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EDITORIAL

THE 55th Annual Meeting of the Society was held at Westminster Chapel on 12 May, 1954, at 5.30 p.m. There were present some 65 members and non-members. The resignation of the General Secretary, the Rev. H. Sellers, on his leaving Ilford for Redditch, was accepted with regret; members were glad to hear that the Rev. E. W. Dawe was willing to serve in this capacity, and elected him to the office. The meeting also accepted with regret the resignation of Dr. R. S. Paul, Associate Editor of these *Transactions*, and expressed its best wishes for his future work as he goes to represent Congregationalism in a wider sphere at the Ecumenical Institute at Bossey. The other officers were re-elected, with thanks for their continued services, together with those of Mr. Sellers and Dr. Paul.

Congregationalists in this country, and especially those interested in our history, have welcomed the return from Grahamstown to this country of Dr. Horton Davies, now Senior Lecturer in Church History at Mansfield and Regent's Park Colleges, Oxford. Those who know his book, *The Worship of the English Puritans*, will be interested to learn that Dr. Davies is at work on a continuation of this subject. A foretaste of it was enjoyed by the members of our Society in the paper on "Liturgical Reform in Nineteenth-Century English Congregationalism", which Dr. Davies read at our Annual Meeting, and which is printed within. It was delivered with much charm, vigour and sly humour. It is a thousand pities that the pressure of other, and supposedly more important, meetings always prevents us from following the lecture with a period of questions and discussion. On this occasion, for instance, it would have been useful to know how far Dr. Davies considers that John Hunter's Liturgy was actually used in the last two decades of the nineteenth century; and the intriguing question might have been raised, how the same aesthetic sensitiveness and delicacy could be expressed in that Liturgy, for which Dr. Davies had the warmest appreciation, and in the architecture of the King's Weigh-House, which Dr. Davies does not approve, though presumably Hunter did!

* * *

The Society has been well represented during the year by the number of books and pamphlets which have appeared over the names of its members, as may be seen from a list of works which is to be found on a later page. Special notice may be taken here of a work which is omitted from that list through the modesty of its compiler. This is *The Register-Booke of the Fourth Classis in the Province of London 1646-59*, transcribed from the original MS. in possession of the

Trustees of Dr. Williams' Library, London, with Introduction and Expository Index, by Charles E. Surman, M.A., Research Secretary of The Congregational Historical Society (Harleian Society's Publications, lxxxii-lxxxiii, 1953). It is, we think, remarkable, and an indication of the continuing breadth of sympathies which is our Congregational tradition, that, while one of our members has attempted to present the Society of Friends with a fresh assessment of James Nayler, another has transcribed a document of special interest to the Presbyterian Church of England and to those Unitarians who regard the seventeenth-century Presbyterians as their spiritual ancestors. However that may be, members of our Society will wish to congratulate Mr. Surman, who has recently become a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, on adding another document to the printed sources of Puritan history. They will rejoice at its appearance in the publications of the Harleian Society, and will take special pride that the name of our Society appears upon its titlepage. They may be glad to be reminded that in the pages of our issues for April 1948 and April 1949 they already possess material by Mr. Surman on "Presbyterianism under the Commonwealth" which it is illuminating to compare with *The Register-Booke*.

It is not an easy book to review; but it is a very easy book to use, because of the splendid Indexes (rather than Index, as the titlepage) for which Mr. Surman is noted. These include not only an Index Nominum running to 28 pages, with full biographical notes and references, of a kind which would have delighted Alexander Gordon and will make the work an indispensable source for many students who will never read through the text, but a most useful Index Locorum, arranged under counties, and a slight General Index as well. The Introduction is brief but clear. The text, which is reproduced *verbatim et literatim*, as befits a publication by a learned society, is largely concerned with ordinations and the examinations of candidates for ordinations. The subjects of the theses which candidates were given to debate are a helpful guide to the issues in theology which were considered of importance at the time; even if their determination must often have been in no doubt, as when they were asked *An Christus sit deus? An sola fides justificet?* or *An papa sit ille Antichristus?* Of special interest to Congregationalists is the message from "Mr. BROOKES preacher at Thomas-Apostles", who "refuseth to come" to "Margarets-Newfishstreet", which "hath bin destitute of a minister, six moneths", "but upon these termes . . ."; the first is "That you wch bee Elders shall wholly lay downe your offices as Elders"; the third, "That you receive all strangers into you, though something differing in opinion, so as you find them fit".

The last passage in *The Register-Booke* is the copy of a document dated 17 November 1659, securely certifying the ordination twelve years earlier of James Greenwood, the Curate of Old Hutton, Westmorland. Alas for the brevity of all things human! especially in days of revolution. The Classis' certificate was of no avail to protect Greenwood against ejection from Old Hutton in 1662. In eight years' time from now it will be the three hundredth anniversary of that Black Bartholomew Day. What forms will be taken by the remembrance (rather than the celebration) of that notable date and of the beginnings of organized Nonconformity? It is not too soon to begin thinking about it. In some quarters to-day a scornful amusement is expressed at the grandiose claims for the dissidence of dissent made in the middle of the last century; true, we are not likely to want to build another pseudo-Gothic Memorial Hall; but there was some solid historical work published in 1862 and after, especially by Stoughton (the Nonconformist Milman), which we shall have our work cut out to match. A frank consideration of the spiritual principles of Nonconformity as they appeared to those who first suffered for them, and also to those who could not see their cogency, would (among other things) help to save certain aspects of the ecumenical discussion from illiteracy and unreality.

Simply to go over familiar ground again would refresh nobody; but there is no need to do so. Recent bibliographical work both in this country and in America has revealed a large number of tracts and ephemeral works, often scarce, which have never received attention *except* in their own times, and has enabled the complicated course of contemporary controversies to be followed with a fullness and understanding not possible before. With this in mind, the Society's Committee has agreed that a meeting shall be called, to which a representative shall be invited from the Baptist, Friends', Presbyterian and Unitarian Historical Societies as well as our own, and which shall explore the possibility and desirability of a bibliography of Nonconformity, say from 1660 to 1689. It is a project which should appeal equally to members of all the older Free Churches with historical interests, and on the basis of which a new history might be attempted, of an impartial and comprehensive nature. The other Societies have agreed to be represented at such an exploratory meeting; and there for the moment the matter rests.

* * *

If it is to be in line with recent work, any such bibliography should indicate the location of the books listed, at least in the major collections of Nonconformist history in London. These would include not only (most obviously) Dr. Williams' Library, with the Congregational Library, and possibly Sion College, but also the library of New College,

which is particularly strong in this field, and that at Richmond College, which includes many rare works relating to Arminianism collected by Thomas Jackson, the Methodist biographer of John Goodwin. It is a disgrace to Congregational scholarship that the Congregational Library, the rehabilitation of which was welcomed in these pages a year ago, continues closed, and that the Memorial Hall Trustees hold out no hope whatever of opening it in the near future. A bibliography of Nonconformity in which no use had been made of the vast library of books collected by Joshua Wilson, and presented by his widow for the use of the Congregational churches, would be a curiosity indeed; and it must be hoped that the trustees of his books will find themselves soon able to give any such enterprise as may be ventured the benefit of access to the Congregational Library, as well as their personal sympathy and support.

* * *

It may be of interest to some of our members, particularly to those engaged in research, to have their attention drawn to the facilities provided by the Standing Conference of Theological and Philosophical Libraries in London (SCOTAPL), through which short-term research tickets (3s. 6d.) may be obtained to some 22 libraries in London, including those of the C.M.S., L.M.S. and S.P.G., the Jews College, Westminster Abbey, and the Presbyterian Historical Society, as well as the Evangelical Library and five municipal libraries. The Conference, of which the Hon. Sec. is Miss Joan Ferrier, of the C.M.S., 6 Salisbury Square, E.C.4, also issues a directory (2s. 6d.) of its member libraries, with details of their holdings and service.

*Will members please accept receipt of this number of **Transactions** as a reminder that current subscriptions (and any arrears) should be paid without delay, as heavy expenses of publication have immediately to be met. The Treasurer's address is given on Cover 4.*

Liturgical Reform in Nineteenth-Century English Congregationalism

WE are accustomed to regard the nineteenth as the "stolid" English century, in which the monarchy, the empire, the architecture and the furniture are solid, safe, dependable and unexciting. "Respectable" is the epithet we unhesitatingly apply to it and to the men who march resolutely across its stage, their sober faces made squarer by side-whiskers, and the prolific women who recline, as far as the horse-hair bristles and their bustles permit, on the sofas of the century. It was a stiff, rigid-backed, whale-boned, chins-up, aspistrada age. Such at least it seems from the vertiginous viewpoint of the present "aspirin age".

In fact, however, it was an age of revolution in politics, science, art, and theology. *In Memoriam*, *Das Kapital* and *The Origin of Species* are all Victorian explosions in the world of thought. Even the quiet country parishes of the Established Church reverberated to the passionate pleas of the Evangelicals as they hammered at the sides of their pulpits, when they were not being summoned by the Tractarians as the Anglican Church militant. In the realm of Biblical theology there were major earthquakes, as first the literal inerrancy of the Scriptures was assailed by Higher Criticism and afterwards the cast-iron theology of the Divine decrees was fragmentated by the new liberalism and Christian socialism. "Change and decay in all around I see", seems to us a twentieth-century theme, but these are Victorian words to describe a Victorian experience. At the outset we may do well to remember that religion and worship were disturbing controversial subjects in the nineteenth century. So much so, indeed, that in the year 1856 it was decided to postpone the meeting of the Assembly of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, so deep were the passions aroused by the attackers and defenders of an inoffensive hymn-book issued by Thomas Toke Lynch in 1855, under the title, *The Rivulet, Hymns for Heart and Voice*.¹ Our concern, then, is with the revolution or reformation that took place in the public worship of nineteenth-century English Congregationalism. For the purpose of this paper we shall limit our interest to prayers, praises and architecture, respectively.

