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TRANSACTIONS

THE CONGREGATIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY
EDITOR JOHN H. TAYLOR, B.D.
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Editorial

We have not had the opportunity so far of placing on record our delight that the University of Wales conferred an honorary doctorate in Divinity on Dr. Geoffrey F. Nuttall, our President, last year. We are pleased to have in this issue something we rarely have, a review article of some length, from his pen. It is occasioned by the appearance of Douglas Lacey's *Dissent and Parliamentary Politics in England, 1661-1689*, which will undoubtedly remain a source book for students of the period for a very long time. In congratulating Dr. Nuttall, we must not forget to congratulate our research secretary, Edwin Welch, upon his gaining his Ph.D. for a thesis on the archbishops' courts of appeal, and also upon his becoming a F.S.A.

The death occurred last autumn after a short but distressing illness of Miss Phyllis Vera Brunsden (1907-69). Miss Brunsden joined the Society in 1938 and she was responsible for compiling the *Subject Index to the Transactions, I-XV (1901-48)*. She contributed an article on 'Background to Reading Nonconformity' (XV. pp. 157ff.). She was a senior member of the staff of Reading Corporation and for 34 years a member of Trinity Congregational Church. From 1939-46 she was secretary to our former Research Secretary (Charles E. Surman) under the Ministry of Health War Relief Services, Reading.

THE HARRISONS OF SKIPTON

The strength and tenacity of Independency in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries often lay in the families of the churches, numerous in offspring and growing in education, culture and social status. One such family was that of the Harrisons of Skipton in Craven, Yorkshire. Tribute is paid to them in *The History of Independency in Skipton* by W. H. Dawson (pp.39ff.) and in *The History of the Dales Congregational Churches* by Thomas Whitehead (pp.193ff.) though both accounts need a little correction and amplification.

A manuscript which had been consulted by Dawson has recently come into the author's possession; a biography of John Harrison (1774-1854) written by his son the Rev. John Harrison, minister of Stretton-under-Fosse, near Rugby. Entitled *A Brief Memoir of the late John Harrison of Skipton* by his son John Harrison, 1855, it contains 101 beautifully written pages in a well bound book and provides a valuable account of the social and religious background of the eighty years covered by the life of John Harrison senior.

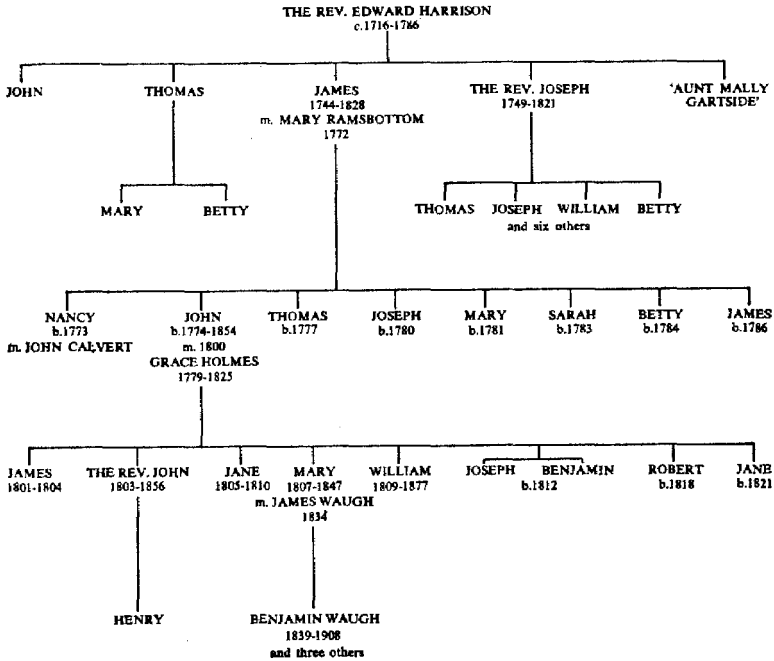
FIVE GENERATIONS

Before turning to this manuscript it is illuminating to survey earlier and later generations of this family. Information comes from various denominational historians, from family recollections and from the *Memoir* itself. The family 'tree', though not complete, can be reconstructed in sufficient detail.

The founder of the family was the Rev. Edward Harrison (*c.*1716-1786) who came from Swinden, a village a few miles north of Skipton where he had a small farm; in later life 'too poor to retain his estate, he sold it to Mr. Hammerton of Hellifield Peel' (*Memoir*). It may have been his father's house at Swinden which had been licensed on 3 October 1710,[1] and here that the Rev. Robert Hesketh of Horton in Craven conducted services between 1710 and 1736.[2] Edward Harrison became a preacher, preaching mainly at Horton and Winterburn.

[1]By the "Act for exempting their Majesties' Protestant subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the penalties of certain laws' (The so-called Toleration Act of 1689) Dissenters had to obtain a certificate from a bishop, archdeacon, or justices of the peace for their places of meeting.

[2]T. Whitehead, *History of the Dales Congregational Churches*, pp. 193, 122.



At the recommendation of a Mr. Winterbottom of Oldham he was introduced to Greenacres, Oldham, a 1662 foundation, where he became pastor in 1750 in succession to the Rev. James Burgess.[3] Probably the Rev. James Scott, the founder of Heckmondwike Academy[4] who was minister at Craven from 1741 to 1751 and was a friend of Burgess's family, also had a hand in the introduction. Waddington, who wrote in detail about Greenacres, tells how Edward Harrison's wife travelled pillion on her husband's horse as they removed to Oldham and met with an accident at an inn in Rochdale on the journey. She fractured her leg so badly that she became an invalid and died fairly soon afterwards. Edward married again and after a short pastorate at Greenacres returned to Swinden in 1753, continued as a trustee of the church at Horton, and during the twenty years' vacancy after the departure of James Scott in 1751 conducted the services.

[3]G. G. Waddington, *Historical and Biographical Notices*, pp.280ff. B. Nightingale, *Lancashire Nonconformity*, ii. pp. 252-3; v. pp. 236, 326-7.
[4]K. W. Wadsworth, *Yorkshire United Independent College*, chapters iii and iv. Nightingale, *op. cit.*, v. pp. 236-8.

