

TRANSACTIONS

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THE CONGREGATIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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THOMAS BINNEY AND CONGREGATIONALISM'S 'SPECIAL MISSION'

"Our special mission is neither to the very rich nor to the very poor. We have a work to do upon the thinking, active, influential classes . . ." ¹ Few statements uttered by a leading Free Churchman have been so remembered against him as this from Thomas Binney's May address to the Congregational Union in 1848. The arrogance and the self-satisfaction of it burned into the consciences of his fellow Congregationalists. Binney's 'special mission' was to the religious world what Asquith's 'wait and see' became to the political world.

In 1891 Alexander Mackennal described a session of the International Council meeting, as it happened, in the new buildings of Binney's old church: 'One of the vice-presidents of the Council, in a buoyant and humerous speech at a social meeting, affirmed it as the special mission of the Congregational Churches, not "to go down and reach the lower classes and lift them up", but "to take men and women that are capable of thought, capable of intellectual as well as moral and spiritual development and lift them up to a higher plane as human beings; make them more sensible of God and the things that God has put into this world, so

¹*Congregational Year Book* 1848 p. 9.

beautiful, and so full of His love . . ." The way in which this sentiment was received marks the advance in Congregational sentiment during fifty years. It is just about so long since Mr. Binney affirmed the same thing. 'Congregationalism', he is reported to have said, "is especially for the middle classes". Then the phrase was welcomed as a happy formula describing a state of things with which we ought to content ourselves—an ordinance of God which it was vain, almost impious, to resist. Now, the statement was again and again repudiated, and always with vehemence, almost indignation'.²

It is easy to understand how Binney's words entered Nonconformist lore. His King's Weigh House Church had a special place in his denomination, largely because of his forty years' pastorate there. 'His pews show a finer set of heads, more square, intelligent and nineteenth-centuryish, than any other pews perhaps in the kingdom', remarked a sermon taster in 1851, and so it remained at his death in 1874:

There was a prestige in the Weigh House. It had been the Nonconformist Cathedral of Wealth, and of the middle classes . . . and Thomas Binney was supposed very worthily to represent those imperial Tribunes of the Chambers of Commerce. There was a large detachment from this regiment of the Life Guards of England at Stamford-Hill on Monday (for his funeral service) . . . He was Minister to the great peerage of the comfortable side of life . . .³

His most popular publication, reaching fifteen editions and selling a hundred copies daily in its first year (excluding Sundays), testified to this golden gospel. It was suggestively entitled *Is It Possible to Make the Best of Both Worlds?* (1853). His conclusion that it was possible was neither forgotten nor forgiven. An Anglican obituary notice commented: 'No one who can entertain the question and answer it as Dr. Binney did, whether it is possible to make the best of both worlds, can have a large measure of high spiritual power'.⁴

Mackennal's attitude is, therefore, understandable. In 1848 he was a thirteen year old whose family was just settled in London.

²D. Macfadyen *Alexander Mackennal, B.A., D.D. His Life and Letters* 1905 p. 172.

³E. Paxton Hood *Thomas Binney: His Mind, Life and Opinions* 1874 pp. 269, 306.

⁴*The Guardian* quoted *ibid* p. 300.

'I was born in the end of the age of iron. My first memory of things political is that of a flag which bore the inscription "Death to monopoly!" flying from a tall factory chimney. I asked my mother what it meant'⁵ His early recollection was of recently surmounted hardships fusing into the coming millenium. The Great Exhibition crystallised this feeling and a man like Charles Kingsley interpreted it. England was approaching what has since been misleadingly called the Age of Equipoise and Binney and his Weigh House were a fine part of it. By 1891, however, sensitive men were too often assailed by billowing crises of confidence to recollect with much sympathy or accuracy the atmosphere of fifty years earlier.

Mackennal either ignored or had forgotten the dynamism of Thomas Binney's 'special mission'. His own churches at Surbiton, Leicester and Bowdon Downs, near Manchester, were scarcely less full than the Weigh House of England's Life Guards and the very fact that he was able to develop and express such views as he did might suggest that he misunderstood the Weigh House's 'corrosive sublimate'.

Binney was fully aware of the momentous changes which seemed to enfold the globe in 1848 and his Chairman's address was explicit enough: 'Revolutions are convulsing the world: and they are doing so *partly* through the medium of ideas *consecrated by us* . . . and, it must be confessed, that if our ideas be right, or, whether right or wrong, if they should predominate, our mission is, and would seem to be, *revolutionary*'.⁶ With such a gloss as this, his announcement that there was 'a work to do upon the thinking, active, influential classes—classes which fill neither courts nor cottages, but which, gathered into cities, and consisting of several gradations there, are the modern movers and moulders of the world', was a heady one.⁷ It explained without in any way excusing what seemed to be a cardinal fact about the Congregational churches: their middle-classness. It also committed them to the restlessness characteristic of Victorian Christians whose glory as well as whose weakness it was that their faith was more often a seeking than a resting one.

The middle-classness of Congregational churches has properly been taken for granted. There were no aristocratic Congregational churches, although a surprising number ministered to rather more

⁵Macfadyen *op. cit.* p. 11.

⁶*Congregational Year Book* 1848 p. 8.

⁷*Ibid* p. 9.

socially exalted folk than the Imperial Tribunes of the Chambers of Commerce. There were few enough working-class churches, although tribute has yet to be adequately paid to their individual influence and success. The bulk drew their members from the several gradations of the modern movers and moulders of the world. And this is where they have been most taken for granted and least appreciated. In their Victorian guise the English middle classes were as new as the working classes. They were growing at a remarkable rate: respectable late Victorian suburbs housed innumerable families who could not have felt themselves to be middle-class forty years earlier. In their way they were a perplexing phenomenon: they dissolve on examination. What could Mr. Gladstone have in common with Edward Miall? Or Mr. Disraeli with James Martineau? Or any of them with Spurgeon? The perplexities mount, for it is not easy to fix on a point in the nineteenth century where it could be said that 'the middle classes' ruled England. Yet none doubted their numbers and accumulated wealth, their morals were increasingly aped by their betters and, most important of all, enough of them were convinced that they really were the nation's representative class.

This is what Thomas Binney wished to exploit and where the Congregationalists became important, for what grander object could there be than inspiring the world's movers and moulders with the transforming gospel of Christ? It was a dangerous and contaminating work, but then Christians were not called to mere rosewater philanthropies. It was a surprisingly successful work which issued in a nervous but loyal support for the emerging Liberal party and in the prominence expressed by that awe-inspiring phrase, 'the Nonconformist Conscience'. Because it quickly became fashionable among intellectuals to equate the middle classes with complacency and because the intellect was something which leading Congregationalists liked to play with, they were easily convinced that they had compounded with failure. This was a natural and courageous conviction, but it was not altogether accurate. It was, moreover, a work at which the labourers were at once goaded and encouraged by the most perceptive of Victorian taskmasters: Matthew Arnold. From 1851 Arnold was an Inspector of Schools. His especial province covered the British Schools. His work took him among men whose attitudes were the antithesis of his. His upbringing and his temperament prejudiced him against them, and his despair at their philistinism culminated in *Culture and Anarchy* in 1869: one

wonders if Edward Baines and his like ever fully recovered their self-esteem after this. But his work also entailed a growing intimacy with men like Henry Allon, H. R. Reynolds and Thomas Binney. There was in Arnold the pessimism natural to a cultivated, classically educated, Victorian Anglican, as well as the liberal faith in the prospect of corporate progress proper to the son of England's most radical schoolmaster. Arnold's professional contact with both sides of Dissent made him a critic whom Dissenters could not afford to ignore. His criticisms were not new to many of them and his intuition and remarkable sympathy could not correct his bias against them: but his challenge offered a perfect excuse for those Congregationalists convinced of the rightness of their special mission'.⁸ Perhaps he was, as Dean Stanley called him, 'an aloe which only flowers in this way once in a hundred years'.⁹

In two spheres the 'special mission' worked itself out for Congregationalists in many ways not entirely to be expected: women and politics. The former is a delicate subject deserving separate treatment: its importance is still insufficiently appreciated. The latter, though no less complicated, is more obviously important.