I

The revolution in worship can be most clearly seen in the attitude towards *Prayers*. At the commencement of the century they were regarded at the best as an irksome necessity, at the worst as a preliminary that could be dispensed with. In 1770 Benjamin Wallin deplors the

fact that for many worshippers the "first and chief prayer, with the previous psalmody, is like what is vulgarly called the saints bell, which rings the people into church".² A similar indictment is made thirty-two years later by the anonymous authors of the remarkable document that heralds the dawn of a new Nonconformist worship: "And in most of our congregations, it is customary for great numbers to absent themselves till after the worship is begun, and not a few till the chief prayers are nearly ended. Many seem to think that if they are in time to hear the text, they are early enough".³

On the other hand, even when the congregation arrived in good time, this was no guarantee that its demeanour would be reverent. A minister, in his farewell sermon to his congregation, spoke out his mind on diffuse prayers and distracted congregations: "... it is mostly found, that if a person stands very long in prayer, he either gets to preaching, or he uses a great deal of repetition, and travels his ground several times over. This leads to discontent and inattention in the hearers. To add to the trial of the mind so circumstanced, I have remarked where I have been, some turning an hymn-book about; others handing the snuff-box about; and another taking up the poker and falling to knocking the fire about".⁴

Extemporary prayers were to suffer from abuses even graver than prolixity or propaganda. We read of a certain Samuel Brewer of Stepney Congregational Meeting who frequented the quaysides of the parish with a rolling gait. So intimate and comprehensive was his knowledge of the coming and going of ships in the nearby docks that he turned his intercessory prayer into a Lloyd's shipping register. Bogue and Bennett relate the story with zest in their history:

When a merchant ship was going to sail, he specified the captain, the mate, the carpenter, the boatswain, and all the sailors with great affection; and, it is said, that impressed with a belief of the benefit of his prayers, they frequently brought him home, as a token of gratitude, something of the produce of the country to which they went.⁵

We may visualise the vestry at Stepney, looking like a harvest festival of the British empire, piled high with pomegranates as proofs of his prevailing prayers, and the Sabbath silence broken by the chattering of budgerigars and the squawking of green parrots.

Let all eccentricities in free prayer be attributed to a quirk of Congregationalism, I beg leave to cite an example of how not to pray *ex tempore* which an Anglican reporter or parodist attributes to an Anabaptist layman. This prayer (or parody) goes thus:

O Lord, a Brother of ours, and Servant of Thine, being sick and weak, desires the Prayers of us thy Faithful Servants; Lord, if thou knowest him not his Name is John Mason; and Father, if

thee knowest not where he lives, behold, O Lord, he lives right over-against the cockey in Pockthorpe ; and behold, Lord, he is a Lame Man, and walks with one Crutch, and he is a Cobbler by his Trade ; and, Father, his Wife is a very Tidy Woman, for she is a Bobbin-Filler, she brings her Boy up to fill Pipes, and her Girl to knit : And now, O Lord, lest thou shouldst mistake, behold there is a great Stone lying at his Door. We pray thee, Father, that thou wouldst be pleased to call upon him and visit him in thy Mercy &c.⁶

Now it would be an utter travesty of the great heights to which extemporatory prayer can reach, if I indicated that such bathos was general among the Congregational churches of the century. To correct any such impression, I wish to cite part of a Communion Meditation penned by B. H. Draper, an Independent minister in Isaac Watts' town of Southampton :

See they crown that sacred head with thorns, which is now encircled with the rainbow and crowned with glory and honour ; they place a reed in that hand in mockery of his claims of sovereignty, which now really holds the sceptre of universal dominion ; that blessed countenance is defiled with shame and spitting, which is clearer than the light of heaven, and brighter than the meridian sun.⁷

Nonetheless, if extemporaneous prayers were occasionally Pentecostal, they were more frequently Purgatorial.

It was precisely this state of affairs that the most devout and thoughtful minds in the ministry set out to improve. Pre-eminent among Congregational ministers of this century in the field of worship were two friends : Thomas Binney and John Hunter. Binney was the pioneer and Hunter the accomplished practitioner of an improved public worship of God. These remarkable men had a great deal in common : each was minister of King's Weigh-House Chapel in London ; each was a pioneer in the use of prose psalms and chants in Dissenting praise ; each was in the forefront of the movement to liberate and liberalize theology from the conception of God as the arbitrary Calvinistic Potentate of the Divine decrees, and from the thought of the future life as substance and the present as mere shadow. The liturgical conclusion they came to was one in which Thomas Cartwright, the Elizabethan Puritan, had anticipated them by almost four hundred years.⁸ They were forestalled even in their own century in *A New Directory for Nonconformist Churches* which pled for the use of fixed forms and free prayer. The distinction of Binney and Hunter, however, was the place they occupied in the affection and respect of the denomination as eminent preachers and pastors, and in the moving exemplification of their theories in their own charges. Moreover, by their preaching and

by their books, as well as in fraternal discussion, they promoted the reform of worship. It was the greater distinction of Dr. John Hunter that he produced the first Congregational Liturgy worthy of the name, in 1882. It was entitled *Devotional Services for Public Worship*. The first edition comprised 28 pages, while the edition of 1901, which represents the final form, consisted of 328 pages. The only previous Congregational liturgy known to me is that of one Thomas, minister of the Independent Chapel in Stockwell, which appeared in the middle decade of the century and was known as *The Biblical Liturgy*. This is a pauperly liturgy compared with the princely fare of Hunter's.

Now the revolutionary nature of these proposals must be insisted upon. Hitherto, worship was either liturgical or free, but never were the traditions combined in the same service. The anonymous authors of the *New Directory* of 1812 recommend the use of both types of prayer and say that, if someone should object that reading a precomposed prayer is like writing a letter to another and then going to read it to him, they must insist "it is rather like drawing up with care a humble petition to the King, and then going in a body to present it to Him".⁹ They further recommend that prayers of adoration, thanksgiving, confession, and general intercession and supplication be offered through precomposed forms,¹⁰ and that responsive orders of prayers should be printed for the use of the congregations.¹¹ They suggest as source-materials Matthew Henry's *Method of Prayer*, Watts' *Guide to Prayer*, and William Smith's *A System of Prayer*. These and many other practical suggestions are offered for the consideration of the ministry in general and for tutors in theological academies in particular, because their authors are so grieved by the improprieties of Dissenting worship.

The admirable Thomas Binney made his views known either in his celebrated sermon, *The Service of Song in the House of the Lord*, or in his influential edition of C. W. Baird's *A Chapter on Liturgies, Historical Sketches* (1856) to which he prefixed an introductory essay and added a brilliant appendix that reads like a seminar. Binney hopes that it will be a surprise to many of the ultra-free-prayer school to find that the incontestably Protestant John Knox prepared a fixed liturgy which was adopted by the Church of Scotland, that many of the Puritans and Separatists used a Genevan liturgy in their clandestine meetings, that later Nonconformists objected not to the idea of a liturgy but to the particular liturgy which the Established Church imposed and that one of them, Richard Baxter, had prepared his own *Reformed Liturgy* for general use. He declares that congregations show a yearning for deeper devotion and richer song—something too in which the people shall take a prominent and active part,—not in psalmody only but in supplication;—in which they shall be called vocally to utter some portion of the Church's common prayer,—so that

by audible repetition and appropriate response, and other modes of united action, they shall feel that they positively do pray, as well as listen to another praying.¹²

Binney was a visionary, but no fanatic. So he contented himself by prescribing a reasonable modicum of improvement. This would take the form of a responsive reading of the Psalms ; vocal confession of sin, or the Lord's Prayer, or the Apostles' Creed ; and the limitation of the use of the pulpit to the sermon. To understand how reverent the man's soul was we have only to cite one verse of his great hymn, " Eternal Light " :

O how shall I, whose native sphere
 Is dark, whose mind is dim,
 Before the ineffable appear,
 And on my naked spirit bear
 The uncreated beam ?

In the same way a sublime short hymn can take us to the beating heart of John Hunter's devotional concern. Dr. Erik Routley describes it as " a perfect example of the Christian lyric-epigram ".¹³ It reads :

Dear Master, in whose life I see
 All that I would, but fail to be,
 Let Thy clear light for ever shine
 To shame and guide this life of mine.
 Though what I dream and what I do
 In my weak days are always two,
 Help me oppressed by things undone,
 O Thou, whose deeds and dreams were one.¹⁴

Hunter's theory and practice of worship are concentrated in three publications : *Devotional Services for Public Worship* (first edition, 1882), *Hymns of Faith and Hope* (first edition, 1889), and the treatise, *A Worshipful Church* (1903). In the 1901 edition of the first of these he writes : " The two ways of worship (liturgical and free) have each proved their right to exist, and they may exist side by side". To this he added in *A Worshipful Church* the sentence :

Opportunity ought to be given in every service for the introduction of free prayer when the minister is moved thereto ; but it is good that the larger part of the prayers should be before the eyes and in the hands of the people, that they may be able directly to participate in the worship, and that their worship may be saved from the unregulated and unchastened individualism of one man.¹⁵

In my own deliberate judgment I would state that the book which has done more for Free Church worship than any other, *The Methodist Hymn-Book* excepted, is Dr. John Hunter's *Devotional Services*. What

is it that makes this book so outstanding? It is not merely that it is the first dignified Congregational liturgy in English, nor even that its language is as aspiring as it is chaste, nor even again that the people are given their responsive rights in worship, important as all these factors are. The secret of its success does not even lie in the princely ruthlessness with which Hunter raids the devotional treasures of the past. It lies in the unusual combination of the traditionalist and the modern in Hunter. Technically he is a traditionalist, using the techniques of the collect and the litany, steeped in the thoughts and the phraseology of Catholic liturgy and devotions. Equally he is an advanced social thinker of his own day and sets his prayers firmly in the context of the nineteenth century industrial society, remembering the needs of a variety of vocations. The social reformer could pen these incisive words :

From all inordinate cares and ambitions ; from maxims of cunning and greed ; from the godless pursuit of pleasure and gain ; from wronging the poor and from envying and flattering the rich ; from keeping back the price of labour and from rendering eye-service ; Good Lord, deliver us.

Yet the same author pens these mystical words :

Almighty and everlasting God, in communion with Thy saints in all ages, with patriarchs and prophets, apostles and martyrs, with our beloved dead who have fallen asleep in Thy peace ; we, who are still striving to do and bear Thy blessed will on earth, adore Thee and offer to Thee our praises and supplications.¹⁴

Hunter had the liturgist's gift for true architectonic, rhythmical and balanced phrasing, as in the opening of this prayer recalling the Communion of Saints : " O Lord God, the Life and Light of the Faithful, the Strength and Hope of those who labour and suffer, the Everlasting Refuge and Rest of the dead . . ." Moreover, he had the liturgist's gift of the monumental, unforgettable phrase. Some of these phrases of his have become the prayer currency of the Free Churches : " the sacred and tender ties that bind us to the unseen world " ; " for the tasks and trials by which we are trained to patience " ; " for the order and constancy of nature, for the beauty and bounty of the world " ; " the secret and blessed fellowship of the Cross " ; " the sweet and solemn hopes that cluster round the newborn " ; " forgotten by us, but dear to Thee " ; and, perhaps the profoundest of them all, " the strength to do and bear the blessed will of God ". As long as the English tongue is spoken, so long will his Communion invitation endure. It is so good that it might be inserted as it stands before the Prayer of Humble Access in the Communion Order of the *Book of Common Prayer*. " Come to this sacred Table, not because you must, but because you may . . ." it begins, and ends, " Come, not to express an opinion, but to seek a Presence and pray for a Spirit."

