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EDITORS: Revd. Dr. R. BUICK KNOX, M.A., B.D., and  
Dr. CLYDE BINFIELD, M.A.  
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## Editorial

We record with deep regret the sudden death of two members of the Council of the Society.

Mr. J. H. Anderson had recently joined the Council and had accepted the office of Treasurer. The Society will continue to benefit from the care which he gave to its finances during his brief tenure of office.

The Revd. J. E. Newport, Tutor and President of Cheshunt College and of the Cheshunt College Foundation from 1959 to 1977, served the Council, as one of the members appointed by the United Reformed Church, since the inception of the Society. He was a recent contributor to the *Journal*.

The Joint Secretary of the Society, Mr. A. G. Esslemont, has recovered from a serious road accident, and resumed his work for the Society. His enforced but temporary withdrawal is a reminder of our continued indebtedness to him.

### NOTES

An Index to Volume One of the *Journal* has been prepared by Mr. R. J. Watson and circulated to members. Further copies may be obtained on application to the Secretaries.

The Revd. J. F. Marquis bequeathed £1,000 "for the promotion of historical research on the Free Churches in the nineteenth century". The fund set up for this purpose is administered jointly by the Senatus of Westminster College, Cambridge, and the Council of the United Reformed Church History Society (as successor to the Presbyterian Historical Society of England). Applications for grants from the fund should be made to the Secretary of the United Reformed Church History Society at 86 Tavistock Place, London WC 1H 9 RT.

## CONGREGATIONALISM'S BAPTIST GRAND-MOTHERS AND METHODIST GREAT AUNTS: THE PLACE OF FAMILY IN A FELT RELIGION

"The reader might smile at what seems the exaggeration of saying that a genealogical list in the book of Chronicles can be a means of grace, but has he forgotten that Christ has come with him into that silent record of the past; does he not remember that Christ is the Son of Man, and that all the generations of mankind that have been, and that are to be, are the parts of a body, of which Christ is the Head?"<sup>1</sup>

Victorian Nonconformists thought in individuals, and took to heart the problems of relating individuals to community. The strength of the Nonconformist community lay in its spontaneity: it was a free association of redeemed souls, locally autonomous, unbounded by parochial restraints.

Naturally there were constraints. The covenant relationship, common to most Baptist and Congregational churches, was one. It might smell too much of a joint-stock transaction between traders, but it bound man and man as well as man and God; it added a mystique to the common-sense spontaneity; it expressed God's Truth as well as the immediate needs of His workers.

Family life was another. Redeemed souls still lived in families, ideally of other redeemed souls, but not always so. The communal ties of family life cut across the associational ties of church life, localising them, sometimes compromising them.

There was a further complexity. At county or national level Nonconformist ties were more purely associational. This could lead to a discontinuity between the local and the national, and this underlay many of the tensions within Methodism, whose local organisation was more communal, and whose national organisations were more sophisticated than elsewhere in Nonconformity.<sup>2</sup>

There was also a discontinuity among Baptists, shown in the suspicion with which many Baptist churches regarded the Baptist Union. Yet there would appear to have been no such discontinuity with the Congregationalists. Their national union was later than the Baptists' but it was stronger. Its pretensions were jealously scrutinised, but its leading men belonged to families who were firmly rooted in local churches, and active in county unions. There was a communal as well as an associational reality throughout Congregationalism which bore out the self-satisfied remarks of denominational leaders about unity being best achieved in freedom.

The crux of the matter was the balance between family and association. Methodist Societies and Baptist and Congregational Churches had believers at their core. Anybody could be adherents but membership could only be for

<sup>1</sup>R.F. Horton, *The Open Secret: A Manual of Devotion*, 2nd ed., 1905, pp. 81-82.

<sup>2</sup>R. Moore has analysed an instructive example of such discontinuity in the Methodism of the Deerness Valley in County Durham in *Pit-Men, Preachers and Politics: The Effects of Methodism in a Durham Mining Community*, C.U.P., 1974, p. 129. Quakerism is a striking exception: its spontaneity was institutionalised, its local organisation was communal, its national organisation complete—but it was almost tensionless and there was no discontinuity.

believers. Membership was decisive and therefore divisive, but it was Non-conformity's power—and it was best understood in family terms since mere association turned naturally into family relationships. So it was that Cromwell's Ironside's lived on in Victorian Free Churchmen, and that national networks were cemented: of 82 presidents of the Baptist Union and 93 chairmen of the Congregational Union from their inception until 1925, at least 50 (18 Baptists and 32 Congregationalists) were mutual connexions.<sup>3</sup>

The crucial thing was to maintain the balance. That most familial of associations, the Religious Society of Friends, had lost it. Their membership had become a birthright and until 1859 marriage outside the Society incurred disownment. What the Quakers gained in cohesion they lost in numbers and life. Biological growth on its own was insufficient for the families of God.

Nonetheless it would be foolish to play down its importance. It was not just a question of linking nineteenth-century Congregationalists with seventeenth-century Ironsides. It was also a question of keeping alive the prospect of an alternative order even where the traditional order was all too firmly established, as in so much of the countryside.

Even there a Dissenting network had grown since the seventeenth-century from farm to mill, to shop, to manse, to manor-house, a spiral of kinship embracing all denominations and all sectors of society from the small tenant farmer's labourer cousin to the noble lord's mercantile kinsman, expressing values and relationships which cut across those of a parochial society, reaching out to those flourishing in the new industrial society, endowing both with a fascinating, unquantifiable dimension.

If family relationships cemented the threat of the alternative society in the countryside, they forwarded its promise in the cities and industrial towns. P. F. Clarke, in his analysis of Liberalism in Edwardian Lancashire, has stressed the "pervasive social influence of . . . denominational prejudice", and its effect in building up a hinterland of sympathy on which, if the prejudice were Nonconformist, Liberals might draw.<sup>4</sup> This hinterland went beyond the committed membership of the churches. It was not power, but it was influence.

In South East Lancashire especially, where small boroughs ran into each other, and their citizens' business and political interests overlapped, as well as their religious and family concerns, kinship became second nature and reform and cooperation almost a way of life.<sup>5</sup> It reached its most sublime expression in the Rylands Library, and its most suggestive in Lancashire's donations to Mansfield College, Oxford, but its best memorials are Albion Chapel, Ashton-under-Lyne, and *Grey Pastures*, W. Haslam Mills's evocation of life in Albion's predecessor.<sup>6</sup>

Above all, however, the alternative society, as expressed in families, was a suburban society, neither rural nor urban, but suburban, contrived, simulating all that was traditional in society but the product of all that cut across

<sup>3</sup>J. C. G. Binfield, "Congregationalism's Two Sides of the Baptistry — A Paedobaptist View", *Baptist Quarterly*, Vol. XXV, July 1975, No. 3, p. 120.

<sup>4</sup>P. F. Clarke, *Lancashire and the New Liberalism*, C.U.P., 1971, p. 19.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>6</sup>W. Haslam Mills, *Grey Pastures*, 1924.

tradition, a distributors' society, a society for Altrincham or New Brighton, Brixton or Hampstead, or Tunbridge Wells.

In the twentieth century, as in the first half of the eighteenth century, Nonconformity's continuance depended on the faith of its families, and thus as much on the birthrate as on the social, intellectual and spiritual fluctuations of articulate living. The intervening evangelical outpouring had profound implications for churchmanship and status and attitude, but however massive it was still an infusion of individuals caught up in families; of common experience understood even where not shared; of a familial outworking in the orchards, groves and paddocks of old Sunday walled gardens enlarged into weekday landscaped estates. Denominational prejudice's growing hinterland of sympathy was a family affair.

"In 1881 I deliberately burned the correspondence of five generations — that is to say the letters of my grandfather and of his immediate ancestors through four generations . . . the perusal of them left a deeply painful impression on my mind. The intense preoccupation with so-called spiritual interests; the suffocating atmosphere of a narrow sect resembling that of a close parlour; the grim stern dealing with young souls not properly convinced of sin . . . caught me by the throat and throttled me. I could not bear to think that my own kith and kin, the men and women who had made me, lived in this haunted chamber . . . the spiritual archives of a race who scorned their ancient and decaying gentry, and who boasted — I remember the phrase in one of those letters — that they had been renowned for their piety through two centuries".<sup>7</sup>

Thus John Addington Symonds, interpreting an ancestry singularly rich in initiative and unexpected connexions. Things appeared differently to those who remained within the tradition. Cyrus Armitage, a Lancashire Unitarian contemplating a cousinhood which since the seventeenth century had produced vigorous droves of Quakers, Unitarians and Independents in the West Riding of Yorkshire, South East Lancashire, Nottingham and New England, with brief outposts in Ceylon or the South Seas, naturally concluded that

"An ancestry is but a wider parentage, and the pride of having an ancestry who have been distinguished for their piety, virtue, and integrity, their literary acquisitions, their exertions in the cause of liberty, their municipal or legislative labours for improving the physical, social, and moral condition of society; or their honourable and successful career in that commerce which is destined to bind man to man throughout the length and breadth of the habitable globe; all this pride, I repeat, we may rest assured has its effects for good. . . . Thus we learn that every individual action of life and its daily occurrences have their relative importance, as steps to the mighty events which influence the destinies of nations, whether for good or for evil."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup>Quoted in C. Mackenzie, *My Life and Times: Octave One 1883-1891*, 1963, pp. 19-20.

<sup>8</sup>C. Armitage, *Some Account of the Family of the Armitages from 1662 to the Present Time*, 1850, p. 2.

This was no mere complacency; it was the fruit of sensible observation. How else could religious societies, formed voluntarily, in the face of consistent opposition over several generations, survive other than by using family ties to cement affinities of temperament, and obedience to the call of God?