The individualism of Victorian Congregationalists, with their correspondingly inadequate apprehension of churchmanship, has been as much taken for granted as their middle classness. A denomination whose membership depends upon personal conviction of Christ is naturally individualistic. So is a denomination whose members have been excluded from direct participation in the conduct of national affairs. When Dissenters, forced to make their own way in life, reappeared at Westminster their distrust of established politicians impelled them to an extreme voluntarism. Freedom in trade, religion and education were equally demonstrable truths: Graham's proposals of 1843 demonstrated the last, the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 proved the first, the lives of each one of them witnessed to the second.

If ever such views were held entire, they were qualified by growing expertise in matters of state. The compromises (or realities) of politics, the necessity of a working arrangement with Whigs and moderate liberals amply illustrated the inadequacy of pure individualism. John Bright, who for the unknowing was the incarnation of Dissent, was far from his *laissez-faire* principles

⁸For a discussion of this see F. G. Walcott *The Origins of Culture and Anarchy: Matthew Arnold and Popular Education in England* 1970.

⁹A. P. Stanley to Henry Allon 6 February 1878: A. Peel (ed.) *Letters to a Victorian Editor* 1929 p. 282.

when it came to Ireland or India, both of them subjects which he professed to know about. Their problems were too complex to fall to the prejudice against governmental interference felt by most Victorians. And all Victorians who supported missions in India or where-ever were coming to similar conclusions: this included many Dissenters.

For Congregationalists the acceptance of a positive role for the state was less difficult than might have been expected, though few cared to enthuse with Silvester Horne that 'the fact of the matter is, that there is no church meeting held in this country that is more constantly and practically concerned with living religious problems than the House of Commons'.¹⁰ If their faith issued from a personal experience, it expressed itself collectively. Congregational churches were communities in the full sense of the word, even if the fellowship sometimes owed more to social pressures than to churchly insights. Thomas Binney's Weigh House was a mobile complicated collection of people fortuitously gathered in the world's largest city: but it exercised its duties with painstaking care and enough of its adherents regarded membership or the holding of office in it with a diffidence amounting to awe; they were almost too conscious of their churchmanship.¹¹

This mutual help covered the country wherever there were chapels; translated to the secular world it frequently expressed itself in local Liberal Associations and, articulated by a growing number of younger ministers who had learned about F. D. Maurice after sampling Thomas Binney, or who read Matthew Arnold after encountering him on a tour of inspection, where might it not end? Of course it was never as simple as this, but at least it makes sense of Alexander Mackennal's not unrepresentative political progress.

As a student in Glasgow he was secretary to the University Liberal Association when Macauley was Lord Rector. At Burton on Trent in the late 1850s he fell under the full enchantment of F. D. Maurice. At Surbiton Park in the 1860s where he experienced 'the limitations of a South London suburb where religion was to many chiefly a palatable condiment along with the other pleasures of the place', he had nonetheless as one of his deacons Carvell Williams, Edward Miall's second in command in the Liberation

¹⁰W. B. Selbie *The Life of Charles Silvester Horne* 1920 p. 218.

¹¹This is certainly shown in the diaries kept in 1843 to 1845 by the young George Williams and his friend Edward Valentine (National Council of Y.M.C.A.'s MSS) and it is borne out by E. Hodder's *The Life of Samuel Morley* 1887.

Society. Finally, at Bowdon from December 1876, his views crystallised. The Incarnation as expounded by the great Broad Churchmen, the 'solvent power of the doctrine of Evolution, and the new conceptions of the immanence of God', impressed him and were reflected in his latest work for the union of the churches. The Grindelwald Conferences and the Free Church Federal Council developed what he hesitantly expressed to a correspondent in 1889:

A faith, a hope—though not a clear conviction—that at some time it will be revealed to us that there is an organic life, the members of which are free personalities, and that when we speak of the common life of Christians, of Christ in us, the divine life in us, we are using language which, although transcending our power of apprehension, expresses a reality, the deepest reality of our being.

In this spirit he welcomed the death of the Manchester School and the growth of collectivism. His concept of the function of the state widened and he opened his mind even to the 'tyranny' of trade unions, for all worked to the same end. 'If we had several generations of altruism, it would be as difficult to think of a self-centred life as at present it seems to many to think of an altruistic one'.¹² If his raptures seem unduly tentative, it must be remembered that he spoke in the context of Bowdon rather than Ancoats, where his deacons' workmen lived. It was, in short, Thomas Binney's special mission 'operating on the thinking and earnestness of the people'.¹³

There is a wider significance in this than may simply be glimpsed in Mackennal's private life. The Bowdon church was a 'family church': at its core were a group of mercantile families, the Rigbys, Armitages and Haworths, who also figure in neighbouring churches. Into this group married the Mellands, one of whom was H. H. Asquith's first wife.

Asquith was fitted in every way to fulfil the political aspirations of Free Churchmen. His upbringing and that of his first wife—their education, their family prejudices and connexions—could not have been more central to the tradition and observers were not lacking to keep him to the mark. In this respect at least he proved a lost leader. But he was an honest man and his characteristically impersonal correspondence contains certain letters which bear on this.

¹²Macfadyen *op. cit.* pp. 6, 22-5, 38-42, 166-7, 182, 356.

¹³*Congregational Year Book* 1848 p. 8.

In November 1895 he opened the Browning Settlement at Walworth, based upon the chapel which might have been that of 'Christmas Eve'. On December 14th 1907 its warden, Herbert Stead, wrote warmly and at length to Asquith, now Chancellor of the Exchequer:

It is just over twelve years since you did us the honour of inaugurating the Robert Browning Settlement. It is a pleasure to us to observe the coincidence which has linked your name and that of the settlement in another and more lasting way. Since Lord Rothschild's Committee in 1898 was understood to have sounded the death knell of Old Age Pensions, Browning Hall has become the Headquarters of the national movement which, I am glad to believe, you as Chancellor of the Exchequer will embody in legislation . . . There is a poetic fitness which appeals to us in the fact that the Inaugurator of this settlement is to be the Inaugurator of a national system of Old Age Pensions.

But Stead allowed no compromise: he warned against that dexterity in political manoeuvre which was Asquith's greatest asset in Parliament. His warnings gathered force:

(Failure) will have made the masses of the people wonder whether any great Social Reform can be secured on a Free Trade basis. It will compel the nation to look elsewhere for executants of the national will. It will have rendered it possible for its historic opponents to repeat the tactics of Disraeli over the Borough Franchise Bill and 'dish the Whigs' by offering a really large and comprehensive scheme of pensions, with the object of making a heavy Tariff necessary—'for revenue purposes only'. It will, I fear, complete the disgust of the working classes with both of the traditional parties, and cause them to repeat the experience of Jarrow and Colne Valley, in most of the great industrial centres. The rapid increase of Labour and Socialist Parties, the possible precarious triumph of the Unionists, the apparent strengthening of the House of Lords, with the weakening through many parties of the House of Commons, and the general, almost revolutionary dislocation of our national methods of government, would I suppose, seem to you a heavy penalty to pay for want of courage to inaugurate a great pension scheme now and to introduce a consequently drastic readjustment of our system of taxation now.