Edward Harrison's children by his first marriage included James and Joseph. James, born in Swinden, moved to Skipton where he was a weaver and in 1770 opened his home for services. Out of this grew the Independent Church, meeting first in the Court House from 1774 and then from 1777 in a newly erected meeting house. As a deacon and a trustee he gave guidance to the church and co-operated with its successive ministers until his death at the age of eighty-four.[5] Joseph became a minister, though without any formal academic training. He was 'a plain-spoken, earnest man whose sermons were not likely to miss the people's hearts by flying over their heads' (Dawson), and it was through his preaching on Christmas Day *c.*1794-6 that his nephew John (the subject of the *Memoir*) was converted at a service in John's parents' home. One would have expected a biographical notice of Joseph in the *Evangelical Magazine* soon after his death in 1821 but none seems traceable. His ministerial life included pastorates at Clavering (Essex), Foulmere and Harleston (Cambs.), Skipton (where his brother James was then a deacon), Bingley, Wilsden and Allerton, Bradford (Yorkshire) and at Bethel, Bury (Lancs.). At Bury and at Allerton he was instrumental in building new chapels.[6]

Edward Harrison's grandchildren were numerous and little seems known about most of them. John (1774-1854), the subject of the *Memoir* (see below), was easily the most outstanding even allowing for the fact that we have detailed knowledge about him only. He married Grace Holmes (1779-1825) on Christmas Day 1800 at Skipton Parish Church.[7] Her eldest brother Marmaduke (born 1774) was killed in battle, says the *Memoir*, without specifying when or where (was it the Peninsular War? or Waterloo?).

Edward Harrison's great grandchildren. John and Grace Harrison had nine children. James and the first Jane died of croup in early childhood, Mary (1807-1847) married James Waugh, a saddler of Scots descent, and they lived at Settle in Yorkshire where they were quiet, faithful members of Zion Congregational Church. William (1809-1877) was dismissed from the church at Skipton in 1839 to the church then about to be formed in Accrington (Lancs.), but returned to Skipton in 1854 and served as a deacon there.[8]

[5]Dawson and Whitehead, *ad loc.*; Waddington, *op. cit.*, pp. 281-2.
[6]Nightingale, *op. cit.*, iii. pp. 196-7.
[7]By Hardwicke's Marriage Act of 1753, aimed at preventing irregular marriages, which remained in force until 1836, all marriage services to be valid had to be performed in the Established Church, Quakers excepted.
[8]Dawson, *op. cit.*, p. 149; Nightingale, *op. cit.*, *ii.* p. 129.

Benjamin, one of the twins born in 1812, became a manufacturer in Bradford and a deacon and Sunday School superintendent of College Chapel.[9] Robert perhaps emigrated—he was in Australia at the time of his father's death in 1854.

These children were among the first scholars when the Sunday School, under the superintendency of their father, was established at Skipton in 1816. Another of the first scholars was John Calvert (1809-1883) who later became Sunday School superintendent and deacon[10] and may perhaps be identified as a son of Nancy Harrison (who married John Calvert) and thus another great grandchild of Edward Harrison.

The Rev. John, the writer of the *Memoir* who belonged to this generation, came under the influence of Dr. Benjamin Boothroyd,[11] pastor of Highfield, Huddersfield, and was encouraged and helped by him to enter Highbury College to train for the ministry in 1827. After some preaching at Stanford Rivers (Essex) and Loughborough he settled at Stretton-under-Fosse in June 1835 and remained there until his death in June 1856. He is described as 'diligent and laborious . . . labouring with assiduity, acceptance and usefulness, a man of considerable attainments as a scholar and much addicted to the study of oriental languages', an interest he probably owed to Boothroyd, a remarkable Hebraist who himself edited, printed and published a two-volume *Biblia Hebraica* between 1810 and 1813 and later did the same for a three-volume *New Family Bible*.

Edward Harrison's great-great-grandchildren. By her marriage in 1834 to James Waugh, Mary Harrison produced the most famous member of the Harrison family. One of their four children was Benjamin, founder and first secretary of the N.S.P.C.C. Born at Settle, in 1839, he spent seven happy years as a pupil of his uncle John at Stretton-under-Fosse before becoming apprenticed as a draper to Alderman Samuel Boothroyd of Southport,[12] an eminent Congregational layman and son of Dr. Benjamin Boothroyd of Huddersfield. In 1862 Benjamin Waugh entered Airedale College, Bradford, of which his uncle John was then one of the examiners in Oriental Languages. He married Sarah Elizabeth Boothroyd of Southport and was ordained at Newbury in 1865, later moving to Maze Hill, Greenwich. His impassioned champion-

[9]Waddington, *op. cit.*, p. 282.
[10]Dawson, *op. cit.*, p. 149.
[11]*C.Y.B.* 1857, pp. 185-6. For Boothroyd, *D.N.B.*, s.v.
[12]Nightingale, *op. cit.*, vi. p. 34.

ship of children, his books, his editorial work, his contributions to journals, his hymns, and his unremitting work in framing 'The Children's Charter' made him a national figure of whom it was said when he died in 1908 that no one had done more than he to improve the condition of little children and to put a stop to cruelty.[13]

THE BRIEF MEMOIR OF JOHN HARRISON

John Harrison was born in 1774 at the New House, Skipton (afterwards known as the New Inn and still later as the Devonshire Arms) which was a large house divided into small tenements and let off to several poor families. His son says in the *Memoir*:

> My father was, while very young, visited with the fearful malady at that time so common, and so destructive, the small pox. Dr. Jenner had not yet matured and published his observations on vaccination, nor indeed till about 1796.[14] My father seems to have had a very narrow escape from death. He was blind for some days, if not weeks, and when at length he began to recover, there was separated from his face one large mask of scabs. He was, through life, slightly marked with the disease.
>
> He had a natural leaning to books and writing from a little child. He could in old age recollect and tell of happy hours he had spent in his little arm chair with a piece of paper before him, a bit of stick for a pen, and a mixture of soot and water which his kind mother had provided for him as a substitute for ink. A future day was to see him supporting a large family by his pen, and here was his starting point.

The opportunities for schooling were scanty. There was an endowed grammar school in Skipton 'but such schools were then of little use to the children of the poor'. John attended a dame's school for a very brief time and then, as one of the eldest of a growing family, he began work at the spinning wheel.

> Those were the days of the spinning wheel, when garments had to be produced one thread at a time from a single spindle end, and by the wearisome iteration of marches and countermarches by the spinner in his wheelgate, from morning till

[13]Rosa Waugh and Ernest Betham, *Life of Benjamin Waugh*; Rosa Hobhouse, *Benjamin Waugh*; W. G. Robinson, *Benjamin Waugh* (Heritage Biographies).

[14]Jenner's conclusive experiment was made in May 1796; his *Inquiry into the Causes and Effects of the Variolae Vaccinae* was published in 1798.

> night and not seldom also from night till morning. It was to the spinning wheel that the children of the poor were for the most part condemned.

A cotton mill was built in Skipton, its machinery operated by water power, and the new mill offered employment to men and women and also to children, if they were big enough.

> See then the little boy of about eight years of age *promoted* to the cotton mill. The hands had to be at their work by six in the morning, summer and winter, and from that hour till eight at night did the rumbling machinery require their incessant attendance, except some very brief intervals necessary for meals. The child, when he had wrought fourteen hours, time of meals excepted, would volunteer himself to work overhours at one halfpenny per hour. By working part of his mealtimes, and then one or even two hours after eight at night, he would often earn a whole penny or even three halfpence. He would then bring home on a Saturday night for himself a shilling or nearly, beside the wages brought to his parents. The private savings thus commenced he committed to the care of his aunt Bettress Watson, for he knew it was utterly useless either to keep them about his own person, or place them within the power of his very straitened parents.

