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**EDITORIAL AND NOTICES**

We are again indebted to outside generosity for the luxury of an enlarged journal. Clyde Binfield's "Holy Murder at Cheshunt College" was originally delivered as the Westminster College Commemoration Lecture for May 1987. Its publication here in full is made possible by the generosity of Westminster College, Cambridge.

We welcome as a contributor Margaret Masson of the University of Durham, and recently teaching English at Whitworth College, Spokane. We welcome as reviewers John Briggs of the University of Keele and Editor of the *Baptist Quarterly* and Linda Kirk of the University of Sheffield. Two of our seasoned contributors have changed hats or, rather, academic caps. Alan Sell is now Professor of Religious Studies at the University of Calgary and Anthony Fletcher is now Professor of Modern History at the University of Durham.

Readers of the Journal will learn with interest of a new journal, *Literature and Theology* published by Oxford University Press and edited by Dr. David Jasper of the University of Durham. Its fourth number (September 1988) is to reprint the important conversation between Donald Davie and Daniel Jenkins which first appeared in this journal in October 1986.

*Ottery St. Mary* is celebrating its present building's tercentenary in June 1988. Since one of the ancestors of Western College (now part of Northern College, Manchester) was the academy founded at Ottery in 1752, the celebrations are to

include a Western College re-union at which Dr. Huxtable is to lecture on the Dissenting Academies. Details of the reunion (22-23 June) can be obtained from Revd. Derrick A. Barber, 29 Teignmouth Road, Torquay TQ1 4EG.

*Congregationalism in South Australia* celebrated its 150th Anniversary in November 1987. Its mother church in Adelaide, long known as Stow Memorial, still flourishes as Pilgrim Uniting Church.

### THE PEMBROKESHIRE CONGREGATIONAL MAGAZINE

One hundred and fifty years ago, in July 1837, the first issue of *The Pembrokeshire Congregational Magazine* was published. As far as can be ascertained its editor was the Revd. John Bulmer (1784-1857)<sup>1</sup> who, after training under Edward Williams at Rotherham, ministered at Albany, Haverfordwest from 1813 to 1840. Measuring 8"×4½" the *Magazine* was printed and published by William Perkins (fl. 1837-1880) of Market Street, Haverfordwest.<sup>2</sup> The last number appeared in June 1839.

The declared motives in launching the *Magazine* are interesting. There is no articulated Christian motive; rather, "If we have a spark of patriotism in our bosoms, we must desire to see a Literary Publication, the product of our own country."<sup>3</sup> Such a publication will foster the spirit of reading in the rising generation, "break the slumbers" of the local populace, and provide an outlet for Welsh authors against whom the *Evangelical* and *Congregational Magazines* are normally barred. As if this were not enough, "The relics of Druidism and Popery will be destroyed."<sup>4</sup> The *Magazine* was in its day "the only periodical, in any language, printed in Pembrokeshire, and, as far as I know, the only English one printed in Wales."<sup>5</sup> What were its contents?

A number of articles are devoted to extolling the Congregational order. The primitive churches were congregational and independent and, *pace* the Bishop of St. David's, they were not gathered by human authority. As to polity:

We are *Independents*, and think our independency worth preserving. It is chiefly valuable, because it leaves us at liberty to do *what our duty seems*

1. For Bulmer see *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, 1959. The Pembrokeshire Library, Haverfordwest, holds the complete run of the *Magazine* with the exception of the August 1837 number. The National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, has the issues of July 1837 and May 1839. I am grateful to Mr. Clive Hughes of the Record Office, Haverfordwest, and to Mrs. Beti Jones of the National Library for information supplied.
2. See Ifano Jones, *A History of Printing and Printers in Wales to 1810*, Cardiff 1925, 127, 131 and n.
3. *PCM* I, 54.
4. *Ib.*, I, 56.
5. *Ib.*, I, 188.

to require; and because, when we are disposed to do what is good and useful, there is no one to hinder, or forbid us. Our churches have the power to exercise their own judgment, to choose their own pastors, and to manage their own affairs, by their own officers.<sup>6</sup>

Moreover, the churches comprise saints:

We consider the act of joining a particular church of Christ, as being, eminently, a public profession of godliness, and dread the idea of persons professing what they have not; nor do we see how any can discharge the duty of church-members, or answer the important purposes of church-communion, without being *decidedly religious*.<sup>7</sup>

True saints are not isolationist, they know that they are "members of the *universal church of Christ*."<sup>8</sup> Certainly Congregationalists ought to co-operate with one another—and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Congregational Union of Scotland, at which Dr. Ralph Wardlaw spoke on the consistency of the Congregational Union with scriptural principles was fully reported.<sup>9</sup>

The fullest published "Address on the nature of a gospel church" was that delivered by the Revd. T. Harries of Pembroke at the settlement of the Revd. J.J. Braine at Tenby:

Oh happy society!—glorious type of heaven! Christ its head, and governor, his word its rule, love its bond of union, the Holy Spirit its inhabitant, guide, and comforter, joy and peace for its solace under all trials,—all its wealth, gifts, and graces, its common property,—the glory of God its highest ambition!<sup>10</sup>

Harries intends his hearers to understand that a gospel church is

Founded on a revelation of the divine will; that the will of God must be declared in order to collect men into public assemblies for divine worship; that divine truth must be believed, to render our worship acceptable to God; that it must be professed, in order to our admission to church fellowship, and attendance on the ordinance of the Lord's supper; and that it is maintained by the appointment of suitable officers in the church, namely, pastors and deacons.<sup>11</sup>

Such a church has spiritual liberty: "Voluntariness is the air it must breathe."<sup>12</sup>

In the second volume of the *Magazine* "J.B." defended infant baptism and enumerated its obligations: there is a sense in which we "come into him by baptism. But those who oppose our practice, make it necessary that a person

6. *Ib.*, I, 9.

7. *Ib.*

8. *Ib.*, I, 10.

9. *Ib.*, I, 93.

10. *Ib.*, I, 210.

11. *Ib.*, I, 211-12.

12. *Ib.*, I, 212.

should be *in Christ before he is baptized.*" The propriety of believers' baptism is granted "if such believers were *not baptized in their infancy*, or if they are *proselytes from the Jews, or the Heathen . . .*" Baptism "is a *seal, or confirming sign*, of the covenant of grace, as to its reality, and the possibility of your partaking of its advantages in God's appointed way. It assures you that Jehovah is willing to be your God; that he has provided for your salvation according to the gospel . . ." <sup>13</sup> Nor did the author hesitate to urge eschatological motives upon the young *vis à vis* the kind of life which their baptism into Christ requires: "During the twenty-six years of my ministry in one place, I have now had the pleasure of devoting to God, in the solemn ordinance of baptism, no less than eighty-eight infants, who seemed as likely as children generally are, to continue their pilgrimage here below; of these, how many are now among the dead! Perhaps nearly half the number! [Hence] remember your Creator in the days of your youth."<sup>14</sup>

From time to time the *Magazine* refers to the practice of ministry. At the Scottish Congregational Union Assembly Dr. Russell said,

It is important not only that a minister should be free from entanglements in worldly concerns, but also that his mind should be thoroughly cultivated and richly stored with useful knowledge . . . we live in an age of excitement and enquiry . . . Let not the preachers of the gospel be behind their age. Let them rather strive to keep pace with the rising tide, and adapt themselves to the varying circumstances of those around them.<sup>15</sup>

For their part, the ministers at Llanelly Assembly resolved to establish an academy at Brecon—an earlier proposal for such an institution at Newton having been thwarted by the London Congregational Fund Board on 21 March 1836.<sup>16</sup>

That at least some ministers were concerned for sound doctrine is confirmed by N. Harries's (Merlin's Bridge) tale of the Welsh pastor who routed a Socinian on the trinity. The pastor utilised the illustration of fire, which is *all fire, and heat, and light*, and concluded: "If this can be discovered in a foundry, in a created element, doubtless it may exist in Eternity, in that which is uncreated, and full of glory." "Silent and mortified," says Harries, "the objector retired to ponder on the simple means employed to convince him of his folly and conceit."<sup>17</sup> Some victories were more easily won a century and a half ago.

An indication of the non-doctrinal challenges faced by ministers is given in "The state of religion and morals in Pembroke":

It is much to be lamented that, in the streets of towns and villages, even in Wales, so many strollers and loiterers should be found on a Sabbath day,

13. *Ib.*, II, 10-13.

