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TRANSACTIONS

THE CONGREGATIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

EDITOR JOHN H. TAYLOR, B.D.

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Editorial

From Strength to Strength

There is plenty of news for this issue, and first we must note why we now pass from volume XIX to volume XX. The whole nineteen volumes are to be reprinted before long by the Kraus Reprint Corporation. In due course subscribers will receive further information about it. At present we are engaged preparing a new index to the volumes up to last year.

Complete sets of *Transactions* are few and scattered and there are only six in the U.S.A., as far as we know. Back issues are unobtainable. At a time when universities are rapidly expanding and sources for research materials much in demand, we are pleased that our Society should be playing its part. The reprinting should mean more subscribers and more readers, and ultimately we hope more contributors and greater usefulness.

A consequence of this move will be that we shall have a larger circulation in the U.S.A. May we hope that this may lead to closer links between students of Congregational history on both sides of the ocean ?

New College Library and the Historical Manuscripts Commission

Dr. G. F. Nuttall, who has been supervising the immense task of re-binding some 1,600 books formerly belonging to the libraries of Dissenting Academies which are now at New College, tells us that the grant of £4,000 from the Pilgrim Trust is now spent and this work completed ; there remains a far greater number of books still in need of repair. Attention is now being turned to the vast collection of MSS. The contents of a volume of letters from Philip Doddridge to Samuel Clark of St. Albans were listed in *Transactions,* XVI. 4 ; a list of the contents of nine other volumes of letters to or from Doddridge or his widow has now been compiled, and all ten volumes are available on microfilm from Dr. Williams's Library.

A recent visit from the Keeper of the Queen's Records in Scotland, Sir James Fergusson of Kilkerran, Bt., to see four letters from his collateral ancestor, John Fergusson, to Doddridge, led to a visit from the Secretary of the Historical Manuscripts Commission ; and the Commission has now undertaken to make a summary record of the College's manuscripts. When completed, a copy of this record will be placed in the National Register of Archives ; copies will also be sent to the copyright Libraries and to other appropriate institutions, such as Dr. Williams's Library.

Bunhill Fields

The improvement scheme undertaken by the Corporation of London at a cost of about £55,000 at the Bunhill Fields Burial Ground will soon be finished. It is here that Bunyan, Watts, Thomas Goodwin, Defoe and a host of other prominent Dissenters were interred. It was closed in 1851. The present scheme, which has involved removing some tombs, has the blessing of both the Royal Fine Art Commission and the Society of Antiquaries. Records of any monuments removed are being deposited with the Society of Genealogists. However, two-thirds of the Ground remains as it was, save of course, for necessary cleaning up and preservation. The other third which was wrecked by enemy action is laid out as a public garden, with the tombs of Bunyan and Defoe occupying prominent places in the design.

Everyone must be glad that what had become a blot on the face of London has at long length been tackled so resolutely ; and both Free Churchmen and historians must be relieved that the Corporation resisted the popular demand to turn the Ground into a playground, much as one is needed in the area.

Van Gogh in England

Probably no artist who ever lived rouses more popular curiosity than Vincent van Gogh. That he lived in England as a young man, that he was a schoolteacher at a Mr. Jones's school in Isleworth, and that he went lay-preaching and even offered himself as a City Missioner, is well known. The Editor has been fortunate enough to identify the Mr. Jones referred to in Van Gogh's letters to his brother[1] as the Rev. Thomas Slade Jones (1829-1883), ordained to the Congregational Ministry at Leamington in 1860, and founder of Turnham Green (later Gunnersbury) Congregational Church, not a Methodist local preacher as had been previously supposed. In the letters a thumb-nail sketch of Mr. Jones's church is drawn and this, though described by the Dutch editors as a wooden church, is in fact a typical 'tin tabernacle', and the oldest member of the Gunnersbury church, who died recently, remembered it. In the letters Van Gogh describes a typical Sunday there and also the first anniversary meeting in 1876.

In the course of turning out old record books at Gunnersbury in preparation for handing them over to the London County Council Records Office, the Minister, the Rev. Mary I. Wyatt, found an early Sunday School Minutes Book, and it was here that we discovered with satisfaction and some amusement an undated resolution in November 1876 reading 'that Mr. Vincent van Gof be accepted as coworker'. Some more references to Mr. Vincent appear before his failure to return from Holland the next year. A full account of these findings are published in *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. CVI, No. 738, September, 1964.

Dr. Bogue's Lectures

Mr. Bernard Honess of the Congregational Library, Memorial Hall, reports that the Library has been able to purchase three manuscript volumes in the hand of J. Angell James of Birmingham through the good offices of the Rev. C. E. Surman.

Mr. Surman's view is that these are lecture notes taken by Angell James when he was a student at Gosport and give us Dr. David Bogue's lectures on subjects such as Biblical and Pastoral Theology as heard by the student. The volumes also contain some drafts of Angell James's later writing, sermons and correspondence. Little survives of Bogue's Academy since Gosport church was bombed and lost its records, so this acquisition is rendered the more valuable.

[1]*The Complete Letters of Vincent van Gogh*, edited by J. van Gogh-Bonger, London (1958/60), xx. Vol. I.

R. W. DALE AND NINETEENTH-CENTURY THOUGHT

(*Lecture given at the Annual Meeting of C.H.S., 13 May, 1964*)

Introduction

Robert William Dale of Birmingham lived from 1829 to 1895, and from the age of 26 to his death ministered at Carrs Lane, first as co-pastor to John Angell James and then as sole minister. During his forty years there two changes were occurring in English life and thought which really merit the hackneyed epithet 'epoch-making'. One was the development of natural science, both pure and applied. On the one hand the products of applied science were beginning that transformation of everyday life which is so much a mark of our time; on the other, there were fundamental discoveries associated with names like Darwin, Clerk Maxwell, Ernst Mach, and Hertz. The other great change was in society and thought about society: the enfranchisement of the working classes in 1867 and 1884; the growth of the modern trade union movement and the co-operative movement; the transformation of the classical political economy by John Stuart Mill and Jevons; the resurgence of Socialism associated with Marx and the founding of the Social Democratic Federation and the Fabian Society; and the beginnings of scientific sociology and anthropology.

I cannot think of any movements which have done more to make the modern world than the growth of the natural sciences and the social sciences. It was left for the twentieth century to add the scientific study of man's inner nature, and complete the triumvirate of Darwin, Marx and Freud, which has created the modern world view.

The natural and social sciences are parallel movements. Both aim to build on experience, to use a method of reasoning of unquestionable validity, to describe as completely as possible man's environment, and, through the power conferred by knowledge, to transform that environment. Both raise the fundamental question of man's own status in relation to that environment. The Psalmist's question 'What is man?' insistently demands an answer. This is the perennially topical question. 'The coming of age of man' is a phrase which describes the whole modern epoch from the Renaissance to the present day. In looking at the thought of Dale we are examining how a man of great spiritual and considerable intellectual power reacted to this discussion in his own day.

Dale's Welcome for Science

Dale was a Liberal. I am not talking now about his politics, or about his theology, which was indeed fairly conservative. I mean that he was a man eager to welcome new ideas and treat them on their merits. He was proud of the scientific progress of his age. The ' new Evangelicalism ', he claimed—meaning his own outlook—cared for truth for its own sake, and manifested ' the scientific spirit '.[1] Some saw religion and science as at war, and perhaps the latter as already victorious :

> There are large numbers of people who suppose that modern Science and modern Criticism have destroyed the foundations of Faith, and who cannot understand how it is possible, in these days, for intelligent, open-minded, educated men to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ.[2]

But Christianity had survived previous struggles, for example with geology :

> Meanwhile ordinary Christian people, who know very little about investigations of this kind, have frankly accepted all that the geologists have ascertained in relation to the antiquity of man ; but their faith in Christ is undisturbed.[3]

Science cannot destroy religion, for they belong to different spheres, each deserving honour in its own place. Sometimes Dale fell into the temptation of making the conventional contrasts between what Sir Charles Snow calls the Two Cultures, to the disadvantage of the sciences.[4] But this was when he was thinking of applied science, or technology. For science as pure knowledge he has the greatest respect, and the ' scientific man who scorns danger in his enthusiastic investigation of the mysteries of nature, and who perishes in his pursuit, is not a criminal but a hero '.[5] The scientist is the source of wealth, precisely because he does not seek it for himself.[6] If he turns from pure research to money-making he ' has taken a bribe from the devil to quench the light which God has kindled ; he has chosen to serve himself rather than to glorify God and to bless mankind '.[7] For science is a revelation of God, so that its advance cannot possibly threaten religion :

[1]*The Old Evangelicalism and the New* (1889), 23f.
[2]*The Living Christ and the Four Gospels* (1890, Twelfth Edition 1902), 1.
[3]*Ibid.*, 5.
[4]*The Ten Commandments* (Fourth Edition 1884), 128f.
[5]*Ibid.*, 147.
[6]*Laws of Christ for Common Life* (1884), 214.
[7]*Ibid.*, 11.

> We are not afraid of the results of patient and fearless inquiry into the structure of the material universe; that, too is a divine revelation; and in explaining the meaning of its phenomena, we are interpreting the very handwriting of God.[8]

Sometimes the revelation may be misinterpreted, but it ought never to be ignored.[9] It is heresy to oppose faith to intellect, for 'every fresh discovery of science is an addition to our knowledge of God's methods and God's ways in one vast province of His activity'.[10] The old Protestant fear of reason seems here to have completely disappeared, and the estimate of natural science could hardly be higher.

Science, Theology, and the Status of Man

But there is more to be said about Dale's welcome for science. In part it is grounded on the conviction that the spiritual realm is simply immune from any scientific challenge:

> It lies within the scope of the physical sciences to investigate the origin and history of the physical organization of man; but their resources and methods are at fault when they attempt to investigate the origin and history of his ethical and spiritual life. By no process of development is the transition from mere necessity to freedom conceivable.[11]

Man's unique character, symbolized by the description of him as made of the dust of the ground but filled with the breath of life, lies in his belonging both to the material and the spiritual worlds, with the spiritual the essential stuff of man's nature.[12]

If man is thus a dual being, as Kant had taught, what are the implications of modern science for man himself? Here Dale touched upon a profound problem, in discussing which he showed an imaginative awareness of the implications of science. Modern science appeared on the scene as an expression of the spirit of the Enlightenment, the spirit of humanism; yet its development seemed in the end to lead to a reversal of values. The Copernican revolution had been a victory of humanist enlightenment, yet it had dethroned man's planet from the centre of the Universe; similarly

[8]*The Jewish Temple and the Christian Church* (Second Edition revised, 1871), 31f.
[9]*Ibid.*
[10]*Fellowship with Christ and other Discourses delivered on Special Occasions* (1891), 107.
[11]*The Living Christ and the Four Gospels,* 5f.
[12]*Christian Doctrine* (1894), 170-3.

the work of Darwin, welcomed as the liberation of man from religious bonds, showed his kinship with the animal world. Dale seized upon this point and showed its significance. Humanism had criticized traditional theology as degrading to human dignity, but now it was science which humiliated man, theology which dignified him. Now it was not philosophy or science, but revelation, which recognized and defended the 'regal dignity' of man. Science might some day trace the whole of man's physical ancestry, but it would still leave unanswered all the deepest of human questionings. Moral obligation and freedom would remain inexplicable. 'It is from this region that the greatness of man receives its irresistible demonstration', so that 'the old faith in the dignity of human nature cannot be destroyed. Science may prove that, physically, we have sprung from an ignoble parentage; but conscience will still assure us that, morally, we are akin to God'.[13]

Christianity, Dale believes, has always been the upholder of human dignity, and the struggles against heresy are related to this point: thus the orthodox doctrine of the Incarnation means that man is a being capable of union with the divine, and the doctrine of the Fall means that man might conceivably be a far nobler creature than he is—that such indeed is his true nature. So also in contemporary disputes. Men say that miracles are impossible; but belief in the miracles of Christ means that for the sake of man God is willing to suspend the laws of the Universe, laws He Himself laid down. Again, in refusing to accept that the Darwinian theory is the whole truth about man Christianity vindicates his status.[14]

In a sermon preached in 1877 Dale examines carefully the implications of modern science for man. The Universe is shown to be very large; but what criterion of value is mere size? The time-scale of the Universe has similarly been shown to be enormous; but this argument can be reversed: these inconceivable ages of the past were needed in order to evolve man: 'I, a man, am the consummate result, the ripe fruit, of those immense and awful ages', Dale proclaims. Science reveals immutable laws; but I myself am conscious of freedom and obligation; once again the argument is two-edged: the more complete the extent of inviolable law, the more man stands alone in creation, the one creature with freedom, and therefore unique in honour.[15]

This is a good piece of reasoning, because it does not look for

[13]*The Ten Commandments,* 158ff.
[14]*The Jewish Temple and the Christian Church,* 54ff.
[15]*Fellowship with Christ,* 117ff.

little flaws and gaps in scientific knowledge in which to deposit little fragments of Christian belief saved from the general wreck, but looks closely at the assertions of scientists and tries to discern what they take for granted. Whatever the merits of this particular piece of argument, the *method* commends itself to us.

Analogies between Science and Religion

So much for the direct response of Dale to the scientific progress of his day. There was also what one might call the drawing of analogies between science and religion. Dale embarks boldly on the claim that the two agree in their answer to the problem of authority: for scientist and theologian alike the basic datum is human experience, and the basic check on experience is the consensus of the judgment of several observers. Facts, not theories, are the foundation, and the intellect must be free to interpret the facts.[16]

This analogy is pursued in Dale's book *The Living Christ and the Four Gospels*, which Dr. Tudur Jones compares interestingly with the work of Rudolf Bultmann.[17] If there is no infallible book, where is the Christian's authority? The answer, says Dale, like Bultmann, is the Christ of faith present in the life of the believer. Such experience is a datum: the believer knows it as he knows that fire burns.[18] It leaves no room for doubt, but is as 'decisive and irresistible as our physical perceptions of light and darkness'.[19] The proof of its validity is the same as in the case of physical perceptions: that others share it.[20] The comparison with science Dale emphasizes by the illustration of an English chemist whose laboratory results find confirmation in work done in Paris or Vienna; in like manner one's own religious experience is confirmed by that of other men.[21] Even if every fact in the Gospels could be demonstrated with absolute certainty, there would be no faith, unless there was also personal experience of Christ. On the other hand, if everything in them was lost, except that there had been a great religious teacher who was crucified and who was believed to have risen, the experience of the individual and the Church would conclusively prove the claims of Christianity.[22] It is an assertion like this which illustrates Dr. Tudur Jones's comparison

[16]*Ibid.*, 108f.
[17]*Congregationalism in England 1662-1962* (1962), 268.
[18]*The Living Christ and the Four Gospels*, 10f.
[19]*Ibid.*, 24. [20]*Ibid.*, 29.
[21]*Ibid.*, 30ff. [22]*Ibid.*, 39f.

of Dale with Bultmann, and indeed Dale's list of the bare essentials of Christian belief is not a bad summary of what Bultmann leaves to us.

