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TRANSACTIONS

CONGREGATIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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CONGREGATIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Editorial

The Annual Meeting : Dr. John Newton

The 61st Annual Meeting, with the Rev. R. F. G. Calder in the chair, took place at Westminster Chapel on 18 May, 1960. Fifty-six members and friends enjoyed a lucid and cogent lecture on Puritanism in Yorkshire under the early Stuarts, by Dr. John Newton of Richmond College. This paper, which has had to be reduced somewhat, though not we trust in any essentials, appears in this issue. We are glad to have it. It is the fruit of much research done for a thesis which like many others has had to remain unprinted. We congratulate the author.

1662-1962 Commemoration Committee

Members should be aware that the joint committee of the Three Denominations has issued a bulletin (price 3d.) in which plans for the Tercentenary are outlined. Mention is made of a popular book to be written by the Rev. F. G. Healey and a sketch of the contents of the symposium edited by Dr. Norman Sykes and Dr. G. F. Nuttall appears. It is announced that the main month for commemoration is to be October. Probably as important as anything in this bulletin is a carefully prepared statement giving the attitude of the committee, which carries much moral authority it should be remembered, towards the Commemoration.

Oliver Cromwell and the Fourth Form

History would have been so dull an affair to many of us that we would never have started reading it but for its romance. It recalls memories of Scott in the Christmas holidays and Ainsworth in the corner of the cricket field. Unhappily one has to erase much of what one absorbed as an adolescent. Young people who take up Mr. Bernard Martin's *Our Chief of Men* (Longmans, 1960, 8s. 6d.) will not need to unlearn anything they find there. They will have a sound foundation. As Maurice Ashley in the Introduction says, the narrative is 'told in a way suited to young people'. Mr. Martin has made full use of the excitement of the times to sustain interest, yet, on the other hand, he has courageously and aptly touched upon subjects such as the nature of the religious controversies and the question of Cromwell's sense of divine providence, which the fearful and unbelieving would have omitted. Finally, there are the illustrations, many taken from Royalist playing-cards. Here one can even see a picture of a Puritan dancing school, whose central character is none other than cupid.

C.U.S.

The Rev. Harry Escott published recently a new, comprehensive *History of Scottish Congregationalism* for the Congregational Union of Scotland. Unfortunately it arrived too late for review in this issue of *Transactions*; a full review will appear next year. Twenty chapters are devoted to the development of Congregationalism and a further 130 pages to a chronicle of the churches, lists of ministers, &c.

Our New Look

Transactions appears in a new dress, modernized in format and cover. By rearranging the space on the pages it is hoped that the lines will be easier to read. All this has only been made possible because of the sympathetic and painstaking interest of our printers. Moreover, invaluable help has been given us by a friend and typographer, Mr. Geoffrey Timbrell, who has acted as our guide and designer.

However, the content matters most. It has been suggested that we might print portions from Separatist and Congregationalist literature as far as our cramped space will permit. There is no anthology of our literature available for the bookshelf and not everyone who might care to refer to the words of Browne or Ames or Cotton has time or opportunity to reach a library which can meet the need. Over a period of years we may build up a modest anthology.

THE YORKSHIRE PURITAN MOVEMENT 1603 - 1640

There has been no systematic attempt made to write the history of Yorkshire Puritanism in the period 1603-1640. The Rev. Bryan Dale collected materials for such a study, but his *Yorkshire Puritanism and Early Nonconformity* (no date, Preface 1909), valuable though it is, consists solely of brief biographical notes on the ejected ministers of 1660 and 1662. This work, published posthumously and edited by the Rev. T. G. Crippen, makes little reference, any more than does J. G. Miall's *Congregationalism in Yorkshire* (1868), to the period before 1640. For the rest, some account of Puritanism in particular Yorkshire centres is given by antiquaries like Thoresby and Whitaker (who deal with Leeds), and Hunter (who covers Sheffield); but we look in vain for anything comprehensive.

Yet there is no lack of material, both manuscript and printed. At York, there are the episcopal Visitation Books for the period, the Act Books of the Northern High Commission, and Cause Papers relating to cases of nonconformity tried in the Archbishop's own courts. In the manuscript collections of the British Museum, there are letters and papers, including a summary of a Puritan Survey of the Deanery of Doncaster made in 1604, which gives a description of all the livings in the Deanery, together with a judgment upon the character and theological leanings of its clergy. Finally, there are two volumes of exceptional interest, for as far as I know they are the only examples of their kind which have survived, which consist of contemporary notes of the sermons preached at the West Riding Exercises, where the leading Puritan ministers of the Leeds-Halifax district foregathered.

Strictly the Puritans were those who, rejecting the way of separation from the Church of England, were bent on *purifying* it from within. At its fullest, their aim was to substitute for the Prayer Book and episcopacy, a Presbyterian form of worship, discipline and government. At the other end of the scale, there were Puritans who merely scrupled to wear the surplice, or adopt certain ritual acts like kneeling at communion or the sign of the cross in baptism. Between these extremes, there were numerous gradations. In general, however, we may say that the radical brand of Puritanism which was predominant under Elizabeth, gave way under James I to a movement marked by greater moderation and restraint.

This change of temper is apparent in the Yorkshire Puritan movement, where any attempt to assess its strength must err on the

side of conservatism, because of the existence of a class of 'conformable Puritans'. The conforming Puritan, whose sympathies were Puritan but who avoided open nonconformity, is sometimes thought to be a rather mythical beast. For Yorkshire, at any rate, there is no doubt of his existence, as the concrete example of Robert Moore, rector of Guiseley, shows. In 1587, he had been charged with nonconformity and was said to have received copies of the Marprelate Tracts. He admitted in what was no doubt a masterly understatement that he, 'had not precisely observed all things in the common prayer booke as the law required'.[1] When he came to make his will, however, in 1642, it is clear that he had moved to the position of a conformable Puritan. He then deplored the contentions in the Church over,

> things of small matter not touching matter but manner, not substance but Cerimonyes, not piety but pollity, not devotion, but decency, not contience but Comelynesse; wherein for my selfe, I doe confesse, that as I could never take upon me to bee a resolute Patron of such humaine ordinances, soe could I never find iust cause of sufficient waight to warrant my selfe or any other to oppose or renounce them beinge commaunded by Lawfull Authority; but rather regardinge the peace of our Church; the liberty of the Gospell and obedience to Authoritye; I have held it to bee fitt and Convenient to submitt my selfe to a wise and discreete Tolleratinge and using of them till the time of reformation . . .[2]

Another conformable Puritan was Andrew Marvell, lecturer at Hull, whose son, the poet of the same name, testified that his father, 'lived with some reputation both for piety and learning; and was, moreover, a conformist to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, though I confess none of the most overrunning or eager in them'.[3] The existence of this class of conformable Puritans helps to explain the fact that of some 180 Yorkshire ministers identified as Puritans in this period, only 75 left any mark of their nonconformity in the ecclesiastical records. The others are known as Puritans through more specifically Puritan sources: the 1604 Survey of Doncaster Deanery, the notes on the West Riding Exercises (which include the names of all the preachers), and their own writings, as well as through close association with other, known Puritans.

[1] Cf. A. Peel, Ed.: *The Seconde Parte of a Register*. London. 1915., ii. 243ff., 254.
[2] Borthwick Institute, York. Archbishops' Registers. R.I. 32. f. 107.
[3] H. Coleridge: *The Life of Andrew Marvell*. Hull. 1835. p. 6.

Professor Dickens has shown how negligible Yorkshire Puritanism appears to have been under Elizabeth.[4] But it made rapid strides in the seventeenth century. The 38 Puritan Ministers of 1603 had risen to 96 by 1633 out of a total of 438 clergy listed in the Archbishop's Exhibit Book from the visitation of that year; they still numbered, despite opposition and emigration, some 65 in 1640. This growth was not uniform throughout the diocese, but occurred mainly in certain well-defined areas. The main centres were Leeds, Halifax and Sheffield in the West Riding, Hull and Beverley in the East Riding, and the city of York. The main growth took place in the West Riding, and it is noticeable how Puritanism spread in the many chapelries dependent upon the parish church of a large and growing parish like Leeds or Halifax.

Within this general growth of Yorkshire Puritanism, there are some foreshadowings—as yet a cloud no bigger than a man's hand—of the emergence of both Congregational and Quaker groups in Yorkshire. We may look first at the Congregationalists. In 1607, Thomas Toller, Puritan vicar of Sheffield 1588-1635, was presented in the Archbishop's visitation as, 'a precisian if not a browniste', and as 'no observer of the booke of comen prayer nor anie way conformable to order'.[5] This suspicion of separatism probably attached itself to him because of his early association with Richard Clifton, rector of Babworth, Notts., and later pastor of the separatist church at Scrooby.[6] (Scrooby is only about 16 miles from Sheffield, and it was in 1607 that the first proceedings were taken in the York High Commission against the Scrooby separatists.) Again, in 1633, eight parishioners of East Ardsley near Leeds were presented for being, each one, 'a separatiste, and for wilfully absenting himselfe from his Parish Church . . . refusing to receive the Communion kneelinge', and for, 'vilifying the booke of Common Praier'.[7] We have here apparently an anticipation of the Congregational Church of West Ardsley, the first in the West Riding, formed in 1653 by Christopher Marshall, and of which James Nayler was a member.[8] Continuity of growth between the

[4] Cf. Professor Dickens' articles in, *Yorkshire Archeological Journal*. xxxv. 1943., p. 180; and *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*. Jahrgang 43. 1952., p. 68.

[5] Borthwick Institute. Archbishops' Visitation Books. R.VI.B.3.

[6] Cf. J. Hunter: *Collections concerning the church or congregation of Protestant separatists formed at Scrooby* &c. 1854., p. 48; B. Dale: *Yorkshire Puritanism and Early Nonconformity*, p. 58n.

[7] Borthwick Institute. R.VI.B.4.

[8] Cf. A. G. Matthews: *Calamy Revised*. Oxford. 1934., s.v. Marshall, Christopher; W. Smith: *History of Morley*, p. 146.

Puritanism of 1603-40 and later nonconformity in the county, is apparent when we analyze the distribution of the ejected ministers of 1660 and 1662. Of 121 ministers out of a total of 127 ejected in the county whose place of ejection is known, 77 were deprived in the West Riding, 26 in the East Riding, 14 in the North Riding, and the rest in York ;—which is the same order of numerical importance into which the Ridings fall when adjudged by the number of Puritan ministers in them before 1640.

There are also signs that the extremer shades of Puritanism in the West Riding proved for some a half-way house along the road to Quakerism. Admittedly, there were some questing spirits who never found satisfaction in orthodox Puritanism, or were even repelled by their first contact with it. Such a one was young William Dewsbury, the later Quaker leader, who at the age of thirteen, in the year 1634, prevailed upon his parents, then living at Allerthorpe, near Pocklington in the East Riding, to apprentice him to a cloth-maker of Holbeck, Leeds, because he had heard, 'of a people about Leeds that walked more strictly in profession of the name of God then any did where I was'.[9] The Leeds Puritans, however, despite their 'much speaking of God which they call preaching', did not satisfy this youthful seeker. In the Deanery of Craven, on the other hand, we find folk drawn into a popular Puritan movement which centred about Roger Brearley, curate of Grindleton, and which by its doctrinal emphases made them readily receptive of Quakerism.

While at Grindleton in 1616-17, Brearley was brought before the York High Commission on the charge of maintaining certain 'erronious positions'.[10] Fifty articles have survived, which purport to contain 'erronious opinions gathered from the mouth of Bryerley and his hearers',[11] and which apparently refer to this trial. In these articles, there is a strong emphasis on fuller revelations of the Spirit, and more than a suggestion of Antinomianism. The following pair are typical :

> A motion riseing from the spiritt is more to be rested in, then the word itself ; neither dare they take their ground from the woord, because the devill may wrest it to his purpose . . .
> The child of God in the power of grace doth performe every

[9] Wm. Dewsbury : *The Discovery of the great enmity of the Serpent.* 1655., pp. 12ff.

[10] Borthwick Institute. Act Books of the High Commission. AB.9. ff.138v, 144, 150, 155v, 158, 167v, 176.

[11] Bodleian Library. Rawlinson MSS.399.f.196 ; printed in T. Sippell : *Zur Vorgeschichte des Quäkertums.* 1920., pp. 50ff.

> duety soe well, that to aske pardonne for failing in matter or maner is a sinne . . .

