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Editorial

It is a matter for regret that during the preparation of this issue for the press, one of the Editors, John Taylor, has had to be in hospital for treatment. All our readers will wish him a full recovery. We are indebted to him for many services to the Society.

In this issue we are glad to print a Methodist Tribute to Bernard Lord Manning; Revd. J. M. Turner is on the staff of Queen's College, Birmingham. Mr. Spinks provides an unusual liturgical document with commentary. Mr. Caplan has already contributed an article to the Journal (May 1973).

Arundel URC has reminded us that 1974 was the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the death of George Macdonald who was minister there from 1850 to 1853. A commemorative exhibition and service have taken place in Arundel. There are many who are much indebted to Macdonald's literary legacy.

BERNARD LORD MANNING (1892-1941) — AS CHURCH HISTORIAN

Bernard Manning, senior tutor of Jesus College, Cambridge, died in 1941 aged forty eight. His death was a major loss, not only to college, university and historical scholarship, but to the Christian Church and not least to the reformed part of it disestablished in this country. He had played his part, especially in Congregationalism in what he and his friends like J. S. Whale and Nathaniel Micklem saw as a recall of "Orthodox Dissent" to its Reformation heritage in the theology and churchmanship of Calvin. It is no coincidence that this particular phase of Free Church life — which had its equivalent in Methodism in a return to the Wesleys and Luther — occurred when Karl Barth was steeling the nerves of the German "Confessing" Church to resist Hitler.

Manning was a notable preacher and Nathaniel Micklem has testified that in the pre-war period he was one of only two preachers who could be guaranteed to fill the chapel of Mansfield College, Oxford — the other was C. S. Lewis.¹ His advice to preachers still stands as a superb piece of practical theology and common sense.² He will long be remembered as an interpreter of hymns, especially those of the Wesleys and Watts, for here his mordant wit and deep spirituality had full play.

What of Manning as an historian? Did he have any insights which could be called prophetic? An interesting comparison could be made between Manning and one of his heroes, the Mirfield Father John Neville Figgis (1866-1919), whom he described as "easily the most brilliant historian produced in that generation by Cambridge; he was one of the most evangelical preachers of the Cross who, taught by our own Forsyth, led the way from the shallows of the so-called liberal theology".³ Of Figgis it has more recently been said, "His strength lay in his teaching ability and in the friendly relationships which he maintained with his pupils and with a wide cross-section of men".⁴ This could equally be said of Manning's work at Jesus College in the 1920's and 1930's and like Figgis he was not afraid to take an unpopular line and swim against the tide. The comparison can be pushed deeper. Both were sons of the Manse, neither married, both fought against ill health which brought them premature death. Both used all their intellectual and spiritual resources in preaching of the very highest quality. Both refused to be taken aboard the gaily coloured bandwagons which passed by. Manning shared with Figgis an

¹H. Davies, *Varieties of English Preaching 1900-1960*. (1963) p. 165.

²B. L. Manning, *A Layman in the Ministry* (1942), p. 135-151.

³B. L. Manning, *More Sermons of a Layman* (1944), p. 34.

⁴E. E. Rich (Ed.), *St. Catharine's College Cambridge 1473-1973* (1973), p. 232.

antipathy to the late Victorian idea of progress and the liberal protestant theology which was its Christian counterpart. Both were very aware of the dangers of the totalitarian state, both had, as the linch pin of their lives, "that strange man on the Cross". Both Figgis and Manning were editors of the "Cambridge Review" and shared the intellectual approach of the Cambridge of the pre 1914 period, over which, at least in historical circles, hovered the ghosts of Maitland, Acton and Creighton. Let us now look at some of the stimulating ideas in a corpus of writing sadly slender due to his constant battle with ill health.

Like Figgis, Manning was a medievalist and in this area his professional work was done, especially in Wyclif studies. His first book, "The People's Faith in the Age of Wyclif" (1919), set forth what was to be a persistent thesis in his writings. "It is still commonly asserted that the modern Catholic contains the whole tradition of the undivided Latin church and that puritanical living with evangelical doctrines is a new thing on the earth The "romantic" and "Catholic" elements in the Medieval church no one today is likely to forget, but it is not superfluous to recall its evangelical and puritan qualities; its sanity, its commonsense and its rationalism, and to emphasise the fact that not only one half of modern Christianity but the whole had its roots in medieval religion".⁵ We are all the heirs of the Middle Ages — "no one of the sections into which the Western Church has fallen since the 15th century can successfully claim the whole inheritance of the Medieval Church . . . none of them has complete continuity and . . . none is completely destitute of it. Different bodies appear to possess more or less continuity according to the standard that is used".⁶ These continuities Manning saw in a complicated fashion. Wyclif is seen best in relation to his own times. "He is indeed less the prophet of the future than the conscience of his own generation".⁷ — Yet "Wyclif anticipates Erasmus and Luther in the tenderness of his contemplation of the human Son of Man". At the same time, presumably because of a lack of any sense of justification by faith he is put "outside the mainstream of Western evangelical experience".⁸ In the same century Langland is linked in continuity with another countryman. "None of the Caroline divines can boast so near a kinship with the mystic of Malvern hills as can the Baptist tinker of Bedford. In the dream of a puritan preacher re-appeared the vision of the 14th century clerk. Here is no chance resemblance but a family likeness. In his sympathy with the puritan and evangelical schools of modern Christendom, Langland is not alone. The pious:

⁵B. L. Manning, *The People's Faith in the Age of Wyclif* (1919), p. 184-6.

⁶B. L. Manning, *Making of Modern English Religion* (1929), p. 116. Cf. *Essays in Orthodox Dissent* (1939), p. 132; p. 163.

⁷B. L. Manning, in *Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. vii (1932), 506.

⁸B. L. Manning, op. cit. p. 497.

rhymes of the time burdened with the faith and aspirations of an unknown multitude come closer in sentiment to the "Hymns for the People called Methodists" than to anything in the "Temple" or the "Christian Year"."⁹

Manning uses his historian's discrimination to determine where there is continuity and where discontinuity — thus there can be continuity in maintaining the 'going concern' (a neat secular term!) which can be more significant than conformity in ministerial order. There can also be discontinuity in order with continuity in belief, doctrine and spirituality. The passion piety of the Middle Ages — for "Christ on His Cross was after all the most familiar object in popular religion"¹⁰ — is taken up not by episcopalians but by Methodist colliers, and rich eucharistic doctrine is sung not by Anglicans but by downright dissenters led by Philip Doddridge.

'Hail, sacred feast that Jesus makes

Rich banquet of his flesh and blood'.¹¹

It was this sense of continuity in discontinuity that made Manning so doughty a champion of his own non-episcopal tradition against any attempt to demean it into sectarianism. In the last analysis it is the Good News of Jesus and His resurrection which is constitutive of both Church and ministry alike.¹²

If Manning anticipated some later Wyclif studies such as those of K. B. McFarlane who averred that "English nonconformity owes its origins humble though they may have been to Master John Wyclif",¹³ what can be said of his approach to the Renaissance, Reformation and the modern scene? In the "Making of Modern English Religion" (1929) he displays the skill found also in Professor Norman Sykes of presenting complicated issues in a few bold generalizations which later research has largely substantiated. The Medieval Church is seen as a 'going concern' — institutions, personnel, doctrines. The Reformation brought three swift changes to the given structure — secularization, destruction and control. Secularization has been recently defined by the sociologist P. L. Berger¹⁴ as "the process by which sectors of society and culture are removed from the domination of religious institutions and symbols". The word, of course, first meant the taking over of lands from the Church by 'secular' authorities and this is Manning's primary meaning, but he drives towards the modern meaning. "These transfers and many like them have cut down very greatly the activities of the Church and multiplied the activities of the State. It is the modern process of secularization.

⁹B. L. Manning, *People's Faith*, p. 188.

¹⁰B. L. Manning, *Outline of Christianity*, Vol. ii (n.d.) p. 367.

¹¹B. L. Manning, *Making*, p. 119.

¹²B. L. Manning, *Essays*, p.65; p. 134ff.

¹³K. B. McFarlane, *John Wycliff and the Beginnings of English Non-conformity* (1952) p. 10. cf. J. Stacey, *John Wycliff* (1964).

¹⁴P. L. Berger, *The Social Reality of Religion* (Pelican 1973) p. 113.

Not only or chiefly property, but whole tracts of every man's life have passed from the supervision of the Church to the supervision of the State". Destruction was obvious enough — one huge part of the Medieval Church, monks, nuns, friars, houses great and small, simply ceased to exist. Control — here was the flashpoint of battle, for until the end of the 17th century each religious group had as its ambition the capturing of the Church as a going concern. "Some time elapsed before the competing religious forces generated in the Reformation period were articulated and differentiated but when the confusion of religious thought and aspiration had crystallized into clear-cut parties, Laudian, Presbyterian, Independent, there began the final struggle to get a grip on the Established Church".¹⁶ Here Manning anticipates the view of A. G. Dickens and others that the formation of a Church that could be called properly 'Anglican' was a long process.¹⁰

The Renaissance is described not so much as exhibiting a new approach to truth but as a sudden vast increase in knowledge which was a factor in secularization. The second great landmark is the beginning of the modern study of the natural sciences in the 17th century when our modern questions begin to be asked. Manning spotlights what later historians like Sir Herbert Butterfield and Paul Hazard have underlined that here is the "crisis of the European conscience", the real break with the Middle Ages.¹⁷ The third great climacteric is the social change associated with the industrial revolution, in which the Church failed to respond flexibly enough.