Unhappily for the boy, his banker-aunt handed the money over to his parents. When the boy complained, 'his father told him sternly that it was most unlikely they could keep and clothe him as a gentleman while the parents and family were starving. They must have the money or they must starve.' He began again. When he was fifteen years old he left the cotton mill and became a handloom weaver.

> He had saved a considerable sum of money, and with a part of it he bought himself a loom and commenced calico weaving. There were no power looms in those days and the wages of weavers were very good. My father would earn thirty shillings a week with ease and so saved money very fast.

His transfer from the mill to the loom gave him some leisure to devote to his education at an evening school. Here he learned to write a fair hand, acquired a good knowledge of arithmetic and of double-entry book-keeping and 'was not unacquainted with the simpler cases of mensuration and guaging (*sic*)'.

> It must have been about this time of my father's life or a little earlier that their home in the New House was broken

> up. The noble owner of the property, the duke of Devonshire, determined to convert the building into an inn. The various families who had long occupied its various apartments received notice to quit. Where or how was my grandfather, to say nothing of the other tenants, to find another dwelling for himself and his large family? This was a question of gloomy and frightful import. For some time there appeared the street or some wayside encampment as their only resource. (But) The time of man's extremity is the time of God's opportunity, and here we have a proof of it.

Mr. Richardson, the Independent minister at Skipton,[15] was about to leave with nearly a year of unexpired tenancy of the cottage where he lived in Tillotson's Yard. He offered the cottage with his unexpired tenancy to James Harrison, much to the dismay of Mr. Tillotson, a bachelor, and his elderly housekeeper who were appalled at the prospect of a large and presumably noisy family in one of their houses. The behaviour of the family was so circumspect that the tenancy was continued for nearly forty years and Tillotson became a friend and guide to the youth John, helping him to increase and invest his growing savings.

By the time of his marriage when John Harrison was in his middle twenties, he had added to his hand-loom weaving the care of a shop belonging to a co-operative club, which bought flour in those times of high bread prices and sold it at a small profit. His income rose to between thirty and forty shillings a week but he began to feel that there was no permanent prospect in selling flour and 'he had a presentiment that calico weaving would not always continue to be as lucrative as heretofore'. So about 1803 he entered the service of John and William Birkbeck and Co., worsted spinners who had many sorters and combers in their employ and owned two warehouses. He was to be a 'taker-in of the combers' work' at a wage of sixteen shillings a week. 'At first sight the act itself had the appearance of madness, and my father must either have possessed an uncommon amount of foresight, or it pleased God especially to interpose on behalf of his servant for the future comfort of him and his family.' He remained with the firm in increasing regard until his retirement forty years later,

[15]'The next minister was Mr. Richardson, 1786-1788, who is said to have been a young man of good talents, well educated and very skilful in controversy, especially with the Arminians. His fondness for dwelling on doctrinal points diminished his congregation and he removed to Whitworth (Lancs) and joined Lady Huntingdon's Connexion.' (J. G. Miall, *Congregationalism in Yorkshire*, p. 362; T. Whitehead, *History of the Dales Congregational Churches*, p. 198.)

advancing in responsibility and in remuneration, and able to find positions for his children in the firm. The Rev. John Harrison, the writer of this *Memoir* of his father, worked for the firm from the age of eleven, for six years at Skipton and then six years in Huddersfield, where he was to meet Dr. Benjamin Boothroyd.

Another interesting example of thrift and of co-operation among working-class people is seen in the building club.

> In the earlier part of his married life my father made one of several persons who united in a building club which built the Union Square in Skipton. They were several years about it and before the accounts could be closed their secretary became bankrupt and a lunatic. There were great difficulties in getting the affairs of the club clear out of the hands of this man and his assignees, and my father had this troublesome business mostly to transact. His fellow members were so pleased with his efforts and their results that they voted him ten pounds for his trouble.

In due course the scheme was successfully concluded. John Harrison now owned a house in Union Square, his subscriptions being helped by an unexpected legacy of forty pounds left to his wife by a distant relation. He did not occupy the house but let it for some years and finally sold it in 1843. ('This was the only property not personalty that he ever possessed.') After nearly twenty-five years of happy married life, Grace Harrison died in 1825; John remained a widower for the remaining thirty years of his life, his daughter Mary caring for him and the motherless family until her marriage.

The religious life of the Independent churches and of their more dedicated members is amply illustrated in the *Memoir*. Before his marriage, John Harrison had begun to preach—'he felt a strong desire to win souls to that wonderful Saviour whose powerful grace had drawn his soul out of the deep pit and miry clay.' There were opportunities to preach at prayer meetings and in surrounding village churches.

> For many years in the early part of his Christian career, he preached frequently. The students from Airedale College, the 'Idle students' as they were then called from the village of Idle near Bradford where the college was first located,[16] were then nearly unknown at Skipton though the college was not

[16]Idle Academy, under the Rev. William Vint, was in being from 1800 to 1834, the year of his death, and was itself a continuation of Northowram Academy. Airedale College replaced Idle Academy in 1838.

quite twenty miles off. An occasional preacher like my father was therefore frequently called upon for his services. There was at that time no place of worship, nor any even occasional preaching, in the neighbouring village of Embsay. My father began on the tenth of July in that year (*sc.* 1825?) to preach there one Sabbath evening in a fortnight at the house of his friend John Jennings. The house was large and generally well filled. This service was kept up for nearly twenty years.

At Skipton the Rev. Benjamin Sugden, who had begun his ministry there in 1799, removed to Shelley, near Huddersfield in 1808 or 1809.

My father was deeply distressed at the darkness that seemed before the cause of Christ in that place (Skipton). The congregation was only about twenty people and these were mostly both poor and dispirited . . . In the course of a week or two a few of the attendants at the chapel having met for tea at the house of a friend, my father who was one of the visitors, introduced the subject of the chapel, and when no other plan seemed forthcoming he offered one of his own. This was that he should preach every alternate Sabbath to them, and that for the other Sabbaths, they should obtain the services of the Airedale students.[17] Also that in addition to his own gratuitous preaching, he would contribute according to his ability to the half guinea which would be required on the other Sabbaths of the fortnight to pay the expenses of the student. My father's plan was acceded to and carried into effect forthwith. As the congregation increased, which it did considerably in the course of a year or so, my father gave up his half of the pulpit labour, and the services of the students were put in requisition every Sabbath till 1811 when Mr. Sharp,[18] one of their number, was chosen to be their settled pastor.

The settlement of Mr. Sharp gave John Harrison more freedom to preach at surrounding churches in the Craven district, and this he did often at considerable self-sacrifice.

