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

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

EDITORIAL

THE 57th Annual Meeting of the Society was held at Westminster Chapel on 16th May, 1956, at 5.30 p.m., with Dr. W. Gordon Robinson, our President, in the Chair. Fifty-one members and friends signed the attendance book. This number, though no more than a fraction of the Society's membership, was a welcome increase on that of recent years and may be taken to reflect a proper appreciation of the honour done us by Dr. Ernest A. Payne in coming to address us. That the General Secretary of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland should desire not to lose touch with his earlier more academic interests is very natural ; but that he should find time in the midst of his present avocations to prepare so careful and thorough a paper as that which he read to us is remarkable. Dr. Payne is a keen hymnologist as well as historian, and in his study of "The First Free Church Hymnal" he drew upon both interests. Those who listened to him not only learned much but enjoyed the clear and workmanlike way in which he presented specialized material of a kind which in itself could have been dry. We are grateful to Dr. Payne for his permission to print in these *Transactions* a paper for which he might have sought a more exalted station.

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Another paper printed within we welcome as the first appearance in our pages of one of our own members. The Rev. Stephen H. Mayor, the minister of Handgate Church, Chester, and the author of a history of *Cheshire Congregationalism* reviewed elsewhere in this issue, is also engaged in work for a Manchester Ph.D. on "Organized Religion and English Working Class Movements, 1850-1914". He thus writes out of special knowledge. The number of students and ministers who in these days proceed to advanced degrees is increasing, and the number of theses concerned with leading figures in dissenting history, such as Richard Baxter or John Tombes or Edward Williams, or with the relation of Dissent to other movements, such as Evangelicalism or the missionary enterprise or the Labour movement, is also increasing. We are always glad to know of such work, especially by our own members ; and, so far as our restricted space permits, we should welcome summaries, interim reports or studies thrown off by the way.

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At least two of our members have recently published centenary histories of our churches : the Rev. C. E. Busby has written *Hitherto Henceforth 1856-1956* about Forest Gate (Sebert Road) Church,

London ; and the Rev. D. A. Thomas, the minister of Westcotes Church, Leicester, has written a *History of Westcotes*. *A Brief History of our Church*, a centenary history of Westhoughton Church, Lancashire, by its minister, the Rev. R. Walgate Johnson, which was issued in 1953, appears to have escaped notice in its place. Our indefatigable Research Secretary, the Rev. C. E. Surman, has compiled an invaluable index of the 'intruders' and others whose names appear in A. G. Matthews' *Walker Revised*, thus supplementing the index of the sequestered clergy already printed in that work and providing the beginnings of a directory to the numerous persons who were in possession of livings, often for a brief period only and often without having been ordained, during the interregnum. This index has appeared as the second of the 'Occasional Papers' issued from Dr. Williams' Library. It has been followed by a catalogue of papers concerned with Thomas Jollie which have recently come into the Library's possession and which throw new light on the 'Happy Union' of 1691 between the Presbyterians and ourselves.

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Those who suppose that bibliography is always a dull pursuit may be surprised by an example of recent detective work which sounds more like a crossword puzzle. In 1669 *The Excellency and Equitableness of God's Law* was published as by G.H. C. to D.M. in T.G. How was this to be deciphered ? 'Curate' was a fairly obvious guess for 'C.' An Ordnance Survey Atlas revealed few place-names in England consisting of two words with the initials 'T.G.' ; among the few is Theydon Garnon, Essex. According to T. W. Davids' *Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex* the incumbent in 1669 had the right surname, Meiggs ; and though his Christian name was James, he was a Doctor of Divinity. Could it be that Dr. Meiggs had a curate with the initials 'G.H.' ? A letter to the Essex County Archivist elicited the answer, Yes, his curate was named George Houldsworth. Q.E.D.

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Our members will wish to congratulate Dr. Robinson on his publication in succession to Nightingale, of a *History of Lancashire Congregational Union, 1806-1956* (obtainable from 244 Deansgate, Manchester). It is a most businesslike production both in its text and in its illustrations.

The First Free Church Hymnal (1583)

IN one of his briefest but most attractive books, *The Disciple*, T. R. Glover has a chapter on "The Singer". In it he draws attention to how soon the early Church broke into song. There are probably echoes of hymns in some of Paul's letters and certainly the sound of singing can be heard in the book of *Revelation*, though that superb but mysterious book was written when the imperial authorities had declared war on the Christians. The Songs in the Apocalypse, Glover notes, are all songs of victory and he goes on to comment: "The victory-songs were a little premature? Were they? They helped to win the victory".

One of the most striking parallels which we have to the outburst of song which came at the end of the first century is the hymns produced by the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century and it is about some of their hymns that I propose to speak. Those who stood on the left wing of the great Reformation movement are at last coming into their own. They were grievously persecuted by their contemporaries, both Roman Catholic and Protestant. They have been seriously misrepresented and maligned by subsequent generations. But the basic documentary material is now available for study in growing volume. The extent and variety of the groups of the left is better known; the importance of their seed-thoughts is being recognised; their steadfastness under affliction is seen as one of the most moving chapters in the long story of Christian devotion and fortitude. As Rufus Jones once remarked: "It can safely be said that no other movement for spiritual freedom in the history of the Church has such an enormous martyrology".[1]

That certain of these left-wing groups produced some remarkable hymns has long been known, though not often noted by English-speaking scholars. Nearly fifty years ago T. M. Lindsay devoted a page to these hymns in his *History of the Reformation*, still a most serviceable book. "The strain of Christian song", he said, "seemed to rise higher with the fires of persecution. Most of the Anabaptist hymns belong to a time when their sufferings were greatest . . . They are all echoes of endurance where the notes of the sob, the trust, the warning, the hosanna of a time of martyrdom, blend in rough heroic strains."[2] Lindsay's bibliography shows that he had consulted a 1583 copy of an Anabaptist hymnbook, as well as an earlier German hymnbook of the Bohemian Brethren—an older and rather different group, of Hussite origin. The year Lindsay's book appeared, the second edition of Julian's great *Dictionary of Hymnology* was issued. One has perhaps no right to criticise Julian for the complete absence of any reference

to Anabaptist hymnology, though we may hope that the new edition will remedy the omission. What is more surprising is that the hints dropped by Lindsay have not been followed up by one or more of those who have contributed to the revived interest in hymns shown in recent years in this country. As early as 1888, Anabaptist hymns were briefly noticed in America by H. S. Burrage in his *Baptist Hymn Writers and their Hymns.*

I propose to limit myself on this occasion to some account of the hymnbook which led Lindsay to his glowing sentences. Sixteenth century copies are, naturally, extremely rare and I have never myself handled one. But, marvellous to relate, the hymnbook is still in use, so that students of hymns have the less excuse for their neglect of it. In that country of many marvels, the United States of America, there are still to be found tiny groups of Mennonites who live a life little changed from the European conditions of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. They eschew the comforts and technical devices of American civilization. They refuse to use mechanical transport or telephones. Their clothing is fastened, not by buttons, which are alleged to be a sign of worldly adornment, but by hooks and eyes. Their women wear no jewellery, not even a wedding ring. Not all Mennonites maintain such simplicity and strictness. But what I have said is true of the Old Amish Mennonites of Pennsylvania. I once saw a little family belonging to this community passing through the crowds at the railway station in Washington, D.C. The man was bearded, for they disdain razors, and he, his handsome wife and his children were clad all in black and the children shoeless. I, of course, stared at them, but the surrounding Americans appeared to accept them without question, as they do so many other immigrants, new and old, into their conglomerate society.

These heroic folk, the Old Amish, in their worship, which is still held in farmhouses and not in special church-buildings, carefully preserve the traditions of their forefathers. They still use the German language. They still sing from the old Anabaptist hymnbook, their music either a kind of slow Gregorian chanting, going back to the Middle Ages, or, as some think, uncontrolled drawn out group singing with ornamentations which are really foreign to the original tune. The hymn book was first printed in America in 1742 at Germantown.[3] At a Mennonite centre in Indiana—where the ways are not as strict as among the Old Amish—I was able to purchase a copy of the 13th edition of the book. It is this edition I want to describe—the "thick song book" as the Old Amish call it—the first Free Church hymnal and perhaps the most remarkable that those of our tradition have ever produced. It is almost certainly the oldest hymnbook in continuous use in any Christian Church anywhere in the world.

It is a book of 895 pages and is familiarly known as the *Ausbund*, that is, the selection of the best. The title-page may be roughly translated as follows: "The Selection of the Best: that is, some beautiful Christian songs, composed by Swiss Brethren when they were imprisoned in Passau Castle and by other right-believing (*rechtglaubigen*) Christians. Very useful for all Christians irrespective of party. Together with an appendix of six songs." There are in all 140 hymns or songs, followed by two indices, one grouping the pieces according to the tunes to which they can be sung. There is then some supplementary material; first, the prose Confession of Faith of Thomas von Imbroich, a young man executed in Cologne in 1558. This Confession sets forth clearly and at length the Anabaptist view of baptism. There follows at the end of this American edition of the *Ausbund* an account of the sufferings of the brethren in the canton of Zürich between the years 1635 and 1645. Finally come the six additional songs, each of which has its special interest.

