of religion, and I got him often to come to me with the students when I ascertained that he longed to enter the ministry, and grieved over his want of means to do so. I mentioned his case to Mr. Thomas Wilson, who, on my recommendation, proposed him to the Highbury Committee, after engaging to give him 10£ a year during his College course, while I got the church at Barnet to give him 5£ more.

At the close of his College course he settled at Woodford. At his ordination I gave the charge — often visited him and preached for him. He left Woodford a few years after to take another charge in Hampshire . . .

William Sharp[11] was my next assistant in the school. He came in consequence of an advertisement. His father was a London minister. He paid me nothing. I paid him nothing. For his assistance I assisted him. Like Jones he often joined my students' class as he wished to prepare himself for the ministry, though for some time he was undecided. I liked him very well as a teacher in the school and he took a very good position among the students. I joined with his father in recommending him to Cheshunt. His father soon died, but during the whole of his College course he came often to see me and not seldom to preach for me. When he left Cheshunt he took a charge in a very distant part of the country, but he soon died of consumption.

I next got assistance from my two senior pupils, both just turned 16 years of age — **Edward Sherley**[12] and **John Holford**[13]. I received from their parents 20£ a year instead of 35£, while I engaged that they should in part join the students' class. They took alternate weeks in school and with the students. I divided my own time thus and from 9 to 11 I was always in school with the boys, from 11 to 1 I was with the students, and an hour to each in the afternoon. I could very well hear all the students could prepare for me in these three hours, and also the more important of the boys' lessons in their three, with occasional attendance and regular revision of what was done by the boys under their teachers. The students were not only at liberty to be with me in the school while I heard the boys, but invited to attend, and some of them even joined in the boys' classes at their own request. The students read Smart's Elocution and said their recitations in turn with the boys in the schoolroom, and all felt the more present the better . . .

I liked Bevan much, Nisbet and Jones not so much but Sherley more, and my special regard was as well deserved on Sherley's part as it was

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10 Woodford, Essex (1840-7), Emsworth (1847-9).

11 Was at Abingdon 1842-4, when he died. Query, Abingdon does not seem "very distant." Did he first go elsewhere?

12 1821-44.

13 A "J. A. Holford" was student at Fakenham in 1839, but does not seem to have entered the ministry.

cordially given on mine. He lost his father as I have stated[14], and his mother and sisters always looked to me in my measure to supply his place. Edward was with me eleven years from between six and seven years till he went to College when turned eighteen. Under my teaching and preaching he was led to consecrate himself to God, and then to the ministry. A more interesting youth I never knew — attractive in person — with talents much beyond the average, and manners that bespoke him favour in every circle. He went to Cheshunt College from our house better prepared than any other that left our house. Dr. Harris, the resident Tutor of Cheshunt, told me he considered Sherley's talents equalled any in their house, while he was the only student they had ever received who could read a Psalm or a chapter in Hebrew when he came to them.

Early in his College course he set his mind on going to China, consulting me on every stage of the process, but the medical men of the London Missionary Society declared the state of his health unfavorable. He, however, continued at College till nearly the close of his course. At last the fatal disease set in on him, and he was obliged to leave. Consumption carried him off in the 22nd year of his age. I was much with him in his illness and often marvelled at his perfect resignation and thanked God for his bright dying hope, but I long felt his loss . . . I have preserved many of his letters, not on the File, but in a small package tied round with a bit of string, because I could not bear to burn them with my own hands.

John Holford was the elder of two brothers who had been long with me as pupils. He also was an interesting and affectionate youth, though he possessed neither the talents nor the perseverance nor the dignified character of Sherley. He joined the Church at Barnet, and wished me to introduce him to the ministry, but a certain giddiness which I occasionally saw in him, and a great propensity to flirtation with some young ladies in the town made me hesitate. In the meantime a matter came to light which in some measure accounted for some of his conduct and tended to sober his mind. He found that all was not right at home, that his mother was not his father's wife . . . This greatly unsettled him, caused unpleasantness with his father, and led him to wish to leave Barnet where the thing was becoming known. He left us and went to prosecute his studies with another minister. From that minister's he went to Highbury, but did not long continue there. After his leaving Highbury the next I heard of him was that he had gone to California. He came several times to see us at Barnet, wrote me many letters both before he went to Highbury and while he was there, in which he expressed much gratitude and strong personal attachment.

When Sherley and Halford left I was for some time very unsettled in respect to assistance in the school. I had two, each for a short time. They did not suit me.

Henry Allon[15] came next. Mr. Challis, the Treasurer of Cheshunt College, wrote and asked me to take him for a time as a student, but could not give me anything with him, as their College had no funds for such persons as Highbury. He wished him to help me in teaching as a

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[14] Guilty of forgery, he had been helped by Stewart to flee first to France, then to America.

[15] For Allon, who was to become minister of Union Chapel, Islington, editor of the *British Quarterly Review* and several hymn books, and twice Chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, see Peel, *Letters to a Victorian Editor*, p. 2, where some of Sir Halley Stewart's recollections of Allon are given.

compensation. I was not in circumstances at that time to refuse such help, so I agreed for him to come. He did pretty well for one not accustomed to teach, with very little knowledge of Latin, and no knowledge of French, and he kept the boys in good order while he gave us good assistance with our singing.

As a student he did not seem to me to have much aptitude for languages but he was fond of history, general knowledge, theology, and the elements of mental and natural philosophy. He had read a good deal and always wrote good essays and spoke with ease. He copied large and numerous extracts from my sermons into his Commonplace book, and after he settled at Union Chapel he told me he found more thought in one of my sermons than in half a dozen of Lewis's[16].

He was with us in the year '40 when my sister died, and he was always ready to conduct our social meetings when I was unable to attend. In '41 I sent in my report of him to the Committee, and then he went to Cheshunt and joined Sherley and Sharp there.

Let us now turn back and take a more cursory view of those who were students and not teachers.

I have already said our first came from Thomas James of Woolwich — a West Indian by the name of **Mayne**[17]. He had not been long with us when I found that I could not recommend him, as I could not see the requisites necessary for a College course of study. I told Mr. James what I thought. Mayne got offended. He left us for a time, and then he came to study as a Teacher for some Missionary station in connexion with the London Missionary Society. He never got on well — he was very conceited and self-willed and never agreed well with the other students. He was with us about 18 months, then went to the West Indies when we lost sight of him.

Mr. **Field**[18] was the first that came to us from the Highbury Committee. He had been a short time with Mr. Scott, but came to me when Scott went to Airdale. He did very well with us. At the expiration of a year he went to Highbury — then settled in Norfolk, where he has been ever since.

Mr. **Flower**[19] was the second — did well — preached for me again and again — was one of the most zealous in preaching to the Haymakers in the season — obtained from me a very good report — went to Highbury — settled in Cambridgeshire — married a sister of Mr. Ball, late[20] M.P. for Cambridgeshire, whose son I got as a pupil through him. The boy became consumptive. I wrote to his Father — he came and remained with us several days — took the son home where he soon died. Mr. Ball wrote me a very nice letter and made me a present of 10£.

Mr. **Dartnell**[21] came in a few weeks after Flower. His appearance and his manners created an interest at once — polite — courteous — intelligent and studious. But in less than 8 months a suspected latent disease made progress. He was advised to take a sea voyage. He went to Van Dieman's in the ship with Nisbet, thence to New Zealand, where he died in about a year afterwards.

Mr. **Mann**[22], a relative of the Manns on Barnet Common who attended

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16 Thomas Lewis was the senior minister at Union Chapel, to whom Allon went as colleague, and whom he succeeded in 1852.

17 Nothing further ascertained about him.

18 Joseph Field, Diss, 1837-77.

19 David Flower (1812-59); Burwell (1840-7); Clavering (1848-59).

20 This word uncertain. 21 Nothing ascertainable.

22 Thomas Mann (1814-98). Isle of Ely (1837-9); Trowbridge (1839-94).

our chapel and sent their son a pupil to us, came next. He honorably passed his course with us and in due time went to Highbury, always visiting us during his College course when he came to see his relatives. He settled in a distant part of the country and thus we lost sight of him.

Mr. **Kay**[23] came about the same time as the above, from Angell James of Birmingham and also a letter from Thomas Wilson engaging to pay for him. He did well with us in every respect — preached for me frequently when with us at Barnet, when at Highbury, and after he settled in the ministry. He married Miss Adams of Barnet, one of the young ladies who came to our school in the afternoons for French, etc.[24] . . . an office which I performed for him.

Lewis[25] came in a few weeks after Kay. He did not seem the most polished at first sight, but he soon showed that he had both a head and a heart. He excelled all in Euclid, while inferior to none in the languages, etc. He went from Highbury as a missionary — remained many years in India — became a first-rate Bingalee [*sic*] scholar, and returned in bad health some years ago. He was one of my chief competitors in playing at Fives . . .

Corbin[26] came about the same time as Lewis. He was of gentle, engaging manners — always ready to oblige, but did not evince first-rate talent. He had one eye to my sister, while she by no means frowned on it. I urged on both to delay engagement till a more advanced period of the College course, as I had often seen hasty engagements with young ladies broken of[f] by students when they got into new connexions. They both accepted my advice. My sister died before he finished his College course. He settled at Derby, then joined Dr. Campbell as his assistant or co-pastor in London. He is now at Hornsey and sent his sons to us at P.H.[27]

Browning[28] came next — did well in all his course with us — went to Highbury — settled in Suffolk, where he has been ever since, and took part with me in an ordination service in his neighbourhood several years after his settlement. He was no favorite with my sister as she never could relish what seemed to her and perhaps to others his untidy habits. He was my most formidable opponent in wrestling and fencing: on one occasion, lest he should conquer, I roused up, put forth all my strength, and threw him with such force that all feared for some days that he was seriously injured — all however passed off well.

Easterbrook[29] came the same day as Browning — he had very good talents, but sadly lacked application, yet on the whole I felt bound to recommend him. He passed through his course at Highbury also, and settled in the ministry. Even when with us he felt hard-pressed for money for some necessary things. I lent him some and got it again before he left College. Things did not come out well with him. He called on us at Camden Road a year or two ago hawking books.

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23 John Kay (1813-54). Coggeshall (1838-54).

24 Miss Adams had written love-letters to Holford, also at Highbury. This brought Stewart into trouble with Mrs. Adams, as the narrative relates.

25 Ebenezer Lewis (1812-73). L.M.S. Missionary in South India (1839-62).

26 John Corbin (1811-90). Victoria St., Derby (1838-53); Moorfields, London (1853-6); Park Chapel (1856-71).

27 Palmer House, the school Stewart and his sons opened in Camden Rd. on leaving Barnet.

28 Samuel Browning (1809-90). Felling (1839-43); Framlingham (1843-70).

29 W. Easterbrook was at Overton, Hants. (1837?-43); Tuxford (1843-5?)

All the above came to us in the year 1833.

Beazley[30] came to us at the beginning of '34. He came direct from an Iron Foundry, recommended by Mr. Pope[31], his minister and brother of Mr. Pope of Barnet Common, and a warm friend of ours. Mr. Wilson paid for him as a probationer for Highbury. He was a diamond in one — his natural talent was considerable — his application surprising. In most things he soon got ahead of those who had had a better early education. How many anecdotes — all to his credit — could I gladly give you . . . Though at first he was troubled with a rather low provincial accent, and a stranger to a large vocabulary of words, yet, by sheer determination and industry, he became the best critic on the pronounciation of words at our regular readings at the breakfast and the tea table. He willingly joined in with the youngest class in the school and changed class only as he got ahead. This was extra to his student work. At the expiration of twelve months I recommended him to Highbury, and was not a little mortified at their refusing him — he was the only one they refused whom I recommended. Mr. Wilson told me he did not agree with the Committee in refusing him, and said he would pay for him, apart from Highbury, to remain twelve months longer with me in order to be better able to take some charge when he left Barnet.

In due time he agreed to go to Van Dieman's in connexion with the Colonial Missionary Society. He was ordained at the Poultry Chapel — I gave the charge — Mr. Wilson gave me 20£ for his fit out and I got 20£ in Barnet, chiefly from Mr. Roberts. I got him his ship — he labored honorably in Van Dieman's many years and now he succeeds Mr. Sherman at Blackheath.

Rogers[31a] was the next that came to us — he was lame in one of his legs. He evinced no special aptitude for a College course, yet he had a very good turn for preaching. At the close of his year, I informed Mr. Wilson, yet pleaded for encouraging Rogers as a preacher in some country place. Mr. Wilson agreed to support him another year with us, at the close of which got him introduced to the church at Lowestoft in Norfolk. I gave the charge at his ordination there — did a similar service when he went to Rendham — and again at Bedford Chapel when he came to London. Since then he has again removed into the country. I had much correspondence with him. His letters abound in expressions of gratitude to me.

Emeric de St. Dalmas[32] came about the same time as Rogers. He came from Guernsey, guided and helped by Mr. Wilson. He evidently came from a most respectable connexion. He was young — handsome — well-educated and quite the gentleman — the favorite in our house. He brought his sister from Guernsey on a visit to us . . . He went to Highbury, but left before the end of his course. He joined the Plymouth Brethren.

David Jones[33] soon followed. He was Welsh — knew English but very imperfectly. His Father brought him and paid for his year at once. He got on very well with all his studies except reading Smart and his recitations. He went to Airdale, settled in the North, and remains there.

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[30] Joseph Beazley (1821-99). Tasmania (1836-46); Sydney (1846-60); Blackheath (1860-74).

[31] Alfred Pope, minister of Spencer St., Leamington.

[31a] John Rogers (1815-71). Barnet (1835-7); Lowestoft (1837-44); Rendham (1844-50); Bedford Chapel, London (1851-6); Bridport (1857-71).

[32] No information.

[33] 1819-97. Booth (1842-85).

Lings[34] came in the beginning of '36, made his own arrangements with me, paid me — continued about a year — preferred Airdale and went there on my recommendation. He was quite the gentleman. He settled in the North, and has since paid us several visits. He always speaks in high terms of the time he spent with us at Barnet.