14. *Ib.*, II, 15-16.

15. *Ib.*, I, 93.

16. *Ib.*, I, 194-6.

17. *Ib.*, I, 137.

employing themselves either in making rude remarks on those who are going to or returning from places of religious worship, or otherwise conducting themselves in an improper and disgraceful manner . . . we observe in our streets, not only adults, but youths of both sexes, boys and girls, and almost infants, indulging in riot and noise, altogether careless of the sanctity of the time which they thus abuse, disturbing those who are desirous of quiet and peace.

If it be asked, What is to be done to correct this increasing evil? I would say, Visit the Sunday Schools of Pembroke, and then decide whether *they* do not deserve attention?<sup>18</sup>

In articles of a pastoral nature the duty of prayer is enjoined, as is the practice of family religion. Detailed guidance is offered by "J.G." of St. David's "On choosing partners for life":

Be determined . . . not to take anyone who is not possessed of those qualifications which are indispensably necessary for your happiness . . . Seek a partner similar to yourself;—similar in age, in education, in habits of life, and in taste . . . Seek a person of prudence. Prudence will make up for many defects . . . Avoid the haughty, domineering types (man or woman), the sordid worldling, the spendthrift, and the sullen of temper . . . Regard should be had to the pecuniary circumstances of the person . . . If you are desirous of being both comfortable and useful, *seek a person that feareth the Lord* . . . Lastly, make a point of earnestly seeking direction of the Lord in this weighty concern . . . Before I conclude, I would add, as a caution, See to it that you do not act treacherously in this affair.<sup>19</sup>

Among other items in the *Magazine* are obituaries— including that of J.L. Morgan of Forge, Langan, a student at Homerton College who died on 5th May 1835, aged eighteen; verse; a series of anecdotes of Rowland Hill; accounts of such dissenting worthies as Samuel Jones and Richard Morgan; extracts from Justin Martyr and Tertullian; a serial "History of the Church and Congregation of Protestant Dissenters assembling at The Gree Meeting, Haverfordwest"; and news items. From these last we note that the Pembrokeshire and Haverfordwest Auxiliary Bible Society sold 180 bibles and 305 New Testaments during the year ended 5th July 1837; the sum of £62 4s 1d was received. The Pembrokeshire and Haverfordwest Sunday School Union reported 51 schools in membership, 3835 scholars and 691 teachers. In 1836 the London Missionary Society received £516 4s 4d from Pembrokeshire, the Church Missionary Society £284 3s 5d, the Baptist Missions £250 2s 2d, the Wesleyan Missions £217 13s 7d, and the Moravian Missions £62 12s 8d. A total of £30 2s 0d was collected by the Pembrokeshire Congregational Itinerant Society for the support of Richard

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18. *Ib.*, I, 232-3.

19. *Ib.*, I, 235-6.

Morris. The Committee felt sorry that the sum was not much larger.

Book reviews comprise the last major category of contributions, and among these are notices of two hymn books. The first is *The Congregational Hymn Book: a Supplement to Dr. Watts's Psalms and Hymns. Compiled by direction of the Congregational Union of England and Wales* (1836):

Now, we confess that, from its earliest movements, we have viewed the Congregational Union with some little jealousy, lest, in time, it should induce our churches to abandon the primitive platform, rob them of their independency, and form them into a new body. . . . We confess, also, that our fears and jealousies have been somewhat increased by this 'Congregational Hymn Book', and the means employed to secure its adoption, which have presented to us the appearance of an *Act of Uniformity*. . . . We would therefore recommend those of our Ministers, who feel that they can provide a superior hymn-book for the use of their own congregations, to employ their talents for that purpose. . . . The selection and arrangement. . . of suitable hymns for congregational use, seems more properly to belong to those who have the care and direction of divine service. . . . There are many good hymns in it. . . but the greater part of them are, in our opinion, unfit for [congregational worship] . . . we have, under the name of *Hymns* (which ought, as the term signifies, to be addressed to God) a number of essays in rhyme, declarations of faith and experience, exhortations to saints and sinners, together with frequent addresses to heaven, earth, and the human soul, which are all, in our opinion, improper in acts of worship. . . . We cannot praise the *arrangement* of this hymn-book. The plan is too complicated, and too much like the outlines of a Body of Divinity.