The story behind this little-known but extremely interesting book, is as follows. Its nucleus was some fifty hymns used by a group of imprisoned Anabaptists in the fourth decade of the sixteenth century. Their views were those of the Swiss Brethren who had re-introduced believers' baptism in Zürich in 1525 and who had been scattered by persecution and their own evangelistic zeal into the Tirol, eastwards down the Danube valley into Moravia and beyond, northwards down the Rhine valley into the Low Countries and Germany. The notorious and tragic excesses in Münster in 1534—in part the work of people made frantic by suffering and by the fading of false hopes—caused a new wave of persecution throughout central Europe. The group imprisoned in Passau Castle, near the confluence of the rivers Inn and Danube, consisted of both men and women and numbered more than thirty. They had left their homes in Heilbronn, Ulm, Donauwörth and elsewhere, but were captured near the Bavarian frontier, some in May 1535 and others the following September. Though they could expect nothing but death, they remained steadfast in their faith and, like Paul and Silas, encouraged one another during their imprisonment by singing hymns, most of them said to have been composed by two of the group, Hans Betz and Michael Schneider. Betz had been a weaver and his vigorous compositions were clearly influenced by contemporary folksongs. These hymns were somehow or other smuggled out of the Castle and began to circulate as flysheets and manuscripts among the widely dispersed Anabaptist groups. They find a place in the second part of the *Ausbund*, from no. 81 onwards. Prefixed to them are verses 5 and 6 of Psalm 140, which in our English version run: "The proud have hid a snare for me; they have spread a net by the wayside; they have set gins for me. I said unto the Lord, Thou art my God." In

Luther's translation of the Bible that last phrase begins "Ich aber sage zum Herrn . . . "—"But I say . . . ". The *Ausbund* version has the much more emphatic connecting word "Darum"—"therefore". This particular group of hymns is full of triumphant faith. Keeping close to the words of scripture, they set forth the sufficient and sustaining grace of God in Christ even in the most desperate human circumstances.

The Passau hymns were soon supplemented by others. Anabaptist poems and songs are still to be found in manuscript in some of the old libraries of central and eastern Europe.[4] I brought back with me last year from Hungary photographs of some of the old manuscript copies of hymns now in the University Library in Budapest. The hymnbook we are considering came from the Rhineland. The first known printed collection appeared in 1564. Of this there is a unique copy in the library of Goshen College, Indiana. Twenty years later, in 1583, a collection of 130 hymns and songs was printed, perhaps in Cologne, and it was this book that was known to T. M. Lindsay. The American edition still in use is substantially this 1583 book. Lindsay concentrates attention on the martyr spirit which finds such moving expression in the hymns. I hope to show that there is a greater variety in the book than his sentences might suggest.

For what is there here in addition to the Passau hymns? The additions may be put into five categories: (1) hymns which are either ascribed to some of the early Swiss and Dutch Anabaptists or are rhymed versions of their testimonies before the authorities; (2) rhymed versions of scripture passages; (3) a few hymns which come from other sources; (4) hymns produced by the Swiss Brethren and their descendants, the Mennonites, to meet the needs of a worshipping community, some for special occasions, some for controversial or apologetic purposes; and (5) two or three historical compositions of special interest. Something may be said about each of these categories in turn.

(1) Hymns and songs connected with specific persons. The *Ausbund* provides a heading to most of the hymns, giving sometimes a name and a date, sometimes a description, and providing also an indication of the tune to which they may be sung. Some of these tunes may have been based on Gregorian chants; others belonged to the hymns of the great Reformers; yet others were popular airs, used apparently in much the same way as the Salvation Army employed some of the tunes of the nineteenth century. Some bear the names of folk-songs like "Towards morn one hears the crowing cocks", "I saw the Lord of Falkenstein", and "There went a maiden with a jug". Those interested in Amish music may care to know of a little book called

Amische Lieder, written and compiled by J. W. Yoder and published in 1942 in Huntingdon, Pennsylvania.

In the early pages of the *Ausbund* there are hymns ascribed to Felix Mantz (no. 6), George Blaurock (nos. 5 and 30), Michael Sattler (no. 7) and Leonhard Schiemer (no. 31), while a later one is said to have been composed by a young woman, Walpurga von Pappenheim (no. 75) About all these persons we know something ; Blaurock and Mantz were members of the original group of Swiss Brethren who, with Conrad Grebel, in 1525 reintroduced believers' baptism and celebrated the Lord's Supper together. With Zwingli's knowledge and approval Mantz was tied to a hurdle and drowned in the river Limmat in January, 1527. Blaurock, the citizen of another canton, was beaten out of Zürich and, making his way into the Tirol, was burned to death in Klausen in 1529. Michael Sattler was another young man who suffered banishment from Zürich. After a short time in Strasbourg, he became a leader of the Anabaptists in the valley of the Neckar and for an important gathering held near Schaffhausen early in 1527, drafted the so-called Schleitheim Articles[5]—or, to give them their original title "Brotherly Union of a Number of Children of God"—one of the basic documents for an understanding of early Anabaptism. Sattler was put to death, after cruel torturings in May, 1527. Leonhard Schiemer was executed at Rattenburg in the Tirol in 1528. Walpurga von Pappenheim, originally connected with Humanist circles in Augsburg, became the helper of Pilgram Marbeck, engineer and evangelist, who it is now known played an important part as a leader of the Anabaptists in South Germany in the middle years of the sixteenth century. Five long hymns (Nos. 9, 29, 45, 46 and 71) are by Hans Büchel, an important leader of the South German Anabaptists in the closing decades of the 16th century. These are the hymns of the south. There are also several hymns connected with incidents in Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Ghent, where severe persecution was experienced for several decades.

Many of these hymns, both those from Switzerland, Austria and South Germany, and those from the Low Countries, appear also in *Het Offer des Herren*, a collection of biographies, testimonies and songs, which first appeared in 1562, and out of which grew a century later *The Martyrs' Mirror* (1660) of T. J. van Braght. So far as I know, there has as yet been published no thorough study of the text of the various versions of these martyr hymns, though a critical edition of the *Ausbund* by J. F. Zieglschmid exists in manuscript in Goshen College. An English translation of part of *The Martyrs' Mirror* by Benjamin Millard was published in 1850-53 by the Hanserd Knollys Society, the oldest Free Church Historical Society, though one with an all too brief life.

A much fuller English version, running to 1152 pages, was printed in Scottdale, Pennsylvania, in 1938, and a critical annotated edition is now, I believe, in preparation.

As examples of this group of martyr hymns let me quote versions of one or two stanzas. This, for example, is Burrage's translation of the opening lines of Felix Mantz's hymn :

"With rapture I will sing
Grateful to God for breath,
The strong, almighty King
Who saves my soul from death,
The death that has no end;
Thee, too, O Christ, I praise,
Who dost Thine own defend."

(Burrage, p.4. *Ausbund*, p.41).

Leonhard Schiemer's hymn gives a vivid and moving picture of the hunted Anabaptists of the Tirol. Here are three verses as rendered by Burrage :

"Thine holy place they have destroyed,
Thine altars overthrown,
And reaching forth their bloody hands,
Have foully slain Thine own.
And we alone, the little flock,
The few who still remain,
Are exiles wandering through the land
In sorrow and in pain.

We are, alas, like scattered sheep,
The shepherd not in sight,
Each far away from home and hearth
And like the birds of night
That hide away in rocky clefts,
We have our rocky hold,
Yet near at hand, as for the birds,
There waits the hunter bold.

We wander in the forests dark,
With dogs upon our track ;
And like the captive, silent lamb
Men bring us, prisoners, back.
They point to us amid the throng
And with their taunts offend ;
And long to let the sharpened axe
On heretics descend."

(Burrage, p.9. *Ausbund*, pp.191-2).

Here are the first and last stanzas of a hymn by Leopold Schneider, beheaded in Augsuburg in 1528 :

My God, Thee will I praise
When my last hour shall come,
And then my voice I'll raise
Within the heavenly home.
O Lord, most merciful and kind,
Now strengthen my weak faith,
And give me peace of mind . . .

To Thee, in every deed,
My spirit I commend,
Help me in all my need,
And let me ne'er offend.
Give to my flesh Thy strength
That I with Thee may stand,
A conqueror at length."

(Carey Bonner, *Some Baptist Hymnists*, 1937, p.20. *Ausbund*, pp.219, 222).

Here are the first two stanzas of the hymn by Michael Sattler, and in rendering them, I have tried to preserve the simplicity of the original :

"When Christ by teaching through the land
Had called to Him a tiny band,
'Patience, My friends' they heard Him say,
'Take up and bear your cross each day.

'He who would My disciple be,
With courage and with constancy,
Must on this earth love more than all
The words that from My lips do fall.' "

(*Ausbund*, pp.46, 47).

In addition to these early martyr hymns, the American edition of the *Ausbund* contains three dealing with the sufferings of the Swiss Anabaptists in the seventeenth century, the sufferings of which some account is given in the appendix to the book. One comes from Hans Landis, executed in Zürich in 1614 (no.132). The last two hymns in the main collection deal with happenings in Berne, where a leading Anabaptist, Hans Haslibacher, was beheaded in 1571.

(2) So much for this particular type of hymn. There is much else in the *Ausbund*. We turn, next, to rhymed versions of scripture. These are of considerable interest. There are, for example, eight metrical psalms. The psalms in question are the thirty-fourth (no. 126), the thirty-fifth (127), the fiftieth (128), the fifty-fourth (83), the eighty-

sixth (129), the one hundred and twenty-sixth (86), the one hundred and thirty-first (130) and the one hundred and thirty-third (84). They appear in no particular order, but are scattered at various points in the *Ausbund.* Though several of these psalms deal with the afflictions of the righteous, it is not very clear why they and not some others were chosen for treatment in this way. Luther and Justus Jonas had, of course, set the fashion in German metrical versions, but these Anabaptist versions appear to be quite independent. It is perhaps of interest to note that in preparing his German Bible, Luther made use of the translation of Isaiah and other of the prophets made in Strasbourg in 1526 by Ludwig Hetzer and Hans Denck, both of whom were associated with the early days of the Anabaptist movement. C.E.P. Wackernagel, who last century laid the foundations for the study of German hymnology, quotes a metrical version of Psalm 37 by Hetzer, one stanza of which is thus rendered by Burrage :

"Fret not thyself, O pious heart,
Though evil men surround thee ;
The godless may be richer here,
But that should not confound thee ;
For like the herb in yonder field
They too ere long shall wither,
And all their gain shall disappear
Like grass, they know not whither."

(Burrage, pp.16-17).