Robinson[35] came about a month afterwards, sent by Mr. Wilson. He had had but very little education — but very fair talents. He was not a favorite in our house nor most liked by the rest of the students. I had to battle often with the high Calvanism [*sic*] of some of the students, Mr. Robinson clung to his to the last. There was some hitch that kept the Highbury Committee from receiving him — with some difficulty I got him to Cheshunt.

Charlton[36], who had just closed his apprenticeship with Cowing[37], came to me on trial for a time with a view of entering the ministry. His Father paid for him, but it was "no go" — he returned to business.

Taylor[38] followed him. At the request of the church at Hatfield he often preached there, but when I saw it was interfering with his studies I told him he must not go so often. He went to Newport Pagnell, a small College under the tutorship principally of the Rev. Mr. Bull.

Drew[39] came at the same time as Taylor. He came on the recommendation of Stratten[40] of Paddington who was son-in-law of Mr. Thomas Wilson, but his own Father paid for him. He was very respectably connected — had had a very good education, and did all his studies with ease, but I never could get him to engage in prayer in turn as the rest. He went to Cambridge and not to Highbury when he left us.

Griffiths[41] came to us in a fustian jacket—with a very scanty degree of education, and an exchequer not much better. If I remember right, a small bundle contained all he brought with him. I made him a present of a pair of boots I brought from Calais which had been always too small for me. Nevertheless Griffiths had a head, and in a short time took and held his position well. He went from us to the College at Spring Hill near Birmingham. He has just removed from Hitchin to Eastbourne.

Charles Brown[42], who came as a pupil to me in '27, now came as a student in '37. Mr. Wilson paid for him. He went through his course with us very well — passed on in course to Highbury — remained there a few years, but not his full time — he returned again to business and has since sent his son to us at P.H.

Richards[43] came to us in '37 — remained a year — went to Airdale and has remained in the North.

Watson[42] came in '38 — corresponded with the London Missionary Society for a time — had an altercation with his uncle — sent their correspondence to me as umpire between them, went to business again when he left us. His son is now a pupil at P.H. Most of you may remember the Bible he gave me when leaving. I have almost always used it when marrying a couple.

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34 Henry Lings (1810-1900). Oak St., Accrington (1846-53); Fleetwood (1854-79).

35 No information.

36 No information.

37 A local printer.

38 John Taylor (? -1845). Tooting (1840-1 . Hounslow (1841-5).

39 Unknown.

40 Of Paddington Chapel.

41 William Griffith (not Griffiths), 1817-99. Tutbury (1842-8); Keyworth (1848-51); Hitchin (1851-68); Eastbourne (1868-79).

42 Nothing further known.

43 George Richards. Alnwick (1844-9); Howden (1850-62); Beverley (1862-71?)

Charter[44] — **Parish**[45] — **O'Kell**[46] — **Henderson**[47] — came from the London Missionary Society chiefly for preparatory study to go into the field of missionary labor as teachers. They did well with us — left a good impression behind them — and wrote afterwards to me from the West Indies and South Seas.

I have thus . . . given you a view of my student teachers and students proper, running through about 15 years of my school course at Barnet, including incidents which will enable you pretty well to see that my life at that time was no sinecure . . .

But a change became necessary. As our number increased, we felt the crowded state of the boys more and more, and in review, I often wonder how we managed so well with such a variety huddled together from day to day, from night to night. It was often a matter of conversation beyond our family circle. Mr. Thomas Wilson and others saw and said that my hands were too full, as well as our accommodation too small. He proposed that I should take a good-sized house in Barnet or in its vicinity — give up my school and confine myself to students, informing me he had had conversations with the principal managers of the London Missionary Society on the subject — he would guarantee a certain number.

This matter pressed heavy on my mind for some time. While I should have much liked what Mr. Wilson suggested I saw the difficulty about the educating of my own children, both in respect to moral training and the means of sending them to schools such as I should like. Besides I knew some of the leading men of the Missionary Society had set their minds on having a similar provision exclusively for themselves, while I could not ignore the palpal [*sic*] fact that Mr. Wilson was ageing fast, and that his successor might not "know Joseph." I decided, God helping me, to keep to my school.

[I am indebted to the Rev. C. E. Surman, B.A., for most of the identifications in the above narrative.—ALBERT PEEL].

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[44] George Charter (1811-98). South Seas for L.M.S. (1838-53); Woolongong, N.S.W. (1855-85).

[45] William Parish (1811-37). L.M.S. Schoolmaster, Bertice (1836-7).

[46] William O'Kell (1812- ?). L.M.S. Schoolmaster, Jamaica (1838-40), then resigned.

[47] Thomas Henderson (1812-70). L.M.S. Schoolmaster, Demerara, afterwards ordained; Lusignan (1840-68); Bertice (1868-70).

Tattenhall Congregational Church, Cheshire

TATTENHALL, which lies half-way between Chester and Nantwich in the south-west corner of the county, has just celebrated the "triple jubilee" of Congregationalism in the village. Its history, which has never yet been written, is that of struggle and of alternating success and despondency and is mirrored in the "Tattenhall Independent Chapel Church-Book, 1822," which covers almost exactly a century of the century-and-a-half and brings the story down to 1921. For the early years, the first formative quarter of a century, we must search in other places.

When William Urwick compiled his *Nonconformity in Cheshire* he relied upon notes "furnished by the Rev. J. Morris, minister of the place" for the paragraph on Tattenhall[1]. John Morris, whom we shall meet later in the Church-Book, was then seventy years of age and had been minister for forty-four years. His knowledge of the days before his ministry began in 1818 was not very accurate and there is evidence of his "telescoping" some of the events. He rightly calls attention to the fact that no minister was in 1662 ejected from Tattenhall and that a long period of darkness had settled upon the whole district but says that "simultaneously (*sic*) from three quarters light broke in upon our benighted village: from Chester by the Rev. W. Thorpe of Chester; from Coddington through the Rev. Isaac Nicholson, curate of that place; and by means of the Cheshire Congregational Union"[2]. The synchronization is faulty—William Thorpe was minister of Queen Street, Chester, for only a year between 1794 and 1795[3]; Isaac Nicholson left Coddington to become president and tutor of Cheshunt College in 1792[4]; and the Cheshire Congregational Union was not formed until 1806.

It is probable that William Thorpe had some hand in founding the cause, for he was brought back from Bristol (to which he moved in 1795) to open a thatched cottage for public worship in Tattenhall in 1796[5]. It is also true that from its beginning the Cheshire Union had a real concern for the infant church. But it is to the names of Isaac Nicholson, Job Wilson of Northwich, "Captain" Jonathan

1 Urwick, p. 104, n.

2 Urwick, p. 105.

3 Powicke, Centenary *History of the Cheshire Union*, p. 128.

4 *Ev. Mag.*, 1808, p. 236.

5 So John Morris in Urwick, p. 105.

Scott, and William Silvester of Sandbach that we must turn if we would learn of its early days.

There is no direct evidence beyond that of John Morris of the connection between ISAAC NICHOLSON and the church, but Nicholson's memoir in the *Evangelical Magazine* for 1808[6] says that he was appointed to the curacy of Coddington in 1784 at the age of twenty-three and that he laboured there for eight years. He suffered much opposition because of his zeal and was charged with the allegations "that he preached justification without works; that he was irregular in his preaching; and that he associated with the Methodists". Possibly there is a reference to his work at Tattenhall in the statement that each Sunday, after preaching three times in his own church, he rode five or six miles to a neighbouring village, or in the more general statement that "other congregations in the vicinity have been much benefited by his labours"[7]. Morris adds that Nicholson's converts banded together, chose Tattenhall for their place of worship, and fitted up a room belonging to Mr. G. Walley of Newton Lane as a place of worship.

The work of JOB WILSON is much more easy to trace. In 1794, JONATHAN SCOTT[8] asked at Northowram Academy for a student to help him in Cheshire. Scott was then about sixty; an ex-captain of the Seventh Dragoons who had been converted by the preaching of William Romaine and became a preacher in the Army until he resigned his commission in 1769. Thenceforward he was a "presbyter or teacher at large" (for so he was ordained at Lancaster in 1774) and a heroic itinerant in five counties—Shropshire (including Whitchurch), Staffordshire (Leek, Newcastle, Stone, Hanley and Stafford), Derbyshire (Matlock), Lancashire (Lancaster and the Fylde) and Cheshire (Macclesfield, Chester, Congleton and Nantwich). JOB WILSON was the student whom he chose, though he had been only recently admitted to college[9]. "At the end of a few weeks he quitted Northowram for Cheshire, and study (to which he never felt himself adapted) for active pastoral work (which called forth his best powers)"[10]. Wilson's first centre was Macclesfield but he itinerated in Congleton, Leek, Nantwich, Middlewich and other places and finally settled as pastor of Northwich where

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[6] *Ev. Mag.*, 1808, pp. 233ff. Nicholson left the Established Church when he became president of Lady Huntingdon's College at Cheshunt. He was at Cheshunt from 1792 to 1803 and during this time was in pastoral charge at Chace-side, Enfield. In 1804 he became pastor of Mulberry Gardens until his death in 1807.

[7] *Ev. Mag.*, 1808, p. 235.

[8] *vide Ev. Mag.*, 1807, pp. 489ff, pp. 537ff; Urwick, pp. 136-8; Powicke, pp. 15-17, *etc.*

[9] James Johns in Urwick, p. 394; Powicke, p. 17.

[10] Powicke, p. 18.

he stayed from 1795 to 1838—he died on the day of Queen Victoria's coronation.

Extracts from Wilson's diary, quoted in Urwick, and possibly for the year 1796, show that in one period of three months he travelled about nine hundred miles, mostly on foot, and included Tattenhall several times in his visits[11]. John Morris[12] suggests that in 1795 WILLIAM SILVESTER (whom he spells Sylvester) came with Job Wilson to Tattenhall but Powicke rightly points out that this is a mistake[13]. It is another example of Morris's telescoping. Silvester in 1795 was apprenticed to a tailor in Stafford and it was not until 1807 that he came to Sandbach. In the interval he had gone to Manchester in 1801 and been encouraged by William Roby to become a minister. It was William Roby who recommended him as an itinerant when the Cheshire Union appealed to him in 1807[14]. But although Silvester was not in at the beginning of the cause, he was a great help later for tradition tells of help which came from the ministers of Sandbach (which would be Silvester), Chester (which would be Ebenezer White who had settled at Queen Street in 1802[15]), Nantwich (from which would come Captain Scott and those whom he persuaded to go) and Northwich (Job Wilson, of course).

The first services were held in a thatched cottage until in 1808 on October 19 a new chapel was opened, built on land given by Mr. Orton, a gentleman of the village[16]. It was an inclement day, but there was an excellent congregation in the thirty-nine feet by twenty-four feet room; the Rev. W. Evans of Stockport preached in the morning from *Phil.* i. 18; the Rev. Mr. James of Boughton in the afternoon from *I Cor.* ii. 2; and the Rev. Mr. Macdonald of Market Drayton in the evening from *Matt.* xxiv.14[17]. This chapel, to which a gallery was later added, was used until 1872 when it was let to the British School. When an appeal was made for a new church building, the old building was then described in 1870 as "far behind the age as to site, commodiousness and comfort. It is situated at the furthest end of the village, and the approach to it in wet weather is most inconvenient. It has neither Vestry, nor Class Rooms, in consequence of which the Sabbath

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11 Urwick, p. 396; also Powicke, p. 19.

12 Urwick, p. 105.

13 Powicke, p. 141, n. 1.

14 *Ev. Mag.*, 1848, pp. 529ff. *Cf. Trans. C.H.S.*, xiii, 51.

15 *Ev. Mag.*, 1811, pp. 329ff., 373ff. See also T. Raffles, *Memoirs of Thomas Spencer*, pp. 10, 246, for White's earlier ministry in Hertfordshire, and for his death.

16 Urwick, pp. 105-6, says October 10. But Cheshire Congregational Union Report quoted in footnote 1, page 106, gives October 19.

17 Urwick, p. 106, n. 1.

School, Prayer and other meetings are held in it. The arrangement is felt to be most unsuitable, and from a hygienic point of view very objectionable".

With the opening of this first chapel there came in due course a minister, THOMAS HITCHIN, who was engaged by the Cheshire Union. The date of his settlement is uncertain, but it was probably in April, 1810[18]. The new minister made Tattenhall the centre, and from there he worked in the neighbouring villages of Barton, Tilston, Bickerton and others "for nearly ten years" then "he removed to a larger sphere near London," says the appeal circular of 1870. Morris in Urwick says that it was to Towcester he removed "owing to an increasing family and small remuneration".

His successor was JOHN MORRIS[19], a student from Rotherham, whose ministry lasted from the second Sunday in June, 1818, to his resignation in June, 1862, and who lived on in the village to the age of ninety-five, dying on January 15, 1883. He was born at Oswestry on August 18, 1787, and entered Rotherham in January, 1813. He settled at Colne, Lancashire, for twelve months[20] but "discovered he had fallen upon an Antinomian nest" and returned home to Oswestry on the advice of his minister, who promised to find him work to do. Having preached at Tattenhall, he was invited to settle and was ordained nearly eighteen months after he had begun his ministry, on November 10, 1819. William Silvester of Sandbach opened with the reading of Scripture and prayer; James Turner of Knutsford delivered the introductory discourse; Job Wilson of Northwich asked the questions and received the ordinand's confession of faith; Nathanael Scholefield of Over offered the ordination prayer; Dr. Bennett of Rotherham gave the charge to the minister; and Dr. Raffles of Liverpool preached to the people. Mr. Kidd of Whitchurch preached in the evening. On the preceding Sunday two deacons had been set apart when Mr. Atkinson of Liverpool gave them a charge[21]. It is noticeable throughout the Church-Book that for almost exactly a hundred years (until March, 1919, when it was resolved to have five deacons) there are usually two deacons and sometimes only one. But it is impossible to ascertain who were these first two.

The church and congregation managed without the grant of the Cheshire Union soon after the settlement of the new minister, whose influence was soon felt in the village and the district. Auxiliaries of

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18 Cheshire Union Report for 1811, quoted in Urwick, p. 106.

19 *C.Y.B.*, 1885, p. 216.