I am not primarily concerned with the fate of Government: I want pensions for the Aged. But, for that reason, I may be permitted to point out that for a Government with resources like the present Government to trifle with this question, to throw a few millions as a Sop to the hungry maw of advancing Reform, is a suicidal policy.

As one who has fought this question of Pensions from the edge of despair to the brink of success. I have ventured—in the hope of strengthening your hands—to speak frankly.¹⁴

Twenty years after, to the day, and barely two months before Asquith died, the Chairman of the Settlement's Council, Arnold Pye-Smith, wrote to him :

May I thank you for your letter to the Papers on behalf of Robert Browning Settlement? It is most timely and will assist us in our efforts to get the Settlement the help it needs.

I recall your goodness in inaugurating the work there on the 21st November 1895. You then said 'It is your business to bring to life and to turn to social account possibilities which are held in subjection by the despotic pressure of squalor and of ignorance'. This we have been trying, ever since, to do . . . You will remember me as cousin of Mrs. John Willans at whose home we met in 1865.

With sincere respect and admiration for what you have done for our Country and for humanity, Old Age Pensions amongst other measures . . .¹⁵

Thomas Binney's 'special mission' had worked itself out: and as Mackennal had recognised, 'it is well that the words have been spoken, and that the explanation has been given that it was the "special mission" of Congregationalism which was in the speaker's view. The Church of God has no "special mission"; a "special mission" is the function of a member, not of the body'.¹⁶

The genius of the 'special mission' had been its commitment to unresting quest: in this Binney and Mackennal were as one. It was the old battle of the Greek and the Hebrew which Matthew Arnold celebrated and which fascinated its Congregational combatants. Mackennal expressed it in sculptured, uncomfortable

¹⁴Revd. F. Herbert Stead to H. H. Asquith, 14 December 1907: 75/126 Asquith MSS, Bodleian, Oxford. Mr. Mark Bonham Carter is thanked for permission to quote from the Asquith MSS.

¹⁵Arnold Pye-Smith to the Earl of Oxford and Asquith, 14 December 1927: 18/149 Asquith MSS. Mr. John Willans was Asquith's uncle, so there was a distant family connexion with Pye-Smith.

¹⁶Macfadyen *op. cit.* p. 172.

words in his Presidential Address to the Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society in 1876:

The Cavaliers had a nobler birth-roll than the Puritans, but the Puritans are the authors of a better England. Composure, sweetness, grace, a balanced intellect, a richly-stored memory—these are, after all, not the highest gifts to man. The reason that looks before as well as after, purpose swelling into passion, courage, endurance, directness—these are nobler far. Peace is an element of enjoyment; strife is the condition of strength. The smooth-faced Greek must go down before the furrowed Goth, on whose hard features shall come at length a fuller beauty than the Greeks ever knew.¹⁷

Asquith was neither Greek nor Goth: he was merely the last of the Romans.

CLYDE BINFIELD

¹⁷*Ibid* p. 57.

BARZILLAI QUAIFE 1798-1873

A man constantly conscious of his own rectitude and ready to defend his integrity against every imagined slight is not necessarily easy to live with. Many of Barzillai Quaife's contemporaries reacted to him in this way, yet even those who opposed him most strongly did not call his high principles into question. He deserves to be rescued from obscurity because, as a minister of religion, he established New Zealand's first Congregational church and was the founder of one of the earliest Congregational churches in New South Wales; as a man, he took an intelligent and not uninfluential interest in a couple of new British colonies; as a journalist, his prolific pen not only drew attention to abuses but also influenced legislators and churchmen in seeking remedies for some of them; and, as a theological teacher, he earned himself the reputation of being Australia's first philosopher.

What little is known of his pre-colonial life is not clear. He was born at Lenham, Kent, in 1798, the son of Thomas Quaife, a farmer, and his wife Amelia (nee Austin).¹ He entered Hoxton Academy in 1824; was apparently ordained to the Congregational ministry, and was pastor at St. Leonards-on-Sea, Sussex, in 1838.²

¹The details are given in the registration of his death, Paddington District, N.S.W., 18/2237.

²B. Quaife, *The Vindicator, A Correctional Narrative of Personal Wrongs and Misrepresentations* (Syd., 1864), pp. 38f.

In a letter to the Rev. Dr. John Dunmore Lang, Australia's first Presbyterian minister, he indicated that he had been contemplating service abroad:

Various stations in the London Missionary Society were open to me but for the unfavourable nature of medical opinion. But that opinion is favourable to the Australian climate. And accordingly, at the moment of my writing this, it is *probable* that I shall have an appointment in the New Colony of [South] Australia, now in progress of formation.³

Quaife was well known to John Brown, a member of the Rev. Thomas Binney's Weigh House Chapel, who was to become Emigration Agent in the new colony. Quaife submitted to Brown a 'Plan to provide the New Settlement of South Australia with the means of Religious instruction on the Congregational principles'.⁴ The scheme came to nothing but in 1836 the Colonial Missionary Society was formed and one of its first acts was to send the Rev. Thomas Quinton Stow to South Australia. It is possible that the Society also considered Quaife.⁵ However, in 1839, his desire to migrate to South Australia was fulfilled; Pike asserts that he was sent out by George Fife Angas.⁶ The C.M.S., showed sufficient interest in him to report his arrival in Adelaide 'with the double object of improved health and enlarged usefulness'.⁷ Quaife claimed that the Society's secretary, Algernon Wells, had said to him, 'we want more men of your independent enterprise in this work of the Gospel, Mr. Quaife'.⁸

Reaching Adelaide in September 1839 Quaife, in fact, remained there less than a year: 'I laboured hard and gratuitously in the ministry, worked daily at my various engagements, suffered severe bodily prostration three times, owed no man anything, and injured no one', and 'preached chiefly for the Wesleyans because it was a brotherly duty to which God called me'.⁹ His other occupations included the opening of a Bible and Tract Depot in Pirie Street, Adelaide.¹⁰

³30 June 1835; *Lang Papers*, VI (Mitchell Library, Sydney).

⁴Diary of John Brown, 23 April 1835, S.A. Papers, Part I, Mitchell Library, Sydney.

⁵Colonial Missionary Society Minutes, 20 Feb. 1837.

⁶D. Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, p. 258.

⁷*Annual Report 1840*, pp. 12f.

⁸*The Vindicator*, p. 39.

⁹*The Vindicator*, pp. 30, 23.

¹⁰*Southern Australian*, 9 Oct., 12 Dec. 1839.

The engagement which involved him in continuing difficulty was his undertaking to write for the *Southern Australian*, a newspaper published by a Wesleyan lay preacher, Archibald Macdougall.¹¹ By Quaife's own description,¹² he undertook this journalistic venture for six months at a remuneration of £3 a week; in fact he received only £30 in cash during the period. Then, claiming that adverse times were imminent, Macdougall persuaded Quaife into a partnership which removed him to New Zealand to publish a paper there. Macdougall was to supply capital and plant, Quaife was to edit the paper and supervise the business, and a printer as third partner was to manage the printing office. Quaife and the printer set out for the Bay of Islands, New Zealand. During a week's delay in Hobart Town, Van Diemen's Land, it was discovered that Macdougall's brother could not supply promised goods necessary for the venture; the ship's captain announced that Macdougall's drafts for freight could not be honoured and Quaife had to meet them himself; the printer was arrested for an old debt and Quaife secured his release only as the ship was about to sail. On arrival at Kororareka (Russell), Bay of Islands, it was found that there was no proper equipment and that stocks of paper had been badly damaged by sea-water. Nevertheless Quaife published his newspaper, *The New Zealand Advertiser and Bay of Islands Gazette*, from 15 June to 10 December 1840.¹³

He was seldom less than outspoken as a journalist and, when he publicly criticized what he considered to be governmental transgression of Maori rights, his paper was suppressed. This did not prevent him from later editing *The Bay of Islands Observer*,¹⁴ 'till compelled to abandon it by the profligacy of the trustees'.¹⁵

Quaife made it plain that he would not have gone to New Zealand but for the opportunity of ministry.