Some hymns, however, "have our unqualified approbation," and no. 123 is printed "partly because it is a Pembrokeshire hymn, and partly because it is suitable for our pages."<sup>20</sup>

The other hymnal reviewed is John Campbell's *The Comprehensive Hymn Book* (1837). With its twelve parts and one hundred and eleven sections "This very superior hymn-book is, in our opinion, too *Comprehensive*." The threefold division is preferred, "presenting us with suitable hymns for the introductory parts of divine service, and such as are to be sung before and after sermon." Among the best hymns in the book are three from Pembrokeshire (where else?), and these are quoted in the review.<sup>21</sup>

Not even the considerable variety of material provided could secure the survival of the *Magazine*. A letter to readers in the eighth number of the first volume contained the following lament:

20. *Ib.*, I, 11-14.

21. *Ib.*, I, 213-217.

The worthy Editor has neither lot nor portion in the [*Magazine*], only in common with others, save the trouble of superintending it, without recompence . . . and I am sorry to say, that almost the whole task of supplying it with materials, is left to him alone—a sad reflection on neighbouring ministers, and other literary persons . . .<sup>22</sup>

The work could not be sustained, and the preface to the bound version of volume II, dated 28th May 1839, explains that

Such was the diminished circulation of our little work . . . that the Editor was recommended to discontinue it in September last . . . We exceedingly regret the want of such a Congregational Union, in the English parts of our County, as might possess a *fund* to meet the contingent *general expenses* of the Denomination . . . one of which should be the certain support of a *Pembrokeshire Congregational Magazine*.<sup>23</sup>

The South Wales English Congregational Union was not formed until 1899. By the time the South Wales Congregational Church Aid Society was established in 1860 John Bulmer was dead. Twenty years earlier he had left Wales for the English pastorates of Rugeley, Bristol, Newbury, and Langmore and Ruxton. The scarce copies of *The Pembrokeshire Congregational Magazine* are a not unimportant part of his elusive literary legacy.

ALAN P.F. SELL

**HOLY MURDER AT CHESHUNT COLLEGE:  
THE FORMATION OF AN ENGLISH ARCHITECT:  
P.R. Morley Horder, 1870-1944**

To begin in abstract. Chapel architecture is not a discrete study. It is at once a reflection of church trends and of the vocation, expertise, and genius too, of professional men and women (although few churches have had women architects). It is this which makes "Holy Murder at Cheshunt College" an appropriate subject for our present purposes.<sup>1</sup>

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22. *Ib.*, I, 187.

23. *Ib.*, II, Preface, iii-iv.

1. In the preparation of this paper I owe a particular debt to the Cheshunt College Foundation, for access to the archives of Cheshunt College Cambridge; the Bursar and Archivist of Jesus College, Cambridge; the Principal and Librarian of Westcott House, Cambridge; Miss R.H. Kamen (British Architectural Library); Mr. W.J. Smith (Greater London Record Office); and to Mrs. Lucy Archer, the late Mr. Stanley Burns, Sir John Cripps Bt., Dr. Morton Figgis, Mrs. Joanna Fisher, Mr. R. Morley Fletcher, Mr. A. Gill, the late Revd. Stephen Harris, Dr. John Horder, Lord Horder, the late Mr. R. C-H. Horne, Lady Mott, the late Revd. J.E. Newport, Mr. Paul Paget, the late Mr. Michael Rix, Mr. A.A. Smith, Miss M.A. Smith, Professor J.N. Tarn, Mr. Quinlan Terry, Sir Toby Weaver, the late Mrs. Barbara Horder West (in particular for background provided by her typescript, "The Horder Saga", 1969).

Percy Richard Morley Horder was the son of a Congregational minister. He became a successful architect whose work never quite expressed the genius within him. Hence the tensions suggested by his nickname, coined apparently by the Fellows of Jesus and given currency by Clough Williams-Ellis, "Holy Murder".<sup>2</sup> There are few signs of those tensions in his work which is generally sensitive, invariably well-mannered, easy on the eye. His houses, for which he was best known, are essays in English gentlemanliness for the age of Lloyd George. So are his public buildings, for which he deserves to be better known. But it is in his churches (most of them chapels) and his church-related buildings that one finds the measure of the man—a degree of character, variety, ingenuity in straitened circumstances. Not one of his churches is wholly satisfactory, yet each is a building of quality and in some there are touches, almost flashes, of genius.