20 B. Nightingale, *Lancashire Nonconformity*, vol. ii, p. 178, n. where Nightingale makes the correct identification of "Mr. Maurice" and John Morris, though he makes him minister of "Tattersall".

21 *Ev. Mag.*, 1820, p. 333.

the London Missionary Society and of the Bible Society were formed and real zeal engendered—from 1824 to 1862 the people of Tattenhall and its vicinity contributed £1,114 2s. 5d. to the L.M.S.[22]. Congregations and membership increased and an addition was made to the chapel for the purpose of accommodating the Sunday School children. During the years of John Morris's pastorate the Church-Book, however, is not very fully kept. It is in the handwriting of the minister himself, growing shakier as the years passed by. There are lists of members, the first names being Thomas Dutton, George Walley (the owner of the first room fitted for worship?), William Prince and John Dunn, who all joined on December 6, 1797, closely followed a month later by Martha Weaver, Martha Rathbone and Elizabeth Walley. It is probable that they entered into covenant relationship, as we shall see later, but the terms of the covenant are lost. Not many Church meetings are recorded, and those are badly attended, though they took seriously the matter of admission of members, and there are no records of meetings from February, 1830, to November, 1856, except that in April (no date given), 1842, "Thomas Jackson was unanimously chosen to fill the office of Deacon in connexion with Brother Prince and commended accordingly to the grace of God". The story which the Church-Book tells is resumed in 1856 when some interesting letters of transfer are pinned in, and a meeting of November 7 is noted at which new trustees were elected to hold a new trust deed ("all the old trustees being gathered to their fathers") and George Jackson of Tattenhall Hall, and John Capper were elected deacons and commended to God by the pastor. So many blank pages are left that it must have been the intention of someone (probably the pastor himself) to write up the story of those lost years had procrastination permitted. John Morris resigned his charge on June 8, 1862, and the letter is preserved:

> My dear Brethren and Sisters in the Lord,
>
> After much deliberation and prayer, also consultation with, and advice of beloved brethren in the ministry, the Deacons, and Members of the Church, according to notice given, I do now, in the presence of you all, resign the Pastorate of this church, together with the *right* after this day, of occupying the pulpit of this place, only reserving (with your generous consent) the occupancy of the Chapel house, and the privilege of membership.
>
> Witness my hand,
> JOHN MORRIS,
> GEORGE JACKSON, JOHN CAPPER, Deacons.

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[22] Urwick, p. 107.

He lived on for another twenty years and was regular and faithful in his attendance at church meetings and in visiting those who were proposed for membership. He died on Monday, January 15, 1883, and was buried in the Churchyard at Tattenhall *"the rector officiating at the express wish of his family"*. A funeral sermon was preached ten days later in the Congregational Church and on the succeeding Sunday a service "in memoriam of Our Living Dead" was held, followed by the Sacrament.

After John Morris resigned there was no long vacancy. Indeed negotiations had already begun with WILLIAM CURRIE, who was to be his successor. The resignation was tendered after "administration of ordinance", and immediately George Jackson, the deacon, read the acceptance of the invitation which had been sent to William Currie. That invitation had expressed the hope that "by God's blessing he might remain as long as Mr. Morris had done," but added prudently that he "was only engaged to come for one year". The new ministry began on June 29, 1862, and when a year had passed and the terms of ministerial engagement had expired, Mr. Currie was unanimously requested to continue in the pastorate. But he only stayed eighteen months in all and removed in December, 1863[23]. A Saturday afternoon class for children, a Bible Class, a Sabbath School, and a weekly prayer meeting were immediate innovations and regular church meetings were resumed.

The vacancy lasted exactly a year, that is the whole of 1864, but in October of that year a unanimous invitation was sent to ANDREW CRAIG TODD, student of Rotherham College, who had preached on three successive Sundays. Before he accepted, Mr. Craig asked whether an endeavour would be made to build a new chapel. Mr. Jackson replied: "I have seen several of the members and they all agree with me that they would like to see a new chapel, but that the effort for raising the funds must be more apparent when we get the present chapel filled . . . I will give £200 to start the thing when the time arrives". Mr. Todd accepted the call and began on Sunday, January 1, 1865, a ministry which lasted twenty-five years. His ordination took place on Wednesday, May 31, 1865, when G. B. Kidd of Macclesfield gave the introductory discourse; G. B. Scott of Whitchurch proposed the questions; John Morris offered the ordination prayer; Dr. Falding of Rotherham delivered the charge (to the minister); and P. C. Barker of Chester gave a sermon to the people[24].

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[23] Powicke, p. 141, is unaware of the actual date (he says "before April, 1864"), but adds that William Currie removed to Ireland.

[24] A copy of the handbill announcing the Ordination is preserved in the Church-Book together with the minutes of meetings to arrange the details of the service.

Eleven new members were received in the first year of the new ministry and one of them, Miss Lydia Jackson, was married to Mr. Todd on October 15, 1867. At the end of that first year it was reported that there had been a deficit of £77 14s. 1d. on the previous three and a half years; this a bazaar and the ordination had reduced to a little over £63. Mr. Jackson remarked that it was very encouraging to know that the interest was slowly working out its own independence. When he had taken upon himself to be guarantor for the minister's income he had quite made up his mind for a loss of £50 a year, but was very agreeably surprised to find it was about £14 a year. A management committee was formed and "it was unanimously resolved to bestir ourselves to make the interest self-supporting this year". The management committee "signally failed . . . it is to be devoutly hoped it was neither from indifference or apathy", as Mr. Todd says in a letter which he copies into the Church-Book. (The Church-Book for the years of his ministry is, incidentally, beautifully kept and becomes a mine of information: throughout all the years it was nearly always entered up by the ministers and none is more faithful than this one.) Mr. Todd notified his intention in October, 1866, of resigning at the end of the year. Asked "to favour the church with his reasons," he wrote at great length pleading with the church to cast off its dependence ("Our position is just this, we are dependent Independents") and share the support among all the members, and reminding them that in the N.T. the office of pastor and deacon were very distinct. He challenged them to choose and appoint another deacon or reorganize another committee. It is clear from the correspondence that Mr. Todd had no animus against Mr. Jackson, his guarantor, but that he was concerned to encourage his people to "bestir themselves". This he did to such good purpose that on November 8, 1866, the Church members resolved to raise the minister's salary of £100 "without as hitherto calling on the guarantee" (though they prudently allowed Mr. George Jackson to continue to remain as security "in case of need") and appointed a new finance committee. Mr. Todd stayed on for a further twenty-four years.

One of the most interesting items of his ministry is concerned with the establishment of a British School in the village and its use of the chapel premises. Fortunately, minutes of the meetings which led to its establishment and of controversy with the Parish Church are recorded in the Church-Book and they throw a most interesting light on village education and on Anglican autocracy. There had been a National School in the village which had given way to a new school on a somewhat wider basis. A former rector of Tattenhall, the Rev. G. R. Moncrieff, was appointed one of

H.M. Inspectors for Schools and one day on the street met one of the deacons of the Congregational Church. He proposed the taking down of the old National Schools and, as his last legacy to the parish, to build new schools, if the sanction of the Privy Council on Education could be obtained, to be managed by six members, chosen by the subscribers, and to omit the National School trust deed clause which required the managers to be in communion with the Church of England. New Schools were built at a cost of over £1,600, to which the Congregational deacon became the largest contributor, while both Wesleyans and Primitive Methodists also subscribed handsomely. The Government omitted the test clause for the managers who were two Congregationalists, one Wesleyan, two "liberal" and one "strict" Churchman. This board of managers worked harmoniously for many years and when the Wesleyan manager left he was replaced by a Presbyterian. About 1860, the schoolmaster was dismissed after having being prosecuted for embezzling over £500 of the funds of the Tattenhall Savings Bank, and a Mr. and Mrs. McIvor, who were Presbyterians from Glasgow, were appointed teachers. The Rector, as chairman, obtained the sanction of the committee to do this and explained that his views were so very liberal that he looked more to their qualifications as teachers than to their religious persuasion as Presbyterians. Mr. and Mrs. McIvor joined the Congregational Church during the ministry of the Rev. W. Currie. It was then discovered that the usual National School clause had been retained in the new trust deed of the school, that the churchwardens were *ex officio* members of the managing committee and that the Bishop of the diocese, as patron of the living of Tattenhall, was sole referee in case of dispute. The rector, the Rev. Fielding Ould, M.A., proposed that the teachers should be dismissed and others be engaged who were members of the Church of England. This proposition was modified to give them the option of becoming communicants, and the teachers acceded.

In autumn, 1866, the schoolmaster accompanied one of his girl scholars and her sister home after a Congregational tea meeting when their father had failed to come for them. "Out of this little attention a grave charge arose against the schoolmaster", and although he was completely cleared, the Rector advised him to resign and persisted in pressing it. Several stormy meetings followed, the *ex officio* churchwardens were called in to obtain a majority in favour of the Rector, and finally Mr. McIvor, faced with dismissal, handed in his resignation which was to take effect after the next examinations. These examinations should have been deferred to the spring of 1877 because of a change in the inspectorate, but the Rector made representations to the Council of

Education to keep the examinations in November and entered into correspondence with possible successors. When the schools closed at Christmas a testimonial was read and presented to Mr. McIvor, signed by 83 parents who had 203 children in the school, earnestly requesting him to withdraw his resignation. The Rector refused to allow this withdrawal and, when pressed for his reasons, and reminded that the investigating committee had acquitted the schoolmaster of the charges brought against him, replied: "I withdraw those charges", "I think nothing of them", "I will give Mr. and Mrs. McIvor an excellent character for a dissenting school, but they are not proper teachers for a Church of England school—they are Dissenters!"

At that time there were 22 children (belonging to 12 parents) who went to "Church"; 140 children (belonging to 73 parents) who were "Chapel"; and 17 children (of 10 parents) who were "neutral". Steps were immediately taken to establish a British School and, at the instigation of Mr. Todd, a conference of Congregationalists, Wesleyans and Primitive Methodists came to a unanimous decision and resolved on December 29, 1868, to ask the Congregationalists for the use of their chapel for the purpose. A special Church Meeting on January 4 agreed to this by ten votes to six (four of the dissidents being of one family, and two being absentees who wrote letters against).

The outline of the subsequent history of the British School is soon told, though its influence must have been incalculable. When a new Church was built, the School continued to use the old premises (at a nominal rent of one shilling per annum, as the copy of an acknowledgment formally made in 1891 shows). In 1905, it was still in the old premises, and asking for permission to make certain alterations to meet the requirements of the Education authority. This was granted on condition that the managers of the school guaranteed that if the premises ceased to be used for school purposes they would be handed over to the Church in a reasonable state of repair. Finally, in 1912, a new Council School was built in the village, the Education Authority gave back the premises, which became a recreation room and gymnasium for the young people of the Church.

It was during the ministry of Mr. Todd, also, that the new church was built and opened in 1872. We have seen that this project was in the mind of Mr. Todd when he came as minister and in the mind of his deacon, Mr. George Jackson; stimulus was now given to it by the needs of the new British School. In 1869, Mr. Thomas Hill was appointed co-deacon with Mr. Jackson and it was he who, with Mr. Todd and Mr. Jackson, signed a circular appealing for contributions in 1870.

"The existing Chapel erected in 1808 is, owing to many changes, far behind the age . . . Four years ago our plans were nearly matured; but the Cattle Plague breaking out in this neighbourhood with great violence, we were compelled to lay them aside for a while. Other circumstances have, however, arisen which lay on us a still greater necessity to build at once a new Temple to the Lord. Early in the month of January, 1869, an opportunity presented itself for again establishing a Day School[25]. We embraced it, and as no other suitable room could be secured we gave up our place of worship. The School is under Government inspection and now numbers over 150 children. The Council of Education requires the building to be 'fitted' up for a School by a certain time. It wants but a few months to the period named and, unless we have a new place of worship, we shall be compelled to forego the advantages already named. So interested are the Lancashire and Cheshire Chapel Building Society that they have promised the munificent sum of £700. A most desirable site in the centre of the Village, together with a manse, has been secured and approved of by the Committee. We have done our best and have raised £600, a large sum for a purely agricultural district. The estimated cost for the erection of a new Church, together with the purchase of a Minister's house, as well as the adaptation of the existing Chapel and present house of the Pastor, to school purposes according to the Education Code, cannot be less than £2,200; towards this sum we have £1,300, leaving a deficit of £900. It is to raise this sum that we now appeal to the liberality of our more favoured friends at a distance."

Mr. Robert Barbour gave the land for the new building, and the foundation stone was laid on Wednesday, April 19, 1871, by Sir James Watts, High Sheriff of Lancashire, at a ceremony at which J. A. Macfadyen, of Manchester, gave an exposition of Congregational principles.

Before the new building was finished the Church suffered a heavy loss in the death of Mr. George Jackson, its faithful deacon, who died on September 26, 1871. He had been the deacon for nearly

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[25] The Church-Book, in the voluminous record of the establishing of the British School, reports Mr. George Jackson as saying at one meeting: "It is a fact that during the ministry of the Rev. T. Hitchen and for many years after, during the pastorate of his successor, the Rev. J. Morris, a day school was held in connexion with the Independent Chapel and that during much of the time that the Rev. G. R. Moncrieff was rector of Tattenhall a free school was held in the School Room open to the Independent Chapel in this village".

fifteen years and the minutes speak of "his long and unwearied Christian labour of love". The new Church was opened for public worship on Thursday, April 18, 1872, the preachers being Alexander McLaren, of Manchester, and P. W. Darnton, of Chester, chairman of the Cheshire Union. A bazaar was held the same day before the afternoon and evening services. Then the first two Sundays in the new building, saw as special preachers H. Sturt, of Dewsbury[26], and Thomas Kent, of Chester. The registration certificate of the new Church certifying it as a place of public religious worship registered for the solemnization of marriages is pasted into the Church-Book.