There is something in Dale's argument, just as there is certainly something in Bultmann's. But he pays scant attention to the possibility that the personal experience of different individuals may seem to them to bear irrefutable testimony to beliefs which turn out to be incompatible. How do we know which experience is veridical?—the problem which constitutes the field of epistemology. One has to say that some experiences seem to be more generally shared than the religious experiences Dale had in mind. This does not mean that the latter are worthless, but it does mean that the historical and critical questions cannot be evaded.

If one analogy between science and religion concerns experience, another concerns rationality. Dale tries to draw a parallel between laws of mathematics, which no rational person disputes, and the moral laws proclaimed by religion, which similarly demand universal consent. But this analogy is distinctly specious.[23]

Another analogy concerns the Bible. Dale argues that as scientists better understand advanced forms of life by first studying the simpler forms, so Christians understand the New Testament by first studying the Old. This too is an unhappy analogy, for surely the Old Testament is not by any means the New in simpler form. In any case it would imply that the believer in time outgrows any need for the Old Testament, which was certainly not what Dale meant.[24]

At a more profound level analogy enters into the discussion of man's understanding of God. In nature we discern 'order', which Dale distinguishes from 'design', as for example when we argue from a piano to its maker and purpose. Whatever its dangers to religion, science also serves to reveal order where it is not at first apparent:

> In this country and in our own times, the man most ignorant of natural science is aware that many of those aspects of nature which to himself are as unmeaning as a page of Chinese are clearly intelligible to large numbers of other men; that phenomena in which he can discover no order have been

[23] *The Atonement: The Congregational Union Lecture for 1875* (1875), 364ff.

[24] *The Ten Commandments*, 4, and *The Jewish Temple and the Christian Church*, 98f.

> shown to illustrate definite laws. And, further, he has heard that men who have given their time and strength to the mastery of the history and structure of the material universe, are confident that it is really a universe—one immense and organised system; that every part of it is related to every other part; that nowhere is there chance or confusion; and that to an intellect with adequate powers, adequate means of observation and experiment, and adequate time, every part of it would become intelligible.[25]

Dale is arguing by analogy, but does not appear fully to realize it. He understands something of the difficulty of the argument from design, but perhaps not the extent to which Hume had undermined it before Darwin. Intelligible order is only recognizable by analogy with human activity. We see system in nature because we are capable of creating system ourselves; otherwise we should not know what order, system or intelligence looked like. In this sense Dale stands in the succession going back to Kant, which interprets nature in terms of man, as distinct from the tradition of Locke, which sees man as little more than a mirror in which external reality is reflected.

Specific Aspects of Science

From general reflections on the impact of science on Dale's thought I turn to specific aspects of science. He gave some attention to the problem of heredity and freedom. 'The universal consent of mankind' declares that a man is to be held responsible for what he is, yet everything about him, physical, intellectual and moral, is powerfully influenced by ancestry.[26] Dale was content to set side by side the two undeniable facts of freedom and hereditary influence. Perhaps it is all we can do. On the influence of environment he tried to go further. Plants are greatly affected by circumstance—the soil, temperature, moisture, and so on; but the species is not changed, and a rose remains a rose under all circumstances. Likewise moral ideas are modified, but not utterly transformed, by circumstances.[27]

This argument is a muddle, because Dale is confusing the individual and the species. The individual is not altogether transformed by circumstances—but may not the species be? A

[25]*Christian Doctrine*, 17f.
[26]*The Ten Commandments*, 113f.
[27]*Ibid.*, 219f.

man's behaviour, and his ideas of right and wrong, may not be wholly formed by circumstances ; but may not corporate behaviour and moral codes indeed be nothing more than the product of past experience ? The analogy with biology can never prove the objectivity of the moral law.

Another, and older, problem is that of miracles. Here Dale is a man of the modern age. For him, as for us, they are not the conclusive proof of Christianity, but one of its difficulties. He adopts the modern standpoint in refusing to isolate them. If miracles were recorded of someone otherwise unremarkable it would be very difficult to believe in them.[28] But the other known facts about Christ are even more remarkable than His miracles and so lend credibility to them. Whether claims about miracles are believed depends largely upon the atmosphere of the age, currently a sceptical atmosphere. The cure is to present a Christ of whom such claims cease to surprise.[29]

Behind this discussion lies the question of what is meant by a scientific law. Scientific laws assume the uniformity of nature.[30] They are merely statements of what is, not of what ought to be. If an exception is found we do not say that the law has been broken, but we modify it to include the new observations. In contrast moral laws can be broken, but do not thereby cease to apply.[31] Scientific laws need no defender, or avenger, or vindication, but moral laws require all these.[32] The stress on determinism, and the minimizing of personal responsibility, was a result of the popularizing of the idea of scientific law. Curiously this came just at the time when Calvinist determinism was disappearing. Dale comments : 'The philosophers have picked up fragments of the creed which the theologians had cast aside—and the worst fragments '.[33]

The Social Sciences

This discussion of the concept of law raises the question of the social sciences, for this is one of the terms invoked here as well as elsewhere. Dale fully realized the influence of the social sciences on contemporary thought, and quoted a very interesting example : the erosion of orthodox Protestant theology by the weakening, in the secular democratic state, of awe and reverence for political

[28]*The Living Christ and the Four Gospels,* 100f.
[29]*Christ and the Controversies of Christendom* (Address to Congregational Union, May 11th, 1869), in *Essays and Addresses* (1899), 14f.
[30]*Christian Doctrine,* 26.
[31]*Ibid.,* 26ff.
[32]*The Atonement,* 333f.
[33]*Fellowship with Christ,* 251ff.

authority, and hence, by analogy, for other kinds of authority.[34]

Dale rejected the theory of the social contract and the doctrine that political authority is derived from the consent of the governed. It is true that the conferring of such authority on particular individuals is a power of the people, but the authority itself is divine: 'Governments exist by virtue of the divine constitution of the world'.[35] Indeed, even the 'captain of industry' holds his position through the will of God.[36]

Sometimes Dale's liberalism was of a quite conservative hue. He believed the past to possess a certain authority, and that social institutions could not be changed very fast. We ought not to ignore the lessons of former days.[37] True liberalism is not 'the incessant attempt to reconstruct from its foundations the political constitution of the state', but a process of gradual improvement.[38] Yet at one time he had been less cautious. Addressing the Congregational Union in 1869 he asked: 'Has Christianity itself anything to say concerning the general structure of civil society? . . . A great democratic movement threatens—or promises—to reconstruct not the mere political framework of nations, but their social order and institutions. Is Christianity pledged to the past or to the future? . . . Established Churches have resisted the advance of the spirit of democracy; will it find in Christianity itself an enemy or a friend?'[39] Yet already the democratic movement alarms him. It advances irrepressibly yet it is hostile to the Churches—though perhaps the Churches deserve the hostility: 'They may have relieved the sufferings of the poor, but they have not contended for their rights; they may have taught man to be charitable, but not to be just'.[40] The only remedy is so to preach Christ as to show that all the ideals of democracy are represented at their highest in him.[41] Were it not for Christ, Dale admits, he would despair at the problems and dangers of the times.[42] The Christian claim is that Christ must rule all life, social as well as individual, and it must not be thought that those who demand disestablishment are revoking this claim.[43]

This is half-hearted encouragement, as would appear at once if Dale's words were stripped of the hortatory uplift appropriate in addresses to the May Meetings. It amounts to saying 'We

[34]*The Ten Commandments*, 6f. [35]*Ibid.*, 210f.
[36]*Laws of Christ for Common Life*, 12.
[37]*The Ten Commandments*, 134f. [38]*Ibid.*, 135.
[39]*Christ and the Controversies of Christendom*, 1f.
[40]*Ibid.*, 36f. [41]*Ibid.*, 38f.
[42]*Ibid.*, 39f. [43]*Ibid.*, 41f.

Christians haven't any clue what to do about the secularization of life; but take heart, Christ will continue to rule all life'. Yet Dale himself would have been the first to insist that Christ's rule over all life was to be effected through his servants. To despair of what Christians can do and resign all responsibility to Christ, was to retreat into a Pietism quite foreign to Dale and Victorian Nonconformity in general.

Just as Dale values scientific progress because the physical Universe is part of God's creation, so he values politics, because the world and its affairs are, like everything else, of interest to God. Public service is a Christian duty, and municipal enterprise is especially valuable: 'Medicine, and not the gospel only, is necessary to cure the sick. Municipal action, and not the gospel only, is necessary to improve the homes of the poor'.[44] Again, he is indignant with a correspondent who assures him 'There are no politics in heaven'. 'No politics in heaven! Well, I suppose not; but there are no agricultural labourers there living on twelve shillings a week, whose condition political action may perhaps ameliorate'—and he goes on to list similar social problems presumably absent from Paradise.[45]

In an address on *Social Science and the Christian Faith* Dale analyses the relationship between the two. As social science deals with man, the Christian doctrine of man is clearly a relevant consideration, a branch of theology unduly neglected by the Church. The Christian doctrine of man derives from the doctrine of the Trinity, for the Incarnation reveals the true relationship of God and man. Because humanity has been dignified by the presence of deity every individual possesses an honourable status. Physical conditions affect morality, and the discovery of man's intimate relationship to God provides a new motive for the improvement of his lot.[46]

All this implies that the defects of contemporary society ought not to be supinely tolerated but attacked by man.

What then was Dale's attitude to the most extensive plan for remodelling society, Socialism? It was too radical for him. He noticed a widespread demand for a social order based on the Sermon on the Mount; but such a society would only be possible if all were Christians. The demand for State Socialism ignored the possible unhappy side-effects, and in any case the main duty of

[44] *Laws of Christ for Common Life*, 199f.
[45] *Ibid.*, 267.
[46] *Fellowship with Christ*, 148-167.

Christians was to act justly in any existing social order.[47] Efficiency was not the most important criterion : for example, the nationalization of hospitals might inhibit benevolence and actually worsen the conditions of the poor.[48] Everything belongs to God, including the land,[49] but the parables of the Unjust Steward and of Dives and Lazarus teach that property rights are sacred. This is an extraordinary piece of exegesis arrived at by tortuous reasoning. Dale uses the doctrine of stewardship to reach a conservative conclusion : if no property really belongs to its so-called owner, why envy him and try to alter its distribution ?[50] Socialism will never work unless,

> all men are both heroes and saints . . . If under our present social order those virtues could be created and disciplined which are necessary to the very existence of a communistic system, whatever is unjust and unequal in our present social life would soon disappear. The great problem after all is not, How can we improve our institutions ? but, How can we improve men ?[51]

The great Christian concern is not about the ownership of property, but about its use.

This is typical of the discussion of Socialism at the time. Apart from its method of interpretation, which reads into a parable exactly what Dale wants to find there, it has other faults. It neglects the influence of environment on character and the Socialist argument that many of the sins which were supposed to make Socialism impossible were created by Capitalism. The argument, which did not really emerge till the days of the Fabian Society, that Socialism was prepared to challenge Capitalism as a working system was not realised. After all, the undoubted fact that men are far from perfect does not tell us whether the railways or the steel industry will work better under a system in which Capital and control are vested in public authorities or under private enterprise. The argument that society largely moulds character—the philosophy of Robert Owen—and the argument that social enterprise—co-operative, municipal, and State—would increasingly encroach on individualist Capitalism by sheer competitive effectiveness—the argument of Sidney Webb—are still popularly denied ; but they are implicitly accepted by all the changes of the last 100 years. As usual actions, and Acts of Parliament, speak louder than words.

[47] *Ibid.*, 255-262. [48] *The Ten Commandments*, 231ff.
[49] *Laws of Christ for Common Life*, 4f.
[50] *Ibid.*, 27. [51] *Ibid.*, 34f.

Summary and Criticisms

I propose now to try to evaluate the influence of the sciences on Dale. First one may note certain respects in which we must judge him to have been influenced for good and to be in the right.

Basic to all Dale's teaching and activities is a positive valuation of this world; and this is perhaps a greater thing than it seems at first sight. There were still those ready to announce that this world is a vale of tears which, regrettably, the pilgrim soul must traverse on its way to heaven. But according to Dale the earth is still part of God's Kingdom. This is an all-embracing principle: scientific discovery is exploration of the Kingdom, and social reform, and even party political activity, are a divine service.

From this standpoint Dale adopted a positive attitude to science. He is no forerunner of the conventional preacher of recent generations who reiterates as a startling profundity that our science has outrun our moral progress, as though it were a case of the less science the more morality, and that we should all live more decent lives if there were fewer microscopes in the world! He defends the autonomy of science and has no desire to see it brought under theological control. Once again this was no dead issue: in the Roman Catholic Church and on the Evangelical extreme of Protestantism there were those who wanted to lay down the limits which science must observe. Dale even recognized science as an ideal of life: the man who spent himself in research for the benefit of humanity or for the discovery of truth was a hero to be respected.

Dale sees no inevitable conflict between science and religion. They belong to different spheres. Sometimes science may help religion: for example, in the argument from intelligible order in the Universe to an intelligence behind the Universe, science helps by discovering order where it is not obvious at first sight.

Dale is good in his careful examination of the ambiguous word 'law', and its use in science to mean 'observed regularities' as compared with its use in ethics to mean 'obligation'. He is particularly penetrating in discussing the ambivalent implications of scientific progress for the status of humanity. In discovering links between man and the apes, and in closing the gaps in the chain of physical causality, scientists were degrading man, while theology, proclaiming a divine Father and a divine yet human Saviour, was ennobling him. Dale is right too in not becoming bemused by science and pseudo-science, as for example Herbert Spencer did. He accepted evolution, but he never made the easy

transition to belief in inevitable moral progress. He knew too much of the Bible and Church History to interpret Christianity as an evolutionary religion which need not be anchored firmly in historic events. We should misunderstand his argument in *The Living Christ and the Four Gospels* if we thought that was what he wanted to do.