He was known early among Congregationalists for churches at Leyton, Muswell Hill, Penge, Bushey and Brondesbury Park. In middle life he capped his Congregational work with a masterpiece in miniature, Little Church, Ealing Green, for the congregation to whom his father had ministered. His seminal work too was for Congregationalists: Cheshunt College, Cambridge. This led directly to commissions for Jesus College and Westcott House in Cambridge, indirectly for Somerville College, Oxford and Westfield College, Hampstead (though with these there were other contributory factors) and so to his largest work, a whole new campus for University College, Nottingham. He was now both fashionable and prolific, with an attractive and growing line in Cotswold-accented small country houses and in restorations and extensions for large country houses. Few visitors to the National Trust's Upton House are fully aware of the extent to which that most satisfying William-and-Mary turned early-Georgian mansion was transformed, indeed created, by Morley Horder as a setting for Lord Bearsted's art collections.

Clearly the work of so characterful, difficult and talented a man merits examination, especially now when fashion runs his way. For Horder is to be placed at the heart of the English vernacular revival, classically tempered, in an architectural succession which in his case begins with George Devey and has continued through Raymond Erith to Quinlan Terry. That particular succession has embraced the upgrading (by George Devey) of Walmer Castle for the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and the rebuilding (by Raymond Erith) of 10 Downing Street for the Prime Minister. In Horder it flowered with work for the Officers' Housing Association and for the Empire Exhibition at Wembley. It is thus a conservative tradition. Our less obviously conservative concern is with the chapel dimension of this tradition. George Devey built a chapel. Raymond Erith designed two chapels. For Horder, however, chapel design played a major part in his formative professional years. For him indeed chapel life was integral to his

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2. Personal Information.

whole formation.

"Mummy, there's a terrible old man in the hall, who won't take his hat off".<sup>3</sup>

That childhood memory, kept by the son of his best and most useful friend and neighbour, will introduce Cheshunt's architect.

There are two types of architect, or so ordinary people would like to believe: the professional man, sometimes a gentleman, more often an engineer; and the artist. They play equal havoc with convenience and beauty, though for different reasons. In fact most architects are both professionals and artists and in the present century an increasing number have been women. Morley Horder was emphatically the gentleman artist. He was that creature whom few dramatists have in fact cared to portray, the stage architect. What made him a fascination to family, friends and clients, in the end made him a desperation for them all. In his last years temperament and talent exploded into the frustration of mental illness, but the memory remained of great fascination.

Mr. Horder looks an artist. His hair runs over his collar and his eyes are particularly dreamy. He works in a wonderful house in Arlington Street, a house in which Horace Walpole wrote many of his famous letters.<sup>4</sup>

His appearance was memorable: his visage intense, chiselled and *fin-de-siecle* when young; "a tyrannical Old Testament Prophet figure always dressed in a tweed coat with holes at the elbows" when much older. One client's son recalled that once he got himself arrested as a tramp; another that he dyed his hair, wore *pince-nez* with thick black ribbon and spoke in a disdainful manner. He had what in more formal days was regarded as a dreadful habit of dropping in on people unannounced: he held this to be the best way of seeing people as they really were.<sup>5</sup> A pupil remembered his button boots changed several times daily<sup>6</sup> and his fiercesome way with the clients. It was how most professionals might sometimes wish to treat their clients, if they dared. Horder's way became legendary. He would shout at them, his voice sounding through the floor. "You come here and hector and bully me", he shouted as one client retreated quietly from the room. A colleague with occasion to call commented afterwards that "when Horder emerged through the curtains which separated his drawing office from his clients' consulting room, he could well appreciate how he came to be known throughout the architectural profession as 'Holy Murder'". No wonder his relations with the R.I.B.A. were stormy and intermittent; and that he called fellow professionals of whom he disapproved "*arch-itects*".<sup>7</sup>

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3. Personal Information.