I have seen him come in to his tea on a Saturday afternoon, quickly put himself in plight for travel, and then walk off

[17]This means the men from Idle, see previous footnote.

[18]T. Sharp was minister from his leaving Idle in 1811 until his death in 1843. During his ministry the Sunday School was begun with twelve scholars and John Harrison as superintendent. When Sharp ended his ministry the church membership stood at eighty-four and a gallery had been added to the building.

to labour in some part of the Master's vineyard many miles off on the next day. The Independent chapels at Pateley Bridge, Grassington, Settle, Martin Top and Tosside[19] were all raised about that time, and so far as supplying the pulpit was concerned, my father performed no insignificant part in raising them. The old chapel at Winterburn, built in the days of the Commonwealth,[20] was now also resuscitated.

The *Memoir* selects one incident from this itinerant ministry.

He walked one Saturday evening to Grassington, the distance being ten miles. The evening turned out exceedingly wet, and he was thoroughly drenched long before he reached the end of his journey. The house to which he was going was that of 'Sammy' Cockburn, a warm friend of the Saviour's cause there; but S.C's mother lived with him, or perhaps rather, he lived with her, and she was of a very different spirit from her son. She did not like so much work about religion, and when the poor drenched preacher sought admission as their guest, her anger knew no bounds. She vowed she would not have her nice clean house disturbed by any of their new-fangled preachers, and that he might go somewhere else for a lodging. Her son did his very utmost to pacify her but all in vain, and my father was obliged to turn out again into the pouring rain to seek a lodging. He went to the house of a person named Will Clark, a carrier whom he knew, and asked if he could have a lodging there. 'Yes' was Clark's prompt and cheerful reply. 'Come in, your father (i.e. James Harrison) has written notes for me many a time, and one good turn deserves another. Come in.' Here my father found a kind and welcome reception, not only on that memorable evening but many a time afterwards.

John Harrison kept a book of memoranda which, says the *Memoir*, 'contains many expressions of affectionate solicitude for us his children. These expressions occur especially on New Year's days.' The following is a specimen he gives of these entries; it is dated Jany 1st 1837.

Given to Mary 5s/-
Isabel (his housekeeper) 5s/-
Benj[n] and Robert 2s/6d each
William 5s/-

[19]For the history of these causes, J. G. Miall and T. Whitehead, *op. cit.*
[20]Winterburn owed its existence to Barbara, daughter-in-law of Major General John Lambert of Cromwell's Ironsides. She encouraged ejected preachers, including Oliver Heywood and Thomas Jollie, and began the cause in 1682.

> We are all spared to begin another year. God our heavenly Father has dealt bountifully with us during the past. True, Mary has lost her dear little Grace, but I trust she is in Abraham's bosom. Then John is kindly dealt with by the people at Stretton. Joseph is doing well. William and family are well. Very few families are so blessed in providence and grace as we are. May we never forget Him who does not forget us, and O may the Holy Spirit be granted unto all in a more abundant manner, that we may live more to God's glory; Amen.

Of the death of his daughter Mary, the mother of Benjamin Waugh, on 9 May 1847, he wrote:

> Daughter Mary died this day about eight p.m. when she calmly slept in Jesus without a sigh or a groan. Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord. Let my last end be like hers.

His own end came peacefully on 22 March 1854. His son pays this tribute:

> He did in his time occupy most of the offices about that place of worship (Skipton). He was sexton in the younger days of the chapel when the congregation was too poor to pay for one. It was on the gratuitous principle that he laboured in this and every other station he ever occupied in connection with the place. He was for longer or shorter periods, leader of the singers, member, deacon, trustee, superintendent of the Sunday School, and many a time in emergencies, the occupant of the pulpit. A man thus willing to do his best at anything he can do, and that has some talents and acquirements fitting him for many useful though humble stations, is a man of untold value, either in the work of religion, or in any other work whatever . . . It is a circumstance worthy of remark that the house in which our honoured father expired was not only in the same street but within two minutes' walk from the house where he first drew breath eighty years and a fortnight before. Throughout that long period he had been moving humbly on, filling his place and diffusing his measure of influence.

The *Memoir* reviews the changes that had occurred, such as canals and railways, the spinning jenny, Watt's steam engine, vaccination, gas, Factory Acts, and the reform of Parliament.

The *Memoir* tells of an encounter between James Harrison and a drunken soldier about the end of the eighteenth century.

> My grandfather was one day walking quietly up the High Street past the Thanet's Arms when a soldier rushed upon him out of that public house, seized him, dragged him into the inn parlour, and after fastening the door inside, drew his sword and swore he would run him through with it if he did not there and then drink damnation to the French. My grandfather, who was but little of stature and rather slender too, was entirely in the power of this loyal and valiant cutthroat; yet he calmly told him he would not drink damnation to the French. It was not till after a considerable time and strong remonstrances from the landlord, from my father who had been fetched to the spot, and from bystanders, that the red-coated bully would let go his democrat prisoner. Such acts are not performed now, but sixty years ago such pranks were played, nor was there any remedy obtainable by a poor man for such an outrageous breach of the peace. Yet my grandfather was no democrat but a truly loyal subject of the king. The name of democrat was commonly fastened upon any who sought a thorough reform of our national institutions. Such reforms have been largely granted in more recent times . . . and justice has been done to that minority who in a former generation dared to think for themselves.

The writer of the *Memoir* was perhaps right for his time in his judgment 'Perhaps there never were in the whole history of mere man, eighty years more prolific of change and in improvement', though the eighty years leading up to to-day might better merit such an estimate. But we grimace wryly when he adds 'The spirit of persecution, though not annihilated, is very greatly repressed, and men are being taught more extensively to treat each other as men and brethren.'

W. GORDON ROBINSON

NONCONFORMISTS IN PARLIAMENT 1661-1689

The course of events in English politics between the Restoration of 1660 and the Revolution of 1688/8 is familiar; and the story of the relations between Church and State, of the gradual change from the fierce persecution of Dissent to its partial toleration, and of the successive and to some extent conflicting endeavours to establish now a 'comprehension' of Dissenters within the Established Church, now their 'indulgence' outside it, has often been told, most recently by the Rev. Roger Thomas in his illuminating essay in *From Uniformity to Unity*. Professor Lacey uses, and builds on, this essay a great deal. What is original, and of very great interest, in Professor Lacey's book[1] is his detailed account of the part played in all this by those Dissenters who were members of the House of Commons or the House of Lords.

Surprise may be felt that the House of Commons included any Dissenters at this time. Was not any share by Nonconformists in the government of the country exactly what those in power were determined to prevent? No, not really. Of the four acts commonly termed the Clarendon Code, two, the Act of Uniformity of 1662 and the Five Miles Act of 1665, directly affected only ministers of religion; the Conventicle Act of 1664 affected all Nonconformists but solely insofar as it prohibited them from being present at their own meetings for worship; the Corporations Act of 1661 excluded them from civic office, and then only in local government. Not till the Test Act became law in 1673 were all but Conformists excluded from Parliament also.