Dr. John Hunter's enrichment of the prayers and praises of the Free Churches deserves a lecture to itself. What has been said, however, would serve to substantiate the claim made by Dr. Leslie Hunter, the Bishop of Sheffield, on behalf of his father: "It has proved one of the most influential contributions . . . to pastoral theology in the non-episcopal churches. Ministers who would dislike to read or to be seen to read prayers from a book in their pulpits, have sought inspiration and suggestion from its pages. Many men, too, who have made little use of it in the ordinary services of the Church, have made regular use of its special orders of services . . . and the occasional prayers which it contains".¹⁷ How far we have travelled from the unpremeditated, repetitive, chaotic, free prayers at the commencement of the century to the profoundly reflective and relevant, dignified, orderly and devout prayers of Hunter.

II

Significant changes were also taking place in the *Praise* of the Congregational churches. At the commencement of the century the theology of the hymns was almost exclusively Calvinistic, with Watts reigning as unrivalled king of hymnodists. In the course of the century the range of Congregational hymns was extended, if not deepened, by several important influences. Methodism contributed the magnificent enrichment of Charles and John Wesley; Anglicanism contributed the original hymns of Reginald Heber and the splendid translations of John Mason Neale. American Congregationalism provided the translator, Ray Palmer, and the leavening (or, watering-down) of liberal hymns of the kingdom such as "Rise up, O men of God". English Congregationalism had its own contribution to make in the hymns of Binney, Conder, Gill, Hood, Matson, Rawson, Andrew Reed, Arnold Thomas, Silvester Horne and Elvet Lewis, all nineteenth century hymnodists. The outstanding characteristics of nineteenth-century hymnbooks in Congregationalism are interdenominationalism and contemporaneity. The latter only became possible because of an even greater change, which A. G. Matthews rightly defines as "the divorce of the union that wedded the hymnbook to the Bible".¹⁸ Now it became possible to sing the glories of the present challenge, of the joys of social service, and to provide hymns suitable to the development and experience of children. An expansion of themes was accompanied by a thinning of the theology, and the objectivity of the mighty acts of God in creation, redemption and sanctification was sacrificed for the subjectivity and introspection of lyrical spiders forever examining their insides.

We should also recall that the nineteenth century saw the gradual disappearance of the clerk and the precentor and the advent of the

organist and the choirmaster. The violins, violoncellos, and flutes ceded their rights to the harmonium and then to the pipe-organ. In some conservative congregations the innovators had a hard struggle. Dating is difficult but we know, for example, that in Rugeley, Staffordshire, there were three stages : in 1840 there was a choir accompanied by a violoncello ; in 1850 they boasted a harmonium ; and in 1859 they raised the roof in the inauguration of their pipe-organ.¹⁹ In Handsworth, Birmingham, however, they had an organ as early as 1832. Manchester, as we might expect, boasted an organ in Mosley Chapel as early as 1823, and, equally according to prediction, an obdurate deacon resigned at the 'intrusion'. The diehards found a spokesman in John Adamson, minister of Charlesworth. Among his quaint arguments against organs are : to urge Judaism as a precedent for organs would require us also to introduce dancing in worship to be consistent ; instrumental music was excluded from worship during the first seven hundred years of the history of the Christian Church ; together with the conclusive, irrefutable argument that it "is a custom derived from the idolatrous Church of Rome".²⁰ We may note, in passing, that a superstition against superstition has prevented or slowed up liturgical progress throughout Church history.

It appears that it was Thomas Binney who introduced chanting into Congregational worship, while Henry Allon popularized it in his chant-book of 1876. Even a year before this publication, however, Dr. Allon wrote : "At the present time the prose psalms are more generally sung and Gregorian music is more extensively used in Nonconformist churches than in Evangelical Episcopalian churches".²¹ The denominational approval of chants was given by implication in the officially sponsored *Congregational Church Hymnal* of 1887, edited by Barrett. Anthems were also introduced at about the same time as chants. Both innovations were undreamed of at the beginning of the century.

III

The third great area of change was in the setting, the *Architecture* of Congregational worship. Before the double onset of the Gothic revival of architecture and the Oxford revival of ecclesiology, the traditional preference of Churches in the Puritan tradition for simple, classical, Georgian structures, with porticoed fronts, was broken down. The two characteristic features of the older meeting-houses of the Nonconformist tradition were the central pulpit, with the place of honour given to the open Bible resting on the red plush pulpit-cushion, and the full light passing undimmed through the large, D-topped windows, stressing the pedagogic character of Puritan worship, where the congregation was essentially an "audience" gathered to hear the exposition of the will of God in the obedience of faith. The Gothic, mediaeval,

cruciform shape, on the other hand, presupposed a sanctuary in which the sacrifice of the Mass, said often in an unintelligible tongue, was not to be heard, but to be "seen"; and this properly required a high central altar, while the element of proclamation, being subordinated to the sacrifice of the Mass, was relegated to a side pulpit. If the functions of the Puritan meeting-house and of the mediaeval Catholic sanctuary were so radically different, how are we to account for the neo-Gothic craze in some Congregational architecture in the nineteenth century?

Mr. Martin Briggs, F.R.I.B.A., son of a Congregational manse, has a shrewd guess to make, when he says:

It probably dawned upon Free Churchmen of early Victorian days, conscious of their growing political power, that the sense of social inferiority under which they had smarted so long might be removed, or at least mitigated, if their despised "chapels" were made to "look like churches" of the new Anglican kind. . . . It was thus that the starveling spires, the shoddy tracery, and the hideous coloured-glass of these mid-Victorian chapels came to be derided more bitterly than the solid, Georgian, classical chapels, or the squat and homely "Bethels" ever had been.²²

It is not to be thought that the threadbare device of the intransigent, "No Popery", was not raised. To change the metaphor, it was the appropriately named Mr. J. A. Tabor from Independent Ipswich who beat the denominational drum in a pamphlet bearing the title, *A Nonconforming Protest against the Papacy of Modern Dissenting Architecture imitative of Roman Catholic Churches* (1863). The tabors might thunder, but the ears of the well-to-do middle-class merchants of Congregationalism were attuned only to the haunting melodies of plainsong in the mediaeval mode. They insisted upon having their "Nonconformist Cathedrals", as they proudly but inappropriately called them. Indeed, the very titles showed that these were the attempts of megalomaniacs to get even with the Anglicans!

The first Nonconformist chapel to be furnished with a chancel was Mill Hill Unitarian Chapel in Leeds, built in 1848. This honour was well deserved because the Unitarians had been the pioneers in reforming liturgical worship for a good century before the other Nonconformist denominations.²³ The first large-scale Congregational church to be erected in the new manner was Christ Church in Westminster Bridge Road, London, which was completed in 1872. Its interior was designed in the shape of a Greek cross, three arms of which were occupied in galleries and the fourth contained the communion-table and the side pulpit and was flanked also by the choir seats and the organ. It had an impressive exterior culminating in a massive but finely-proportioned stone spire. The entire building was finished in stone at great cost.

Not far away the trustees of the future Westminster Chapel had caused a brick building to be erected where an equal number of seats was provided at a quarter the cost, and possibly with a quarter the distinction of style (1863-5). It would be unfair to Gothic to describe this architectural speech-box as of that manner; it is far better to accept Martin Briggs' suggestion that "a charitable critic might liken its brick interior, rather vaguely, to some of the Italian Romanesque Churches lauded by Ruskin".²⁴ A more genuinely Romanesque edifice was designed by the Nonconformist architect, James Cubitt, for Union Chapel, Islington. The Royal Academician, Alfred Waterhouse, designed two unusual edifices for Congregationalism. One of these was the King's Weigh-House Chapel in the West End, built in 1891 at a cost of £60,000 to provide seating accommodation for 600 persons, and soon to be renowned as the highest of high Congregational churches under the ministries of Dr. John Hunter and Dr. W. E. Orchard. The other sanctuary built by Waterhouse was Lyndhurst Road, Hampstead, erected to accommodate the great congregation of Dr. R. F. Horton. Neither of them was an appropriate sounding board for the "Nonconformist Conscience".

"From bare barn to King's Weigh-House" is the title of a journey that symbolizes the revolution that took place in nineteenth-century Congregational worship. The prayers, the praises, and the very setting of worship had changed almost out of recognition; yet this fluidity was a living proof of the experimental flexibility of the life of the Congregational churches, and we are its grateful inheritors.

HORTON DAVIES.

¹ Albert Peel, *These Hundred Years, 1831—1931*, (1931), pp. 221 ff.

² *Gospel-Requisites to Acceptable Prayer*, p. 22.

³ *A New Directory for Nonconformist Churches*, (1812), pp. 56 f.

⁴ *The Pulpit, a Biographical and Literary Account of Eminent Popular Preachers, interspersed with occasional Clerical Criticism by Onesimus*, (1809), ii. 367.

⁵ *The History of Dissenters from the Revolution to the year 1808*, (2nd edn., 1833), ii. 634.

⁶ *English Presbyterian Eloquence &c. in a Collection of Remarkable Flowers of Rhetoric, By an Admirer of Monarchy and Episcopacy*, (1736), p. 16.

⁷ *Solemn Recollections before, at, and after the Celebration of the Lord's Supper*, (Southampton, 1825).

⁸ Cf. A. F. Scott Pearson, *Thomas Cartwright and Elizabethan Puritanism*, pp. 406 f.

⁹ *New Directory* (1812), p. 10.

¹⁰ *op. cit.*, pp. 57/8.

¹¹ *op. cit.*, pp. 101/2.

¹² C. W. Baird, *A Chapter of Liturgies* (1856), preface, p. xxiv.

¹³ *Hymns and Human Life*, (1952), p. 154.

¹⁴ No. 462 in *Congregational Praise*.

¹⁵ p. 52.

¹⁶ Both citations are from the Fourth Order of Service.

¹⁷ Leslie S. Hunter, *John Hunter, D.D., A Life*, (1921), pp. 211 f.

¹⁸ General Introduction to *Companion to Congregational Praise*, ed. K. L. Parry, (1953), p. xxv.

¹⁹ A. G. Mathews, *The Congregational Churches of Staffordshire*, (1924), pp. 207f.

²⁰ Cf. B. Nightingale, *The Story of the Lancashire Congregational Union*, pp. 125 f.

²¹ *Sermons preached in King's Weigh-House Chapel, London 1829—1869, Second Series*, ed. with a biographical and critical sketch by H. Allon, (1875), p. xxxix.

²² M. S. Briggs, *Puritan Architecture and its Future*, (1946), pp. 38 f.

²³ Cf. Elliott Peaston: *The Prayer Book Reform Movement*.

²⁴ Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

The Writings of Richard Bancroft and the Brownists

EVERY sincere student of the sixteenth century must echo the regret expressed by Professor Norman Sykes that the late Dr. Albert Peel was not able to see completed his long projected scheme for the publication of the writings of the early English Separatists;¹ but even if we were to receive no more than what has already appeared of the project since Dr. Peel's death we should still stand immeasurably in his debt for the publication of the first two volumes, *Cartwrightiana* and *The Writings of Robert Harrison and Robert Browne*.² These he edited before his untimely death, with the assistance of Professor Leland H. Carlson, and although our full debt to the latter will not be revealed until the remaining volumes appear, I imagine he would be the first to admit that to Dr. Peel must go the primary credit of having launched this important piece of work.