4. Undated cutting in private ownership.

5. Personal Information.

6. Lucy Archer, *Raymond Erith, Architect*, 1985, p.4.

7. Personal Information.

Yet this man who was such “difficult stuff” was also a delight in talk and correspondence, one of an almost Olympian circle. The list of his closer social acquaintance is a cultural history of his day: Harold Begbie, Arthur Ponsonby, G.K. Chesterton, Augustus John, Gordon Craig, Lawrence Weaver, William Rothenstein, Eric Gill, Henry Lamb, Ambrose McEvoy, James Pryde, Charles Conder, Sean O’Casey, Percy Dearmer, the Frys, the Crippses, Margot Asquith—all these and Jesse Boot too. Their varied world conveyed its allure and his to two much younger women who were also most vulnerable to his tantrums: his private secretary and his elder daughter.<sup>8</sup>

His secretary’s first encounter came after she and a friend, still school girls, had applied for a secretarial post with two artists in the Adelphi. The friend got the post but the artists recommended Mary Smith to Morley Horder. So she became his junior shorthand-typist and later his private secretary. So she remained for nearly ten years until he gave up London for Hampshire. She continued to work for him after that, never seeing him but dealing with whatever he sent her way by post or messenger or train.<sup>9</sup>

Horder’s relationships with his office were a blend of the eccentric and the correct: salary cheques stuffed behind a fireplace perhaps, but never a personal enquiry.<sup>10</sup> From time to time he had a partner—Briant Poulter in the early 1920s, Verner Rees in the late 1920s.<sup>11</sup> He greatly relied on Mr. Starkey the model-maker and Mr. Harvey the perspective artist, but the lynch pin and the one who bore it longest was Miss Smith:

Working hours were very elastic and I seldom knew what time I would get home. I often had to go with Mr. Horder in his taxi [he had, a pupil remembered, a knack of hopping out, leaving the fare unpaid and the driver in a fume] to stations when he was travelling to various buildings and had to take dictation and sometimes had to go in the train to complete notes, getting out when the train was about to go. During the latter years at Arlington Street he had a car and chauffeur and again I often had to go in the car to take dictation, being dropped when this was finished and many times I had to make enquiries to find out where I was!<sup>12</sup>

As he was to his secretary so he was to his elder daughter: “I thought—and still think . . . that he was the most remarkable man I have ever met, the most dedicated, the most charming (when he chose to be) and the most awful”. She recalled the workoholic life: dinner at 10.30 pm, bed in the early hours, up again at 6 or 7 am, and no holidays unless at the whim of a client. “He drove, domi-

8. Personal Information.

9. Personal Information.

10. Archer, *op.cit.*

11. *D[ictionary] of N[ational] B[iography] sub* “Horder, Percy (Richard) Morley 1870-1944”.

12. Personal Information.

nated and fascinated everyone with whom he came in contact, but few could keep up the pace. In a way he was entirely selfless—his work, his architecture was his goal, . . . His taste was impeccable . . . he could never put up with the second rate in anything". He was, in sum, "an astonishing mixture of artist and puritan, his tastes were bohemian but his code of morals ultra strict".<sup>13</sup>

Whence came and what formed such a man?

His father was a Congregational minister, his mother a textile manufacturer's daughter. He was born, therefore, into the heart of the agonized, questing, intellectually starved, intellectually adventurous, independent, conventional, Non-conformist middle-classes, more thought than chatter, no time beyond eternity. Money shaded their cousinhood without invading their home. Although Percy Morley Horder became first an Anglican of the Percy Dearmer sort and then, precipitately, a Chesterbellocian Roman Catholic, his Dissenting origins clung to him through his commissions and his family. His sisters, brothers and their wives remained Congregationalists.

The Horders were upwardly mobile. Thomas Horder, the king of physicians, was a cousin.<sup>14</sup> He too in his early days was a Congregationalist, in membership at Lyndhurst Road Church, Hampstead. Their common ancestry lay in Salisbury trade. There followed a classic, comfortably circumstanced, professional consolidation through the ministry to a generation, understandably convinced that Horders were a special breed, which produced in one son a deputy chief accountant of the Bank of England, in another a major architect, in a third a uniformly well-regarded and successful quantity surveyor. Each was in his own way martyred by the impact of the work ethic on his personality. This was outwardly the new professionalism. The next stage would be Oxford, Cambridge and the performing arts.