The rest of the ministry of Mr. Todd is a story of alternating hope and fear. Mr. G. F. Jackson was chosen deacon in place of his father and Mr. Fred Hudson was chosen as a third deacon; Mr. and Mrs. Tolfree came from North Walsham as teachers of the British School; copies of *A Manual of Congregational Principles* were given to each family; help was given in the erection of a church at Barton; problems of finance continually engaged the attention of the deacons and the members; temperance meetings and children's meetings were introduced; the County Union was appealed to for help[27], funds being so low that some meetings were held in the Vestry to save fire and light; the Church found itself without a deacon when Mr. G. F. Jackson and Mr. Thomas Hill left in 1879 and 1880 respectively, and Mr. Thomas Lightfoot was elected in their place. The minister made a discovery reminiscent of the story of the finding of the Law Book in Josiah's reign[28]. He found the original Church covenant and read it at the Lord's Supper on the first Sunday in February, 1879. Ten years later, there is a record that it was read again at the time of Communion. Unfortunately, however, no further trace remains of what must have been a most interesting document.

The end of Mr. Todd's long and faithful ministry was clouded. He fell into heavy financial difficulties and resigned the pastorate on November 9, 1890. Because of the circumstances of his financial failure, his name was removed from the roll of membership of the Church and he disappeared from Congregationalism when his name was omitted from the *Year Book* of 1892.

The Church-Book was now kept and entered up by Mr. Lightfoot,

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[26] Mr. Sturt had been very helpful to Mr. Thomas Hill, the deacon, in recommending him to the liberality of the Christian public in Dewsbury and other towns when he was busy soliciting subscriptions to wipe off the deficit on the new building.

[27] cf. Powicke, p. 141.

[28] cf. *II Kings* xxii.

who tells of the sympathy of the Church with Mr. Todd and yet of its demand that he should resign his membership, and then records the invitation to the next minister, the Rev. GEORGE HENRY HANCOCK[29]. Trained at Nottingham Institute, he laboured in Lincolnshire and Sussex before he was ordained at Hambledon, Bucks., in 1879. Thence he went to Staithes in Yorkshire before coming to Tattenhall, where his recognition service was held on Thursday, November 19, 1891[30]. Mr. Thomas Huxley, of Malpas, presided, Mr. Lightfoot and the new minister gave statements, and addresses were given by J. W. Paull, of Cheadle, who had recently relinquished his secretaryship of the Cheshire Union, T. W. Pinn, of Stockport, who had just passed the chair of the Union, and Mr. J. A. Thompson[31]. Mr. Hancock's ministry only lasted until March, 1894, and the records are very scant indeed. They are kept by the minister, but perhaps they reflect the difficulties which confronted him. "The 'heritage of past trouble' which lay below the smiling surface asserted itself, despite 'a most conciliatory spirit' on the part of the minister"[32]. Mr. Hancock left for Leeds, and the church and congregation put its affairs into the hands of the Cheshire Union. A sub-committee of six with C. A. Mines, of Rock Ferry, as chairman, and James W. Clark, district secretary, as convener, was quickly at work, and in April the Union and the Church sent an invitation to the Rev. JOSEPH ODDY, who had retired from his pastorate in Windermere, removed to Sale, and intended to take no other pastorate but only to supply pulpits in and around Manchester as his health permitted. Mr. Oddy, who has copied the correspondence into the Church-Book, replied accepting. "The only conclusion I can arrive at is that God, in the course of His Providence, and in a way I know not is showing forth my duty—viz., to do my utmost in building up, as His instrument, the Congregational cause at Tattenhall. I am conscious of many difficulties—also of my own weakness: but my hope is in the Divine Strength."

He commenced his ministry on Sunday, June 3, 1894, preaching from *I Cor.* ix. 16 and *Ps.* cxxii. 9. At the Lord's Supper following

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29 G. H. Hancock's obituary notice is given in *C.Y.B.*, 1900, pp. 188-9. There is a curious error of chronology in it. It is said that he was born at Nottingham on December 2, 1839, appears to have shown great activity in Sunday School and other religious work, and in 1844 entered the Institute in Nottingham!

30 Powicke, p. 142, gives the date of invitation to Mr. Hancock wrongly as September, 1892.

31 Probably the Church-Book means Alderman Joseph Thompson, J.P., of Wilmslow.

32 Powicke, p. 142, quoting from the Cheshire Union report of 1893.

the morning service there were only five communicants in addition to the minister and the deacon, and only eight members in communion at the beginning of the ministry. For the next three years the Church found him "a faithful pastor and a true friend" with an earnest desire for its true well-being, a disinterested devotion, and an upright and consistent walk bearing the best testimony to his public teaching and ministry[33]. He died suddenly on Saturday night, March 6, 1897, the only one of the thirteen ministers who have served the Church who actually passed away while minister there[34].

The executive of the Cheshire Union re-appointed a committee to deal with the vacancy, but the Church itself immediately approached the Rev. JAMES WILLIAM CLARK, who had been pastor of Queen Street, Chester, since 1888, and sent him a call on April 4. The executive of the Union confirmed the invitation (as Mr. Clark reported to Tattenhall on April 20) and the new ministry began in May, 1897. The next five years were years of quiet prosperity. Mr. Walter Lee was chosen deacon; the chapel was cleaned and renovated; balance sheets began to balance. Mr. Thomas Lightfoot retired from the office of deacon and Mr. T. G. Lee was elected treasurer. Mr. Clark's health broke down in September, 1901, and he retired from the pastorate in March of the following year and lived out the remainder of his life at Walton, Liverpool, the scene of one of his earlier pastorates[35].

Three representatives of the executive, Messrs. J. G. Hope, T. Huxley, and the Rev. William Jones now met the Church Meeting and it was resolved to ask again for the Union's co-operation and help. But two years elapsed, years which are blank in the Church-Book, before the coming of another minister, the Rev. EBER DAVIES, of Griffithstown, Mon., who had been minister of Penry Memorial, Sebastopol, since leaving Hackney College in 1897. It was through the efforts of the County Union, with the willing consent of the Church, that the invitation was sent and the new minister began his ministry on Sunday, July 3, 1904. It lasted for exactly three years, years which began well but were crippled by financial

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33 Quoted from a letter to Mrs. Oddy preserved in the Church-Book.

34 *C.Y.B.*, 1898, pp. 194-5, for his obituary notice. He was born at Huddersfield in 1826, became a member of Highfield, Huddersfield, was minister at Dogley Lane (1858-62), Regent Street, Barnsley (1862-6), Whitworth, Lancs. (1866-75), Tintwistle, Ches. (1875-88), Windermere (Troutbeck Bridge) (1888-94).

35 *C.Y.B.*, 1916, pp. 163-4. He was born in Leeds in 1841, trained at Airedale, held ministries at Malton, Yorks (1867-70), Alverston (1870-2), Walton (1872-80), Westgate, Burnley (1880-88), Queen Street, Chester (1888-97). He died January 25, 1915, aged 73 years.

difficulties. There was a large and increasing balance due to the treasurer. "The pastor mooted the advisability of collecting from pew to pew, but it was resolved to continue collecting at the doors of the Church at the close of the services". The Church had to watch every penny it spent: fifteen shillings to the Cheshire Congregational Union, five to the Chapel Building Society, to the Chester Congregational Association, and to the Congregational Union of England and Wales, the new constitution of which was explained by the minister to the Church at the end of 1904. The centenary lantern lecture, then touring the Churches of the county, was declined because "the expense of providing the lantern would fall on the Church, and proceeds would be for the Cheshire Union"! The Church itself seems to have fallen back into the habit for which A. C. Todd had rebuked them of leaning too heavily upon the minister in matters of finance, and expecting him to organize its temporal affairs. Then appears the ominous entry—"Resolved: That balance of pastor's salary be paid as the money came in." The Church found itself unable to make any payment of its share of the stipend (the original arrangement was that the Union should pay £50, "in addition the Church at Tattenhall will do what it can so that there is little doubt about there being an assured income for the minister of £100"). It was not long then before the pastorate of Mr. Evans had to close. He removed to Queenborough, Kent[36].

Arrangements for the vacancy were made with the Chester ministers, who sent D. Wynne Evans, of Queen Street, and W. H. Towers, of Northgate, to see Mr. Lightfoot. The Chester ministers promised to take the oversight of the Church for a month each, in turn, and to preach one Sunday a month and find supplies for the other Sundays (if the Church would arrange to entertain the preachers). Mr. Towers offered to furnish a portion of the Manse for the summer months so as to secure the temporary services of any minister.

In October, 1907, Mr. WILLIAM HAMILTON ROGERS, who had been a member at New Barnet and was then living at Worthing, preached on two successive Sundays, commended by R. J. Wells, secretary of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, and by a committee which was helping the Church to find a pastor. A unanimous invitation was sent by the Church and accepted by Mr. Rogers, who was not unaware of the difficulties. "I am fully convinced," he wrote in his reply to the call, "that it is only by

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[36] *C.Y.B.*, 1914, p. 422, gives the Queenborough dates as 1907-1912 and Mr. Davies as then "out of charge." *C.Y.B.*, 1915, p. 487, says that he left the Congregational ministry for the Church of England.

united, consistent effort and much waiting upon God that the work at Tattenhall can be revived, and I am influenced in my decision by the promise of your hearty co-operation and support to bring about this end to the glory of God." The ministry began in December, 1907. Recognition services were held on Wednesday, January 22, 1908, presided over by Mr. T. A. Rigby, chairman of the Chester Association of Congregational Churches, those taking part including D. Wynne Evans, secretary of the Chester Association, William Jones, of Handbridge (who offered the recognition prayer), J. Ll. Jones, of Great Boughton (exposition of Congregational principles), and Mr. Walter Lee, of Tattenhall, who welcomed Mr. Rogers on behalf of the members and in place of Mr. Lightfoot, who was ill. With Mr. Rogers, who quickly qualified for inclusion in the list of accredited ministers of the denomination, there came a ten-years period of reconstruction and prosperity. In his first year the centenary of the first building was celebrated at a meeting addressed by J. C. Neil, of Hoylake, chairman-elect of the Cheshire Union, and Luke Beaumont, of Rock Ferry, and presided over by Mr. T. A. Rigby. But a double loss came quickly in the death of Mr. Thomas Lightfoot, the secretary and treasurer of the Church, and of Mrs. Lightfoot, in the same year. For nearly fifty years they had been faithful members and supporters and the Church felt their loss deeply. Mr. J. Sumner was elected secretary and Mr. W. Lee treasurer.

Some of the chronicles of the Church are of small matters—the decision, in 1912, to sing "Amen" after the hymns; the transfer of the deeds to the Cheshire Union; the decision to reverse the old practice of taking the collection after the service (so strenuously fought for in Mr. Davies's ministry) and to take it during the service. The British School was given up and a recreation room and gymnasium was proposed in its place. Mr. Rogers in 1913 received a call to "a larger and more influential sphere of labour," but because of his recreation room scheme and the persuasion of his people he declined. Then came the 1914-1918 War and with it the enlistment of many of the young men, schemes for helping relief of war victims especially Belgian children, a War Savings Association in connection with the Church, the continuance of the Prayer meeting (in spite of the increase in the price of gas), and the cessation of the Whit-Monday tea. In 1917, the minister received two calls simultaneously, and decided to accept the one from Tranmere, Birkenhead. He had given ten years of solid work and gifted leadership and had rebuilt the fellowship: he left it in good heart and with excellent arrangements for continuing the work during the vacancy. Mr. Rogers remained at Tranmere until he retired in 1946 and was chairman of the Cheshire Union in 1944.

The Church was guided during the vacancy by Alfred Hills, then of Queen Street, Chester, and the minutes of meetings held have been copied into the Church-Book by the Rev. STEPHEN WILLIAMS, whose ministry began in June, 1918. Mr. Williams, who had preached "with a view" (or, as the Church-Book puts it, "on approval") on one of the Sundays, came with twenty years' experience of American pastorates. During his stay of four years he persuaded the Church to increase the diaconate to five, but no names are immediately given of the new members elected—the previous deacons were Mr. Sumner, Mr. Lee and Mr. George Cooke, who was elected just before Mr. Rogers's departure. The Church amalgamated with Malpas, and a new organ was purchased. The original chapel, which had become the British School, and then the recreation room-gymnasium, was sold and converted into a house. It is on this note that the Church-Book with its hundred years' record of the Church, from 1822 to February, 1921, closes. Mr. Sumner, the secretary, had entered the minutes of meeting for nearly eighteen months until his death in 1920: the minister entered the record of two meetings, including the election of new deacons (Messrs. George M. Corbett, F. Jackson and Ernest Brereton, who had just been transferred from Llandudno, and was immediately elected Church secretary). The last notes are in Mr. Brereton's hand.

The rest of the century-and-a-half story of Tattenhall is told in other, more recent, minute-books. It can be briefly summarized in terms of its ministers. Mr. Williams left for Rainford, Lancs., in 1922, then returned to Cheshire to successive pastorates at Frodsham and Runcorn until he retired in 1935. The Rev. ARTHUR WAKELIN, who had been trained at Paton College and began his ministry in 1902, succeeded him in 1922, and stayed until 1928, when he left for London Road, Newark. He was immediately followed by the Rev. DAVID LLOYD, a Bristol College student who had served in the south and south-west for over thirty years. His ministry lasted for eight good years, then he went to Adsborough in 1936. A vacancy of nearly two years, and then came the present minister, the Rev. ALFRED EDWARD BAYLEY, who had already had experience in Cheshire rural pastorates (Farndon, Barton, Sandbach and Wheelock) and whose ministry still continues happily.

W. GORDON ROBINSON.

TATTENHALL CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH

c.1792.	Rev. Isaac Nicholson labours in Tattenhall.
1795.	Rev. Job Wilson preaches in the village.
1796.	Thatched cottage opened for worship.
1808.	FIRST CHAPEL BUILDING ERECTED.
1810-1818.	Rev. Thomas Hitchen.
1818-1862.	Rev. John Morris.
1865-1890.	Rev. Andrew Craig Todd.
1872.	PRESENT CHURCH ERECTED AND OPENED.
1891-1894.	Rev. George Henry Hancock.
1894-1897.	Rev. Joseph Oddy.
1897-1902.	Rev. James William Clark.
1904-1907.	Rev. Eber Davies.
1907-1917.	Rev. William Hamilton Rogers.
1918-1922.	Rev. Stephen Williams.
1922-1928.	Rev. Arthur Wakelin.
1928-1938.	Rev. David Lloyd.
1938-	Rev. Alfred Edward Bayley.
1946.	TRIPLE JUBILEE OF THE CHURCH.