The scene set, what does Manning say about the fragments into which the Medieval Church has divided? We do well to note that in 1929 he said that there was only one scholar — Charles Smyth — engaged in Reformation studies in Cambridge!¹⁸ On Luther we find nothing significant. He is the exemplar of evangelical experience who began in contemplating the 'wounds of Christ' as Staupitz urged him and this is seen as "essentially medieval religion at its best".¹⁹ Luther's personal piety, immensely fruitful though it was, needed to be balanced by statesmanship and here Calvin comes into his own.

Calvin had in Manning an enthusiastic apologist for to them both, "Christian experience is an ecclesiastical experience".²⁰ Manning is writing before Karl Barth made Calvin respectable again in England! Calvin was concerned for the autonomy and independence of the Church as was Ignatius Loyola, his fellow student at Paris on the other side of the great gulf. "In the 16th century the true successor

¹⁶B. L. Manning, *Making*, p. 36; p. 46.

¹⁰A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (1964), p. 283 ff.

¹⁷H. Butterfield, *The Origins of Modern Science, 1300-1800* (1949), p. viii. *Christianity in European History* (1951). P. Hazard, *The European Mind 1660-1715* (Pelican 1964).

¹⁸I owe this remark to a private letter of Manning in the possession of Mr. C. R. N. Wallwork of Queen's College, Birmingham.

¹⁹B. L. Manning, *Making*, p. 76.

²⁰B. L. Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 87. Cf. *Essays*, p. 24; p. 73; p. 99.

of Popes like Gregory VII and Innocent III was not the Spanish chaplain who sat in St. Peter's chair in Rome but John Calvin who defied the kings and states of Europe with the old prophetic spirit and the old priestly authority".²¹ Manning's puritan fear of state control is by no means dated, his spirited defence of Calvinist worship would not find so much support now (alas!) when most churches are tending to sink distinctive emphases in an ecumenical and liturgical uniformity which with all his love of liturgy Manning might have found ominous. "Calvinistic worship is not for the natural man. It is an acquired taste but for those who acquire the taste it has an intensely satisfying quality. What the outsider calls its barrenness — its austerity in ritual — depends ultimately on a fearful sense of the reality of all that the Church at worship does. To call on the name of God, to claim the presence of the Son of God, if men truly know what they are doing, it is in itself an act so tremendous and full of comfort that any sensuous or artistic heightening of the effect is not so much a painting of the lily as a varnishing of sunlight. The very phrase 'the art of public worship', with all the conceptions that lie behind it, is to men bred in Calvinistic worship something approaching blasphemy".²² Certainly Manning was aware that puritan worship could degenerate into rationalism, he was aware, too, that "if we know what we are about, it is the glory of free prayer and of living liturgy to find new ways. It is only the illiterate of the Dark Ages who must be tied to one frozen form of words".²³ On new orders now being used experimentally in the Church of England, he might like C. S. Lewis have said that Jesus said to Peter, "feed my sheep, not try your experiments out on my rats";²⁴ certainly like Lewis he would surely have been more concerned with the heart of worship itself (the dance) rather than with the minutiae of ritual (the dance steps). Manning's most characteristic writing is in exploration of the basis of his own branch of Calvinistic churchmanship, Congregationalism, which he saw not as a degenerate form of Anglicanism or a de-spiritualized form of Quakerism but a tradition in its own right. Here was Churchmanship which pared the faith down to essentials for "Protestantism is not a negative thing. It is a positive re-statement of the Catholic truth".²⁵ At its heart is the ecclesiastical experience of the 'gathered church' of believers fed on the Sacraments of the Gospel and "the great sacrament of the preached word, preached by dying men to dying men"²⁶, avoiding the dangers of literalism and modernism alike. Much of Manning's appeal here needs to be seen in the context of the internal battles of the 1930's but two matters give it a contemporary relevance. For his

²¹B. L. Manning, *Making*, p. 86.

²²B. L. Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 90; *Essays*, p. 102.

²³B. L. Manning, *More Sermons*, p. 132.

²⁴C. S. Lewis, *Letters to Michael* (1963), p. 13.

²⁵B. L. Manning, *Essays*, p. 52.

²⁶B. L. Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

own church, he had no doubt that its future lay in union with Presbyterianism. "Personally I have no doubt that union with Presbyterians is the next step . . . If I could work the oracle I would bring it about tomorrow . . . Presbyterianism and Congregationalism are only two forms of that great venture on a church founded on grace, John Calvin's venture in Geneva. Presbyterianism is the centralized, Congregationalism is the decentralized form of that venture".²⁷ It took forty years for Manning's dream to be realized. When in October, 1972 the United Reformed Church was inaugurated, the representatives were welcomed to Westminster Abbey by the Dean, Dr. Eric Abbott, who paid his own personal tribute to his former tutor Bernard Manning!

The other matter is Manning's unwillingness to compromise with what he saw as Anglican attempts to foist the historic episcopate on the Free Churches. With baleful eye he saw Methodism being offered everything it wanted,²⁸ while having to accept bishops. "Episcopacy has been in the world so long married to legalistic conceptions of the Gospel that we may doubt if in dealing with it the Presbyterians and the Methodists would be more fortunate than the famous young lady of Riga". Manning's views have to be seen against a doctrine of Apostolic succession now largely discarded — at least by most competent scholars. He appears dated here, though his watchfulness against any form of ecclesiastical legalism can still be salutary in a day when flexibility of structures may be a necessity. Manning's hard line has been taken up within Methodism by Dr. Henry Bett²⁹ and Dr. C. K. Barrett³⁰ but, ironically, it was the Anglican Synod which in the end terminated the "Conversations" begun in 1955.

Manning, writing on the Church of England, has the approach of a great lover of tradition and especially of the Book of Common Prayer but also of a historian who felt that at the Reformation the secular state exacted a price from the Church of England which was too high, for the price paid was state control.³¹ In order to retain the 'going concern' and continuity in order and in worship, it accepted state control and despite it rather than because of it, men like Hooker and Andrews and Herbert were won to a full loyalty which no king's edict could command. Manning salutes the non-jurors and the early leaders of the Oxford Movement for seeking other foundations than the state for the Church and for seeking to draw the Church from the dangers of Erastianism and Deism. The relations of Church and state provided Manning with an opportunity to present evidence to the Archbishops' Commission on Church and State in 1931. He makes clear that facile 19th century slogans like, "a Free Church in a Free State" are no longer adequate. He suggests that Anglicans are

²⁷B. L. Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 148-9.

²⁸B. L. Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 134; 145-6; 169.

²⁹Cf. H. Bett, *The Spirit of Methodism* (1937).

³⁰Cf. C. K. Barrett, *The signs of an Apostle* (1930).

³¹B. L. Manning, *Making*, p. 99.

in danger of receiving the benefits of Establishment but objecting only when the shoe pinches as over the Prayer Book of 1928. "The situation was not new, the relation of parliament to the Established Church had always been indefensible but it was denounced as wicked only when it became unpleasant".³² There is a concern here for the consciences of the non-christian and Manning's persistent fear of anti-clericalism emerges. "We think that it is asking very much of our non-christian and anti-christian population to have any sort of Established Church".³³ "Free churchmen consider anti-clericalism one of the most hideous phenomena of modern life and they take no small credit to themselves for the comparative immunity of England from it".³⁴ The existence of Her Majesty's religious opposition certainly was a key factor in preventing in England the kind of battle of Catholic and non-christian in Third Republic France where a prominent politician, Gambetta, could shout, "le clericalisme, voilà l'ennemi", and where 'lay' and 'secular' have quite different overtones from their English equivalents.³⁵ Manning follows this with a characteristic assertion that "the Establishment of one, even the largest section of the fragments into which the Latin church is divided in this country, has inevitably, as a mere matter of history, caused political and ecclesiastical injustice to the other fragments".³⁶ Nevertheless, Manning "shrank with some horror" from the thought of the Church of England as a "disestablished self-governing episcopalian sect". It is instructive to compare Manning's evidence in 1931 with that on an Anglican laywoman in 1970, Miss Valerie Pitt, who added a Memorandum of Dissent to the Report of the Archbishops' Commission on Church and State in that year. "Christianity is not a folk or a tribal religion, it is a Gospel, a revealed religion, demanding an active and personal assent. To be a Christian a man must himself answer 'Jesus is Lord' — writing C. of E. on a form is not enough . . . a Church's national character is a matter of how it understands its churchly calling and does not depend for its reality on the status which the national community gives it".³⁷ Manning could hardly have stated the case for the 'gathered church' more cogently! Professor Owen Chadwick, who presented the 1970 Report, suggests the continuing relevance of Manning's stance for us. "All his evidence should be read for this especial reason — Bernard Manning understood the Church of England and loved its common prayers more deeply than many Anglicans".³⁸ Manning seems to dislike episcopacy more than establishment and Anglicans could well ask him, "What precisely should they do?"