I preached the Gospel, with only three or four incidental omissions, from the first Sabbath after my arrival, till I left in April, 1844, a period of three years and eleven months . . . I had formed a church of persons who brought proofs of membership in other Churches, had built a house for residence

¹¹For Macdougall and his tangled affairs, see G. H. Pitt, *The Press in South Australia, 1836 to 1850* (Adelaide, 1946), pp. 14-30.

¹²*The Vindicator*, p. 30.

¹³G. H. Scholefield, *A Union Catalogue of New Zealand Newspapers* (Wellington, 1938), p. 25; see G. M. Fowlds, 'Our Pioneer Press', *The Courier*, XXXVI [1959].

¹⁴*Ibid.*; the newspaper lasted from 24 Feb. to 27 Oct. 1842.

¹⁵*The Vindicator*, p. 32.

and worship, and had given myself wholly to the spiritual work after the cessation of the newspaper.¹⁶

Both he and the Congregational church he formed at Kororareka faced constant difficulty. He complained of misunderstanding and 'persecution'¹⁷ by other Christians. However, Dr. Robert Ross of Pitt Street Church, Sydney, the Australian agent of the C.M.S., acted on his own initiative, sending £10 to aid Quaife in his work, while Quaife's friends in Van Diemen's Land had made an unsolicited gift of £35.¹⁸ Ross applied to the Society for help for Quaife, and this was at last granted.¹⁹ In writing to Quaife the Society said that it had not immediately granted Ross's request because its members were considering sending a minister of their own choice to New Zealand, 'and partly because they doubted your adaptation for the peculiar and difficult field'.²⁰ Quaife did not tire of pointing out later on, that he had at no time appealed to the Society for appointment or financial assistance although others had done so because of interest in his work, and that when grants, unsolicited by him personally, were made they were, in fact, a hindrance in that they tied him to a moribund cause.

Within a year of his arrival at Kororareka the Government moved to the new settlement afterwards to be called Auckland and Quaife's congregation was considerably decreased. He considered transferring his ministry to the new centre but for various reasons did not do so.²¹ He kept the C.M.S., informed of his hardships and difficulties in 1842 and 1843, and at last the Society resolved,

that Mr. Quaife's continuance in New Zealand is not an object to which it can with propriety devote the funds of the society, but the committee will authorise any sum not exceeding £40 . . . if such assistance should be needful and acceptable in bringing Mr. Quaife's residence in New Zealand to a close . . .²²

But, by the time the decision was communicated to him, Quaife was no longer in New Zealand.

If, during his New Zealand difficulties, the C.M.S., and Dr. Ross of Sydney had shown a rather limited sympathy, Quaife must

¹⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 31f, 34.

¹⁷J. Nisbet to Quaife, 10 Sept. 1840; *ibid.*, p. 32.

¹⁸Correspondence, Mar. 1841, quoted *ibid.*, p. 33.

¹⁹Colonial Missionary Society Minutes, 24 May, 7 June, 30 Aug. 1841.

²⁰A. Wells to Quaife, 7 Sept. 1841; *The Vindicator*, pp. 35f.

²¹*Ibid.*, pp. 34f.

²²Col. Miss. Soc. Minutes, 16 Jan. 1843, 27 Jan. 1845.

have been comforted by the warmer friendship of Van Diemen's Land Congregationalists. Some eighteen months after his settlement at Kororareka, the V.D.L., Home Missionary and Christian Instruction Society informed him, through the Rev. Frederick Miller, that if he were compelled to leave New Zealand, it would pay his passage to the island and assist him in finding a pastorate.²³

However, Quaife arrived independently in Sydney on 8 May 1844 intending to proceed to England. Two days after berthing he had his first encounter with Ross:

. . . without a word of welcome he called me into his study; and the very first address was a stringent warning, that if I had come to remain in New South Wales, they, the Pitt-street people, *could render me no assistance whatever to the value of a single penny, as they had their chapel to build and pay for.* Until he had distributed his mind of this embarrassment . . . his manner was offensively abrupt and hard. Afterwards he became courteous and invited me to dinner.²⁴

Quaife did not intend to remain in Australia yet he did.

No ship for England was offering so he accepted an invitation to preach in Parramatta on the first Sunday of June 1844. People begged him to remain; he acceded to the requests and, for the next four months, preached no less than five times weekly. Ross wrote fairly about him to London:

Mr. Quaife is going on well at Parramatta. He is indefatigable in his labours, although his means of support are very scanty. He exists on a mere pittance . . . He certainly is a man of very considerable acquirements, and of a devoted and active piety . . .²⁵

A year later Ross applied to the C.M.S., and its members granted Quaife assistance of £40 *p.a.* for 1846 and 1847;²⁶ in the new situation in which Quaife was soon involved the grant was, he claimed, diverted to the Rev. Joseph Beazley at the new Redfern chapel.²⁷

Ross's interest in Quaife had been aroused by the obvious success of the Parramatta ministry. Although the people were poor

²³V.D.L. H.M. & C.I. Soc. Minutes, 2 Mar. 1842.

²⁴*The Vindicator*, p. 16. Quaife's italics.

²⁵26 Feb. 1845, *Congregational Magazine*, IX [1845], pp. 684f.

²⁶Col. Miss. Soc. Minutes, 10 Aug. 1846.

²⁷Quaife to A. Foss, 16 Jan. 1850; *The Vindicator*, p. 14.

they had set about the erection of a chapel and, on 29 April 1845, the weather-board building was opened on the only site then available, an allotment in Ross Street on a ground lease of seven years.

A Congregational Church was formed: 'the first *regular* church meeting was held 31 July, and the church consisted of ten members'.²⁸ At this time the only other Congregational churches in New South Wales were those in Sydney (Rev. Dr. R. Ross), South Head (Rev. L. E. Threlkeld), and Parramatta Street, Sydney (Rev. S. Humphreys). Neither Threlkeld nor Humphreys had Ross's full confidence, and Quaife was soon to lose whatever friendship Ross may have felt towards him.

While the Parramatta chapel was being erected the Rev. John Dunmore Lang asked Quaife to supply the Scots church pulpit for two Sundays during his absence at Port Phillip. Quaife did so and, on his return, Lang

earnestly pressed me with a proposal to aid him in reopening and conducting the Australian College, and to found a Presbyterian church at Paddington. I replied in about a week, declining, very respectfully, but decidedly the proposal . . . I thought Christian integrity demanded that I should see to the chapel erection.²⁹

Later in 1845 Lang visited Moreton Bay and again secured Quaife's services for two Sundays. Again, in June 1846, when Lang was on the eve of sailing for England, he desired Quaife to occupy his pulpit for about three months until expected Presbyterian ministerial reinforcements should reach Australia. Quaife assented to the proposal on two conditions, that the invitation should come officially from the Scots congregation and that adequate arrangements should be made for the supply of the Parramatta pulpit. Both conditions were met and Quaife began his temporary ministry to Sydney Presbyterians on 5 July 1846.