Several articles indicate the powerful influence Brearley must have wielded over the people of Grindleton and district, and the intense devotion of his personal following. One asserted, 'That the Arke of the covenant is shutt upp and pinned within the walls of Grindleton chappell'; another, 'That they have received such abundance of grace that now they canne stand without the use of the meanes; and soe will doe when mr Bryerley goes, whom they terme the Angell of England, and the onelie one of a thousand . . .'. Whether or not Brearley was 'the Angell of England', his teaching was to spread far from Grindleton, so that in 1624 Thomas Shepard, then a Cambridge undergraduate and later one of the Yorkshire Puritans, experienced a passing attraction towards 'Grindletonism', while he was in the throes of religious doubt:

> I felt all manner of temptations to all kinds of religions, not knowing which I should choose; whether education might not make me believe what I had believed, and whether, if I had been educated up among the Papists, I should not have been as verily persuaded that Popery is the truth, or Turcisme is the truth. And at last I heard of Grindleton, and I did question whether that glorious estate of perfection might not be the truth . . .[12]

Discounting popular exaggerations of his teaching, we may see, notwithstanding, from his own writings how Brearley's doctrine of Christian liberty could develop into Antinomianism in the minds of his simple hearers. He wrote in verse of those,

> Whose heart God fills with such continual joy;
> In his great love, such strength against their sin;
> That faith in them, hath long unshaken been.
> In which his love, their souls are so set free,
> As they therein can walk at liberty.
> Such as that sin, can neither break their peace,
> Nor upright walking, confidence increase.[13]

Such teaching, continued by his successor and disciple, John Webster, helped to prepare the soil for the later flowering of Quakerism in this part of Yorkshire.[14]

[12] Cit. A. Young: *Chronicles of the first planters of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, from* 1623 *to* 1636. Boston. 1846., p. 507.
[13] Roger Brearley: *A Bundle of Soul-Convincing Directing and Comforting Truths.* Edinburgh. 1670. Pt.ii.7.
[14] Cf. G. F. Nuttall: *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience.* Oxford. 1946., pp. 178-180.

There was variety not only in the shades of Yorkshire Puritan opinion, but also in the treatment it received at the hands of the diocesan authorities. This treatment varied considerably according to the prevailing attitude of the Archbishop. Bishop Hensley Henson, in his *Studies in English Religion in the Seventeenth Century*, points out that, 'The idiosyncracy of the bishop, or his personal beliefs, did count for much in his diocesan government. Puritans were harried in one diocese, caressed in another',[15]—and, we may add from experience of the York diocese, caressed by one Archbishop and harried by his successor.

Archbishop Matthew Hutton, who held the see of York from 1594 to 1606, seems to have had a distinct sympathy with moderate Puritan opinion at least, and to have seen the papist as the real enemy of the Established Church. Archbishop Tobias ('Toby') Matthew (1606-28), was equally strongly opposed to Roman Catholicism (which in 1606 claimed his own son as a convert); but showed the Puritans a more active sympathy than his predecessor had done. The West Riding Exercises developed under his favourable influence, and gave to many of the Yorkshire Puritans a focus for their activities. His zeal for preaching naturally commended the Archbishop to the Puritans of his diocese, one of whom, in a controversial work against the papists, referred to, 'Tobith Mathew, the most reverend Archbishop of Yorke at this day: who being almost eightie years old, preacheth more Sermons in a Yeere, then you can prove have bin preached by all your Popes since Gregory the great his daies'.[16] The available evidence shows that Matthew deprived no minister for Puritanism, and used the High Commission court against people like the Scrooby separatists (1607-8), and Roger Brearley the suspected Familist (1616-17), rather than against the ordinary Puritans.

The wind of change began to blow under the next Archbishop (Samuel Harsnet, 1628-31), who, in Fuller's words, was, 'a zealous assertor of ceremonies', and its force increased during the archiepiscopate of Richard Neile (1631-41), a noted supporter and former chaplain of Archbishop Laud. The results of Neile's increased rigour in exacting conformity, were immediately apparent. At his first visitation (1633), 46 ministers were presented for Puritan offences, whereas the maximum for any previous visitation of the period was six in 1619. His temper is well illustrated by his threat

[15] H. H. Henson: *Studies in English Religion in the Seventeenth Century*. 1903., p. 215.

[16] Alexander Cooke: *The Abatement of Popish Braggs*. 1625., p. 49.

to John Shaw, the newly-appointed curate of All Saints, Pavement, at York, who, the Archbishop believed, had been brought in by the Lord Mayor, John Vaux, 'to head the Puritan party' against him: 'I tell you,' Neile declared uncompromisingly, 'I will break Vaux and the Puritan party'.[17]

In his report of 1638, Neile claimed to have eliminated open nonconformity,—but only at the price of driving it underground or overseas:

> I doe not finde in my dioces any inclination to innovation, in any thing which concerneth either the doctrine or the discipline of the Church of England. Only I finde, that too many of your Maiesties subiects, inhabiting in the east parts of yorkeshire, are gone into new England . . .[18]

Of some half-dozen ministers who are known to have emigrated from the diocese, the most eminent was probably Ezekiel Rogers, rector of Rowley, East Riding, who sailed for New England in 1638, and took with him some twenty of his parishioners, 'godly men and most of them of some estate'.[19] The impression yielded by the few scattered references to the Yorkshire emigrants, is that they were mainly ministers and the more well-to-do of their parishioners. It does not appear, either that many poorer folk went with them, or that the emigrants as a body were anything more than a small minority of the Yorkshire Puritans.

One of the key questions to be asked about the Puritan movement, concerns the measure of lay support which it enjoyed. Here the most diverse views have been put forward, ranging from J. R. Tanner's confident assertion that, 'the Puritanism which asked for a further reformation of doctrine and ritual than Elizabeth had been willing to allow, was the creed of the greater part of the members of the Church of England',[20] to the equally dogmatic statement of R. G. Usher, that, 'the strength of the Puritan movement must have lain almost entirely in its clergy. It was a movement of the ministers and for the ministers, who heeded little the desires of their congregations'.[21] Neither of these rather sweeping generalisations is true of the picture which confronts us in the Puritanism of early seventeenth-century Yorkshire.

[17] C. Jackson: *Yorkshire Diaries and Autobiographies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, (Surtees Society Pubns. Vol. lxv. 1877), p. 129.
[18] Public Record Office. State Papers Domestic. S.P.16.ccccxii.45.
[19] J. Winthrop: *A journal of the . . . settlement of Massachusetts* &c., ed. J. Savage. 2 vols. 1825-6 & 1853., i.294.
[20] J. R. Tanner: *Constitutional Documents of James I.* Cambridge. 1930., p. 46.
[21] R. G. Usher: *The Reconstruction of the English Church.* 1910. i.268.

The evidence of the visitation records is, indeed, inconclusive at this point. The fact that a minister is presented for nonconformity does not necessarily mean that the whole parish was against him. (Churchwardens were by no means always representative in their views, and were liable to be subject to pressure from powerful parishioners.) On the other hand, the common absence of presentments against known Puritans, would seem to argue that the majority of their people were at least not strongly hostile to them, since any conspiracy of silence could be broken by a single person's informing against a minister to the authorities. As a more positive indication of lay Puritanism, we have occasional presentations of lay people for nonconformity, including one which describes a sizable demonstration in the Minster at Beverley in 1615. It involved 'threscore or thereabouts' of the parishioners, who met in the chancel, sang a psalm, and refused to disperse when approached by Thomas Brabbes their minister. When he warned them, 'that these ther metings were against the Canons, and that the King, the Archbishop and Bishops of the land did patronize the said Canons', they refused to be overawed. One of them, Alexander Spalding, 'peremptorilie replyed and said In despight of all the divels that did oppose themselves against ther metinge he would staie',[22] and the rest endorsed his attitude.

There is more detailed evidence for the large centres—Halifax, Leeds, Sheffield—where the great strength of Yorkshire Puritanism lay. For Sheffield, there is evidence from the records of the Archbishop's court. The evasiveness of the witnesses and churchwardens of the parish, when the latter were cited for nonconformity in 1635, argues a real measure of popular support for Thomas Toller, their Puritan vicar. Similarly at Leeds the controversial vicar, Alexander Cooke, appears to have had genuine and widespread lay support, to judge from the popular rhymes quoted in a Star Chamber suit of 1622. These rhymes depict Cooke as the champion of the commonwealth against the oppression of the townspeople by the rich and irreligious merchant, John Metcalfe, who was the leading plaintiff in the case. Metcalfe was, 'This Calf', who,

. . . of late occasion tooke,
to quarrell with our learned Cooke,
A man whose life and learning doth appeare,
in towne and cittie both to the most pure.
Metcalfe on the other hand was the,
cheifest of all our stapling Crewe,

[22] Borthwick Institute, R.VI.A.18.

a sect I think the devill did spewe,
Amongst them all I doe knowe none,
but cunning, cheating knaves each one,
Whoe make a prey on Clothiers poore ;
Gehenna gapes for them therefore
With brazen face they met our knight,
when to this towne hee came to right
What had bin wronge and wee undone . . .[23]

Independent confirmation of this popular Puritan feeling in Leeds, is found in the writings of John Walker, a local author with a severe anti-Puritan bias. His *The English Pharisee, or Religious Ape* (1616), is a diatribe against Puritanism which has an obvious local reference. He refers to the vicar as, ' this unnatural brother ', who, ' hath not only broken that union, which should bee amongst Christs members, and so fallen from Christ himselfe, but doth likewise dayly withdraw infinite multitudes, by his life and doctrin, to become deadly haters of their brethren '. Again, he describes how Cooke's followers, ' using their exercises after thy Sermons, in the Church, some one of them stands up, to speake, and expostulate of things that have beene spoken before, and to the number of an hundred, or more, or lesse, doe attend him '.[24]

Reference to the corporation records of the Yorkshire towns, also helps in any attempt to assess the amount of lay support enjoyed by Puritanism. At Beverley, for instance, the records show that William Crashawe, a Puritan poet and divine, was maintained as town preacher from 1599 to 1605,[25] a fact which makes the popular Puritan demonstration of 1615 more intelligible. The more detailed evidence available for York and Hull, points to a strongly Puritan influence within the city governments, and to a greater or less extent among the townspeople themselves. To take Hull first, there is certainly good reason to doubt the glib verdict upon the religious state of the town which was accepted by John Taylor (the ' water-poet ', so-called from his frequent journeyings along English waterways), on his visit of 1622. In his eulogistic poem, ' A Merry Wherry-Ferry-Voyage, or Yorke for my money ', he recorded that at Hull,

. . . one more thing I there was told,
Not one recusant all the towne doth hold,

[23] Public Record Office. Star Chamber Proceedings. St.Ch.8.215/6.
[24] John Walker : *The English Pharisee* &c., Dedicatory Epistle and p. 100.
[25] The Guildhall, Beverley. Corporation MSS. Abstract of Corporation Minute Book 1597-1660. f.5, and cf. ff.13, 19.

Nor (as they say) thar's not a Puritan,
Or any nose-wise fool precisian,
But great and small, with one consent and will,
Obey his maiesties iniunctions still.[26]

The town records, however, suggest otherwise. As early as 1598, the city council banned all plays and interludes, and imposed a fine of two and sixpence upon any citizen who attended such productions.[27] A minute of 1629 showed that its attitude was unchanged.[28] A Star Chamber suit of 1609/10 is even more revealing of the religious state of the city. It came as the climax of a long period of friction between the vicar of Hull, Theophilus Smith, and the city fathers. Smith, though his father, Melchior, a previous vicar, had been a turbulent Puritan, apparently found the dominant religious opinion in the city too advanced for his liking. He was alleged to have said of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses, that ' the moste of them were puritynes, Brownistes and sectaries '.[29] John Graves, an ex-Mayor, admitted that there were Separatists in the city, but claimed that, ' the Maior and Aldermen doe Labor to suppresse Brownystes puritanes and other sectaries for he hath knowne some Brownistes apprehended their and deteyned in prison or kept till the Lorde Archbishopp his grace of York had knowledge thereof '.[30] The council may well have drawn the line at countenancing sectaries, but the evidence suggests that Smith's denunciation of advanced religious opinion in the city government, came too near the truth for the burgesses' comfort.

At York, the city records reveal that both the City Council, and the more popular Common Council (composed of representatives of the trade guilds), were equally zealous for the provision of sound and godly preaching in the town. In February 1608, moreover, there was presented to the City Council a petition, subscribed by 89 citizens, claiming that 20 times their number would sign if asked, and requesting, ' a more generall increase and spreadinge of the word of God in everie particular warde of the Cittie, for the redresse and reformacion of manie evills, and abuses, committed in prophaninge of the sabbaoth daie, a greivous synne against God '.[31] The corporation responded to this demand for more preaching by appointing Puritans to the office of town preacher.

[26] Cit. J. Symons : *High Street, Hull.* Hull. 1862., pp. 123ff.
[27] Hull City Library. A. De la Pryme : MS. History of Hull. f.93.
[28] The Guildhall, Hull. Corporation MSS. Bench Books. Vol. 5. f.101.
[29] PRO. Star Chamber Proceedings. St.Ch.8.79/5. f.8.
[30] *Ibid.*, f.1.
[31] The Guildhall, York. Corporation MSS. House Books. Vol. 33.ff. 111-112.

Dr. Henry Hooke, who filled the place from 1615-20, was a non-conforming Puritan, and in trouble with the religious authorities in both 1604 and 1631. At the latter date, he was charged in the London High Commission, 'For preaching that noe ecclesiasticall men ought to have temporall power', an assertion which Bishop Neile stigmatized as 'fitt for an Anabaptist'.[32] His successor, Henry Aiscough (1624-42), was a moderate Puritan, but as vicar of All Saints, Pavement (1632-62), had as his curate the more radical John Shaw.