Cousinhood became Quakerism's stock in trade; the Unitarians' peculiar doctrines and intellectual pretensions fostered it; so did the common polity and Puritan descent of Baptists and Congregationalists. So too did their frequent commercial success. No doubt their honesty had much, and their initiative something, to do with that; so too did their exclusion from other spheres of influence, and the fact that those who live on the frontiers of established society develop the attributes of frontiersmen; but undergirding their common lot and family sympathy there was a religious bond which bred trust as well as similarity; and trust is spacious. Belief fostered relationships, and allowed commerce to breathe and initiatives to be taken. If the trust were ever broken, then church meeting had its own disciplines.

Naturally family connexion transcended sectarian boundaries. It united Baptists and Congregationalists at all levels; Congregationalists had more Unitarian kinsmen than might accord with their evangelical purity, and not all rich Quakers became low Anglicans on leaving Friends — indeed not all Quakers were rich. But where did the new evangelical infusion come in to this successful connexion of piety? Where do the Methodists fit in? For it is strangely difficult to place Methodists, especially Wesleyans, in the dense groves of Free Church genealogy.

"The very pronunciation of the word 'Wesley' was a true indicator; and whenever he saw the Methodist masonic signs, he would root out their history until he found the strain of Methodist blood which claimed his interest, and included its inheritor within the circle of his regard. . . . In Baptists and Independents he had comparatively little interest, except of course in their great leaders. . . . But to the rank and file of these Non-conforming bodies he had never the clan feeling. He hated their introduction of politics into Dissent, and beyond their preaching power they had no hold upon him personally."

This account of Lord Wolverhampton, the first Methodist to be raised to the peerage, is illuminating. It has something to say about that difficult concept for historians, *atmosphere*, and thence, perhaps, polity and doctrine.

At least where the families of note in their denominations were concerned, there seems to have been a distinction between Wesleyans and the rest. Superficially Wolverhampton with his ministerial connexions, political pretensions and great wealth based on a judicious knowledge of what the law allowed, had all the attributes of such Dissenting dynasts as the Baptist Petos or Congregational Crossleys, but he did not relate to his denomination or to other Dissenters in the same way. Perhaps this was because the Wesleyan Society was not a local Church, and the mechanism of commitment was different. Perhaps it was because of a lingering special relationship with the

<sup>9</sup>Edith Henrietta Fowler, *The Life of Henry Hartley Fowler, First Viscount Wolverhampton, G.C.S.I.*, 1912, pp. 526-7.

Church of England; or because of the status of those prime agents of Non-conformist mobility, the ministers. Wesleyan ministers were generally poorer than Congregational ones, and they were more conscious of themselves as an order, with their loyalty to Conference rather than to Circuit or Society. There could not be a great Wesleyan pastorate.

Similar factors, at least where it concerned the mechanism of commitment, helped to distinguish Unitarian or Quaker cousinhoods from Baptist or Congregational ones, but they do not seem to have acted in the same way for the Free Methodist or New Connexion branches of Methodism.

This may be illustrated by an excursion into a family connexion which is a microcosm of the English Nonconformist Conscience: that of Herbert Henry Asquith, and his first wife, Helen Melland. They present an extended genealogy which embraces most Baptist and Congregational families of standing, in which there is a considerable Unitarian infusion, in which—allowing for difference of generation and distance of relationship — there is a Quaker fringe, and from which few of Nonconformity's stage army of Victorian and Edwardian M.Ps. are absent. The country is covered, Lancashire and Yorkshire, cotton and wool, the east and south-west, and London, and the centuries are spanned. But where and what sort are the Methodists?

The answer is suggestive. Among Asquith's own sort one of his Huddersfield uncles, James Willans, married twice into the Norfolk family of Cozens-Hardy. The Cozens-Hardys were a notable Wesleyan family who became the mainstay of Norfolk Free Methodism. Their Free Methodist links remained strong in Norfolk, despite the tendency of younger members to move into Congregationalism as they married into Congregational families.

Similarly with Helen Asquith's sort: the Mellands belonged to that wealthy confederacy of Congregational cotton men who lived in the secluded villas of Manchester's higher suburbia and worshipped accordingly. Their Methodist links were with Rochdale, that centre of Methodist radicalism, and the Mellands' Methodist kinsmen were the Booths, Petries, Ashworths and Heapes, pacesetters of Rochdale Liberalism, who made Baillie Street Chapel a national power in Free Methodism. More immediately Helen Asquith's father was a Manchester man who effected a gentle untrumpeted transition from Congregationalism to Unitarianism, her mother was a Rochdale Congregationalist with Baptist connexions, and her step-mother was a Darlington Free Methodist.

The connexion may be extended. Ashton-under-Lyne was to Manchester Congregationalism what Rochdale was to Manchester Methodism. Rochdale's Baillie Street Chapel has gone, but Ashton's Albion remains as one of the last of the Nonconformist Cathedrals. Ashton's Nonconformist face was that of Albion's leading man, Hugh Mason, manufacturer, Liberal, authoritarian, philanthropist, M.P., the dominant figure in *Grey Pastures*; but Mason had been formed by the Stamford Street New Connexion Chapel, and his third wife was a Rochdale Free Methodist.

It would seem that the Methodist foliage for Nonconformist families of standing belonged to the younger branches of Methodism rather than to the

Wesleyan trunk.<sup>10</sup> It would also seem that such Methodists tended to share the political and religious outlook of the older Evangelical Nonconformity, not because that outlook was inherent in dissident Methodism so much as because it was recreated by the stresses of disruption. Such links naturally varied in intensity. Perhaps they occurred less where Methodism of all sorts was strong than where New Connexion or Free Methodism was especially strong.

So far "strength" has been regarded as synonymous with social position, which might explain the absence of Primitive Methodists from this cousinly scene. Among the generality of Nonconformists, a stage or two below the opinion-forming notables, the distinctions are localised and blurred.

If there is a sense in which we all have Baptist grandmothers, it is also true that each of us has a Methodist grandfather, or at least a Methodist great-aunt. Not only is Methodism the largest section of English Nonconformity, but to outside eyes all Nonconformists are Methodists. An examination of the composition of any local Free Church would appear to bear this out, and so would the verbal religious traditions of countless families and the written memories of countless individuals. Methodism in the shape of hymns, sermons, Sunday Schools, Watch nights, conversion experiences, has entered the lives of Baptists and Congregationalists without number.

This, perhaps, is the continuing reflection of the spontaneously associative, evangelical, popular, undenominational outpouring of the eighteenth century revival which W. R. Ward has celebrated and whose hardening he regrets.<sup>11</sup> Yet even here the constraints of family, the subtle disciplines of atmosphere, personality, the charms of symbolism and the intellectual attractions of distinctive churchmanship play their part. It may be that a study concerned with Nonconformity's opinion formers should pick on the middling generality rather than the notables, and this might be a surer way of assessing the essence of Baptists and Methodists; but if Congregationalism be accepted as Nonconformity's mean, it might seem that Congregational attitudes more consistently covered their denominational board. The attitudes of their opinion forming families intermingled with those of their rank and file. Theirs too were family attitudes.

The nature of the rank and file had greatly changed in the century after the outpouring. In the 1800s Nonconformity's catchment area lay in the teeming artisan belt dividing the unskilled from the professional classes. In the 1900s it lay with the lower middle classes, the white collar proletariat.

This was more than a change of class: it was a sign of the extent to which Nonconformity had left its deep-sea fishing for souls to concentrate on rapidly depleting home waters, for the lower middle classes were the largest group to remain amenable to organised religion.

The lower middle classes occupied the "Mahomet's coffin" of society, distinct from the masses and disliked by them, genteel but never gentle, with the incomes of skilled workers and the pretensions of their betters, servantless

<sup>10</sup>Of course there are exceptions, notably in the Holden-illingworth cousinhood: but I think that even this exception, on examination, proves the rule.

<sup>11</sup>W. R. Ward, *Religion and Society in England 1790-1850*, 1972, *passim*.

but suburban, increasingly mobile, in their relationships as in their surroundings.<sup>12</sup> Their mobility made them rootless, but like all suburbanites they craved roots and found them or made them at home before moving on. They were introverted, intense and private, for privacy is impossible among the servant-holding classes. Theirs was a world of complete unheroism; they were too concerned with the practical immediacy of life to tolerate heroics. It was, above all, a family world: intensely so because it was servantless, practically so because it was penny-pinching. And because it was a penny-pinching world it was a woman's world, or at least a mother's world.

For people of push and go it was less a world than a *poste restante*, and it was here that chapel came into it. Chapel intensified its emotionalism, tended its family roots, petted its practicalities, but chapel also dispersed them, for rhetoric and belief came with chapel. It undermined their parochialism; the luxury of unheroism was the one thing which chapel could not allow. Thus Nonconformist churches became important, disturbing, centres in the desperate normalcy of lower middle class suburbia, galvanising their members into action for Christian mission or Liberal politics, first sanctifying then activating the innocent charms of semi-detached or terraced life.

J. Wallis Chapman, a Baptist architect, urged Baptists to look after men "in the fear of God fostering cricket and rowing, concerts and entertainments, reading rooms and libraries, temperance societies and purity leagues"; he advocated flower shows and drawing classes and "quiet striving that picture galleries should be made available for the people".<sup>13</sup>

Such a harnessing of suburban emotions could congeal into sweetest sentimentality, shielding people at the very time that their intellects were most needed to cope with a growing secular society; and doubtless no great harm was done by it. It also liberated people, and for such as these, whether they remained within Christian disciplines or not, it became a stage to cycle away from. It was in 1894 that the *Ipswich Nonconformist* happily quoted an American sermon.