³²B. L. Manning, *Essays*, p. 202.

³³B. L. Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

³⁴B. L. Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

³⁵J. S. McManners, *Lectures on European History 1789-1914* (1966), p. 318.

³⁶B. L. Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

³⁷*Report on Church and State*, (1970), p. 66ff.

³⁸G. F. Nuttall and O. Chadwick (Eds.), *From Uniformity to Unity, 1662-1962* (1962), p. 11.

In the latter years of his life Manning turned his professional interest to the modern history of the dissenting communities. As a 'balon d'essai' he gave a lecture in Cambridge on 'Congregationalism in the 18th Century' which states a thesis that it was the Church Meeting and the orthodox hymnody of Isaac Watts which were prime factors which prevented Independency from sliding into Unitarianism, which to Manning was the fate worse than death which awaited unwary Presbyterians.³⁹ Certainly he was right to show how the "confluence of Calvinism and the evangelical revival produced at the end of the century the modern missionary enthusiasm of our churches". Recent research has had more positive things to say about the Unitarianism which Manning so intensely disliked, but I am not aware that he has really been refuted.⁴⁰

The history of modern dissent is taken up in "The Protestant Dissenting Deputies" published under the editorship of Mr. Ormerod Greenwood in 1952. Unfortunately marred by minor inaccuracies (including the date of Manning's death) and at times harshness of style, this book reveals Manning at his best and yet most infuriating.

The subject is the work of the Deputies who represented the congregations of London Dissent in legal matters to the government from 1732 onwards and their involvement in the drive to secure repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828 and the struggle later against dissenting inequalities and not least the tension between Church and Dissent which has bedevilled the development of English education up to the Butler Act of 1944. Dissenters' grievances raised one of the great problems facing the 19th century church and state. How is an established church compatible with equality before the law? Or does equality before the law include religious equality?⁴¹

Manning makes no attempt to be impartial here. "Nothing but the exact perusal of the sixteen volumes of minutes will suffice to show the vast extent, the meanness, the venom, the relentlessness of the persecution which went on sometimes within the law, sometimes outside it. It is a squalid but a necessary enquiry. So much has been heard of the dissidence of Dissent and the unreasonable readiness of Dissenters to take offence that it is important to examine the soil which produced the unlucky side of nonconformity."⁴² Manning spares nothing — the notorious 'Sheriff's Cause' whereby a dissenter was elected as Sheriff and then fined for non-attendance at the Sacrament, Sidmouth's Bill of 1811 which would, if passed, have effectively stifled Methodist local preachers and itinerants, a matter which first brought the Wesleyans into party politics, are discussed in full. Lord Sidmouth made no bones about the fact that he sought to avoid a 'nominal

³⁹B. L. Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 171ff.

⁴⁰Cf. C. G. Bolam and J. Goring, *The English Presbyterians* (1948), p. 175ff.

⁴¹O. Chadwick, *The Victorian Church* (1966), p.3.

⁴²B. L. Manning, *Protestant Dissenting Deputies* (1952), p. 101.

Established Church and a sectarian people'.⁴³ The Dissenters replied with the arguments later used by Elie Halévy. "Whatever their faults or defects might be, their labours were upon the whole highly beneficial in civilizing the lower ranks and rendering them sober, industrious, religious".⁴⁴ Manning describes the whole sorry battle of Dissent for political equality — Church rates, burials (some almost incredible material here) marriages, admission to the older universities which was opposed tooth and nail by men of the calibre of E. B. Pusey, as necessary to the very being of the Church of England. Manning's stance becomes clear in his discussion of Sir James Graham's Bill of 1843 which was designed to give a measure of elementary education under state auspices but with an especial privilege in teaching granted to the established clergy. Graham is described as "inept", guilty of "mulish self conceit". In the next generation, we read of the "woodenness of Gladstone" and the "maliciousness of Forster" not to speak of the "self opinionated Gallios of the Board of Education" supported by "Whitehall agnostics".⁴⁵ Manning had a twofold fear, of Anglican dominance in state education and Roman Catholicism, not in and for itself, but of its securing a purchase on the educational system through increased grants. "The Roman church once firmly entrenched in the dual system, will make the descendants of the Forsters and the Webbs see that it does matter whether religious justice is given or not. The privileged position of the denominational schools is introducing a clerical and anti-clerical struggle compared with which the old antagonism of Church and chapel will seem like child's play".⁴⁶ The strictures on Roman claims have not proved, so far, to be valid, though we may recall that Archbishop Beck not long ago appeared to assume that the Free Church conscience on these matters could be ignored as a lightweight force.⁴⁷ Manning now would be more likely to raise his other ghost of the omniscient state for "Leviathan is a foe more dangerous than the scarlet woman or the man of sin". The threatened end of the "private sector" in education could raise these issues sharply. Manning's position has been criticized from within his own tradition by Dr. John Huxtable, who sees far more validity in the Anglican position that religious values are an integral part of education and also by Professor Norman Sykes who, nevertheless, was very sensitive to the dangers of totalitarianism.⁴⁸ There were interesting paradoxes in the whole controversy. "Two classes of schools were competing against each other . . . State schools favoured by the Free Churches, free

⁴³B. L. Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

⁴⁴B. L. Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

⁴⁵B. L. Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 340, 353.

⁴⁶B. L. Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 367.

⁴⁷T. David, *Church and School*, p. 7.

⁴⁸B. L. Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

⁴⁹N. Sykes *Man as Churchman* (1960), p. 139; JEH, IV (1953), p. 117ff. J. Huxtable, *The Preacher's Integrity* (1966), p. 155ff.

schools favoured by the State Church".⁶⁰ A comparison between Manning and J. N. Figgis is illuminating. Figgis was as concerned as Manning with the encroachments of the all-powerful state — "Leviathan" is a word both use.⁶¹ Figgis cites the Kulturkampf in Germany and the secularization of Church schools under M. Combes in France as examples of what can happen in modern nation-states, just as Manning was able later to cite the fascist state of Mussolini.⁶² Figgis saw the Free Church case for an undenominational style of religious education as a dislike of the fact that denominationalism means the recognition of the religious society as such in the matter of education. "What he (Dr. John Clifford) demands is that there shall be no intermediary between the state and the child . . . and it springs quite naturally from that passion for state absolutism which is the child of the Renaissance and Reform and the grandchild of the pagan state". I know of no harder attack on the Free Church position than this, yet Figgis and Manning would have been wholly at one in asserting the proper role of associations like churches and Trade Unions between the individual and the state. Figgis's pluralism (derived through F. W. Maitland from Otto Gierke) led him to the view that "the real world is composed of several communities, large and small and that a community is something more than the sum of the persons composing it, in other words it has a real personality, not a fictitious one".⁶³ This is not far from Manning's intense concern for the autonomy of the Church and the point where "Evangelical Catholic"⁶⁴ (as Figgis described himself) and Calvinist high churchmen come together.

Manning emerges from the four hundred and fifty pages of his book as the identifiable author of "Essays in Orthodox Dissent", the implacable champion of the gathered church, the crown rights of the Redeemer and high Calvinism. This book above all illustrates the complexity of religious divisions in England and the tangled nature of the non-theological factors that made up the struggle between 'church' and 'chapel' in the 19th century and which still lie behind the folk mythology of much opposition to corporate re-union. It should

⁶⁰E. Halevy, *History of the English People*, Epilogue 1895-1905. Book 2 page 53 (Pelican).

⁶¹J. N. Figgis, *Churches in the Modern State* (1913), p. 54ff. *Anti-Christ and other Sermons* (923), p. 266. Cf. E. K. H. Jordan, *Free Church Unity* (1956), p. 77ff. D. Newsome, "The Assault of Mammon; Charles Gore and John Neville Figgis," in JEH, XVII (1966), pp. 227-41. D. R. Pugh, "Church and Education — Anglican Attitudes, 1902", in JEH, XXIII (1972). N. J. Richards. "Education Bill of 1906 and the decline of political Nonconformity," in JEH, XXIII (1972).

⁶²J. S. McManners, *Church and State in France, 1870-1914* (1972), p. 45ff., p. 129ff. J. N. Figgis, op. cit., p. 29ff. B. L. Manning, *More Sermons of a Layman*, p. 36-7.

⁶³J. N. Figgis, op. cit., p. 250.

⁶⁴J. N. Figgis, *Civilization at the Cross Roads* (1912), p. 122.

be added that Manning had no desire whatever to disinter the political Dissent of the turn of the century.⁵⁵

Manning's contribution to Methodist historiography is found in his brilliant and penetrating treatment of Wesley's hymns, but he also saw in Wesley "a leader who by a stroke of divine genius that put him in the same rank as Hildebrand, St. Dominic and St. Ignatius Loyola, combined the evangelical passion and experience of Luther with Calvin's ecclesiastical system".⁵⁶ More penetrating is the way in which he detected a great defect in Wesleyan theology — a divergence between spiritual experience and churchmanship. "They thought of the church as something other than the most sacred brotherhood. The church and true believers not synonymous but in antithesis. It is the traditional Anglican idea of the Church as the whole of society shot through now by an intenser experience".⁵⁷ Here is the whole of Methodist history summarized in a sentence!