Although Quaife's supply was for some three months only, he moved to Sydney and added pastoral visitation to his pulpit commitments.³⁰ Shortly afterwards he discovered that 'Some of Dr. Ross's people have been jealous and circulated slanders'.³¹ At the same time Ross wrote to London accusing Quaife of having

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 18; presumably in 1845, although the allusion could well be to 1844.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 21.

³⁰Quaife to Lang, 3 Sept. 1846; *Lang Papers*, X, Mitchell Library, Sydney.

³¹*Ibid.*

deserted his cause at Parramatta.³² Quaife, however, insisted that he was still minister of the Parramatta congregation and that his engagement with Scots church was only temporary. He met Ross in the street and Ross accused him of discourtesy in not informing him of his transfer to Sydney and of abandoning Parramatta. The semi-public conversation became acrimonious and was followed eventually by an equally acrimonious correspondence.³³ Ross declined further association with Quaife, and Quaife, for the rest of his life, complained that he had been unjustly excluded from Congregational circles.

In fact he did not return to Parramatta. Regular supplies were arranged for Parramatta and once a month Quaife went there to preach, to administer the Lord's Supper, and to conduct a church meeting. Late in 1846 there were less than a hundred people connected with the chapel and there was an average congregation of sixty. The ground lease expired in 1852 and the building was sold.

When a Presbyterian minister, William Ritchie, was on the point of arriving, Quaife was invited to stay till June 1848, but it was asking for trouble. As Quaife records,

I need not tell how Mr. Ritchie denied all claim to interfere with me, and then stepped into my place; how I was driven out by persons who are now all dead; how a separate church was formed of which I became the pastor, and continued so for three years . . .³⁴

A few years later he wrote,

The church dragged me into a contract and then a small portion of it demanded that I should violate that contract. When I refused to act so dishonourably, that portion raised against me the charge of usurpation, used its power of possession and drove me violently out.³⁵

Whatever were the rights and wrongs of the dispute, some of the Scots congregation withdrew from the church, formed a separate Presbyterian congregation, and used Quaife's services as minister from 1847 to 1850.

Details of the nature and life of this church have proved elusive. Histories of the Presbyterian church in New South Wales pass over its existence. Apparently its early services were conducted in

³²*Col. Miss. Soc. Annual Report 1847*, p. 96.

³³Quaife to Ross, 18 Feb. 1848; Ross to Quaife, 22 Feb. 1848; Quaife to Ross, 1 Mar. 1848; Ross to Quaife, Mar. 1848; *The Vindicator*, pp. 24.28.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 24.

³⁵Mid-Feb. 1852; *Lang Papers*, X, Mitchell Library, Sydney.

'the Macquarie Street Chapel', a building which had been erected by the Wesleyans in 1821 and sold by them about 1840,³⁶ but before the year was out it had moved to the Old City Theatre in Market Street.³⁷ A plan to use him in new work at Double Bay foundered when a supporter, Lady Mitchell, attended worship at Ross's church and spoke with Ambrose Foss who,

warned her ladyship against having anything to do with me, saying that I was wholly untrustworthy, and repeated the scandals which this *Vindicator* is to disprove. His speech against me was false, bitter, and malignant. It produced its effect, however, and my plan of usefulness there was entirely defeated.³⁸

By 1850, he seems to have been recognized as a Presbyterian minister for when, in that year, Lang repudiated state aid to the Church and broke away from the Synod of Australia to form the Synod of New South Wales, Quaife was admitted as a member.³⁹ He resigned his office when, on 1 April 1850, Lang reopened the Australian College with him as professor of mental philosophy and divinity.

'In thirteen months I delivered there full two hundred lectures in intellectual science and theology, half of which were written; and I walked nearly two thousand miles to perform that work.'⁴⁰

His lectures cannot be dismissed as the routine work of a teacher. At the end of his life they were published in two volumes under the title, *The Intellectual Sciences* (Sydney, 1872). L. J. Mackie describes the lectures as 'the first serious philosophical work published in Australia, and . . . representative of the thought of the period', an opinion supported by G. Nadel and originally put forward by Professor E. Morris Miller.⁴¹ The student attitude to him as teacher has been recorded by T. J. Pepper:

. . . he was a careful and painstaking tutor, and did good work in grounding his pupils . . . It is, however, no reflecton

³⁶J. Colwell, *A Century in the Pacific* (Sydney, 1914), pp. 235, 245.

³⁷Quaife to S. Owen, 9 Sep. 1847; *The Vindicator*, p. 27 n.

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 13.

³⁹J. Cameron, *Centenary History of the Presbyterian Church in N.S.W.* (Sydney, 1905), p. 22.

⁴⁰*The Vindicator*, p. 40.

⁴¹Mackie, 'Philosophy', *Australian Encyclopaedia* (Sydney, 1958), VII, p. 96. Nadel, *Australia's Colonial Culture* (Melbourne, 1957), pp. 221f. Miller, 'The Beginnings of Philosophy in Australia', *Australian Association of Psychology and Philosophy*, VII [1929] pp. 241-51; VIII, 1930 pp. 1-22.

on his ability to say that it would have been a mistake had these young men been kept under his sole charge during the whole of their curriculum, for, "if teaching was his forte, omniscience was his foible" . . . His views on all questions of mental and moral philosophy and theology were very pronounced and dogmatically delivered, and as he was eminently conservative in his conclusions . . . he was not likely to imbue his pupils with sympathy for those broader conceptions . . . Mr. Quaife was an excellent man of the old school, but his intellect, though keen, was unsympathetic, and his manner dry . . . Still, his stern integrity ever commanded respect, and his conscientious thoroughness helped to correct any tendencies to slovenliness or indolence . . .⁴²

It is difficult to estimate the duration of Quaife's professorship, he was back in Parramatta from 1853 to 1855.⁴³ The Australian College was extinct in 1854.⁴⁴

Quaife may have been one of those whose work was at least curtailed in 1852, for early in his professorship he took action that may have irritated Lang. Lang had brought out in *The Clifton* in that year some two dozen students for the ministry and had admitted them to the College; among them were several Congregationalists (of whom D. B. Tinning and S. F. Whitehead can be identified). Quaife wrote to his Tasmanian friends, claiming that Dr. Ross had

told some of our students who were Independents, that if they continued with us they should not communicate with his church. They did not continue with us.⁴⁵

Little is known of the period from 1853 to 1855 while he was resident in Parramatta; occasionally he preached at St. Andrew's church.⁴⁶ In 1855 he moved to Lenham Cottage, Paddington, and this remained his home for the rest of his life. There his wife, Maria (née Smith), whom he had married in London in 1836, died on 12 January 1857. Their family consisted of four sons, two of whom appear to have died in infancy. The sons who survived their mother were Alfred Charles, born in 1838 in England, and

⁴²*The Hebrew Pastor, or Memorials of . . . the Rev. S. I. Green* (Bendigo, 1892). Pepper wrote as a student of Quaife's in 1863-64, but his remarks would be applicable to Quaife in 1850-51.

⁴³*The Vindicator*, pp. 15, 14.

⁴⁴See arts., A. C. Childs, *Journal and Proceedings*, Royal Australian Historical Society, XXII [1936].

⁴⁵*The Vindicator*, p. 40; cf. C.U. of V.D.L. Minutes, 3 June 1850.

⁴⁶*The Vindicator*, p. 14.