"The Bicycle is a thoroughly Christian machine, for it improves the temper, discourages dissipation, makes a man look on the bright side of things, and puts vivacity into his religion. I know from experience that a minister can preach better on Sunday if he rides a bicycle on Saturday".<sup>14</sup>

But what of Sunday bicycling? It was in 1900, in Wilmslow, that "the suggestion that the Church should offer cyclists invitation to our evening services in the summer, was considered but not proceeded with for the present".<sup>15</sup> So, for the present, the cyclists pedalled agnostically on.

Atmosphere: familial, middle-class, suburban, Nonconformist, above all Congregationalist, safe — and threatening the alternative society. It might

<sup>12</sup>This section owes much to H. McLeod's essay "White-Collar Values and the Role of Religion". I am grateful to Dr. McLeod for making this available to me before its publication in G. Crossick ed., *The Lower-Middle Class in Britain 1870-1914*, 1977.

<sup>13</sup>*General Baptist Year Book*, 1884, pp. 9-17.

<sup>14</sup>*The Ipswich Nonconformist*, 1894, p. 114.

<sup>15</sup>29 May 1900, Wilmslow Congregational Church *Deacons' Minute Book* No. 3, 1899-1910.

be summarised by Arthur Porritt's account of a day's cricket in the early 1890s with the editor of *Wisden*, a descendant of Richard Baxter, and the translator of Ibsen into English:

"A newcomer to the press box at Lord's took a seat near me one day, and rather embarrassed me by his fussy attentions. As we went down to lunch Sidney Pardon took my arm, and, speaking very seriously, said, 'I want to warn you against that man: have nothing to do with him. He is an evil person.' The man was Dr. Edward Aveling, a brilliant man of science, the son of a Congregational minister, and a man who, if he had any moral sense, might have won high distinction. I kept out of his way as Sidney Pardon advised. The next time he came into the press box at Lord's Dr. Aveling brought with him a fair buxom looking woman. This lady was Elinor Marx, daughter of Karl Marx, author of *Das Kapital*. Aveling and she were living together. Their association ended in tragedy. . . . He was a rogue in grain."<sup>10</sup>

CLYDE BINFIELD

<sup>10</sup>A. Porritt, *More and More of Memories*, 1947, p. 50.

## FAKENHAM ACADEMY IN 1845

The Huntingdon papers at Cheshunt College have overshadowed some of the other items in the archives, including the nine elegant volumes of the diary of William Copeland Astbury (1783-1868), the daily record of his middle age between the years 1829 and 1848. Astbury was the eldest son of Hannah Copeland, whose brother William was a close associate of Josiah Spode II, the founder of the London merchant house which marketed the products of Spode's factory at Stoke on Trent. William Astbury worked first for his uncle, William Copeland, and subsequently for his cousin, William Taylor Copeland, but had sufficient income from his investment in the firm to have retired from business to pursue religious and philanthropic enterprises. He did this for most of the period described in the diaries. He belonged to no particular denomination but frequented Anglican and Independent churches in the main, following those preachers who delivered a sound sermon as judged by Evangelical tenets. Bible Auxiliaries, Visiting Societies, Tract Societies and committees on moral questions were meat and drink to Astbury. He also wondered if he should enter the ministry, and it was apparently with this in mind that he arranged to spend a few weeks at William Legge's Fakenham Academy in the Autumn of 1845. Legge prepared students for admission to Independent colleges, that is to say, he gave them what we would call a sixth-form course, to the point of college matriculation. The academy depended on Legge's personal reputation and the contacts he could make.<sup>1</sup>

On October 20th, 1845, William Astbury rose at 4.30 a.m., slightly earlier than usual, in order to read a chapter of Romans and finish his journal for the previous day before completing his packing, breakfasting, and taking the 9.20

omnibus from Fulham, his home, to King William Street. From there he took a cab to the Shoreditch terminus of the Eastern Counties and Norfolk Railway, the journey having taken about two hours in all. The nearest station to Fakenham was Brandon, and the train stopped for ten minutes at Cambridge to allow time for refreshment. Astbury experimented by carrying sandwiches in an oiled-silk bag, newly called a sponge-bag, and was delighted to find them fresh and moist. The train had left Shoreditch at 11.30 a.m. and arrived at Brandon at 3.10 p.m., to connect with the coach. Astbury rode outside, taking half a pint of ale at Mundford and at Swaffham. His total journey time from Fulham to Fakenham was ten hours.

"We arrived at Fakenham at about 7 o'clock, or a little past. Mr. Legge had sent over one of the students Mr. — with Mrs. L's chaise for me. Mr. L. was at a prayer meeting. Mrs. L. ordered tea and mutton chops for me and chatted with me. Afterwards Rev. W. Legge returned; both appeared anxious to make me comfortable. Mr. L. has only 3 students now, he had had as many at a time as 14 the number varies, he prepares them for Highbury College, Homerton and other colleges. At family prayer, which I attended, one of the students read a chapter and prayer."<sup>2</sup> Apparently suffering no ill effects from a day's travel by horse omnibus, cab, train, coach and chaise, Astbury was up at 6.30 a.m. the next day.

"The view from the windows and the situation of the house and grounds is beautiful. On a hill opposite to and at the distance of near a mile from Fakenham the high square tower of the Church is an interesting and conspicuous object. My sitting room is a front parlour and my sleeping room above it, looking on the lawn and fields of Mr. L's etc. On the left is the valley of the river<sup>3</sup> which is seen at different places; the country rises again to hills over it, with four windmills, some were in action. Mr. L. informed me last evening that the house which is large was built for a workhouse; but the new Poor Law coming into operation just as the house was finished it was used a little while and was to be sold.<sup>4</sup> Mr. L. said to a high church, but friendly lawyer in the town, that it would just

<sup>1</sup>An account of Fakenham and Legge is to be found in *C.H.S.T.*, VIII. p. 50, "The Fakenham Theological Seminary", T. G. Crippen. The extracts from Astbury's Journal amplify this. In addition it may be said that William Legge was born at Windsor in 1803 and was a clerical-assistant at several boarding schools before entering Hoxton Academy in 1825, immediately before it became Highbury College. His student pastorate at Fakenham in the summer of 1827 was so successful that he resigned from the college before completing his course and undertook a year's engagement as pastor. He did not settle at first, being much exercised to secure the chapel on a freehold instead of a proprietary basis. He had constant recourse to the advice and practical help of Thomas Wilson, Treasurer of Highbury College. It seems likely that Wilson suggested students be sent to Legge and financed some of them. (New College mss; 328/7/1, 372/3/5, 331/53, 332/41, 335/29, 336/38, 336/39, 338/26, 343/19.)

<sup>2</sup>The extracts are all taken from vol. 7 of the diaries of William Copeland Astbury in the archives of Cheshunt College. The dates given are all in 1845. There are no page numbers in this volume.

<sup>3</sup>"The river . . ." Astbury preferred to leave blank any details he did not know, occasionally pencilling in a half-remembered fact. The river is the Wensum.

suit him for his training of students and that he should like to have it; but that he had not the means of purchasing it; the gentleman said you be quiet and say nothing about it and I will manage it for you, lending you the money at 4%. The property consists of the house one storey high containing rooms, and stabling and offices, and ten acres of land the whole freehold. And Mr. L's friend bought it at the auction for £900! A friend of Mr. L's, an opulent farmer, Mr. Hall, had sent his men and a winnowing machine to winnow Mr. L's field of oats and shortly were in full operation. I dressed, read Romans 4 and 5. Attended family worship, the family, Mr. and Mrs. L. and their children and Mrs. L's mother and the three students and servants etc., being present. Mr. L. read a chapter and prayed. I breakfasted comfortably in my parlour, agreeable to Mr. L's arrangement for me to breakfast and other meals by myself and if agreeable to dine with them to which I readily assented.

Forenoon: Romans 5. Went down to the winnowers and found 8 or 9 men and 3 women employed. The machine is worked by 3 horses moving in a circle with the driver seated in a chair in the centre. Viewed round the premises and the heath at the back. I saw a respectable farmer pass on horseback and Mr. L. informed me it was Mr. Hall and that he had been and invited him and me to dinner at 2 o'clock. He is a Wesleyan. (.....)

Accompanied Mr. L. to Thorpeland's the beautiful ancient mansion and estate bought by Mr. Hall for 15,000 and who expended 3 or 4,000 more on the house etc., but, sold it after the death of his son and only child, who died from an inflammation of the bowels after only two days illness, leaving a widow and an only son and child aged 6 years. Mr. Hall sold it least his grandson as he grew, should have too high notions and be led away by the neighbouring gentry. Mr. Hall farms 700 acres. The way to the house from Mr. L. is along retired very pleasant green lanes. The mansion was formerly the property of the Calthorpes and is mentioned in Domesday.

We were very kindly received by Mr. Hall, and his daughter-in-law. Mrs. L. senior is liable to frequent aberrations of mind and was not present to-day. Mr. Hall Junior became before he died a decidedly pious man and was friendly to Mr. L. from L's first coming to Fakenham and attended his ministry; his widow is also a pious woman and attends Mr. L's chapel and is a member of his church. She is I found a complete lady in her manners, very amiable and exceedingly interesting. The venerable old English gentleman Mr. Hall was pensive and unwell. We met two gentlemen forming a deputation from the Wesleyan Missionary Society, the Rev. Corbet Cooke a Norfolk man and of the Norwich Circuit.<sup>6</sup> Mr. Cooke is elderly, stout and very intelligent and appeared to have so strong

<sup>4</sup>The Poor Law of 1834 created work-houses with a strict regime in order to discourage the idle poor relying on parish "outdoor" relief.