Manning had an unsentimental yet sensitive view of history. "The main value of history is on the heart. It keeps the heart tender as only a study of our poor humanity can".⁵⁸ "The observer of men — and that is all that a historian is — comes to love the human scene".⁵⁹ The human scene gives no cause for false optimism. Men's easy confidence in progress ended in the war of 1914.⁶⁰ One can imagine him having little sympathy with those who too glibly see the Holy Spirit in liberation movements or in the rather pathetic appeal of continual revolution to the New Left. "There is absolutely no support in Holy Scripture for the belief that God will help the good cause and see that it is not defeated in any circumstances. History teems with examples of good causes beaten by worse. Half a million men without tanks cannot expect victory over half a million with tanks because they are better men. Such a belief is not faith but presumption. Oliver Cromwell's advice is more near Scripture — trust in God and keep your powder dry".⁶¹ Even Machiavelli is an ally — "It may be deplorable but it is true that Machiavelli is a better guide to political success than his opponents and that history is quite the reverse of virtue being rewarded".⁶² Manning as a professional historian is concerned that Church history be brought down to earth. "The historian brings the study of religion back to earth and whispers that the Church may have worse enemies than those denounced by conservative dignitaries or fanatical reformers. The seed is the Word of God but the field is the world . . . without a constant breeze and an occasional blast from the

⁵⁵B. L. Manning, *Congregational Quarterly*. Vol. V (1927), p. 286-300.

⁵⁶B. L. Manning, *Making*, p. 96.

⁵⁷B. L. Manning, *Essays*, p. 99.

⁵⁸B. L. Manning, *Making*, p. 120.

⁵⁹B. L. Manning, *Essays*, p. 31; 46.

⁶⁰B. L. Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

⁶¹B. L. Manning, *A Layman*, p. 84.

⁶²B. L. Manning, *More Sermons*, p. 37.

fields of profane history the student of religion becomes too nice and too precious. He plays like a dilettante with fire and blood"⁶³ While he was critical of Sir Herbert Butterfield's attack on the Whig interpretation of History⁶⁴ — after all he was an unrepentant protestant Whig himself — nevertheless his view of history is very similar to that of Sir Herbert who shows how history uncovers man's universal cupidity and the judgment of God's formidable non-intervention.⁶⁵ Manning eschewed alike a groundless idealistic optimism and also a demeaning pessimism because at the heart of his life was Christ. "The wrecks of times are there undoubtedly but the cross of Christ always towers over them".⁶⁶

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⁶³B. L. Manning, *Making*, p. 115.

⁶⁴B. L. Manning, *Essays*, p. 29.

⁶⁵H. Butterfield, *Christianity and History* (1949), p. 45; 58.

⁶⁶B. L. Manning, *A Layman*, p. 11.

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THE SUPPLY OF PRAYER FOR SHIPS: A FORGOTTEN PURITAN LITURGY

In recent years the Westminster Assembly's Directory for Public Worship has received considerable attention from scholars both north and south of the Border.¹ Enforced by an Ordinance of 4th January 1644/5, the Directory was to replace the Book of Common Prayer and to supersede the Book of Common Order.² It was not a Puritanised Book of Common Prayer, nor an updated version of the Knoxian Genevan Form of Prayers; as its title implied, it was merely a collection of rubrics with 'the general heads, the sense and scope of the prayers' for the guidance of the Minister; it would be of little use to those who contented themselves 'with set Forms made to their hands by others, without putting forth themselves to exercise the gift of prayer.'³

Although Parliament had passed an Ordinance forbidding any Preaching, writing or printing against the Directory, Dr. Henry Hammond, the champion of 'Laudian' Theology, was not to be deterred. In his *A View of the New Directorie* of 1646, Hammond sought in three chapters to undermine the reasoning behind the Preface of the Directory, and to vindicate the use of set forms of prayer. However, at the end of Chapter Two, there appears 'A Postscript by way of Appendix' in which Hammond turns briefly to consider 'a book just now come to my hands, called, a Supply of Prayer for the Ships that want Ministers to pray with them, agreeable to the Directory established by Parliament, published by authority.' J. W. Packer remarks: "There is a feeling of amused criticism running through this Appendix such as is sometimes apparent in Hammond's writings where he finds a chink in his opponents' armour."⁴ The reason for Hammond's amusement is apparent from his immediate observation on the book: "That the very body of it is a set forme of prayer, and so no superstition in set formes."⁵

While the Directory itself has received much attention, this book of 'a set forme of prayer' has been sadly forgotten. Printed by John Field and 'to be sold at his house upon Addle-hill' (a manuscript addition to a copy in the British Museum dates it 16th May 1645), the Supply of Prayer consists of an introductory preface, 'A Reason of

¹T. Leishman. *The Westminster Directory*. 1901; The manuscript bibliography in J. M. Barkley. *The Worship of the Reformed Church*. 1966; H. Davies. *The Worship of the English Puritans*. 1948; E. C. Ratcliff. *Puritan Alternatives to the Prayer Book*, in *The English Prayer Book*. 1549-1662.

²Firth and Rait. *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*. Vol. I. p. 582.

³See the Preface of the Directory.

⁴*The Transformation of Anglicanism 1643-1660*. 1969. p. 134-5.

⁵*A View of the New Directorie*. p. 96.

this Work', and seven prayers, together with directions for the Lord's Prayer, the singing of psalms, and the reading of Scripture. As its title suggests, it was intended for ships which had no Minister or Chaplain to lead them in prayer.

It is often assumed, as it was by Hammond, that the form of the Directory was the result of the anti-liturgical tendency of the Independents, who believed that prayer must be 'with the Spirit', and that a set form of prayer was tantamount to breaking the second commandment. But if John Cotton may be regarded as representative of the Independents, they were prepared to allow set forms in some circumstances. Cotton argues that it was unlawful for prayers devised by others to be used as ordinary prayer; for Magistrates to impose set forms; to bring books other than the Bible into Public Worship; and for one church to receive set forms from another and use them as their own. But he concedes that a man may compile a book of prayers, and he may give to another holy directions and rules for prayer, and set down some forms of prayer as examples; furthermore, a man might be affected with some petitions in a prayer devised by others, and may lawfully make use of them and insert them into his own prayers.⁶ Set forms were not therefore ruled out *a priori*. Presumably those at Sea without a Minister might also be considered by the Independents as constituting an exception to the rule, especially since according to the preface of the Supply, they were either using the old form of Common Prayer, or no prayer at all. We may conclude therefore that this liturgy was as much Independent as it was Presbyterian. That it was a concession to the weak was clearly stated in the preface: 'It being hoped it will be no grief of heart to wise and full Christians, if the thirsty drink out of cisterns, when themselves drink out of Fountains; But they will rather pity the wants of their needy Brethren, and out of compassion imitate him who filleth the hungry with good things.' These prayers, so the preface argues, may be acceptable if they are enlivened and sent up by the Spirit of the worshipper.

The first four prayers of the Supply are lifted straight from the Morning Worship of the Directory, and turned into set prayer. These, together with the rubrics and the fifth prayer, the Blessing, provide an order of service corresponding to that of the Directory, but with the sequence rearranged. The Long Prayer before the Sermon in the Directory is divided into two, though the Directory itself allows for this. The relationship to the Directory is illustrated by the following table, where the figure by the order in the Supply indicate the re-

⁶John Cotton, *A Modest and Cleare Answer to Mr. Balls Discourse of Set formes of Prayer*. 1642.

arranged sequence of the Directory order; numbers (2), (7a), (7b) and (9) are the four borrowed prayers.

Directory Morning Worship.

- (1) Solemn call to worship.
- (2) Prayer of Approach.
- (3) Psalm Reading.
- (4) Old Testament Chapter.
- (5) New Testament Chapter.
- (6) Psalm, sung.
- (7) Prayer before the Sermon.
- (8) Sermon.
- (9) General Prayer.
- (10) Lord's Prayer.
- (11) Psalm, sung.
- (12) Blessing.

The Supply of Prayer.

- (2) Prayer of Approach.
- (10) Lord's Prayer.
- (3) Psalm Reading.
- (4) Old Testament Chapter.
- (5) New Testament Chapter.
- (6) Psalm, sung.
- (7a) Prayer of Confession.
- (7b) Prayer for the Church.
- (11) Psalm, sung.
- (9) General Prayer.
- (12) Blessing. (Aaronic, 1 Thess 5:23, and the Grace.)

The Supply is of great value in illustrating the flexibility of the Directory service.

Apart from the four prayers from the Directory and the Blessing, the Supply contains two other prayers, A Prayer fitted for those who travel upon the seas, and A Prayer in a Storm. These of course have no parallel in the Directory, but both conform to the general outline of prayer recommended for special occasions, for example concerning Public Solemn Fasting.