The Last of Salem (Cogan Street) Church in Hull: With Notes of the Sibree Family

ONE of the nobler characters of Scott's novels was not "Rob Roy", nor even "Jeanie Deans", but "Old Mortality", for his real nobility of heart and his Christian soul of honour. "Old Mortality" was a true Covenanter, whose love for the Covenant and Covenanters rose in him to a sublime passion. He was a poor stone mason who had dedicated his life and manual skill to re-lettering the names of Covenanters on their old tombstones in Scottish churchyards, where, by the attrition of time and nature, they had been faded and chipped so as to be indecipherable in many cases. Thus, all through that famous story, Scott comes across the old stone mason with his mallet and chisel, in all lonely parts of Scotland, busy at his self-imposed task of "keeping green" the memory of the noblest race of men, and women too, whom Scotland ever had produced in the greatest period of her heroic story. The people who so often observed the stone cutter had most appropriately nicknamed him "Old Mortality": the faithful man who sought to perpetuate the story of the great dead of his country. And hundreds of sacred names did he save from oblivion to inspire to this very day the faith and fidelity of free religion in its simplest and truest form and power.

Far below "Old Mortality" in my love and devotion, yet desiring to imitate his services for his departed brethren, I would seek to perform a similar act of love for our fathers who have begotten us in the "faith" in Hull.

So, I take up my pen to revive once more, not a "father", but a whole church of them, of whom we are reminded in a recent number of the *Hull Mail*, in the announcement of the passing away finally of the Old Salem Independent Chapel in Cogan Street. In another column there is given our Town Clerk's list of names of those whose bodies still lie in the vaults under the Church building, which is about to be handed over to the "wreckers"; thus to clear away the last vestige of the old neighbourhood, making room for part of the new Hull.

In the year 1832 a young minister of Christ came to Hull, at the call of a small body of Nonconformists, who had been worshipping in a Nile Street Tabernacle, which was about to be swallowed up in like manner to its present successor. The little Church had also lost its temporary pastor. The young student from Hoxton Aca-

demy in London was commissioned to erect a new and larger chapel in Cogan Street for the increasing congregation, mostly made up of fishermen and sailors, their wives and their bairns. Very soon the building was in existence and filled with the flock of the young minister, and so it remained for 50 years of the young man's and later pastorate.

The Rev. James Sibree, a descendant of the Huguenot refugees in England, was a bright, eager student and religious worker of unusual vigour and faith. He soon had a happy and godly flock around him who gave themselves up to the evangelizing of the growing neighbourhood that overlooked the Humber. One of the Taylors of Ongar in Essex, who had removed from the South with her family to Hull, spoke of her delight in rising in the morning to gaze upon the magnificent scene "of our mighty river, which lay outspread before the eye", interrupted only by the present warehouses and rows of streets, which divide Nile Street from the Southern prospect.

"Salem" became a live Church, and James Sibree had many interests which he promoted for the well-being of the district. He was a favourite with the Hull whaling community, and when the whalers came ashore and cast their anchors in the roadstead he held special services of welcome for them and visited their ships. But, in Sibree's period fell the cholera visitation over Hull, and he was kept busy day and night conducting burial services for the hundreds of victims in the town of Hull. Here is one note in his journal:

> I was summoned to leave my home at an early hour: buried 12 persons and then hurried off for public service with my flock at Salem. At noon, after a hasty meal, I drove back to my heavy work until nearly half-past six o'clock. I was met by another funeral cortège. The mourners entreated me to turn back with them. I promised to be with them after my ministerial labours were over. Again I preached. . . . I returned home weary, and sore broken in body and spirit, having preached twice, visited the graves thrice and interred 43 bodies of my fellow citizens.

This remarkable man concludes: "I was then and feel now to be a wonder to myself." And, remember, Sibree was like Mephibosheth, a man lame in both his feet.

I was greatly interested in the list given of the buried, in the *Mail* advertisement, and noted several family names still known in Hull. A pathetic touch in the Salem list is that of James Sibree's first young wife—"Lydia Jane, wife of James Sibree, 18th May, 1833". She died the year after her husband came as minister to Salem.

In one year she was gone and her infant son with her. She was only 28 years old.

So here, also, are—Farrs, Tophams, Bristows, Harkers, Medleys, Talls, Goulds: all of them well-known Hull families. Hardly a family escaped the plague in Hull. Sibree says—

> The sun seldom shone brightly—a heavy pall of indescribable gloom resting over the town, as if Nature refused to witness the ravages of the direful pestilence. This was the opinion of my friend, James Oldham, Esq., M.I.C.E., who was the Engineer employed by the Hull Corporation in carrying out the increased public work of the City at that time.

It was to this engineer and architect that James Sibree articled his son, afterwards Dr. James Sibree, the famous Missionary of Madagascar, but more of him presently.

Salem Church greatly gave itself to promoting foreign missions and introduced piquant personalities from the missionary world to its pulpit, like the other famous Independent Church of Hull, Fish Street. But Fish Street had no sons in the mission field like the eldest son of Sibree. Being an architect, the younger James was selected by the London Missionary Society to go to Madagascar and draw and execute plans for many missionary chapels (over 100 buildings of all kinds) in the great African island. He became the leading missionary in Madagascar for over fifty years, and also did notable work as College Principal, and in conducting negotiations with General Gallieni, the French Governor when Madagascar became a French possession, many years ago. He was to the end a close friend of the liberal-minded Gallieni. Sibree Junr. became also one of the chief translators of the Bible into the Malagasy tongue. He visited Hull many times and always drew large congregations to hear him. He was, like his father, a very alert man. We once heard him deliver an address at the Cottingham Chapel (Zion) which lasted over an hour, to a delighted audience. He was then 93 years of age. His manner was the style and voice of a young man. In that address many years ago he referred to the sale of his father's church, Salem, in the following felicitous terms. He said:

> It is a sad fact to find, on my return to England, that my father's pulpit and Church for 50 years have been sold for a Synagogue, to my friends the Jews of Hull. *But* I have gladly remembered that the name of "Jehovah" would be worshipped and glorified, as it still was in my father's day.

Alas, that that name will cease to be sung now, if Salem is to be no more.

And where are the other preachers of Salem, who followed Sibree?

The last minister still remains in the land of the living, in the Rev. Dr. Robert Fletcher, now well on in the eighties. He was at Salem for several years and fought nobly to keep the services going when the modern blight had fallen upon the congregation and people grew scarce and funds failed. Mr. Fletcher sought a revival of his ministry in the United States over thirty years ago, and, strangely, he found his renaissance there. He met the Registrar of the famous Yale University who persuaded him to enter Yale as a student. This he did and obtained his M.A. there, assisted by his splendid and devoted wife, who herself became an American country pastor, but who has recently died. Fletcher himself became a diligent collector of degrees in Science and Theology, has two or three doctorates, and his friends will be glad to know he has continued his ministry successfully at the First Church of Rindge in New Hampshire, though he is in very feeble physical health today.

* * * * *

In referring to the great distinction as a missionary of Dr. James Sibree of the L.M.S., it would be incomplete as a story of family achievement if I did not refer also to Marie Hall and her celebrated book *Andrew Marvell and his Friends*.

This is the work of the elder daughter of old James Sibree. She was a young Hull writer who had a keen eye for bits of history that reflected any glory upon our city. Marie Sibree had married a Rev. Mr. Hall of the Wesleyan Church in Hull. She was greatly intrigued by the story of Andrew Marvell as everybody of intelligence is in Hull, for Andrew Marvell was the "incorruptible member" for the town of Hull in Parliament, and he was also Latin Secretary to Oliver Cromwell.

Our authoress began to write her work on Marvell and his Hull friends. She soon had gathered some interesting data. She was somewhat assisted by Mr. J. R. Boyle, a local historian and Swedenborgian minister, of some renown as a minister and author of a history of Durham.

The book appeared first as a serial story in the magazine of the Hull Congregational churches. Soon it was on sale in book form. It was first published by James Clarke of Fleet Street. From the first it succeeded in attracting the book world. Hodder & Stoughton bought the copyright and it became a best seller in this district. It is well over 40 years since it was launched. Mr. Bacon Jnr. tells me that some 10 editions have been issued in 40 years and that each edition is of 1,000 copies and that the demand has been steady all these years.

The book *Andrew Marvell* is not an outstanding example of a

history, or even of an historical novel. It is a work comparable to Miss Manning's *The Household of Sir Thomas More.* It is modelled, too, on the style of Mary Powell's intimate story of the *Home Life of John Milton,* though it does not reach the historical eminence of these works. Yet it is a good picture of the poet and his friends as they assembled with him in his Winestead home and in his public movements. Marie Hall, the daughter of Sibree, occupies a second place as imaginative historical writer of a lighter vein. She has painted a most interesting picture of Andrew Marvell, which has been popular for over 50 years, and the narrative will live for its truth, simplicity and loveliness. Marie Hall is in a secure succession and is not the least worthy of her kind, and she is worthy of their family traditions. She will remain a favourite writer with the youth of Hull.

One might have added a line or two of praise for her second sister, the late Miss Anna Sibree, who carried the paternal likeness in person and manner, even more than those already mentioned. Anna was distinctly a young woman full of keen public spirit and public gifts. I have never heard her father preach, *but* I had many times listened to a most talented mimic of prominent Hull characters —a Mr. Albert Larard, whose widowed mother and all her family had been diligent worshippers at Salem under the old man's ministry for over 40 years. Mrs. Larard had been a girl (Miss Snelgrove) whose parents in London lived at Wimpole Street, and next door to the Brownings and Barretts; they used to walk every Sunday morning to the ministry of the Rev. George Clayton at York Street Chapel, Lockfields, Walworth, where Mrs. Robert Browning kept, until within a few years of her death, a London Missionary Society box for contributions. Before her marriage to Browning's father she had been an Anglican. He was a remarkable member of the congregation, but he could find little veneration for the Rev. George Clayton, whom Edward Dowden described as a rather "dour", and whose prosy style he found it difficult to appreciate. Indeed he once received a rebuke in the presence of the congregation for his marked indifference to the dull ideas of the preacher; but the Rev. George Clayton was preaching, let us remember, to the greatest genius then living in Europe. Robert had his revenge in his poem "Christmas Day" (which see!). So much for the most wonderful face in the whole congregation—pale, somewhat mysterious, and shaded with black flowing hair; as Edward White vividly remembered it after sixty years.

But the whole story of the Sibree family is a long one. Suffice it to say that the family became entirely missionary and educational. The eldest grandson (Oswald) became a Public School master.

Dorothy Sibree was a missionary at Benares, and married another missionary named Murphy. Edna, eldest grand-daughter, married a Presbyterian minister, another grandson became a chief engineer in the merchant service; then a splendid great-grandson, David, gave himself up to soldiering, going about the world fighting for great causes. He went through all the first war, but was killed in the second. His father was Captain Leonard Sibree of the merchant service, who played a great part in recent wars. The forebear was John Sibree, Esq., Solicitor of Hull, who married a Miss Bremner, who became a noble Christian ideal of mother and grandmother. She died as a member of Albion Congregational Church, Hull—a splendid Christian family first and last.

JOHN GEORGE PATTON.

Three Missing "Exhibits" at Penry's Trial

Ellesmere MS 2146 in the Huntington Library (in Egerton's hand) shows that at John Penry's trial five books were put in as evidence. Two are identifiable, the printed *Appellation* and the MS. Notebook [EL 483, recently edited]. The copy of *Reformation No Enemy* used in preparing the indictment was probably the Huntington copy: the passages from the Preface quoted in the indictment are underlined. The presumption, therefore, is that the three other exhibits at one time formed part of Sir Thomas Egerton's collection, and may still be found in one of its separated parts. So far, search at the Huntington Library has failed to disclose them. They may be in print or in manuscript, and are thus described:

(1) Begins: "In the assistance of hym who is the Redemer ot all the electe. . . ."
Collected and written in Scotland "more than a year ago" (probably early 1592).

(2) Fifth leaf begins: "Gramer is an arte to speake well. . . ."
Written in Scotland three years ago.

(3) Intituled: "touching the sabath daye."

They may be part of the Ellesmere Collection retained by the family when the bulk of the manuscripts were sold to the Huntington Library, but this seems unlikely. Help in discovery or identification will be welcome.

Touchinge the Lowe Countries

THREE MONETHES OBSERVATION OF THE LOWE COUNTRIES, ESPECIALLY HOLLAND

By J. S. [JOHN SELDEN?]

ELLESMERE MS 1181 is a beautifully written manuscript in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, calendared as "An epigrammatic description (both witty and abusive)." It bears the initials "J.S.", and the Calendar has the pencilled note "John Selden?", though no evidence in support of the conjecture is forthcoming. The date, "Janu. 22", unfortunately carries no year, though clearly the item refers to the years between 1621 and 1647: possibly the interval can be narrowed to 1621, when the Queen of Bohemia arrived in Holland, and 1625, when Prince Maurice of Orange died.

If we could learn whether—and when—Selden spent three months in the Low Countries, we could speak with more confidence about the date and authorship of this "badd old peice", or even if we knew where "Aegigt" was!

Ben Jonson's poetical epistle on Selden implies that Selden never was abroad:

> you that have beene
> Ever at home: yet have all Countries seene:
> And like a Compasse keeping one foot still
> Upon your Center, doe your Circle fill
> Of generall knowledge; watch'd men, manners too,
> Heard what times past have said, seene what ours doe.

But that appeared in *Under-woods* in *1640*, and Selden may have travelled afterwards: if the "peice" is his work, this would make the date after 1640.

The handwriting does not help identification. It is certainly not Selden's, to judge by the specimens in Lincoln's Inn Library. Vol. LXXXIV of Hale's MSS in the Library is said to be in Selden's own hand; it contains several hands, in ink and pencil, but certainly not this one: ff. 25-31, which are most like it, lack some of its most distinctive features. Vol. LXXXVI, also said to be in Selden's hand, has two distinct scripts. Vol. XII, a huge volume of Collectanea, is in many hands, much of it certainly in Selden's own, including a page of autobiography: though one or two of the hands are not unlike that of the Ellesmere manuscript, they are sufficiently distinctive to disprove identity with it.