<sup>6</sup>Rev. Corbett Cooke, a Wesleyan Methodist Minister, contributed a sermon "Christian Communion" to a volume by Wesleyan Methodist ministers in 1851, and was the subject of a memorial volume, *The Upright Man*, 1868.

an approbation of the Wesley ecclesiastical policy as to favour I thought episcopacy. The other gentleman was a layman. Dinner was served up as at a private gentleman's house. We had much interesting conversation. We both dined and tea's and before we left a psalm was read by Mr. Cooke and we had prayer by Mr. Cooke and Mr. L. all the servants being called in . . . Mrs. Hall Junior gave me a cordial invitation saying that they would be glad to see me.

The chaise was ordered out for Mr. Cooke and I (and Mr. L. part of the way only having to go home) rode to a friend of Mr. Cooke's in the town and after being introduced to several Wesleyan Ministers we went to the Wesleyan Chapel and went on the platform it being the anniversary of the Fakenham Wesley Missionary Association. Mr. ——— in the chair who made a very sensible and good speech. Mr. L. and Mr. Cooke both spoke very well. Previously to Mr. Cooke speaking a Mr. ——— a self-confident Wesleyan Minister occupied 1 hour and 10 minutes with an indifferent speech, which might have been delivered as regards the matter of it in 20 minutes. After Mr. Cooke had concluded his able speech the collection commenced and Mr. L. kindly crossed the platform and spoke to me behind the chair, asking whether I wished to leave as it was a favourable opportunity. We left accordingly at 9.30 p.m." (Oct. 21st.)

The following day was Wednesday and Astbury began the work he had come to do. Legge instructed his own children between nine and ten, the students at ten, so he arranged to meet Astbury at eleven. By arrangement earlier in the morning Astbury prepared notes for a sermon on 1 Tim. 1-15. thinking it over while he took a walk and writing up his headings on his return.

"Mr. L. came in and made his remarks on what I had written, he indicated that as few terms and sub-divisions as requisite should be used and fewer than I had adopted, as mine would be difficult to remember and would perplex the attention. Mr. L. brought in one of his children's slates and gave on it a *skeleton* of the text 'Behold the Lamb of God' and of 'God be merciful to me a sinner.' Each terminating with a personal application. It was agreed that I should take the latter subject for to-morrow; and recommended me to take a sermon of Burder's<sup>6</sup> (Mr. L. was aware that I used Burder's sermons at the Camden Town Female Asylum)—to pieces—to exhibit the mere skeleton without the drapery (25 minutes). Noted and reflected on Mr. L.'s observations." (Oct. 22nd.)

Later in the day Legge was occupied with a prospective church member and Astbury accompanied the students to and from the weeknight service at Fakenham Chapel, where Legge gave "an able, pointed and familiar address."

"I returned with the 3 students. They informed me in answer to my questions that 2 of them intended to go to Highbury College but Mr.

<sup>6</sup>Revd. George Burder's *Village Sermons* were first published in eight volumes between 1798 and 1816. They were plain evangelical discourses well-suited for public reading of the kind Astbury mentions. (The Camden Town Female Asylum was a refuge for teenage prostitutes who were there trained for domestic service.) The sermons were widely read and went through many editions, the last in 1849.

Lander<sup>7</sup> is hesitating whether he will not go to Cheshunt. They are instructed by Mr. L. in Latin and Greek and in De Morgan's Elements of Arithmetic, 'an excellent book' 'showing the reasons for the rules' etc. And, they have to write essays, compose sermons or skeletons. At Family Prayer one of them requested me to conduct the service, I said I would read if one of them would pray. I asked them to say what I should read and the reply given was that they are now reading the Epistle to the Hebrews and that 10 was the next chapter which I read accordingly. After one of them had prayed I commenced and implored the Divine benediction upon them and the family etc." (Oct. 22nd.)

For several days Astbury continued to dissect Burder's sermons and to create skeletons from the texts set by Legge. Amongst other things he learnt to keep the outline simple for cottage and village congregations, and was urged by Legge to take a note sheet into the pulpit in order to preserve the connexions of his discourse. Some of Legge's conventional wisdom is set out on 27th October.

"Instructive conversation: recommended me John Newton's sermons as excellently adapted for a congregation. Lent me one of his own Ms. sermons on John 19.30 'It is finished.' Dated Sept. 21 1845 written on post size paper all on the right handside only pp sides 23, he leaves the left for any alterations on subsequent deliveries. Mr. L. said that he rarely writes out a sermon. That when he was a student at Hoxton he preached one sermon 18 times, varying the language each time and recommended the practice. Whitefield considered that he had not perfected a sermon until he had preached it '40' times. Mr. L. has often preached from the same text, but taken a different view of it each time. Mr. L. objects to the learning of sermons and delivering them from memory." (Oct. 27th.)

The emphasis placed on good preaching is complemented by the etiquette of the chapel, so precisely indicated by Astbury in this account of his first Sunday in Fakenham, 26th October, 1845.

"Lord's Day: Rose 6.30. Dressed. Romans 14. Family Worship. Forenoon: Dressed completely. Set out 9.45 alone to Mr. Legge's Independent Chapel 6 past 10. Looked at both Sunday Schools, boys below and girls in the gallery. Afterwards the aged female pew opener put me into a square pew under the gallery on proper right of and opposite side of pulpit. Mr. L. opened the vestry door and told me that he had seen Mrs. Hall at Thorpelds, I think yesterday, and she invited me

<sup>7</sup>Legge's reports on his students to the committee of Highbury College survive for several years including 1846. It is not possible to name the third student, who in any case, stayed for only a short time. Legge complained to the committee that having only two students for the whole twelve months meant he ran at a loss. Frederick William Lander was the son of a deacon at Claremont Chapel, Islington, and having served his apprenticeship as a law stationer came to Legge at the age of twenty on the personal recommendation of Revd. John Blackburn, minister of the Claremont Chapel; Legge told the Highbury committee that Lander was a poor speaker on account of his "diffidence" and "a rapidity of utterance, induced by the habit of reading in an attorney's office." Frederick William Lander appears on no ministerial lists of the period, and was probably not admitted to Highbury. (New College mss: 356/22/3, 357/13/1-5.)

through him to sit in her pew. Just previously Miss Brown had moved to me and I, in mistake of the names, seated myself in their square pew in the body of the chapel with Mrs. Brown and family. Mrs. L. sitting opposite under the gallery. I rose up, it being before Mr. L. entered the pulpit, and told her that Mrs. Hall had kindly sent a message by Mr. L. —she told me I had made a mistake and pointed out Mrs. Hall's pew, a square pew next the vestry door on the proper left of the pulpit and opposite to that in which the pew opener had first seated me. I previously apologised to Mrs. Brown and explained saying that a special message had been sent and I hoped I should have this pleasure another time. Some time after my friend Mrs. Hall and her dear little boy came in and after prayer we shook hands. Rev. William Legge preached on Ezra 8. 21-23 viz 'Then I proclaimed a fast there,' 'about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an hour' Mr. L. A very good conversational sermon; pleasingly delivered. Coming out he introduced me to several of his friends." (Oct. 26th.)

The morning service had begun at 10.30 a.m. and during the afternoon Astbury walked and made sermon notes. He went to the evening service at 6 with Mrs. Legge, her daughter and two of the students and sat in the now absent Mrs. Hall's pew again. "Mr. Hall reading to the family and domestics at home." Legge preached for 55 minutes on Acts 13 38-39, "a beautiful clear Gospel discourse."

"After the regular service when most of the congregation left about 7.30 p.m. the prayer meeting commenced. At the conclusion Mr. L. introduced me to more of his friends. Both services were well attended, and many of Mr. L.'s congregation are farmers. As I perceived that going to chapel Miss L. took the arm of one of the students and as I returned with Mr. and Mrs. and Miss L. I offered her my arm for which Mr. and Mrs. L. both thanked me and were pleased." (Oct. 26th.)

The following Sunday Astbury again sat with Mrs. Hall and heard Legge preach on Matthew 16-18 "the best collection and arrangement of passages of scripture proving the divinity of our Lord and Saviour, as well as the best exposition of the text, I ever heard, or, remembered to have read. Altogether a most beautiful discourse, 56 minutes." Perhaps this was not the best time to hurry on to the Parish Church to hear the rector, Mr. Hignam, preach on a text from Proverbs. Astbury's verdict—"Not inconsistent with the truth, but, the great doctrines of the Gospel were only mentioned—not enforced. Mr. L. afterwards informed me that Mr. Hignam knows the Gospel." Either tartly or ingenuously Astbury adds the information "His mother was an independent." Neither did the senior student, Williams,<sup>8</sup> compare favourably at the

<sup>8</sup>R. Gould Williams was 22 in 1845. He was one of four brothers, three of whom became ministers, sons of a deacon of Russell Street Church, Dover. After two years as a Home Missionary at Rochford, Essex, Williams came to Fakenham in 1845, went on to Highbury in 1846, and to ministries at Well St., Coventry, East Dereham, Penzance and Providence, Rochdale, bearing out Legge's opinion: "The qualities which promise to render Mr. W. useful as a minister are sufficiently marked to justify the hope of his doing credit to the College as a diligent student, an eminent Christian and a sound and energetic preacher." (New College mss: 356/22/1, 356/22/3 and the obituary in the *Cong. Year Book*, 1885, pp. 242-4.)

evening service at the chapel "too loud. Mr. Williams promises well." (Nov. 2nd.)

Astbury continued his own work on sermon notes and skeletons, noting the comments of Legge from day to day.