The *Ausbund* versions are of this type and at least bear comparison with the earliest metrical psalms in our own language. There is also a somewhat elaborated rhyming version of the Lord's Prayer (no. 104) and this is one of the Passau hymns by Hans Betz ; a hymn based on the Sermon on the Mount which begins with the Beatitudes (110) ; and a hymn on the gifts of the Spirit (50). There are also rhymed versions of narrative passages, e.g. the story of Moses' struggle with Pharoah (116) and the story of Lazarus (53). In the six hymns which appear in the appendix, two are of this character : one on Abraham and the sacrificing of Isaac (App. 3) and one on Joseph and his brethren (ibid. 4) . And to this category two other of the hymns must be added—the first in the appendix, which gives the story of Tobias and the Angel from the book of *Tobit*, and the fourth in the main collection, which is a remarkable version of the terrible story in 2 *Maccabees*, chapter 7, of the Jewish woman, who had to witness the torture and burning of her seven sons, because in the time of Antiochus they refused to taste swine's flesh. In another of the hymns—and one to be found in manuscript in Budapest—there is a reference to the sufferings of Susanna (no. 115), so that it would appear that the Anabaptists were not disposed at once to surrender the stories from

the Apocrypha. The words of Scripture were clearly their meat and drink, and all the hymns are closely biblical in thought and phraseology.

(3) The third category I noted consists of hymns drawn from other sources. Properly to isolate these is a task beyond my knowledge and skill and could only be done satisfactorily by someone with an extensive acquaintance with German hymnology. Wackernagel prepared the way for this and in 1903 Rudolf Wolkan, professor of German literature in Vienna, published an important monograph entitled *Die Lieder der Wiedertäufer*. So far as this group of borrowings is concerned, I can only draw attention to one or two pieces of special interest. It has been stated that five of the hymns in the *Ausbund* come from Michael Weisse's Bohemian Brethren's German hymnbook, *Ein Neu Gesang Buchlein*, which appeared in 1531, but I have been unable to identify them in the list given in J. T. Mueller's article in Julian. The hymn with which the *Ausbund* opens is thought by Wolkan to have been composed by Sebastian Franck (1499-1542), whose spiritual pilgrimage took him from the Roman priesthood to the Lutheran ministry and thence, through association with the Anabaptists of the Nürnberg neighbourhood, to an independent position. Troeltsch regarded Franck as "the most original" of the Spiritual Reformers.[6] The hymn in the *Ausbund* is a lengthy one of fourteen seven-lined stanzas. The description at the top says that it tells how Christians should pray and sing hymns and psalms "in spirit and in truth". It invokes the example of both Old and New Testaments. No. 38 is said in the accompanying note to have been written by John Huss, though it is not easily linked with the one hymn by Huss about which Julian gives information, namely, the Latin "Jesus Christus, nostra salus". No. 40 is connected with the conviction and death in Augsburg in 1524 of two Waldensian sympathisers and it is to be noted that it is with this incident that *The Martyrs' Mirror* opens. No. 118, "Wach auf, wach auf, o Menschenkind", a long poem of thirty-five stanzas, is said to be well-known outside Anabaptist circles, whatever its origin may be. It certainly has similarities in wording and theme with Johan Rist's "Wach auf, wach auf, du sich're Welt", but this hymn on the Second Advent did not appear until 1651.[7] There seems little evidence that Anabaptist borrowings were extensive, nor would one expect them to be.

(4) We turn to the more general hymns. This category is naturally a very varied one. Pride of place must be given to the important *Bekenntnislied* (no. 2), at one time ascribed to Denck, but now thought to be the work of Peter Riedemann, though the *Ausbund* itself gives no indication as to origin or authorship. This very significant hymn of ninety-nine lines is in three equal sections, the first devoted to God, Creator and Father, the second to Jesus Christ, Son of God and Saviour,

and the third to the Holy Ghost. It is in effect a rhymed and somewhat elaborated version of the Apostles' Creed. Such versions were known in various places in the sixteenth century.[8] The Anabaptists have sometimes been accused of heretical notions on the main doctrines of the faith, or at least of carelessness regarding them. It is true that certain individual Anabaptists and certain groups—Melchior Hoffman and his followers, for example—held an unorthodox Christology, though they did not themselves invent the theory of Christ's passing through the body of Mary instead of assuming our humanity. What is interesting and important, however, is the fact that the compilers of the *Ausbund* in the second half of the sixteenth century set at the beginning of the book this version of Christendom's oldest and most widely accepted Creed. The suggested linking with Peter Riedemann (1506-56) is not unlikely. He belonged to the Hutterites, one of the main Anabaptist groups in Moravia, and suffered more than one term of imprisonment. While in prison in Hesse in 1540, he wrote his *Rechenschaft*, or Confession of Faith—now available in an attractive English edition, thanks to the Wheathill Bruderhof. Part of that work consists of a clause by clause exposition of the Apostles' Creed.[9] In his penetrating and most welcome book, *The Protestant Tradition*, Dr. J. S. Whale has suggested that David Joris "comes as near as anyone to being a fair representative of sixteenth century Anabaptism as a whole." (op. cit. p.205) . This I find a somewhat surprising judgment. Peter Riedemann, who died the same year as Joris, was, I believe, a far more representative figure.

Side by side with the *Bekenntnislied* we may set a group of hymns which expound the teaching of the Swiss Brethren. No. 125 takes note of the fact that they are called "Wiedertäufer", rebaptizers, Anabaptists. A somewhat over-colloquial rendering of one of the verses of this hymn might run as follows :

"Where'er the good man goes today
They shout out after him and say :
'This re-baptizing is absurd ;
Why don't you join the general herd ? ' "
(*Ausbund*, p.739).

But the hymn, which is found also in the old Hutterite hymnbook, goes on at great length to set out New Testament teaching, describing in some detail the broad and the narrow way. Another hymn (no. 54) gives a critical account of Infant Baptism and its weaknesses when judged at the bar of the New Testament. One verse refers to Luther by name. It runs :

"Luther says : everything that God wants,
He has undoubtedly commanded.
Now I ask all the learned ones :
Where is infant baptism commanded ?"

This is, so far as I have noted, the only specific allusion to the great Reformer in the whole book, and I have found no references to any other of the more famous contemporaries of the sixteenth century Anabaptists. The immediately following hymn (no. 55) has the Lord's Supper as its subject. It consists of twenty-nine six-lined stanzas and breathes a fervent devotion to Christ. The Anabaptists rejected transubstantiation and consubstantiation. They have sometimes been accused of mere memorialism, but this hymn goes far beyond that. One of its most interesting features is its emphasis on the unity of those who participate in the Supper and the symbolizing of this in the loaf and the cup. The famous prayer from the *Didache* comes to mind. The lines about this in the *Ausbund* hymn may be compared with the words of Claus Felbringer, a Hutterite beheaded in Bavaria in 1560:

> "Even as natural bread is composed by the coming together of many grains, ground under the mill-stones, and each giving the others all it possesses, they have community one with another, and they become one loaf; and as, likewise, the wine is composed of many grapes, each sharing its juice with the rest in the wine-press, so that they become one drink; even so are we also, in that we become completely one nature with Him, in life and death, and are all one in Christ; He the vine and we the branches, He the head and we His members."[10]

There is also a long hymn (no. 119) said to be used by the Old Amish at the footwashings which still accompany the Lord's Supper. There are hymns on brotherhood, or perhaps better said, the *Koinonia* of believers, so much emphasised in the New Testament and so characteristic of the Swiss Brethren and their followers (nos. 56 and 57). No. 66 is devoted to the two contrasted swords—that of the Spirit and that wielded by the magistrate. No. 71 deals with man's three hereditary enemies—the World, the Flesh and the Devil. There are three parting hymns (nos. 134-136), the last of which has been linked with the name of young Michael Sattler. Three of the hymns, (nos. 69, 97 and 122) are used by the Old Amish at weddings. No. 138 is a funeral hymn. These are the hymns of a developing community. Delight in the good works of the Creator finds expression time and time again, but—in contrast to so many modern hymnbooks—there seems to be only one hymn devoted to Nature, an interesting composition (no. 47) on Winter and Summer, the former pictured as signifying the Law and the latter, Christ. As an indication that there might be in some of these hymns material worth preserving in the hymnody of the Church, for its own sake and not just for historical reasons, let me offer a rendering of the hymn known as the *Lobgesang* (no. 131). One of the best known of the hymns, and still used by the Amish at the beginning of every worship service, it is set in the *Ausbund* to the old German

melody of the sixteenth century, "Aus tiefer Noth", which appears as "Coburg" in *Congregational Praise*. This tune has now, I understand, been found to correspond to a secular melody "Es wollt ein Mägdlein Wasser holen". It may also be sung to "Luther's Hymn".

"O Father God, Thy name we praise,
To Thee our hymns addressing,
And joyfully our voices raise,
Thy faithfulness confessing.
Thy hand has gathered us, O Lord ;
We seek new guidance from Thy Word ;
Now grant to us Thy blessing.

Touch, Lord, the lips that speak for Thee ;
Set words of truth before us,
That we may grow in constancy,
The light of wisdom o'er us.
Give us this day our daily bread ;
May hungry souls once more be fed ;
May heavenly food restore us.

Lord, make Thy pilgrim people wise,
The gospel message knowing,
That we may walk with lightened eyes
In grace and goodness growing.
The righteous must Thy precepts heed ;
Thy Word alone supplies their need,
From heaven their succour flowing.

As with our brethren here we meet,
Thy grace alone can feed us ;
As here we gather at Thy feet,
We pray that Thou wilt heed us.
The power is Thine, O Lord Divine,
The Kingdom and the rule are Thine.
May Jesus Christ still lead us."

(*Ausbund*, pp.770-771).