The mediators of this progression were the Revd. William Garrett Horder (1841-1922)<sup>15</sup> and his wife, Mary Anne Morley (1841-1915). Like many successful Victorian ministers Garrett Horder married above him. His wife's family, the Morleys of Leeds, belonged to one of the most pervasive of Congregational cousinhoods. Morleys, all prosperously, closely and Congregationally (with an admixture of Baptists and Plymouth Brethren) related, were to be found in London, Nottingham and the Potteries. At their head was the stocking king, Samuel Morley (1809-86).<sup>16</sup> There can have been few sizeable places where a family connexion could not usefully be claimed, as the frequent assumption of the name Morley by mere Morleys-in-marriage (as in Morley Fletcher or Morley Horder) testifies. In the case of the Morleys of Leeds there were further

13. "The Horder Saga", *art.cit.*, pp.17-19.

14. For Thomas, 1st Baron Horder (1871-1955) see *D.N.B.* and M. Horder, *The Little Genius*, 1966.

15. See *C[ongregational] Y[ear] B[ook]* 1924 p.98.

16. See *D.N.B.*

tentacles into the fabric and textile Nonconformity of the West Riding.

The Garrett Horders were a handsome, difficult couple, two strong intelligences held down by manse life. After his training at Cheshunt College Garrett Horder sustained a quintet of increasingly assured pastorates. They began shakily in St. Helens, then moved through Torquay and Wood Green to Bradford and Ealing Green. At Wood and Ealing Greens he flourished markedly and his family settled into a vigorous suburban life. He was known beyond his denomination as a redoubtable hymnologist: use of his hymn book *Worship Song* was a sure sign of advanced tastes in contemporary Congregationalism. He was theologically liberal, with a fondness for America. His heroes were Brixton's Baldwin Brown, Norwood's S.A. Tipple (a Baptist) and P.T. Forsyth in his pre-Cambridge days. He was in fact as his predecessor at Wood Green described him, writing from Freiburg:

Mr. Horder has come to belong emphatically to the nineteenth century, which is itself a protest against mere authority,—whether of a class, of a church, of a book or of priests; . . . Moreover he is one of those men to whom it is a matter of just pride to point, when one is asked what Nonconformity is, what it means, what it does. In large part it means such a man as Mr. Horder.<sup>17</sup>

Given Wood Green in the 1880s, there could be only one school for such a man's son and that was City of London School, Asquith's old school. Percy was there from 1881 to 1886, a contemporary of C.E. Montague, Arthur Rackham and Frank Tillyard, one of the first to move to the school's new Renaissance palace on the Thames Embankment.<sup>18</sup> On Sundays of course it was Wood Green Congregational Church of which he became a junior communicant at the age of ten (extraordinarily early for Nonconformists, even precocious sons of the manse) and a member "in full fellowship" on profession of faith at the age of thirteen, in April 1884. His brother Leslie and his sister May joined with him; Constance joined five years later; Arnold and Gerald waited until College Chapel Bradford.<sup>19</sup>

The Horders moved to Bradford in 1893, leaving Percy in London. For three years now he had been in personal practice as an architect. The cliché that others take you at your own evaluation clearly applied here. From the first his was a west-end practice directed at the best consonant with artistic integrity. He was his father's son. His moves of office were few: 99 Bond Street to rooms above the Fine Art Society's Galleries at 148 Bond Street, to 5 Arlington Street, St.

17. *Wood Green Congregational Church*, undated [c.March 1893], unpaginated leaflet in private ownership.
18. A.E. Douglas-Smith, *The City of London School*, Oxford 1937, pp.210, 250, 448.
19. *Wood Green Congregational Church*, Church Meeting Minute Book 1863-1898, [Greater London Record Office, N/C/36/3]; *College Chapel, Bradford*, Minute Book 1856-1896, [Northern College archives, John Rylands Library, Manchester].