Though evidence of authorship is so far indecisive, the "peice" stands in its own right as a racy account in the *genre* of Howell's *Familiar Letters*, from which these passages are taken for comparison:[1]

> There is no part of *Europe* so haunted with all sorts of foreigners as the *Netherlands*, which makes the Inhabitants, as well Women as Men, so well vers'd in all sorts of Languages, so that in Exchange-time one may hear seven or eight sorts of Tongues spoken upon their Bourses: nor are the Men only expert herein, but the Women and Maids also in their common Hostries; and in *Holland* the Wives are so well vers'd in Bargaining, Cyphering, and Writing, that in the absence of their Husbands in long Sea-voyages they beat[2] the Trade at home, and their Words will pass in equal Credit. These Women are wonderfully sober, tho' their Husbands make commonly their Bargains in drink, and then are they more cautelous. This confluence of Strangers makes them very populous, which was the cause that *Charles* the Emperor said, That all the *Netherlands* seem'd to him but as one continued Town. He and his Grandfather *Maximilian*, notwithstanding the choice of Kingdoms they had, kept their Courts most frequently in them, which shew'd how highly they esteem'd them; and I believe if Philip II had visited them sometimes, Matters had not gone so ill.
>
> There is no part of the Earth, considering the small Circuit of Country, which is estimated to be but as big as the fifth part of *Italy*, where one may find more differing Customs, Tempers and Humours of People than in the *Netherlands*: The *Walloon* is quick and sprightful, accostable and full of Compliment, and gaudy in Apparel, like his next Neighbour the *French*: The *Fleming* and *Brabanter*, somewhat more slow and more sparing of Speech: The *Hollander* slower than he, more surly and respectless of Gentry and Strangers, homely in his clothing, of very few words, and heavy in action; which may be imputed to the quality of the Soil, which works so strongly upon the Humours, that when People of a more vivacious and nimble Temper come to mingle with them, their Children are observ'd to partake rather of the Soil than the Sire: and so it is in all other Animals besides.

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1 The whole letter ("A Survey of the seventeen Provinces") dated 1 May, 1622 (though dates mean little with Howell) should be read (*Familiar Letters*, 1890 ed., pp. 115-29), together with pp. 25-38, letters from Amsterdam.

2 Query: "be at".

Thus have I huddled up some observations of the *Low-Countries*.

For an undated letter from Howell to Selden, see Harleian MS 7003, f. 374 in the British Museum, in which he says, *"Quod Seldenus nescit, nemo scit"*.

There seems to be nothing here that Selden could not have written, and no one who knows the *Table-talk*—or his portrait in the National Portrait Gallery—will deem it impossible for him to be author. But, Selden's or not, the "peice" is entertaining: it is witty and—not too abusive!

One possibility should not be overlooked—that the copy in the Huntington Library (it is wrongly bound, leaf 6 coming before leaf 5) was made for a commonplace book from some printed work. But none of the experts on the period I have consulted have ever seen it before.

ALBERT PEEL.

Elles. 1181. (*Superior letters have been brought down, and the usual abbreviations for "per", "pro", "par" run out.* The manuscript pages are added for convenience of reference.)

Touchinge the Lowe Countries.

Honoble Sr,

I should bee ioyfull to heare how you faire. I am well in bodie nowe, but a relapse lately had almost killed me, and I looke like an Emblem soe ill drawne that you would scarce knowe me, but by the Conceipt; If drinkinge bee a cryme, I conclude myself faultie, for I have typled wth such appetite, as I had bine composed of spunge and stockfish, and that recovered me, soe one evill hath expelled a worse. Heere I have sent you a badd old peice, newe drawne and composed in the furie of Lubecke beere, pray read it, as you like this, I'le fynde you a better, you that have the better part of me (my hart) may Comaund. J. S.

Ægigt this
22 Janu.

2 *right*

Three monethes observation of the Lowe Countries, especially Holland.

They are a generall Sea-land, there is not such a Marrish[1] in the world thats flatt. They are an universall quagmire epitomiz'd, A greene Cheese in pickle, such an equilibrium of mudd water, A stronge earthquake would shake them into a Chaos. They are the ingredientes of a black puddinge, and want onlie stirring together, else you will have more blood then grootes[2], and then you have noe way to make it serve for any thinge, but spread it under *zona torrida*, and soe dry it for turfes. Thus stiffened you may boyle it i'th Sea, otherwise all the sailes of the Countrie will not furnish you

1 "Marish" or "marsh". See *N.E.D.*

2 *N.E.D.* has "groot" as obsolete for mud, soil, earth, but gives no example of its use in the plural. Clearly the reference is to crushed barley or oats, used in making porridge. *N.E.D.* has an example from the *Lonsdale Gloss.* which exactly fits this reference: *"Groats,* always used with the blood in the composition of black puddings; hence the proverb current in Lonsdale, 'Blood without groats is nowt,' meaning that family without fortune is of no consequence".

with a Pooke bigg enough. It is excellent for dispayringe lovers, for each Corner affoardes them willowe, but yf Justice should condemne one to bee hanged on anie other tree, hee might live longe and Confident. It is the buttock of the world, full of veynes and bloud, but noe bones in it. Had St. Stephen beene condemned to have been stoned to death heere, hee might have lived still; For (unlesse

End 2 *right, then* 3 *left*

3 *left*
it bee in their paved townes) gold is more plentifull then stones. It is a singular place to *fatt monkies* in, for there are spiders as bigg as shrimpes, and (I thinke) as manie.

You may travaile the Countrie wthout a guide, for you cannot baulke yor road wthout hazard of drowninge. A Kinge that hates crowdinge may heere runn awaie wthout stayinge for his Usher, for hee can goe noe whether, but his way is made before him. Had they but Cities as long as theire walles Rome were but a *bable* to them. Twentie myles are nothinge to bee hurried in one of their waggons, where yf yor foreman been sober, you travell in safetie, but descendinge from thence, you must have stronger faith then Peter had, or you sincke ymediatlie. If yor way bee not thus it hanges in the water, and at the approach of yor waggons shall shake as if it were ague stricken. The Duke D'Alva's taxinge the tenth *penney* frighted it into a palsey, wch all the Mountebankes they have bredd since knowe not how to Cure. Sometymes they doe those thinges wch seeme wonders, For they fish for fyre in the waters, wch the(y) catch in

End 3 *left, goes to* 3 *right*

3 *right*
nettes, and after transport it to land in theire boates, where they spread it smoothlie as a Mercer doth his velvet, when hee would hooke in an heire of eighteene. This lyeinge in a meadowe, you would suppose it a Cantle of greene Cheese spread over wth black butter. Theire ordinarie Packhorses are framed of wood, carryinge their briddles in theire tayles, and theire burthen in theire bellies, a stronge tyde and a swift gaile are the spurrs that make them speedy.

They dress their meate in *aqua cælesti* for theire water springes are not as ours from the earth, but comes [*sic*] to them (as *Manna* to the Israellites) from heaven. The Elementes are heere at variance, the subtile overflowinge the grosser, the fyre consumes the earth, and the ayer the waters, for they burne turfes, and draine the groundes wth windmyllnes, as yf the Chollique were a remedie for the stone. The land they have is Kept as neatlie as a Courtier's beard, and they have a method in moweinge. It is soe interveyned wth waters and Rivers, as it is impossible to make a comon amonge

End 3 *right, goes to* 4 *left*

4 *left*
them. Even the *Brownistes* are heere at a stand. The poore are never compleyned of for breakynge of hedg*e*s. Surelie had the men of Gotham lived heere, they would have studied some other prison, for the Cuckowe. Theire ditches they frame as they list, and distinguish them into nookes as my Lord Maiors Cooke doth his Custardes. They clense them often (but it is as Phisitians give theire potions) more to catch the fish then to cast out the mudd. Though theire Country bee part of the mayne, yet every howse standes as it were in an Island, and that (though a Boare dwell in it) lookes as *smugg* as a Ladie newe paynted. A gallantes maskinge suite sitts not more neatlie, then a thact[3] Coate of many yeares wearinge. If you fynde it dry, it is imbraced by vynes, and yf lower seated, it is onlie a close Arbour

3 Nothing corresponding to this in *N.E.D.* Can it be "thatched", perhaps = "overcoat".

wthin a plumpe[4] of willowes and Alders, pleasant enough while the dogdaies last, but those past over, you must practise wadpinge[5], or remaine prisoner till the springe, onlie a hard frost wth the helpe of sledges will release you. The bridge to this, is an

End 4 *left, goes to* 4 *right*

4 *right*

outlandish planke, wth a box of stones to poyse it wth all like a *Quintane*, wch wth the leaste helpe turnes round like a headsman that when the Maister is over standes drawne, and then hee is in his Castle. *Tis* sure his feare that renders him suspitious. That hee may certainlie see who enters you shall ever see his windowe made over his doore, but it may be, it is to shewe you his pedegree, for though his Ancestors were never knowne theire Armes are there, wch in spite of Heraldrie shall beare theire Atchivementes wth a helmett of a Baron at least, marrie the feild *perhapps shalbee* charged wth three baskettes, to shewe his Fathers trade portraid. When you are entered into one of their howses the first thinge you shall encounter is a lookeinge glasse, the next are the vessells marshalled about the howse like watchmen, all as neat as yf they were in a Ladies Cabbinet, for (unlesse it bee themselves) there is none of Godes Creatures loose any thinge of their native beautie. Their howses (especiallie in theire Cities) are the best eye-beauties in their Countrie, in

End 4 *right, go to photostat* 6 *left*

Photostat 6 *left*

sight they farr exceed our English, but want onlie theire magnificence. Theire lyneinge is yet more rich then theire outside, not in hanginges but in pictures, wch the poorest there are furnished wth. Not a *sowter* but has his toyes for ornamt, were the knackes of all theire howses set together there were not such another Bartholomeye fayre in Europe. Their Artistes for these are as rare as thought for they can paint you a fat hen in her feathers. And yf you want theire language, you may learne a great deale on theire signe postes, for what they are they ever write under them. In that onlie they deale plainlie, and by this devise hange upp more honestie then they keepe. Theire roomes are but severall sand-boxes, yf not soe, you must either swallow yor spittle, or blush when you see a mapp brought. Theire beddes are noe other than land Cabbins, high enough to need a ladder or stayres, once upp you are walled in wth wainscott, and that is good discretion, to avoyd the trouble of makeinge yor will everie night, for once fallinge out will breake yor neck perfectlie, but yf you dye in it, this Comfort you shall

End 6 *left, goes to* 5 *right*

5 *right*

leave yor freindes, that you dyed in cleane lynnen. Whatsoever their estates bee, their howses must bee fyne, therefore from Amsterdam they have banished Seacoale, least it spoyle theire buildinges, of wch the statelier sort are sometymes sententious, and in theire frontes carrie some conceipt of the Author. Theire howses they keepe cleaner then theire bodies, and theire bodies then theire soules. Goe to one you shall fynde the Andyrons shut upp in networke, at a second the warminge pan musledd upp in Italian Cut-worke, at a third the scummer cladd in Cambricke. For the woeman is ever the head of the man, and soe takes the horne to her owne charge, wch shee sometymes multiplies, bestoweinge the increase on her husband. For their propention to *venerie*, it's true that theire woemen are not soe readie at the sport, as our English, for neither are they soe generallie bredd to it, nor

4 See *N.E.D.*; now obsolete, "clamp" or "cluster".
5 Is "wadpinge" an obsolete form?

are theere men such lynnen lifters[6]. Idlenes and Courtshipp hath not banisht honestie, they talke more and doe lesse, yet theire blood burnes high, and their veynes are full, wch argues stronglie, that yf ever the Court turne them gallantes, they will take upp the

7 left
Custom of entertayninge Ladies, and haveinge once done it, I beleive they wilbee noteable, for I have heard they trade more for love, then money, but it is for the trick, not the man, and therefore when they like the labour they will reward the workeman, otherwise theire grosse feedinge and Clownish education hath spoyled them for beinge noblie mynded. But I must give you this onlie one report, experience haveinge not made me wise. Theire people are generallie boorish, yet none but may bee bredd to bee a statesman, none of them haveinge the guift to bee soe nice conscienced but that they can turne out Religion to lett in policie. Theire Countrie is the God they worshipp, warr is theire heaven, peace theire hell, and the crosse Spaniard theire devil. Custome is their lawe, and will theire reason, you may sooner Convert a Jewe, then make an ordinarie Dutchman yeild to argumentes that crosse him. An old Bawd is sooner and more easilie turned Puritan then a waggoner perswaded not to bayte twice in nyne myle, His soule is composed of English beere, that makes him headstronge, and his
6 right
body of pickled herringe, they render him costive and testie, these two with a little butter are the ingredientes of a meere Dutchman, wch a voyage to the *East Indies* by the heate of the Equinoctiall consolidates. If you see him fatt, hee hath bine Coopt in a Root-yard, and that has bladderd him. If you see him him [*sic*] naked, you will intreat him to put of his gloves or maske, or wish him to hide his face, that hee may appeare more lovelie. For theire Condition, they are Churlish, and wthout question verie ancient, for they were bredd before manners were in fashion, yet all that they have not, they accompt superfluitie, wch (they saie) mends some, and marrs more. They should make good Justiciars, for they neither respect person nor apparell. A Boore in his butter shopps shalbee entertayned equallie wth a Courtier in his braverie. They are seldome deceived, for they trust noe bodie, soe by consequence they are better to hold a Fort then to wynn it, yet they can do both. Trust them you must yf you will travell, for to call to them for a Bill were to dive into a

End 6 right (clearly 5 left wasps nest follows)

5 left
waspes nest. Complemt is an Idlenes they are never trayned upp in, and it is theire happiness that Court vanities have not stolne awaie theire myndes from business. Their beinge saylors and soldiers have marred two partes already. If they bath once in Court oyle, they are painted trapdoores, and shall then suffer the Jewes to build a Citie where *Harlem Meere* is and then cozen them out. They shall abuse a stranger for nothinge, and after a fewe base terms scorch one another into Carbonadoes as they doe fried Roches. Nothinge can quiet them but money and libertie, wch haveinge gotten, they abuse both, but yf you tell them soe, you awake theire furie, and you may sooner calme the Sea, then coniure that into Compasse againe. They are in a manner all Aquintells, and therefore the Spaniard calls them waterdogges. I agree not wth them, yet thinke wthall they can catch a duck as soone. They love none but such as doe for them, and when theire turne is served, neglect them. They have noe freindes but theire kindred, wch

End 5 left (to 7 right?)