(5) Finally, let me draw attention to one or two extremely interesting historical pieces. The first comes at the beginning of the *Ausbund* (no. 3), immediately after Sebastian Franck's exhortation to singing and the *Bekenntnislied*. It consists of thirty-five thirteen-lined stanzas, that is, four hundred and fifty-five lines in all. The heading states : "Here follow some Christian and praiseworthy deeds of those who sealed their faith with their blood ; which happening to many in our time, in many cities and lands, there is therefore built on this foundation

gold, silver and precious stones. 1 Corinthians 3." The hymn gives an account of some of the martyrs of Christian history. It begins with a reference to the sufferings of the prophets—Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Amos, Micah and Zechariah. The following stanzas speak of the sufferings of Christ and the dark deeds of Pilate and of Herod. Then, after some lines on Stephen, come references to the persecutions of Nero, Domitian and Trajan. Ignatius and Polycarp are alluded to and the many who were done to death in the time of Marcus Aurelius. The martyrs Sanctus, Attalus and Blandina find a place ; then those who suffered under the Emperors Severus, Maximin and Decius, including the aged woman Apollonia of Alexandria. The persecutions under Valerian and Aurelian are mentioned and then the great one directed by Diocletian. The story is taken further and we have references to St. Agnes, St. Margaret and St. Catherine ; to those who suffered under Sapor of Persia and Genseric, the Vandal ; and to other anti-Christian rulers who allowed true believers no place. The last five stanzas assure those who now suffer that they suffer for Christ and that, if steadfast, they will share in His Kingdom. It is a remarkable poem and is supplied not only with scriptural references but also with footnotes referring to the relevant passages in Tertullian and Eusebius. We may assume, perhaps, that it was composed by one who had learned something of the history of the early Church during his training for the Roman Catholic priesthood, for not a few of the first group of Anabaptist leaders were former priests and monks. With this poem are to be linked no. 9 by Hans Büchel, which tells at length the story of Pura and her brother, who suffered in the time of Valerian, and also the fifth hymn in the appendix which relates the story of Dorothea, a young Christian who suffered at Caesarea in Cappadocia under Diocletian and whose martyrdom was accompanied by the appearance of roses and apples after she had been taunted by Theophilus the Advocate about the delights of Paradise.

It is not surprising that the Anabaptists turned to stories like these and drew comfort from them, feeling themselves linked with a martyr company extending back to the early days of the Church.

One other narrative poem has to be mentioned, though it is of a different character and might have been included in the first category I mentioned, since it has specific reference to an episode in Anabaptist history. It is the final song in the appendix and comes probably from the seventeenth century. Quite recently fresh light has been thrown on the unexpected presence in Greece in the years 1540-60 of small companies of Anabaptists.[11] They had established themselves in the neighbourhood of Salonica, having travelled there probably by sea from Italy. Three of their number made a journey by land up into Moravia, because they had heard there were fellow-believers

there. It is of this journey that the poem tells. The final verse is not easy to render into English. Part at least of its meaning may be suggested by the following lines :

"Before his time none gets the crown ;
And who the crown would win
Fights honestly in company
And then may enter in. Amen."

Those are the last lines of the *Ausbund*. There we must leave this remarkable book, worthy surely of far greater attention than it has received. What the hymns lack in literary merit they make up in sincerity and depth of conviction. Burrage pointed out that there is nothing here that is revolutionary or fanatical, relatively little that is polemical. These are primarily the hymns of a persecuted people. The constant exhortations to steadfastness are not unnatural. What must seem most surprising to those still influenced by the older accounts of the Anabaptists is the prominence of the moral aspects of the Christian faith. These men and women believed with all their hearts in redemption by the blood of Jesus Christ, but they also believed that the work of grace which is wrought by the Spirit in the heart will appear in the life. Dr. H. S. Bender, the Mennonite scholar, has suggested that the Anabaptist view of the church is best summed up in the phrase "The Fellowship of Committed Disciples". They believed that one day, perhaps soon, Christ would vindicate them. And so their songs, like those of the early Church, are frequently songs of victory. The words of T. R. Glover with which we began, may be quoted again : "The victory songs were a little premature ? Were they ? They helped to win the victory".

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[1] *Studies in Mystical Religion*, p.392.
[2] *History of the Reformation*, II, 449-450.
[3] As late as 1692 the government of Bern placed the book on the proscribed list and ordered its confiscation, when found. There were Swiss editions, printed at Basel in 1809 and 1838, I know of no European ones later than the 19th century. The Mennonite settlers established themselves in Germantown in 1638, the first group coming from Krefeld in Germany.
[4] In 1946 a MS (*Codex Geiser*) was found in a Mennonite farmhouse in Switzerland. It contains thirteen hymns said to have been taken from an Anabaptist hymnal of 1620. None is in the *Ausbund*.
[5] Cp. Beatrice Jenny, *Das Schleitheimer Tauferbekenntnis 1527*, 1951, and E. A. Payne, "Michael Sattler and the Schleitheim Confession" *Baptist Quarterly*, vol.xiv, 1952, pp.337f.
[6] *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, II, 760.
[7] Julian, p.1229.
[8] W. D. Maxwell, *An Outline of Christian Worship*, p.79, refers to the Apostles' Creed in German metre in Luther's *Deutsche Messe*, 1526. The same author in his *Worship in the Church of Scotland*, p.51, refers to the occasional use of metrical versions of the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer in the Reformed Worship of Scotland. Following Calvin this took place, if at all, on Communion Sundays. See also the same author's *John Knox's Geneva Service Book, 1556*.
Cf. the exposition of the Apostles' Creed by Leonhard Schiemer (d.1528). Lydia Muller, *Glaubenszeugnisse oberdeutscher Taufgesinnter*, 1938, pp.44f.
[10] Felbringer's full Confession is reprinted in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* for April, 1955.
[11] Cf. *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, January, 1955.

Stepney Meeting: The Pioneers[1]

THE institution of this May Day Lecture was on this wise. Men tend to spoil and corrupt what is innocent and beautiful and of good report ; and in the early seventeenth century the celebrations of May Day, with the dancing round the Maypole, had become an opportunity for drunkenness, coarseness, roughness, wildness and sexual immorality. On this account, May Day celebrations had been prohibited while the Puritans were in power ; but with the restoration of Charles II they all came in again, and no sweeter than before ; and as time went on, and the royal court set the worst possible example for loose morals, the May Day junketing grew worse also. In 1680 Oliver Heywood, who held something of the position among Yorkshire Nonconformists that our Matthew Mead held in London, wrote of May Day at Halifax : "many of them were drunk and mad towards night : there was never such work in Halifax above 50 yeares past".[2] Evidently things were much the same here in Stepney ; and Matthew Mead felt he must do something about it, and not simply negatively, to condemn what was going on, but positively, to redeem the day and claim it for Christ. "In April 1674," he writes,

> A Gentleman (who was till then a stranger to me) came with an earnest request that I would undertake the Preaching of a Sermon yearly on every May-day to the younger people. I desiring to know his reason why to them, rather then to others ? and why on that day rather then upon any other ? he told me, that it had often been the grief of his Soul to behold the vitious and debauched practises of Youth, on that day of liberty. And did hope that many might be induced, either by their own inclinations, or by the counsels of their Parents, or Masters, rather to spend their time in hearing a Sermon, then in drinking and gaming &c. by which means many might be converted and saved. The design being so honest, and the reason so cogent, I was perswaded to comply with it : and began upon the following May Day, and so it hath been continued ever since ; and I may say it, not in any boast, but to the praise of the glory of the grace of God, with great success.[3]

Such was the origin of this Lecture ; and, although in his funeral sermon for Matthew Mead, John Howe said, "it may, in time, be forgotten, that ever such a Man as Mr. Mead, was Minister in Stepney !",[4] that time has not yet been reached. With all the chances and changes of this mortal life, and despite the destruction of Stepney Meeting House during the last war, Stepney Meeting is not destroyed, Matthew Mead is not forgotten, and his May Day Sermon or Lecture

is still delivered : thanks be to God, who has not deserted us in the day of small things ! And incidentally did you notice that the actual originator of the idea of the thing was not Mead himself at all, but "a Gentleman" unnamed, one of the great number of the influential anonymous, like those unnamed brethren who came out from Rome to meet St. Paul, "whom when Paul saw, he thanked God and took courage"?

Of the Gentleman we know no more ; but we know much of Matthew Mead, the famous father of a yet more famous son, Dr. Richard Mead, to a suggestion from whom we owe Guy's Hospital and of whom, when celebrating the bicentenary of his death in 1954, a writer in the *Manchester Guardian* said "Few Londoners have done more to earn the regard of their fellow-citizens". Matthew Mead gave almost his whole life to Stepney and Stepney Meeting. He became a member of this church in 1656, when he was Morning Lecturer at Stepney Parish Church, where William Greenhill, the equally famous first minister of this church, was then Evening Lecturer. At the Restoration, when they were deprived of their Lectureships, both men were suspected (no doubt wrongly) of being involved in a plot against the Government, and for a time Mead thought it wise to withdraw to Holland ; but in 1669 he was called to assist Greenhill as pastor here, and he is accordingly reported in the bishops' returns preserved at Lambeth as preaching 'At Mr Greenhills house next Stepney Church'[5] as well as elsewhere in this district. Two years later, when Greenhill died, Mead succeeded him as pastor and was ordained here by John Owen and others, ordination being then thought of by us as only, as indeed we still think of it as being pre-eminently, in relation to a pastoral charge ; and here for another quarter of a century he ministered till his death in October 1699, his last sermon having been his May Day Lecture earlier in the year ; though now failing, he would not give that up. Matthew Mead was a man of means ; his congregation here at Stepney was the largest in London[6]; when in 1674 the meeting-house was built, the States of Holland presented him with the pillars to uphold its roof. But do not think that his ministry here was easy, or his life a quiet one. Far from it. In 1678 he was fined £40 for preaching within five miles of his former post at Stepney Church ; in 1681 he was prosecuted again ; in 1682, for preaching five times, he was fined £180 and his goods were seized ; in 1683 he was again suspected of complicity in a plot and was prosecuted for refusing to attend the parish church and for holding a separate meeting of his own. No, his life was not an easy one. He must have had a firm and fine faith to hold fast to, when there were so many trials to face, so many temptations to conform and go with the stream. But before we consider that, let us look at his predecessor, William Greenhill.