The Supply, like the Directory, seems to have fallen into obscurity after the Restoration, and unlike the Directory, has not enjoyed a Renaissance. It is interesting to observe, however, that whereas the latter, apart from perhaps the Eucharistic Prayer,⁷ was totally rejected by the Anglican Church at the Restoration, the Supply did exert rather more influence, even though in a negative manner. As a result of its existence, a form of prayer for use at sea was for the first time included in a Book of Common Prayer in 1662.⁸

B. D. SPINKS

⁷G. J. Cuming. Two Fragments of a lost Liturgy? in *Studies in Church History*. Vol. III. 1966.

⁸Liturgy and Worship. Ed. Lowther Clarke and Harris (1964), p. 857.

A SUPPLY OF PRAYER

for the ships of this Kingdom

they want ministers to pray with them:

Agreeable to the DIRECTORY established by PARLIAMENT.

Published by Authority.

London

Printed for John Field, and are to be sold at his house upon Addle-hill

A REASON OF THIS WORK.

Whereas there are thousands of ships belonging to this kingdom, which have not Ministers with them in Prayer, and therefore either use the old Form of Common-Prayer, or no Prayer at all; The former whereof for many weighty Reasons hath been abolished, and the latter is likely to make them rather Heathens then Christians (the Lords day being left without any mark of Piety or Devotion). Therefore, to avoid these Inconveniences, It hath been thought fit to frame some Prayers, agreeing with the Directory established by Parliament; It being hoped, that it will be of no grief of heart to wise and full Christians, if the thirsty drink out of cisterns, when themselves drink out of Fountains; But they will rather pity the wants of their needy Brethren, and out of Compassion immitate him who filleth the hungry with good things.

These Prayers being enlivened and sent up by the Spirit in him that prayeth, may be lively Prayers and acceptable to him who is a Spirit, and accepts of service in Spirit and Truth. And, in truth, though Prayers come never so new, even from the Spirit, in one that is a guide in Prayer, if the Spirit do not quicken and enliven that Prayer in the Hearer that follows him, it is to him but a dead Form, and a very carcase of Prayer.

The Company being assembled, they may thus begin with Prayer:

O Lord, in all reverence and humility, we acknowledge thy incomprehensible Greatnesse and Majesty, in whose presence we do now in a speciall manner appear, and our own vilenesse and unworthnesse, to approach so neer thee; with our utter inability of our selves, to such a holy duty. And we humbly beseech thee for pardon, assistance, and acceptance, in the whole service now to be performed, and for a Blessing on the particular portions of thy Word now to be read, and all in the Name and Mediation of the Lord Jesus Christ; In whose Name and words wee pray unto thee farther, saying,

OUR FATHER, & c.

After this, some Psalms and Chapters being read out of both Testaments (but none out of those Books which are commonly called APOCRYPHA) and a Psalm being sung, a Prayer may follow in this manner:

O Great and gracious Lord, we acknowledge before thee our sinfulness, first, by reason of Originall sin, which (besides the guilt of it, which makes us lyable to eternall damnation) is the seed of all other sins, and hath depraved and poisoned all the faculties and

powers of soul and body, and doth defile our best actions, and (were it not restrained, or our hearts renewed by Grace) would break forth into innumerable Transgressions, and the greatest Rebellions against the Lord, that ever were committed by the vilest of the sons of men. And next, we acknowledge the guilt of Actual sins, our own sins, the sins of Magistrates, of Ministers, and of the whole Nation, unto which we are many wayes accessory; Which sins of ours receive many fearfull aggravations, we having broken all the Commandments of the holy, just, and good Law of God, doing that which is forbidden, and leaving undone what is enjoined; and that not onely out of ignorance and infirmity, but also more presumptuously, against the light of our mindes, checks of our consciences, and motions of thy holy Spirit to the contrary, so that we have no cloak for our sins; yea we have not onely despised the riches of Gods goodnesse, forbearance, and long-suffering, which should leade us to Repentance, and Holinesse; but have stood out against many invitations, and offers of Grace in the Gospel, not endeavouring as we ought, to receive Christ into our hearts by Faith, or to walk worthy of him in our lives. We bewail our blindness of minde, hardnesse of heart, unbelief, impenitency, security, lukewarmnesse, barrennesse, our not endeavouring after Mortification, and newnesse of life; not after the exercise of Godlinesse in the power thereof; and that the best of us have not so stedfastly walked with God, kept our Garments so unspotted, nor been so zealous of thy glory, and the good of others as wee ought, notwithstanding the manifold and great mercies of thee our God, the love of Christ, the light of the Gospel, and Reformation of Religion, our own Purposes, Promises, Vows, Solemn Covenants, and other speciall obligations to the contrary. We acknowledge and confesse, that as we are our selves unworthy of the smallest benefits, most worthy of thy fiercest wrath, and of all the curses of the Law, and heaviest judgements inflicted upon the most Rebellious sinners; and that thou mightest most justly take thy Kingdom and Gospel from us, plague us with all sorts of Spirituall and Temporall judgements in this life, and after cast us into utter darknesse, in the Lake that burneth with Fire and Brimstone, where is weeping and gnashing of Teeth for evermore. Notwithstanding all which, we draw near to the Throne of Grace, encouraging our selves, with hope of a gracious answer of our Prayers, in the Riches and All-sufficiency of that onely one Oblation, the satisfaction and Intercession of the Lord Jesus Christ, at the right hand of his Father, and our Father; and in confidence of the exceeding great and precious promises of Mercy and Grace in the new Covenant, through the same Mediator thereof. And we pray thee, for his sake, to turn away thy heaveie wrath and curse from us, which we are not able to avoid or bear; and humbly and earnestly beseech thee, out of thy free Grace and Mercy, to grant unto us the full Remission of all our sins, and that onely for the bitter sufferings, and precious merits of that our onely Saviour Jesus Christ. O that the Lord would vouch-

safe to shed abroad his love in our hearts by the holy Ghost, to seal unto us by the same Spirit of Adoption, the full assurance of our Pardon and Reconciliation, That he would comfort all that mourn in Zion, speak peace to the wounded and troubled spirits, and binde up the broken hearted; And as for secure and presumptuous sinners, Lord open their eyes, convince their consciences, and turn them from darknesse unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they also may receive forgiveness of sin, and an inheritance among them that are sanctified by Faith in Christ Jesus. With remission of sins through the blood of Christ, we pray thee also to give us Sanctification by his Spirit; Mortification of sin dwelling in us, and many times tyrannizing over us; the quickening of our dead Spirits with the life of God in Christ; Grace to fit and enable us for all duties of conversation and callings towards God and Man; strength against temptations, the sanctified use of Blessings and Crosses, and perseverance in Faith and Obedience to our lives end, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A Prayer for the Church Universall, and our United Churches and Kingdoms.

O Lord, who doest gather to thy self a Church out of all Nations, we beseech thee, to this end to Propagate thy Gospel and the Kingdom of Christ Jesus to all Nations, convert the Jews, fill up the fulnesse of the Gentiles, hasten the fall of Antichrist, and the second coming of our Lord; Grant deliverance to the distressed Churches abroad from the Tyranny of the Antichristian Faction, and from the cruell oppressions and blasphemies of the Turke: We pray thee send thy Blessing upon all the Reformed Churches, especially upon the Churches and Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, now more strictly, and Religiously united in the Solemne League and Covenant: We pray thee for our Plantations in the remote parts of the world, more particularly for that Church and Kingdom whereof we are Members, that therein God would establish Peace and Truth, the Purity of all his Ordinances, and the power of godlines; prevent and remove Heresie, Schisme, Prophaneness, Superstition, security, and unfruitfulness under the means of Grace; heal our rents and divisions, and preserve us from breach of our Solemn Covenant. We pray thee for all in authority especially for the Kings Majesty, that God would make him rich in Blessings, both in his Person and Government; Establish his Throne in Religion and Righteousnesse, save him from evil Counsell, and make him a blessed and glorious Instrument for the conservation and propagation of the Gospel, for the encouragement and protection of them that do well, the terrour of all that do evil, and the great good of the Church of Christ, and of these United Kingdoms. We pray thee convert the Queen, give a Religious Education to the Prince, and the rest of the Royall Seed; comfort the afflicted Queen of Bohemia, Sister to our Sovereign: We pray thee for the Restitution and Establishment of the illustrious Prince, The Elector Palatine of the Rhene, to all his Dominions and Dignities: Blesse the High Court of Parliament, the

Nobility, the subordinate Judges and Magistrates, the Gentry, and all the Commonalty: Blesse all Pastors and Teachers, O Lord, fill them with thy spirit, and make them exemplarily holy, sober, just, peaceable, and gracious in their lives; sound, faithfull, and powerfull in their Ministry, and follow all their labours with abundance of successe and blessing; And give unto all thy People, Pastors according to thy own heart: Blesse the Universities, and all Schools, and Religious Seminaries of Church and Commonwealth, that they may flourish more and more in Learning and Piety. Powre out a blessing upon the Ministry of the Word, Sacraments, and Discipline; give thy mercy and consolation, to the afflicted under any inward or outward distresse; Lord, give unto us seasonable Weather, and Fruitfull Seasons: Lord, turne away thy Judgements, that we feel or fear, or are liable unto, whether Famine, Pestilence, Sword, or any other. With all outward means of salvation, be graciously pleased to powre out the spirit of Grace into our hearts, causing us to attaine such a measure of the Excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord, and in him of the things which belong to our Peace, that we may account all things but as dung in comparison of him; and that we tasting the first fruits of the glory that is to be revealed, may long for a more full and perfect Communion with him, that where he is we may be also, and enjoy the fulnesse of those joyes and pleasures which are at thy Right hand for evermore; and all this through the same Christ Jesus, our onely Mediator and Advocate. Amen.