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6 *I.e.*, given to adultery.

7 right
meete at every weddinge feast amongest themselves like Tribes. All that helpe them not, they hold popish and thinke it an argumt of greate honestie to rayle against the Kinge of Spaine. Theire shippinge is the Babell wch they boast in for the glorie of theire Nation. It is indeed a wonder, and they will have it soe, but wee may well hope they will never bee so potent by land, least they showe us how doggedlie they can insult, when once they gett the masterie. Theire Navies, are the scourge of Spaine, and pills wherewth they purge the Indies. Nature hath not bredd them soe active for land, as some others, but at Sea they are water devills and attempt thinges incredible. Theire shippes lye like high woodes in winter, and yf you viewe them on the North side, you freeze wthout helpe[7], for they ride soe thick that thorowe them you can see noe sunn to warme you wth. Saylors amongst them are as Comon as beggers wth us. They can drinke, rayle, sweare, iuggle, steale, and bee bouzie[8] alike, but examine the rest a Gleeke[9] of their Knaves are

End 7 right

8 *left*
worth a Monruivall[9] of ours. All amonge them are Sea-men borne, and like frogges, can live both on land and water. Not a Freister[10] amonge them but can handle an oure, steere a boate, rayse a mast, and beare you over the roughest passage you come in. Theire governmt is a *democracie* and there had need bee many rulers over such a rable of Rudeones[11]. Tell them of a Kinge, they will cutt yor throate in earnest, the verie name implyes servitude, they hate it more then a Jewe Images, or a woeman old age. None amonge them hath authoritie by inheritance, that were the way to parcell out the Countrie into families. They are all chosen as wee choose Aldermen, more for theire wealth than for theire wit, wch they soe over affect, that ***Myn-heere*** shall pace the streete like an old Ape wthout a tayle after him. And (yf they may bee had cheape) hee shall dawbe his faced Cloake wth a stiver worth of pickled herringes, wch himself shall carrie home in a stringe. Theire Common voyce hath given him preheminence, and hee looses it by liveinge as hee did when hee was a Boore. But yf pardon bee granted for whats past

8 *right*
they are about thinkinge it tyme to learne more Civilitie. Theire Justice is strict yf it crosse not policie, but rather then hinder traffique, theile tolerate anie thinge. There is not under heaven such a den of severall serpentes as Amsterdam is, you may there bee what divell you please, soe you push not the State wth yor hornes, It is an Universitie of all opinions wch growe in it confusedlie as stockes in a nurserie, wthout either order or pruninge. If you bee unsettled in your Religion, you may heere try all and at last take what you like. If you fancie none, you have a patterne to followe of two who wilbee a Church by themselves. The Papist must not masse it publiquely, not because hee is most hated, but because the Spaniard abridgeth

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7 "fayle" crossed out.
8 *I.e.*, boozy.
9 Gleek is a card game played by three persons. A mournival (all the aces, kings, queens or knaves) counted for 8 points, a gleek (three of each) for 1 point. Gleek is therefore used for a trio or set of three. See *N.E.D.*, which gives the following quotation from Gayton, *Pleas. Notes*, III. V. 96:
> He was not able to stirre his jawes, nor could be partaker of any of the good cheer, except it were the liquid part of it, which they call Dutch gleek, where he plaied his cards so well, and vied and revied so often that he has scarce an eye to see withall.

10 Is this="Frisian", or is it Dutch *tryster vrijdster*, a sweetheart?
11 Apparently one word, but no doubt "Rude ones".

the Protestant, and they had rather shewe a litle spleene, then not cry quittes wth the enemie. His act is theire warrant, wch they retaliate iustlie; And for this reason rather then the Dunkirkers they take, shall want hanginge, Amsterdam who hath none of theire owne, will borrowe hangmen at *Harlam*. In theire families they are all

Then to 9 *left*

9 *left*
equalls, and you have noe waie to knowe the Master and Mistres, unlesse you fynde them in bedd together. It may bee those are they, otherwise *Maulkin* will prate as much, laugh as lowd, and sit on her tayle as well as her Mistris. Had Logitians lived heere first Fathr and sonne had never passed soe long for Relatives, they are heere wholie individualls; For noe demonstrance of dutie or authoritie can distinguish them, as yf they were created together, and not borne successivelie. For your Mother, biddinge her goodnight, and kissinge her is punctuall blessinge, yor men shalbee inconvenientlie sawcie, and yor must not strike him, yf you doe, he shall complaine to the *Schoote* and have recompense. It is a daintie place to please Boyes in, for the Father shall bargaine wth the schoolemaster not to whipp him, yf hee doe hee shall revenge it wth his knyfe and have lawe for it. Theire apparell is Civill enough, and good enough but verie uncomely, usuallie it hath more stuffe then shape, onlie the woemens Hukes[13] are Comodious in winter, but it is pittie they have not the wit to leave them off

9 *right*
when sumer comes. Theire woemen would have some good faces, yf they did not marr them in the makeinge. Men and woemen are starcht soe blewe, that when they are growne old, you would verilie beleive, you sawe some winter standinge upp to the neck in a barrell of blewe starch. The men amongst them are cladd tollerablie, unlesse they inclyne to the Sea fashion, and then are theire slopps yawninge at the knee, as yf they were about to devowre theire shankes unmercifullie. They are farr from goeinge naked, for of a whole woeman you can see but a peice of her face, as for her handes they shewe her to bee a shrewd labourer, wch you shall allwaies fynde (as it were in recompence) loaden with ringes, to the crackinge of her fingers, and shee will rather want meate then a Cartrope of silver about her hunge wth Keyes. Theire gownes are fit to hide greate bellies, but they make them shewe soe unhansome that men doe not care to get them, marrie this you shall funde to theire Comendation, theire smockes are ever whiter than theire skinnes, much cleaner, and farr sweeter.

10 *left*
They rayle at us for our various change of habit, but plead for theire owne more earnestlie, then lay Catholiques for theire faith, wch they are resolved to keepe, because theire Ancestors lyved and dyed in it. For theire dyet they eate much and spend litle. When they sett out a Fleete to the East Indies, they live three monethes on the offall wch wee feare would surfett our swyne. In theire howses rootes and stockfish are staple Comodities. When to theire feastes they add flesh, they have the art to keep it hot, as long as our Fleetlane Cookes meazelled[14] Porke. To a feast they come readilie, but beinge once set, you must have patience, for they are longer in eatinge meate, then wee are dressinge it. If it bee a supper, you conclude tymelie yf you get away by day breake. It is a point of good manners (yf there bee anie) to carrie awaie a peice of Applepye in yor pocket.

13 See *N.E.D.* A kind of cape or cloak, with a hood.
14 *N.E.D.* has many examples of "measled" applied to pork, bacon, *etc.* From "infected with measles", it seems to have become equal to "poor", "scurvy".

The tyme they spend is in eating well, in drinkinge much, in prateinge most. For the truth is, yor compleat drunkerd is your English gallant, his healthes turn

10 *right*
liquor into a Consumption, marrie the tyme was the Dutch had the upper hand, but they have nowe lost it by prateinge too much over theire pottes, they drinke as yf they were short wynded, and as it were eate theire drinke by morselles, the English swallowe it whole, as yf theire livers were on fyre, and they strove to quench them, the one is drunke sooner, the other longer, as yf striveinge to recover the wager the Dutch would bee the noblest soker. In this progresse you have seene somewhat of theire evills.

Nowe observe them.

Salomon tells us of 4 thinges verie small, but full of wisdome, the Pismire, the Conie, the Spyder, and the Grashopper, they are all for providence. These are the Pismires of the world, who haveinge nothinge of themselves but what the grasse yeildes them, are yet (for all provision) become the storehowse of all Christendome. They are fruitfull to the saveinge of Eggshells, and maintaine it for a maxime That many an old thinge mended will last longer than a newe. Theire Cities are theire Molehills, theire

11 *left*
shippes and flyboates creepe and returne loaden wth store for winter.

For dwellinge in Rockes they are Conies, where have you under heaven such impregnable fortifications, where art beautifies nature, and nature makes art invincible? Indeed, heerein they differ, the Conies fynde Rockes, and they make them, as yf they would invert Moses his miracle, they rayse them in the bosome of the waves, where wthin these 13 yeares Shippes furrowed the pathles Ocean, the peacefull plowe unbowelled the fertile earth, wch at night is carried home to the fayrest mansions in Holland.

For warr they are Grashoppers, and goe wthout Kinges in bandes to conquer Kinges. There is not upon earth such a schoole of martiall discipline. It is the Christian worldes Academie for Armes, unto wch all Nations resort to bee instructed, where you may observe how unresistable a blowe manie small graynes of powder heaped together will give, wch yf you seperate can doe nothinge but sparkle and dye.

11 *right*
For industrie they are Spiders, and live in the Pallaces of Kinges, there are none have the like intelligence. Theire Marchantes at this daie are the greatest of the Universe. What nation is it into wch they have not insinuated themselves? nay wch they have not annotomized and even discovered the intricated veynes of it? All they doe is wth such labour, as it seemes extracted out of theire owne bowells, and by them wee may learne. That noe rayne fructifies like the dewe of sweate.

You would thinke (beinge wth them) that you were in old Israell, for you fynde not a beggar amongst them. Yf hee will depart, hee shall have money for his Convoy, yf hee stayes, hee hath worke, yf hee bee unable hee fyndes an Hospitall. Theire Care extendes even from the Prince to the Flycatcher. And least you should loose an afternoone in fruitlesse mourninge. by two of the Clock all burialls must end. Even theire Bedlam is a place soe curious, that a Lord might live in it. Theire Hospitall might lodge a Ladie, their Bridewell a gentle woeman, and theire prison a rich Citizen, but for a poore man it is his best refugee; for hee that castes him in must maintaine him.

They are (in some sort) Godes, for they set boundes

12 *left*
to the sea, and when they list let them passe. Even theire dwellinge is a miracle. They live lower than the fishes in the verie lapps of the floodes, and incircled in theire watrie armes, they seeme like the Isreallites passinge the redd Sea. Theire waves wall them in, and yf they let open their sluces, drowne theire enemies. They are Gedeons Armie upon the march. Againe they are the Indian Ratt gnawinge the bowells of the Spanish Crocodile to wch they gott when hee gaped to swallowe them. They are the serpent wreathed about the legges of that Elephant wch groanes under the power of his almost innumerable Kinglie tytles. They are the sword fish under the whale. They are the waine of that Empire wch increased in Isabella and in Charles 5 was at full. They are a glasse wherein Kinges may see.

That an extreeme taxation, is to steale awaie the honey, while the Bees keepe the hive.

That their owne tyrannie is the greatest enemie to their Estates.

That a desire of beinge too absolute, is to press a thorne, that will pricke you.

That nothinge makes a more desperate Rebell then a Prerogative too farr urged.

12 *right*

That oppression is to heate an yron till you burne yor hand.

That to debarr a State of ancient priviledges, is to make a streame more violent by stoppinge it.

That uniust policie, is to shoot (as they did at Ostend) into the mouth of a charged Cannon, and to have two bullettes returned for one.

That admonitions from a dyeinge man are too serious to bee neglected.

That there is nothinge certaine that is not impossible.

That a Cobler of Flushinge was one of the greatest enemies that ever the Kinge of Spaine had.

To conclude, the Countrie it self, is a moated Castle, keepinge two of the richest Jewells in the world in it, the Queene of Bohemia, and the Prince of *Orange*. The people in it are all Jewes of the newe Testamt, and have exchanged nothing but the lawe for the Gospell. They are a man of warr rydeinge in the downes of Germanie. For forreigne Princes to help them, it is wise, yea self wise policie to doe soe, when they have made them able to defend themselves against Spaine, they are at the Pale, yf they ayde them to offend others they goe beyond

13

it. If anie man wonder at these contraries, let him looke into his owne bodie for as manie severall humors, into his own hart, for as manie various passions, and from these hee may learne. *That there is not in all the whole world such another Beast as Man.*

Newport, Isle of Wight Congregational Church (St. James's)

Extracts from the Church Book.

JOHN BRUCE, of Homerton College, was ordained 25th May, 1808.

"AS the Church had hitherto recognized no particular form of government or mode of discipline, Mr. Bruce drew up the following resolutions which were passed at a Special Church Meeting as

The Views of the Church of Christ Assembling at St. James's Street, Newport, Isle of Wight.

Relating to the nature and discipline of a Christian Church.

"No Society can in the least subsist or hold together but will presently dissolve and break to pieces, unless it be regulated by some laws, and the members all consent to observe some order: place and time of meeting must be agreed on, rules for admitting and excluding members must be established; distinction of Officers, and putting things into regular course cannot be omitted." *Locke.*

1. A Church of Jesus Christ is a society of men and women, renewed [?] by divine grace, separate from the world, and walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless. I Cor. i, 2. I Thess. i, 1. I Cor. iii, 9-17.
2. The members of this society acknowledge Jesus Christ as their *only* and *supreme* Head, and take his word as the rule of their faith and practice. Matt. xxiii, 8-10; xxviii, 20.
3. According to the constitution of the primitive churches, this society feel it their duty to elect one of their members as their spiritual guide;—to conduct their worship—to break to them the bread of life, and to administer the ordinances of the New Testament. The person sustaining this character is called in the scriptures a Pastor, an Elder, or Presbyter, and sometimes a Bishop. Eph. iv, 11. Acts xiv, 23. I Tim. iii, 1-2.
4. To free the Pastor from all secular and pecuniary concerns, we resolve to set apart *two* or *more* of our members, of approved qualifications to the office of Deacons,—"to collect, arrange, and appropriately expend the pecuniary resources of the house of God". I Tim. iii, 1-10, 12, 13. Acts vi, 1-6.