Even then, Nonconformists were not in fact totally excluded. Any who were prepared to attend the worship of the Church of England, and to receive the sacrament from its ministers, even occasionally, were thereby eligible. If they also attended their own meetings for worship and were prosecuted and found guilty, the penalty of imprisonment would prevent them from reaching the House; but their eligibility was not affected. Between 1660 and 1689 an appreciable number of Nonconformists were, in fact, what came to be known as Occasional Conformists: some because they loved the Church of England and had no desire to

[1] *Dissent and Parliamentary Politics in England 1661-1689: a study in the perpetuation and tempering of parliamentarianism*, by Douglas R. Lacey. Rutgers University Press, $15.

separate from it further than their consciences compelled them; others simply because, if occasional conformity were to be treated politically as a prerequisite to office, they were willing to do what was required. Later on, the High Church party sought to stop up this loophole; but that was in Queen Anne's reign. In 1673, when a motion was introduced to exclude Dissenters as such from sitting in the Commons, it was defeated by 163 votes to 107 (p. 292).

During these years, therefore, the Occasional Conformists in Parliament, with the support of others more or less in sympathy with their principles, formed a group to which Nonconformists generally would naturally look for leadership, in the hope that, in their efforts to gain some release from prosecution and persecution, and at least the freedom to worship according to conscience, they would leave no stone unturned. If conscious and organized, they were clearly in a position to be a powerful pressure group. Professor Lacey has closely studied their activities in Parliament, noted the committees of which they were members, and observed the way they voted. He demonstrates, for the first time and indubitably, that, despite many setbacks in their efforts to regain liberties for Dissenters, and despite the numerous disagreements which arose among them on a variety of issues, they did in fact contribute 'much throughout this whole period that prepared the way for the final adoption of the Bill of Rights and the Act of Toleration', and that 'in addition their activity was a major factor in the passage of the Toleration Act' (p. 251).

In order to show this to have been the case, Professor Lacey has first to indicate who were the Occasional Conformists in Parliament, and to produce evidence that they were, in fact, Nonconformists. This he does in an Appendix of a hundred pages. He here provides biographical data for ninety-three members of the House of Commons, whom he classifies by asterisks as certain (51), probable (22) or possible (20) Nonconformists, together with nine members of the House of Lords. The differentiation at once reflects the honest scholar who is anxious not to miss hints and pointers but is also careful not to claim more than is justified by the evidence discovered so far. For this evidence Professor Lacey has gone through A. G. Matthews' *Calamy Revised* and noted every M.P. mentioned as being served by an ejected minister, even temporarily, as chaplain. He has listed the M.P.s who took out licenses for Nonconformist worship in 1672. He has observed which of them contributed financially to the meeting-house erected for Richard Baxter by his wife in 1675, and which to the Common Fund in support of poor ministers set up in 1690. He has looked

back to see which were in 1646 nominated as elders in Presbyterian classes. He has kept his eyes open for significant book dedications. He has read many funeral sermons. And of course he has noticed any explicit descriptions such as that of Sir William Ellis, four times M.P. for Grantham, as 'the head of all the Presbyterians in the County' or of Hugh Boscawen, M.P. for Tregony, Cornwall from 1661 to 1681, as 'the great pillar of the Presbyterians'. In this Appendix, as in the narrative which precedes it, Professor Lacey has drawn not only from the correspondence with Philip, fourth Lord Wharton, in the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian, but also, and for the first time so extensively, from the riches contained in a manuscript preserved at Dr. Williams' Library, the 'Ent'ring Book' of an ejected minister, Roger Morrice, much of it in an untranscribed shorthand which it took Professor Lacey's father more than a year to decipher. The Appendix alone is an invaluable new source-book for students of religion in England in this period.

The constituencies which the Occasional Conformists represented were fairly well spread over the country as a whole. They came from twenty-eight of the forty counties of England, from three of the twelve in Wales, from London and Westminster, and from Berwick-on-Tweed. The area most strongly represented was the South-West. That as many as twelve Members came from Devon, with a further five from Somerset and five from Dorset, reflects these counties' sturdy Nonconformist traditions and looks towards Monmouth's landing at Lyme Regis and William III's at Torbay. In 1681 three Occasional Conformists were reported as campaigning 'vigorously among the serge makers in Taunton "and all adjacent fanatic places of trade" ' (p. 117) and in 1688 James II's agents reported of Taunton that the 'greatest part of the town are Dissenters' (p. 450) and likewise of Honiton that 'the majority of the town are Dissenters' (p. 459). More surprising is the fact that Cornwall was represented by as many as ten Occasional Conformists. In the seventeenth century Cornwall certainly had more than its fair share of constituencies, but one thinks of it as a predominantly royalist county. That Norfolk and Suffolk mustered only three Members between them, and that Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire were not represented at all, presumably reflects the fact that in those counties Nonconformists tended to be Congregational rather than Presbyterian.

For, although Professor Lacey always meticulously refers to these Occasional Conformists as 'Presbyterians and Congrega-

tionalists', in fact, as appears from analysis of his information about them, nearly all were Presbyterians in the broad post-1660 sense of Nonconformists who were neither Independents nor Baptists. Of the ninety-three M.P.s only Sir John Hartopp, who in the years (1679-81) when he was M.P. for Leicestershire, was a member of the church ministered to by John Owen, was unquestionably a Congregationalist. Professor Lacey also regards as Congregational John Upton, M.P. for Dartmouth, whose funeral sermon was preached by the Congregational John Flavel, and John Braman, who was 'reputed to be a great fanatic'. Since Richard Farrington, who for a brief period was Braman's fellow M.P. for Chichester, worked closely with Braman and like him was called a 'fanatic', perhaps he too was Congregational. Possibly we should also add John Fowke, M.P. for the City of London in 1661, who had been Lord Mayor at the time of the Barebones Parliament and to whom the Congregational John Goodwin had dedicated one of his books. But, as Professor Lacey is aware, these denominational distinctions were still often loose. Of Fowke and his three fellow M.P.s for London in 1661, some contemporaries said that two were Presbyterians and two were Congregationalists, while other considered all four to be Presbyterians. Two M.P.s appear to have been Baptists: John Manley, M.P. for Bridport in 1689, who had repudiated infant baptism some forty-five years earlier; and Sir John Eyles, M.P. for Devizes, whom two contemporaries dubbed an Anabaptist. Professor Lacey also includes in his list Thomas Papillon, M.P. for Dover, who was a member of the French Protestant church worshipping in Threadneedle Street in the City. With the exception of Papillon, none of these men were in any way leaders in the activities with which Professor Lacey is concerned. To all intents and purposes, the Occasional Conformists in Parliament, like the vast majority of the ministers ejected in 1662, were Presbyterians.