It is typical of the scholarship of Albert Peel that his research should range far over the borderlands of his subject, and this is immediately illustrated by the fact that the first volume in the new series of Elizabethan Nonconformist Texts should be not a detailed presentation of one of the Separatists' representative figures, but the writings of their principal opponent on the Puritan side, Thomas Cartwright. It is seen again in the fact that, side by side with the publication of the works of Harrison and Browne, he has also bequeathed to us in their first printed form some important tracts illustrating the views of their principal antagonist in the episcopal party, Richard Bancroft.³ These tracts appear anonymously in the library of St. John's College, Cambridge, in manuscript, and comprise three short but closely related treatises⁴ on Elizabethan Separatism and Puritanism, which Dr. Peel shows were the work of Richard Bancroft.

The publication of these works represents an enormous amount of editorial transcription which is of the high standard we should expect from Dr. Peel, although mistakes and misprints occur as they are almost bound to occur in a work of this magnitude. For this reason, if for no other, before we proceed to deal with the substance of the books,

¹ "Dr. Albert Peel and Historical Studies," *TRANS.*, Vol. XVII, No. 1 (Jan., 1952), pp. 4-7.

² Published for the Sir Halley Stewart Trust by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., (25s. and 35s.), 1951 and 1953.

³ *Tracts ascribed to Richard Bancroft*, C.U.P. (21s.), 1953.

⁴ "Certen slaunderous speeches against the present Estate of the Church of Englande published to the people by the Precisians"; "The opinions and dealings of the Precisians"; "The most principall and cheife heresies in R: Brownes booke."

I should like to add my plea to that of Dr. Nuttall in the *Congregational Quarterly* that the text in the remaining volumes of the Elizabethan Nonconformist Texts should be reproduced photographically, in order to leave the editor free to devote his time to biographical annotations and elucidations. This, I believe, would very greatly enhance the value of the series, not only for the scholar in providing him with the original text, but also for the more general reader in helping him among the more obscure historical and literary allusions.

From the point of those who are interested in the origins of English Separatism it will be seen that in *Tracts ascribed to Richard Bancroft* and *The Writings of Robert Harrison and Robert Browne*¹ Dr. Albert Peel has provided us with invaluable source-material for a more thorough assessment of the relationship that developed between the Brownists and the episcopal authorities of the Elizabethan Church. It is specifically upon these two books that I have been asked to contribute this article.

In an admirable introduction in the *Tracts* Dr. Peel discusses the question of the authorship of the St. John's College manuscript. He presents a thoroughly convincing case on historical, literary and bibliographical grounds for assigning it to the pen of Richard Bancroft, the man who more than any other was used by Whitgift to root out Puritanism in all its forms during the closing decades of the sixteenth century.

Richard Bancroft had been a tutor in Cambridge from 1568 to 1574, and soon after this became chaplain to Bishop Coxe of Ely. In 1576 Archbishop Grindal appointed him to be a University Preacher, and a few years later Bancroft came under the patronage of Elizabeth I's influential Vice-Chamberlain, Sir Christopher Hatton.² He was subsequently very active against Puritanism in the diocese of Ely after Bishop Coxe's death in 1581, and when the University of Cambridge was requested by the Sheriff of Bury St. Edmunds to send a preacher to help in counteracting the influence of Puritanism in that town in 1583, Bancroft was the man chosen. His career placed him in an admirable position to study the Puritan movement at first hand, for he had been at Cambridge during the time of Thomas Cartwright's brief tenure of the Lady Margaret Professorship, and he was active in East Anglia at a time when Browne and Harrison were conducting their experiment of a "gathered church" at Norwich. It is clear from Browne's own words that Bancroft had had direct dealings with him.³ These circumstances, combined with a shrewd mind and an ambitious nature, were enough to make Richard Bancroft the almost automatic

¹ Referred to in the footnotes of this article as *Works*.

² He became Lord Chancellor in 1587.

³ *A True and Short Declaration, Works*, p.405.

choice for organizing measures for suppressing the Puritan movement, and he was eventually appointed to the Court of High Commission and became chaplain to Archbishop Whitgift. His promotion to a bishopric was inevitable, and he was appointed to the see of London in 1597 ; and with this background, his appointment as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1604¹ merely confirmed the fact—if confirmation were needed—that the policy of James I towards Puritanism was to be no more conciliatory than that of his Tudor predecessor.

There is, however, no need to suggest that because Bancroft was ambitious he was also a time-server, or that he did not genuinely believe in the necessity of the religious uniformity of the Elizabethan settlement. He had a keen mind, and, although he was not primarily a scholar, he was sufficiently widely read to meet the Puritans' attack on the basis of their own theology and writings. The style of the *Tracts* is what we should expect from him, clear and concise, keen in its argument and systematic in its presentation. One may question his opinions, but there is never any doubt that he uses his evidence fairly, and the editor has remarked that in Bancroft's quotations from Puritan writers he has "noticed no case where the omissions or paraphrases have been unfair". In the same way, although his detestation of Puritanism is obvious, and although in the manner of the time he does not omit to level the most comprehensive and omnibus charges of sedition, heresy and rebellion against his opponents, there is a welcome "absence of vituperation" and personal abuse.

The theological position of the episcopal party that is revealed by the *Tracts* is thrown up into sharper relief as we compare its views with the ecclesiological position presented in *The Writings of Robert Harrison and Robert Browne*. This latter book gathers into one volume all the known extant writings of these two important Fathers of Separatism, and one cannot forbear voicing again the pleasure we feel at seeing that the book is so worthily dedicated to the devoted Research Secretary of this society, Charles Surman.

The fact that the first writings of Separatism are now available generally should stimulate a new evaluation of their position and enable us to discover what were the significant and lasting elements in their thought, as distinct from those aspects of their life and thought that were too much conditioned by the exigencies of their situation to be of permanent value. A re-reading of their works shows that the central point at issue between themselves and the Church of England was neither the power of the civil magistrate in matters of church government, nor yet the rule of bishops and presbyteries, but it was their concern for the purity of the Church as the Body of Christ. Other issues were derived from that. So Robert Harrison argued from the

¹ He died in 1610.

harsh treatment meted out to the sons of Aaron! that it was clear that God would not tolerate even the least deviation from His divine pattern for the order and government of the Church.² Was not the fate of Nadab and Abihu, he asked, "to leaue a fearfull monument for all men to beholde, that they might take heed least in matters pertaining to the worshippe of God, they alter and change euen the least thinge?"³ It is clear that this attitude might easily develop, and in fact did develop, into a pharisaism and scrupulosity which has little to do with real religion, but which appears to be the besetting sin of those who are obsessed with the idea of purity—whether moral or ritualistic—to the exclusion of Christian charity. This tendency is perhaps more noticeable in the attitude of Harrison than in that of Browne; but if we can isolate their central principle as opposed to the perversion and excess which turned it sour, we should say that it was in their conception of the Church as a *Holy Church* belonging to a Holy God. It was for this reason that Harrison protested against the rule of the bishops, for under episcopal rule the Church itself could take no steps to ensure that its minister was competent to lead the parish in spiritual things, for "when a blinde leader is come to take vs by the hand, wee haue no authoritie as the Church of God, to refuse him, or to complayne for redresse, or to remoue him, after we haue tried his inabilitie. Are not then our soules in bondage?"⁴ To Harrison and his colleagues the issue was between the rule of Christ and the rule of Antichrist in the Church, and the latter was always identified with the papacy and the kind of authority for which Rome stood: to charge the Church of England with retaining the forms of Antichrist was sufficient to damn it in their eyes as unchristian and contrary to the Gospel. Hence the lineal descent of authority through the bishops from pre-Reformation times to their own day, far from being an argument for the validity of Anglican orders, was the primary reason why they rejected those orders as contrary to the standards of the New Testament: they were the signs and badges of Antichrist. "From whence haue they their calling, sendinge, and authoritie, such as pertaineth to a Minister?" asks Robert Harrison, "Hadde they not it from those which sitt in the chayre of Antichrist? Yea, howe manie are in all Christendome, which haue bene so rightlie ordeyned, but that their ordination haue come from the popishe Prelacie, within three or foure generations at the most? Nowe if a man take a griffe of a sowre fruite, and plant it, & then take a griffe of that newe planted, & plant that: and take of that agayne & plant it the thirde time, and so continewe vnto the hundreth time: will it loose

¹ Numbers iii.4, xxvi.61.

² *A Little Treatise vppon the firste Verse of the 122. Psalm, Works*, pp.77 f.

³ *ibid.*, *Op. cit.*, p.78.

⁴ *ibid.*, p.86.

the sowrenesse and gather sweetnesse? No more can an vnlawfull callinge bring foorth a lawfull, though it descende from one to another an hundred or a thousande times".¹ It is interesting to see here the very argument reproduced *against* recognition of Anglican Orders that the Anglican Church has so often used against the recognition of the non-episcopal Churches. Seen within its context, however, the argument is fundamentally that "by their fruits ye shall know them", and this remains the final test of any Church Order that claims to have upon it the infallible seal of the Almighty's exclusive blessing, whether it is being advanced by high-church Anglicans or by high-church Separatists. The history of both high-church episcopal theory and of high-church Separatist theory both seem to show that the insistence upon purity of Orders or worship within the Church can produce an exclusiveness and division which is a clear denial of the Spirit of Jesus Christ. The *True and Short Declaration*, which Robert Browne gives us of the relationships between himself and Harrison in the gathered church in Middelburg, makes very unhappy reading, and the account wholly seems to justify the ironical comment that Richard Bancroft makes about Puritans generally, that "they ioyne togeather in iudgement amonge them selves like Germans lippes".² There is still some sting in that.

I have devoted some space to Harrison, because I think a comparison of him and Browne will show that he was the more extreme Separatist. His writing is more discursive—it shows more signs of coming from a preacher—than that of Browne, and he is more concerned with attacking what he conceives to be the unscriptural basis of the Church of England than with a constructive exposition of church life and government. However, the central theme—the purity of the Church—is the same in both men's thought; although I think Robert Browne makes it more clear than Robert Harrison does that this was to spring from the Lordship of the Living Christ and not from the moral efforts of the members. But what Harrison urged against the rule of the bishops within the Church is basically the same as Browne urges against the interference of the magistrate in ecclesiastical affairs. The secular prince has not been given the keys of the Kingdom,³ and if he is to be regarded as within the covenant of grace he must be within the Church and therefore under pastoral oversight.⁴ Browne maintained that for this reason the commands of the magistrate were to be obeyed in so far as they were agreeable to the Word of God; for "the Magistrates commaundement, must not be a rule vnto me of this and that duetic, but as I see it agree with the worde of God. So then it is an abuse of my guifte and calling,

¹ *ibid.*, pp.98 f.

² *Tracts*, p.47. Contractions have been written in full, e.g. frō = from.