Dale is very good on miracles. He does not discuss them in detail, but he avoids the easy answers that they are impossible and so can't be true, or that they are in the Bible and so must be true, and shows that the credibility of an alleged miracle is not a matter which can be settled by treating it in isolation, but depends upon presuppositions.

He is aware of the determinist tendency of science and is content to urge that freedom is a simple datum of experience.

He was very conscious of the problems of authority, not only in relation to Biblical criticism, but generally. Here he laid emphasis on experience—individual experience judged by the test of consensus. Perhaps we should now consider that he had carried this analogy with science too far, but it was a serious attempt to answer a fundamental question. He was on the right lines too in insisting that the right answer to the challenges of the day, especially the political and social challenges, was not to take one's stand on an infallible book or an infallible Church, but to point men back to the fundamental Christian authority, Christ Himself. This was what the authors of the controversial Anglican book *Lux Mundi* were also aiming to do in their own way.

I pass on now to certain ways in which I believe Dale was mistaken or inadequate in his arguments. The present-day theologian would find him insufficiently biblical in his approach. This is the source of my doubts about his analogy of religion and science, both being based on personal experience. We should want to say that Christianity rests upon certain unique events and that the record of those events therefore has a unique authority for us. Of course, I know that Dale could not say this because it was precisely the authority of that record which he was discussing. But it is one characteristic of pre-1900 theology which strikes us as odd that it is so tenuously rooted in the actual content of the Scriptures.

Dale's attitude to the Old Testament is unsound. He argues that it is of permanent value as a simple paradigm in which we learn truths we later discern in more difficult form in the New Testament. Apart from the fact that it is obviously no such thing, and

that it does not by any means say the same thing as the New Testament in different words, the argument makes the Old Testament permanent for the Church at the expense of making it temporary for the individual, who in due course moves on from *Ezekiel* to *The Acts of the Apostles*.

To-day we should also feel unhappy about the dichotomy of the spiritual and the material worlds. This is the legacy of nineteenth century Idealism and goes back ultimately to Descartes, the most dangerous of Christian apologists. Dale thought that whatever worlds science conquered it could at least be shut out of the inner sanctum of mental and spiritual experiences. The answer is not so simple. He did not of course have to cope with Freud or Gilbert Ryle.

Here one must note that his theological judgment of science itself is superficial. One may raise the question whether Protestantism has ever really known what to say about the relations of religion and science, or about the relations of religion and art, except that Aquinas got it all wrong. Dale admired science itself immensely; he would not have been a real Victorian if he had not. But if we asked him why it was a good thing, I am not sure he would know what to say. He would certainly not be content to say that it produced material benefits for men, though that is important; he would want to justify the search for truth for its own sake. But how do we justify this? The question raises issues of the utmost importance for Christianity.

I have already criticized certain arguments of a more or less analogical nature, in which I believe Dale has gone astray. He is wrong in thinking that he has disposed of the belief that there are no universal moral principles by talking about the angles of a triangle, because the propositions involved are not of the same kind. He is wrong in thinking that he can show the existence of God from the existence of order in the physical Universe, because in answering some of the points arising from Darwin he has not dealt with others urged much earlier by Hume. He is wrong in minimizing the effect of environment on morality because he confuses individual and species. On Darwinian principles 'the rose' (not 'a rose') might turn into 'the cabbage', given sufficient time. This is relevant because Dale is talking not about the virtues and sins of this man or that, but about moral codes.

I add that Dale is not of a very high order as a social critic. He is basically conservative, in the sense that he cannot really imagine society being very greatly different than it is. When he

discussed Socialism, he did not realize that it was a movement towards the self-determination of man parallel to, and comparable with, the trend of contemporary science, and he did not see that a discussion of equal weight was required.

Two questions remain. First, what was the science Dale was thinking about ? The strongest influence was certainly Darwin, whose work was the greatest scientific advance of the age. It is interesting to note that Dale has little to say about physics or astronomy, or about the bearings of chemical progress on our view of life itself, or about scientific method.

Finally, what effect had science on Dale's view of the Christian religion ? Firstly, it helped to safeguard him against the temptations of other-worldliness. God cares about this world, so we must be interested in it too. Secondly, science and society are relevant to theology, as well as *vice versa.* Many of his contemporaries would have agreed that theology must have an influence on science and social life, but Dale was one of those who held that science and social life help us to understand religion. Thirdly, Dale was forced partly by the issues we have been considering to become increasingly Christocentric. Biblical critics questioned the infallibility of the Scriptures, scientific discovery raised philosophical problems difficult to answer, the working classes demanded new freedoms and denounced the Church and religion itself as obstacles in their way. Dale insisted that the answer was to point men away from literary and philosophical disputes, away from the Church and even religion, to the Christ who confers on the Bible the authority it possesses, who transcends philosophical disputes, who answers the need of every class as no Church or formal religious tradition can. Lastly, the religion which emerges is a humanist religion, in the truest sense, and Dale boldly proclaims Christianity as the true humanism. His is a Gospel which gives man a high value as the child of God, redeemed by Christ, in which the welfare of man is an immediate object of God's own purposes. So far as natural and social sciences serve man's true welfare they are to the glory of God, and in so far as they appear to denigrate man as the victim of a rigid law of causality or as the close kin of the brute creation the Christian faith restores the balance by proclaiming that he possesses glorious liberty and is the child of God. This humanist interpretation of Christianity is surely what we are still feeling after.

STEPHEN H. MAYOR

PURITAN NAMES AND THE ROOTS OF NONCONFORMITY

This short note is not a misguided attempt to annex to Nonconformity the entire Puritan heritage of the Elizabethan age as if all the strands of Puritan sentiment were woven into the fabric first of separatism and then of Nonconformity. The dangers of such attempts have been exposed often enough. But it is interesting to test the validity of an apparent, if novel, connection between Puritan and Nonconformist activity in Sussex.

> You of Sussex have bene accompted very disordered and contentious, and hir Majestie hath bene enformed of you, and I mean to proceed streightely in this pointe.[1]

It was in November, 1583, that Whitgift made this sharp retort to a small group of Sussex ministers at Lambeth. They had come to appeal to the Archbishop against their suspension by the Archdeacons of Lewes and Chichester following their refusal to subscribe *simpliciter* to Whitgift's Articles.[2] The Archbishop was evidently justified in describing the Sussex clergy as " very disordered and contentious " because, according to the deputation, some thirty ministers in all were under suspension in the Chichester diocese and this must have been about one in eight of the clergy.[3] The subsequent course of events did not belie this impression of strong Puritan sentiment with the wide support in the county for radical reform of the Church and for Parliament against the King.

One member of the deputation was Thomas Hely of Warbleton who was an outspoken critic of the ordering of the Prayer Book and of the doubtful quality of the translation of the Bible :

> . . . if we subscribe to the booke, do we not subscribe to the translation of the bible which that booke appointeth to be read ? And that translation is faultie in many places, yea, and very corrupt.[4]

During Hely's few years at Warbleton, he baptised about one hundred children with Puritan names including his own children who received the names : *Much-Mercye, Sin-denie, Increased* and *Fear-not*. But these names were mild indeed compared with a good

[1] *The Seconde Parte of A Register*, ed. A. Peel (1917).

[2] The see of Chichester was then vacant and jurisdiction divided between the two Archdeacons ; it was the Prayer Book Article of Whitgift's which caused most difficulty for the Sussex clergy.

[3] The Archbishop's return of 1603 gave a total of 250 parish churches and 211 preachers for the Chichester diocese.

[4] *Seconde Parte*.

many of those chosen in Sussex. The historians of the county, Horsfield and Lower, gave some attention to the range of Puritan names and both reproduced lists of Sussex jurymen having Puritan names which had survived in the Burrell MSS.[5] A sample of these should include the following :

Fly-fornication Richardson of Waldron[6]
Fight-the-good-fight-of-Faith White of Ewhurst
The-peace-of-God Knight of Burwash
Search-the-Scriptures Morton of Salehurst
Small-hope Biggs of Rye

Lower showed that the evidence of the Sussex parish registers amply refuted the charge brought in after the Restoration that these Puritan baptismal names were assumed by the "pretended saints" of the Parliamentarians.[7] Camden had noted quite fully the "new names" coming in during Elizabeth's reign.[8] More recently, it has been pointed out that :

> the mistake has been made of consulting parish registers of the second half of the seventeenth century, whereas the time when they were most rife was from about 1580 to 1640.[9]

After 1660, Nonconformity quickly established a strong influence in nearly all the Sussex parishes in whose registers these Puritan names are to be found most frequently. Hely's own parish of Warbleton can be shown to have had a clear chain of Nonconformist witness : two conventicles reported there in 1669 ; of the 300 adults in the parish in 1676, forty were recorded in the Bishop's return as being Nonconformists ; a meeting of General Baptists was registered in 1690 under the Toleration Act ; Presbyterian activity was recorded in the Common Fund survey of 1690/91 ; the General Baptist congregation was said in the Evans List of 1717 to number 110 Hearers, and even the somewhat biased Chichester Visitation of 1724 admitted that some of the families

[5] M. A. Lower developed the theme of Puritan names at some length in his *English Surnames* (4th edition, 1875).

[6] *Helpless* and *Fly-fornication* were commonly given as names for illegitimate children, for example : "Flie-fornication, the bace sonne of Catren Andrewes, bapt. ye 17th. Decemb. 1609" at Waldron, and "Helpless Henly, bastard" at Alfriston.

[7] ". . . since the authenticity of these lists has been questioned, I would add that my somewhat intimate acquaintance with the parish registers of Eastern Sussex enables me to state that many of the names they contain, besides hundreds of others, are to be found of these documents." (Lower, *op. cit.*)

[8] William Camden : *Remaines* (1605).

[9] *Oxford Dictionary of English Christian Names,* compiled E. G. Withycombe, 2nd edition, 1950.

were Nonconformists.[10]

Hailsham, home of juryman *Renewed* Wisberry, provides another telling chain : John Lover ejected in 1660 ; a conventicle of about forty persons in 1669 ; Indulgence Licence in 1672 for a Presbyterian meeting ; twenty-two Nonconformists out of an adult population of 300 in 1676 ; mention in the Common Fund survey 1690/91 ; a Presbyterian congregation of 110 hearers in 1717, and eight or nine families of Nonconformists out of a population of some sixty families in 1724.

In the longer list of the Sussex jurymen, eighteen parishes were mentioned (including Warbleton and Hailsham) and the spread of Nonconformity in these places is indicated briefly in the following summary :

Indications	*Number of Parishes*
Minister ejected, 1660/62	six
Conventicle, 1669	five
Indulgence Licence, 1672	five
Nonconformists recorded, 1676	sixteen
Common Fund, 1690/91	seven
Toleration Act registrations, 1689/1714	ten
Evans List, 1717	six
Nonconformists recorded, 1724	fifteen

The Return of Conventicles in 1669 certainly did not mention all the Nonconformist meetings then being held regularly and there is evidence of conventicles held at more of these eighteen parishes than the five actually listed ; similarly, the Indulgence Licences have to be read in conjunction with the known reluctance of many Nonconformists, especially Baptists and Friends, to apply to the King for permission to meet. The diocesan returns of the numbers of Nonconformists tended to underestimate the real strength of dissent.

It might be wrong to hold that the pattern of Nonconformist development in Sussex was determined largely by the earlier spread of Puritan sentiment, but it would seem from this brief appraisal that the connection between them was decidedly strong.

N. CAPLAN

[10]Sources : Ejected ministers : A. G. Matthews : *Calamy Revised* (1934). Conventicles and Indulgence Licences : G. Lyon Turner : *Original Records, etc.* (1911-14). 1676 Return : MS. (Wm. Salt Library, Stafford). Toleration Act registrations : County Record Office, Chichester. 1724 Visitation : County Record Office, Chichester. Common Fund : A. G. Gordon : *Freedom After Ejection* (1917). 1717 : Evans List (Dr. Williams's Library). For appraisal of the Ecclesiastical Returns, *vide* Caplan : *Transactions* of Unitarian Hist. Soc. vol. XIII, No. 1, and *Sussex Notes and Queries,* vol. XV, No. 9.

LONDON CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES SINCE 1850*

I

How have Congregationalists reacted to the vast urban expansion which has dominated church life in London for more than a century ? Everyone is aware of the phenomenon, yet few can be aware of its impact beyond their own lifetime. This short essay is by no means a full answer to the question ; it is no more than a scouting trip into the subject. C. A. McLaren's short article later in this issue shows that material is becoming available upon which more mature judgments will one day be made.

In 1850 London was still compact. Building had crept a mile or so beyond the ring of great railway termini, but one could still drive out into farmland and market gardens within two or three miles of Charing Cross in almost every direction. Where urban tentacles pushed out into the countryside railways were often responsible, *e.g.*, the Woking line through Wandsworth in 1838, and the Croydon line the next year. The new railway junction and works at Stratford on the East side of the River Lea was the cause of a long ribbon development along road and railway transversing the marshy valley.

A glance at the first map (opposite p. 26) reveals that Congregationalism was strongest to the North of the City and relatively weak in the West ; the explanation of this is simple, for the West, particularly Kensington, was the aristocratic end, the Court and Parliament being that side, whilst the business men and radicals naturally sought property to the North, not far by horse bus from the City and Fleet Street. They did not often go South in the early days for the South bank had for centuries been the poorer side of the River. It was here that the Baptists were strongest and the Congregationalists rather thin and it was here that C. H. Spurgeon was tactically wise to make his centre.

The picture of church life in the 1850s can be filled out somewhat from the returns made to Horace Mann when he conducted his

*See appendix on the maps, p. 42.

census of churches in 1851.[1] The Independents or Congregationalists were by far the largest of the nonconformist bodies. Reckoning up exactly how many congregations there were is a fascinating but utterly frustrating exercise[2] and all we can say is that over 200 churches in the greater London area called themselves Independent, Congregational or 'Countess of Huntingdon' and that the *Congregational Year Book* listed 152. We can also see that few of the churches not listed were of any size. One of the exceptions was Providence Chapel, Islington, whose minister, G. Abrahams, hyper-independent, refused to co-operate, not only with the Union, but with the Registrar General. The local registration officer described him as a Polish Jew by origin, and got the chapel keeper to supply him with a few figures.[3]

In the 1850s chapels were amply filled but, contrary to oral tradition, not generally packed. Only three tried to impress upon the authorities that they could not hold the crowds that came to them. How should we judge the ancient Bengo Collyer's return for Hanover, Peckham, who had 1,200 both people morning and evening packing a chapel for 900 ? Surrey Chapel (James Sherman) had the largest seating capacity, 2,300, and was said to be full in the morning and to have 2,500 at night. Somehow John Campbell managed to get 2,300 into a building for 1,700 on Sunday night, but Campbell, the journalist, never was a modest man. He was obviously pleased to put on the return as his address 'Rev. Dr. Campbell, London.'[4] These three chapels, whatever be the truth about their figures, were, of course, great preaching centres dating from the Evangelical Revival and it was their primary object and their tradition to be filled and overflowing; to admit otherwise would have been disloyal, but they represented a tradition that was fading away.