Greenhill, of course, was an older man, born right back in the days of Queen Elizabeth I before the sixteenth century had run its course ; and he was ordained by the Bishop of Lincoln in 1628, before ever the Civil Wars and the Puritan troubles had started. We do not know how he came to hold Congregational convictions, though I think it was probably while he was a Rector in Suffolk, a part of the country where they were spreading rapidly ; but in 1641 he became Evening Lecturer at Stepney Parish Church, and only three years later, when *this* church was formed, he became its pastor, and so he remained till his death nearly thirty years afterwards. It is somewhat remarkable that, although this church was formed so early as 1644 and may thus claim to be among the very oldest Congregational churches anywhere in the world, with probably the most ancient Church Book in existence, it had only these two ministers throughout the seventeenth century : William Greenhill and Matthew Mead. At the Restoration Greenhill, like Mead, lost his lectureship, and also his living (for in 1652 he had become Vicar of Stepney) ; but he did not desert this church, despite the threat, and later the hard fact, of prosecution and obstruction. Greenhill, again like Mead, had private means ; and the way he used it in his lifetime we may guess from the fact that at his death he left £20 to be distributed among twenty poor families of the 'Society I belong to', *i.e.* this church ; £10 to the poor of Stepney, without regard to their church membership ; and £100 for 'poor and Godly ejected Ministers'.[7] Greenhill, we may think, may have had even more temptation than Mead to conform and to leave this church without a shepherd. Mead, it is true, was young and had his life before him, to make or mar ; but in 1662 Greenhill was far more eminent : he was a man in the sixties, who had not only sat in the renowned Westminster Assembly of Divines but, after the execution of Charles I, had been appointed by Parliament chaplain to three of the King's children. He might well have held that he had done his life's work and might now retire into private life rather than continue as pastor of what had become an illegal and scorned society and himself risk severe penalties, as he did, not occasionally but whenever he preached, indeed all the time, since he continued to live in his old haunts, still here, at Stepney. What, then, was at the heart of his, and of Mead's, behaviour ? Why did they pioneer the way of Nonconformity here ? a way of suffering, as for pioneers it so often is. What was their faith ?

Their faith, as they would have said themselves, was the Christian faith. Nothing more. But also, nothing less. As I have looked at some of their books, and at the titles of some I have not read, that is what bears itself in upon me. They would stand to the truth as they knew it, with their lives ; and the truth as they knew it was the truth as it is in Jesus : nothing less ; but also nothing more. They would resist

the temptation to be worldly and to pretend that things were not true which they very well knew *were* true, or that they did not believe what in their hearts they did believe ; but equally they would resist the temptation to conform and to pretend that things were true, or essential, which they held were in doubt, or optional, or that they believed in the necessity of things which in their hearts they believed should be left free. "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free" ; nothing else can do that ; and what is not the truth must be cut away, and must be left away. "Buy the truth, and sell it not," Greenhill printed from *Proverbs* 23.26 on the titlepage of one of his books ; and wrote in it, "Happy be the souls so resolved, they will buy the Truth what ever it cost them"; and again, "As Christ will own nothing but what is appointed of the Lord ; so those are with him will not own the superstitious appointments of men but cleave to the Institution of God, though out of place and despised"; and when he wrote that, it had meaning for him personally ; for he wrote it in 1662—on May Day, strangely enough, on the First of the Third Month, as May Day was then called—, in 1662, only a few months before the ministers were ejected all over the country, and when he himself was already 'out of place' as Vicar of Stepney and 'despised'. "Reader," he wrote, "it is dangerous to Symbolize with the Superstitious Rites, and inventions of men". He referred to the Prayer Book and to ordination by the laying on of bishops' hands. Both were now to be made compulsory ; and to neither would he be party. Greenhill recognized what may be called the negative element in Christianity : earlier, he had preached a sermon entitled *The Axe at the Root*, using an image beloved of the more radical Puritans, those who were determined for reformation 'root and branch'. "Buy the truth, and sell it not"; and the truth is single and unencumbered. Greenhill was true-hearted.

But, if he was true-hearted, unswerving in his devotion to the truth and to nothing more, he was also whole-hearted, utterly convinced that the Christian faith demanded the whole of him and nothing less. This is a characteristic which he shared with his young friend, Matthew Mead. In 1662, the year when the ministers were ejected, Mead published his first book, with the striking title *The Almost Christian Discovered* (that is, 'shown up'), a book which was reprinted all through the years of persecution till by 1684 it had been issued eleven times—it was also translated into Dutch ; and in the middle of that time, in the year before his death, Greenhill came out with *The Sound-hearted Christian*. Both these books must have made wavering feet steadier and inspired many a faltering heart. The 'almost' Christian— a reference to Agrippa's words to St. Paul in *Acts* 26.28—is no good, especially in days of hardship ; we have to be whole-hearted, sound-hearted Christians, Christians in every part of ourselves, Christians

and nothing else. So Greenhill writes, in sharp and stabbing phrases, "Do not Judaize, do not Gentilize, do not Romanize, but see you Christianize".[8] Do not be content, that is to say, to be worldly, or just 'natural', or just 'human', as we say ; or to think that religion is just a matter of the intellect ; or a matter of expediency and compromise ; or even of obedience to the government and to the law ; or even of going to church and communion regularly ; or even of keeping rules and regulations in a decent moral way. "See you Christianize" : bring all these things, that is to say, all these sides of life, and many more, to Christ, to the bar of His judgment, to the touch of His transforming power ; until everything you do, and all you are, is Christian, soundly and wholly Christian, nothing else and nothing less. So of Mead John Howe said : "he drove at his mark, without diversion ; not so much aiming to proselyte Souls to a Party, as to Christ. And to engage men, as much as in him lay, to be sound and thorough Christians . . . And his annual course, of preaching a Sermon on May-day, to Young Men, had the same manifest scope, and aim".[9]

I would say one thing further. You might suppose from all this that Greenhill and Mead were narrow. They must often have been tempted to be so ; but they were not. Besides being true-hearted and whole-hearted, they were large-hearted. While keen and clear in their own principles, they were both deeply concerned for unity with other Christians : they must have suffered the more on this account over their ejection and rough handling by other Christians. Greenhill was a member not only of the Westminster Assembly, which was predominantly Presbyterian, but of the meeting of representatives of 120 Congregational churches at the Savoy in 1658 and was one of those deputed to draw up the *Declaration* then issued ; and in this he urged "a constant correspondence . . . for counsel and mutual edification", both "associations among our selves" and a "holding out common lights to others". It was the same with Mead. "So as nothing be made necessary to Christian Communion," said Howe at his funeral —note the characteristic limitation, "but what Christ hath made necessary ; or what is indeed necessary to one's being a Christian", "his Judgment in reference to matters of Church Order, was for Union, and Communion of all visible Christians" ;[10] and when in 1691 an attempt, an unsucessful but a valiant attempt, was made to unite the Congregational churches here in London with the Presbyterian, it was Mead who was chosen to preach the sermon. He entitled it *Two Sticks Made One*, with a reference to a verse (35.19) in *Ezekiel*. *Ezekiel* was a book specially dear to him, as it was also to his master Greenhill, who published five bulky volumes in exposition of it ; and their choice is wholly in keeping with their interests and characters. "Ezekiel," writes Dr. Wheeler Robinson, "might be called *par excellence*

the prophet of *ruach*,"[11] *i.e.* the Holy Spirit; again, Ezekiel, writes Professor M'Fadyen, "is the first Hebrew pastor. . . . His ideal in religion is anything but a mystic isolation, it is a community of saved and worshipping souls, drawn to each other because drawn to their common Lord".[12] I know no better description of the ideal we Congregationalists still seek than that.

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[1] The 282nd May Day Lecture at Stepney Meeting, 1956 (slightly abbreviated).
[2] Oliver Heywood, *Autobiography*, ed. J. H. Turner, ii.271.
[3] Matthew Mead, *The Good of Early Obedience* (1683), epistle to reader.
[4] John Howe, *A Funeral-Sermon for . . . Matthew Mead* (1699), p.59.
[5] *Original Records*, ed. G. L. Turner, i. 89.
[6] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, *s.v.* Mead.
[7] *Calamy Revised*, ed. A. G. Matthews, *s.v.* Greenhill.
[8] All the passages quoted from Greenhill are from his *Exposition Continued Upon The Nineteen last Chapters of the Prophet Ezekiel* (1662), epistle to reader.
[9] *op. cit.* p.54.
[10] *op. cit.*, pp.54f.
[11] H. Wheeler Robinson, *Two Hebrew Prophets*, p.91.
[12] J. E. M'Fadyen, in *Peake's Commentary*, p.503.

Some Congregational Relations With The Labour Movement

ON the whole Victorian and Edwardian Nonconformity was stedfastly allied to the Liberal Party. The historical reasons for this are plain : the association of Anglicanism and Toryism and the role of the Liberal Party in removing all burdens of social inequality. The alliance provides a reason for the small part played by Nonconformity in the rise of the Labour movement. The Methodists, traditionally Tory, were thus able to play a greater part than the older Dissent, which remained faithful to Gladstone, ironically a High Anglican, through every vicissitude. But the main reason for the failure to gain control of the Labour movement was the middle class character of the older Nonconformity. Here again the Methodists had the advantage. Some Congregationalists were proud of the middle class character of their membership,[1] but Keir Hardie, familiar with Nonconformity, spoke with the support of the working classes when he attacked class distinctions in the Churches. The workers, he claimed, 'would often find even the Churches marked off in sections, one part for those who did not care to associate with the common herd, the seats luxuriously cushioned and the kneeling stools well upholstered, in striking contrast to the accommodation for the poorer classes . . . They were sometimes asked why the working man did not attend church, but was it to be wondered at ?'[2]

There were however some contacts. The Congregationalists remained Liberals, but their support was given to the Left of the Party. They were thus associated with that element in it which was attempting to break free from Whig control and to link the working classes with a revitalized Radicalism.