³ *A Treatise of reformation without tarying for anie, Works*, p.155.

⁴ *ibid.*, *Op. cit.*, pp.153 f.

if I cease preaching for the Magistrate, when it is my calling to preach, yea & woe unto me, if I preach not, for necessitie is laied vpon me".¹

This calling, however, was not merely a subjective feeling in the heart of the preacher, for Browne would have insisted that the preacher's call from Christ must be recognised and ratified through the Church. The instrument through which the Church recognised the call of its officers was primarily the local family of Christians that have been gathered by Jesus Christ: Robert Browne gives us the heart of the Separatist contribution to the doctrine of the Church when he describes Christians as "a companie or number of beleeuers, which by a willing couenaut made with their God, are vnder the gouernement of God and Christ, and keepe his Lawes in one holie communion".² At the same time it should be understood that Browne's conception of the Church was not anarchic, and the recognition of the Church was to be given in the act of ordination by the solemnity of prayer and the imposition of hands, "if such imposition of handes bee not turned into pompe or superstition".³ It is clear that Robert Browne was very much more constructive and more moderate than Harrison. Now that we have his works brought together he will repay a careful study of his life and thought, for although he gave his name to the movement of Separatism there are distinct signs in his writings—notably in his attitude to the civil magistrate, and in what he said about synods—of that more developed Congregationalism that appeared in the early years of the seventeenth century: it should never be forgotten that his eventual conformity *may* have been due not to a failure of nerve but to some moderation of that extreme and uncatholic Separatism which regarded itself as infallible, and all others as belonging to Antichrist.

For the insistence upon the Church's absolute purity may be a failure to recognise that the Church must always stand humbly in the need of Christ's forgiveness and His grace. Harrison carried out the logic of his position, for to him the toleration of one unworthy member within the Church tended towards the "sowring of the whole lump", and he urged that the members of the Church were to "search out, where the iniquitie is, and let the offender beare his shame and rebuke, howe excellent a personage soeuer he haue bene, for turninge the truth of God into a lye".⁴ The logic of this was put into practice at Middelburg, and produced division and tragedy that demonstrated the danger not of Separatism alone, but of all exclusive high-church principle.

Today we can look at the issues between Bancroft and the Brownists and discover that our forefathers were no more infallible than their opponents, and that they did not always have the best of it either in

¹ *ibid.*, pp. 158.f

² *A Booke which sheweth the life and manners of all true Christians, ibid.*, p.227.

³ *ibid.*, p.341.

⁴ *A Little Treatise, Works*, p.95.

argument or in Christian charity. It was they and not Bancroft who insisted that there was only one fixed form of the Church according to the New Testament and that they were in possession of it! Richard Bancroft protested that since "the Apostles and Ministers at the first did not bynde them selves to anye one order in their proceedings and government; it is not like, that ever they ment to bynde the Church of god to anye one".¹ Here the wheel has turned full circle, for R. W. Dale used precisely the same argument in defence of Congregationalism at the end of the nineteenth century.² It should be remembered that although the Separatists were bitterly persecuted by Bancroft and his colleagues, they had violently denounced the Church of England as a Church of Antichrist, whereas in contrast to that denunciation Bancroft's view that the true Church of Christ was to be found wherever the Word of God was preached and the Sacraments administered sounds positively charitable and catholic!³ I also imagine that many modern Congregationalists would agree with Bancroft when he argued that there is nothing wrong with ceremonies *per se*, if they are not clearly contrary to the Spirit of God's Word. He defended the continuation of certain ceremonies in the Church of England by pointing out that, just as the early Christians maintained some Jewish ceremonies in the hope of converting the Jews—even although they did so with some danger, since "many ascribed vnto them some necessitie of salvation"—the Church of England should retain some of the pre-Reformation ceremonies in the hope of winning over the Catholics.⁴ It should be noted that the danger, which Bancroft professed to see, that the ceremony which begins by being indifferent ends by being regarded as a necessary means for salvation, has been shown to be real enough in the subsequent history of the Anglican Church.

One cannot hope to deal adequately with all the issues raised between the Bishops and the Brownists in the scope of a single review article, but the importance of the new books which have come from Dr. Peel's editorship is clear. Both Browne and Harrison were young men in their thirties when they began to put their conception of the Church into practice, and the importance of their views is not that they presented us with a system which we can regard as definitive for all time, but that they established certain principles about the Church from their study of Scripture which other men were to develop and, in some cases, to

¹ *Tracts*, p.107.

² "Between a form of church government and those great truths concerning Christ and the Christian redemption which form the chief part of the substance of the New Testament there is an obvious difference. What is true once is true for ever . . . But a form of church government which was the best possible organisation for the Church in the first century may, perhaps, have been the worst possible organisation for the Church of the third." *Congregational Principles* (1920 edn.), pp.4/5.

³ *Tracts*, pp.108 f.

⁴ *ibid.*, pp.157 f.

modify. We need to remind ourselves again that, however much modern Congregationalism owes to the sixteenth-century Separatists for their insistence that the local church was a true church and that it was responsible to Christ alone, it is equally in debt to the Puritan non-Separatists of the seventeenth century for their insistence that the local church is a microcosm and a part of the Church Universal. It is from these later men that we have gained the insight into Scripture which gives us our distinctive conception of catholicity ; for, although they found themselves in geographical separation from the Church of England by reason of their exile, they insisted that their national Church was a true Church and they refused to consider themselves as separate from her in any spiritual sense. We are debtors therefore to the Separatist and to the non-Separatist, and if the publication of *The Writings of Robert Harrison and Robert Browne* provides us with the incentive for a more thoroughgoing and rational reassessment of our debt to—as well as our differences from—the Separatists, it will have done an invaluable service for the churches of the present day.

ROBERT S. PAUL.

John Durie's Sponsors

A figure deserving a more comprehensive and definitive appreciation than he has yet received is that spiritual ancestor of the ecumenical movement, John Durie. In the labours for church unity which during the Protectorate he carried on tirelessly, though unavailingly, in Switzerland, Germany and Holland, Durie carried with him not only a passport signed by Cromwell but a letter of commendation signed by ministers at Oxford and Cambridge and in London and elsewhere. A copy of this letter, which Durie took when he went abroad in April 1654, is preserved in the Staatsarchiv at Marburg,¹ and from this MS. the signatures have been transcribed by the kindness of Dr. Theodor Sippell of Marburg. Even if these were not intended to carry more than general approval, their number and quality indicate widespread interest in Durie's hopes and plans. They were written in three columns, with those of the London ministers in the centre. All the names save four are to be found in the *D.N.B.* and/or *Calamy Revised*. The four are:—Peter French, Canon of Christ Church, Cromwell's brother-in-law; William Carter, Preacher at Westminster, one of the "Dissenting Brethren"; Samuel Fisher, Preacher at St. Bride's (cf. W. A. Shaw, *Hist. of Eng. Ch. . . . 1640-1660*, ii.307); and Richard Minshall, Master of Sidney. Perhaps the only name whose inclusion is surprising is that of Samuel Austin, Minister at Menheniot, Cornwall; Stephen Marshall, Preacher at Ipswich, was also hardly a London minister.

The Oxford names were: John Owen, Edmund Staunton, Robert Harris, Gerard Langbaine, Henry Wilkinson (Canon of Christ Church), Daniel Greenwood, John Wilkins, Henry Langley, Thomas Goodwin, Thankful Owen, Henry Wilkinson (Principal of Magdalen Hall) and Peter French.

The names in the centre column were: Edmund Calamy, Richard Vines, Thomas Manton, Stephen Marshall, William Carter, Samuel Balmford, Peter Witham, Roger Drake, James Nalton, Samuel Fisher, Gabriel Sangar, John Meriton, Samuel Austin, Simeon Ashe, Thomas Gataker, John Fuller, Samuel Clarke, Joseph Caryl, William Cooper and Philip Nye.

The Cambridge names were: Lazarus Seaman, Richard Minshall, John Arrowsmith, Anthony Tuckney, Thomas Horton, Samuel Bolton, John Worthington, William Dillingham, Sidrach Simpson and Ralph Cudworth.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

¹ According to Karl Brauer, *Die Unionstätigkeit John Duries unter dem Protektorat Cromwells* (Marburg, 1907), p.15, n.4, there is also a copy in the Staatsarchiv at Zurich.

Lists of Poor Ministers c. 1785

The documents which follow are from the Parker MSS., in the possession of the Rev. Wilton E. Rix, M.A., of Oxford, who has kindly given his permission for them to be reproduced. They throw much light on the difficult circumstances in which many ministers and ministers' widows were living during the second half of the eighteenth century. They also provide some details of a number of men concerning whom little is otherwise known.

Mrs. Elizabeth Abney, part of whose residuary estate was distributed for the relief of these men and women, was the last surviving daughter of Sir Thomas and Lady Abney, of Stoke Newington. She was one of the three daughters of Sir Thomas' second marriage (to Mary Gunston).¹ She died on 20 August, 1782, aged 78, when the Abney fortune was given to charity.

The disposal of the bequest was entrusted to Mr. Thomas Streatfield, 'of Stoke Newington, Esquire', Mr. John Harrison, 'of the Million Bank London, Gentleman', 'my much Esteemed Friend' the Reverend Thomas Tayler, who was chaplain to Mrs. Abney, and Mr. Joseph Parker, who was Steward and Almoner to Mrs. Abney. It is the initial letters of their surnames, S., H., T. and P., which appear in the right-hand margin, at the side of the various recommendations received from Mr. Matthew Towgood, Dr. Samuel Stennett and Dr. Thomas Gibbons.²

On the whole the MS. is clear and in a good state of preservation, but there are a few places where it has been torn, and a few words are missing. The notes have been abbreviated from fuller identifications supplied by Mr. Surman, to whom I wish to express my thanks.