The amount of concern and money which the city expended on its special preachers, speaks eloquently of its zeal for sermons. A protest, however, against the current adulation of the preacher was heard in the case of Thomas Nicholson, who on 20 February 1615, was summoned before the City Council,

> for that he did on mondaie the xiiith of Februarie instant when people were Coming from a sermond (sic) at Allhallowe Church in verie scornfull manner openly saye, that it was never good world since ther were so many sermons, and in cursing manner wishing they were all hanged and at (*i.e. had*) the devill throweing snowe balls at them which had bene at the sermond . . .

He was duly ordered to stand the next Sunday at Allhallows church door in sermon time, with a paper on his head announcing his offence: 'for sayeing it was never good world since this religion of sermons came up'.[33] All the evidence suggests, however, that 'this religion of sermons' prevailed with general support in York, and Nicholson's protest appears to have been an isolated one. Puritan feeling in York was reflected not only in the choice of official preachers and in the city's social legislation, but also in prolonged friction between the corporation and the ecclesiastical authorities of the Minster, where most of the higher clergy were Laudians and the Dean, during the 1630's (the fiercest period of strife), the notorious Dr. John Scott, who eventually died in disgrace in the King's Bench Prison.

On the more general question as to why Yorkshire Puritanism flourished so notably in the towns, it seems clear that commercial contacts, especially through fairs and markets, were an important factor in this development. We may take a concrete instance of traders from Hull and York coming under the influence of Puritan preaching at Stourbridge Fair. William Perkins was the preacher,

[32] S. R. Gardiner: *Reports of Cases in the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission*. Camden Society. 1886., p. 276.
[33] Guildhall, York. House Books. Vol. 36. f. 54.

and his sermon, *A Faithfull and Plaine Exposition upon the two first verses of the second Chapter of Zephaniah*, was published by the Beverley preacher, William Crashawe, in 1606. Perkins at one point exhorted his hearers to, 'Carry home this lesson to your great townes & cities where you dwel', and Crashawe or the person who originally transcribed the sermon added in a marginal note :

> There were then present inhabitants of London, York, Cambridge, Oxford, Norwich, Bristow, Ipswich, Colchester, Worcester, Hull, Lin, Manchester, Kendall, Coventry, Nottingham, Northampton, Bathe, Lincoln, Darby, Leicester, Chester, Newcastle, and of many other most populous cities and townes of England.[34]

In addition to the extensive commercial intercourse within Yorkshire, between the West Riding clothing towns, York, and the port of Hull, the latter town, with its trade to the Protestant Low Countries, was even more open to the influence of advanced religious opinion, and was well placed as a port of entry for the books of Protestant exiles.[35]

Moreover, there were in the towns certain basic conditions which made them more readily receptive of Puritanism than the country parishes. There was the stimulus to thought and discussion provided by a larger and more educated population. The size of the population also brought clergy together in greater numbers, and this concentration made it easier for them to exchange ideas and to organize themselves. There was the spirit of municipal independence and civic pride, which though it had an economic basis was by no means merely or mainly economic in its essence and expression. Towns thus used the opportunities given by municipal freedom to assert themselves against ecclesiastical authority by appointing lecturers and preachers of their own from among the Puritan clergy whom the universities were producing in increasing numbers. Where the Church was present in the form of a rival corporation, as at York with its cathedral chapter, the challenge to civic pride was more pointed, and the resulting antagonism correspondingly sharper.

Finally, we may glance briefly at the various ways in which Puritan belief and practice were propagated in Stuart Yorkshire. The nearest approach to any comprehensive form of organisation, was the meeting of a number of West Riding ministers in a series

[34] W. Crashawe, Ed. : Wm. Perkins : *A Faithfull and Plaine Exposition upon the two first verses of the second Chapter of Zephaniah*. 1606., p. 15.

[35] Cf. A. E. Trout : Nonconformity in Hull : *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*. Vol. ix.30.

of Exercises. Contemporary manuscript notes of the sermons preached at these gatherings, name 47 ministers as taking their turn in the preaching. Of the 27 who can be identified with reasonable certainty, some 20 ministered in Leeds and Halifax, or in parishes close to them. The other six or seven came from parishes further afield in Yorkshire, or, in two cases, from Lancashire. There is evidence of a number of personal connexions between the Lancashire and Yorkshire Puritans, and the initiation of the West Riding Exercises may well have owed something to the example and inspiration of the Lancashire series, which had been begun at Manchester in 1585. The Exercises proved something of a haven for ministers who had been silenced or deprived for their nonconformity. John Boyes, for instance, a lecturer at Halifax, preached frequently in the Exercises, though he had been previously 'banished out of Kent for his non-Conformity'.[36] Again, there were eight preachers who seem to have been without a cure during at least part of the time covered by the notes on the Exercises. They were nearly all young men, who had either recently left the University or had only recently been ordained, and they all preached more often than did the older ministers taking part. May not the Exercises, then, by design or not, have possibly served as a training-ground for younger Puritan ministers, and offered them a pulpit before they had obtained a charge of their own? The Exercises, indeed, as the lineal descendants of the Elizabethan 'Prophesyings', seem to have combined the elements of preaching service, ministers' fraternal, and sermon class.

Another way in which the Puritans sought to propagate their ideas was through the collection of data concerning livings and incumbents, in which the parlous condition of the Church was reflected, if not exaggerated. Several of these surveys were prepared for the Hampton Court Conference, and the following ones have survived, for Essex, Lancashire, Staffordshire, Sussex, and the Deanery of Doncaster. The Doncaster one is fuller than the others, and gives a note, not only of a man's preaching ability, but also of his attitude to the ceremonies. There seems too to have been a reasonable attempt at objectivity, as the following typical entry shows: Mr. Spaulden, rector of Thurnscoe, is, 'A preacher honest, but simple: Content with the Ceremonyes and would bee so without them'.[37] There is no evidence of similar

[36] Cit. J. Hunter: *The Rise of the Old Dissent exemplified in the Life of Oliver Heywood*, pp. 76-7.

[37] British Museum. Additional MSS.4293. f.41.

surveys after the beginning of James I's reign, and the Puritans seem to have turned to other, and less official, means of propaganda in their efforts to advance their cause.

One such means was the employment of itinerant preachers. Their work, while by its very nature difficult to fit into any formal scheme of organisation, was of undoubted importance in the spread of Puritanism in Yorkshire. It was one of the features of Puritanism which its local opponents most abominated. One of these called the Puritans 'wandering stars', and compared them to sturdy beggars and vagrants.[38] Another referred to, 'your *fratres sportulantes*, your Fryer mendicants, stipendiary Preachers, together with your rambling crue of wandring Levites; who though they seeme to hate nothing more than a Bishop, and double benefice, yet would they willingly . . . be busie Superintendents over all the Parishes in a Countrey'.[39] Not even all the Puritans themselves approved of itinerancy, as criticism voiced in the Exercises and elsewhere shows. Yet some men were virtually forced to become itinerants, by the pressure of the bishops upon them. One such was Thomas Shepard, who ministered at Earl's Colne, Essex, until silenced by Archbishop Laud. After Laud had tried (1631) to arrest him, he decided to flee. In his own words:

> now I perceived that I could not stay in Colne without danger; and hereupon receiving a letter from Mr. Ezekiel Rogers, then living at Rowley, in Yorkshire, to encourage me to come to the knight's house, called Sir Richard Darley, dwelling at a town called Buttercrambe, and the knight's two sons . . . promising me £20 a year for their part, and the knight promising me my table, and the letters sent to me crying with that voice of the man of Macedonia, 'Come and help us', hereupon I resolved to follow the Lord to so remote and strange a place . . .[40]

He preached in the Buttercrambe region for a year, was forced to withdraw to Northumberland, and finally left for New England.

Other posts which afforded greater freedom from ecclesiastical discipline, were those of lecturer and family chaplain. The lecturer had not the ties of a benefice, and being paid from an independent source—usually a municipal corporation or a private bequest—virtually confined himself to preaching duties. Chaplains stood in a relation to their patrons very similar to that of the lecturers

[38] J. Walker: *The English Pharisee*, p. 31.
[39] Richard Perrott: *Jacob's Vowe, or The True Historie of Tithes*, 1627., p. 56.
[40] Cit. A. Young: *Chronicles of . . . Massachusetts Bay* &c., p. 520.

vis-à-vis the bodies which appointed them, and enjoyed an independence which was not less securely, if more narrowly based. Richard Rhodes, for example, was chaplain in the Puritan household of Sir Thomas Hoby of Hackness, North Riding, *c.*1599-1604. His patrons held a low opinion of the local minister, and seem to have regarded their chaplain as the *de facto* pastor of the parish. Lady Margaret Hoby despondently recorded in her diary for 1599, '. . . went to church, wher I hard Mr. Pamer speak, but to small profitte to any : thence I returned and privately praied, lamentinge the miserie of godes visible Church'. Later, she wrote that, 'Mr. Hoby, Mr. Rhodes, and myselfe, talked on matters Concerninge the good of the paritioners', and mentioned, 'some talke with Mr. Rhodes touchinge some of his flock'.[41]

As ministers in the parishes, as preachers trained and quickened by their gatherings in the Exercises, as itinerants, lecturers, family chaplains,—in all these rôles and by their constant preaching of the Word, the Yorkshire Puritans sought to advance their cause. Nor were they only great preachers in the pulpit. They were also the outstanding propagandists of the printing press. It is a striking fact that, so far as our evidence goes, most of the theological books written by Yorkshire clergy in this period, were written by Puritans. There is no sign of large-scale organisation in the Yorkshire Puritan movement in these years, and yet it may well be that these various expedients used by the Puritans to spread their influence were, whether they realised it or not, a wiser policy than any attempt to build a systematic and co-ordinated organisation. Such an attempt, merely by bringing Puritan strength into the open, must have alarmed the ecclesiastical authorities. The friendly support of Archbishop Matthew might well have been lost, while Neile would have been roused to even fiercer efforts against the movement. (As it was, he appears to have suppressed the Exercises, for there is no record of their having met after 1632.) But when the Exercises failed, the less obtrusive work of the itinerants, the lecturers, the chaplains, the schoolmasters, and the ordinary ministers in the parishes, all of these often protected by influential lay patrons, continued. No amount of lay support could easily have buttressed a large-scale, formal organisation in the face of episcopal opposition ; but these quieter and less spectacular ways of advance could be and were so protected, and in them lay the strength of the Yorkshire Puritan movement.

JOHN NEWTON

[41] D. M. Meads, Ed. : *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby 1599-1605*. 1930., pp. 73, 102, 243f., 260.

THE BICENTENARY OF 1662

Will the Tercentenary of 1662 hinder the work of reconciliation between denominations? Congregationalists, particularly all who claim to love their history and at the same time to look forward to an age of fuller fellowship between Christians, must feel some anxieties as 1962 approaches. Perhaps we shall drift into displays of unedifying controversy as helplessly as our fathers a hundred years ago, though we have less excuse for belligerency than they. To-day the air is far healthier. Nevertheless it would be foolish to ignore the potential dangers which still exist. What the press and the public meeting did a hundred years ago, can be supplemented to-day in yet more powerful ways. Furthermore it would be equally foolish to neglect the opportunities provided by the Commemoration to strengthen the spirit of the churches.

Dale's *History of English Congregationalism* is enough to indicate that the Victorian era was a time of restless controversy. In the circumstances the Bicentenary was bound to provoke strife. It may seem to us incredible that at least a section of Congregationalists maintained that they had not forseen an outcry when they were contemplating the plans for the event, yet this is what one of the giants of the day, Eustace Conder, would have us believe. *The Nonconformist*, 11 June 1862, reported him saying at Leeds that Congregationalists

> did not anticipate the clamourous outcry raised against them, because he supposed they did not clearly see how impossible it was to condemn the law which forced from their livings the men of 1662 without their censure having a direct and unwelcome bearing on the men who in 1862 held the same livings under the same law. Their aim was a pure and laudable one—first, to impress on their churches and on their own hearts the noble lessons contained in the example of these men whom they honoured . . .

Here is the story of a miscalculation which it is to be hoped will not be repeated.

There were Congregationalists who hoped to combine a forthright apology for their principles with becoming moderation. The venerated Joshua Wilson, too frail to attend the Union's Autumn Assembly yet as active as ever in mind, presented a paper in which he pleaded with the delegates to employ the 'meekness of wisdom' in contending for their principles during the Commemoration, and to bear in mind 'that there are yet more important matters on

which we are all one'. Nevertheless one of his aims for 1862 was the vigorous diffusion of Dissenting principles.[1]

Controversy was so much part of the religious scene that we may suppose that no one thought that a little more would do much harm. Since the Reform Bill struggle some thirty years earlier Nonconformists had not ceased to agitate for disestablishment. The irritating question of Church rates provoked local strife year by year. *The Nonconformist* raised the level of it to that of a national crusade. The Liberation Society was busy gathering an army of Nonconformists to attack the existing State-Church relationship. Intimately connected with the establishment question was that of State education, upon which a Royal Commission was still sitting in 1861. The Church of England had poured vast sums of money into schools; Nonconformists had done their best but had lost the race. Meanwhile Britain was falling behind her alert continental competitor Prussia where a State system was well established. But compulsory education provided by the State touched Dissenters sorely upon their characteristic voluntary principle. Then, to further complicate the division between Anglicans and Nonconformists, by 1862 a generation of Tractarianism had stirred up all the old horror and hatred of Romanism in Nonconformist bones, whilst Anglicans were becoming more and more awake to the dangers of the liberal spirit. Was the ground suitable for the cultivation of a quiet garden of commemoration?