There were many large churches with large congregations and a summary of their returns may be of interest. It is significant that in 1851 they were, with the exception of three, which are placed at the end, all suburban churches :

[1]*Religious Worship in England and Wales* (1854); returns : PRO : HO. 129. The figures are hardly accurate but nevertheless valuable.

[2]All kinds of churches may call themselves Independent. Are we to include The Olive Branch, Edmonton, whose leader describes himself as 'Conductor of Divine Service' ?

[3]Seating 1,000, 900 morning, full at night.

[4]Campbell actually wrote 3,200 at night but surely the numbers are transposed or did he hold two services ? Morning 2,100.

Place	*Minister*	*Capacity*	*Morning*	*Evening*
			(adults	*only)*
Walworth	Geo. Clayton	1,182	910	950
Trevor, Brompton	Jn. Morison	1,020	700	1,200
Hornton, Kensington	Jn. Stoughton	977	570	637
Paddington	Jas. Stratten	1,174	1,150	1,050
Craven, Golden Sq.	J. Leifchild	1,700	857	1,160
Park, Camden Town	Josh. Harrison	1,500	1,144	1,414
Hoxton Academy	various	1,000	800	948
Bethnal Green New	Josiah Viney	900	557	745
Adelphi, Hackney	Wm. Woodhouse	950	850	950
Wycliffe, Commercial Rd.	Andrew Reed	1,500	1,300	1,300
Orange St.	Sam. Luke	966	600	750
Weigh House, Fish St.	Tho. Binney	1,200	1,350	700[5]
Westminster Chapel	Sam. Martin	1,414	990	1,238

More ordinary congregations in the suburbs looked like this :

Brixton, Trinity	S. Eldridge	596	256	244
Brixton, Union	John Hall	530	250	200[6]
Camberwell, Mansion House	J. Burnet	800	500	400
Dalston, Middleton Rd.	C. Dukes	1,000	774	733
Mile End	W. Tyler	995	260	430
Stoke Newington, Abney	J. Jefferson	672	580	541

Islington, the strongest nonconformist suburb, deserves mention :

Barnsbury	Charles Gilbert	708	376	347
Holloway	A. J. Morris	650	480	343
Lower St.	Vacant	700	420	560
Union	H. Allon & T. Lewis	1,100	732	728
Upper St.	B. S. Hollis	1,200	731	719[7]

Country churches were nothing like so flourishing. Towns and villages were small and congregations too. Middlesex, for example, outside the Metropolis, had few churches of consequence and these were at Brentford, Hammersmith, Enfield and Uxbridge, where Providence, not yet in the Union like many country churches, had the largest congregation of all, 330 in the morning.

An ominous note is struck by a handful of City churches which were becoming redundant as the narrow streets were swept away and spacious business houses took their place. Some of these were down to congregations well below a hundred, *e.g.*, Artillery Street,

[5]Binney was away sick this day.
[6]Brixton suffered from secessions.
[7]Attendance down it is stated because it was 'the day for the usual Quarterly collections for defraying the incidental expenses of Public Worship'.

capacity 550, morning 21, evening 43. The return says that this was due to be developed as a station of the Home Missionary Society.

We may say, then, that in the 1850s Congregationalism was virile, popular and middle-class. Strongest of the Nonconformists, its chapels were well-filled and in some it would have been hard to find a seat.

II

It would be wrong, however, to imagine that everybody went to church in mid-Victorian times. Mann showed that the churches provided inadequate accommodation, particularly in the new suburbs, and that what was provided was by no means all used. Mann spurred all denominations to action, and certainly the generation following 1851, stimulated still further by the Bicentenary in 1862 and Joshua Wilson's vision and challenge to Congregationalists to begin work on a hundred new chapels, proved to be the greatest chapel building age we have ever seen. Moreover, apart from new causes, every pastor and people wanted to be re-developing their buildings. Thus at the end of the period, in 1881, two out of every three chapels listed in Andrew Mearns' *Guide to Congregational Churches of London* (1882) were less than thirty years old. A flood of Victorian chapels was upon London and most of the old meeting houses disappeared.

It is clearly impossible to do more than touch upon the development that went on in the period. Perhaps we may take a look at the South where extensive development took place. Percy Fitzgerald described it in 1893 when it was well-established :

> This district of Sydenham, Norwood, Forest Hill, Anerley, Gipsy Hill, 'Lordship Lane', is about the fairest and most 'winsome' of all the suburban dependencies of London . . . . Of a morning at Anerley and other stations are seen crowds of busy men hurrying to town for the day's work . . . . For them the fine air is recuperative ; their houses are built in substantial and sometimes elegant style.[8]

Congregationalists responded to the challenge of these suburbs with no less than seven new churches between 1854-70 : Sydenham, Church-in-the-Grove, formed 1854, built 1867 ; Anerley, f.1856, b.1876 ; Selhurst Road, f.1862, b.1866 ; Forest Hill, Queens Road, b.1864, f.1865 ; Upper Norwood, St. Aubyn's Road, f.1864, existing

[8]*London City Suburbs* (1893) p. 207.

chapel bought; Norwood New Town, b.1865, f.1870; and South Norwood, f.1870, b.1873. In addition Lower Norwood had an old chapel. Equally startling was the growth of Croydon around George Street, rebuilt in 1878: Trinity, b.1864; South, f.1865, b.1871; West, f.1865; Salem, f.1866; Addiscombe, f.1878, b.1882; Thornton Heath, an old church re-formed in 1878.[9]

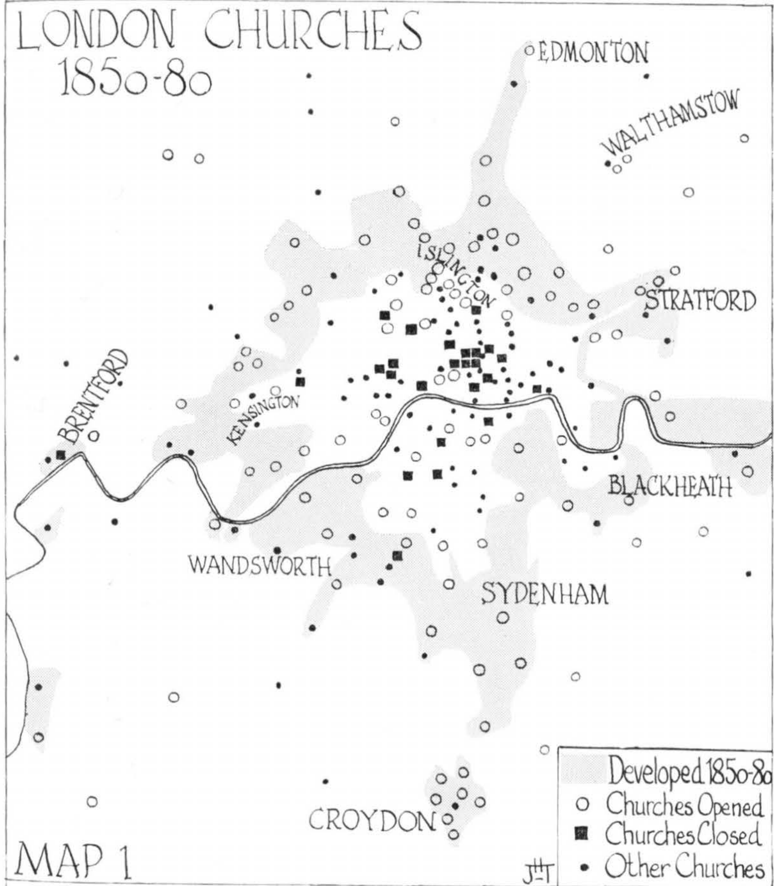
Chapel building continued in Islington and inside one square mile of the borough there existed perhaps the greatest density of Independent chapels ever seen:

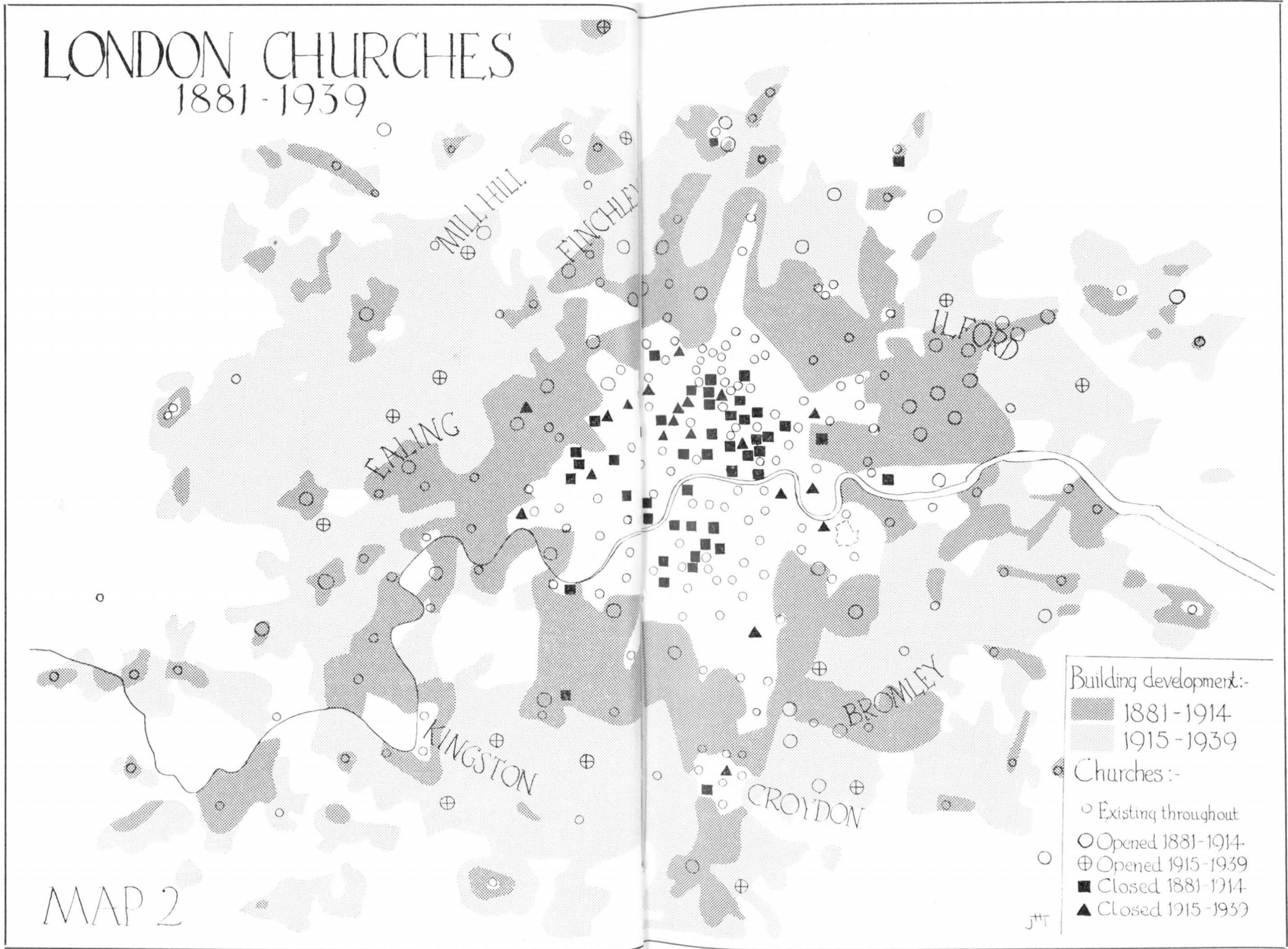
Place	*Latest Building*	*Seating*
River Street (1774)	1864	600
Union (1802)	1877	1,800
Upper Street	1815	1,100
Barnsbury	1835	750
Caledonian Road	1850	900
Offard Road	1857	500
Hare Court	1858	1,300
Arundel Square	1863	1,000

The remainder of Islington contained another seven churches accommodating a further 4,870 persons. Out a little further in Edmonton, Hackney, Kentish Town and adjoining districts a score of new chapels were erected and often they needed enlargement as for example, Park Chapel, Crouch End, built in 1856, enlarged in 1858 and 1862, and again in 1876, a year after the settlement of Alfred Rowland.

The building of 161 chapels accommodating 109,000 persons must have cost over a million pounds. Central funds had little with which to help. The London Congregational Chapel Building Society claimed to have assisted 141 chapels since its inception in 1856 according to its report in 1881, but its loan fund then only stood at £11,000 and as loans were not quickly repaid, its income, which was £5,845 in 1860-1, had dropped to £4,116. The English Chapel Building Society also helped but had more claimants. Chapels were costly creations, some more costly than others. Norland Chapel, Notting Hill cost only £3,000 including the site in 1859 and held 750; Romford in 1877 cost £4,800, seating 500. Expensive suites of buildings ran to much higher figures, *e.g.*, £21,000, Clapton Park, 1871, seating 1,151; £38,000, Union, Islington, 1877, seating

[9]Figures from Mearns, *op. cit.* The dates are not always reliable to a year but are substantial for our purpose. In his Foreword to H. S. Dyos' *Victorian Suburb* (1961) Sir John Summerson remarks that 'a building estate of the 'fifties would never 'go' without a good big church'.