After this prayer, a Psalm may be sung, and the conclusion may be with a Thanksgiving and Blessing.

The Thanksgiving

We give thee thanks, most gracious Father, the Fountain of every good and perfect gift, for all thy blessings, both Spirituall and Temporall; especially, for thy great love, in sending thy Son Christ Jesus unto us; for the Communication of thy holy spirit, for the light and liberty of thy glorious Gospel, and the rich heavenly blessings revealed therein, as namely, our Election, Vocation, Adoption, Justification, Sanctification, and hope of glory; for the admirable goodnesse of God in freeing the land from Antichristian darknesse and Tyranny, and for all other Nationall deliverances: We bless thee for the Reformation of our Religion, our continuall preservation, and for many other Temporall blessings. We pray thee for the continuance of all thy favours and blessings, and particularly of thy Gospel, and all the Ordinance thereof, in their purity, power, and liberty. We pray thee make thy word powerfull, that it may abide in our hearts, and bring forth fruit in our lives and conversations. We beseech thee fit and prepare us for death, and judgement, and that we may watch for the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. We intreat thee forgive the iniquity of our holy things, and accept of our Spirituall sacrifices, through the merit and mediation of our great High Priest and Saviour, the Lord Christ Jesus, Amen.

Prayer for a Blessing.

The Lord blesse us, and keep us; the Lord make his face to shine upon us, and be gracious unto us; the Lord lift up his countenance upon us, and give us his Peace; And the very God of Peace, sanctifie us wholly, that our whole spirit, soul and body, may be preserved blamelesse unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ: And the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God the Father, and the Communion of the Holy Ghost be with us all, Amen.

A Prayer particularly fitted for those that travell upon the Seas.

O Lord, who art the hope of the ends of the Earth, and of those that are upon the wide Sea, by whose Providence men go down to the Sea in Ships, and follow businesse in great Waters, we pray thee to take both Ship and persons under thy protection and preservation; and let a blessing come from thee upon our businesses and endeavours. And, Lord, though we by our sins have deserved rather curses then blessings, yet we pray thee to deal with us, not according to our sins and our own deservings, but according to thy infinite free mercy, and the merits of thy son Christ Jesus, which are of an infinite value. Behold us in him, we beseech thee, in whom thou art well pleased, and in him be well pleased with us. And, Lord, we pray thee that he may be unto us not onely justification from the guilt of sin, but sanctification to deliver us from the power and service of sin that we may be partakers of his Holinesse, without which no man shall see thee. And, Lord, while we are upon the Seas, cause us to take notice of thy great works, for thou hast made the Sea, and therein creatures innumerable, both small and great; And while wee behold things created by thee, let our hearts be lifted up to thee who hast created them; to worship thee, to love thee, and to serve thee; by whom, and for whom all things were created. Keep us, Lord, from storms and tempests, and if they shall arise, let thy word come forth, and turn the storm into a calm, make the Waters still, and bring us in a good season, to the Haven of our desires. In the mean time, preserve us also from Sea-thieves, Enemies, and other dangers to which our Voyages are subject; And, Lord, when thou shalt preserve us, and bring us home in safety, give us grace to be truly and really thankfull to thee, and to expresse our Thankfulnesse in a holy life and conversation; that we may serve, and please thee, who preservest us. And let not thy often preservations of us, make us the lesse sensible of them, but rather the more thankfull to thee for them; For, Lord we confesse, such is the corruption of our nature, that when we often passe through dangers, and escape them, we take lesse notice of thy gracious providence and preservation in them; whereas we should be the more thankfull to thee, the more thou multipliest thy favours upon us. But, Lord, yet very far be it from us, upon our returns to return to folly and sin, and that we, whom thou preservest, should offend thee by sinfull courses, in stead of serving thee, and being thankfull to thee; For, then mayest thou justly come upon us by thy judgements, in an hour which we think

not on, and let in the Seas and other dangers upon us, to swallow us up and devour us, and after give us our portion in a Lake of Fire that burneth for evermore; But, Lord, we pray thee to guide us ever by thy grace, and not to leave us to our selves and our own corruptions, but through all the passages of this our pilgrimage, both upon Sea and Land, leade us by thy good Spirit, and bring us at last to the true Haven of Blessedness and place of rest, which is above in thy presence, where is fullnesse of joy, and where are pleasures for evermore. Hear us, O Lord, and accept our persons and prayers, through thy beloved son, Christ Jesus, who, sitting at thy right hand, makes intercession for us; to whom with the Almighty Father, and the most blessed and holy Spirit, be all honour, service and praise, from this time forth for evermore, Amen.

A Prayer in a Storm.

O Lord, we acknowledge, that by thy own Providence and will, this storm is now come upon us; for thy Word hath taught us, that thou commandest and raisest the stormy Winds which lift up the waves of the Sea, so that they mount up to the Heaven, and go down again to the Depths and the souls of men are melted because of trouble, and they are at their wits ends. And, Lord, we confesse that we have sins enough to draw down all thy storms upon us, and to overwhelm us with all thy waves: But, Lord, we beseech thee to make our hearts to search themselves, as for all sins, so for those especially which may draw down this great Tempest upon us; and let us cast out these sins as the Marriners cast out Jonah, and let the wind and Sea cease from their raging. And, Lord, we pray thee that we may so cast them out, that we may never take them in again, lest greater storms overtake us; For we acknowledge, that where sin is, there must storms be expected; Storms and Tempests, Fire and Brimstone are the portion of sinners; grant us also such grace, that we may not only hate our sins and cast them out, because they are followed with storms and Judgements; but because they are odious in themselves, being contrary to thy Righteous Law, and to thee who are the Fountain and Rule of Righteousnesse. And Lord, let us also take thy Son Christ Jesus into our souls to sanctifie them, and Raign in them, remembring also that Christ Jesus makes a Calm in the souls where he Raigns, for being justified by him, we have Peace with God; and he also when he was here below, being in the Ship, made a calm there also, and commanded the winds to be still: Lord, we pray thee, grant at this time both these calms unto us; for as thy Word told us, that when thou commandest, a storm ariseth, so it also sheweth us, that when men cry to thee in their trouble, thou bringest them out of their distresse, thou makest the storm a calm, and the waves of the Sea are still; then are men glad because they be quiet, and thou bringest them to their desired Haven. Lord, we beseech thee, let it be now to thy servants according to this thy word, and then let that also be done which justly followeth: Let us Praise the Lord for his goodnesse, and his wonderfull workes

to the sons of men; Let us Exalt thee in the Congregation of the People, and Praise thee in the Assembly of the Elders: And of the Heathen Marriners which carried Jonah, being delivered from the storm, did fear the Lord exceedingly, and offered Sacrifice to the Lord, and made Vows; Let us much more who have the light of the Gospel in so great a measure beyond them, fear thee greatly, and offer to thee the Sacrifices of Praise, and make Vows of better Obedience: And, Lord, having made such Vows, assist us by thy grace that we may perform them; and cause us all our lives to carry with us, and in us, the same thoughts and resolutions of holinesse and good Conversation, which we have when we are in a storm, and not obey thee worse after deliverances, then we resolved to do in dangers. And, Lord, howsoever thou shalt please to dispose of us, we do here cast our selves down under thy Mighty hand; we submit our selves to thee, as the clay to the Potter, to do with us what is good in thy sight; for thou hast promised that all shall turn to good to those whom thou hast chosen: And hast further shewed us, that neither life nor death can separate us from thy love that is in Christ Jesus; Let it be so unto thy servants, let thy love alwayes be towards us in Christ Jesus the Son of thy Love: Whatsoever Judgements fall on our bodies, let our souls be saved by the Lord Jesus; Let us so be knit unto him by a lively Faith, that we may be partakers of him, and in him, of life Eternal: And having a sure hope and confidence hereof, let us desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ, which is best of all; and at our dissolution, speak with assurance to be heard, Lord Jesus Receive our Spirits: Hear us, O Lord, and grant us our Petitions, and whatsoever thy wisdom knows to be best for us, which is far beyond all that we can ask or think, and all for the sake of thy Son and our blessed Saviour, through whom alone we and our Prayers have accesse unto thee; to whom with thy Glorious self, and most Holy Spirit, be all Honour and Glory, Praise and Thanksgiving, Service and Obedience, from this time forth, and for evermore, Amen.