Frederick Harrison, born in New Zealand in 1841.⁴⁷ Shortly after his wife's death Quaife married Eliza Buttrey,⁴⁸ and two children, William Francis and Lily Maria were born of the marriage.

In his Paddington home Quaife conducted a school for boys from at least 1858 until 1863, offering also to prepare a limited number of young men for university entrance.⁴⁹ At the same time he gathered a congregation in Paddington, using his house as a place of worship.⁵⁰ It was at this time that he was re-iterating his claim that he had been 'excommunicated' from Congregationalism by Dr. Ross and the Pitt Street leaders,⁵¹ a claim that might be supported by the blunt statement of a visiting missionary, E. W. Krause, that 'Ross, Foss & Co. . . . clag all the machinery.'⁵² One has the impression that Quaife had become Presbyterian by force of circumstances and was constantly longing for restoration to the Congregational family.

Members of the C.H.M.S., of N.S.W., asked him to train three students, James Maxwell, Thomas J. Pepper and Thomas Roseby, all of whom later gave significant service in Australia and New Zealand.

Quaife hoped to become a tutor at the proposed Camden College, formed in 1864. Quaife's students were transferred to it but he was not offered the tutorship. The injustice of the omission rankled. He felt that his long exclusion from Congregational circles had been renewed, and, unable longer to preserve comparative silence, he published the forty-eight closely packed pages of *The Vindicator*.

From 1853 to 1863 his journalistic activity, never entirely abandoned, increased in volume. In addition, he published *A Condensed View of the Proper Design of the Lord's Supper* (1845), a sermon preached at Scots church, *The Rules of Final Judgment* (1846), on 26 October 1846, a pamphlet defending himself against criticisms of his Parramatta pastorate;⁵³ in 1848 two lectures on

⁴⁷Frederick Harrison Quaife graduated M.A. in the University of Sydney in 1862 and M.D., Ch.M. in the University of Glasgow in 1867. He practised in Sydney where he was a foundation member of the N.S.W. Medical Board (1894-1915), and a member and Vice-President of the Royal Society of N.S.W. (*Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, LVI [1922]). William Francis also graduated in Arts in the University of Sydney and in Medicine in the University of Glasgow.

⁴⁸29 May 1857.

⁴⁹*Christian Pleader*, I [1859], p. 73.

⁵⁰*The Vindicator*, p. 40.

⁵¹*Empire*, 2 Mar. 1858.

⁵²8 Dec. 1859, *South Seas Letters* (L.M.S. Library, London).

capital punishment in the *Atlas*,⁵⁸ and then debated the issue in the *People's Advocate*.⁵⁹ During the first half of 1849 he edited the *Christian Standard*⁶⁰ and had published his *Lectures on Prophecy and the Kingdom of God*.⁶¹ Then in February 1852 Henry Parkes engaged Quaife as leader-writer for the *Empire*, an engagement which was fulfilled regularly for nearly six years.⁶² His lecture on 'The Effects of Home or School Training' appeared among the *Occasional Papers* of the United Association of Teachers of N.S.W., in March 1857.⁶³ Subsequent to 1848 he had published articles in the *Press* and the *Illawarra Mercury*, and from 1858 until at least 1864 he edited the *Christian Pleader* in both its forms.⁶⁴

From 1864, then sixty-six years of age, his health, never robust, began to deteriorate. He encouraged his Paddington congregation to put itself under the ministry of the Rev. Joseph Coles Kirby of the Ocean street Congregational church. He and Kirby entered into a close friendship. On the basis of Kirby's memories of Quaife, E. S. Kiek later wrote that,

as Quaife weakened in body, it seemed as though his intellect became quickened, while his spiritual experience and testimony gained amazingly in power. Ministers came from all over Sydney to sit at the feet of the dying saint and to feed their souls on his abounding faith. Kirby declares that the Christian experience of Barzillai Quaife transcended anything he ever came across.⁶⁵

Quaife died on 3 March 1873. If emotional storm and conflict had marked much of his life, his end seems to have been peace.

We leave him where we began with him—a man of stern integrity, of academic talent as intellectually unbending as he was morally upright, not necessarily loveable, yet apparently mellowed in later years by the restoration of friendships previously withheld—and a man with an impressive list of 'firsts' as a minister, teacher and journalist. South Australia, New Zealand, and New South Wales all received of him and, despite his foibles, he deserved well of them.

LINDSAY LOCKYER

⁵⁷*The Vindicator*, pp. 17, 24f.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁵⁹16 Dec. 1848; G. Nadel *Australia's Colonial Culture*, p. 221.

⁶⁰*The Vindicator*, p. 40.

⁶¹*Christian Pleader*, I [1859], p. 130.

⁶²*The Vindicator*, p. 40.

⁶³G. Nadel, *Australia's Colonial Culture*, p. 294.

⁶⁴*The Vindicator*, p. 40.

⁶⁵*An Apostle in Australia*, p. 102.

AUTOGRAPH LETTERS COLLECTED BY THOMAS RAFFLES

Thomas Raffles, minister of Great George Street Congregational church, Liverpool, from 1812 to 1862, and Chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales in 1839, included the history of Nonconformity, especially in Lancashire, among his interests. The Raffles Library and the Raffles Scholarship at the Congregational College, Manchester, commemorate his consistent support of the college from its foundation at Blackburn in 1816. His manuscript collections, which included eighty-seven volumes of autograph letters, are mainly in the Library which bears his name, but not entirely; his own copy of his *Memoirs* of his predecessor, Thomas Spencer, with the original documents used for it and in part printed in it, is at New College, London; and three volumes of autograph letters illustrative of British Nonconformity and the Evangelical Revival are in the John Rylands Library, Manchester (now to be the John Rylands Library of the University of Manchester). This last collection (J. R. L. English MSS. 369-371) appears to be little known and not to have been used by A. G. Matthews in his work on the ejected ministers, *Calamy Revised*, or by others in studies of the various persons who here figure as correspondents. These appear in alphabetical order and number one hundred and thirty-three. What follows is the result of a fairly cursory examination of the volumes on 30 December 1969 and is intended to do no more than indicate the value of the collection. I desire to thank the Librarian for drawing my attention to it and to acknowledge his staff's courtesy and helpfulness.

Most of the correspondents' names are in the *Dictionary of National Biography*; I have added identifications of some others. The numbers given are the serial numbers of the collection.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL

2. Addington, Stephen, to Philip Doddridge. To be left in the Pump Room at the Hot-Wells, Bristol. Not dated, but endorsed September 1751 and bearing postmark 11 September.
7. Ashworth, C(aleb), to Mrs. Doddridge. Daventry, 2 April, 1763.
13. Bennett, James, to Robert Spear, Manchester. Romsey, 7 December 1802. With printed circular with names of Committee for raising money for ten students with Dr. Bogue.