A representative of this point of view was Edward Miall (1809-81), notorious rather than famous for the slogan of his weekly newspaper, the *Nonconformist :* 'The Dissidence of Dissent and the Protestantism of the Protestant Religion'. Though Miall is a well-known figure, it has not always been noticed how political his outlook was. Of the *Eclectic Review*, edited by his disciple Price, Halévy comments : 'Readers of this excellent periodical will look in vain for an article of mystical aspiration or religious meditation. Under colour of making war against clericalism, embodied in the worship of the Establishment, it

spoke of nothing but free trade, the franchise, and the individual's political rights, and thus, instead of making Radicalism Christian it ended by secularizing Christianity'.[3] In fact it is not too much to say that one of the main features of Miall's hostility to the Church of England was his class consciousness. He was brought up in an atmosphere of poverty. His second pastorate was at Bond Street, Leicester. 'Radical Leicester' may well have exercised a decisive influence over his mind at a vital stage. It was there that he began to take an interest in the lives of the working classes. When he founded the *Nonconformist* in 1841 he did not confine himself to denominational controversy: he also 'opposed the Melbourne administration, denounced the tory party, and attacked aristocratic government'.[4] He also developed an interest in Chartism:

> He was one of that small band of radicals which endeavoured, fruitlessly, to bring the chartist leaders into line with the more established political organisations. He advocated what was practically manhood suffrage, and appealed to the middle classes to join hands with the artizans. Through his support of the Anti-Corn Law League he obtained the acquaintance of Joseph Sturge, and in April 1842 he, with Sturge, Bright, Mursell, and Sharman Crawford, arranged the Birmingham conferences with the chartist leaders, Lovett, O'Brien, and Henry Vincent, to promote the abolition of class legislation. The National Complete Suffrage Union was then founded, and carried on for some years the propaganda for a wider suffrage, and the *Nonconformist* was formally constituted its organ in the press, though after the second Birmingham conference, in December 1842, Miall did not take part in its meetings.[5]

In 1845 Miall stood for Parliament for Southwark on a chartist programme, opposing the Liberal Sir William Molesworth, who was elected. In 1847 he stood for Halifax, in partnership with Ernest Jones, who was soon to be almost the last of the Chartists, when all the other leaders had given the cause up as lost. Indeed Jones was so thorough a Chartist as to be the only one to receive the full praise of modern Marxists. Neither Miall nor Jones was elected. Miall was successful at Rochdale in 1852 and sat in Parliament till 1857 when he was one of the Left-wing Liberals to lose their seats for opposing Palmerston. In 1869 he returned to Parliament as one of the members for Bradford. In the House of Commons he continued his Radicalism and his support of working-class causes.

A very different character was Samuel Morley (1809-86). The first part of his career is a typical Nineteenth Century success story, and

Morley became one of the richest men in the land. Earnest concern for Nonconformist rights led him to Radicalism, and his home at Stamford Hill became 'a rendezvous for dissenting ministers and radical politicians'.[6] He was returned to Parliament in 1868 and remained a firm Gladstonian. His concern for the working classes is shown by the fact that he provided the money for several 'labour candidates' to stand under Liberal auspices.

When the National Agricultural Labourers' Union was formed Morley was one of the most active of its prominent supporters. He served on the consulting committee of the Union from its formation and at the Exeter Hall meeting in 1872, when Archbishop, later Cardinal, Manning was on the platform, he took the chair. He was also an active member of the Artisans', Labourers' and General Dwelling Company. He took charge in the Commons of Lord Stanhope's Bill prohibiting the payment of wages in public houses.

Of less importance was Sir Edward Baines (1800-90). Son of a Liberal member of Parliament, he was present at the Peterloo 'massacre' in 1819 representing the *Leeds Mercury*, of which he later became editor. He early developed an interest in politics and economics and was a warm admirer of the paternal 'Socialism' of David Dale and the young Robert Owen at New Lanark and of the first mechanics' institute founded in 1824 by George Birkbeck. He made known these institutions in lectures given throughout Yorkshire. He assisted in the formation of mechanics' institutes and in 1837 became the founder-President of the West Riding Union of Mechanics' Institutes, later extended to the whole of Yorkshire. In 1859 he was elected M.P. for Leeds. In Parliament he urged the reduction of the borough franchise qualification from £10 to £6 occupancy, introducing bills to this effect in 1861, 1864 and 1865.[7]

Of a later generation was Charles Leach (1847-1919).[8] He was a Methodist by upbringing and served for two years in the New Connexion ministry before becoming a Congregationalist. While minister at Queen's Park, Harrow Road, he joined the young Independent Labour Party. The *British Weekly* interviewed him and published the interview in November 1894 under the heading 'The Independent Labour Party'.[9] While justifying his joining of the party, Leach explained that he disapproved of its methods and of its hostility to the Liberal Party. He thought that Joseph Chamberlain might emerge as the leader of a Liberal-Labour Party. He believed in the Liberal-Nonconformist ideals of Home Rule and Disestablishment, but asked what benefit they would bring to the working classes, so echoing the general protest of the I.L.P. against Liberal policy. He

was ready for a wide measure of nationalization and municipal housing. The obituary for Leach in the *Congregational Year Book* makes no mention of his connection with the I.L.P., but relates that in 1910, at the age of about sixty-three, he was elected to Parliament for the Colne Valley as a Liberal, remaining there for a few years till his health broke down. The reason for the transfer of his allegiance is not clear, but it is plainly very likely to be due to the gradual realization that the I.L.P. was serious in its determination to pursue its own line and not become another 'Lib.-Lab.' group.

Sir Halley Stewart (1838-1937) was from 1863 to 1877 a Congregational minister, though not ordained. Thereafter he was a newspaper editor, a businessman, and a politician. A biographical article describes him as follows: 'An advanced liberal, he advocated adult suffrage for both sexes, the land for the people, religious equality, and the abolition of hereditary legislators'. He was twice an M.P. (1887-1895 and 1906-1910), and established a trust for 'research towards the Christian ideal in all social life'.[10]

In London the alliance of Radicalism with the working classes was represented by the Progressive Party. Thomas McKinnon Wood (1855-1927), a member of King's Weigh House Church, was a member of the London County Council from 1892 to 1909. He held many offices, including that of Chairman, and was for long the party leader. He was an M.P. from 1906 to 1918 and rose to Cabinet rank as Secretary of State for Scotland.[11] Evan Spicer (1849-1937), brother of Albert Spicer, M.P., was another Progressive member of the L.C.C. and Chairman in 1906.[12]

As a last example of Liberal politicians interested in Labour questions mention may be made of John Henry Whitley, the first Congregationalist since Cromwellian times to become Speaker of the House of Commons. He gave his name to joint consultative councils in industry, recommended by a committee he chaired in 1917-18, and in 1929-31 he served on the Royal Commission on Labour in India.[13]

The voice of the Liberal element who looked for an alliance with Labour was, so far as the Nonconformists were concerned, the *British Weekly*, and its association with English Congregationalism is probably close enough for it to be mentioned here. The journal was founded in 1886 and announced as its basis a belief in progress and a wish to serve the cause of 'advanced Liberalism'.[14] The consistent attitude maintained throughout the succeeding years was that the Liberal Party must win the support of the working classes and shake off the incubus of right-wing leadership. The Liberal Party was supported

against the Conservatives, Gladstone against the Whigs, the Radicals against Gladstone, and the 'Lib.-Lab.' Radicals against the old-fashioned Radical element favoured by many Nonconformists, with purely 'liberationist' ideals. Socialism lay beyond the paper's sympathies and was regarded as a deviation from the path of true progress. The confusion of mind involved in the attempt to convert the workers to the brand of Liberalism favoured by the *British Weekly* is clearly shown in one issue of 1890. On one page a leading article (headed 'Labour, Parliament, and the Church') argues that both parties have neglected the interests of the workers. The labourer 'has worked as long, fared as hardly, under Mr. Gladstone as under Lord Salisbury'. The 'old order' will 'drag along' while Gladstone remains. 'The lesson for Liberal politicians especially is that their time is now, if they are not to be cheated of the fruit of all their labour and sacrifice for the Liberal party. Instead of reducing their programme to one item they should be pressing forward the long arrears for immediate settlement, for they and their questions are in immediate danger of being stranded together'. 'Christianity demands for the poor not first generosity but justice'.[15] Yet on another page the same issue, in referring to the recently concluded Trade Union Congress as with little doubt 'the most important assembly of working men ever held in this country', denies that moderation had prevailed in its decisions, and thinks that to accept the demand for a liberalization of the law of picketing would be to infringe individual liberty. It is feared that Labour is seeking a stand-up fight with Capital.[16] Thus a general demand for the claims of Labour to be met—largely as a matter of expediency—goes together with a scarcely-veiled fear of the growing power of organized Labour and with resistance to some of its specific demands on traditional Liberal grounds.

One item of news in the early issues of the *British Weekly* is perhaps worth a passing mention. In 1886 a leader rebuked a Congregational minister who on his first Sunday at a Newcastle Church preached a sermon on the Socialist theories of Kropotkin.[17] The preacher and the Church are left unnamed, but the only minister to settle in Newcastle in 1886 appears to have been the Rev. Frederick Hibbert, who went there straight from College, which perhaps explains to some extent this rather eccentric start to a pastorate.