FINIS

FREE WILL OR ELECTION: CONFLICT IN A SUSSEX CHURCH, 1877-78

Heathfield Independent Chapel owed its formation to George Gilbert who played an outstanding part in the revival of religion in Sussex from 1767 until the 1820s.¹ Gilbert's own early career epitomised the new spirit of the times for after several years of active army service he was converted to Calvinistic Methodism and afterwards he often conducted services for his fellow soldiers. In 1767 Gilbert went to work at Heathfield Park for his former commanding officer, General Elliot (1st Lord Heathfield) who encouraged him to pursue a full-time ministry. He was a persuasive preacher at Heathfield, Rotherfield and Crowborough and other places in East Sussex. Gilbert came to be widely admired and respected for his evangelism though early on he had met with a good deal of Anglican hostility.² He was also active from the outset in the work undertaken by the Society for Spreading the Gospel in the Dark Towns and Villages of Sussex formed in 1803 and in the first Congregational/Independent Associations in the County. From 1788 until 1808 the Congregational Fund Board made Gilbert annual grants of from £5 to £8.

John Press who succeeded Gilbert as Minister of the Independent Chapel stated in December 1836 that the Heathfield Church was formed in 1767,³ but in his brief sketch of its early history he also recorded that it was formed in 1777.⁴ Gilbert began his preaching at Heathfield in 1767 but probably there was not a Church covenant until 1777. Though Press became Co-Pastor with Gilbert in 1811 it was Gilbert who dominated the whole life of the Church until shortly before his death in 1827.⁵

It was Gilbert's own theological outlook which provided the basis of the *Articles of Faith* which were set down in a new Church Book in 1814. The internal evidence suggests that Gilbert himself drafted

¹George Gilbert was a Sussex man: born 28 April 1741 at Rotherfield died 23 March 1827 at Heathfield.

²Almost alone of Sussex Nonconformists Gilbert was given a place in the longer notices in Mark Anthony Lower: *The Sussex Worthies* (1865).

³In the Certificate he then signed for the transmission of the Church's Registers to the Commissioners.

⁴This sketch in Press' own hand is in the Heathfield Church Book dating 1814. The Church Book has been deposited on loan with the East Sussex Record Office, Lewes.

⁵John Press began his work at Heathfield on 23 February 1811. He was ordained Pastor on 23 April 1829 and served the Heathfield Chapel until his death on 2 August 1846. The first two of the Church's ministers thus served it for almost 80 years.

these Articles.⁶ Articles II and III stated the Church's position about Election and Original Sin:

Of Election

God hath of his Electing love, Chosen his people in Christ to Salvation in the Everlasting Covenant of Grace, without any free will or Goodness foreseen in, or Works done by them, but God's free choice of them. And Effectual Calling, Repentance, Faith, Pardon of Sins, Justification, Sanctification and Final Perseverance, Are the Effects of Electing Love; and Good Works are the Fruit of these Graces. . . .⁷

Of Original Sin

Every Man born into this world is by Nature a Child of Wrath, a partaker of Adam's Guilt, under the Curse of the Law, Dead to and at Enmity against God, and Must for ever remain in that State as to any thing he Can do of himself . . .

That Gilbert attached considerable importance to the **Articles of Faith** is clear from the explicit test for Church membership laid down in Article 11:

No person refusing to subscribe to the above Articles will be received as a Member of the said Church.

In this context it is interesting to note that Gilbert and his congregation had a cordial relationship with the local Particular Baptists who for many years had no church of their own in Heathfield. In 1809 Jacob Martell (or Martel) was called to be Co-Pastor with Gilbert and he shared the latter's Calvinistic outlook but in the same year Martell's strong views against Infant Baptism led to a breach with Gilbert for as John Press put it in his historical sketch:

He Embraced the Sentiment of Adult Baptism by Immersion and was ejected.⁸

In 1810 the Heathfield Church resolved that:

Persons of the Baptist Denomination shall if they Request It, be allowed to sett down at the Lord's Table as Occasional Communicants — But are not to have a Voice in the affairs of the Church.⁹

⁶It is not certain that these *Articles of Faith* as entered in the Church Book date only from 1814 but as they were signed by John Press as 'Assistant' as well as by Gilbert as 'Pastor' they were given this form after the end of 1810 even if they incorporated some statement of faith prepared at an earlier date.

⁷There followed numerous quotations from the New Testament and from Paul's Letters in particular. There were in all 11 Articles but the last two were concerned with Church membership and ordering.

⁸Martell went from Heathfield to the Burwash Independent Church in 1810 where he discontinued the former practice of Infant Baptism. The Burwash Register thus has a gap in Baptisms from May 1810 until October 1815. Martell was called to the Baptist Church at Deal and was set apart there on 13 March 1816.

⁹In 1829 there was at the end of the Church Membership list a further list of the names of 13 Baptists who were: 'Admitted as Communicants but not entitled to Vote.'

Against this background the Heathfield Church long continued to regard the *Articles of Faith* as their 'Ark of the Covenant.' Even if the rank and file of the members and of the congregation did not have a firm grasp of the theology of the Articles the Deacons (later the all powerful Trustees) continued to stress their importance and immutability. There is nothing to suggest that any Minister or member had questioned these until the year 1877.

When the challenge came it arose in the Sunday School which had been formed in 1811. As happened in other Churches there was sometimes a good deal of friction between the Deacons or Trustees and the Sunday School teachers about control of the School and the rights of the staff. In 1844 the Management Committee then in office insisted that the Accounts of the Sunday School must be open to their inspection. On the evidence of the Church Book there was no issue over the *Articles of Faith* until 1877 when George Daws was an active Superintendent of the Sunday School. The likelihood is that during this year the Trustees became seriously concerned not only about Daws' independent attitude to management of the School but also about his theological outlook.

At their meeting on 27 November 1877 the Trustees were evidently determined to assert what they regarded as their rightful authority over the Superintendent and his Staff. They approved unanimously the following set of Rules for the Sunday School:

1. That the Minister for the time being have the entire Spiritual oversight of the School.
2. That the Trustees shall always appoint Superintendent whenever a vacancy occurs.
3. That there be only one Treasurer for the Sunday School and chapel.
4. That the Secretary and Treasurer with the pastor as President have a place and a vote in all Teachers Meetings.

Though these Rules did not refer to the *Articles of Faith* as such the decision that the Minister should have 'the entire Spiritual oversight of the School' was plainly intended to enforce a check on the views of the Superintendent and his staff, and the insistence on admitting the Church Officers to all Teachers' Meetings was a strong warning to Daws. That Daws had been especially troubled over the Article on election became explicitly clear when just before Christmas 1877 the Trustees and the Teachers met together so that the Trustees could inform the staff of the new Rules for the Sunday School:

The Meeting had been arranged to discuss the rules laid down by the Trustees at their Meeting. After these had been explained the Superintendent stated that he could not agree to teach the Articles of the Church as he did not believe them. He stated he believed that Man was a Free Agent either to choose or refuse Salvation as he thought proper and could be saved at his own will or at any time. This being the Case one of the Trustees said —

we cannot discuss the Articles — they are there — all we can do is to carry them out. It was then decided to leave the Matter in the Trustees hands for them to decide the Matter.

The Trustees met again on Sunday evening 30 December to consider their next moves:

1. Mr. Brook then gave a statement of the preceding Meeting after which it was unanimously decided that if the Superintendent did not believe the Articles it would be better for him to resign, Carried unanimously.
2. It was further resolved that in order to give him a last chance to appoint Brothers Brook and S. Winchester to wait on him next Sabbath and report. Carried unanimously.

On the following Sabbath the two Brothers above named met the Superintendent at Mr. Piper's Chapel Cottage when a lengthened conversation took place with no very satisfactory result.

On Sunday 13 January 1878 the Trustees met before Morning Service: The Deputation then gave in their report as to their interview with the Superintendent stating that they could get nothing satisfactory from him. The Trustees were about to decide that the deputation should return to him and desire him to resign — Brother Brook objected to this course and said he was being blamed for it all and he proposed that the Trustees meet after the present Morning Service and request Mr. Daws to meet them in the Chapel House. The pastor requested the Trustees not to desire his presence at that meeting but to do what they had to do without him — the request was unanimously acceded to.¹⁰

And so after the Morning Service the Trustees met again with George Daws to bring the matter to a final conclusion:

. . . the Question being put: do you believe our Articles. Ans. Some of them. After a long meeting it was thought by a majority of the Trustees that it would be desirable that the Supt. resign. The Supt. resigned by giving up the Keys to Mr. Buckland. The Pastor received the Keys and was appointed Superintendent.

Not surprisingly after such an episode George Daws 'withdrew' from membership of the Church and the membership list records that Mrs. Daws was 'dismissed'.

The Trustees had won the battle but they were not content to rely for the future on the Rules which they had drawn up the previous November. In the Spring of 1878 they formulated another set of Rules in more authoritarian terms:

¹⁰The Pastor was Josephus Lemm who was first appointed in February 1877 for 12 months and then in November 1877 for a further 12 months. He was invited to be permanent Pastor on 31st December 1878 and he served until his death on 28 September 1906. The Church Book leaves the impression of a mild man who wished always to avoid conflict.