19. Bull, W(illiam), to John Sutcliff(e), Olney. One letter, 13 February (17)96; one, Newport (Pagnell), 13 March (17)95(?/6).
20. Burder, George, to Mr. Williams, Leather Lane, Holborn. Sherrif Hales (Sheriffhales), 7 June 1777.
26. Chorlton, John, to Ralph Thoresby, Leeds. Manchester 6 January 1698. With inscription on (Henry) Newcome's grave.
27. Clark, S(amuel), to Mrs. Doddridge. Not dated, endorsed 29 September.
34. Davidson, Thomas, to (Robert) Stevenson, Castle Hedingham, Bocking, 10 September 1778. For Davidson, see my *Howel Harris* (Cardiff, 1965), p. 78, n.49, et alibi. For Stevenson, see T. W. Davids, *Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in . . . Essex*, 1863, p.501.
35. Dawson, Joseph, to Ralph Thoresby, Leeds. 25 September 1702.
41. Edwards, John, to Captain (Jonathan) Scott, Yorks. Leeds, 24 January 1768.
42. Edwards, Peter, to T(homas) Raffles, Wootton near Liverpool. Wem, 8 June 1819. For Edwards, see Ernest Elliot, *History of Congregationalism in Shropshire*, Oswestry (1898), p.68.
43. Evans, C(aleb), to J(ohn) Sutcliff(e). One letter to Sutcliff at O(u)lney; Bris(to)l, 23 October 1775; enclosing pamphlet by him in answer to one by Wesley, and sending greetings to (John) Newton. One letter to Sutcliff at Birmingham; Abingdon, 30 June 1775. For Evans, see *Dict. of Welsh Biog.*, s.v. Evans, Hugh (1712-81).
44. Evans, H(ugh), to John Sutcliff, Birmingham. Bristol, 28 February 1775. For Evans, see *Dict. of Welsh Biog.*
46. Fawcett, J(ohn), to John Sutcliff(e). One letter to Sutcliff with Hugh Evans, Bristol; Wainsgate, 29 May 1773. One letter to Sutcliff, Birmingham; Wainsgate, 10 April 1775.
49. Frankland, R(ichard), to Ralph Thoresby, Leeds. Rathmell, 31 July (16)94.
50. Fuller, A(ndrew). One letter unaddressed and undated, but perhaps to Sutcliff. Two letters to John Sutcliff, Olney; one from Kettering, 10 August (17)90; the other from Kett(ering), 30 August (17)94.
52. Gibbons, Tho(mas), to (Samuel) Stennett, Bartholomew Close. Hoxton Square, 20 May 1755.

53. Gill, John, (junior), to John Sutcliff, O(u)lney. St. Albans, 29 December 1794. For Gill, see William Urwick, *Nonconformity in Herts.* (1884), p.221.
54. Greatheed, Sam(ue)l. Two letters to John Sutcliff; one from Newport Pagnel(l), 14 March 1795; the other 6 December (17)98. One letter to Mr. Williams, Hoxton, from Newport Pagnel(l), 30 October 1798.
55. Griffin, Edw(ard), junior, to (Thomas) Charles, Commoner, Jesus College, Oxford; Worcester, 7 March 1774. For Griffin, see D. E. Jenkins, *Life of . . . Thomas Charles*, Denbigh 1910, i.58. This letter is earlier than any between Charles and Griffin printed by Jenkins.
57. Harmer, Thomas, to (Josiah) Thompson, London. Watesfield (Wattisfield), 7 March 1774, returning manuscript (for Thompson's manuscript account of the state of Nonconformity, preserved in Dr. Williams' Library), with a few changes for Norfolk and Suffolk.
58. Hart, Jos(eph), to William Shrubsole, Quarterman, Sheerness. London, 10 June 1766. For Hart, see Walter Wilson, *History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches . . . in London*, 1808-14, iii.343.
60. Harris, How(el), to ? Trevecka, 6 August 1744. Endorsed "Presented to me by John Davies Esq. of Vronheulog, n(ea)r Bala, Aug. 14.1840". For Davies, see *Dict. of Welsh Biog.*, Appendix.
61. H(enry), P(hilip), to (Francis) Tallents, Salop. 25 June (16)95. Also autobiographical account by Philip Henry relating to the years 1653-5.
62. H(enry), M(atthew), to ? Chester, 29 December (16)94.
63. Hill, R(owland), to Michael Nash, Hoxton. Wotton Underedge, 25 May (17)97. Hesitates to support widow of (Torial) Joss without approval of Tottenham Court and Tabernacle managers.
68. Jay, W(illia)m. One letter to Samuel Nichols, Wymondley Academy; Bath, 27 May 1818. One letter to J. N. Goulty, Henley on Thames; Bath, 5 September (postmark 1820). For Goulty, see W. H. Summers, *History of the Congregational Churches in . . . Berks., South Oxon and South Bucks.*, Newbury 1905, p.121.
69. Jenkins, J(oseph), to (John) Sutcliff, Olney. Wrexham, 19 March 1777. For Jenkins, see A. N. Palmer, *History of the Older Nonconformity of Wrexham*, Wrexham (1888), p.104.

71. Joss, Toriall. Five letters, one undated, the others from Rodborough, 12 October 1772 and 23 June 1773; and from Bristol, 9 August 1777 and 3 September 1781. For Joss, see *Evangelical Magazine*, 1797, pp.397-407.
73. Knight, T(itus), to Benjamin Mills, Moore-Fields, London. Halifax, 1 December 1790. For Knight, see J. G. Miall, *Congregationalism in Yorkshire*, 1868, p.267.
78. McLaurin, John, to William Hogg. Glasgow, 20 March 1751. Given to Raffles by A. B. Grosart, 29 September 1862.
89. Mottershead, J(oseph), to Mrs. Doddridge, Northampton. Manchester, 4 March 1756.
95. Orton, J(ob), to Mrs. Doddridge. Salop, 27 November 1752. On the inscription to Doddridge's memory to be raised at Castle Hill, Northampton, with draft, suggesting twenty lines. For the inscription adopted, written by Gilbert West, which contains twenty-six lines, see *History of Northampton Castle Hill Church*, 1896, p.36.
96. Owen, Ja(mes), to Philip Henry, Broad Oak. Osw(estry), 26 November (16)91.
98. Pearsall, R(ichard), to ——— Rawlings. Taunton. 20 June 1755.
100. Priestley, Nat(haniel) to (Ralph) Thoresby, Leeds. Ovenden, 16 May (16)92. For Priestley, see J. G. Miall, *op.cit.*, p.266.
- 106: Ryland, John (Collett), to (J.S.) Charrier, Portsmouth. 4 December 1782. For Charrier, see *Evang. Mag.*, 1811, p.471.
107. Ryland, John. Seven letters, some to John Sutcliff, Olney.
111. Scott, Jona(tha)n. One letter to George Burder, Coventry; Chapel House, Matlock, Derby, 17 January 1794. Two letters to John Wilson, Market Drayton, Salop; Matlock, 5 March 1800 and 12 May 1801. One letter not addressed nor signed; Matlock, 21 May 1801.
112. Shrubsole, W(illiam), to (George) Whitefield, at the Tabernacle near Moorfields, London. Sheerness, 5 March 1769.
113. Simpson, R(ober) to Thomas Entwistle, Bolton. Hoxton, 15 September 1800. For Simpson, see H. McLachlan, *English Education under the Test Acts*, Manchester 1931, p.237.
117. Tallents, Fra(ncis), to Richard Bentley, D.D., London, Shrewsb(ury), 15 September 1696.
118. Taylor, Dan, to (John) Fawcett, Brearley Hall. Hirst, 21 February 1777.

129. Wilks, M(atthew), to (John) Sutcliff, Olney. London, 6 November 1793. For Wilks, see my *Significance of Trevecca College 1768-91*, 1969, p.27, n.91.
130. Williams, Edw(ar)d. One letter to Mr. P. W. Fogg, Schoolmaster, Hillgate, Stockport, Cheshire; Oswestry, 2 October 1790. One letter to (John) Roberts, Llanbrynmair, Montgomeryshire; Rotherham, 2 June 1809.
133. Winter, Cornelius. One letter to (William) Shrubsole, Wittoms Buildings, Oldstreet Road, London; Painswick, 25 August 1800. One letter not addressed; Painswick, 21 December 1807. For Winter, see William Jay, *Memoirs*, Bath 1808.