F. W. P. HARRIS

Mr Matth Towgood's List Poor Ministers

- 1 Revd. Mr. Watters³ of Bridport Dorset. This Gentleman is a most deserving Object, his Circumstances very low. He has a sister dependent on him who is insane so that if the Gentlemen should think proper to allot different sums it is hoped this poor worthy man will be particularly consider'd. NB This Mr. Waters is ye Gentleman Mr. Towgood mention'd to Mr. Streatfield a Year or two since when he was unfortunately too late in his Application. Mr. Towgoods Father writes concerning the above Person, That to all his other Afflictions I might add his own very bad state of health for he is so afflicted with the Rheumatism as to be carried to Church in a Chair and even then cannot go into the Pulpit but preaches in the Desk. S

- 2 Revd. Mr. Lamport⁴ of Honiton. My Friends write me that he is very poor indeed has a very large Family and as to Character and Conduct deserving of Especial Regard. S
- 3 Revd. Mr. Adams⁵ of Dartmouth a Batcheller but his income is so small and his circumstances are so low that he has lived for many Years in such a State as most people would call great Poverty. P
- 4 Revd. Mr. Baynham⁶ of Totness Devon Has a large and growing Family and a very small income, He wrote me some time since that were it not for the occasional relief which he received from London, he should want even the necessarys of Life. S
- 5 Revd. Mr. Moore⁷ of Modbury he has for many Years labour'd under such a disorder in his stomach & bowels as has render'd ye smallness of his income a much greater affliction to him than it would have been to a person in health. He is a man of such eminent piety and such excellence of Character that if the Gentlemen knew him they would think it a great happiness to have it in their power to relieve this most worthy Disciple. P
- 6 Revd. Mr. Kello⁸ of Truro Cornwall his income very small and his Age and infirmitys such as render him a very deserving Object. dead
- 7 Revd. Mr. Poole⁹ of Torrington now a widdower his late wife afflicted near 20 Years with a Complication of disorders so that the greatest part of their little fortune was expended in Physic &c. He wrote me some time since that his income was scarcely £17 p. ann. H
- 8 Revd. Mr. Castle¹⁰ of Dulverton has a small Salary from his people and a large Family his principal dependance for many Years has been on occasional Charities. S
- 9 Revd. Mr. Watkins¹¹ of Puddington Devon a very worthy man depending for his Support on assistance from ye Funds &c as the Provision made for him by his Congregation is not sufficient for his Maintenance. P
- 10 Revd. Mr. Sampson¹² of Truro (at the Independant Meeting) not personally known to me but strongly recommended by my ffriends at Exeter. P
- 11 Revd. Mr. Wildboar¹³ of Falmouth under the same Circumstances as Mr. Sampson. P
- Ministers Widow*
Mrs. Collier. The Wid. of ye late Baptist Minister¹⁴ at Moreton Devon. She is in very strait Circumstances and has no assistance from ye Widows Fund. P
- Ministers Daughters*
— Furze) Two Daughters of ye Revd. Mr. Furze¹⁵ formerly Minister at Exeter. They are old indigent & infirm and are represented to me by my Father as very distress'd & deserving Objects. P
— Furze)
- Mrs. Dowdell¹⁶ Daughters of three dissenting Ministers who are P
Mrs. Orchard¹⁷ left in great distress. T
Mrs. Harris¹⁸ P

Dr. Stennets List
Poor Ministers

- 1 Revd. Mr. Joseph Jenkins¹⁹ Wrexham. A very worthy and useful man. He has four Children and one coming his people are in such low Circumstances as not to be able to raise him themselves above £4 p ann and with all the assistances he has from other quarters S

- his income is very narrow having little or nothing of his own and with his wife perhaps about two or three hundred pounds.
- 2 Revd. Mr. Josiah Lewis²⁰ Broughton Hampshire. He is a very worthy and useful Man was educated with a view to ye Ministry has I apprehend nothing however very little of his own. The people may raise him abt £40 p ann the chief of it rises from Mr. Stedes²¹ (?Stecles) Family, auther of ye poem publish'd under the name of Theodosia of which Dr. Furneax²² was the Editor. Mr. Lewis has a Wife but no Children He is a weakly Man often out of order. P
- 3 Revd. Mr. T. Twining²³ Trowbridge Wilts. A very worthy amiable Man. He had his Education at Hoxton. His Connexion is rather with the General Baptists but his Sentiments are consider'd as moderate and Evangelical he was a member of my Congregation he has a family but what number of Children I can't directly I know his Circumstances are such as will render the kind of assistance the Gentlemen may think fit to afford him very acceptable. P
- 4 Revd. Mr. James Ashworth²⁴ Gildersome near Leeds Yorkshire a Nephew of the late Dr. Ashworth. A very worthy useful Man He has, I take it three or four Children and I apprehend no private fortune of his own. What his people may do for him with other assistances may amount to about £40 p ann or more but I scarcely think £50. P
- 5 Revd. Mr. W. Crabtree²⁵ Bradford Yorksh. a pious acceptable and very successful Minister. He is in advanced life I suppose sixty six or seven, has I think a Wife but whether any family besides cannot say. However none I apprehend from whom he receives any assistance. His people are generally poor. They may raise him perhaps about £30 p ann what renders his Case particularly compassionate is his having lost most if not all the little property he had by trusting it in the hands of a person he took to be honest & religious. P
- 6 Revd. Mr. Robert Burnside²⁶ Minister to ye people who meet on the seventh day at Cripplegate. He is a very pious & able young Man had his Education at Aberdeen where he is consider'd by the professors as having made unusual application. He is about 24 Years of Age. Has nothing of his own a Mother a blind woman and a Sister almost intirely dependent on him. He may have about £25 p ann at Cripplegate some few other little assistances and is Usher at Mr. Harris's²⁷ School at Muswell Hill he is a very deserving Man. May I be allow'd to wish him particularly consider'd. P
- 7 Revd. Mr. John Tommas²⁸ Bristol. He is Minister in the Pithay and is much esteem'd as a worthy usefull Minister and of an Excellent Spirit. His people do raise him I apprehend something handsome but I know his Circumstances to be very strait he having little if anything of his own and a very numerous family who have been Expensive to him indeed he hath met with very sore afflictions which he hath borne with exemplary patience. P
- 8 Revd. Mr. Thos. Langdon²⁹ Leeds Yorksh. He had his Education under Mr. Evans³⁰ at Bristol is very acceptable & useful at Leeds has nothing of his own and his people in narrow Circumstances the whole of what he receives may be about £40 p ann. P
- 9 Revd. Mr. Benj Francis³¹ Horsley Gloucestersh. He had his Education at Bristol is a very acceptable & useful Minister his Congregation is numerous consisting of ye lower sort of ye people among the ?Clothers so poor they are that I think I have heard him say that they have not a thousand pound property among them all he has P

- very little of his own a numerous Family and a great deal of Affliction.
- 10 Revd. Mr. Button³² Dean Street Southwark. I mention him as knowing his Circumstances to have been very strait. He married the Daur of Mr. James³³ of Hitchin had a trifle or nothing with her and nothing of his own. Mr. Warne³⁴ did leave him something I can't directly recollect what it was I have a notion two or three hundred pounds to come to him after ye Death of another He is a pious good Man & I think several Children. P
- 11 Revd. Mr. Sam Rowles³⁵. He is at present settled with no People. Is a sensible worthy Minister Had his Education at Bristol, a very infirm Wife and is of narrow Circumstances, He lives in Lond. and was Minister of a People at Rotherithe. P
- 12 Revd. Mr. Jacob James³⁶ a Baptist Minister of the General Pers-
wasion in Monmouthshire a very worthy Man particularly known to Dr. Llewelyn³⁷ who mention'd him as a very worthy man but I am not possess'd of ye particulars of his Circumstances. P
- 13 Revd. Mr. John Ayre³⁸ Walgrave Northamptonshire a Wife and six Children never had with the assistance of ye Fund and all other ways above 30 £ a year Eldest Child 13 & youngest turn'd of two Years. He is a worthy good Man. P
- 14 Revd. Mr. Thos. Henry³⁹ at Ebenezer in ye parish of Lanvair in ye County of Pembroke S.W. Church contains 150 Members has been preacher & Copastor abt 17 years receives from four to five pounds a year has a wife & six Children Rents a small farm of £6 p ann these are ye sources of his support & dependance. P
See ye above Case recommended also by Mr. Williams,⁴⁰ Mr. Caleb Evans,⁴¹ Mr. Richd Jones⁴².

Other Objects

- Mrs. Ruth Lacy Neece of Mr. John Lacy⁴³ late excellent & worthy Baptist Minister at Portsmouth abt 40 years Her Mother who is quite helpless depends chiefly on her for her support has nothing of her own — Sickly. P
- Mrs. Eliza Stennet Colchester The Wido of Mr. Benj Stennet⁴⁴ dead
my Uncle She has two Daur's dependent on her & has nothing of P
her own Has been used to keep a little School which is now sunk away & brings her in very little. But I submit it — If an impropriety hope shall be forgiven.
- May 5th, 1784 Dr. Stennet informed me that the above Eliza Stennet is dead but recommends the Daughters as being in very necessitous Circumstances. Susanna Stennet — Eliza Stennet
Revd. Mr. Jacob James Monmouthsh —
Revd. Mr. Hume⁴⁵ of Henly Warwicksh —
Revd. Mr. David Evans⁴⁶ Craig Carmarthensh —
Revd. Mr. Robt Hall Senr.⁴⁷ Arnesby Leicestersh —

Dr. Gibbon's List
Poor Ministers

- Revd. Mr. Jos. Field⁴⁸ of Halsted Essex S
Revd. Mr. Wm Cooper⁴⁹ of Chelmsford Essex Income abt £68 p ann P
a Wife & seven Children from 13 to 2 Yrs of Age House Rent £13 p ann. see Letter.
Revd. Mr. Geo. Gold⁵⁰ of Westham, Essex a Wife & six or seven Chldn H
Nothing to subsist on besides what his people raise him which doth not amount to £40 annually.

- Revd. Mr. Lawrence Butterworth⁵¹ at Bengeworth near Pershore A Wife & 3 or 4 Children Salary between £40 & £50 p. ann a few years back was possessd of more than £800 but by intrusting it in bad hands lost every shilling. P
- Revd. Mr. Purdy⁵² of Chipping Norton Oxfordsh Baptist Church abt 30 members about 150 Hearers Income from ye people not £40 p ann a wife & one or two Children. P
- Revd. Mr. John Verney⁵³ of Clapham has ser (?ved) small Congregation (*sic*) these sevl Years has a Family of four Children, of good Moral Character. on Mr H List
- Revd. Mr. Dickenson⁵⁴ of Glowster see the Letter Dissenting *Ministers' Widows* T
- Mrs. Ann Jenkins Widow of Revd. Mr. Herbert Jenkins⁵⁵ who was Minister of Maidstone between 20 & 30 Years Left with a large Family unprovided for two of them thro weakness of Constitution almost incapable of any Service. S
- Eliza Jones Wido of Revd. Mr. Evan Jones⁵⁶ of Little Baddow Essex in 65th Yr. of her Age in very low Circumstances and almost deprived of Sight and very infirm lately her eldest Son dyed & by this means four Ophans (*sic*) are devolved upon her. Ministers' *Daughters* P
- Mrs. A. Hickman⁵⁷ In strait Circumstances. Her late Father a very pious & Exemplary Minister. P
- Mary Thorley Daur of the late Revd. Mr. John Thorley⁵⁸ of Chipping Norton who was Minister there upwards of 60 Yrs is now Eighty Years old & almost blind & very lame. P

Other Objects

- Eliza Creswell⁵⁹ Wido recommended as a poor honest well deserving person. P
- John Tilley⁶⁰ No 38 Aldermanbury aged 60 has an infirm Wife who is deprived of her sight. P
- Mary Kendal⁶¹ a Wido in Circumstances that need assistance.
- Mrs. Waterson⁶² Wido aged & in low Circumstances.
- John Collier⁶³ Nephew of Dr. Gibbons Was defrauded of 700 £ by an Exr. dying insolvent has a wife & three Children his income very slender to defray ye Expenses of daily maintenance frequent Lyings in, Miscarriages Sickness & Burials.