At the heart of the party which they constituted was a closely knit group of a dozen or more who were connected with one another by ties of blood or marriage. Nearly all of these had some relationship to William, sixth Lord Paget, a friend of Richard Baxter and the man to whom John Howe dedicated *The Living Temple* (1675). Philip Foley, whose brothers Paul and Thomas were also in Parliament, married one of Paget's daughters; Richard Hampden, the Patriot's eldest son, married another; Sir Henry Ashurst, again one of two brothers in the Commons, married a third. Two M.P.s for Boston, Sir Anthony Irby and Sir Philip

Harcourt, were also related to Paget. Hampden's son John and son-in-law Sir William Ellis, Foley's son-in-law Robert Harley and *his* father Sir Edward Harley, and two of Harcourt's relatives by marriage, Sir William Waller and Sir William Courtenay, were also in the group. The Hampdens, Harleys and Foleys formed its core.

Through these men's hopes and fears, their endeavours and frustrations, we sense anew the chiaroscuro of those strange years, more dark than light, and feel the force of conflicting pressures and temptations. What dilemmas encompassed them! In the recurrent strife between Parliament and King their convictions, their memories, stories of the years leading up to the Civil War, all their political sense urged them to support Parliament and the rights of Parliament. Yet it was Parliament which repeatedly passed laws aimed at making life intolerable for them, while the King, when it suited him, would grant them the religious liberty they desired. Should they not turn from Parliament to engage the King's sympathies? After all, over so personal an issue as freedom of conscience, was not the personal interview a more appropriate method of gaining their end than an endless series of petitions and votes in Parliament? This was a line of thought which appealed specially to the Quakers who, though not represented in the Commons, were at one with the other Nonconformists in claiming the right to worship in their own way, and who are an integral, if marginal, part of the story Professor Lacey unfolds. In the reign of James II the Quakers had in the person of William Penn the advantage of a close friend of the King's: a dubious advantage, however, since the King was a Papist. Fear of Roman Catholicism threw the cause back into the hands of the stout Protestants who were in Parliament and were bent on working only through Parliament: 'Geneva, Geneva itself could not more reflect upon the Holy Hierarchy than this gentleman' (p. 445) is what was said of one of them, the M.P. for Tamworth. Nevertheless, the mistrust between these Occasional Conformists in Parliament and the sterner Dissenters who regarded them as playing with fire or even as traitors was still smouldering. The Declaration of Indulgence of 1687 fanned it afresh. Were licenses for Nonconformist worship to be accepted, and should the King be thanked for them? 'Quakers, and the strict Nonconformists among the Baptists and Congregationalists' still 'usually gave support to the King' (p. 203). Dissent was thus dangerously divided. The denominations were divided too; for *some* Presbyterians as well as Congregationalists joined in addresses of thanks.

The imprisonment of the Seven Bishops who refused to sanction the reading of the Second Declaration of Indulgence, followed closely by the birth of the child to be known later as the Old Pretender, decided the issue. The Occasional Conformists in Parliament, whose position since 1686 had been 'pivotal' (p. 175), now realized that their hour was come and were quick to act and to act together. Among the twenty or so who at once, or soon, openly supported William of Orange were not only the Hampdens, the Harleys and the Foleys but (of those mentioned earlier) Sir John Hartopp, John Braman, Thomas Papillon, Sir William Ellis, Hugh Boscawen and Sir William Courtenay. Lord Paget's son, the seventh Baron, and Lord Wharton also played major rôles.

A reader of this book can hardly fail to be impressed by the political consistency and persistence of the Hampden family. 'I think that a prince is made for the good of the people,' Richard Hampden said in Parliament in 1679, 'and where there is a Popish prince that may succeed, I think we ought to secure ourselves against that succession' (p. 130). 'The Pope is your king if you have a Popish successor' (p. 143), he repeated in the year following. Now it was his son John who was 'among the earliest of all Englishmen to commit himself to William's cause, and . . . undoubtedly the first Presbyterian or Congregationalist political leader of any prominence to take this step' (p. 215). After James II's flight, it was again John Hampden who, with his father in the chair, insisted in debate on the State of the Nation that 'for the safety of the people it was not sufficient merely to fill the throne that was vacant. It was also "necessary to declare the Constitution and rule of the Government" ' (p. 229). Richard Hampden was on the Committee which drew up the final draft of the Declaration of Rights tendered to William and Mary with the Crown; and both father and son were concerned in securing the passage of the Toleration Act. The Hampdens typify the twofold activities studied throughout this book; on the one hand, the gaining of liberty to worship according to conscience; on the other, in the words of Porfessor Lacey's sub-title, 'the perpetuation and tempering of parliamentarianism'. Religiously, John Hampden was influenced by the pioneer biblical criticism of the French scholar Richard Simon and for a time was a professed freethinker accused of Socinianism. He is thus a fascinating midway figure, politically looking back to his grandfather's opposition to ship-money but religiously looking forward to the 'Rational' Presbyterianism of the eighteenth century.

At the end of his exposition Professor Lacey sums up what the Occasional Conformists had achieved, by transcribing from the Morrice MSS. a passage in which Morrice describes a visit to Westminster Hall on 4 February 1689. The entry is headed SINE METU—without fear—and runs: 'I, Roger Morrice, . . . until Monday, February 4 . . . have scarce ever walked one turn in that Hall without fear since anno 1662, until the day aforesaid when I walked with true liberty and freedom' (p. 225). SINE METU may be written over this book. It may be read without fear. There are slips and misprints, of course. Algernon Sidney is sometimes spelt Sydney and is indexed under both forms. Oliver Heywood is often, Henry Newcome is once, called Thomas; Major-General Thomas Harrison is called Henry. John Howe was not a doctor nor John Evelyn a knight. Richard Stretton was not a Congregationalist; neither was Samuel Jeake. The reader will usually be able to identify a place-name not modernized, e.g. Abington for Abingdon, but not always, e.g. Motheway for Myddfai. Denbigh occurs once as Denigh and once as Denby, and in the index Woburn Abbey is placed in Devon. But these are motes. The index, which runs to thirty-three pages, has the same exceptional excellence as the text and the notes.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH RECORDS

HELD IN PUBLIC CUSTODY (LIST 7)

(*Previous list in Vol. XX, No. 9, p. 286*)

Bedfordshire Record Office

Harrold Cong. Ch.: title deeds, 1741-1907; trust and other papers, 1863-1968.

Cumberland Record Office

Whitehaven Cong. Ch.: minute books, 1827-1962; registers of baptisms, marriages and burials, 1840-1968; registers of members, 1827-1941; account books, 1871-1937; letter book, 1896-1904; Sunday School, 1818-1913; Young Men's Guild, 1897-1913; Mission to Seamen, 1869-1942; papers, 1875-1965.