As well as the attempt of politically minded Nonconformists to bring the workers into the fold of Radicalism there was an attempt to attract them to Church. As the Nineteenth Century wore on, more and more attention was devoted to the failure to attract the working classes. As early as the late 1840's some of the more far-seeing leaders were

becoming alarmed at their absence, according to Halévy, who notes special concern among the Congregationalists.[18]

Among well-known Congregational ministers who gave special attention to the working classes was Christopher Newman Hall (1816-1902), minister at Christ Church, Westminster Bridge Road. He is described as 'one of the first to introduce week evening lectures for the working classes, which were much appreciated, he himself being a lecturer of no mean ability. One of his most popular lectures was entitled "The Dignity of Labour", which he delivered in many of the leading manufacturing towns of our country'.[19] Similar work was carried out by Alexander Mackennal (1835-1904), who was minister for a time, like Miall, in Leicester, whence he moved to a long pastorate at Bowdon Downs, Altrincham. He was deeply influenced during his training at London University by F. D. Maurice. Later he co-operated with R. W. Dale and Dean Stanley in a volume of addresses to working people.[20] But the best-known example is Joseph Parker (1830-1902), perhaps the most prominent Congregationalist of his generation after Dale.[21] Among famous public speakers to whom he listened in his youth were Miall and also the Chartist Thomas Cooper. Soon after his settlement at Banbury in 1853 he was already famous as a preacher and debater and was bold enough to hold a public debate with George Jacob Holyoake, the Secularist and co-operative leader, who was generous enough to commend his fairness in controversy and to praise his ability. From Banbury Parker moved to Cavendish chapel, Manchester, then at the height of its prosperity, and then to the Poultry Church in London. At the City Temple, with which he replaced the old Church there, he gave lectures to working class audiences. By this he won the praise of the *British Weekly*.[22] There is reference to the protests of some of his hearers at their unemployment, and at their anger at his enquiry how they can afford to drink and smoke. But it is also claimed that he is popular with them.[23] During the great dock strike of 1889 there were meetings of ministers at the City Temple, sympathetic to the strikers' cause but too late to win much enthusiasm from them.[24] An interview with Tillett and Burns, the strike leaders, was very hostile to the Nonconformists, and especially to Parker, constrasting their lukewarm attitude with the warm support given by Cardinal Manning.[25] The next issue praises a sermon by Parker while regretting that he included in it a 'bitter reply' to Burns.[26] Thus, despite the *British Weekly's* enthusiasm, it seems that Parker was far from wholly successful in winning the support of the workers.

Another method of reaching the working classes was the establishment of settlements in poor districts. Among those instituted by Congregationalists were the following: Browning Hall, Walworth;

two settlements in Canning Town, one a women's settlement and one run by students of Mansfield College ; Lancashire College Settlement in Hulme, Manchester ; Yorkshire United College Settlement in Bradford ; and others at Ipswich, Sheffield and Middlesbrough.[27] There was also the establishment of 'Institutional Churches', largely under the stimulus of Charles Silvester Horne (1865-1914), Congregational minister and Liberal M.P.[28] Examples are Whitefield's Tabernacle, Tottenham Court Road, and Zion, Manchester. Another prominent minister, J. H. Jowett (1863-1923) is said to have had 'wide social interests, founding the Digbeth Institute at Birmingham in 1906'.[29] Less well-known is P. J. Turquand (1826-1902), whose only pastorate was a ministry of thirty-seven years in Walworth, where 'the chapel which had been even for that day exceptionally dark and ugly, was transformed into the light attractive structure now worked as a Congregational settlement under the name of Browning Hall'.[30] A less respectable innovation was the 'Labour Church' movement, combining Labour politics with Nonconformist services.[31] Though of Unitarian origin, there were Congregational links. The Rev. J. B. Wallace founded a 'Brotherhood Church' in London and the Rev. B. J. Harker converted his church into a Labour Church without severing its connection with the Congregational Union.[32] The most popular speaker in such churches was Keir Hardie.[33]

Such developments encouraged the Rev. G. S. Barrett to devote to them his two chairman's addresses to the Congregational Union in 1894. In the first, entitled 'The Secularization of the Pulpit',[34] he points out the increasing prominence of social questions. He claims that religion has brought this about, having emboldened 'labour to ask, not for the doles and charity of the rich, but for a larger and juster share in the wealth labour helps to create'.[35] The change is welcome, but there are dangers too. He quotes Ben Tillett as saying that the Church ought to secure for everyone such benefits as 'good wages, equal rights, and . . . temporal good'. But the great work of the preacher 'is not to save the body from suffering, but to deliver the soul from sin'.[36] Social regeneration can only be obtained as a by-product of strictly religious teaching.

This address gave great offence to Tillett, who made a violent personal attack on Barrett, for which he was rebuked by the *British Weekly*.[37] Undeterred, Barrett returned to the theme in his address to the autumn assembly of the Union at Liverpool, under the title of 'The Secularization of the Church'.[38] He deals largely with the 'appeal to the Churches that they should cease to be impassive spectators of the great political and social movements of the age, and should take a prominent part in the struggle for the economic and social welfare

of the people'.[39] He makes three concessions: that Christians should be active in social movements, that the Church should exercise philanthropy, and that the Church should by example and teaching influence the conscience of society. But direct interference is not the Christian way.

Then he turns to the Labour Churches. After a criticism of their theology he passes to the main grounds of his attack—that they are socially sectional bodies: 'A Labour Church has no more right to be than a Capitalist's Church, or an educated man's Church'.[40] His opponents might have replied that the 'Capitalist's Church' was not unknown. Indeed Barrett admits that the new movement is a reaction to class prejudice:

> It is a rebuke as well as a warning to many of us. If there are Churches where the poor man is not welcome and is not made to feel at home, where the evil system of pew-rents accentuates within the Church those social distinctions which ought to have been left outside, where the man with the gold ring is treated exactly as the Apostle James says he ought not to be treated, they at least ought not to wonder at this attempt of Labour to vindicate its right to a place in the Church of God.[41]

He then quotes the interesting saying of Dr. Fairbairn that the Labour Church is 'a creation more of despair than hope, an attempt to sanctify an evil rather than to cure it. The terms, master and servant, capital and labour, denote relations the Church ought not to know and may not recognise, and to embody such distinctions in her very name is but to run up the flag of surrender'.[42] Barrett sees similar dangers in the 'Pleasant Sunday Afternoon' movement, despite its good work. His addresses show the interest of Nonconformist leaders in the Labour movement at the time.

It may be noted in passing that the 'P.S.A.' movement here referred to had some links with the Labour movement, some Labour leaders being prominent speakers at P.S.A.s, and after a time even Socialist speakers appeared. R. C. K. Ensor states that this last development was more common in Baptist and Congregational Churches than in Methodist, but does not give his source of information.[43]

A more important Congregational influence on the rising tide of Socialism was the little pamphlet entitled *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London*. Historians are at variance on the authorship of this work, though they agree that it had wide influence. It is usually attributed to Andrew Mearns; Ensor gives the name of G. R. Sims,[44] and Francis Williams says it was the production of a group centred on

Stewart Headlam, the Socialist Anglo-Catholic.[45] It was in fact written by W. C. Preston, though under the inspiration of Mearns.

Mearns (1837-1925) was appointed secretary of the London Congregational Union in 1876. Struck by the distress of the East End he carried out a survey, submitting the facts he discovered to William Carnall Preston (1837-1902).[46] Preston had held a pastorate at Wigan during the cotton famine and had been active there in relief work. He had also had a period as a journalist. His obituary describes the pamphlet as 'epoch-making'.[47] It did indeed have a wide influence and is often mentioned in social histories of the period. Apart from giving a great stimulus to the settlement movement, it was the direct origin of the first major effort at slum clearance,[48] and also encouraged the growth of Socialism by advocating legislative and municipal intervention to better the conditions of the people.

Such intervention had already been advocated by Dale at Birmingham, in support of Joseph Chamberlain, the unacknowledged inspiration of much of the early Fabian programme. As the century drew towards its close there was increasing sympathy with Socialism. There was a recovered emphasis on the Church as a community, whose purpose was conceived to be the 'establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth', and this was soon identified with the transformation of the social order. The Baptist John Clifford, a potent influence on all Nonconformists, was a Fabian.[49] A. M. Fairbairn was influenced by Ruskin[50] and R. F. Horton by Arnold Toynbee and Henry George.[51] J. B. Paton was at Nottingham something of what Dale was at Birmingham. He was an active member of the 'Inner Mission', a social service organization, and in 1893 founded the English Land Colonisation Society.[52] George MacDonald, the poet, who was a Congregational minister for three years, was a friend of Maurice, who was godfather to his fourth son and persuaded MacDonald himself to join the Church of England.[53]

A more surprising link with Socialism was W. T. Stead, chief rival claimant to Lord Northcliffe's title of founder of sensational journalism, whose dramatic career ended when the *Titanic* sank in 1912.[54] His inclination towards State Socialism brought a rebuke from the *British Weekly*, with which he was in general a great hero.[55] R. F. Horton provided an occasion for another discussion on this topic in the same journal when he preached a sermon in favour of the demand for a legislative eight hour day.[56]

Horton provides another connection in that he was a fervent admirer of Robert Blatchford, as is recorded in the biography of Blatchford: 'Dr. Horton, a famous Congregationalist minister, compared Blatchford

with Isaiah, Amos, and Micah, and declared that "if Jesus Christ were a man on earth today, He would read the book not only with interest but with approval, and He would say to any officious disciples who took exception to parts of it, 'Forbid him not ; he that is not against Me is for Me' ".[57] The book of which these surprising words were written was *Merrie England.* Later the enthusiasm cooled ; when Blatchford wrote his articles in the *Daily Mail* calling attention to the German threat in 1910 Horton found in them 'a proper fruit of infidelity'.[58] It may be noticed in passing that Blatchford was married in a Congregational Church, Zion, Halifax.[59]

A more notable Congregational adherent than Blatchford was Keir Hardie.[60] His mother and step-father were Secularists, but he attached himself at an early age to the Evangelical Union. He was not much of a denominationalist, and the religion which was so prominent in his later speeches was somewhat detached from any organized Church. Albert Peel includes Hardie in his *Congregational Two Hundred,* but like some others in that list he left little imprint on the denomination to which he nominally belonged, though no doubt it was the source of his evangelical tone and phrases. Francis Williams says that Hardie spoke the language of the Bible and the *Pilgrim's Progress.*[61]

Another prominent Socialist associated with Congregationalism was Fred Jowett, the I.L.P. stalwart, of Bradford. His parents, though not particularly religious, considered themselves 'chapel folk' and were connected with Horton Lane Church.[62] Many of the Bradford Socialists were Secularists, but 'Fred retained some connection with chapel folk and helped to bring in converts who later counted a good deal in the Movement'.[63] It is related that on one occasion there were twelve Nonconformist ministers on the platform of the Liberal candidate at an election meeting when Jowett threatened them : 'If you persist in opposing the Labour Movement there will soon be more reason than ever to complain of the absence of working men from your chapels. We shall establish our own Labour Church'.[64]