Dr. Gibbon's *Second List*
Poor Ministers

- Revd. Mr. Benj Cadman⁶⁴ of Mitchel Dean Gloucestersh. He says that all he can promise himself 'to live upon including the benefit of both ye Funds is about £17'. A Man of very good Character. P
- The Revd. Mr. Newton⁶⁵ of Milbourn Port Dorsetshire. He is, says the Revd. Mr. Henry Field⁶⁶ who writes on his behalf, Minister, I think of Blandford 'a Man of good Character advanced in years, and incapable of going on in his work and has little or nothing to depend on but the Charity of his Friends.' T
- The Revd. Mr. Thos Evans⁶⁷ Minister of Biggleswade in Bedfordshire is very far advanced in years, very infirm his People few & poor in very indigent Circumstances. I have lately heard that his Circumstances are exceeding low indeed perhaps he has little more, as he is incapable of preaching as usual, than the allowance of ye Congregational Fund. P

- The Revd. Mr. Simpson⁶⁶ of Warley near Hallifax. This Case is enterd in my List, recommended by Mrs. Unthank⁶⁹ who lives with Mrs. Brown⁷⁰, Newington. P in my List.
- Revd. Mr. Wm Northend⁷¹ of Bridlington Yorkshire He bears a good Character and writes in a Letter to Dr. Gibbons 'that he owes ten pounds or more that his wife has had a very — state of health ever since they came to Bridlington which (July '83) was near seven Years, that his people are poor and that his Salary from them for ye Seats was but about 15 or 16 pounds p annum.' P
- Revd. Mr. John Sykes⁷² of Guestic Norfolk. He writes 'that his Salary is quite uncertain that it is sometimes ten & sometimes as low as eight pounds and that the greater part of the Church Members who love ye Word are so poor that they can give little or no assistance and that he has been settled where he is seven years, during which time the Church has been considerably increased but yet his Salary is diminish'd'. P
- Revd. Mr. Daniel Bocking⁷³ late of Terling Essex has a Wife, is in very low Circumstances indeed, bears an exceeding good Character and find his voice is so low that he is not likely to be accepted at any other place. He is Minister at Tirling no more tho from what I have learned he lives there still. in Streat-fields list.
- Dissenting Ministers Widows
- Mrs. Eliza Curtis Widow of the late Revd. Mr. Curtis⁷⁴ —(?of) Linton left with four Children in very low Circumstances. A very deserving Woman, one Son chargeable to her, a Daughter not quite grown up. P
- Mrs. Mary Gayler Widow of the late Revd. Mr. James Gayler⁷⁵ of Dedham in Essex nothing to depend on but ten pounds or a little more, rather of a weak Constitution. P
- Mrs. Eliza Drake Widow of the late Revd. Mr. John Drake⁷⁶ of Oulney Bucks in very low Circumstances has had a Daughter a Lunatic for sometime but lately turn'd out of St. Luke's incurable. The Mother in great Affliction & unable to support her Daughter. P
- Mrs. Panton Wido of Revd. Mr. Panton⁷⁷ of Winborn Dorsetshire recommended as a proper object by Revd. Mr. Hobbs⁷⁸ of Colchester. This Case is also recommended by sundry other persons & is enter'd in my List. Mr H
- Mrs. Margaret Connell Widow of the late —(?William) Connell⁷⁹ dissenting Minister of Rendham Suff. She was left with a Family of six Children & in a Letter to Dr. Gibbons says 'that some Circumstances which have lately occur'd will render assistance at this time peculiarly acceptable' A Woman as far as I have heard of truly worthy Character. Her Letter was dated Augt 20. 1783.
- Dissenting Ministers Daughters
- Mrs. Eliza Jones Daur by his first Wife of Revd. Mr. King⁸⁰ late of Oundle She is a widow far advanced in Life, very low in Circumstances used to join in Communion with Dr. Gibbons Church but has been sometime at St. Ives Huntingdonshire.
- Mrs. Sarah Gunn Daughter of Revd. Mr. Sills⁸¹ many Years since Minister of Henly Oxfordshire She is advanced in Years and represents herself, and I have no reason to think ye Contrary in much distress She is recommended to me by ye Revd. Dr. Williams⁸² of Sydenham Kent.

Other Objects

- Mrs. ———ence (?Lawrence)⁸³ advanced in Years, a widow in very low Circumstances & of virtuous Character. NB She is a Member of our Church and the only one either my Church or Congregation that I have mention'd either in ye former or present List tho several are in very indigent Circumstances I should not have put down her Name had I not been solicited. P
- Mrs. Ann Waterson⁸⁴ a Widow far advanced in Yrs in very low Circumstances & I have no reason to think but of good Character. I suppose this maybe ye same person recommended in first List. P
- Mrs. Urania Hunt⁸⁵ a Widow Aged 64 if not more, very infirm, her Eyes fail her so as to render her incapable of getting her livelyhood, afflicted with a dropsy. Member of the Weighhouse Dr. Langford⁸⁶ shew'd her great Respect.

¹ D.N.B., s.v. Sir Thos. Abney.

² Matthew Towgood was son to Michajah Towgood, for whom see D.N.B., as also for Stennet (s.v. Joseph, his grandfather) and Gibbons.

³ George Waters, minister at Bridport 1769-87.

⁴ William Lamport, minister at Uffculme & Honiton. d. 1788.

TRANS., v. 214.

⁵ John Adams, minister at Dartmouth 1746-95. *Cong. Mag.*, 1825, 606.

⁶ Henry Baynham, minister at Totnes, c.1773-91. Presbn. Thompson MS. (D.W.L.)

⁷ Henry Moore. 1732-1802; minister at Modbury 1757-87. *Cong. Mag.*, 1821, 382.

⁸ Peter Kello(w), nearly 50 yrs. at Truro. d.c.1784. *Cong. Mag.*, 1821, 496, 553.

⁹ John Poole. C. Deeble, *Record of Howe Church, Torrington* (1896); TRANS., v. 213.

¹⁰ George Castle. Bapt. Hist. Soc. *Trans.*, xiv. 123.

¹¹ William Watkins, minister at Puddington 1757- . *Cong. Mag.*, 1825, 52.

¹² Peter Sampson, minister at Truro 1770-85. *Cong. Mag.*, 1821, 610.

¹³ James Bakewell Wildbore, minister at Falmouth 1781-89, & again 1793-1813. *Cong. Mag.*, 1822, 447.

¹⁴ John Collier, minister at Moretonhampstead 1760-80.

¹⁵ Philip Furze, minister at Exeter, 1719-24. *Cong. Mag.*, 1825, 608.

¹⁶ ? daughter of Matthew Dowdell. Densham and Ogle, *Story of Chs. of Dorset*, p.98.

¹⁷ ? daughter of Joel Orchard, minister at Chudleigh in 1772 or ? of Richard Orchard. Densham & Ogle, 71, 357, 372.

¹⁸ unidentified.

¹⁹ Minister at Wrexham, 1773-94. A. N. Palmer, *Hist. of Older Noncon. of Wrexham*, 104 foll.

²⁰ unidentified.

²¹ unidentified.

²² D.N.B.

²³ Thomas Twining, G. E. Evans, *Vestiges of Prot. Dissent*, p.244; TRANS., v. 213.

²⁴ James Ashworth, Bapt. minister at Gildersome c. 1772. Thompson MS.

²⁵ William Crabtree, Bapt. minister in Bradford, 1772. TRANS., v. 377.

²⁶ Robert Burnside. D.N.B.

²⁷ unidentified.

²⁸ John Tommas, Bapt. minister in Bristol, 1772. TRANS., v. 378n.

²⁹ Thomas Langdon, 1755-1824. *Bapt. Qity.* vi. (1932).

³⁰ Hugh Evans, tutor at Bristol Bapt. Acad. 1758-79. H. McLachlan, *Eng. Educ. under the Test Acts*, 92f.

³¹ Benjamin Francis, Bapt. minister at Horsley in 1772. Thompson MS.

³² William Button, 1754-1821. W. Wilson, *Hist. Dissg. Chs. in London*, iv, 227.

³³ Samuel James, minister at Hitchin 1743-73. W. Urwick, *Noncon. in Herts.*, 647.

³⁴ unidentified.

³⁵ Samuel Rowles. *Evan. Mag.*, 1797, 429; Wilson, iv. 366.

³⁶ unidentified.

³⁷ Thomas Llewelyn. D.N.B.

³⁸ unidentified.

³⁹ Thomas Henry, minister at Ebenezer, Llanfair, Pem., 1772. Thompson MS.

⁴⁰ unidentified.

⁴¹ Tutor at Bristol Bapt. Acad. 1767-91. McLachlan, p.93.

⁴² unidentified.

⁴³ John Lacy, Bapt. minister at Portsmouth, 1772. Thompson MS.

⁴⁴ unidentified.

⁴⁵ unidentified.

⁴⁶ unidentified.

⁴⁷ Robert Hall, Bapt. minister at Atnesby, Leics., 1753-91. D.N.B.