Parton Cong. Ch.: minute books, 1889-1941; register of baptisms, 1915-54; account books, 1876-1941; Sunday School, 1893-1923.

Derbyshire Record Office

Ripley Cong. Ch.: account books, 1865-1929; photo., 1909.

Dorset Record Office

County Cong. Assoc.: title deeds of 20 churches in Dorset and Wilts., 1671-1888.

Durham Record Office

Alnwick Cong. Ch.: minute books, 1819-1949; register of baptisms, marriages and burials, 1848-1920; papers, 1839-1957.

Blyth Cong. Ch.: minute book, 1959-66.

Durham Cong. Ch.: minute books, 1860-1932; register of baptisms, 1810-64; account book, 1854-57; title deeds, 1613-1825; Sunday School, 1865-70.

Gainford Cong. Ch.: minute book, 1946-54.

Hexham Cong. Ch.: minute books, 1902-66; register of members, 1935-63.

South Shields Cong. Ch.: minute books, 1824-1957; register of baptisms, 1824-86; account books, 1851-1961; letter books, 1921-27; Sunday School, 1891-1944; Ladies' Guild, 1896-1959; papers, 1876-1951.

Staindrop Cong. Ch.: minute book, 1922-50.

Sunderland Cong. Ch.: minute books, 1832-1964; account books, 1863-1955; Sunday School, 1849-99; papers, 1879-1965.

Willingdon Quay Cong. Ch.: minute books, 1942-66.

Sunderland Cong. Council: minute books, 1866-1916.

Exeter City Library

Southernhay Cong. Ch.: papers about purchase, 1946-56.

Glamorgan Record Office

Merthyr Tydfil Eng. Cong. Ch.: minute books, 1903-64; account books, 1903-49; Sunday School, 1923-67; Band of Hope, 1911-28.

Gloucestershire Record Office

Cambridge Cong. Ch.: minute books, 1904-66; papers, 1934-64.

Great Yarmouth Record Office

Gorleston Cong. Ch.: minute book, 1812-1946; accounts books 1903-40.

Leicester City Museum

Gallowtree Gate Cong. Ch.: register of burials, 1838-61.

Lincolnshire Record Office

Brigg Ind. Ch.: minute book, 1851-3; account books, 1813-1911.

Holbeach Cong. Ch.: minute books, 1873-1965; registers of baptisms, 1889-1965; account books, 1937-66; papers, 1936-58.

Kirton in Holland Cong. Ch.: minute books, 1875-1939; account books, 1875-1937.

Spilsby Ind. Ch.: register of members and baptisms, 1811-47; account book, 1816-26.

Welton le Marsh Ind. Ch.: minute book, 1834-90; account books, 1843-92; papers, 1938-92.

Monmouth Record Office

Newport, Emmanuel Cong. Ch.: account books, 1943-52; Sunday School, 1909-26.

Newport, Mill St. Cong. Ch.: minute books, 1871-1959; account books, 1792-1888; register of baptisms, 1770-1838; papers, 1888-1966.

Mon. Cong. Ch.: minute books, 1935-60; papers, 1910-25.

Norfolk and Norwich Record Office

King's Lynn Cong. Ch.: minute books, 1821-1934; account books, 1866-1917; title deeds, 1739-1912.

Northamptonshire Record Office

Northampton, Abington Ave. Cong. Ch.: minute books, 1785-1842; account books, 1811-1931; title deeds, 1691-1900; papers, 1775-1941.

East Sussex Record Office

Brighton, London Rd. Cong. Ch.: minute books, 1846-1902; register of baptisms, 1850-69; title deeds, 1826-1943.

C. EDWIN WELCH

REVIEWS

Letters of a Natal Sheriff: Thomas Phipson 1815-76 ed. R. N. Currey (Oxford University Press, 1969. 88s. 6d.)

This may seem an incongruous title for review in *Transactions*, but this Sheriff was a man of the pen, not of the six-shooter, and he was a Congregationalist as befitted one who came much under the influence of his Uncle, Joseph Phipson, a deacon of Carr's Lane for 59 years. Thomas Phipson also served for some two years as a clerk in the L.M.S.

The chief interest of these letters must lie with those who try to recapture the life and thought of the emerging colony of Natal and they are clearly of great importance in this context. But there are many passages which hold a wider interest because Phipson was always so vigorous and outspoken in his condemnation of injustice.

Thomas Phipson arrived in Natal in May 1848 and he settled at Pietermaritzburg; by the following October he was jointly in the lead in forming the Congregational Church. As Church Secretary he wrote to the *Natal Witness*:

> We take this method of making known our intention to celebrate Divine Worship as a Congregational Church in this town. By this procedure we do not mean to reflect on any other Community. We think that Christian men, with the Scriptures in their hands, can manage their spiritual affairs without calling in ecclesiastical dignitaries or councils, and we consider free prayer more rational, scriptural, spiritual and pleasant than a liturgical form.

Later, he helped to establish the Congregational Church in Durban.

The intensity of denominational feeling of the times is often reflected in Phipson's letters. He condemned the first Presbyterian minister in Natal for accepting financial support from the Lt. Governor and described him as *MacSycophant*. Of the Anglicans, he wrote:

> An ancient oak, gnarled by the storms of centuries, and mayhap not quite sound at the core, may form a picturesque object in an English park, though we should not perhaps choose its timber for the construction of a temple or house, but the trees called oaks that I have seen in Africa have neither the charm of antiquity nor the benefit of utility to recommend them.

Thomas Phipson had no romantic illusions about the African natives, but he stoutly urged the social and economic need to

provide through native land tenure a sound basis for African progress and his was almost a lone voice in Natal:

> There is in fact but little practical and real difference between fettering a man's limbs, and making him a slave openly and by name, and spreading over the land of his habitation a sort of invisible wire netting of legal enactments, which shall prevent his putting his hand to the soil for his own subsistence and that of his family.

Mr. Currey has provided an interesting summary of Thomas Phipson's English background to which some of our Society's members have contributed.

N. CAPLAN

Protestant America and the Pagan World by Clifton Jackson Phillips (Harvard University Press and Oxford University Press, 1969, 34s.)

There is at the present time an ever increasing amount of literature devoted to the study of Christian Missions. Dr. Phillips's book was produced as a Harvard doctoral dissertation in 1954. It is good that this work has now been made accessible to a wider public. In the absence of all traces of euphoria many honest and reliable assessments of the nineteenth century missionary movement are now becoming available.

Protestant America and the Pagan World is an excellent treatise which examines the first half century of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the first Protestant society in that country and counterpart to the London Missionary Society. Here we come to grips with the fact that all too often commerce and evangelism were inextricably mixed. Clearly, many enthusiasts for Mission equated evangelism with the civilising power of the Anglo-Saxon peoples. Not unnaturally, mission easily degenerated into a form of imperialism.