LONDON CHURCHES
1850-80
EDMONTON
WALTHAMSTOW
ISLINGTON
STRATFORD
BRENTFORD
KENSINGTON
BLACKHEATH
WANDSWORTH
SYDENHAM
CROYDON
MAP 1
Developed 1850-80
Churches Opened
Churches Closed
Other Churches


LONDON CHURCHES
1881 - 1939
MILL HILL
FINCHLEY
ILFORD
EALING
KINGSTON
CROYDON
BROMLEY
Building development:-
1881 - 1914
1915 - 1939
Churches :-
Existing throughout
Opened 1881 - 1914
Opened 1915 - 1939
Closed 1881 - 1914
Closed 1915 - 1939
MAP 2

MEMBERSHIP FLOW - LONDON & AREA 1949 - 1961

NORTH-SOUTH

MEMBERS

3000

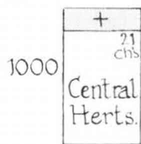
+ GAINS

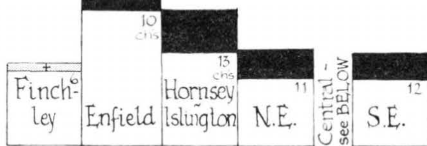
LOSSES

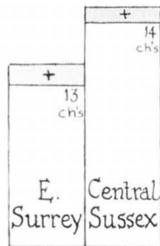
ch's = churches.

2000

1000







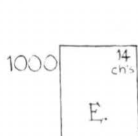
LONDON

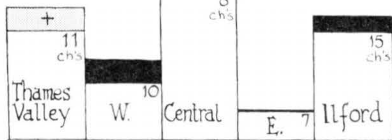
WEST - EAST

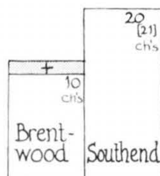
3000

2000

1000







BERKS &c

LONDON

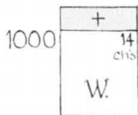
ESSEX

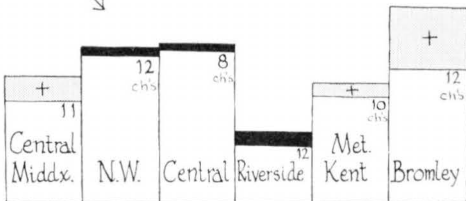
N.W. - S.E.

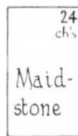
3000

2000

1000







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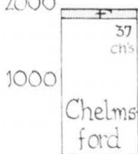

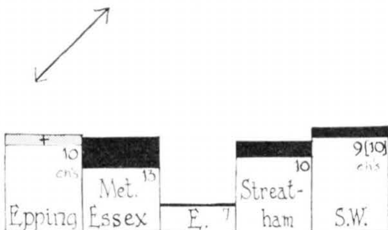

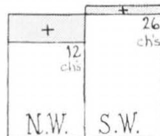

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1,877 ; and the City Temple, 3,000 seats, in 1875, at £70,000.[10]

The burden of organizing appeals and collecting money usually fell upon the pastor of the church. ' No one, even of the parties benefitted, and of whose liberality I have no reason to complain, is willing to take up the cross of *mendicity* ' lamented Thomas Hine of Sydenham in his circular appeal for the Church-in-the-Grove in 1870. He was making his fifth attempt at liquidating the debt, now £1,200, on the church built in 1867 at a cost of £6,150. His family managed to raise £724, but he found it ' tiresome and vexatious ' at his age—he had been ordained 40 years before. Progress was not so good where there was no pastor. The cathedral-like building at Stratford cost £13,000 in 1867 but only £2,600 had been raised and there were only 58 subscribers on the list against Hine's 372. John Curwen's efforts from a distance at Plaistow were at length relieved by the appointment of James Knaggs in 1869.

Appeals invariably were sent to a handful of wealthy London Congregationalists : in the early days to Joshua Wilson himself,[11] to the paper kings and printer-publishers, the Spicers and Unwins, to J. Remington Mills, Samuel Morley and others ; then further afield, to the Crossleys, Colmans and Wills. The response varied enormously according to interest and claim. It might be the nominal £5, or a challenge gift over £1,000 if the church could raise the same. And so, spurred to action, women sewed for bazaars and Sunday School teachers went hunting with collecting cards.

London developed like a great tree trunk, its circumference growing with every new ring of suburbs, and certainly, so far as churches were concerned, most vigour was to be found not far from the outer edge, where the sap rises in a tree, while the centre tended to rot away. The City population, 127,869 in 1851, was reduced by about three-fifths to 50,569 by 1881. Weak churches were bound to die. Trinity in Leather Lane, Aldermanbury Postern, and Artillery Street all went in the early 1850s. Other churches only escaped total extinction by joining stronger churches, *e.g.*, Hope Street, Spitalfields with Trinity, Mile End, Hope Street closing in 1851 ; Holywell Mount joined Bishopsgate in 1855 ; and New Broad Street, Finsbury Chapel, 1863. Two churches in the period sold up and moved : Hare Court to Canonbury (1859) and New

[10]Mearns, *op. cit.*

[11]Wilson was a self-appointed Moderator in London. It is suggestive that the London Union was so late in the field and came into being in 1873, a few months before Wilson died.

Court, which had to make way for the Law Courts in the Strand, to Tollington Park (1871). Subsequent experience suggests that the latter was the wiser in moving some distance to a growing suburb rather than taking a site nearer town in a developed area.

III

A comparison of the maps quickly shows that the processes we have already seen in motion not only have continued but were accelerated after 1881.

The tide of population changing the character of churches may be illustrated briefly by looking at North London, beginning again with that nonconformist stronghold Islington. Its old chapels declined until they were forced to give up : River Street (1909) and Barnsbury the same year. The vast Union Chapel receded and was only a third-filled in 1903-4. Arundel Square, only built in 1863, holding 1,000, was only half-filled at its better service in 1886, and less than a quarter-filled by 1903-4. Another large church, Caledonian Road, seating 900, declined in total attendances from 478 to 338 in the same period, and Offard Road from 458 to 268. In the North, however, where people were settling, New Court, Tollington Park, under J. Ossian Davies, had congregations of 1,053 and 1,326, and Finsbury Park, Seven Sisters Road, not far away, under T. Eynon Davies, had 1,021 and 1,170, in 1886. Neither church was old. But by the turn of the century the tide had passed them. New Court's congregations were down to 734 and 633 and Finsbury Park's to 489 and 943, still good, but unmistakably on the wrong side of the hill. Meanwhile, further out, infant causes were springing up : Harringay (1892), Muswell Hill (1899), Palmers Green (1907) and Alexandra Palace (1909).

The same movement was at work everywhere. J. Morison's chapel, Trevor Chapel, situated amongst houses opposite where Harrods now stands, which in the 1851 survey had an evening congregation of 1,200, ' many standing in the Aisles and Vestry ', was down to 337 in the evening in 1886, and disappeared altogether in 1903. Meanwhile up rose Markham Square, Chelsea, established in 1856, with an evening congregation of 890 in 1886, only to fall by 1903-4 to 501 (children included in the last two surveys). It was now Fulham's turn and we find Dawes Road, just over twenty years old, though strangely enough not in the 1886 survey, with a morning congregation of 527. A new cause in Fulham Palace Road was to appear in 1906.

The latter half of the 19th century was the high summer of the home missionary movement. The 1886 census listed 83 distinctly Congregational missions in London. In the next century the failure of this patronizing work was soon to be recognized, but the typical Victorian church felt ashamed if it had not at least one down-town mission. As middle-class church-goers moved from the crowded centre to the new suburbs they became aware of the problem, religious and social, which they were leaving behind.[12] Some read Dickens,[13] some were concerned with the new health legislation, and some participated in the Union's conferences on reaching the working classes. Most felt the Christian obligation to help spread the Gospel in the area where their families had once lived, where old relatives still lived, and where the family chapel was falling into decay.[14] Not only do the minutes of the larger churches tell of missions but the minutes of the L.C.U., Council in those days show how much time, as well as money, was expended upon down-town churches, often bankrupt, certainly dilapidated, which would hand over everything to the L.C.U., hoping to be run as London Union Missions.

This meant, however, that money and manpower tended to go into missions rather than new causes on the new estates which were always going up further and further out. The L.C.U., minutes speak from time to time about the dilatoriness of its Districts in seeking sites for new churches and of the difficulty in getting people able and willing to act as local committees to organize appeals and manage building projects.[15] Congregationalists were prone to let those who could afford to move out look after themselves; hence they easily moved off into the new Methodist, Anglican or Baptist churches, to the detriment of Congregationalism.

Between 1881-1914 we judge 33 churches to have been founded in the new ring of suburbs. To be fair, we should add to these another 34 churches which were country chapels now transformed

[12]J. Baldwin Brown is typical in his concern for Claylands. He would only move out to Brixton if Claylands could continue as a kind of mission of the new church. This was made possible by the Doulton (pottery) family and others. See Cleal, *Surrey*, p. 281.

[13]An interesting illustration is that of Vincent van Gogh who was a Sunday School teacher at Gunnersbury Cong. Ch. in 1876, who read Dickens avidly and visited the East End constantly.

[14]The London City Mission owed its life to Nonconformists in the suburbs who felt such concerns.

[15]Where there was a keen person in a District, as E. T. Egg in Met. Essex, it made all the difference (see map 2).

into suburban churches.[16] This makes 67 in all. This rate of growth, however, does not compare favourably with that of the previous generation which provided 80 such churches. Moreover, when we compare losses in the two periods we find a big increase in the second : *22* in the 30 years (1851-80) to *36* in 34 years (1881-1914). So then, the decline in the fortunes of Congregationalists was continuous and considerable.

What cannot be shown on our maps is the relative strengths of denominations and this is most important. By comparing the three surveys (1851, 1886, 1903-4)[17] we discover that somewhat astonishing fact that Congregationalism, which was far and away the strongest of the nonconformist denominations in 1851, was being challenged by 1886, and had been narrowly beaten by both the Baptists and Methodists in the early 1900s. Congregationalists were treading water.[18] The Baptists and Methodists had an advantage in having fewer old causes to worry them, and the former had the inspiration of Spurgeon and the latter the power of the centralized Wesleyan administration. Nevertheless it is a remarkable reversal.[19]

By way of an epitaph upon this period we quote from the Council Report of the C.U.E.W., for 1913-14 :

> Church extension, apart from a few sporadic cases is utterly neglected ; new populations in urban areas . . . are everywhere arising, and on all hands others more highly organized are stepping in and we are losing, or rather, failing to secure, any grasp upon this new life and its resources of

[16]*e.g.* the Walthamstow churches.

[17]The evidence of the three can be compared but not the actual data because of differences of compilation. The attendance at Congregational chapels (morning), 1851, was 62,000 against the Baptists' 26,000 and combined Wesleyan and Methodists' 23,000. Roughly the same boroughs produced for the evenings, now the best service, 1886, Congregationalists 62,000 ; Baptists 58,000 (C. H. Spurgeon alone has 6,070) and Methodists 49,000. In 1903-4 the figures for the Metropolis are : Methodists 56,000 ; Baptists 55,000 and Congregationalists 54,000. Numbers of churches, 1851 : Independents 132, Baptists and Methodists 106 each (boroughs of Finsbury, Greenwich, Marylebone, Southwark, Tower Hamlets, Westminster, and the City). 1903-4 for the whole Metropolis Baptists 443, Methodists 366, and Congregationalists 345. Whilst the figures cannot be set side by side meaningfully because they were differently compiled, the evidence they provide is valid for comparison.

[18]Jane T. Stoddart, in Mudie-Smith, *op. cit.* pp. 280-2.

[19]Some readers might think the cause of the reverse to be theological. I cannot see any evidence that in fact theological liberalism acted as a brake on evangelism. One notes that at the farewell meeting to Moody and Sankey who campaigned here in 1875 there were 154 Congregational ministers, 85 Baptists and 81 Methodists, as well as 188 Anglicans (*The Religious Life of London*, p. 318).

> strength . . . . if the gift of the past . . . creates any responsibility for us as regards those who come after us, we must address ourselves to this problem of Church extension.

But then came the war.

Before leaving the 1881-1914 period we ought also to pay some attention to the misery of the down-town church which was probably at its worst at this time. Read a letter from John Pouler to Thomas Walker[20] which describes the plight of a once famous church, Gravel Lane, Wapping, in 1883. The membership stood at thirty, two of whom were Julius and William Benn, sons of the pastor. He was ill and supplies were coming from 'Mr. Spurgeon's College'! Only one seatholder was paying his dues and the congregations were not more than twelve in the mornings and a few more at night. Pouler himself offered to pay the gas bill; 'The Chapel Keeper has only a claim for the present quarter'; some repairs had been done but no one knew whether the contractor had been paid. This chapel was closed the same year and re-opened as an L.C.U., mission two years afterwards.[21]

The wretchedness of slow decay told upon ministers' and officers' health, upon their pockets and their spirits. They agonized over their want of faith and piled up mortgages and debts. They finally sought the assistance of the L.C.U., and then, finding that the Secretary (until 1906), Andrew Mearns, was sympathetic but not inclined to be sentimental, and that there was more unpalatable advice than largesse emanating from Memorial Hall, they were sometimes tempted to desperate and foolish expedients, turning their backs upon the Union. One of the strangest examples of this conduct concerned Barnsbury Chapel in the year 1901.[22] Annoyed by the inadequacy of the Union the church fell for the proposals of a vagrant missioner who offered to work the cause free of charge for a few months. The people decided that they could not allow this and offered him the Sunday collections. Soon the chapel hummed with young people, led by a band of workers fetched in from the highways and byways. New furniture arrived—on hire purchase. The magazine appeared with a fine photograph of the new minister resplendent in gown and hood—ordered on the church account without the treasurer's knowledge. Then, after a few weeks, unpleasant allegations were being made about the minister to the deacons. When challenged, he ran from the room.

[20]L.C.U. correspondence files.
[21]Cong. Hist. Soc. *Transactions*, vi. p. 72.
[22]L.C.U. correspondence files.

The London Union was appealed to and Mearns wrote to George Simpson of the Bounty Office to see if the man had ever been, as he claimed, on the Clergy List. The reply was frank:

> The Rev. T. A. Carstairs M.A. is a little inaccurate when he says that his name appeared in the Clergy List in 1878-9 . . . . He must be under a misapprehension! The initials of Clergy List would stand for *Criminal List*.[23]

Meanwhile a deacon had visited the local police office and sure enough their pastor was a ticket-of-leave man, and the new workers they had welcomed were a gang of well-known criminals. Once again Mearns was called upon, now to get Carstairs to pack his bag and leave.[24]

IV

Returning from melodrama to the study of the second map and to development between the two World Wars, the striking feature here is the rapid spread of explosive urbanization and the incidence of conurbation. The only restricting factor now is the Green Belt. By 1913 trams were already connecting places as far apart as Waltham Cross, Sutton, Bexleyheath, Kingston, Woodford and Uxbridge, and the new tube was opened from Morden to Wembley. Between the wars the internal combustion engine began revolutionizing transport. More people were able to afford longer journeys to work and to live more spaciously than their fathers.