Moderation was not the hall-mark of *The Nonconformist*. It was widely read because it appealed to the deep sense of grievance which the Nonconformist felt. The popular press was a new and powerful instrument and Congregationalists were amongst its leading lights. Anyone who wants to feel the place of the Liberal, Nonconformist papers at this time can discover it from some of Trollope's political novels, where their power is unmistakably portrayed. Happily, we can assert that Edward Miall, the editor and founder of *The Nonconformist*, the champion of Chapel-goers, was nothing like Trollope's Quintus Slide. The latter is a copy-writing Uriah Heep; Miall was cultured, gentle in person, yet uncompromisingly ferocious in public. For his services in the cause of religious and civic liberties he was given when his paper came of age in 1862 a testimonial worth £5,000 together with a costly silver tea and coffee service. Being a poor man, sometime Member of Parliament, unpaid, he needed the money. Naturally his short spell as a Congregational minister had not set him up financially.

[1] *Congregational Year Book*, 1863, pp. 60-72.

It was this paper then, which on 1 January 1862 revealed what the year meant to the rank and file in the churches.

> The bicentenary of a year memorable in the ecclesiastical history of this country—what will come of it ? What new phase of the relation in which the Church stands to the State will it exhibit ? What triumphs will the year in its course be likely to witness ? What defeat will it record ? What special shape will the question at issue between the Erastianism of British Statesmanship and the aspirations towards greater freedom and purity of spiritual Christianity probably assume ? . . . will the Church-rate question be settled, or remain as it is ?

The Patriot under ' Bombastes, Furioso, Brag, and Co ', as Miall aptly called John Campbell, was not behindhand in following a similar course during the year. Campbell was as much hated by Congregationalists as Miall was loved, largely because of his bearlike behaviour during the Rivulet affair. He now led an assault upon the Evangelicals of the Church of England, accusing them of unfaithfulness to Evangelicalism, of knowing it and doing nothing about it. It was a regrettable aspect of the year's debates.

Hundreds of lectures on the Ejection were given in schoolrooms and public halls all over the land. The word lecture does not describe what went on. The nation could have only been further roused if the lectures had concerned the veneration of Oliver Cromwell and justification of regicide. The meetings were not scholarly gatherings despite their pretentious title ; they had more in common with old-fashioned hustings. The Victorians thoroughly enjoyed a public meeting with plenty of good verbal wrestling, and many are the reports of meetings such as that at Liverpool when Enoch Mellor, cheered on by the crowd, ridiculed the Anglican doctrine of ordination and then went on to challenge the clergy to break their chains. This was the sort of lecture worth hearing ! Pleasure was increased at question-time, when the democratic spirit of the age lured the local clergy to mount the platform to defend themselves. Meetings sometimes continued till past midnight ; caretakers were lowly personages in those days. The vicar would give as good as he got. For example, at a lecture in Norwich, J. J. Colman being in the chair, a vicar made his defence of the Prayer Book and then crowned all by adding that the Bicentenary had but one purpose, ' to show that it is impossible for the Evangelical clergy consistently to remain in the Church '. There were cries of No. ! No ! and Yes ! Yes ![2]

[2] *The Nonconformist*, 16 April, 1862.

The papers contained, besides these exciting reports, a wrangling correspondence. For example, *The Nonconformist,* 16 April 1862, after mentioning that Canon Miller of Birmingham had resigned from the Bible Society auxiliary on the ground that it was becoming impossible to work with Dissenters, printed a letter from Dale castigating the doctrine of baptismal regeneration and the tendency towards universalism found in the Prayer Book, which Evangelicals could not hold. This was a dignified letter but lesser correspondents worked at lower levels. We find the stormy petrel of the Anglicans, Joseph Bardsley, who travelled about lecturing against the Commemoration, offering £20 to Bruce's chapel, Huddersfield, if Bruce could produce figures from Mann's 1851 census to prove that more Dissenters went to worship than Churchmen.[3]

Upon their side the Anglicans also spoke out through the printed word. As *The English Churchman* said, they discerned a 'declaration of war'. Churchmen of all types stood solidly together to defend the establishment. Though there was actually litigation between the high and the low at the time, no Bicentenary could prise open the package that contained the two. Elliot Binns comments upon the solidarity of the Church of England in dismissing the point of commemorating 1662.[4] The kind of argument used even by reputable periodicals was often not of a high order. For example, *The Quarterly Review,* 1862, had the following commentary on the Commemoration :

> If a pickpocket has possessed himself of your handkerchief, and yields it up to you again under the gentle pressure of the police, his most admiring and enthusiastic friend would not think it necessary to preach a sermon in his honour upon the next anniversary of the event.[5]

Now *The Quarterly* had an influence and reputation comparable with *The Edinburgh Review*; it was designed for cultured readers whose politics differed from that of its rival but whose taste for invective was no less avid. This particular article singled out Congregationalists to inform them that they were unpopular, that their views on independence of the State were 'too repulsive to the mass of Englishmen to give them a chance of success'; and it alleged that Miall and Bright with their Liberation Society were intent upon political subversion, seeing that their open appeal to the public had failed.

[3] *The Nonconformist,* 30 April, 1862.

[4] *Religion in the Victorian Era* (London, 1936) p. 206.

[5] *Op. cit.* p. 238.

1862 reminds one of a poultice placed on an abscess. All the diseased feelings of divided Christians were brought to a head and broke in public. Suspicions, fears and prejudices which had caused trouble for years now occupied the public mind. The Church-Chapel dispute was at its height.

It is a curious fact, with something of irony about it, that the main contentions which Nonconformists held against the Church of England and which the latter was happy to defend, were issues which a century afterwards have receded into the background. To-day disestablishment is more likely to be heard of within the Anglican Church than in Free Church circles; objection to the Prayer Book is not voiced much by modern Congregationalists whereas Anglicans are certainly critical of its rigidity. The issues which divide us now, the ministry and the Lord's Supper, on the other hand, do not seem to have been uppermost in the minds of men then. It was not primarily to attack or defend them that they mounted the platforms of crowded halls.

The controversy had roots that went deeper than reason readily admitted. There was a social cleavage, a kind of Apartheid, existing between Church and Chapel. The former was the religious profession of the privileged and the latter that of the rising middle-class. The former had the money whilst the latter struggled along. Hence why Church schools had outstripped British schools. Nonconformists, then, suffered from a bitter sense of inferiority. It was unjust, they felt, for they were the up-and-coming portion of society. No longer persecuted, no longer subject to serious civic disabilities, Nonconformist leaders felt the remaining inequalities probably more sensitively than had their grandfathers. Recall too how disdainfully almost all novelists of the day spoke of Dissenters. All this helps us to understand why Nonconformists reacted as they did.

Then again, the fact that denomination and political party tended to become identified sharpened the conflict. Congregationalists were almost to a man Liberals; Tories were Anglican. Furthermore, it must be remembered that the vote was then a new weapon in the hands of many Congregationalists and many others were eagerly anticipating the time when household suffrage, which their spokesman Bright promised them one day, would give them a say in politics. Politics was certainly not wearing the dreary dress she wears to-day. Congregationalists were hard behind the old warhorse Russell, the popular Bright, and the new star Gladstone, pressing for further franchise. Farsighted Anglicans were ready for compromise but many were simply reactionary.

Since the shaking she had received from Parliament at the time of the first Reform Bill when she had been told to set her house in order, the Church of England had somewhat nervously and demonstratively endeavoured to reassert herself. She knew herself to be closely watched. She knew how precariously she held on to her privileges. She wondered at times whether England was not going the same way as the continental revolutionaries. Her members were tensed for action. So were Nonconformists. Any idea of a peaceful Commemoration was a pipe-dream.

Disagreement seems to have been the order of the day. The Nonconformists set up a united committee to promote the Commemoration, consisting of 15 Independents (note that this was their designation, not Congregationalists), 14 Baptists, 4 Presbyterians, 6 Methodists, and 3 Friends. This committee, The Central United Bartholomew Committee, organized some lectures and published a series of tracts on various subjects such as *The Farewell Sunday* and *The Act of Uniformity*. Beyond this it was a failure. The Congregationalists confessed to feeling inhibited by having to work with denominations whose principles were not so free as their own.

Denominations preferred to make their own plans. The Congregationalists' were rather grandiose. They included the provision of a suitable denominational headquarters and library building, and a great effort at Chapel building, for cities and towns were spreading rapidly and Mann's census of Church accommodation had made everyone aware that the tide of population and housing was rising faster than the churches could manage to provide for. Joshua Wilson in the paper already alluded to challenged Congregationalists to open 50 new places of worship by St. Bartholemew's Day, less than a twelvemonth, and another 50 foundation stones to be laid. Doubtless his main objective was that at last the denomination would fulfil his father's hope and undertake the work of extension which the Wilsons themselves so dearly loved.

Probably something like a quarter of a million pounds was raised during the Commemoration. There was a surge of Chapel building, the largest in all Congregational history; but for a long time money did not flow in freely for the hall and library in London. Local projects came first and this, together with some disappointments over securing a site, delayed the laying of the foundation stone of The Memorial Hall until 10 May 1872. The Bicentenary Committee's report to the Union in the autumn of 1862 made the comment that the financial success of the appeal would have been

greater had not Chapel debts swallowed up so much of the local efforts of congregations.

Naturally books appeared. John Stoughton produced his *Church and State Two Hundred Years Ago* which Congregationalist reviewers admired for its scholarship but disfavoured for its moderation. The circulation which a popular religious book could command in 1862 is indicated by the fact that F. S. Williams' *The Story of Black Bartholomew* ran through 50,000 copies in three weeks.

How did the Bicentenary help Congregationalism ? In addition to stimulating a building programme, it taught men to seek again the foundation upon which they stood ; furthermore it suggested to them that they might be proud of their denomination and Union.

The Bicentenary Committee actually told the Union in the autumn of 1862 that they considered the controversies of the year had made better churches. 'Our love of peace had begun to endanger our fidelity to principle.' Indeed, there are witnesses enough to show that such matters as Church polity and theology, for all the furore which the Oxford Movement or Liberal theology could rouse, were often disdained. 1862 helped to remedy this situation. Dale in particular, then only in his third year at Carrs Lane, made it his mission in life to rebuild the theological and ecclesiastical walls of Zion. Dale's was indeed a Congregational polity, though perhaps tinged with political colour of a Victorian Liberal hue.

What the Congregationalists of 1862 cherished as their principles was so dyed with eighteenth-century individualism that we should probably prefer to call it Independency. Indeed it is one of the miracles of Congregational history that the Union in 1831 should ever have been christened Congregational at all, a miracle largely due it appears to the faithful spade-work of Joseph Turnbull. When we find Wilson in his paper advocating the vigorous dissemination of their principles, we must not be surprised to see the great importance attached to the inalienable right of every man to investigate and interpret the New Testament for himself. One wonders why the Old Testament was left out or *Revelation* left in ! Here the statement pointed in the direction of a Congregational interpretation of the early Church. Conscience ordered them to obey what they read there and conscience was the voice of God. So said Wilson. It was Congregationalism or rather Independency with a strong bias towards individualism, the very individualism

which the Tractarians clearly saw the dangers of and which they fought with a fresh and exalted concept of the Church.

It is a long step from the scholarly, painstaking scripturism of the Puritans who chose to be ejected, to the creedless, confessionless biblicism of mid-Victorian Congregationalists. It is another long step from the sacrificial act of conscience which made a man with a family lose security and risk prison, to the nineteenth-century dogma of voluntaryism. It is a further long step from refusing to conform, to clamouring for disestablishment. But the preacher is particularly prone to draw the moral he wants from the text before him. We shall be fortunate to escape entirely from long steps in some of the talks and articles that are uttered in the next two years.

The Bicentenary served to focus attention upon the Union. After the national scandal of the Rivulet affair, the Union was at its lowest ebb. Something was needed to stimulate interest and *ésprit*. The enthusiasm of the Commemoration together with the solidarity which sprang from controversy gave the Union a new and stronger impetus. Between then and 1890 the Union developed into the kind of instrument it was when the present century dawned. This was largely due to the labours of Hannay, Dale and Guinness Rogers over many years, but the Bicentenary set the new scene, against which they played their parts.

Obviously the Tercentenary will be unlike the Bicentenary. We shall be thankful for that. But allowing for the fact that religious controversy is not relished by the public in the way that it appears to have been a century ago, it may be reckoned that the rather abstruse theological points which divide us to-day, if they produced controversy, would do the Church untold harm. Establishment and the Prayer Book were tangible enough for ordinary people to grasp the issues. It is not so certain that they will understand why divisions remain to-day. This could mean that controversy, quickly fired by mass media of the sensational type, using men who can be found in any denomination who enjoy displaying themselves and their ill-conceived, extreme opinions, could repeat some of the worst features of 1862, only with derisory effect upon the public mind, which already suffers from a warped image of what the Church of Christ is.