- 48 Joseph Field, minister at Halstead, 1756-91. T. W. Davids, *Annals of Evan. Noncon. in Essex*, p.403.
- 49 William Cooper, 1742-1814, minister at Chelmsford 1777-1814. Davids, p.467.
- 50 George Gold, minister at West Ham 30-40 yrs.; d.1810, aet. 65. *Evan. Mag.*, 1810, 161.
- 51 Lawrence Butterworth, Bapt. minister at Evesham in 1772. Noakes, *Worcs. Sects*, p.172; Urwick, *Noncon. in Worcester*, 151.
- 52 unidentified.
- 53 unidentified.
- 54 ?John or Joshua Dickenson, minister at Gloucester 1751-96. *TRANS.*, v.218. Evans, p.94.
- 55 Herbert Jenkins, d. 1772, aet. 51. Timpson, *Ch. Hist. of Kent*, p.337.
- 56 Evan Jones, minister at Little Baddow 1764-80. Davids, p.354.
- 57 ? daughter of Edward Hickman, 1730-1781, minister at Hitchin, Kimbolton, St. Neots, Mitchell St., London, and Bicester. Wilson, iii, 458.
- 58-63 unidentified.
- 64 *Evan. Mag.*, 1797, 60.
- 65 Francis Newton. Pitman, *Memorials of the Cong. Ch. at Milborn Port*; *TRANS.*, v. 277.
- 66 Henry Field, minister at Blandford 1760-1821. Densham & Ogle, pp. 34-37.
- 67 Perhaps in error for David Evans, Bapt. minister at Biggleswade in 1772. *TRANS.*, v. 206.
- 68 Richard Simpson. T. Whitehead, *Dales Chr.*, p.96; J. G. Miall, *Independency in Yorks.*, p.377.
- 69-70 unidentified.
- 71 William Northend, minister at Bridlington 1777- . d.1821. *Evan. Mag.*, 1821, 453.
- 72 John Sykes, minister at Guestwick & Briston 1776-1824. Browne, *Hist. of Congm. in Norfolk & Suffolk*, p.327; A. F. Thorpe, *Guestwick-Briston* (1953).
- 73 Daniel Bocking, d. 1811. Davids, p.487; and Urwick, *Noncon. in Herts*, p.674.
- 74 Thomas Curtis, minister at Linton 1765-83. *Cong. Mag.*, 1819, 632.
- 75 James Gayler, minister at Dedham 1776-82. *Evan. Mag.*, 1834, 532. Davids, p.384.
- 76 John Drake, minister at Yardley Hastings 1725-1775 & at Olney 1735-1775. *Evan. Mag.*, 1799, 466; Garner, *Hist. of Cong. Ch., Olney*, pp.6f.
- 77 James Panton, minister at Wimborne 1773-77/8. Densham & Ogle, p.395.
- 78 Giles Hobbs, minister at Lion Walk, Colchester, 1775-1808.
- 79 William Cornell, minister at Rendham 1758-60. Browne, pp.456, 484.
- 80 Joseph King, minister at Oundle 1712-20. Coleman, *Mems. of Indept. Chs. of Northants*. pp.168f., 257.
- Mrs. Jones's brother (Saml. King) once saved Dr. Gibbons from drowning when they were both students.
- 81 Joseph Silks, minister at Henley, Oxon. 1718-39/40. Summers, *Hist. Berks.*, S. Bucks, & S. Oxon. *Cong. Chs.*, p.117.
- 82 John Williams, minister at Sydenham 1767-95. *D.N.B.*
- 83-85 unidentified.
- 86 William Langford, minister at King's Weigh House 1742-75. Wilson, i. 183; iii. 68.

Reviews

Alexander James Grieve, M.A., D.D., 1874-1952. A Biographical Sketch. By Charles E. Surman, M.A. Lancashire Independent College. 6s.

One would expect our Secretary to produce just such a workmanlike memoir of his revered father-in-law as this is, but how good to have so much of Dr. Grieve's inimitable flavour preserved for those who will not have known him: his pawky wit, his application of texts, and the rest, as well as his kindness and understanding. Nothing is more characteristic than his determination, recorded by Dr. Routley, to resign from the *Congregational Praise* committee, if "And now, O Father, mindful of the love" were included. Mr. Surman has printed five of Dr. Grieve's addresses, one of them his Address as Chairman of the Congregational Union, in which, as our President, Dr. Grieve took care warmly to commend the Society.

G.F.N.

Members of the Long Parliament. By D. Brunton and D. H. Pennington, with an Introduction by R. H. Tawney. Allen and Unwin. 21s.

This careful survey of the personnel of the House of Commons from November 1640 to April 1653 is factual rather than expository, and examines the "diversities, not only of opinion, but of social status, occupational interest, education, age and political experience" of the members. Read in conjunction with J. S. Roskell's *The Commons in the Parliament of 1422*, and Professor J. E. Neale's *Elizabethan House of Commons* as background, it provides material for a new approach to the divisions and entanglements involved by the Civil War and the social status of the Parliamentarians involved in it. The writers find in the original members a fairly representative cross-section of what may perhaps be termed the upper middle classes and minor landed gentry, with little to distinguish them when they divided into royalist and parliamentarian camps, except that the royalists were on average ten years younger, and the parliamentarians had greater parliamentary experience. The writers find little support for a Marxist theory of class-warfare such as has been advanced by Christopher Hill in *The English Revolution, 1640*, though this may have been more pronounced after 1653.

"... of the men who went into Parliament... those who supported the King were not superficially different in their way of life, their status, and their family histories from those who opposed him. On both sides there were merchants and lawyers; on both there were old landed families and new ones, families that prospered and families that failed."

Those who read ecclesiastical history are apt to see in the life of England in the two decades 1640-1660 an undue concentration on religious differences and to overlook the economic factors—an inference easily drawn from reading the Commons' *Journals* of the period, which do indeed show innumerable and interminable debates in the House on church administration. This work makes a useful corrective and provides valuable details for both the economic and ecclesiastical historian. It will be interesting to try and trace the church divisions of the members listed *in extenso* in the Appendixes.

C.E.S.

At the suggestion of the Central Youth Council the Youth and Education Department of the Congregational Union asked Dr. R. S. Paul, the Rev. R. O. Latham and the Rev. H. Sellers to prepare a film-strip dealing with our history and our heritage.

Our Congregational Churches (Black and White, 54 frames; 7s. 6d., including script) is a useful attempt to meet the needs of those who want to know more concerning our origins. The script seeks to give a brief sketch of the history of our Faith and Order, while the pictures provide useful visual illustrations of some of the outstanding events, places and people (e.g. John Owen, Isaac Watts and George Whitefield). Some users may find the type-script notes too brief.

So much ground is covered in this strip, that it might have been better to have omitted the notes and frames dealing with Churches in other lands—another strip on the overseas extension of Congregationalism might well be useful. Not all the frames are of equal standard, but that is inevitable when old prints have to be included by the side of modern photographs. There is much useful material here for our churches.

WILFRED W. BIGGS.

Our Contemporaries

The infrequency of our own publication results in somewhat belated record of other journals received, for which we are sorry. We note, however, the following received by exchange :

Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society of England, Vol. 5, No. 3, May 1954, in which are Dr. S. W. Carruthers' annual lecture to the Society on "Conventicles and Conventiclers" and the second part of Mr. J. M. Ross' "The Elizabethan Elder".

The Baptist Quarterly, Vol. 15, Nos. 1-6. No. 4 contains a tribute to the late Dr. T. R. Glover by Dr. M. E. Aubrey ; No. 5 articles on "The Old Minute Book of Bourne Baptist Church, 1702-1891", by the Rev. F. J. Mason, and "Baptists and the Laying on of Hands", by Dr. Ernest Payne. No. 6 (April 1954), has an article on "The Religious Beliefs of the Levellers", by the Rev. D. M. Himbury.

Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society, Vol. 10, No. 3 (October 1953), contains a "History of Christ Church (Unitarian), Brighton". The editor allots generous space to reviews of several Congregational publications.

Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, Vol. 29, Nos. 2-5. The last number (March 1954) has a useful article on "How to write a local history of Methodism" by the editor, which offers valuable advice to historians other than Methodist.

Journal of the Friends' Historical Society, Vol. 45, No. 2 (Autumn 1953), has useful information on "Some Early Quaker Biographies", by Mr. Owen Watkins, and "Joshua Sprigge on the Continent", by Dr. Henry J. Cadbury. Separately printed, *Supplement* No. 25, by C. Marshall Taylor, deals with *John Greenleaf Whittier, The Quaker*.

Bulletin of the American Congregational Association, October 1953, and January 1954, the latter carrying a paper read before the recently-formed Congregational Christian Historical Society of America by the Rev. Verne D. Morey, on "Robert Browne and Congregational Beginnings: History Corrects Itself", with an Introduction by Dr. Douglas Horton, which seeks "definitively and finally" to "bow Robert Browne out of Congregationalism". We cannot accept the writer's conclusions, which seem to us to rest on an expediency that tries to "read back" modern tendencies into a 17th century situation, rather than on a sound historical interpretation.

C.E.S.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS OF MEMBERS

- A. R. BANTON, *The Story of Horningsham Chapel, Wilts.*
- A. D. BELDEN, *George Whitefield—The Awakener.* (2nd edition, revised.)
- R. F. CALDER (ed.), *To Introduce the Family.*
- R. F. CALDER (ed.), *Proceedings of 7th International Congregational Council, St. Andrews.*
- N. CHARLTON, *150 Years of Witness: Immanuel Congregational Church, Swindon.*
- G. F. NUTTALL, *The MS. of the Reliquiae Baxterianae.* (Dr. Williams' Library, Occasional Paper No. 1.)
- G. F. NUTTALL, *James Nayler: A fresh approach.* (Friends' Historical Society.)
- K. L. PARRY (ed.), *Handbook to Congregational Praise.*
- W. GORDON ROBINSON, *William Roby, 1766-1830.*
- J. W. ASHLEY SMITH, *The Birth of Modern Education: The Contribution of the Dissenting Academies, 1660-1800.*
- J. RONALD WILLIAMS, *A History of Williams' Memorial English Congregational Church, Penydarren, 1903-1953.*

ALSO RECEIVED

- DAVID GEDDES, *St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Southampton, 1853-1953: Joined 1948 with the Above Bar Congregational Church.*
- W. E. NORCROSS, *Bank Top Congregational Sunday School, Blackburn, 1853-1953.*
- Remembering the Way: Brockley Congregational Church, 1854-1954.*
- Hendon Congregational Church, 1854-1954.*
- Tunstall Congregational Church, 1853-1953.*
- Wattisfield Congregational Church, 1654-1954.*
- Winchester Road Congregational Church, Southampton, 1932-1953.*
- Surbiton Park Congregational Church, 1853-1953.*
- Year Books of Wanstead Congregational Church (1953), Belgrave Congregational Church, Torquay (1953), Wylde Green Congregational Church (1954).*

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT—ONE YEAR TO 31st DECEMBER, 1953

EXPENDITURE	£	s.	d.	INCOME	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Transactions—Cost of Printing ..	69	6	3	Subscriptions :						
Annual Meeting Speaker	5	5	0	Current Year.. ..	55	4	0			
Legal Fee	5	5	0	Arrears	8	15	0			
Stationery	1	9	1					63	19	0
Secretary's Expenses	2	15	0	Donations				5	4	2
Editor's Expenses	16	0		Grants :						
Treasurer's Expenses	6	9	5	Congregational Union of E. and W.				10	0	0
Excess of Income over Expenditure for the Year	15	3	1	Congregational Insurance Co. ..				10	0	0
				Repaid by Former Treasurer				12	5	8
				Withdrawn from Life Subscription Account				5	0	0
								£106	8	10
								£106	8	10

BALANCE SHEET—31st DECEMBER, 1953

LIABILITIES	£	s.	d.		ASSETS	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions received in advance ..	16	17	6		3½% Defence Bonds—£125 at cost ..	125	0	0
Life Fund—Balance at date.. ..	125	0	0		Cash at Bankers—On Current Account	129	19	1
Legacy Account—Balance at date ..	50	0	0		Cash in hands of Treasurer	2	1	6
Capital Account—Balance at date ..	50	0	0					
Income and Expenditure Account— Balance at date	15	3	1					
	£257 0 7					£257 0 7		

CHARLES E. SURMAN, *Treasurer.*

I have examined the above Income and Expenditure Account and Balance Sheet with the books and vouchers. I certify the accounts to be correct and in accordance with the books. I have verified the Investment and the Cash at Bankers.

HAROLD SIMPSON, A.S.A.A.,
Incorporated Accountant.