Jowett could have had little complaint against the Horton Lane minister of the period (1885-1892), Dr. K. C. Anderson, for he was himself inclined to Socialism. Indeed he said that 'the socialist indictment against modern society is a true bill ; we cannot answer the charge'.[65] From Bradford, Anderson moved to Dundee,[66] remaining there till 1919. It was while he was there that he became associated with the 'New Theology' Movement started by R. J. Campbell in 1906. The present relevance of this controversy is that the 'New Theology' was announced as being the religious counterpart of Socialism. Campbell argued that the 'New Theology' and Socialism

were part of the same movement, and in 1907 a summer school was held at Penmaenmawr 'with the object of linking the movement more closely with social reform'.[67] In fact, however, Campbell had little interest in, or knowledge of, social affairs. The basis of the relationship seems to have been simply that Campbell's theology and Socialism were both new and so ought to be in agreement. One writer comments that 'almost every work by the school bears the word 'new' in its title'.[68] The purpose of the Church was said to be the betterment of the social order ; since many bodies not normally considered Churches carry on this work, the scope of the name has to be widened—sufficiently, according to Campbell, for the Labour Party to be defined as a Church. Anderson seems to have derived his ideas of the Church from Comte and given them a Christian colouring. Another prominent member of the group was T. Rhondda Williams, who like Anderson was a minister for a time in Bradford. Indeed Williams was one of its few members who remained a Congregationalist. He contributed an article to the *Hibbert Journal* in 1912 entitled 'Syndicalism in France and its Relation to the Philosophy of Bergson',[69] denying that the anti-intellectualist tendency of Syndicalism could be traced back to Bergson. (The sentiments quoted sound indeed more like those of Nietzsche). From the point of view of this paper the group represents the extent to which Socialistic tendencies, albeit of a very vague kind, had penetrated the thinking of religious leaders in the years before the first world war. One more example from Congregational sources is a series of articles in the *Expository Times* on 'Social Theories and the Teaching of Jesus', by a Congregational minister, Dugald MacFadyen.[70] Despite the title it is a fairly general survey of Christian Socialism in history and from a theological as well as Biblical standpoint. The series is generally friendly to Christian Socialism, though the final article has some criticisms to offer.

In conclusion it may be noted that some Congregationalists took a fairly prominent part in the growth of the co-operative movement, J. B. Paton, who has already been mentioned, helped to build up the co-operative banks movement.[71] In Redfern's *New History of the C.W.S.* (1938), out of 119 leading officers of the C.W.S. throughout its history who are listed,[72] some information as to religion is given in 39 cases. Of these five are Congregationalists. Charles J. Beckett (1851-1918, C.W.S. Auditor 1903-1918) is described as 'Keen chapel worker (Congregational) ; deacon and leader of young men's class forty years'. J. Holden (1854-1937) was active in the co-operative movement at Manchester and Leeds from about 1884 to 1926. He was a Sunday school and temperance worker in Congregational Churches. A. E. Threadgill (1868-1924) was a director from 1907 to

1924. In his Church life he was secretary of a 'P.S.A.'. Two others, retired but still alive when Redfern wrote, were James F. James, deacon and secretary of a Congregational Church at Cardiff, and James Mastin, whose denomination only is given.

Thus through the Parliamentary 'Lib.-Lab.' Radicals, through Labour Churches, through special efforts to link the workers to the Churches, through the settlements, through the spread of an interest in Socialism, and through some influence on the leading figures of the Labour movement such as Hardie, Congregationalism played some part in the evolution of the modern working-class movement.

STEPHEN H. MAYOR.

[1] *E.g.*, Thomas Binney. See F. R. Salter, 'Congregationalism and the "Hungry Forties"' in *Transactions*, xvii. 115.
[2] Henry Pelling, *The Origins of the Labour Party 1880-1900* (1954), p.136, quoting *Workman's Times* for 27 Jan., 1894.
[3] Élie Halévy, *A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century* (1951 edn.), iv. 390.
[4] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, *s.v.* Miall.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*, *s.v.* Morley.
[7] *Ibid.*, *s.v.* Baines.
[8] Obituary in *Congregational Year Book* (1920), p.106.
[9] *British Weekly*, 1 Nov., 1894, p.24.
[10] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, *s.v.* Stewart.
[11] *Ibid.*, *s.v.* Wood.
[12] See entry in A. Peel, *The Congregational Two Hundred* (1948), p.240.
[13] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, *s.v.* Whitley.
[14] *British Weekly*, 5 Nov., 1886, p.1.
[15] *Ibid.*, 12 Sept., 1890, p.305.
[16] *Ibid.*, p.307.
[17] *Ibid.*, 19 Nov., 1886, p.1.
[18] Halévy,*op.cit.*, p.397.
[19] Obituary in *Congreg. Year Book* (1903), p.179.
[20] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, *s.v.* Mackennal.
[21] See *Congreg. Year Book* (1930), pp.208b-208e ; also *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, *s.v.* Parker.
[22] *British Weekly*, 1 Feb., 1889, p.219.
[23] *Ibid.*, 15 Feb., 1889, p.251.
[24] *Ibid.*, 13 Sept., 1889, p.321.
[25] *Ibid.*, 27 Sept., 1889, p.352.
[26] *Ibid.*, 4 Oct., 1889, p.369.
[27] R. W. Dale, *A History of English Congregationalism* (1907), pp.743f.
[28] Peel, *op.cit.* p.279.
[29] *Ibid.*, p.272.
[30] Obituary in *Congreg. Year Book* (1903), p.205.
[31] Pelling, *op.cit.*, pp.139ff.
[32] *Ibid.*, pp.141f.
[33] *Ibid.*, pp.147f.
[34] Pr. in *Congreg. Year Book* (1895), pp. 19-33.
[35] *Ibid.*, p.22.
[36] *Ibid.*, p.23.
[37] *British Weekly*, 24 May, 1894, p.67.
[38] Pr. in *Congreg. Year Book* (1895), pp. 34-51.
[39] *Ibid.*, p.38.
[40] *Ibid.*, p.42.
[41] *Ibid.*, pp.42f.
[42] *Ibid.*, p.43, quoting A. M. Fairbairn, *Religion in History and in Modern Life* (*1894*), p.62.
[43] R. C. K. Ensor, *England*, *1870-1914* (1936), p.528.
[44] *Ibid.*, p.127.
[45] Francis Williams, *Fifty Years' March* (1949), p.48.
[46] Obituary in *Congreg. Year Book* (1926), p.170.
[47] *Ibid.* (1903), pp.193f.
[48] Ensor, *op.cit.*, p.127.
[49] J. W. Grant, *Free Churchmanship in England*, *1870-1940* (n.d.), pp.172f.
[50] *Ibid.*, p.173.

[51] *Ibid.*
[52] *Ibid.*, p.175.
[53] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, *s.v.* MacDonald.
[54] *Ibid.*, *s.v.* Stead.
[55] *British Weekly*, 15 Nov., 1889, p.41.
[56] *Ibid.*, 5 Nov., 1891, p.25 (summary of sermon) ; p.19 (editorial comment).
[57] L. Thompson, *Robert Blatchford: Portrait of an Englishman* (1951), p.100 (source not given).
[58] *Ibid.*, p.215.
[59] *Ibid.*, pp.21f.
[60] Pelling, *op.cit.*, p.66. The article in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* (by G. D. H. Cole) makes no mention of Hardie's religious views.
[61] Williams, *op.cit.*, p.104.
[62] F. Brockway, *Socialism over Sixty Years* (1946), pp.26f.
[63] *Ibid.*, p.31.
[64] *Ibid.*, p.41.
[65] *Ibid.*, p.31.
[66] This section is based largely on Grant, *op.cit.*, pp.131-45.
[67] *Ibid.*, p.139.
[68] *Ibid.*, p.132, n. 1.
[69] *Hibbert Journal*, xi. 389.
[70] *Expository Times*, xix. 112, 160, 220, 282, 328.
[71] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, *s.v.* Paton.
[72] P. Redfern, *The New History of the C.W.S.* (1938), pp.565-89.

REVIEWS

Cheshire Congregationalism : A Brief History. By S. H. Mayor. (No publisher or price stated.)

The Cheshire Congregational Union will celebrate its triple jubilee in November of this year and its executive felt that the history of Cheshire Congregationalism ought to be brought up to date for the occasion. This and more Mr. Mayor has done. About half his book deals with times within living memory but the earlier part is devoted to a useful sketch of the remoter past, following the monumental researches of William Urwick about a century ago and of F. J. Powicke fifty years ago. The book should be of much local interest, especially this autumn, but it will also be a valuable source of information on the last fifty years to students of our denomination. Appended to the book is a statistical account of modern Congregational church life. There are tables showing the frequency of church meetings and communion services, and others dealing with the service books in use and the observation of church festivals. The orders of service in use are examined ; we even learn that two churches have vespers in the morning. All this will delight the student of our church life both today and tomorrow. Naturally much of the book describes the rise and fall of particular churches, changes in their character and changes in Union organization, finance and personnel. Mr. Mayor pauses to pay his respects as he witnesses the last resolutions on public matters passing through the Union's Assembly, and the obituary notice he writes, describing the development and decline of this part of the work, is most interesting. Rightly, he refrains from saying much about personalities in latter years. We wish he had found a little more space to extend his brief account of Captain Scott, the military missionary of the Evangelical Revival, whose deeds and colourful personality make a story which every Sunday School scholar in a Cheshire Congregational church should hear this November. However, Mr. Mayor's book is a good record. We hope that it will sell better than Powicke's did and that Unions will continue to encourage histories like this.

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A Golden Milestone : Ilfracombe Congregational Church 1687-1955. By C. R. J. Griffin : Ilfracombe Congregational Church, boards 7s. 6d ; paper 5s.

If anyone is thinking of writing a history of his church he would do well to read this book. From records that are often dull and sometimes tantalizingly scanty, Mr. Griffin manages to present us with an entertaining and useful story. The book has something of the flavour of a Trevelyan Social History, for Mr. Griffin carefully and delightfully keeps the story of the developing church within the context of the developing town. Few histories of particular churches succeed so well in getting the reader to feel what it would have been like to have been a member of the congregation long ago.

JOHN H. TAYLOR.