"Mr. L. stated that he composed 2 plans on the Tuesday for the next Lord's Day. Would look at them in the course of the week, revise and frequently greatly alter them—make an application—a division. Sometimes a conclusion—a beginning etc.; and by these means make himself a *thorough master of the subject*. He recommended me to revise after I had written my plan, and, the *mastery*." (Nov. 3rd.)

"He laid down as a rule for the exposition of the Parables I to give the literal sense as applicable to this world. II the spiritual meaning our Saviour intended to convey. Each to follow the other in that parallel or, successive order, as you proceed." (Nov. 4th.)

"Strongly recommended Dr. Doddridge's 'Family Expositor.' Has it in 4 volumes 4vo but prefers it in 6 volumes 8vo. May get it probably cheap at Lumley's, Chancery Lane. Dr. Doddridge had competent learning for the task he executed. Approves, of course, of both Matthew Henry's and John Scott's Commentaries; but, in answer to my inquiry considers that Scott's is most useful. His references to parallel passages are excellent. Matthew Henry's comments pre-suppose a knowledge of the Gospel, and is addressed to riper Christians. Scott, wishing to be useful to the clergy of the established church, begins with first principles his remarks are sound and judicious and valuable. Mr. L. first named the Commentary, taken from Henry and Scott published by the Religious Tract Society; but not from his own knowledge, but from report as 'being generally well spoken of.'" (Nov. 6th.)

On November 5th Astbury toured Walsingham<sup>9</sup> and reassured himself that the Gospel was preached at New Walsingham church and that there were several Evangelical denominations in evidence. He admired the ruins of the old Priory and much approved the ancient font at Old Walsingham and the provision of open seats with backs leaving *very* few pews. This arrangement pleased him because people could find a seat in church and see the preacher. A week later he noted bleakly the news in Bell's *Weekly Messenger* "that Mr. Newman (the Tractarian) has been regularly admitted into the Romish Communion on —— at Ossett; with several other gentlemen, whose names are stated." (Nov. 12th). Present day Walsingham would not please Astbury.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup>New Walsingham is now called Little Walsingham; Old Walsingham is Great Walsingham.

<sup>10</sup>Walsingham was one of the most important English medieval shrines, including amongst its relics some of the Virgin's milk, and being the site of a miraculous visitation by Our Lady. It was destroyed in the Reformation. Pilgrimages resumed in 1897 and Walsingham became a point of meeting between High Church Anglicans and Roman Catholics. In 1931 Anglicans reconstructed the medieval shrine and built a church over it, which was enlarged in 1937. Newman was in fact received into the Catholic Church at Littlemore on 9th October, 1845. Shortly afterwards he was called to the college at *Oscott* by Wiseman. Astbury has imperfectly remembered the account in Bell's *Weekly Messenger* which he read at Fakenham's Bell Inn, hence perhaps his reference to *Ossett*.

From the brief record of Astbury's visit it is difficult to reconstruct the contents of Legge's bookcases, but in addition to the commentaries mentioned there was evidently a bound set of the *Evangelical Magazine*, S. Stennett's *Discourses*, a bound set of *The Adventurer*, W. Jay's *Morning Exercises*, and at least one prize volume, "a 4to volume, a black letter paraphrase of the Gospels and the Acts by Erasmus, translated by Queen Mary, daughter of Henry VIII." In range this is very similar to the surviving library lists of the Newport Pagnell Academy and Cheshunt College at this period. Of Jay, it was said by Legge that his sermons, though very good, were "in so peculiar a style that they would not serve as examples. An imitator would spoil them and fail."

Perhaps more interesting than Astbury's notes on sermons heard is his account of a manuscript sermon lent to him by Legge who had copied it from an original by the Revd. John Foster, the Bristol essayist.

"Noticed several marks used by him, when Mr. L. lent to me and subsequently;—viz a small dash to indicate a fresh paragraph as Mr. L. said, when going through it with me for such observations thus—and sometimes at the end. Note, or fresh subject whether in several lines, or, one only. 2. General heads appear to be indicated by a simple St. George's cross + or, thus †† sometimes. 3. Notes of admiration and interjection in the margin close opposite commencement of a passage as well as at the end. 4. Important words sometimes in small capitals. 5. (Illustrate) is used in one case in a line by itself under the subject. 6. Several lines in another case are circumflexed in a simple way. 7. Written on post-sized paper with a good margin of an inch at beginning of each line and  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch at end. Mr. L. said he copied it exactly in every mark and particular form." (Nov. 17th.)

It is interesting to see that in the great age of preaching men still went into the pulpit hoping that the right illustration would occur. The whole of Legge's teaching about sermons and Astbury's taste confirm the view that the thorough and pedantic exposition and application of texts common in early Victorian churches would be heard on sufferance by modern congregations, unless, like Jay, the preacher could touch them with his own originality.

Astbury did not write up his journal daily, but kept notes which he wrote up subsequently. Unfortunately he did not complete the 1845 volume and there are no volumes for 1846 or 1847. He planned to leave Fakenham on November 24th, and the absence of entries after November 17th suggests that after returning to London he was too much occupied to complete his entries. At this time he was very busy with "The Associate Institute Bill," which was an attempt to outlaw child prostitution, and the committee supervising the erection of the Watts Memorial in Abney Park Cemetery. He hints that Legge was finding the presence of a well-informed layman as his companion in religious conversation something of a threat. The last entry for a Sunday speaks for itself about a good, if obsessional, Evangelical layman who had been reading his Johnson as well as his Scott that Autumn in Fakenham.

"Evening: Accompanied Mr. L. to chapel through a most heavy driving rain from the door, my feet soon became wet and the legs of my trousers;

having on cloth boots, and a large chesterfield surtout; strong thick boots and a *long surtout* being required. Mr. L. preached on Acts 9 last clause of verse II "Behold he prayeth." 4 divisions, clear and methodical 52 minutes. A very few persons attended, the ordinary etc., hearers, were gone to the Wesleyan Chapel to see and hear Mrs. Stamp preach for their Sunday School. Mr. L. pretty regularly goes of a Saturday etc., evening to visit Mr. Green's family. So I and Mr. Williams returned together and on way went into the Wesleyan Chapel and heard Mrs. Stamp for a few minutes. Gave to collection 1/-. The exhibition of a woman in the pulpit, did appear to Mr. Williams and myself too, in opposition to St. Paul's judgement—unscriptural. Mrs. Stamp really appeared I must say on reflection, like a mountebank."<sup>11</sup> (Nov. 16th.)

Such was the vigour of early Victorian religious life in rural Norfolk. Fakenham boasted a parish church, Baptist Chapel, Independent Chapel, Primitive Methodist Chapel, Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, an Academy from which a preaching station at Gt. Snoring was supplied *and* a woman preacher.

STEPHEN ORCHARD

<sup>11</sup>On 29th October, 1781 John Wesley preached at Fakenham "in the room built by Miss Franklin, now Mrs. Parker;" and on the following day at Wells "where also Miss Franklin had opened a door, by preaching abroad, though at the peril of her life." He went on to note that "till the Methodists came they had none but female teachers in this country, and that there were six of these within ten or twelve miles," all then Anglican. The early Methodists included resolute women preachers but by the 1840s they were largely confined to the Primitive Connexion. The Wesleys expressed strong disapproval of women preachers in 1835 but this did not silence them all immediately. Many women preachers were wives of ministers. (John Wesley's *Journal*, ed. Curnock, 1938, vi, p. 338 and Townsend, Workman and Eayrs, *A New History of Methodism*, 1909, I, p. 413.)

## DISSENTING MEETING PLACES IN THE CITY OF LONDON

Between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries there were nearly three hundred places of Dissenting worship within the square mile of the City of London. Some of these were listed by G. H. Pike in *Ancient Meeting Houses* (1870) and by W. Wilson in *Dissenting Churches in London* (1808), but a large number escaped their notice. I have attempted to compile a complete list noting their location, denomination, earliest known date, and whether it was a house-meeting or some more formal arrangement, noting in each case my source of information. A fuller survey of this aspect of City history is therefore made available. In addition to printed material my search has covered licences for such chapels and other relevant manuscript material held in the Guildhall Library, London; the library of Lambeth Palace; and Dr. Williams's Library. In almost all instances I have been able to discover the denomination of the meeting; Anabaptist, Anti-Moravian, Baptist, Brownist, Calvinistic Baptist, Calvinistic Methodist, Congregationalist, Dissenters of the Church of Scotland, Fifth Monarchy Men, Free Thinkers, Huguenots, Independents,

Methodists, Moravians, Non-Jurors, Particular Baptists, Philadelphians, Paedo-Baptists, Presbyterians, Quakers, Rellyanists, Sabbatarian Baptists, Sandemansians, Scotch Seceders, Swedenborgians, Unitarians, and United Brethren—all had places of worship in the City. The list is cross-referenced so that sites can be identified either by location or by denomination. Although the index notes the better-known chapels such as the meeting place of Isaac Watts in Mark Lane, Poultry Chapel, and, of course, the City Temple which succeeded Poultry Chapel, the emphasis has been placed on less well-known sites of Dissenting worship.

Meetings held in private homes sometimes appear among the Bishop of London's licences; these nearly always seem to be independent groups, as at the house of Obediah Skinner in Great Distaff Lane (1709),<sup>1</sup> the house of Abigail Taylor in Bow Lane (1704),<sup>2</sup> and the house of Arabella Moreton in Long Walk (1710).<sup>3</sup> Unless the owner applied for a licence, it is a near impossibility to trace early meetings in houses.