2. That the Minister have the entire Spiritual oversight of the School. He being the President and the Chapel Trustees the *Vice Presidents*.
 3. The Teaching of the School shall always be in accordance with the Articles of faith as laid down in the Trust Book and supplied to each member of the Church.
 5. In order that there may be a perfect unanimity between the Church and School one Treasurer and Secretary shall act for both.
 6. The Teachers shall meet as often as necessity occurs each Teacher being in perfect equality in all points one as another — showing by example and precept that they love one another. The Treasurer and Secretary shall have a vote and a voice in all Teachers Meetings.
 8. The Teachers shall on all occasions co-operate with the Church and the Church with the Teachers and both with the Trustees all seeking not their own but God's Glory and the Edification of the whole Church — Union is strength Division is weakness.
- Final — Let each Teacher strive to show him and herself 'A Good Soldier of Jesus Christ' determining not to give or take offence — but placing the most charitable construction on everything that they do not quite understand — that to err is human while to forgive is divine.

There is nothing in the Church Book to suggest that the Sunday School staff were ever again at odds with the Trustees over the *Articles of Faith* or that they tried to reduce the power of the Trustees over the ordering of the Sunday School. But it looks as though the School was much weakened by this episode and the loss of George Daws' services.

There may well have been a number of episodes of this character between the Sunday School and the Deacons or Trustees in other Sussex Churches during the latter part of the nineteenth century because so many had such strong Calvinistic covenants but most of the Church Books of the period are reticent about incidents which might seem to show lack of unity. It is unusual to find so full an account of an episode which adds much to an understanding of the life and experience of a congregation set in a predominantly rural part of Sussex.

N. CAPLAN

LIBRARY ACQUISITIONS

Fasti of the Reformed (Covenanters) Presbyterian Church of Ireland 1970.

Nonconformist Congregations in Great Britain (Dr. Williams's Trust, 1973).

The Broad Canvas, the History of my Mother's family, by L. J. Cameron (1974) — presented.

REVIEWS

Contrasting Communities: English Villages in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. By Margaret Spufford. Pp. xxxvi+374. Cambridge University Press, 1974. £7.70.

This is a courageous piece of work, undertaken under conditions of prolonged stress and disability. It is also ambitious. Its aim is no less than to study 'the economy, social structure, opportunities for elementary schooling, and religious beliefs of three contrasting villages' in the south of Cambridgeshire, which in 1524 'was still one of the most densely populated areas in the country, judging from the number of people able to pay tax within it'. The villages are 'Chippenham, which lies on the chalk, but has a couple of hundred acres of fen common; Orwell, which lies on the spring line at the edge of the western clay uplands, but runs down to the river valley below; and Willingham, which was a true fen settlement'.

The book is divided into three Parts. 'People, Families and Land' is the title of the first and longest (167 pages); 'Parishioners and their Religion' covers 134 pages; Part 2, 'The Schooling of the Peasantry', runs to only 49 pages. Cross-references are frequent, but the three Parts are not closely co-ordinated. Part 1 is illustrated by ten maps, five graphs and fourteen tables. Much of this is technical and may be expert. Part 3, which pays much attention to the villagers' inclination to Dissent, is likely to be of greater interest to readers of this JOURNAL. This part is regrettably unsystematic, ill arranged, confused in its references to sources, unreliable in transcription and marred with misprints, not all of them obvious, e.g. Williamson (256 and index) for Wilkinson, or 'British Scholars' (285) for 'British Scholars'. The conforming Rector of Cottenham, John Nye, is confused with the Congregational Philip Nye and the Declaration of Indulgence with the Act of Toleration. More alarmingly, a name read as Nicholas Johnson in a facsimile on an earlier page (198) is clearly Moses Johnson.

The unusual variety of Dr. Spufford's interests makes possible a number of illuminating suggestions, and her perceptive originality is always stimulating. She draws on several unpublished sources, from wills, inventories and hearth tax returns, to the church books of Cottenham, Melbourn and Willingham and manuscripts preserved at Friends House. She also draws on her own papers in the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's *Proceedings*, the Ecclesiastical History Society's *Studies* and the Congregational Historical Society's *Transactions*. It is a pity that her use of printed sources is so uncertain. She has seen in Lyon Turner's *Original Records*, for instance, that in 1669 a conventicle met at Orwell in the house of John Adams, who, she tells us, was a small yeoman with about twenty acres of arable; but she has not noticed that the conventicle also met in the house of Christopher Adams, who she tells us, was a considerable yeoman with

forty sheep. From a tract by Samuel Cater, a Cambridgeshire Baptist turned Quaker and at the time 'a poor Journey-man Carpenter',¹ which describes a public dispute between the Cambridgeshire Congregational leader, Francis Holcroft, and himself, she relates how Holcroft, when challenged by Cater to read out *Titus* 2.11, was charged with altering the passage as he read it, claiming 'I Read it as it is in the Greek'; but she has missed a further tract by Cater containing a statement signed by fourteen villagers, to the effect that the word Holcroft (unjustifiably) omitted was the crucial word *all*. She twice mentions a reply to John Bunyan by a Cambridge alderman who was a Quaker, James Blackley; but she has not picked up from *Walker Revised* (a source she uses) that Blackley earlier seized thirty muskets from the Rector of Orwell. Nor has she a word about the itinerant cobbler-preacher Thomas Worden, author of the popular book *The Types Unveiled*, who spent some time at Willingham. Yet Orwell and Willingham are two of her three main villages. Most surprising of all is her omission of all reference to Agnes Beaumont, the importance of whose autobiographic *Narrative of the Persecution*, G. B. Harrison wrote when he edited it, lies precisely 'in its 'impression of the mentality of an English village'. Agnes' home was at Edworth, over the Bedfordshire border; but her narrative is all about her going to a church meeting — 'a blessed meeting to my soul indeed' — at Gamlingay, in Cambridgeshire, riding behind Bunyan on horseback, and the trouble she got into as a consequence.

Dr. Spufford draws attention to the fact that seven Cambridgeshire villages, including Cottenham and Willingham, which 'stood out as nonconformist centres in 1676', are among the nine villages which produced more than half of the (over 100) identifiable signatures in a Cambridgeshire petition against Bishop Wren back in 1640. This is a good evidence of a tendency to Dissent. The argument that, conversely, religious radicalism in Cambridgeshire owed little either to itinerant evangelists such as the Baptist Denne or the Quaker Parnell or to the ministers ejected from their livings in 1662, including Holcroft, is less convincing. That no dissenting church met in Bassingbourn after Holcroft's ejection from the living may be surprising, but in the heroic days the *place* of meeting had less significance: a church drew its members from many parishes and would meet now in one parish, now in another. It is in the nature of Dissent to ignore parochial boundaries. Some Gamlingay villagers belonged to Bunyan's Bedford church, others to the Cambridgeshire church centred on Croydon-cum-Clopton, others again to the church at Warboys in Huntingdonshire. These Dissenters would admire Mrs. Spufford's ardent, undaunted spirit, but they have evaded her endeavours to reduce them to order as successfully as they once escaped the bishops' pursuivants.

G. F. NUTTALL

¹F. Bugg, *Pilgrim's Progress*, 1698, p. 33; by 1699 he was 'a Factor to send Butter to London' with 'two Acres and a half of Arable Land in the Fields' (*Ann Docwra, Apostate Conscience Exposed*, 1699, p. 40).

Two Calvinistic Methodist Chapels: the London Tabernacle and Spa Fields Chapel, edited by Dr. Edwin Welch, formerly research secretary of the Congregational Historical Society. (London Record Society, Leicester University Library: 1975. £4.50. £3.15 to members of the URCHS).

The above volume will contain the text of two manuscripts of particular interest to the United Reformed Church History Society. The Tabernacle manuscript (National Library of Wales Trevecka MS. 2946) comprises not only the minutes of Whitefield's first London chapel from 1743 to 1747, but also the minutes of the English Association providing much information about churches in England which are now part of the United Reformed Church. The other manuscript (from Cheshunt College, Cambridge) contains the minutes of the Countess of Huntingdon's 'cathedral' at Spa Fields for the late eighteenth century and includes the record of a number of ordinations of ministers from the Countess's College. Dr. Welch has provided an introduction discussing the English Calvinistic Methodists and showing how most of their early churches became Congregational while the later churches joined the Connexion.

The London Record Society hopes to publish the volume in the summer of 1975 and wishes to offer it to members of the United Reformed Church History Society at the subscription price of £3.15 including postage. (It will be normally available to non-members at £4.50).

John Knox: A Quartercentenary Reappraisal. Ed. by Duncan Shaw. Pp. 79. St Andrew Press, 1975. £1.75.

This beautifully-produced volume contains the Lectures given at the celebrations to mark the four-hundredth anniversary of Knox's death. Professor Gordon Rupp presents a vivid picture of the European background of Knox's life. Professor Gordon Donaldson reassesses the personality and policy of Knox. David Murison of Edinburgh University gives a fresh and authoritative estimate of Knox's writings. The Editor adds a notable analysis of the issues at stake in the encounters between Knox and Mary Queen of Scots. The work is a valuable addition to Knoxian studies.

R.B.K.

Bunhill Fields, City Road, E.C.2. Prepared by the Corporation of London, 1974. Free copies available.

This is a very interesting brochure giving brief accounts of some of the famous figures whose remains are buried in this graveyard. Many of them are of especial interest to those in the non-conformist tradition.