London Congregationalism was blessed in having leaders as inspiring and vigorous as R. J. Evans and W. L. Lee. To begin with, ministers and churches were astounded when the remnant of men returning from the trenches, shattered in spirit, were averse to taking up church life again as though nothing had happened. Very many were alienated from the Faith altogether. Neither did the rapid growth of public companies in place of private, often

[23]L.C.U. correspondence files. What had Mearns to write to Simpson we wonder?

[24]Not before visiting Cornwall Jones of High Cross, however, and convincing him of his case; and getting a loan? As he departed he wrote to Mearns:

> I leave London on Tuesday, a homeless outcast, penniless and friendless, crushed and broken in heart and no man to care for my soul. All I ask is to be let alone in peace till the rest of the grave comes and I am in the hands of a just and merciful God. It won't be long.

The note displays those qualities of appeal which had tricked the Barnsbury people.

family ones, nor the impact of death duties and heavy income taxes, together with the ravages of economic depression, help churches to nourish new work in new areas. Nevertheless, the London Union raised ten new churches, besides developing several old ones.[25] The smaller Surrey Union, its Northern part being devoured by the metropolis, founded two new causes,[26] Hertfordshire two,[27] and Kent two small churches,[28] in the metropolitan area. However, this was somewhat off-set by the loss of some 20 churches in that area of London developed by 1881, together with two or three outside it. The net result in terms of membership was a decrease of 14,780 from 57,060 to 42,280 between 1914-39.

A mere glance at the map is sufficient to show how thinly spread was Congregationalism in the new post-1918 suburbs. The decline in church membership in the twentieth century and the decline in church building are inter-related. Many reasons for the fewness and wide separation of churches exist, some of which have been mentioned already. It has to be remembered that as development was on much more spacious lines than ever before churches were bound to be further apart. Moreover, denominations were waking up to the hard facts of the situation, that their resources were limited, and that the competitiveness of the past ought not to be repeated, and so a United Free Church Extension Conference was set up to share the work. This meant that Congregationalists shouldered some burdens which otherwise they might not have attempted ; so Dagenham became the *cause célèbre* of the Union.[29]

Despite the heroic endeavours of the generation at the head of affairs during the all too short period between the wars, Congregationalism declined. One reason was that there were many areas to which Congregationalists moved where there were no churches of their order, *e.g.*, Ruislip and Worcester Park, and there were even a number of areas without any Free church, *e.g.*, Osterley and Grange Hill. Such a situation cannot be envisaged of 1870.

The London Union's Church Extension scheme, which had to get going in face of the economic depression, was full of vision and

[25]The new churches were : Bellingham (1924) ; Woodford Ave., Gants Hill (1927) ; Heston (1929) ; Dagenham (1930) and Wembley Park (1930) ; St. Helier (1932) ; Perivale Park (1936) ; Watling, Mill Hill (1938) ; Petts Wood (1939) and Cockfosters (1939), the last incorporating Finsbury Park described above. Harrow (Welsh) began in 1937.

[26]Sanderstead (1931) ; Tolworth (1933).

[27]Welwyn Garden City (1923) ; Potters Bar (1934).

[28]Hartley (1927) and Gravesend, Kings Farm (1931).

[29]Dagenham cost the L.C.U., £10,000 ; the C.U.E.W., found £1,000 and there have also been subsequent expenses towards the ministry.

enthusiasm,[30] but generally churches were too hard hit by the aftermath of war to have the strength to attempt new work. The fact too, that it was easier than ever for members who lived some distance off to travel to the old church where they had been brought up, discouraged churches from facing the new situation. Brentford church, for example, turned down a proposal to move to the new Boston Manor estate about a mile away, with the result that within a generation most of the declining membership were living a mile or more from the church and the local witness of the church was much impaired, while the neighbouring estate remained without a Free church.

V

When we come to the post-1945 period we have found it impossible to draw a map showing the development of the South East region and to mark all the churches on it, and to fit it into this book, without too much expense. Instead we have had to be satisfied with a diagram which indicates the membership flow out of London by means of four cross-sections through London and into adjoining counties.

The diagram shows that the same process which began noticeably early in the last century is still at work, though on an unprecedented scale. The new feature of the South East is the new towns. Another fact to be reckoned with is that there has been little building land available in the Greater London area in the last two decades and therefore most development has gone on outside London. Peter Self in his *Cities in Flood* puts the annual decline in population since 1951 in 'the main built-up area . . . from Harrow to Croydon and from Heston to Dagenham' at 60,000 and the annual increase in the area beyond the Green Belt 'within a radius of between 20 and 40 miles of Charing Cross' at 100,000.[31] This, of course, is not the sum of population movement, which must exceed this considerably. In the light of this, and remembering that the average Congregationalist is ever attracted towards a new house (or one newer than he has) with more spacious living, it is

[30]The Church Extension Fund in the short period of its existence, until the blitz, managed to lend or grant, and the category was often not clearly stipulated and many loans turned into grants in the end, a sum approaching £60,000. In 1930 it had been hoped to raise a fund of at least £80,000 for extension and to spend twice that amount (*The Book of Church Extension in Greater London*, L.C.U., 1930).

[31]*Op. cit.* (London, 1961) p. 2.

hardly surprising that the churches of the London Union have been losing about 600 members a year, however much it may be lamented. What arouses even more disturbing questions is that the Districts just outside London show a gain of no more than about 250 a year. This is linked with a slow rate of church building and church development, and with the fact that new churches have not always been sited to best advantage.[32]

The L.C.U., itself has wrestled with the exhausting problems of re-development after bombing and yet has produced not less than seven new causes (Northwood Hills, Northolt Grange, Mill Hill East, Totteridge, Debden, Heaton Way, and St. Paul's Cray). Against this we have to set the disappearance of 32 churches listed in the 1940 *C.Y.B.* As the diagram shows, thirteen of the Districts of the L.C.U. are in decline, and of the other six, those with the best growth are in areas on the fringe of London where new or fairly new property is available. The London Union has virtually reached the end of the road so far as extension is concerned.

VI

Some reflections on this study may not be out of place in concluding. In the mobile society of the last hundred years the average suburban church cannot expect to prosper much more than two or occasionally three generations. Wycliffe church, moving from Cannon Street to Commercial Road in 1831 and from Commercial Road to Cranbrook Drive at the turn of the century,

[32]According to *The Atlas of Britain* (O.U.P., 1963) areas with most new housing in the S.E., (150 new dwellings per 1,000 population) were all outside Greater London. They included the new towns of Crawley, Bracknell, Hemel Hempstead, Hatfield, Harlow and Basildon. Other places which have developed around old towns or villages were East Grinstead, Burgess Hill, Havant and Waterloo, Basingstoke, Windsor, Chorleywood, Dunstable, Bletchley, Bishop's Stortford, Cheshunt, Benfleet, Rayleigh, and Rochford. Areas with 145 new dwellings per 1,000 were Dartford, Leatherhead, Beaconsfield, Bushey, Potters Bar, Chelmsford and Billericay, together with a handful of places in or on the edge of the L.C.U. area, Sunbury-on-Thames, Egham and Staines, Orpington, Romford and Epping.

The *C.Y.B.* (1962) tells us of these new churches : Kent : Newington (Free church), Grove Rd., (Maidstone) ; Surrey : Old Coulsdon, Tatsfield, Banstead, Cobham, Stoke Hill (Guildford) ; Sussex : Crawley, East Wittering ; Berks., etc. : Grange (Reading) ; Herts : Boreham Wood, Adeyfield (Hemel Hempstead) ; Essex : Harlow, Black Notley, Trent Road (Chelmsford), Bridgewater Drive (Westcliff). We have no information about old churches which may have re-developed in the light of their new situation.

and again last year from Cranbrook Drive to join Woodford Avenue, Gants Hill, is a fair guide. The rise and fall of churches from Trevor Chapel westwards, which has already been mentioned, has the same sort of pattern, and this could be illustrated along other points of the compass. The process is complicated somewhat by conurbation. In Croydon, for example, we see the London process being repeated on a much smaller scale.

Congregationalism being, as Mann observed, and as we observe for ourselves, middle-class in the main, churches planted in working-class areas have not thrived like those in wealthier parts (compare for example, Algernon Road (Lewisham) and Blackheath, in the last century, and Dagenham and Totteridge in this). Churches which have stood a good chance of prospering are those originally established in villages and towns which the metropolis has absorbed (*e.g.*, Bromley, Kingston and Romford), where the church has not been dependent upon a single estate or type of estate. Even so, a mass of ageing property around an old centre can deeply affect the fortunes of an old church (*e.g.*, Marsh Street, Walthamstow, Camberwell Green, and Hammersmith).

As the Evangelical Revival left behind it scores of village chapels up and down the country, which in this century have become a serious problem to the Free Churches, so the sprawl of the cities leaves church buildings, large and small, unused or little used by tiny congregations, which in the last century would have closed for lack of funds. Today, increased wealth, together with vigilant oversight and stimulation from the L.C.U., shield them from extinction.

At the opposite end of the process we observe the Union being obliged to take more and more responsibility for starting new work. Sometimes it is imagined that churches normally arose spontaneously in the last century. In fact, however, this was not normal. Most new churches came about because of the energies of a few forward-looking ' missionary-minded ' men : the Wilsons, and later in the century, men like Dr. A. Raleigh in North London, John Curwen in the East, and early in this century, C. H. Vine in Ilford. These pioneers had the advantage of strong and wealthy congregations.[33] Now, the social and centralizing forces character-

[33]The Wilsons were, of course, laymen, but none the less influential. Mr. E. G. Davey informs me that Woodford Avenue church was built ' by a deacon of C. H. Vine's church and by an anonymous benefactor, in the person of P. E. Brand ' who contributed all but a little over £5,000 which the L.C.U. and church found.

istic of this century have diminished the possibilities of such activity by individuals and congregations and the Unions have been obliged to try to fill the gaps.

At the end of the study one is left pondering how far this phenomenon of metropolitan spread is abnormal. The constant movement of people, the loss of community and neighbourliness, the cost in travel and physical strain, to say nothing of blots such as slums, these and like issues at last begin to confront people, not merely the planners and social workers, and the first steps to control and re-direct the process have been hesitantly taken.[34] It seems begging the question to suggest that anything but abnormal churches could arise from such chaos. With churches rising and falling like timber in a forest, it is small wonder that congregations found it their constant labour to raise money: for new buildings, for long-standing debts, and for the old hard-hit churches and missions. Nor would it be surprising if these things did not encourage the organizing minister to the detriment of other more significant pastoral gifts. Even more significant is the prevalence of churches with congregations of more or less one social class. Sensitive Christians cannot imagine such churches to be near the norm for the body of Christ on earth.

The Church has been content to follow the migrating millions. The problems which this flow has brought with it have been too big for it. Mann saw over a century ago the failure to provide enough church accommodation and Booth over half a century ago drew attention to the failure of the churches to deal with downtown areas. Valiant efforts have been made and must be made. But perhaps more Christians will have to think whether their error has not been in accepting the topographical class separation of the modern city, instead of fighting it for the sake of a wholesome society.

JOHN H. TAYLOR

[34]The movement of some government offices out of London and the control of office building.

Appendix on the Maps

We are satisfied that the maps are substantially correct in their message, but one cannot claim complete accuracy and one has to decide whether to produce the results of labour now or maybe never. The size of the spaces available has been a restriction.

In the first place, whilst the several available maps showing building development give a clear picture of expanding London, a comparison between them and a number of Ordnance Survey maps over the whole period (kindly produced in the Map Room at the British Museum) soon reveals that there has to be an arbitrariness in saying that building had reached such-and-such a line by a certain date. This is an academic simplification.

In the second place, there are problems with various solutions attached to marking churches on the maps. Both maps show churches listed in the *Congregational Year Books* at the relevant dates. A church which appeared *and* disappeared between the dates is not included. Fixing the date of a church's foundation, and still more its closure from the *C.Y.B.*, is often problematical, but this affects few churches on the maps. In the early books churches were listed which did not belong to the Union ; this practice was discontinued later in the century. However, not every church which called itself Independent had its name in the book. There existed, then, a number of Independent churches which are not on the first map. The growth of missions presented another problem—there were so many of them—and these have not been included save in the special cases of the large central missions. Churches which have removed and rebuilt we decided to treat as if they closed and opened again, unless they continued to serve the same neighbourhood. Eltham and Barking are examples of the latter, and Wycliffe of the former. Again, churches changing their denominational allegiance have had to be treated on the maps as though they were churches opening or closing. Complications had to be avoided.

It would have been too complicating in small maps like these, in black and white, to indicate roads and railways. Dots representing churches have been marked as accurately as possible, but the location of churches was not the purpose of the work, which was to reveal the movement of Congregationalism in London.

MS. SERMONS AND LETTERS BY JOHN OWEN AND OTHERS IN THE LIBRARY OF NEW COLLEGE, LONDON

A. Sermons by John Owen, and others

The volumes were transcribed by Sir John Hartopp, bound by his granddaughter Elizabeth Cooke, 1755, and presented by John Smith (father of John Pye Smith) to Homerton, 1804.

Vol. I (all by John Owen)

1. Ps. 90.11. 18 Oct. 1677.
2. I Pet. 4.17. 13 Mar. 1677/8.
3. I Pet. 4.12. 30 May, 1678.
4. Luke 19.41-44. 4 Feb. 1680.
5. Ps. 40.2. 27 Aug. 1680.
6. Jer. 51.5. 22 Dec. 1680.
7. Mal. 3.7. 22 Sept. 1682.
8. Jas. 5.16. 25 Mar. 1681.
9. Amos 4.12. 8 Apr. 1681.
10. Is. 26.9. 10 Feb. 1681/2.
11. Luke 21.7. 10 Mar. 1681/2.
12. Luke 21.7. 31 Mar. 1682.
13. I Pet. 4.14. 5 May, 1682.