REVIEWS

The Puritan Lectureships: the Politics of Religious Dissent 1560-1662, by Paul S. Seaver. (pp.402. Stanford University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1970. £6.00).

This is an important book, breaking new ground. 'Lectureships' were established by parish vestries and by corporations which desired additional sermons preached by clergy whom they appointed and paid themselves. 'Lecturers' were thus outside the regular parochial system and at a remove from episcopal discipline. To such an institution 'lay initiative and control' was 'fundamental' (p.117). It was also an inviting avenue for Puritan strategy. For both reasons it was abhorrent to Laud and the bishops generally. So much has long been recognized, but Professor Seaver provides the first detailed study. He has concentrated on lecturers in London, of whom in 1628 there were as many as 121, almost half of them Puritans (p.238). On lecturers in the provinces he is more sketchy; here he has overlooked the information on those in Yorkshire in the London Ph.D. thesis from which Dr. John Newton lectured to our Society in 1960.

The book is based throughout on original research into great numbers of manuscript records and registers, both episcopal and parochial. Fresh information is provided concerning a multitude of clergy, many of them Independents (though I do not know why Professor Seaver thinks John Poynter or John Biscoe was so); references to any of them is made easy by an excellent index running to twenty pages. There are occasional slips (Richard Vines

appears as John Viner; Bunyan's name was not Paul; Aldeburgh, Suffolk, and Aldborough, Yorkshire, are confused; Wissett is not in Norfolk; the parish church at Great Yarmouth was never Franciscan); but in general the work has been executed with great care, and the book will be of permanent value for the student of religious institutions in the Puritan period.

'The ultimate tendency of Puritanism', Professor Seaver believes, 'was . . . to produce a congregational system' (pp.46-7). It is interesting to place this observation alongside the evidence provided by the historian of a parallel institution that the Independents increasingly dominated contemporary preaching before the House of Commons (see John F. Wilson, *Pulpit in Parliament*, Princeton, 1969).

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL

THE PAULINE RENAISSANCE IN ENGLAND: Puritanism and the Bible by John S. Coolidge (Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press, 1970, £2.10).

This is an academic's book. The vocabulary is not in general unusual but it seems to this reviewer to be used in a somewhat esoteric fashion, so that, in the second half of the book particularly, it is often difficult to determine precisely what is meant. It is as if not only the complexity of thought of the puritan writers frequently quoted, but the complexity of its expression also has rubbed off on to the author.

This is a pity because the theme of the book is an important one for the life of all the churches today. It traces the development of puritan thought on such inter-related concepts as Christian liberty, edification, scriptural authority, what constitutes a living church, the covenant of grace, and brings out the often paradoxical or antithetical nature of the relationships. These concepts have a bearing on such matters as Church unity, mission, the relationship of the church and the world today. The author shows how the Congregational Puritans strove to hold together and to work out the consequences of the antitheses in Biblical and especially Pauline thought. We have to try to do the same for our own age. From this study come some illuminating and stimulating insights which could help us to understand what in our puritan heritage we ought to preserve and what we ought to abandon.

E. K. ORCHARD

Sir Henry Vane the Younger, A Study in Political and Administrative History by Violet A. Rowe (University of London, The Athlone Press, 1970, £3.75).

In recent years a spate of books on Cromwell and on the military aspects of the English Civil Wars has rather overshadowed the valuable specialist work done on the politico-religious aspects of the struggle. Studies of the latter aspect include J. H. Hexter, 'The Problem of the Presbyterian Independents' (*American Historical Review*, xliv, 1938) and *Reappraisals in History* (1961); G. Yule, *The Independents in the English Civil War* (1958); D. Underdown, 'The Independents Reconsidered' (*Journal of British Studies*, iii, 1964); Lotte Glow, 'Political Affiliations in the House of Commons After Pym's Death' (*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xxxviii, 1965); Valerie Pearl, 'Oliver St. John and the "Middle Group" in the Long Parliament, August 1643-May 1644' (*English Historical Review*, lxxxi, 1966); and 'The Royal Independents in the English Civil War' (*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 1968); L. Kaplan, 'Presbyterians and Independents in 1643' (*English Historical Review*, lxxxiv, 1969).

Dr. Pearl drew attention to the close association of Oliver St. John's group with that of Sir Henry Vane the younger, and Dr. Rowe's study of Vane appears most opportunely. There have been a number of biographies of Vane, e.g. by George Sikes (1662); by C. W. Upham (1838); by John Forster (1840); in *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* (1848); by J. K. Hosmer (1888); by W. W. Ireland (1905); by F. J. C. Hearnshaw as No. 2 in the *Congregational Worthies* series (1910); and by J. Willcock (1913).

As its title shows Dr. Rowe's book does not pretend to be a biography but it is the first study to document and assess in detail Vane's part in the making and direction of policy in the 1640's and early 1650's. The many valuable notes and bibliography of manuscript and printed sources show that the book is based on very extensive and thorough research, and it is pleasing to note that use is made of the important but still little known *Tower of London Letter-Book of Sir Lewis Dyve 1646-47*.

Vane is identified as an Independent with a sympathy for religious toleration as he demonstrated in Massachusetts, and with a desire for the separation of Church and State as he described in his *The Retired Man's Meditations* (1655). Inevitably, however, Dr. Rowe is chiefly concerned with Vane's part in the political moves for the creation of the Committee of Both Kingdoms, and with his

prominent part in naval affairs, where his energies brought the English fleet up to a very high standard for use by admirals such as Robert Blake (No. 4 in the *Congregational Worthies* series).

After Cromwell's eviction of the Rump in 1653, when he made his famous tirade against Vane, his former friend, Vane's political career was virtually ended and Dr. Rowe's chapter 'The Last Years 1653-1662' makes sad reading. Vane had his faults, arrogance, subtlety and, on occasion, political chicanery, but his great abilities and contribution to the shaping of events in the 1640's and early 1650's far outweigh his faults. Unlike some of his contemporaries Vane would not make his peace with the restored monarchy and was consistent to the end, on the scaffold in 1662, an incorruptible republican. Other books on the English Civil War and its personalities will undoubtedly appear—we are promised one on Cromwell by Lady Antonia Fraser—but Dr. Rowe's admirable study of Vane is not likely to be superseded.

H. G. TIBBUTT

Anglo-American Political Relations 1675-1775, ed. A. G. Olson and R. M. Brown (Rutgers University Press, 1970, \$10).

Congregational interest in English/American relations has been very largely confined to the period between 1620 and the Restoration and to the area of New England. These studies relate to the century following and are more concerned with Virginia and New York. They consist of eleven studies by almost as many authors and carry over 50 pages of detailed notes.

After the Restoration the mother country became increasingly aware of the fact that her daughter colonies, earlier allowed to become almost autonomous, could become considerable sources of profit and needed to be under stricter control. At the same time the colonies, having tasted some liberty, were increasingly wishful to live in their own way and to their own interests. These essays describe some of the resultant tensions which led to the final break.

There is little mention in these essays of the influence of the churches other than in one essay on the Anglican clergy in Virginia. There was obviously some continuing Puritan influence in Massachusetts. Increase Mather in his diary, however, recorded his bitter disappointment at losing 'all the old dearest privileges' of the bygone Bible Commonwealth. The solitary reference to Congregationalists reflects only the struggle for social prestige which in this period was very much between those of different denominational adherence.

R. F. G. CALDER

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