Well-known mansion houses in the City were also used for meetings; Crosby House in Bishopsgate Street was the location of a Presbyterian meeting in 1683,<sup>4</sup> and Fishers Folly in the same street was used by Presbyterians and Independents between 1660 and 1730. Fishers Folly<sup>5</sup> has an interesting history for it was used for Catholic worship in the sixteenth century: Godfrey Anstruther notes that it was used by Fr. John Butler in 1594.<sup>6</sup> A more unusual request for a licence for a chapel was made in 1782 when application was made for an Independent chapel in Fleet Prison.<sup>7</sup>

Livery halls often rented accommodation to Dissenting groups, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: among the halls known to have been used in this manner are those of the Brewers, Coachmakers, Plaisterers, Girdlers, Lorimers, Glovers, Pinners, Armourers, Salters, Plumbers, Tallow Chandlers, Woodmongers, Embroiderers, Pewterers, Carpenters, Turners, Haberdashers, Dyers, Glaziers, and Joiners. The halls do not appear to have had any particular allegiance: as one group left another moved in. This is particularly noticeable with the Turners' Hall, where the premises were used by the Baptists 1688-1695,<sup>8</sup> Quakers 1698-1700,<sup>9</sup> Independents 1699?-1704?,<sup>10</sup> Peculiar Baptists 1704-1727,<sup>11</sup> and Independents 1727-1740.<sup>12</sup> Such takeover of premises was quite usual and this also applied to hired rooms, as in Bull and

<sup>1</sup>Guildhall Library Ms. 9579.

<sup>2</sup>Lambeth Palace Ms. VP/IC/4b.

<sup>3</sup>Guildhall Library Ms. 9579.

<sup>4</sup>*C.H.S.T.*, vol. 3, p. 364.

<sup>5</sup>W. Wilson, *The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses in London* . . . , 4 vols. 1808-14, vol. 1, p. 398; *Under the Dome*, vol. 9, p. 7; Guildhall Library Ms. 9579.

<sup>6</sup>G. Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests*, 1968, vol. 1, p. 59.

<sup>7</sup>Lambeth Palace, Fulham Papers: London 110.

<sup>8</sup>Wilson, vol. 1, p. 135f; G. H. Pike, *Ancient Meeting Houses . . . in Old London*, 1870, p. 417; *Under the Dome*, vol. 9, p. 16f.

<sup>9</sup>Wilson, vol. 1, p. 137f.

<sup>10</sup>Wilson, vol. 1, p. 139f; Pike, p. 418f; Guildhall Library Ms 9579.

<sup>11</sup>Wilson, vol. 1, p. 143; Pike, p. 420f; Guildhall Library Ms. 9579.

<sup>12</sup>Wilson, vol. 1, p. 146f.

Mouth Street, occupied by the Quakers from the 1660s to 1760, and then by the Sandemanians from 1760 to 1778.<sup>13</sup> Some smaller streets were particularly favoured by a number of meeting places. Red Cross Street, now disappeared beneath the Barbican, seems to have housed several groups, mostly Baptist, in the eighteenth century; one chapel here was occupied successively by Scotch Seceders, Independents and Baptist Sandemanians.<sup>14</sup>

Eating houses and coffee houses could serve for meetings formal and informal. In 1683 a group of Independents seems to have met regularly at a coffee house in Exchange Alley,<sup>15</sup> while Bakers Chop House in Cornhill<sup>16</sup> was a well-known meeting place for Dissenting ministers in the early nineteenth century.

This index, now housed at the Guildhall Library, is available for consultation. As the compiler of the index, I should greatly welcome additional sources of information concerning the meeting places, especially sites as yet unlisted.

MARGARET HINE

<sup>13</sup>*Antiquary*, vol. 35, p. 11; *C.H.S.T.*, vol. 3, p. 365; Wilson, vol. 3, p. 364f.

<sup>14</sup>W. T. Whitley, *The Baptists of London 1612-1928* (1928) refs. no. 55, 94; Wilson, vol. 3, p. 303f; Pike, p. 472f.

<sup>15</sup>*C.H.S.T.*, vol. 3, p. 365.

<sup>16</sup>*Under the Dome*, vol. 9, p. 9.

## OUR CONTEMPORARIES

*Reformed World*: Vol. 34, Nos. 1-4.

This volume is largely devoted to preparation for the Consultation of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches held in St. Andrews in 1977. The general theme is 'The Glory of God and the Future of Man'. This is expanded in bible studies and in essays by writers from traditions outside the Alliance. There is also in No. 4 a discussion of 'Mutual recognition of ministries' within the Reformed Churches. Each issue has news of member churches all over the world.

*The Baptist Quarterly*: Vol. XXVI, Nos. 5-8.

No. 5 contains the fourth and final part of Alan Betteridge's article, 'Early Baptists in Leicestershire and Rutland'. Nos. 5 and 6 contain the last two parts of P. H. Ballard's four part article, 'Ministry, Mission and the Social Sciences'. No. 5 has articles on 'Baptist Beginnings in Watford' by B. R. White, and 'Gladstone and the Baptists' by D. W. Bebbington. In No. 6 there are articles on John Rippon by K. R. Manley, and on William Hawkins by C. B. Jewson; it also contains the text of Robert Spurr's Autobiography edited by R. J. Owen. In No. 7 Dr. Nuttall writes on 'Church Life in Bunyan's Bedfordshire', and Dr. Payne on 'Abraham Atkins and General Communion'; J. E. B. Munson writes on 'The Education of Baptist Ministers, 1870-1900.' In No. 8 C. W. Hole writes on 'Quakers and Baptists, 1647-1660', Basil Amey on 'Baptist Missionary Society Radicals' and Dr. Eirwyn Morgan on 'John Prichard, 1796-1875'.

*The Bulletin of the Presbyterian Hist. Soc. of Ireland:* Nos. 5 and 6

In addition to items of special Irish interest there is an article by Dr. Boyd Schlenther of the University of Wales on 'The Influence of Presbyterianism in the Development of the U.S.A.'.

*Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society:* Vol. XL, Parts 4, 5, 6

In addition to many interesting reviews and short notes, these Proceedings have two major articles: 'Tensions in Primitive Methodism in the Eighteenth-century' by Geoffrey E. Milburn, and 'Charles Wesley and the American War of Independence' by Donald S. Baker. In Part 4 there is an article of liturgical interest by John A. Thomas, and also in Part 6 by A. Raymond George. In Part 6 there is an article by Richard P. Heitzenrater on the marriage of John Wesley's sister, Mary.

*Cylchgrawn Cymdeithas Hanes* (The Journal of the Hist. Soc. of the Presbyterian Church of Wales): Vol. LX, Nos. 3 and 4.

These two numbers contain an article by R. Buick Knox, 'Howel Harris and John Elias', and the annual lecture for 1976 by Stephen Griffiths on 'Whitefield and Wales'. As usual, there are interesting notes.

R.B.K.

## REVIEWS

*English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution: Religion, Politics and Society in Kent 1500-1640.* By Peter Clark. Pp. XIII, 504, Harvester, Hassocks, 1977, £18.50.

This is far and away the most comprehensive survey yet to be published of a single English county in the Tudor and early Stuart period. It is a bold book, impressive in the enormous range of its sources, argued throughout with energy and verve. Among other good things, it contains valuable new material on the provision of educational facilities, an important revision of the causes of Wyatt's rebellion and an illuminating account of the impact of the régime of Charles I with its "overriding contempt for custom". The disconcerting feature of the book is that where it is most original and controversial the evidence is too often not made plain. Assertions such as that most Kentish parishes already had overseers of the poor in the 1560s are left unsubstantiated. Concepts which are central to Clark's argument, like the Tudor "party networks" and the "Third World", remain elusive. Sometimes one suspects overstatement. Was the "institution of marriage" in Elizabethan Kent really in "obvious disarray"? Did it in fact seem to many others besides the rather hysterical puritan minister Robert Abbott that the "whole structure of local order" was being challenged in the first months after the meeting of the Long Parliament?

Clark's conclusions about the origins of the Nonconformist tradition in Kent will be of particular interest to readers of this journal. His argument that Lollard survivalism was more significant in relation to the growth of

sectarianism than of orthodox protestantism is convincing. His information from will preambles is welcome, but his misleading identification of all those who had abandoned any mention of intermediaries with the deity as "reformist" leads him to exaggerate the speed with which the county was converted to protestantism. It has been shown by Dr. Palliser that this neutral form of bequest of the soul was employed by some who also left money to their parish priests to pray for their souls. There is a detailed account of Kentish puritanism but the spiritual aims of the godly are not fully explained: the nature of the "presbyterianism" of men like George Huntley and Thomas Wilson of Canterbury remains obscure. Other recent work, such as Mr. Sharpe's study of Kelvedon in Essex which links separatism with the disorderly and irreverent, offsets Clark's suggestion that separatist groups in Kent drew support from "small respectable folk" seeking psychological security against a "rising tide of social and economic degradation".

ANTHONY FLETCHER

*New College, London and its Library: Two Lectures.* By Geoffrey F. Nuttall. Pp. 61, London, Dr. Williams's Trust, 1977, 75p.

Here is vintage Nuttall: admiration for Doddridge and Pye Smith confirming faithfulness to God with Whom "the prevailing tense is always future"; scholarship neither deflecting nor deflected by commitment; broad foundations contained within a strict compass; illuminating detail and swift asides; complicated sentences whose meaning is always clear; the whole best read with the author's *voice* in mind.

Of the two lectures, the first, delivered at the closure of New College, is nostalgic, weaving together the distinct traditions which formed the College. The second, to celebrate the transfer of New College's library to Dr. Williams's Library, is a bibliographer's delight for its exposition both of the library's collections and of the way in which those collections reflect the different strands of Independency. Few readers will have been fully aware of the library's value: all must now be grateful that there can be no prospect of its further dispersal. There will be no Nonconformist Mentmore here.