None but no. 6 appear to have been printed. No. 6 was published posthumously as *Seasonable Words for English Protestants,* 1690 (the copy of which in the library of New College, London, carries a MS. note that it was printed from this transcript by Hartopp and not from Owen's original MS.) and hence in editions of Owen's *Works.*

Vol. II

1. J. Owen. Case of Conscience. 30 Apr. 1678.
2. J. Owen. Discourse at church meeting. 5 Dec. 1679.
3. J. Owen. Jer. 13.16. 8 Jan. 1679.
4. J. Owen. Heb. 12.15.
5. J. Owen. Ezra 9.13-14. 23 Dec. 1682.
6. D. Clarkson. II Thess. 3.1. 21 Oct. 1683.
7. D. Clarkson. Ps. 50.15. 22 Sept. 1682.
8. D. Clarkson. Is. 1.25. 12 Mar. 1682.
9. D. Clarkson. Rev. 1.6. 28 Sept. 1688.
10. D. Clarkson. I Cor. 10.16. 18 Nov. 1683.
11. D. Clarkson. I Cor. 11.29. 25 May, 1684.
12. D. Clarkson. Acts 6.1-6.
13. D. Clarkson. Amos 5.15. 1 Mar. 1685.
14. D. Clarkson. II Chron. 7.14. 2 June, 1683.
15. I. Mather. Ezek. 1.28. 9 Dec. 1688.
16. I. Mather. Rom. 8.34. 9 Dec. 1688.
17. I. Mather. Rom. 3.23. 21 Apr, 1689,
18. I. Mather. Rom. 8.3. 21 Apr. 1689.
19. M. Barker. Ps. 116.12-13. 22 Sept. 1689.
20. T. Cole. Jer. 5.30-31. 8 Aug. 1694.
21. T. Cole. Ps. 18.1-2. 13 Nov. 1694.
22. T. Cole. Ps. 18.1-2. 27 Nov. 1694.
23. T. Cole. II Cor. 1.21-22. 5 Jan. 1696.
24. T. Cole. II Cor. 1.21-22. 19 Jan. 1696.
25. T. Cole. Heb. 4.3. 5 Feb. 1694/5 and later Sundays.

B. Letters and a Sermon by John Owen

The volume, transcribed by Sir John Hartopp, appears to have passed into the possession of Richard Winter, minister of New Court; in 1786, shortly before Williams published his abridgment of Owen on the Hebrews, to have been given by Winter to Edward Williams; after Williams' death in 1813 to have been given by James Black to Winter's son and successor at New Court, Robert Winter, 1815; to have been given in 1877 by a descendant of Winter's, John N. Winter, to J. B. Figgis; and in 1878 to have been presented by Figgis to the library of New College, London.

Letters

1. To M. du Moulin.
2. To anon.
3. To Sir John Hartopp, Stadham, 2 Sept.
4. To the Lady Hartopp.
5. To Sir John Hartopp, Stadham, 3 July.
6. To Sir John Hartopp, Stadham, 21 Aug.
7. To Mrs. Polhill.
8. To his Church, from Lord Wharton's.
9. To Charles Fleetwood, Stadham, 8 July.
10. To Charles Fleetwood, 6 Aug. 1682.
11. To Charles Fleetwood, 22 Aug. 1683.
12. To Mr. Nicholls, London, 10 Nov.
13. To Mr. A(sty) of N(orwich), 2 Jan. 1678/9.
14. To Mr. Asty of Norwich, London, 16 Mar.
15. To Mr. A(sty), London, 25 April, 1679.

Sermon from Is. 45.11. 30 June, 1682.

Letters 1, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14 were printed in Owen's *Works* (1721). Letters 6 and 13 (without ascription or date) were printed in part in Edward Williams' abridgment of Owen on the Hebrews. Both series were printed in Orme's edition of Owen's *Works*. The rest appear not to have been printed.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL

HANDLIST OF THE WORKS OF JOHN OWEN, WITH LOCATIONS

Among the older books in the library of New College, London, the largest collection of books by a single author is the collection of the works of John Owen. This is because his writings were studied in all the Congregational Academies—Northampton (and its lineal successors), Homerton, Hoxton (and its successor, Highbury)—from the amalgamation of which in 1850 New College was formed, and also at Hackney, which combined with New College at a later date. The library thus possesses four, five or even six copies of some of Owen's works, each with its own academy book-plate or stamp and often with a note stating the book's donor and/or former owner. The three chief benefactors were two eighteenth-century London ministers, Henry Miles and Richard Rawlin, and Sir John Hartopp's granddaughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Cooke of Stoke Newington. Several of the copies of Owen's works presented by Mrs. Cooke are splendidly bound and rubricated; it is thought that some may originally have been presentation copies from the author. Others of Owen's works belonged to Isaac Watts, Philip Doddridge, John Ryland and other well-known ministers.

In the following Handlist the books located at New College have been seen; the titles located at Dr. Williams's Library have been taken from that library's catalogue. Only when no copy has been found in either library is it indicated whether there is a copy in the British Museum or/and the Congregational Library; this further information has been taken not directly from these libraries' catalogues but from D. Wing's *Short-Title Catalogue*. The date given is of the first edition, with editions of later years in brackets. The list does not go beyond the year 1700.

N—New College, London.
L—British Museum.
W—Dr. Williams's Library.
C—Congregational Library.

Year	Title	Location
1643	Theomachia	N
——	Duty of pastors	W
1645	Principles of the doctrine (1684, N; 1700,)	
1646	Vision of . . . mercy	NW
1648	Eshcol (1655, L; 1684, L; 1700, N)	L
——	Salus electorum	N
——	Ebenezer	W
1649	Sermon . . . Jan. 31	NW
——	Ouranon ourania	NW
1650	Of the death of Christ	NW
——	Steadfastness of promises	W
——	Branch of the Lord	L
1651	Advantage of the kingdome (1652, W)	NW
1652	Labouring saint's	NW
——	Sermon . . . Oct. 13	NW
1653	Diatriba	NW
1654	Doctrine of the saints	NW
1655	Vindiciae	NW
1656	Of the mortification (1658, L; 1668, N; 1681, N)	L
——	Review of the annotations	NW

Year	Title	
——	God's work	W
——	God's presence	NW
1657	Of communion	N
——	Of schisme	N
——	Review of the true nature	NW
1658	Defence of . . . Cotton	NW
——	Of temptation	NW
1659	Of the divine originall	NW
——	Pro sacris scripturis	NW
——	Duty and interest	W
1660	Primer for children (anon.)	
1661	Theologoumena (1684 Bremen, N)	N
1662	Animadversions (anon.)	NW
——	Discourse concerning liturgies (anon.)	NW
1664	Vindication of the animadversions	NW
1667	Indulgence (anon.)	NW
——	Peace-offering (anon.)	NW
——	Brief instruction (1668, C; 1676, W)	NW
1668	Nature, power (anon.) (1675, L)	W
——	Practical exposition (1680, NW)	N
——	Exercitations, I	NW
1669	Brief declaration (1676, NW)	L
——	Truth and innocence (anon.)	NW
1671	Exercitations	NW
1672	Discourse concerning evangelical (anon.) (1673,)	NW
1674	Vindication of some passages (anon.)	NW
——	Pneumatologia (1693, W)	NW
——	Exercitations, II	N
1676	Nature of apostasie	NW
1677	Reason of faith	N
——	Doctrine of justification	NW
1678	Sunesis	NW
1679	Christologia	N
——	Church of Rome	NW
1680	Some considerations (anon.)	N
——	Brief vindication (anon.)	NW
——	Continuation, I (1684, L)	NW
1681	Phronema	NW
——	Enquiry into the original	NW
——	Humble testimony	NW
1682	Discourse of the work	N
1683	Brief and impartial (1690, L)	LC
——	Letter concerning . . . excommunications (anon.)	N
1684	Meditations, I	NW
——	Continuation, II	NW
1688	Treatise of . . . sin	NW
1689	True nature	NW
1690	Seasonable words (anon.)	NW
1691	Meditations, II (1691, ; 1696, L)	N
1692	Guide to church-fellowship	W
1693	Two discourses	NW

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL

CONGREGATIONALIST RECORDS IN THE LONDON COUNTY RECORD OFFICE: A PRELIMINARY SURVEY

In August 1964 the London County Record Office received its first major deposit of Nonconformist archives. These were, with two exceptions,[1] records of closed Congregational churches, formerly with the London Congregational Union at Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, for safe-keeping. The sorting of these records began in November and it is hoped that lists will be completed by the end of February 1965.

Fetter Lane Chapel provides the largest group. Church Books cover, with gaps, the years 1707-1859. The earliest of these recounts the flattering terms on which the formidable Thomas Bradbury commenced his pastorate there. He was to receive at least £100 p.a., and was 'oblidged to preach no more than once every Sabbath day to this Church but be at Liberty to preach the other part of the day at such other place as he shall see fitt from time to time'.[2] He left after a dispute over financial arrangements, investigated by several committees of members, and with his supporters joined New Court Chapel, Carey Street, becoming pastor there.[3] No such troubles marred the vigorous pastorate of Caleb Morris.[4] The inauguration of his ministry is recorded in the minutes of 1827 while those of December 1828 concern the establishment by him of the Fetter Lane Christian Instruction Association.[5]

Also amongst the Fetter Lane archives are financial records and printed reports of the Provident Society established there in January 1806, during the pastorate of George Burder 'To offer pecuniary Aid . . . to the Members of such Society who might be Subjects of an equally just tho afflictive Providence—either in Personal Sickness or Death, and also on the Decease of the Wife of the Member . . . .'[6] Inserted in the Church Book, 1728-1859, is a MS., account of Bunnell's Almhouses erected 1800.[7]

[1]The records of Brentford and Gunnersbury Congregational churches.
[2]Mins., 23 June 1707.
[3]Mins., 1 Apr. 1725, 21 Aug. 1727, 3 Jan. 1727/8 and 12 June 1728. Cf. also R. Tudur Jones : *Congregationalism in England, 1662-1962* (1962), p. 125; W. Wilson : *The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches . . . in London, 1808-1814*, vol. 3, p. 427, pp. 451 ff., pp. 528 ff.
[4]Cf. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 220.
[5]Mins., 31 Aug., 12 Sept. 1827, 18 Dec. 1828.
[6]Prov. Soc. mins., 11 Nov. 1806.
[7]Inserted after mins., 4 Jan. 1807.

The earliest Church Book of New Broad Street Chapel also illustrates a turbulent eighteenth-century pastorate. It is prefaced by 'A Brief and faithfull Account drawn up August the 7th 1727 of some of the most material transactions that have passed relating to the Church of Christ now meeting . . . at Girdlers Hall in Basinghall Street . . . from the Death of our late Reverend Pastor Mr. Matthew Clark to our present settlement under the Pastorall care of the Reverend Mr. John Guise July the 26th 1727'.[8] This concerns the election of Timothy Jollie to succeed Clark at Miles Lane Meeting and the secession of part of the congregation in protest. They subsequently elected Guise as pastor and built their own chapel in New Broad Street or, as it was then known, Petty France.[9] The event is commemorated in a sermon preached on its centenary by Joseph P. Dobson, a printed copy of which has been inserted in the volume.

Although the original volumes seem to have disappeared, a transcript of the Church Books of Dr. Calamy's Meeting-House, Long-ditch, Westminster, has survived and is among the deposited records.[10] Minutes cover the periods 1751-1753 and 1795-1824 but occasional meetings of Minister and Deacons are recorded from 1735.[11] From November 1815 the minutes are of Trustees' meetings, held in various London coffee-houses, and concern the abandoning of the site in Princes Street and the difficult task of finding another suitable site 'within 5 or 10 minutes walk of Charing Cross'.[12] In 1823 the congregation joined that of St. Thomas', Southwark, whose lease had expired, and together they erected a new chapel in Stamford Street. William Smith, M.P., 'the Father of the Deputies'[13] chaired several of these meetings.

Distinguished Nonconformists appear in other Church Books. Andrew Mearns' letter of resignation from Markham Square, Chelsea, which he left in 1879 to devote himself to the Secretaryship of the London Congregational Union, is copied in the minutes of the Church Meeting.[14] Those of Craven Chapel, Foubert's Place,

[8]Fols. 3-28.

[9]Mins., 4, 31 Oct. 1728, fols. 29, 32, 33. Cf. also Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 229, 233 ff., for Petty France cf. *op. cit.*, p. 180.

[10]In 1773, the name 'Long-ditch' was altered to 'Princes Street' and the chapel known as the 'Princes Street Chapel', cf. St. Margarets, Grand Division, Poor Rate, 1773, vol. E467, fol. 48, in City of Westminster Public Library, Archive Dept.

[11]Transcript, part 1, fol. 24.

[12]Transcript, part 2, fol. 77.

[13]Cf. B. L. Manning : *The Protestant Dissenting Deputies*, (1952), p. 456.

[14]Mins., 2 July 1879. Cf. also K. S. Inglis : *The Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England*, (1963), p. 67.

contain an account of the induction of John Leifchild.[15] Among the records of West Hampstead Church, Finchley Road, is the minute book of a committee formed under the chairmanship of R. F. Horton, to revive the fortunes of the Church and to keep it independent of its thriving neighbour.[16]

The work of the Dissenting Deputies is illuminated by circulars found among the records of Lower Street Chapel, Islington, appealing for assistance with expenses incurred in opposing Sidmouth's Bill in 1811. There is also a copy of the Bill and cuttings containing accounts of its defeat.[17]

Parliamentary proceedings of a more recent date—the Military Service Bill of 1916—are debated vigorously in the minutes of the New Tabernacle, Old Street, united with the Academy Church, Hoxton.[18] Records of the latter also include the minute book, 1827-1835, of the Hoxton Academy Christian Instruction Society, whose members visited and distributed tracts extensively in Shoreditch.[19]

When these records and those still to be listed—they include records of Wycliffe Chapel and White's Row, Stepney, Gunnersbury Chapel, Chiswick and Old Brentford Church—are finally made available to students, the Record Office will take pride in a collection that is at once of primary importance to the historian of Nonconformity from the eighteenth century to the twentieth, and also of considerable value to the social historian and to the topographer.

[15]Mins., 16 May 1831. Cf. also Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 222.
[16]Joint Comm. mins., 13 Mar. 1911.
[17]Cf. Manning, *op. cit.*, pp. 130 ff., Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 185.
[18]Mins., 3 Feb., 2 Mar. 1916. Cf. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 358 for Cong. views on conscription and military service.
[19]Mins. of Visitors' Meeting, 18 Nov. 1833 : '44 Visiters, 1573 Families visited, 35 Children sent to Sabbath School, 4 Persons induced to attend Public Worship, 50 Families received the Loan Library Books, 18 Cases relieved'.