JOHN H. TAYLOR.

Congregational Church Records

Held in Public Custody (List 1)

In the last fifteen years record offices have been established in almost every county in England and in many boroughs as well. Here records are deposited relating to the district. Some churches have already taken advantage of this service which enables the records to be accessible to historians under the best conditions without the depositor losing his rights of ownership. We propose to publish lists of such deposited records in *Transactions* from time to time. We are indebted to various archivists for supplying the information. We hope that many more churches will seek to deposit their records in such safe public custody.

Bedfordshire Record Office, Shire Hall, Bedford.

Harrold : School rules and lists, 1809-12.

Hockliffe and Eddington : Trustees' minutes, 1809-12 ; School cttee. minutes, 1848-64 ; misc. papers, 1810-1900.

Berkshire Record Office, Shire Hall, Reading.

Abingdon Cong. Ch. : benefactions, 1712-1862 ; title deeds to properties in district, 1416-1914 ; minutes of governing body, 1901-05 ; Trust property administration, 1704-1935 ; accounts, &c., 1715-1944.

Cornwall Record Office, Gwendroc, Barrack Lane, Truro.

Falmouth, Prince St. Meeting Ho. and S.S. : 18 deeds, 1718-1834.

Wadebridge Cong. School : Record Book, 1855-59.

Essex Record Office, County Hall, Chelmsford.

Coggeshall Cong. Ch. : minutes of Ch. meeting, 1775-1851 ; S.S., 1788-1800, 1863-83 ; British School minutes, 1855-80 ; Book Club, 1849-61 ; Building accounts, 1687-1722 ; Ch. accounts, 1777-1834 ; School accounts, 1823-69 ; Algernon Wells' sermons.

Hertfordshire Record Office, County Hall, Hertford.

Hitchin, Queen St. Ch. : extracts from Ch. Book, 1725-1855.

Leeds : Archives Dept., Central Library, Leeds, 1.

Rev. Robert Cuthbertson, minister of Cleckheaton, 1821-69, correspondence of.

London : Guildhall Library, Basinghall St., London, E.C.2.

Nightingale Lane Ch,, E. Smithfield : Minute Books, 1722-51.
Lime St. Ch. : Minute Book, 1728-64.

Manchester Public Library, Local History Collection.

Cheetham Pk. Cha. : Deacons' and Ch. minutes, 1857-80.
(The Library contains a fine collection of printed material for Congregational history in Lancashire.)

Plymouth Public Library, Archives Dept.

Batter St. Ch. : accounts, 1787-1826 ; Trustees' and Ch. minutes, 1760-1819 ; burials, 1768-1819 ; *History* of Ch. by Jn. Taylor, 1889.
Stonehouse, Emma Place Ch. : accounts, 1787-1844 ; minutes, (various), 1808-1910 ; baptisms, 1849-1940 ; marriages, 1868-1939 ; burials, 1891-1921 ; returns to Church Aid and Home Missionary Soc., 1891-1900.

Sheffield : Archives Dept., Central Library, Sheffield, 1.

Zion Cha. Attercliffe : Minute Book, 1914-28.
Fulwood Cha. : documents, 1827-68.
Howard St. Cha. : registers, 1852-74 ; register of members, 1899 ; Sacrament Book, 1815-29 ; cash books, 1813-18 ; vouchers, C19.
Queen St. Cha.: members' duties, 1794.

Worcestershire Record Office, Shirehall, Worcester.

Angel St. Ch. : registers, 1783-1955 ; Ch. minutes, 1812-1941 ; Deacons' minutes, 1875-1948 ; Trustees' minutes, 1773-1953 ; Cttee. minutes, 1857-93 ; account books, 1747-1897 ; misc. papers, 1711-1959.
Hallow Cha. : Trustees' minutes, 1884-1910.
Kidderminster, Old Meeting Ho. : 31 deeds, 1627-1805 (found in carpet factory) ; Bowyer's Charity deeds (14), 1675-1860.
Worcestershire Evangelical Soc. : minutes, 1795-1815.

We are indebted to C. E. Welch, the Plymouth archivist, for collecting these facts. We hope members will encourage their churches to participate in the scheme for preserving our records.—ED.

THE FOUNDATION OF STONEHOUSE INDEPENDENT CHAPEL

Stonehouse, or more correctly East Stonehouse, is the district between Plymouth and Devonport. The manor belonged to the Edgcumbe family, who during the seventeenth century tried to establish a borough there in rivalry to Plymouth. This was apparently unsuccessful, but Stonehouse remained a separate civil parish with its own constable and overseers until it was created an urban district in 1894. Separated from its two large neighbours by creeks which made communications very difficult, it retained its independence until 1914 when the three towns were united to form the county borough of Plymouth. During the last War much of Stonehouse was destroyed by enemy action, but the chapel and all its earlier records fortunately escaped and are now on deposit in the Archives Department of Plymouth City Library.[1] From the earliest volume it is possible to describe the building of what was the first dissenting chapel in Stonehouse.

The chapel was erected, according to the first page of this book, 'as an Appendage to the dissenting Church in Batter Street Plymouth, under the pastoral Care of the Revd. Christopher and Herbert Mends; for the conveniency of certain members of that Church; and for the further spread of the Gospel'. However it is certain that the Revd. Christopher Mends was the chief promoter of the scheme. The Batter Street Chapel, in which he preached for many years, was erected in 1704, but the church had a much longer history.[2] In 1760 the trustees elected an Arian minister, but the congregation chose Christopher Mends, who after some disputes secured in 1762 a *mandamus* from the King's Bench in his favour. He and his son Herbert revived the church in Plymouth and extended their activities beyond its boundaries. In 1785 they founded a charity school, and on 6 August 1786 the foundations for the Stonehouse Chapel were begun. The chapel was registered with the Bishop of Exeter on 23 March 1787 when it was described as a meeting house in the manor of East Stonehouse between the stone quarry of Lord Edgcumbe on the east, the house of Mr. Manley on the west, the Royal Marine barracks on the south, and a field belonging to Mr. Bone on the north.[3] It was opened with a service on 10 April 1787.

[1] Accession 168/1-8. They were deposited by Sherwell Congregational Church, Plymouth. The chapel was closed in 1942. The first volume begins as a financial record and subsequently becomes the trustees' minutes. Its successors contain admissions and church meetings.

[2] See *Transactions of Plymouth Athenaeum*, vol. 19 (1945), pp. 70-75.

[3] Devon Record Office, episcopal records, vol. 88.

Since almost all the land in Stonehouse belonged to the Edgcumbe family as part of their manor of East Stonehouse the first task was to obtain the lease of a suitable plot of ground. Most of the land in Stonehouse, Devonport and Plymouth was then leased for the term of ninety-nine years or three lives, whichever was the shorter. The practice of leasing property for three lives and renewing the lease each time a life fell in is well known from Thomas Hardy's novel *The Woodlanders*.[4] The practice probably originated in manorial custom since many copyhold lands were converted to leasehold of this kind during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A lease for lives, however, conveyed the freehold interest, which would for example give the Parliamentary vote to the lessee at county elections, so the limitation to ninety-nine years was added in the south-west of England to prevent this. At Stonehouse the lease was obtained by Robert Bint who although not a member of the church was apparently sympathetic since he lent £200 at 5% towards the cost of the building. As a Robert Bint was later the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe's agent the chapel was presumably erected with the encouragement of the local landowner. Although the original lease has not survived an abstract appears in the trust deed.[5] It was made on 21 March 1788 by George, Viscount Mount Edgcumbe to the Revd. Herbert Mends, William Mends, tinman, John Lock, shotmaker, William Foster, shipwright, all of Plymouth, Thomas Warne of East Stonehouse and Aaron Bowers for ninety-nine years or the lives of Herbert Mends (aged 30), John Sanders, attorney (27), and Thomas Warne (5), for an annual rent of £1. 6. 7. The property is described as a dissenting chapel lately erected by the lessees on 17¾ perches of land at East Stonehouse. The financial arrangements were chiefly in the hands of Mr. Aaron Bowers, one of the trustees, who was treasurer for the first few years. He may have been the local builder and undertaken some of the work, for his accounts do not give the name of the mason employed.

From 6 August 1786 to 31 March 1787 were spent in 'clearing the Foundation and filling in the Ground'—a difficult task in the district because rock is always just beneath the surface. This cost £13. 8. 2., and £1. 11. 6. was spent on 'taking the Rubbish from

[4] Chapter XIV.

[5] N. Taperell, *The Plymouth Directory*, p. 38. Public Record Office, C.54/7971, 6 (Close Roll 1805). I am indebted to Lord Mount Edgcumbe for the information that the counterpart leases of the chapel no longer survive.

the Rock for clearing the Ground'. The 'Plan' was drawn by a Mr. Joy for only 10s. 6d. The chapel contained 222 perches of masonry (the local limestone) which were built for £55. 12. 6., and a chimney in the vestry cost 10s. 6d. All the carpentry, except the pews, was done by Mr. Wakeham for £78. 11s., and the iron work for the roof cost an extra £4. 17. 4. Helling (tiling) the roof and plastering the ceiling and walls were also done under Mr. Bowers' supervision and cost £15. 18. 3., £2. 14s., and £21. 9s. respectively. Other miscellaneous items included glass at £10. 10. 11½., a gate for £2. 13. 11., sash weights for the windows at £1. 3. 6., two locks 7s. 6d. and two bolts 2s. The boundary wall, unlike the chapel itself, was built of 1900 bricks which cost £2. 17s., and the pews were erected by Mr. Bulley for £34. 10s. With other miscellaneous items the total cost of building the chapel to March 1788 was £282. 4. 9½.

The other expenses for the year were 4s. for cleaning the chapel four times, £1. 14. 2. for a 'Cushing' (cushion), £3 19s. for hiring a chaise in which the Batter Street minister drove to Stonehouse for services, and the interest on the money borrowed, which produced a total expenditure of £296. 16. 11½. The receipts consisted of £10. 15s. for seat rents, and £200 borrowed from Mr. Bint in two instalments of £100. The deficit appears to have been met by Mr. Bowers, who charged a low rate of interest which was not paid for several years. Further bills for work on the building were not received until the following year. These consisted of £6 2s. for more tiling, £8. 16. 9. for carpentry, and £1. 7s. to Mr. Bowers for flooring. So the total cost of the building was £298. 10. 6½. Although the total expenditure to September 1789 was only £33. 1. 6., the receipts were £7. 19. 6. for pew rents, and £7. 9. 1. for two burials and miscellaneous items, which increased the deficit to £103. 14. 10½. In January 1792 the sum due to Mr. Bowers was still £103. 6. 5½. and this, together with the £200 owed to Mr. Bint must have worried the minister and trustees. However the Revd. Herbert Mends collected £133. 3. 3. in the following year, probably from the congregation at Batter Street and elsewhere in the district, so that Mr. Bowers' debt was reduced to the manageable size of £18. 8s. 4d. Unfortunately the detailed accounts cease at this point and there is no information about the date on which Mr. Bint was repaid.[6]

The chapel was opened on Easter Tuesday, 10 April 1787, when the Revd. Alexander Englis of Newton Bussel (now part of Newton

[6] The accounts occupy ff. 4-7 of the volume.

Abbot) preached on 'The Lord shall count, when he writeth up the people, that this man was born there' (*Psalm* lxxxvii, 6) and the Revd. Christopher and Herbert Mends and Mr. Stoat 'engaged in prayer'. The first trustees were the Revd. Herbert Mends, William Mends, William Foster, Aaron Bowers, John Lock, Thomas Warn, and William Parr. The only minutes entered until 1808 were at the auditing of the accounts. In 1799 the church acquired its own minister, the Revd. Robert Burns of Looe, but there is no record of his election in this volume.

On 24 January 1805 the chapel's trust deed was drawn up. The lessees of 1788 conveyed the remainder of the lease to William Lane, ropemaker, Humphry Douglas, tailor, Jonathan Metherell, carpenter, John Hambly, lathmaker, Simon Ward, shipwright, Anthony Williams, gent., Benjamin Durham, grocer, Ambrose Nicholas, ropemaker, Thomas Field, cordwainer, John Moore, schoolmaster, and Thomas Dawe, painter and glazier, all of East Stonehouse.[7] It was to be held in trust to be 'enjoyed and used as a place of worship and service of God as lately used by a Church Society or Congregation of Protestant Dissenters commonly called Independents'. The minister and congregation were to hold the doctrine of the Trinity, believe in grace in Christ for the elect and in regeneration of the new birth into righteousness. The trustees were to apply the pew rents and other receipts to repairing and maintaining the building and the surplus was to provide the minister's salary. The trustees were to meet on the first Monday after quarter day at 7 p.m. in the vestry room. When the number of trustees was reduced to three, the communicants or members of the church were to elect eight more. The minister was to be chosen by a two-thirds majority of the trustees and communicants, and all candidates were to subscribe to the three doctrines mentioned earlier.