J.C.G.B.

*The Puget Family in England.* By Percy G. Dawson. Pp. 92, limited edition privately printed, from the author, £3.50.

This is a well-researched account of the descendants of Jean Puget, of Huguenot refugee origin, who became a City merchant and died in 1756. Of particular interest to church historians is Part II, called "Christian Philanthropists". John Hey Puget (1803-1867), supported many Nonconformist causes, including Joseph Sortain's Countess of Huntingdon chapel in Brighton, and Totteridge Lane chapel. He was treasurer of the Hertfordshire Congregational Union and encouraged the building of chapels and schools, notably at North Finchley. The family tree bears the names of other eminent Victorian families, including Waldegraves and Plumtres. Though Mr. Dawson does not always seem aware of the significance of his characters ("a Mr. Hudson Taylor") he is careful and thorough about checking his facts.

STEPHEN ORCHARD

*So Down to Prayers: Studies in English Nonconformity 1780-1920.* By Clyde Binfield. Pp. XIV, 296, London, J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1977, £8.50.

Dr. Binfield has not set out to write a comprehensive history of Nonconformity from 1780 to 1920, but rather, he says, to evoke atmosphere: "to trace the enlargement of horizons as Dissenters became Nonconformists and Nonconformists became Free Churchmen, and their numbers increased thirty-fold". His method is that of the stained-glass window maker, building up a composite picture from a wealth of detail: so that only when the whole book has been read does his study of Nonconformity, evolving and evolved, appear. Using letters, diaries and church record books as well as more accessible material, he gives us a worm's-eye view from a fascinating and varied progression of Nonconformist worms. He does not, however, always portray individuals, but in some cases groups of people and, as an illuminating and important part of his theme, particular churches: his theme of the development of Free Churchmanship is very well illustrated, for example, by the progress from Salem, and in due course to Trinity, of the influential East Parade, Leeds, which moulded that moulder of opinion, Edward Baines of the *Leeds Mercury*.

The chapters are not a mere chronological record of changing attitudes, but are self-contained studies of important aspects of Free Church life. One gives us a vignette of the impact on a family of Dissenters in the sheltered rural community of a small Essex town of all that was most fashionable in art and literature: we learn with vast enjoyment, but without surprise, that they did not "relish" *Christabel* and argued to an extent which called for "forbearance" over the theology of *The Excursion*; but had the children painted by Lawrence and built up a fine picture collection—"all part and parcel of their Dissenting life". In another chapter Dr. Binfield studies the changing taste that moved from "a religion of Barns" to the design, mainly (because money was limited) by competent second-rate architects, of dignified and modestly decorated churches seating perhaps 700 or 800 people in Dissenting Gothic—which Dr. Binfield places in its context of "the emergence of civic pride among people long deprived of the chance of exercising it". And later he traces the influence on suburbia and its buildings and gardens of some members of the Armitage clan, offspring and connections of the cotton family of Bowdon; craftsmen, designers, architects, nurserymen who helped to create the world of culture and intelligence which was "the distillation of a suburban civilisation".

A continuing theme through several chapters is the impact of Nonconformist MPs on the House of Commons, and of the House of Commons on them; and here Dr. Binfield raises large and fascinating issues. "Chapel was Liberalism at prayer" he says at one point; and he sees the Nonconformist MP (as exemplified by Edward Baines) as concerned for the interests of the lower middle-classes, "the ballast of chapeldom, all pride, poverty and pianos, and the stuff of self-reliance". Nonconformity set MPs apart and conditioned their thinking: they represented an interest, but a variegated and divided interest, so that there could never be a national leader of Nonconformist politics. Moreover, Dr. Binfield speaks (writing now of Silvester Horne's political

career) of the mirage of the "Nonconformist Conscience". Any attempt to make Nonconformity a power in politics was bound to fail, because as soon as Nonconformist views were consolidated into anything like a power they could be assessed and dealt with: "Nonconformity was rumbled the moment that it took itself seriously as a political power and its long accumulation of influence (a very different thing) was unnecessarily and prematurely dispersed".

Other chapters deal with the more churchly concerns of the church: the great preachers, and more, the great ministers, who contributed to "the mutuality between parson and people peculiar to Baptists, Congregationalists and Unitarians"; the Missions at home, the work of the London Missionary Society abroad; the challenge of war—or rather, of pacifism. The picture is always of people made self-conscious by their Free Churchmanship; self-conscious in worship, in architecture, in their way of life; conscientious people, often public people—the licensed critics within the gates. Nonconformist Conscience we may with Dr. Binfield discount; the Nonconformist consciousness permeates his book as it does our history.

It is a book of great richness. Its gallery of people includes the Pattison family, Edward Baines, Edward Miall, Herbert Cozens-Hardy, Elkanah Armitage, Arthur Henry Lee, Richard Harding Watt, James Baldwin Brown, Silvester Horne, George Williams, Oliver Tomkins, Leyton Richards and many others. It is rich also in the depth and scope of the research which has gone into it; and by reason of its clear, pungent and witty style. It needs several readings to be fully savoured, and it is so enjoyable that this is an entirely pleasant prospect. I am happy, as a worshipper at Emmanuel Cambridge, to accept a share in its generous dedication.

ANN PHILLIPS

*Nineteenth-Century Nonconformity.* By Ian Sellers. Pp. IX, 102, Edward Arnold, London, 1977. £5.95 (boards), £2.95 (paperback).

Ian Sellers has done the impossible. In a brief survey he has managed to be comprehensive, authoritative, vigorous and clear. His interpretation is highly personal, but his distillation of current scholarship prevents him from being merely idiosyncratic. His work will be superseded; but it will remain a *tour-de-force*.

"My greatest good fortune as a student of church history was to have been raised in the Primitive Methodist tradition just before that extraordinary religious ethos began to fade." Readers will detect the tones of that other Ranter historian, W. R. Ward, or even, suitably reduced, for Sellers knows his place, of that admirer of Anglicans-in-the-pew, E. R. Norman. Dr. Sellers too is sceptical about bureaucracies and *matinée*-idols, reserving his particular dislike for Hugh Price Hughes, whom he finds spiteful, and R. J. Campbell, whose New Theology he calls "the most egregious expression of secular optimism wrapped in a glittering sheen of theological obfuscation yet inflicted on English Christendom." He is not very respectful about A. S. Peake or A. M. Fairbairn, let alone lesser men with their prophetic guesses as to what the future might legitimate: "Free souls, having encapsulated God within themselves, surveyed majestically a world ripe for Utopian experiment." Only

Spurgeon escapes the general censure; his departure from the Baptist Union was "the grandest gesture yet against the debilitating forces at work within English Nonconformity."

All this is good clean vitriol, and it is sustained by shrew analyses of Nonconformists and temperance, and urban life, and politics (though *were* Nonconformists so very wrong in seeing Labour "not as a separate political force but as a variant form of traditional radicalism, perhaps even an insurance that the Liberal Party would be compelled to remain radical", and was Passive Resistance *merely* "the last frenzied vapourings of moribund conscience politics"?)

Dr. Sellers enjoys demolishing Victorian myths; but his demolition work has a serious purpose. It reminds us that, statistics notwithstanding, there are no peaks in church life other than those of individual commitment, of saints gathered in, amidst the ebb and flow of human generation. Set against these, even the humblest aspirations of churchly bodies are a little ridiculous. It is not surprising, therefore, that Dr. Sellers allows Nonconformists their due only in the personal sphere, when they brought drunkards, lunatics, orphans, prostitutes, tramps and sweeps within the orbit of public concern for the first time: this indeed was revolution.

J.C.G.B.

*Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey 1825-1875.* By James Obelkevich. Pp. X, 353, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1976. £12.00.

This book is sensitive, ordered and profoundly suggestive, introducing sociological terms with persuasive diffidence and stepping delicately through the thickets of class analysis. Despite its concern with 50 years of religious life in an area almost too rural to be true, it provides indispensable material for any study of contemporary England and fine proof that "to attempt a social history of religion... is... to return to men's 'common thoughts on common things'."

The theme is the triumph of agricultural capitalism over the traditional village order, as marked by the emergence of a society of classes (gentry, farmers, labourers), each withdrawing from the communal to the private, from the village to the family, gentry first, labourers last and most resistant. The setting is part of Lincolnshire. The action is the conflict between Church and Chapel, with another dimension: the "Popular Religion" of magic and superstition, sign of the extent of Christianity's failure to establish itself in English society. In a county bare of Old Dissent (only two Congregational Churches older than 1750 or larger than 200 members) Chapel meant Methodism, usually Wesleyan.

The same problem faced Church and Chapel: could they maintain themselves as religious communities when the village community was dissolving and when each new class was developing its own distinctive life? For Obelkevich the short answer is that they could not: in Lindsey as in London capitalism blighted any permanent prospect of the churches emerging as genuine *communities*; and "Popular Religion" fared no better.

The theme is stark, but its exposition is rich: labourers first calling each other "Mr."; crinolines invading Wesleyan pews; shoes replacing farmers' top-

boots; the conflict between *gentleman* and *Christian*; the M.F.H. with his photographs of "the two on whom I place most reliance", his hound and his bishop; the deceitful role of village cricket; the I-thou relationships natural to traditional villagers; the belief that confirmation cured rheumatism; the communal dances reflecting "society in which the group was prior to the married couple" (so much for the eightsomes in St. Andrew's Church Hall); the Friendly Societies reflecting the English religious ideal of "morality, ritualized conviviality and no theology".