5. The society consider that the power of transacting church business, of judging and receiving, or excommunicating their own members, is *not* lodged in the hands of the Pastor, or any individual member but with themselves as a collective body. I Cor. v, 7, 11-13.

6. As members of this christian society we resolve to be tenderly watchful over one another, and shall feel it our duty to give and receive reproof, in the spirit of meekness. Heb. x, 24, 25. I Thess. v, 14. Gal. vi, 1.

7. Should an offending brother, having thus been reproved in the spirit of meekness, manifest no signs of genuine contrition, we resolve to visit him with two or three of our brethren, and endeavour to convince and restore him. Matt. xviii, 15, 16.

8. If our offending brother still continues incorrigible and will not listen to our admonition, we resolve, through the medium of our pastor, to report his offence to the church. Matt. xviii, 17.

9. If the offender, having been waited upon by deputies from the church, persist in his disregard of the word and ordinances of God, we resolve to suspend him from the benefits of our communion, and employ every means during his suspension to restore him. Luke xiii, 6-9.

10. If after all this forbearance, and the use of proper means to restore him, he continue in his faults, he shall be excluded from all communion with our christian society. I Cor. v, 4, 5. Matt. xvi, 19.

11. We engage affectionately to receive into full communion approved members from other churches on their regular dismission. Rom. xvi, 1, 2.

12. We think it *expedient* and *reasonable* to prohibit, that members of other churches, who are only approved occasional communicants, should have any vote in the affairs of our society.

13. We resolve that one evening in the week preceding the Lord's Supper should be set apart for the purpose of prayer, exhortation, and the transaction of church business, on which occasion we shall always feel it our duty to attend.

14. We resolve that every person desiring to be a member of our society shall make known his wishes to the Pastor—that the pastor at the next church meeting shall report his name to the church—that the church shall then nominate two of its members to converse with the person proposed—and that the pastor and the deputies, at the church meeting following, shall make

their report to the church, and if approved, that he shall be admitted into full communion.

15. We think it proper that each of our concerns as are secular and pecuniary, and relate merely to ourselves, should be solely at our own disposal: but, if connected with those of the congregation, that the subscribers be admitted to the privilege of a vote: and in either of these cases we consider the majority as the society.

Newport, April 18th, 1808.

[Thomas Binney's summary of his pastorate]:

The Rev. Thomas Binney, educated at Wymondley College, Herts., and afterwards for about 12 months minister of the New Meeting House, Bedford, came to supply the congregation assembling in the Independent Chapel, Saint James' Street, Newport, I.W., on the first Sabbath of August, 1824. He was requested to remain another two months, during which time he preached also at Node Hill Chapel, as that church was also without a Pastor, and some thoughts were entertained of a union of the two. This was found to be impracticable. Mr. Binney received and accepted a call to settle over the church assembling in St. James' Street. He was publicly set apart or ordained to this work, on the 29th day of December, 1824. His esteemed friend and Tutor, the Rev. T. Morell, of Wymondley College, delivered an affectionate and impressive charge from the Apostolic admonition to Timothy, "Study to shew thyself approved unto God."

In the month of March, 1829, Mr. Binney received an invitation from the church assembling at the Weigh House, London, to visit them with a view to the pastoral office. This, on consideration, he declined. It was followed, in April, by another accompanied by a personal visit from one of the deacons, deputed by the rest to this business. He consented, with much hesitation, to spend three Sabbaths in London, the last two in April and the first in May.

Immediately on coming to this decision, Mr. Binney called a special Church Meeting and communicated his intention, stating—that, whatever might be the result of the journey—whatever his ultimate decision—or whatever the consequence of disclosure—he could only go with conscientious satisfaction by the church knowing the nature of his visit. He wrote, to the same import, to the Congregational Committee, who met the same evening.

From the Weigh House he received a unanimous and urgent call—expressed in terms peculiarly strong. He entertained the subject, when first proposed, reluctantly—he went to London with repugnance—but he felt a gradual conviction grow upon him of what it seemed

his duty to do—he concluded that it became him to accept the call, and he did so.

Immediately after this he called another special Church Meeting, and wrote again, at the same time, to the Congregational Committee, communicating to both this final result. He fixed the *first Sabbath* in July as *the last* on which he should officiate. He was thus, including the period of his probationary service, five years all but one month, over the Society.

During this period there were no deacons to co-operate with the Pastor in the business of the Church. The attendance was in general good. Some were added to the church whose names will follow. But, strictly speaking, it cannot be said that the Society was very prosperous. For this, reasons might be assigned and furnished both by the Pastor and the People—but—may the Lord pardon the imperfections of both—and *now*! "Oh! Lord—send *now* prosperity." Amen and Amen.

T. B.

Names of 9 who had died and of the 19 who had been received are given. These are followed immediately by the following, in Binney's hand:

James Reeder, in consequence of his conduct becoming the subject of church investigation, withdrew himself.

At a special Church Meeting held on the evening of Thursday, 25th June, 1829, the cases of Mrs. Lawrence and Mr. Crook were considered and disposed of. The Church decided that Mrs. Lawrence should be publicly reproved for her conduct, and be suspended six months—and, in consideration that her conduct for a year past had been free from former inconsistencies, if it continued so, that she should then be restored.

The Church also decided that Mr. Crook should be publicly rebuked—be suspended 12 months—and seeing that his habit of tipling [*sic*] had been of long standing, and continued up to the very period of investigation, that then—at the end of the 12 months—the Church should require satisfactory proofs of reformation—and according as they were offered or not the suspension should be taken off or renewed.

Both Mr. Crook and Mrs. Lawrence expressed contrition, and both submitted to the public rebuke of the Pastor, at the regular Church Meeting held on the evening of Friday, 3rd July, 1829.

That no difficulty may be experienced by the Church, or by my successor, at the termination of the above period, by doubts as to

the precise nature of the discipline inflicted, I subjoin the language in which it was communicated, in writing, to Mr. Crook himself—my letter contained much expression both of sorrow and hope, but the following extract is the sentence in which the decision of the Church was conveyed:

> "It is expected that you will attend at the Church Meeting next Friday evening, to be admonished by the minister of your unbecoming conduct, and to be suspended for 12 months from the Lord's table, at the termination of which period the suspension will be either *removed* or *renewed*, according to the evidence you afford of repentance and reformation".
>
> THOS. BINNEY.

Newport, 4th July, 1829.

Our Contemporaries

The *Journal* of the Presbyterian Historical Society of England for May, 1946, contains a lecture by Professor R. D. Whitehorn on "The Westminster Assembly and the Spirit of its Age". Mr. R. S. Robson continues the story of "Presbytery in Newcastle-on-Tyne".

"The Baptists of Hatch Beauchamp", near Taunton, who trace their church from pre-1662 days, have their story told by Mr. W. Fisher in the *Baptist Quarterly* for Jan.-April, 1946; and "The Story of Pottergate and Ber Street Churches, Norwich" from 1774 is told by the Rev. M. F. Hewett in the July-Oct. number.

Early Methodism in Northampton, Ambleside and Manchester are studied in the 1946 *Proceedings* of the Wesley Historical Society, which also include an article on "Methodism and the Torrington Diaries" by the Rev. George Lawton, and one on "Early Methodist Octagons" by the Rev. C. Deane Little.

The leading article in the 1946 *Transactions* of the Unitarian Historical Society is a detailed study of John Thomson, M.D., of Halifax (1782-1818); letters between Job Orton and Benjamin Davies are printed, and the Platt Chapel Account Books are described.

G. F. N.

Reviews

Dr. Irvonwy Morgan's *The Nonconformity of Richard Baxter* (Epworth Press, 12s. 6d.) gained a D.Phil. from London, but is not a scholarly production. The style is slack—'C. of E. and a good thing' is a chapter-title, the bibliography is confusingly arranged; names mentioned are left unidentified—Th.(omas) Bedford (*D.N.B.*) appears as 'Mr. T. H. Bedford'—and in the earlier chapters, apart from the *Reliquiae* (in the Everyman abridgement) the authorities followed are largely secondary, though Alexander Gordon is not among them. Dr. Morgan says definitely, "Baxter never mentions John Bunyan". Is he sure? F. J. Powicke said the same, but with a "so far as I know". The voluminous nature of Baxter's writings makes it hard to know whether one has read all the relevant material. In the treatment of Infant Baptism, for instance, it would have been well to allow that for ten years or more Baxter's uncertainty was so great that he says (not in the *Reliquiae*) he refrained from baptizing altogether. Nor was it only "in his young days" that he "thought that ministers ought not to marry"; he still held the same general principle when a widower.

Baxter's Nonconformity is a strange side of his behaviour on which to centre. Dr. Morgan draws attention to his application in 1672 for a licence to preach as a "Mere Nonconformist" (Baxter's own phrase is "only as a Nonconformist" and the licence was granted him as "a Nonconforming Minister"). This refusal to accept "the Title of Independent, Presbyterian, or any other Party" arose, it is true, from his life-long passion for a Church unity in which all might join as "meer Catholicks"; it arose also from an inability to agree wholly with anyone, which left him, paradoxically, in this sense *the* Separatist of his age. Santayana might have had him in mind when he wrote: "A moral nature burdened and over-strung, and a critical faculty fearless but helplessly subjective—isn't that the true tragedy of your ultimate Puritan?". Baxter was further "unwilling to set up a Church and become the Pastor of any", and at Kidderminster, where his influence remained strong, the formation of a Nonconformist congregation was set back by a generation. These negative aspects of his Nonconformity made it in effect so anarchic as to have small positive significance either for his own day or for ours.

Nevertheless, the book has much careful analysis of Baxter's conception of the Church, with chapters entitled "The Ministry", "The Word of God", "The Sacraments", "Baxter and the Hierarchical Conception" and "Things Indifferent". Baxter's views on these subjects would have been better related to those of his contemporaries than to those of Aquinas at one end and of Newton Flew, C. H. Dodd and C. S. Lewis at the other; but they reward study without relation either to modern authors or to his own Nonconformity. And ever and again we have a flash such as this, so characteristic of the man who "always took the Faults of the Common Prayer to be chiefly Disorder and Defectiveness": "It is better that men be disorderly saved than orderly damned".

Hugh Peters, A Study in Puritanism, the work of Mr. J. Max Patrick, was published in *The University of Buffalo Studies,* xvii. 4 (March, 1946), pp. 137-207. It contains sixteen brief chapters, under three main sections: "The Career of Hugh Peters", "Peters as Preacher and Propagandist" and "Political and Religious Views". There is no preface, but the title page

describes the study as of "The life and opinions of a major propagandist, popular preacher, and social reformer of the Cromwellian period, with particular reference to his career in America, his political, religious, and social views, and his influence on the Puritan Revolution". There are about 300 notes by way of documentation, but there is no index; *Taussern* for *Tauffern* is not reassuring. The author notes Peters' willingness "to intercommunicate with the Brownists" in Holland.

Recent histories of Congregational churches include: *These Three Hundred Years*, being the story of Congregational Work and Witness in Bury St. Edmunds, 1646-1946, by A. J. Grieve, M.A., D.D., and W. Marshall Jones (Independent Press, 5s.). This is of especial interest on account of the full use of the Bury St. Edmunds Church Book (beginning with the covenant of 1646), made by our President, and of his pithy, judicious comments. Dr. Peel contributes an introductory chapter on "Early Congregationalism in Bury St. Edmunds".

The History of the Bedfordshire Union of Christians (now known as the Bedfordshire Union of Baptist and Congregational Churches): I. The Story of a Hundred Years, by John Brown, B.A., D.D. (first published in 1896); II. The Story Continued: 1897-1946, by David Prothero, B.A., B.Sc., B.D. (Independent Press, 5s.).

Pleasant Pastures, The History of the Wilmslow Congregational Church, 1844-1946, by Walter Lazenby (Independent Press, 5s.).

The Mevagissey Independents, 1625-1946, by J. Kitto Roberts (Taunton: Phœnix Press).

As we go to press, two books by members of the Society have come in:—*The History of a Little Town* (Billericay), by the Rev. George Walker (Chelmsford: J. H. Clarke, 8s. 6d.); and *Castle Hill Meeting*, by Mr. B. S. Godfrey, B.Sc. (author, 46 Baring Road, Northampton, 2s. 6d.). Roman remains, Domesday Book, the Peasants' Revolt, the Lollards, the Marian Martyrs, the Pilgrim Fathers all come into Mr. Walker's story, which is told lovingly and carefully (though without documentation). Mr. Godfrey has not only brought the earlier histories of Castle Hill, Northampton, up to date, but has resolved their contradictions into a consistent account, which is especially valuable for the origins of the church. For this, he has gone beyond the records of his own church to those of the churches at College Street, Northampton and at Rothwell, and has also examined the "Decrees of the Court of Judicature for rebuilding Northampton after the Great Fire". He is to be congratulated on a thorough piece of work, carefully timed to appear for the Congregational Union Council's meetings at Northampton.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

Congregational Historical Society

Statement of Accounts for Year Ending 31st December 1946

Receipts	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Balances brought forward—		
Current Account	42 15 4	
Capital Account	84 12 0	
		127 7 4
Cash in Hand		6 19 4
Subscriptions—		
Current Year, 1946	38 5 0	
Arrears	5 10 0	
In Advance	1 5 0	
		45 0 0
Gift from Congregational Insurance Co. Ltd.		5 0 0
Capital Account		4 4 0
Interest on Investments		1 3 9
		£189 14 5

	Expenditure	
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Expenses—		
Rev. Chas. E. Surman ...		5 0 0
Editors		1 15 3
Treasurer		3 1 0
Printing—		
Subscription Reminders ...		1 15 9
1946 *Transactions*		42 15 0
Letter Headings		1 19 0
Balances carried forward—		
Current Account	31 14 1	
Capital Account	93 16 0	
		125 10 1
Cash in Hand		7 18 4
		£189 14 5

ROLAND H. MUDDIMAN, *Hon. Treasurer.*

The Society holds 50 "B" Shares in the North-West Building Society as an Investment.