The A.B.C.F.M. rightly 'rejoiced in the free hand which the official position of the United States permitted its agents'. At the same time the attentive reader notes that this did not prevent the same Board calling upon Great Britain 'to interpose its righteous authority'.

Perhaps the real clue to this ambiguous situation whereby the A.B.C.F.M. along with other contemporary Protestant societies tended to obscure the gospel, is found in the frank declaration of one deputation: 'Let your mission, then, be distinctly and characteristically national'.

Happily for the sake of authentic Mission there were those who could assert that the foreign missionary of the churches of the U.S.A. 'should feel himself a citizen of the world'. A careful study of this book could provide the present-day missionary with a salutary reminder of how delicate an operation the missionary enterprise is and how easily the very concept of Mission may be distorted.

R. W. ARNOLD

The Age of Great Cities by Robert Vaughan (The Woburn Press, 1969.)

This book is a photographic reprint of a work originally published in 1842 by the President of Lancashire Independent College, described here as a Unitarian.

It seems a curious choice for republication, and one wonders how much this choice is due simply to its very contemporary-sounding title. Its central thesis is roughly that civilization means living in cities in much more than a merely etymological sense. Vaughan vigorously defends the great cities of his day against the criticisms already being brought against the urban way of life, ironically just at the time when Engels was discovering the depths to which city life could sink, only a mile or two from Vaughan's own study. He labours valiantly to show that every virtue of rural culture could be paralleled in the city, that every vice of the city was exceeded in the countryside. It is interesting to see that the city had defenders before Harvey Cox.

Unfortunately the book has several weaknesses. It is superficial on religion, of all things, though Vaughan is interestingly respectful to the Roman Catholic Church. He pads his pages with a great deal of irrelevant material, such as his opinion of the Prussian education system. He speculates not too presciently about the future. (The producer was going to succeed the destroyer, and the men of peace to become greater than the men of war; Prussia could never become a great commercial power, and so on.) He overstates his case: because British commerce had overtaken Dutch, British art had surpassed the Dutch art of the seventeenth century; Homer was to be placed among the 'city poets' because he sang of the deeds of the chiefs of the Hellenic cities, while the Norse sagas, which were certainly not urban, do not count as literature. And his style sometimes aims to emulate Macaulay, without getting very near.

Even the loyalty due from a last-generation alumnus of Lancashire College to its first-generation principal cannot represent this book as much more than a curiosity.

S. H. MAYOR

Joseph Butler, 1692-1752, Author of The Analogy of Religion, *Some features of his life and thought* by Ian Ramsey (Dr. Williams's Trust, 14 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1., 1969, 5s.)

Quite properly, in view of his nonconformist audience, the Bishop of Durham selects from Butler's *life* those features which relate to his removal from an Anglican school to a Dissenting Academy and his eventual return to Anglicanism.

More interesting perhaps, and less obvious, was Ramsey's decision to select from Butler's *thought* the subject of 'probability'. In an age when it was taken for granted that Christianity was "not so much a matter of inquiry . . . as discovered to be fictitious" Butler was content to restore the faith to the status of a matter of inquiry and to suggest that Christian doctrines were, at least, more probable than others.

By this selection, Ramsey seems to suggest that in this present age of unbelief the same method of relative probability could be a fair starting-point in dialogue and a useful counter to hasty defection. H. G. Wood once said of his religious doubts when he first went up to University, "I did not feel inclined hastily to throw over theism because (having read Butler on probability) I knew that the difficulties of other positions might prove more serious".

But would this reduction of Christianity to a set of superior probabilities stultify action? Does not action arise only from certainty? Ramsey supports, with his own illustration, Butler's insistence that in fact, total, costly commitment can follow even a low degree of probability, given a situation that is sufficiently urgent, or important.

An interesting, easy-to-follow paper—with the more important implications reserved for the second half.

D. V. YOUNG

Some Leading Promoters of Nonconformity and their Association with Lancashire Chapelries following the Revolution of 1688 by P. J. Willoughby Higson (Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, vols. 75-76, 1965-6, 10s.)

This study deals with five chapels—one the well-known one at Rivington in which Thomas, eleventh Lord Willoughby of Parham, Charles Viscount Brandon, and the Hon. Hugh Willoughby were interested. Like Douglas Lacey's *Dissent and Parliamentary Politics in England* reviewed by Dr. Nuttall in this issue, it reminds us of some aristocratic and parliamentary connections of Dissent after the Revolution of 1660, connections which are not always remembered. This is a useful, careful piece of work.

H. G. TIBBUTT

The History of The King's Weigh House Church by Elaine Kaye (Allen and Unwin, 1968, pp. 176, 21s.)

This is an interesting, readable account of one of the chief Congregational churches in London, the seat of Thomas Binney's significant ministry and of Dr. Orchard's courageous but not very fruitful catholic experiment. The book is rather curiously composed. The author's slim though useful chapter on the church's origin in the seventeenth century is supplemented by a large, detailed, and not always convincing, appendix by Nathaniel Micklem, who was secretary of the church when it dissolved. The extensive range of church books (1699-1966) from which much of the information has come is now deposited in Dr. Williams's Library.

An Independent People 1669-1969 by Terence Perry (n.p.) is the short history of Wood Street Congregational Church, Barnet. It is well written and useful, with good illustrations. It is a pity that, like so many other similar accounts, the church is not related to the development of the community and suburb very much.

J. H. TAYLOR

ALSO RECEIVED:

Early Nonconformity in Huntingdonshire: 2. Great Gransden in *Records of Huntingdonshire*, I. 4, 1969.

The Dulwich Grove Story, 1879-1969 by Norman Singleton.

George Fox and the Purefeys by T. Joseph Pickvance (Friends' Historical Society, London, 6s.).

OUR CONTEMPORARIES

The Baptist Quarterly, Vol. XXIII, Nos. 1-5 (Jan. 1969-Jan. 1970). J. H. Y. Briggs of Keele University does a critical survey of the sources of nineteenth-century Nonconformist history and how these have been used (Nos. 1-2). B. R. White contributes 'William Erbery (1604-54) and the Baptists' (No. 3). C. B. Jewson describes the rise of the Baptists from the Independents in Norwich and the influence of Fifth Monarchy (No. 4). William Kiffin figures in No. 5. The Index to vol. XXII is also published.

The Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, Vol. XIV. No. 2 (1969). The Editor, John Johansen-Berg's lecture to the Society, 'Arian or Arminian' argues painstakingly that the subscription issue was not merely over Trinitarianism but the growing rejection of Calvinism, at least in the orthodox form. There is also an article on Nonconformity in Green Street, Cambridge.

The Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, Vol. XXXVII, Parts 2 and 3 (1969). These have a review of the work of the Society since 1943. The second has an article on 'Methodism and Agricultural Trade Unionism in Oxfordshire' by Pamela R. Horn, a well-referenced piece of work.

J.H.T.