On 12 November 1812 the trustees put their affairs in order with a long series of resolutions.[8] They were to meet four times a year, in February, May, August and November. From the next Christmas all pews (except three large ones) were to be let at 6s. a year, and their regulation was to be in the hands of Mr. James and Mr. Durham. One person was to be appointed 'to keep the chapel clean, light the Candles, and do all such necessary things as may be wanted' for £5 a year, and another 'to Teach the singers at the Yearly Salary of Four Guineas per Annum'. A treasurer was to be

[7] Public Record Office, C.54/7971, 6.

[8] ff. 8 & 9.

appointed from the trustees each year who was to produce his accounts for audit at the February meeting. The next month, however, the trustees were already meddling in the letting of pews, and by 1814 the accounts were not being audited until November.

But more resolutions were made. In May 1813 the rules and scale of fees for burials in the Anglican chapel of St. George were adopted for the chapel's burial ground.[9] In November 1814 they resolved that no repairs or alterations should be undertaken without their consent, and in February 1814 they repeated their resolution to appoint 'a Master Singer' at four guineas a year. Subsequent meetings of the trustees are chiefly concerned with auditing the accounts. In 1819 one of the lives in the chapel lease fell in, and the trustees decided to obtain another lease with the life of Alfred Narracott, son of a Stonehouse cooper, added.[10] In 1822 another life fell in and it was decided in future to insure the three lives. Although the 'conventionary' or annual rent was quite small, the cost of obtaining a new lease was high. On the death of any life a heriot—an old manorial incident—was payable to the owner, usually in cash by this date; and to obtain a fresh lease a fine, being the equivalent of several years rack rent, was charged. The total cost in December 1822 was £38. 12. 9. and £41. 11. 6½., was raised by two collections and by subscriptions from thirty members of the congregation.[11]

In 1825 the Revd. Robert Burns died, and the Revd. James Edwards was elected by the congregation: an event which marks the establishment of the church on a firm basis.[12] It is interesting to note that even in the preceding year the total receipts were only £25. 7. 11. and the total expenditure (excluding the minister's stipend) £16. 15. 9. Since it seems to have been still the custom to pay the minister with the annual surplus, Mr. Burns received £8. 12. 2. in 1824. There is no evidence of any endowment to supplement this. Even on such terms the Revd. James Edwards was willing to take up his ministry in November 1825. On 8th December at a meeting of church members twelve new resolutions were passed to regulate 'the secular concerns' of the chapel.[13] They mark the beginning of a new phase. C. E. WELCH.

[9] Most of the records (including these regulations) of St. George's church (formerly a chapel of ease to St. Andrew, Plymouth) were destroyed in 1941. The burial ground of the Emma Place chapel was at the rear in Millbay Road. A Sunday School room was later built on the site, but the grave stones survived until recently.

[10] ff. 19 & 20. [11] ff. 22 & 23. [12] f. 124. [13] ff. 123 & 122.

SOURCES FOR CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH HISTORY

Many Congregational churches are approaching their Tercentenary year and will publish histories. The Committee of the Society feel that some guidance to would-be writers of church histories will be useful and hence the following list of source materials has been drawn up. Initially, of course, the writer will need to consult the records of the church itself, *e.g.* Church Minute Books, Finance Committee Minutes, Trustees' Meeting Minutes, Sunday School Committee Minutes and Registers, records of pew rents, charities, gifts to the poor of the church, and of lay preachers who may have served, or may be serving, the church or its outstations. He will also need to make notes of gravestones, if there is a burying-ground attached to the church, and of memorial tablets in the church. Nor must the printed and manuscript records of County Associations of Congregational Churches be overlooked—the responsible officers of such Associations are given in the *Congregational Year Book*.

The Congregational Library at Memorial Hall, Dr. Williams's Library, London, County and City Record Offices, City and Municipal Libraries, and, to a lesser extent, Diocesan Record Offices, can all help the writer. The Congregational Library makes no charge but does not lend books and it is wise to make an appointment to visit the Library (address to 'The Librarian, Congregational Library, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, E.C.4.'). For use of Dr. Williams's Library there is a small annual subscription and books may be borrowed (applications for details of the Library and for membership forms should be made to 'The Librarian, Dr. Williams's Library, 14 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.').

The following list, which is concerned chiefly with English sources, is probably not complete, and details of any additional major sources should be sent to the Editor for inclusion in a later number of these *Transactions*. The would-be writer of a church history should not be intimidated by the length and variety of this list—it is not as formidable as it looks.

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

1. Evans MS. in Dr. Williams's Library contains a statistical survey of the state of Dissenting churches in England and Wales in 1715 : a photographic copy has been made and can be loaned to readers.

2. Thompson MS. in Dr. Williams's Library contains a list of Dissenting congregations in England and Wales in 1773 and a list of ministers who signed a petition in support of a Bill (1772) to relieve Dissenting ministers from the obligation of subscription to the 39 Articles. Parts of this MS. were printed in *Trans. Cong. Hist. Soc.* V. A contemporary duplicate copy of the Thompson MS. is in the Museum Library of Bunyan Meeting, Bedford.

3. Quarter Sessions Records often contain references to Dissenters, Dissenting ministers and Dissenting meetings. These records are usually in County Record Offices and some counties, *e.g.* Bucks., Cheshire, Herts., Lincs., London, Middlesex, Oxon., Somerset, Surrey, Warwickshire, Wilts., Worcs., and Yorkshire, have published the earlier sections of theirs.

4. The Returns of Episcopal Visitations in the 18th and 19th centuries often contain information on the prevalence of Dissent in parishes. The following 18th century returns are in the Library of St. Paul's Cathedral, London :
Diocese of Lincoln. 1717, 1718, 1720, 1721. (Shelf Marks. 17B.15-25 : 17C. 1-5).
Diocese of London. 1723, 1727, 1738, 1741, 1747. (Shelf Marks. 17C. 6-18).
The following Returns have been published : Diocese of Lincoln. 1705-23 (Lincoln Record Society, 1913, Assoc. Archit. Societies Report, xxii, 1893); Diocese of Oxford for 1738 (Oxfordshire Record Society, 1957); the Archdeaconry of Oxford for 1854 (Oxfordshire Record Society, 1954); Diocese of York for 1743 (Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1928-31); Diocese of Exeter for 1821 (Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 1958 in progress).

5. The Returns of the Ecclesiastical Census of 1851 are in the Public Record Office, London (ref. H.O.129). These include details of seating, membership, average attendance and Sunday School statistics, *etc.*, of Nonconformist churches. See *Census of Great Britain 1851. Religious Worship : England and Wales. Report and Tables.* H.M.S.O. (1853), and H. Mann. *Sketches of the Religious Denominations of the Present Day . . . and the Census.* (1854).

6. Applications for licences for Dissenting meeting-houses are usually found in County Record Offices, *e.g.* the County Record Office at Bedford has more than 450 applications, certificates, *etc.*, relating to the registration of Dissenters' meeting-houses in the period 1740-1852.

7. Many non-parochial registers (*e.g.* Independent and Congregational church registers of births, baptisms and deaths) are at present in the custody of the Registrar General, Somerset House, London. A printed list of these was issued by H.M.S.O. in 1859 and the copy at the enquiry counter of the General Register Office has inserted in it an additional 'List of Unauthenticated Registers Deposited with the Registrar General.' More recently Nonconformist churches have tended to deposit their registers and records in County Record Offices. The registers of the following Independent churches are known to have been published : Great Yarmouth and Norwich (Norfolk Record Society, 1951); Topsham, Devon (Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 1938); Kipping in Thornton (Bradford

Historical and Antiquarian Society Local Record Society, 1953). The Society of Genealogists, 37 Harrington Gardens, London, S.W.7 (nearest Underground station—Gloucester Road) has in its possession original, transcript and photostat copies of some Nonconformist registers, including those of the Independent Church, Bicester, Oxon. (infant baptisms 1695-1745 : marriages 1695-6) and of the old Cannon Street Congregational Church, Birmingham (marriages 1837-58).

8. Parish Registers and the Bishop's Transcripts of them often contain details of Dissenting ministers and of the marriages and burials of Dissenters. Parish Registers are usually in the custody of incumbents (who have a legal right, which they sometimes waive, to charge for a search of the Registers), or of County Record Offices. In many counties Parish Registers have been transcribed, and copies of the transcripts are often held not only by incumbents and County Record Offices, but also by the Society of Genealogists (see No. 7 above) whose collections can be consulted at very reasonable rates by non-members. See *The Catalogue of Parish Registers in the possession of the Society of Genealogists* (1937) and list of subsequent acces. And *Nat. Index of Parish Reg. Copies* (S. of G. 1939).

9. The National Register of Archives (part of the Historical Manuscripts Commission) is located on the 2nd Floor, Quality House, Quality Court, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.2. It has personal and subject indexes of reports on county records, not only of those in County Record Offices but also of those in private collections ; the reports include ones for all the major religious Denominations.

10. The Guildhall Library, London, holds the Minutes of the Protestant Dissenting Deputies (Baptist, Independent and Presbyterian) from 1732-1908. (ref. MSS. 3083. 1/16). For an account of these MSS. and extracts from them see B. L. Manning and O. Greenwood. *The Protestant Dissenting Deputies* (1952). The Guildhall Library also holds Church Books and individual records of some London Congregational churches. The Minute Books of the General Body of Protestant Dissenting Ministers are at Dr. Williams's Library.

11. The Denominational Colleges have their own libraries, records and collections of MSS., *e.g.* Cheshunt College, Cambridge has material relating to the Countess of Huntingdon Connexion, while New College, London, has MSS. relating to Congregational Academies, and several volumes of letters (many unpublished) to and from Philip Doddridge.

12. There is a two volume *Catalogue* to the MSS. collections of the Congregational Library, Memorial Hall. The Congregational Union Finance Dept., Memorial Hall, has the custody of various records including the Manuscript Minute Books (indexed) of the Congregational Home Missionary Society from 1819 : this Society arranged for the training of students, appointed pastors and gave annual grants to a number of Home Mission stations which later became Congregational churches.

13. The Rev. C. E. Surman's biographical card index of 30,000 Independent and Congregational ministers can be consulted at Dr. Williams's Library, as also can his *A Bibliography of Congregational Church History*.

14. Walter Wilson MSS. in Dr. Williams's Library. These, which were

made *c.* 1830-40, contain biographies of ministers and short accounts of many churches.

15. In the past our churches often engaged in the educational work of British Schools and, if available, records of such schools should be consulted—they are often found in County Record Offices.

PRINTED SOURCES

Copies of most of the works mentioned below can be seen at the Congregational Library and at Dr. Williams's Library.

1. A. G. Matthews. (ed.) *The Savoy Declaration of Faith and Order* 1658. (1959) gives in the Introduction some of the Independent ministers and congregations associated with the *Declaration.*

2. A. G. Matthews. (ed.) *Calamy Revised.* (1934) gives details of ministers ejected at the Restoration in 1660 or subsequently; the Introduction, List of Authorities and Explanations in this volume are very valuable. The revised edition of the Introduction was published separately, 1960. The three volumes of *England's Remembrancer* (1663) contain farewell sermons by ejected ministers, many in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire. C. E. Surman. *A. G. Matthews. 'Walker Revised': supplementary index of intruders and others* (1956) is also useful.

3. G. Lyon Turner. (ed.) *Original Records of Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence.* 3 vols. 1911. ff. gives details of Nonconformist meetings in 1669 (from the Lambeth Palace Returns) and of the licences issued under the 1672 Declaration of Indulgence : the latter are corrected and amplified by Dr. G. F. Nuttall in vols. XIV and XV of the *Trans. Cong. Hist. Soc.*

4. Alexander Gordon. *Freedom After Ejection.* 1690-92. (1917) gives details of Independent congregations and ministers listed in a Survey when the Common (later Presbyterian) Fund was founded. See also Presbyterian Board Minutes (at Dr. Williams's Library) and Congregational Fund Board Minutes (at Memorial Hall).

5. The British Museum. *General Catalogue of Printed Books.* Vol. xci. (1947) : see entry 'Congregational Abstainer' and entries following : also the Museum's current annotated indexes, and card indexes of latest accessions. For admission to the Reading Room of the British Museum a Reader's Ticket is required : prior application in writing must be made for this and the purpose for which it is required must be stated in the letter to the Director.

6. The *Evangelical Magazine.* (1793-1869) and the *London Christian Instructor or Congregational Magazine* (1818-45) are useful for ordinations, inductions, obituaries, new churches, *etc.* The *Evangelical Magazine* for 1822 contains a consolidated index of the contents of the volumes from 1793-1822, and the *London Christian Instructor* (1818-25 inclusive) contains much historical information on the history of Independent and Congregational churches in Beds., Berks., Bucks., Cambs., Cheshire, Cornwall, Cumberland, Derbyshire and Devonshire, and statistics of Congregational churches generally.

7. The *Congregational Year Books* (from 1846) contain information about churches (full statistics of churches from the 1899 volume onwards),

memoirs, some portraits, and pictures and details of new churches. The volume for 1901 contains a consolidated list of deceased ministers up to that year, and the volume for 1855 contains a list of all Independent churches in England and Wales, whether or not they were members of the Congregational Union. The *Congregational Year Book* memoirs are not always accurate and the basic information in them should be read in association with the material in No. 13 above under MANUSCRIPT SOURCES. *Congregational Year Books* also contain a list of those churches for which the Union is trustee and whose trust deeds it holds.