For this the book is valuable, but for its sustained examination of Church and Methodism it is invaluable. It describes a Church in transformation, whose attempts to create religious unity amidst growing social divisions were in fact attempts to preserve those divisions, and whose worshippers were "united, polite, but manifestly unequal", ritually enacting "the stabilising qualities wished for in the wider society". It describes Methodism, the chief religious event since the Reformation in the life of Lindsey's poor, its piety so frequently measured by decibels, trying to build communities too, but ones based on voluntary commitment and independent of social division, paradoxically creating the very self-consciousness that would undermine them.

This makes thoughtful reading for Old Dissenters. In Lindsey Methodism provided a communal reference for the displaced persons of the new age; elsewhere our own sort provided Godly communities for earlier generations of people separated from the national community and increasingly bound to the classes in which their separation the more surely placed them. Our experience differed in time and detail but not in essence. It was, after all, among Lincolnshire Methodists that Bernard Manning was nurtured. J.C.G.B.

*Congregationalism 1960-1976: the story of the Federation.* By R. W. Cleaves. Pp. 134, John Penry Press, Swansea, 1977, £1.25.

This book is an account by the chairman of the Congregational Federation of the events which led up to the re-creation of CCEW as 'a churchly body' in 1966 and to the formation of the URC in 1972, and of the life of the Congregational Federation from the latter date. It is inevitably a one-sided account: the opposition to 'covenanting' and the later union is much better documented than the actual course of these changes.

It is understandable that Mr. Cleaves should think that the union was a mistake, but if it was it was one to which the vast majority of Congregational church meetings contributed, which would seem to prove that Independency is as fallible a system of church government as any other. That the matter was decided by church meetings which did not understand the issues or considered only one side of the question is a view that Mr. Cleaves does not substantiate. It is also unfair of him to pour scorn on those churches which voted inconclusively and therefore held a second meeting. In some churches there were minorities of up to 24% who were disappointed because the church voted for union; but in other churches there were majorities of up to 74% frustrated because the required percentage had not been reached. We are not told what the Congregational way to resolve that situation was.

Critics of the union said that Congregational churches should have been

spending their time much more on spiritual renewal and world problems than on questions of organisation. It does not appear from this book that the Congregational Federation has been able to avoid questions of organisation—though it is obviously being well served by its honorary and part time officers—and the impression is unavoidable that freedom is being stressed at the expense of other things that Christians stand for. ROGER TOMES

*Change and Decay: The Future of Our Churches.* Edited by Marcus Binney and Peter Burman. Pp. 192, Studio Vista, London 1977, £3.75.

*Chapels and Churches: Who Cares. An Independent Report.* By Marcus Binney and Peter Burman. Pp. XIII, 287, British Tourist Authority and *Country Life*, London 1977, £5.95.

*Change and Decay* is a collection of essays, Anglican inclined and superbly illustrated. It is a (vestry) coffee table book. *Chapels and Churches* is more sober and chapel-conscious; it too is well illustrated. The first appeared as an accompaniment to the exhibition of the same name, mounted in July 1977 at the Victoria and Albert Museum in the wake of its heart-stopping "Destruction of the Country House". The second is a report, which Betjeman calls calm and unsentimental, on the tourist value of "some of the most moving, fascinating and best preserved of all buildings to be found in Britain".

These books, therefore, reflect what Roy Strong brought into the museum world when he first talked of "martinis with the Bellinis"; but there is more to them than a welcome sparkle where least expected.

There are of course the horror stories of churches demolished (nearly 1,000 in the past fifteen years), or threatened (one tenth of all U.R. churches for sale in 1977). The destruction of Regent Square is rightly called a major tragedy. There are also expressions of hope, odd though some of them are (like the Unitarian chapel that is now a public house; or Kelham's Chapel, to be used for banquets). There are useful tips, and necessary perspectives, as when we are reminded of the Edwardian chapel's "remarkable degree of internal harmony", or of the graveyard's role in nature conservation, or that cathedrals are "the principle places of reconciliation"; or that "as the whole principle of exemption of churches from taxation is based on the fact that they do work of special value for the community" so should their redundant buildings first be offered to the community, rather than sold for commercial purposes and the money used elsewhere.

The chief merit of the books is their comprehensiveness: churches *and* chapels; England *and* Wales and (especially) Scotland—treated together so naturally as to make one wonder why such treatment is so rare. Of course there are inevitable—and fairly numerous—ambiguities and errors of fact. But these can be almost forgiven for the books' message. As Richard Morris puts it, the fundamental question is not "who pays?" but "who is ultimately responsible for the protection or recording of the history in and around their church? ... to avoid the responsibility is ... to avoid the truth, and to ... enter a kind of darkness".

J.C.G.B.

*A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada.* By Robert T. Handy. Pp. 427, Oxford University Press, 1976, £9.50.

With broad, sure and fair strokes, Robert Handy of Union Theological Seminary in New York City has painted a comprehensive picture of American and Canadian church life from its beginnings to the present day. The book may seem too short to cover the period from 1500 to the present but the general picture is there, and details and statistics are given for flavour and empirical analysis.

The flavours are tasty. It is fascinating to be reminded that the Pilgrim Fathers, through miscalculation, landed at Cape Cod in Massachusetts rather than Virginia. Also that some Puritan nonconformists did not believe in separation from the Church of England but wanted to reform it from America. Frustrated in that attempt they concentrated on their new found land; attempts at reform and further miscalculations led to many denominations, some in the twentieth century of "unusual distinctiveness". A certain Father Divine (born George Baker) claimed to be God Almighty. When he was found guilty of creating a non-Puritan disturbance, great publicity was given to the fact that the judge died three days later. Father Divine reportedly said, "I sure hated to do that". Such stories are too rare. This is not a book of anecdotes, though I needed to be told that the first woman minister of any major denomination was a Congregationalist ordained in 1853 in Ohio.

Handy points out that North America was and is a largely Protestant land, and the churches command large followings. The impetus for growth arose mainly from various "Awakenings" even when the rationalist Enlightenment was deepening. These concentrated on such themes as conversion, new birth and sanctification. Whitefield and Wesley were only the first in a long line of evangelical preachers who up to the present day have attracted large followings. Liberal Protestantism has been mainly connected with the Eastern establishment and has generally been more concerned with social issues.

The last chapter is entitled "North American Churches and the Decline of Christendom". Handy does not simply equate the decline with a fall in numbers of people in the pews, which is now about 40% of the population on a typical Sunday, but rather with what he calls a "confusion of tongues", by which he means the great variety of religious expression which led to loss of influence, and also the dimming of the gospel by cultural and social pressure as well as by the churches' wealth and power.

Thus we have a book of historical judgements as well as broad sweeps, unusual sidelights and interesting facts. It makes an admirable first book in the projected Oxford series of some twenty volumes. CHARLES BROCK

*Henry Highland Garnet: A voice of black radicalism in the nineteenth century.* By Joel Schor. Pp. 251, Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut, 1977, £12.50.

One of the most prominent and radical of nineteenth-century American abolitionists, Henry Highland Garnet has long deserved a biographer. Escaping in 1824 from the slavery into which he had been born nine years earlier, and receiving as a youth what for blacks was an unusually extensive education,

Garnet threw himself from the 1830s into the work of undermining southern slavery and of winning greater social opportunities and civil rights for northern free negroes. As a newspaper editor and the Presbyterian pastor of black churches in Troy, New York City and Washington, D.C., he pressed for the extension of the suffrage to his race, assisted fugitive slaves, contributed to the black convention movement, and lectured extensively for the cause of Free Produce. He is best remembered for advocating that slaves use physical force to win their freedom should all else fail; and that free blacks could engineer the downfall of slavery by emigrating to Africa and establishing there a colony that would rival the American South in its production of cotton.

Joel Schor's sympathetic, rather pedestrian, biography examines Garnet's life up to 1865, by which time his major work was over. The author agrees with the orthodox view that Garnet's personal influence amongst abolitionists, both black and white, declined after his clear endorsement of slave violence in 1843 and his adoption of emigrationist views. But Schor rightly argues that here—and indeed in his support of the Liberty Party and his advocacy of political action against slavery—Garnet had taken up positions that were to grow in popularity during the 1850s, as moral suasionists became ever more frustrated and disillusioned. It is in his examination of the occasionally bitter disputes over these issues within black abolitionist circles, and particularly between Garnet and Frederick Douglass, that Schor makes his most useful contribution.

Elsewhere the author's analysis is less satisfactory, although in part this may be due to the absence of any substantial corpus of private papers that might give us a deeper understanding of Garnet's motivation and mental make-up. Despite the importance attached by most historians of the period to the evangelical contribution to antislavery, Schor scarcely examines the particular colouring of Garnet's Presbyterianism; and there is no real discussion of how Garnet reconciled his acceptance of slave violence with his evangelical commitment and his support of the peace movement. Most superficial of all is the treatment of Garnet's lecture tour of Britain between 1850 and 1853, and the circumstances surrounding his employment by the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland as their missionary to the blacks of the West Indies from 1853 to 1855. And there are mistakes: Garrison was not "antagonistic to the Constitution" in 1841 (p. 36); Lewis Tappan has been Frenchified (p. 44); Dublin was not an "industrial" city in 1851 (p. 118); "Primitive Wesleyan Church" should be Primitive Methodist chapel (p. 119); "Gardner Spring" should be Gardiner Spring (p. 121).

Despite these limitations, the author has produced a useful biography which readers will welcome as a contribution to our understanding of black abolitionism, and as an addition to the growing body of literature on the nineteenth-century "Anglo-American Connexion".

RICHARD CARWARDINE