C. A. McLAREN

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH RECORDS

HELD IN PUBLIC CUSTODY (List 4)

(*Lists 1, 2 and 3 :* Vol. *xix,* Nos. *1, 2 and 3, pp. 26, 80 and 158*)

Dorset Record Office.

Shaftesbury Cong. Ch. : title deeds of manse, 1700-64.

Essex Record Office.

Stansted Mountfitchet Cong. Ch. : church books, 1822-82 ; accounts, 1852-75 ; trust deed, 1892 ; building papers, 1864-98 ; Sunday school, 1848-1931 ; miscellanea, 1776-1946.

Hammersmith Public Library.

Broadway Cong. Ch. : minutes of committees, missionary auxiliary and school, 1792-1945 ; accounts and subscriptions, 1724-1868 ; title and trust deeds, 1719-1902 ; reports, etc., 1900-15.

Hampshire Record Office.

Basingstoke, London St. Cong. Ch. : accounts, 1871-1901.

Ipswich and East Suffolk Record Office.

Ipswich, Tacket St. Cong. Ch. : minutes, 1855-1906 ; register of marriages and burials, 1759-1886 ; registers of members, 1686-1881 ; trust and title deeds, 19th cent. ; building papers, 1719-1880 ; Sunday School, 1823-1935 ; reports, 1879-1812 ; register of briefs 1725-1827 ; letters, 1771-1819 ; sermons, 1686-1782.

Leicester Museum, Dept. of Archives.

Bond St. Cong. Ch. : minutes, 1840-1936 ; registers of baptisms, marriages and burials, 1830-92 ; registers of members, 1802-42 ; accounts, 1856-1942 ; yearbooks, 1866-1947 ; Sunday Schools, 1804-88 ; various societies, 1818-93 ; correspondence, 1801-88 ; miscellanea, 1867-1952.

Gallowtree Gate Con. Ch. : Sunday School, 1853-72.

Middlesex Record Office.

Uxbridge Cong. Ch. : title deeds, 1603-1877.

National Library of Wales.

Pont Robert ap Oliver (Montgomery), Upper Chapel : register of baptisms, 1807-36.

Mydroilyn Cong. Ch. : (Cardigan) : accounts, 1880-1914.

Plymouth Public Library, Archives Dept.
Princes St. Cong. Ch. Devonport: title deeds, 1823-68.

Shrewsbury Public Library.
Swan Hill Cong. Ch.: trust deed, 1766.

Southampton Record Office.
Kingsfield Con. Ch.: committee minutes, 1891; year book, 1915; papers, 1859-82.

Southampton University Library.
Two bibles of Isaac Watts senior and his portrait (see *Transactions*, Vol. I, p. 275).

Stratford upon Avon, Birthplace Trust.
Stratford Cong. Ch.: minutes, 1783-1943; accounts, 1839-1953; British School, 1866-81; miscellanea, 1798-1962.

Surrey Record Office.
East Sheen Cong. Ch.: minutes, 1821-1950; accounts, 1853-1927; building papers, 1867-1908; Reading Circle, 1900-2; Mortlake British School, 1842-91; miscellanea, 1838-1929.

Warwickshire Record Office.
Bedworth Old Meeting: minutes, 1687-1815.

York Public Library, Archives Dept.
Jubbergate Cong. Ch.: register of baptisms, 1799-1816.
Lendal and New Lendal Cong. Ch.: minutes, 1816-1941; accounts, 1924-49; register of baptisms, 1816-1951; register of members, 1816-92; trust deed, 1835; Sunday School, 1854-70; diary, 1832-41.
Salem Cong. Ch.: minutes, 1839-1939; accounts, 1855-1951; register of baptisms, 1839-1949; registers of members, 1839-1945; Sunday School, 1925-36.

(RECEIVED FROM C. E. WELCH)

REVIEWS

A Mirror of Elizabethan Puritanism. The Life and Letters of 'Godly Master Dering' by Patrick Collinson (Friends of Dr. Williams's Library, Lecture No. 17 (1963). 4s. 6d.)

In some ways one is tempted to question the title of this readable and scholarly little book. 'A Mirror of Elizabethan Puritanism'? Is anyone really representative enough to merit this description? Edward Dering, who died in 1576 in his mid-thirties, was a moderate man given to immoderate expression. The author calls him a Presbyterian, but chiefly in respect of his insistence on the doctrine of the two kingdoms, State and Church. 'Moderate Episcopalian' rather than 'Presbyterian' is a term which could be applied to him, as a century later to Baxter. As Patrick Collinson says: 'This practical concern with the sins of prelacy rather than with the unlawfulness of episcopacy would always be characteristic of the main stream of the English Protestant tradition'.

One notices the point, well brought out, that Dering escaped anything beyond the most trivial persecution, because of his social origins and connections with the landed gentry, and perhaps because he was recognized as an outstanding scholar. Yet the fact also emerges that he was helped by the existence of fellow-travellers of Puritanism in high places—notably, of course, Burghley.

Dering is also portrayed as a man of practical religion, writing a catechism for householders and letters of spiritual counsel, chiefly to women. Representative or not, he is worth reading about.

A delightful, perhaps unconsciously-motivated, misprint on page 19 claims that the Puritans aimed at establishing 'awful' ministry.

S.H.M.

Methodism and the Puritans by John A. Newton (Friends of Dr. Williams's Library, Lecture No. 18 (1964): pp, 19. 4s. 6d.)

The way in which various traditions influenced and helped to form denominational and confessional groups in the post-Reformation period is both fascinating and important. Methodism was a meeting-point for a number of such strands.

'It is the thesis of this paper that it is possible to trace not merely a family likeness between Puritanism and Methodism, but to show in a measure how one is related to another.' Dr. Newton amply

justifies his claim in this brief, but convincing and fascinating exposition of the puritan strands in the Methodist tradition. He rightly points to the fact that 'the Puritan tradition flowed into Methodism through the family life of Epworth Rectory': he stresses the importance of the fact that 'Susanna's whole devotional life was shaped by the puritan tradition in which she was reared'.

Although Wesley was not brought up on puritan text books, he turned to them with great eagerness after his personal apprehension of justifying faith. Thereafter he not only read them himself but also edited and published them for the use of his preachers; in his *Christian Library* the puritan divines form the largest single tradition.

Dr. Newton briefly illustrates the debt owed by Methodism to the great puritan authors under the heads, Theology, Liturgy, Pastoralia, Family Piety and Ethics.

W.W.B.

The Sherwell Story by Stanley Griffin. (Published by the author at 45 Thornhill Road, Plymouth, 1964, n.p.)

The story of Sherwell Congregational Church at Plymouth begins with the preaching of George Whitefield there in 1744 and ends with the post-war restoration of the neo-Gothic church as the sole representative of Congregationalism in the city centre. Mr. Griffin, who has been collecting materials on Congregationalism in Devon and Cornwall for many years, has now published its history. He has told it without fear or favour. It has been produced with good typography and a striking cover to make it an example to all who write the history of their own church.

The latest addition to the Occasional Publications of Dr. Williams's Library is Mr. John Creasey's *Index to the John Evans List of Dissenting Congregations and Ministers 1715-1729*. The Evans' manuscript in the Library has become better known as a result of two articles in these *Transactions* in August 1961 and it is now possible to borrow a Xerox facsimile from the Library.

Mr. Creasey's index is therefore invaluable. Corrupt forms of English and Welsh placenames are identified and many ministers are provided with dates of birth and death. It would have been an advantage to have had some indication of the denomination of each congregation, but this would have inflated the size and the price of the pamphlet. We can only be grateful to Mr. Creasey and Dr. Williams's Library for making this manuscript accessible and hope for a similar index to the Thompson list of 1772. C.E.W.

Our Country by Josiah Strong, ed. by Jurgen Herbst (Harvard University Press and Oxford University Press, London, 1964, 40s.)

Josiah Strong (1847-1916) was a prophet of the social gospel movement. He was for a few years secretary of the Congregational Home Missionary Society in the United States and from 1884 pastor of Central Congregational Church, Cincinnati. *Our Country* (1886) is his 'pioneer sociological treatise'. He came to London in 1904 to help organize the Institute of Social Service.

He could see the scandals of exploitation, the pull of urban centres and the onset of vice and crime which reached its peak earlier in this century. Like others he foresaw the ascent of American power. Of the negro, however, there is not a mention!

The journal of the British Records Association, *Archives*, Vol. VI. No. 32, October, 1964, has an article by C. Edwin Welch on *Archives and Manuscripts in Nonconformist Libraries* to which is appended a useful list of 35 libraries in England and Wales, together with an idea of their contents and organization. Archives and manuscripts in the libraries and offices of missionary societies and colleges are not in this list. Neither are institutions which made no reply to Mr. Welch's inquiries for information. He says in conclusion that 'there is an almost completely unexplored source of archives and manuscripts in nonconformist libraries' and hopes steps may be taken to make a full survey similar to that of diocesan and cathedral libraries which was financed by the Pilgrim Trust.

Ministering to the Forces by Ronald W. Thompson (published by The Baptist Union of Gt. Britain and Ireland and The Congregational Union of England and Wales, 1964, 4s.)

Sixty pages is a small tin for so much meat. 1964 was the jubilee of the combined chaplaincy service of the two denominations, though at the beginning the Primitive Methodists and United Methodists shared in the work. Care has been taken to provide lists of chaplains appointed and to mention especially those who died on active service, twelve in the first war and eleven in the second. The structure of the Board is briefly dealt with and a good number of human stories recounted. This is a neat record; it is not a critical account.

J.H.T.

Also received:

Nonconformist Registers by Edwin Welch (in the *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, Vol. II, No. 9. April, 1964).

HISTORIES OF CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES

(*For earlier lists see pp. 207-8 and 229 of this volume*)

Armitage, H. Mixenden Chapel (Halifax Antiquarian Society, 1964).
Caplan, N. A. A Supplement to the Annals of Lindfield Congregational Church. (1964).
Davies, C. S. Historical Review of Bognor Regis Congregational Church, 1813-1963. (1963).
Griffin, S. The Sherwell Story. (1964).
Hayns, D. The Burnham (Bucks.) Congregational Church historical Year Book. (1964).
Johnson, T. F. Nether Church (Congregational), Sheffield, 1714-1964.
Parker, T. N. A Brief History of Over (Cheshire) Congregational Church, 1814-1964. (1964).
Raymer, R. A. The Congregational Church at George Street, Croydon, 1672-1964. (1964).
Rotherham. Kimberworth Road Congregational Church, 1914-64. (1964).
Stamford. Stamford Congregational Church, 1662-1962. (1961).
Tucker, G. M. Ottery St. Mary Congregational Church. (1962).
Watts, T. Souvenir Handbook and History of the English Congregational Church, Abersychan. (1964).
White, F. W. Idle Congregational Church, Bradford, Yorkshire. Sixteen Ministers in 300 years. (1964).

H.G.T.

PUBLICATIONS BY MEMBERS OF THE CONGREGATIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Caplan, N. George Vinter, 'A Sussex Vicar of Bray ?' (*Sussex Notes and Queries,* xvi. No. 3. May. 1964).
Duncan, J. The Methodists in Bury St. Edmunds and district. (1963).
Inglis, K. S. English Nonconformity and Social Reform. (*Past and Present.* 1958).
Jewson, C. B. Return of Conventicles in Norwich Diocese, 1669. (*Norfolk Archeology.* Vol. xxxiii, pt. i. (1962) pp. 6-34).
Nuttall, G. F. Dissenting Churches in Kent before 1700. (*Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* xiv. No. 2. 1963).
Sears, A. T. James Prankard, Minister of Bethel Independent Chapel, Sheerness, 1811-1838. (1962).
Sellers, I. A. Nonconformist Attitudes in Later Nineteenth Century Liverpool (*Transactions* of Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, Vol. 114 (1963), pp. 215-239).
Tibbutt, H. G. Mill Street Baptist Church, Bedford, 1792-1963. (1964); Sutton Saint (William Steevens, Puritan Rector of Sutton, Beds., (1665-1721). (*Bedfordshire Magazine,* vol. 9. No. 69. Summer 1964).

H.G.T.

OUR CONTEMPORARIES

The Society is grateful for the following Journals, etc. :

The Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society of England, Vol. XIII, No. 1 (May 1964) has a careful and useful article by H. S. Ross on 'Some aspects of the Development of Presbyterian Polity in England'. R. Buick Knor writes on 'Archbishop Ussher and English Presbyterianism'.

Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (October 1964) includes the annual lecture delivered by D. G. Wigmore-Beddoes on 'How the Unitarian Movement paid its debt to Anglicanism'. This study of the impact of Unitarian thinkers upon such leading 'Broad Church' scholars as Hampden, Whately and Arnold provides an interesting picture of one aspect of early nineteenth-century thought.

The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society, Vol. 50, *No.* 3 (1963) provides further illustration of the part played by Friends in the commercial and industrial life of this country—'The Gurneys and the Norwich Clothing Trade in the eighteenth century' by J. K. Edwards.

The Baptist Quarterly, Vol. XX, Nos. 5 (January), 6 (April), 7 (July) and 8 (October).

E. F. Clipsham concludes his series on 'Andrew Fuller and Fullerism' in Nos. 5 and 6. In No. 8 the editor comments on the fact that C. H. Spurgeon's Puritan library is in the United States and that apparently no Baptist library in this country had been willing to house it when the family decided to sell it.

Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, Vol. XXXIV, Parts 4 (December 1963), 5 (March 1964), 6 (June 1964), 7 (September 1964) and 8 (December 1964).

Thomas Coke is prominent, being treated in Part 5 ('Thomas Coke and American Methodism 1784-92' by J. H. Barton); in Part 6 ('Dr. Coke and British Methodism' by N. K. Hurt) and in Part 8 ('Thomas Coke, Preacher' by W. T. Smith).

A series entitled 'Catchwords of the "Conversations"' has been started, setting out to examine the Wesleys' teaching on, e.g., 'A Converting Ordinance and the Open Table' (J. C. Bowmer; Part 5) 'Apostolic Succession and the Threefold Ministry' (A. B. Lawson; Part 6); 'Episcopacy' (V. E. Vine; Part 7) and 'The Real Presence and the Lord's Supper' (A. R. George; Part 8).

W.W.B.