8. Printed histories of Congregational churches. Collections of these are easily accessible at (a) Congregational Library, Memorial Hall. (b) Dr. Williams's Library, a list of the contents of whose collections of 'chapel histories' is to be published. (c) Lancaster Central Public Library which, since 1955, has been the library in Cheshire and Lancashire, responsible for maintaining a collection of histories of Nonconformist churches.

9. *The Victoria County History of England.* The earlier volumes of this virtually ignored Nonconformity, but later volumes, particular those issued since 1945, include Sections on Nonconformist history and give full references to source material.

10. London Missionary Society Library, Broadway, London, S.W.1. L.M.S. Annual Reports 1796-1929 give lists of subscribers in considerable detail, with the Auxiliary officers, *etc.* The Library also has many portraits and documents which can often supply material concerning ministers who served or offered as missionaries. The Commonwealth (formerly Colonial) Missionary Society (H.Q. at Memorial Hall) has its own reports and records.

11. W. R. Powell. 'The Sources for the History of Protestant Nonconformist Churches in England.' *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research.* xxv. (1952). pp. 213-217 : R. B. Rose. 'Some National Sources for Protestant and Roman Catholic history.' *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research.* xxxi. (1958). pp. 79-84, and Seymour J. Price. 'Possible Contributions of the English Free Churches Towards Pedigrees.' *Genealogists' Magazine.* March, 1948. pp. 131-138, are useful. For some counties wills are no longer in the custody of District Probate Registries but have been passed to County Record Offices : the wills of ministers and of benefactors of churches should be examined.

12. City, County and Municipal libraries often have local history collections of printed works, and sometimes of MSS., *e.g.* Northampton Public Library has many Doddridge MS. It is always as well to consult the index (or bibliography if one is available) of local history items, as there will probably be Nonconformist material listed. *The Dictionary of National Biography* can be consulted at most large libraries : it contains lives of many Independent and Congregational ministers. H. McLachlan. *Alexander Gordon. 1841-1931.* (1932) contains a list of the 753 lives Gordon contributed to the *D.N.B.* : many of these were lives of Congregational ministers. *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography* should also be consulted.

13. *The Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society* (consolidated index (1901-48) : individual indexes for subsequent volumes). As some Independent churches later became Baptist, and some Presbyterian churches have become Congregational or Unitarian, the *Baptist Historical*

Society Publications (1908-21), and *Baptist Quarterly* (1922 to date) : the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society of England* (1914 to date) and the *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society* (1917 to date) should not be ignored. It is never safe to assume that an existing Congregational church necessarily began as such.

14. For the history of legislation against Nonconformists two books are particularly useful : *A Sketch of the History and Proceedings of the Deputies . . . of the Protestant Dissenters. To which is annexed a Summary of the Laws affecting Protestant Dissenters* (1814) and T. Bennett. *Laws Against Nonconformity* (1913).

15. The State Papers, Domestic, in the Public Record Office often give evidence about congregations under persecution in the 17th century : the *Calendars of State Papers, Domestic,* which are printed and indexed, should be consulted.

16. In the past our members usually supported Whig and Liberal Parliamentary candidates and engaged in agitation, *e.g.* in 1811 against Viscount Sidmouth's Bill to restrict the numbers and privileges of Nonconformist preachers[1]; in 1834-68 against the payment of Anglican Church Rates by Nonconformists, and against the Education Act of 1902. The files of back numbers of denominational and local papers are useful in tracing the church's support of Whigs and Liberals and of course for details of particular anniversaries and celebrations of the churches in more recent years.

17. To illustrate church histories and articles on Nonconformist history it is often necessary to reproduce portraits which appeared in *The Evangelical Magazine,* etc. Copies of such portraits can usually be obtained at reasonable prices from Suckling & Co., 13 Cecil Court, Charing Cross Road, London, W.C.2, who specialise in personal and topographical prints.

[1] The Baptist Union Possesses the original petitions submitted to Parliament in 1811 by Andrew Fuller's Kettering church and by the College Street Church, Northampton : it would be interesting to know whether similar petitions from Congregational churches are still extant.

I am indebted to many friends who have helped to make this article comprehensive.

H. G. TIBBUTT

N.B. :—Off-prints of the above article may be obtained from the secretary or author, 1s. 2d. (including postage), 12 Birchdale Avenue, Kempston, Bedford.

The Dictionary of National Biography

Of the 725 men and women whose lives are recorded in the latest volume (O.U.P., 1959, 105s.) of the *Dictionary of National Biography*—who died, that is to say, between 1941 and 1950 inclusive —seven are stated to have been Congregationalists : three ministers and four laymen. The ministers are A. E. Garvie (1861-1945), Principal of New College, London ; W. B. Selbie (1862-1944), Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford ; and J. D. Jones (1865-1942), of Richmond Hill church, Bournemouth. Their lives are recorded by Sydney Cave, Dr. Nathaniel Micklem and Dr. Sidney Berry respectively. The laymen are Harold Moody (1882-1947), founder of the League of Coloured Peoples and ' the first coloured man to hold a number of distinguished positions ', and three historians : Sir John Lloyd (1861-1947), of the University College of North Wales ; Bernard Manning (1892-1941), of Jesus College, Cambridge ; and J. H. Rose (1855-1942), biographer of Napoleon and joint editor of the Cambridge History of the British Empire.

Rose was born at Bedford and no doubt came under the influence of John Brown, the minister of Bunyan Meeting and biographer of Bunyan, who here receives mention both as the father of Sir Walter Langdon-Brown (1870-1946), Regius Professor of Physic at Cambridge, and as the grandfather of Maynard Keynes, Baron Keynes (1883-1946), economist. Langdon-Brown's maternal grandfather, David Everard Ford, was also a Congregational minister. Morley Horder (1870-1944), architect, Lewis Paton (1863-1946), High Master of Manchester Grammar School, Sir Robert Armstrong-Jones (1857-1943), alienist, whose grandson has married Princess Margaret, Sir Ambrose Fleming (1849-1945), inventor of the wireless valve, and D. T. Oliver (1863-1947), lawyer, were all sons of Congregational ministers, the last-named having a Congregational minister for his maternal grandfather also. Wilson Carlile (1847-1942), founder of the Church Army, had parents who were Congregationalists until after he had become of age ; the father of Sir Walford Davies (1869-1941), musician, was choirmaster of the Congregational church at Oswestry. Rendel Harris (1852-1941), biblical scholar, was a Congregationalist till he joined the Society of Friends in his twenty-ninth year. The Anglican J. K. Mozley (1883-1946) is stated to have been ' deeply influenced by the writings of ' P. T. Forsyth. In the life of H. H. Henson (1863-1947), later Bishop of Durham, it is recorded that in 1909 he preached in ' the institute of Carr's Lane Congregational church in Birmingham ', defying his bishop, Charles Gore.

G.F.N.

Selections from the Fathers

1. Robert Browne (a)

Properly speaking Robert Browne cannot be called a Congregationalist since it is generally agreed to-day that the Congregational Way did not make its appearance until about the fourth decade of the seventeenth century. Nevertheless Browne has not without reason been called the Father of Congregationalism, for his Separatism is strongly Congregational in type, even if he never used that word. Moreover, although his fellow Separatists as well as the Congregationalists themselves, denied any connexion with him, for his reputation was not undeservedly bad, this does not mean that he had no influence upon them. His books were known and his views discussed or else how was it that Brownism was so widely hated and ordinary people naturally confused Separatism generally with it? Browne, then, deserves regard for his significance in the development of that aspect of Puritanism which eventually matured into Congregationalism. He also commands a high place amongst the exponents of Congregationalism for being so explicit a writer besides being the first.

The quotations are from Browne's A Treatise of reformation without tarying for anie, and of the wickednesse of those Preachers which will not reforme till the Magistrate commaunde or compell them *and* A Booke which sheweth the life and manners of all true Christians and howe vnlike they are vnto Turkes and Papistes and Heathen folke, *both published in Middelburg, 1582. The copy here used is in the British Museum (C.37.e.19.). Those who wish to read more should obtain* The Writings of Robert Harrison and Robert Browne *in the Elizabethan Nonconformist Texts series, vol. II, edited by Albert Peel and Leyland H. Carlson (London, 1953).*

Brownist Loyalty to the Crown.

We say therefore, and often haue taught, concerning our Soueraigne Queene Elizabeth, that neither the Pope, nor other Popeling, is to haue anie authoritie either ouer her, or ouer the Church of God, and that the Pope of Rome is Antichrist, whose kingdome ought vtterlie to be taken away. Agayne we say, that her Authoritie is ciuil, and that power she hath as highest vnder God within her Dominions, and that ouer all persons and causes. By that she may put to death all that deserue it by Lawe, either of the Church or common Wealth, and none may resiste Her or the Magistrates vnder her by force or wicked speaches, when they

execute the lawes. Seeing we graunt and holde thus much, howe doe they charge vs as euill willers to the Queene ?

A Treatise of reformation, A2 *recto et verso.*

Intolerance towards Puritans who believed that only the State and the hierarchy should initiate reform.

Surelie, for that wee holde all those Preachers and teachers accursed, which will not doe the duties of Pastors and teachers till the Magistrates doe force them thereto. They saye, the time is not yet come to builde the Lordes House,[1] they must tarie for the Magistrates and for Parliamentes to do it. They want the ciuill sworde forsooth, and the Magistrates doe hinder the Lordes building and kingdome, and keepe awaye his gouernement.

Ibid. A2 *verso.*

The voluntary principle in religion.

Be ashamed therefore ye foolishe shepheardes, and laye not a burthen on the Magistrates, as though they should do that in building the Lordes kingdome, which the Apostles and Prophetes coulde not doo. They could not force Religion,[2] as ye woulde haue the Magistrate to do, and it was forbidden the Apostles to preache to the vnworthie, or to force a planting or gouernement of the Church. The Lordes kingdome is not by force,[3] neither by an armie or stre'gth, as be the kingdomes of this worlde.

Ibid. B2 *verso.*

Restriction of the authority of the State over the Church.

We knowe that Moses might reforme, and the Iudges and Kings which followed him, and so may our Magistrates : yea they may reforme the Church and commaunde things expedient for the same. Yet may they doo nothing concerning the Church, but onelie ciuilie, and as ciuile Magistrates, that is, they haue not that authoritie ouer the church, as to be Prophetes or Priestes, or spiritual Kings, as they are Magistrates ouer the same : but onelie to rule the common wealth in all outwarde Iustice, to maintaine the right, welfare, and honor thereof, with outward power, bodily punishment, & ciuil forcing of me'. And therfore also because the church is in a commo'wealth, it is of their charge : that is concerning the outward prouision & outward iustice, they are to looke to it, but to co'pell religion, to plant churches by power, and to force a submission to Ecclesiastical gouernement by lawes & penalties belongeth not to them, as it is proued before, neither yet to the Church. Let vs not therfore tarie for the Magistrates : For if they be

These footnotes were marginal notes in the original.

[1]Hag. 1. [2]Song. 8. [3]Mat. 10. Zach. 4. Hosea 2.

christia's thei giue leaue & gladly suffer & submit the' selves to the church gouerneme't. For he is a christian which is redeemed by Christ vnto holines & happines for euer & professeth the same by submitting him self to his lawes & gouernme't. And if they be not christians, should the welfare of the church of the saluatio' of mens soules, hang on their courtesie ? *Ibid.* B3 *verso* and B4 *recto.*

Conscience, not external compulsion, makes Christians.

In the meane time let them (*i.e. the Magistrates*) knowe that the Lords people is of the willing sorte. They shall come vnto Zion and inquire the way to Ierusalem,[1] not by force nor compulsion, but with their faces thitherward : yea as the hee goates shall they be before the flocke, for the haste they haue vnto Zion, and they them selues shall call for the couenaunt, saying, Come and let vs cleaue faste vnto the Lorde in a perpetuall couenaunt that shall neuer be forgotten. For it is the conscience and not the power of man that will driue vs to seeke the Lordes kingdome.

Ibid. B3 *recto.*

The nature of the church.

The Church planted or gathered, is a companie or number of Christians or beleeuers, which by a willing couenant made with their God, are vnder the gouernment of god and Christ, and kepe his lawes in one holie communion : because Christ hath redeemed them vnto holiness & happines for euer, from which they were fallen by the sinne of Adam.

The Church gouernment, is the Lordshipp of Christ in the communion of his offices : wherby his people obey to his will, and haue mutual vse of their graces and callings, to further their godlines and welfare. *A Booke which sheweth,* C3 *recto.*

Church meetings.

The Church meetings are the due resorting & comming togither of Christians, for mutuall comfort by their presence, and communion of graces to further all godlines. *Ibid.* I3 *recto.*

All Christians kings, priests and prophets.

How hath the church the vse of those graces, which al ye brethre' & people haue to do good withal ?

Because euerie one of the church is made a Kinge, a Priest, and a Prophet vnder Christ, to vpholde and further the kingdom of God, & to breake and destroie the kingdome of Antichrist, and Satan.

[1]Ierem. 50.

Howe are we made Kinges ?

We must all watch one an other, and trie out all wickednes.

We must priuatlie and openlie rebuke, the priuat and open offendours.

We must also separate the wilful and more greeuous offenders, and withdraw our selves fro' them, and gather the righteous togither.

How are all Christians made Priestes vnder Christ ?

They present and offer vp praiers vnto God, for them selues & for others.

They turne others from iniquitie, so that attonement is made in Christ vnto iustification.

In them also and for them others are sanctified, by partaking the graces of Christ vnto them.

How are all Christians made phophetes vnder Christ ?

They teach the lawes of Christ, and talke and reason for the maintenau'ce of them.

They exhorte, moue, and stirre vp to the keeping of his lawes.

They appoint, counsel, and tell one an other their dueties.

Ibid. E1 *verso.*

Church Officers.

Who haue their seueral charge ouer many churches?

Apostles had charge ouer many churches.

Likewise Prophetes, which had their reuelations or visions.

Likewise helpers vnto these, as Eua'gelistes, and companions of their iourneis.

Who haue their false charge ouer manie churches ?

High popishe Commissioners, and Legates. &c.

Archbishoppes, and Bishoppes. &c.

Also helpers vnto these, as Chau'celours, Commissareis, Sumners, &c : rouing and wandring Ministers.

Who haue their seuerall charge in one Churche onely, to teache and guide the same ?

The pastour, or he which hath the guift of exhorting, and applying especiallie.

The Teacher, or he which hath the guift of teaching especially : and lesse guift of exhorting and applying.

They which helpe vnto them both in ouerseeing and counsailinge, as the most forward or Elders.

Who haue office of cherishing and releeuing the afflicted and poore ?

The Releeuers or Deacons, which are to gather and bestowe the church liberalitie.

The Widowes, which are to praye for the church, with attendaunce to the Sicke and afflicted thereof.

Ibid. D4 *verso.*

Election of Church Officers.

What agreement must there be of the church, for the calling of church governours ?

They must trie their guiftes and godlines.

They must receyve them by obedience as their guides and teachers, where they plante or establish the church.

They must receyue them by choyse where the church is planted.

The agreement also for the calling of ciuill magistrates should be like vnto this . . .

What choyse should there be ?

The praiers and humbling of all, with fasting and exhortation, that God may be chiefe in the choise.

The consent of the people must be gathered by the Elders or guides, and testified by voyce, presenting, or naming of some, or other tokens, that they approue them as meete for that calling.

The gathering of voyces & consent of the people, is a general inquirie who is meete to be chosen, when firste it is appointed to the' all, being dulie assembled to looke out such persons among the', & then the nu'ber of the most which agree, is taken by some of the wisest, with presenting and naming of the parties to be chosen, if none can alledge anie cause or default against them.

Ibid. K1 *verso,* K2 *recto.*

What gift must they haue ?

All Gouernours must haue forwardnes before others, in knowledge and godlines, as able to guide.

And some must haue age and eldershippe.

Also some must haue parentage and birth.

Ibid. I3 *verso.*

Ordination.

The Elders or forwardest must ordeine, and pronounce them, with prayer and imposition of handes, as called and authorized of God, and receyued of their charg to that calling.

Yet imposition of handes is no essentiall pointe of their calling but it ought to be left, when it is turned into pompe or superstition.

Ibid. K1 *verso.*

(To be continued)

J.H.T.

REVIEWS

The Holy Communion in the Reformed Church of Scotland, 1560-1960 by George B. Burnet. (Oliver & Boyd, 1960, 25s.).

This is an interesting volume, packed with information gleaned from a wide variety of sources (the select bibliography runs to 16 pages). We read, for example, that in 1578 twenty-three gallons of wine, costing £41, were used on one Sacrament Sunday in Edinburgh, while at the beginning of the eighteenth century one Episcopal chaplain celebrated the Communion with whisky!

In his Preface, Mr. Burnet states that he is concerned only with the 'modes and customs of the Sacrament and the legislation bearing upon it'. This is a history of the externals, and no attempt is made to expound the doctrinal bases of the rites. This naturally limits the book's value.

Of special interest are the author's description, and attempted explanation, of the infrequency of the observance of the Sacrament throughout the period. 'Even in the sixteenth century a yearly celebration was too easily regarded as a maximum', despite the fact that the Book of Common Order rubric 'recommends a monthly celebration as a minimum'. Apparently there was not a single Communion in Edinburgh from 1649 to 1655. Burnet concludes that the cause was 'nothing less than a low conception of the Ordinance'. The sense of awe, of almost superstitious fear, which tended to surround the Sacrament, especially in the Highlands, is well brought out.

The practice of mass Communions, often degenerating into 'Holy Fairs', is another fascinating phenomenon; and there is the use of long tables, set up for Communion Sundays, and filled by successive groups of communicants—a practice almost universal until the early years of the last century, and persisting in some places until the beginning of the present century.

The references to England, relatively few in number, are mostly unfavourable! Mr. Burnet has little liking for the English Puritans, and he accuses the Sectaries and Independents (Brownists, as he often calls them) of undermining the good Reformed traditions by 'infiltration'. He notes with satisfaction that the Renaissance of worship in the latter part of the nineteenth century did much 'in purging out the baneful leaven of English Puritanism inherited from the Sectaries of the Commonwealth'!

The book is well produced and pleasant to handle, but there is a misprint on page 276 ('permtited'), and on page 108 the

name of the Independent leader at the Westminster Assembly should be Goodwin (Thomas), not 'Goodman'.

WILFRED W. BIGGS

Annals of the Congregational Church at Lindfield, Sussex. 1810-1959. By N. Caplan. (Lindfield Church, 1959, 5s.).

Too often in the past the histories of our churches have been rather ephemeral productions. Recently there has been a welcome improvement in the standard of these histories and it is to be hoped that this higher standard will be maintained in the next few years when many of our churches will publish Tercentenary histories. Mr. Caplan's 72 page history of the Lindfield church is a good example of the better type of church history. Scholarly and yet readable, its value is enhanced by the numerous footnotes, and the Secretary of the Congregational Union rightly commends the study of it to would-be writers of church histories. H. G. TIBBUTT

Episodes in the History of Brecknockshire Dissent. By Pennar Davies. (Reprinted from *Brycheiniog*, Vol. III, 1957, 5s.).

It has long been known what a decisive effect the nonconformist Academies had in the development in the areas which they served, but little has been done in particular on any English or Welsh academy. Now Mr. Pennar Davies, Principal of Brecon Memorial College, has done just this for his own Congregational college and its ancestors.

Brecon College has a notable history stretching back to the academies of Samuel Jones of Brynllywarch and Rhys Prydderch of Ystradwallter founded soon after 1662. They were combined before 1740 under Vavasor Griffiths at Llwyn Llwyd, and this academy has the distinction of being not only the ancestor of Brecon, but also of the Carmarthen and North Wales Academies. In a fine piece of research Mr. Davies has produced a much more interesting history of his own college than the usual catalogue of names and dates. The twelve plates are well chosen and excellently reproduced. A map, however, would have been of use to those of us whose knowledge of Welsh place names and geography is poor. C. EDWIN WELCH

The Story of the Old Meeting House, Mansfield, (Notts.). By J. Harrop White. pp. 144 ; 5 plates. (Lindsey Press, 1959, 7s. 6d.).

The material for this admirably told and well documented story was mainly gathered by Mr. John Harrop White, a former Town Clerk of Mansfield, a Mayor and Freeman of the Borough, and a Trustee of the Old Meeting from 1896. A devoted and public-spirited citizen and representative Unitarian, his informed love of Old Meeting and his generosity and service to it are implicit and explicit throughout. When he died in 1951 at the age of 94, his nephew, the Rev. Arthur W. Vallance, was charged with the final editing and publication and he has added some important facts arising from quite recent research.

The first half of the book will interest all who are wanting a concise summary of early Dissenting history carefully exemplified in local context : the later chapters, while more domestic, present an excellent picture of vigorous local chapel life. The cause at Mansfield owed its rise, probably *circa* 1666, to the presence in the then non-corporate borough, which was outside the restriction of the Five Mile Act, of an unusual number of ministers who had been ejected from their livings in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire (Robert Porter, John Whitlock, William Reynolds, John

Billingsley, Joseph Truman, Robert Smalley, John Cromwell, with Matthew Sylvester from Great Gonerby, Lincs.), while the conforming vicar, John Firth, who had Presbyterian sympathies, was friendly and indeed co-operative. Under Porter especially, the congregation was gathered and in due course erected the Old Meeting in 1702.

Additional to the particulars given about each of the fore-named by Calamy and in *Calamy Revised*, several fresh facts of interest emerge, and some new dates. It is shewn, for example, that Matthew Sylvester, Baxter's friend and literary legatee, was not only in Mansfield after his ejection and until about 1667, but again in 1683-84, when he was named as one of the tutors at a Dissenting Academy at Mansfield of which the principals were John Billingsley, the ejected vicar of Chesterfield (d.1683), and his son of the same name, Nonconformist minister at Chesterfield, Selston, Hull and Crutched Friars, London (*D.N.B.*). Oliver Heywood referred to the 'school' of John Billingsley *primus*, but the account of the Academy for the education of ministerial students (originally brought to notice from the MS. diary of William Bilby, one of those educated there, by the Rev. C. G. Bolam in *Transactions* of the Unitarian Historical Society, October, 1953), provides a valuable and fascinating addition to our list of those institutions as given by the Rev. T. G. Crippen, Mrs. Irene Parker Crane, Dr. Herbert McLachlan and Mr. J. W. Ashley Smith.

Of special interest to Congregationalists are the details of ministries at Mansfield by Thomas Fletcher (a student under Frankland) 1704-13; William Linwood (Glasgow) 1842-48; Ottwell Binns, the novelist (Western College) 1920-27; Frederick Munford (New College) 1928-36, who were of 'our' line but became Unitarians. There are other Congregational references.

The story is characteristically illustrative of the strong family loyalties and activities of Unitarianism, continued from generation to generation, and is in particular an obviously richly deserved tribute to the family of Mr. J. Harrop White and its collaterals.

On p. 26 the date of Billingsley's presentation to the vicarage of Chesterfield should read 18 March, 1653/4 instead of 1643/4, and on p. 139 for *John* Bull Bristow read Joseph.

CHARLES E. SURMAN.

ALSO RECEIVED:

H. G. Tibbutt. *Hockliffe and Eggington Congregational Church, 1809-1959.* (1959). His articles in the *Bedfordshire Magazine* have been very acceptable quite apart from his pamphlet histories.

MAJOR N. G. BRETT-JAMES

We regret to have to report the loss of an eminent contributor, Major N. G. Brett-James, M.A., B.Litt., F.S.A., who was a founder-member of our Society. He was an authority on the history of Middlesex and London and published numerous works, a fuller account of which we hope to print in our next issue.

THE CONGREGATIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY
Founded 1899

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SUBSCRIPTIONS ARE DUE on 1st January and the Secretary/Treasurer is glad to receive them promptly.

TRANSACTIONS are sent free to all members. Copies are obtainable from the Secretary/Treasurer.

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OUR CONTEMPORARIES

The Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society of England, Volume xi, No. 4, (May 1959), includes a survey by Dr. S. W. Carruthers of the 'Presbyterians' ejected in Wiltshire and Berkshire.

The Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society, Volume xii, No. 1. 'Unitarians and the Labour Church Movement' by I. Sellers, is an interesting account of one of the bye-ways of modern Church History.

The Baptist Quarterly.
Volume xviii, No. 3, (July 1959) includes, 'A Puritan Work of Robert Browne' by B. R. White. The contributor gives a transcript of an anonymous Puritan tract included in 'A Parte of a Register.' He attributes it to Browne, and argues that it was used in an amended form in the latter's 'A true and short declaration . . . '
Volume xviii, No. 5, (January 1960) has an article by E. P. Winter (a member of our Society) entitled, 'The Administration of the Lord's Supper among the Baptists in the seventeenth century.'

The Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, Volume xxxii, Part iii, has an interesting article by Thomas Shaw on 'The Methodist Chapel Interior (1739-1839) in relation to contemporary Church Arrangement.'

The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society, Volume xlix, No. 1, includes an interesting assessment of the relationship which existed between Quakers and Lilburne the Leveller and Winstanley the Digger ('From Radicalism to Quakerism; Gerrard Winstanley and Friends'). Richard T. Vann asks, 'Was it pure coincidence that the rise of Quakerism so closely succeeded the collapse of the Leveller impulse ? '

W.W.B.

A. J. GRIEVE PRIZE ESSAY COMPETITION

Essays of 15,000 to 25,000 words in length are invited on any of the three following subjects,

(a) 1662-1962 : The Panorama of Congregationalism.

(b) 1662-1962 : Has Nonconformity justified itself ?

(c) The abiding significance of Congregationalism.

The essays must be submitted by March 1962.

Three prizes are to be awarded, of £25, £15 and £10. Prizes will not be divided and thus diminished in value.

Transactions hopes to publish the best article.

If no essay of sufficient merit is received the Society committee retains the right to withhold the prizes.

The President of the Society has kindly agreed to act as adjudicator.