James's, across the road from the Ritz. He had set himself up, it is thought, on the strength of his winning ways with likely patrons (at this stage certainly more patrons than clients), after a training of only four years. He had trained in a good office, George Devey's.<sup>20</sup> He cannot have encountered Devey much and certainly not for long since Horder joined his office in 1886 and Devey died in November 1886, leaving James Williams to continue his practice, but the choice remains suggestive. Devey, for example, had designed Samuel Morley's overgrown mansion, Hall Place, Leigh, in Kent. Devey too was theologically advanced, indeed heterodox, a supporter of Charles Voysey's Theistic Church; and Voysey's son, C.F.A. Voysey entered Devey's office in 1880. It was certainly a seminal practice. In Goodhart-Rendel's opinion Devey was "one of the three most influential domestic architects in England of the nineteenth century",<sup>21</sup> the first to run counter to what was customarily expected of architectural composition, for Devey was a pioneer of the English Free Style, the vernacular style which so transformed the English scene in the later part of the nineteenth century. One mark of that style is the achievement of charm by understatement. That achievement is not a matter of chance, it is rigorously contrived. It requires the skills of a sophisticated and dramatic intelligence to design what catches the eye—in apparent denial of drama—by natural good form. There can be two views about Devey's place in this. One is Goodhart-Rendel's: Devey succeeded as a man who "never wished either to sophisticate or to dramatise the forms that he re-used so lovingly".<sup>22</sup> The other is Roderick Gradidge's: there was a tricksiness about Devey; he was too sweet a water-colourist to be a good architect. Which explains his undoubted way with clients, especially of the Liberal establishment.<sup>23</sup>

Voysey and Horder were formed by the Devey office. Both reacted against it, for theirs was a more artistically pronounced puritanism.

Horder's practice lasted for over forty years. It owed most to three contacts: his family's Congregational connexions, his wife's Cotswold connexions, and his own talent.

In his first five years he had as many commissions.<sup>24</sup> His first, in 1891, was a Congregational Mission Hall for Gravesend; his second, in 1892, a quietly Tudorish country house at Hill Wootton near Kenilworth for Caleb Williams. The professional breakthrough came at the time of his marriage, in 1896-7. Katherine Apperley was a Stroud dentist's daughter and a Plymouth Brother.

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20. For Devey (1820-1886) see *D.N.B.*

21. H.S. Goodhart-Rendel, "The Country House of the Nineteenth Century", P. Feriday ed. *Victorian Architecture*, 1963, p.67.

22. *Ibid.*, p.68.

23. R. Gradidge, *Dream Houses*, 1980, p.72. See also M. Girouard, *The Victorian Country House*, Oxford, 1971 pp.53-4, 103-7.

24. Mrs. R.K. Horder, "Record of the Work of P. Morley Horder Architect from 1891 to 1934" [a compilation which in fact ends in 1929]. In private ownership.

The Apperleys were well-connected rather as the Morleys were, in the Non-conformist commercial and industrial world which spread into the Cotswolds from Stroud and Rodborough. Thus over the next years there developed two distinct strands in Horder's practice. On the one hand domestic commissions for Apperley friends and connexions (Alfred Apperley's Rodborough Court, C.P. Allen's Farmhill Park, William Marling's Stanley Park) spiced with commissions for Godsell's the brewers, and on the other London and Congregational commissions. Some of these were for Ealing connexions—the Batemans, Callards, Whitings. Others were for chapels; extensions, alterations, memorials, complete building schemes. The list is long—Leyton, Muswell Hill, Brixton, Ealing Green, Bowes Park, Hackney, Wood Green, Penge, Edgware, Mill Hill, Brondesbury Park; and progressively further afield to Sutton, Marlow, Maidstone, Bushey, Rodborough, Potton, Guilden Morden, Darwen. They form an odd collection, each of them explained by the denominational bush telegraph, frequently mediated through the London Congregational Union, often through family connexions or the movement of artistically minded ministers from one pastorate to the next, hoping to help an older colleague's brilliant son without entangling themselves with the expense of complete outsiders. And through these bread and butter commissions others appear of a literary-artistic turn: alterations to a house for Heinemann the publisher; or to a flat in Raymond Buildings for Mrs. Cobden-Sickert, statesman's daughter turned artist's estranged wife and novelist; or a new house for Arthur Mee and one for Harold Begbie. There develops a press connexion: Lord Riddell, Cecil and Leicester Harmsworth, Lady Russell of Killowen, Sir Frank Newnes. There is a radical political connexion: Chiozza Money, Stafford Cripps, C.F.G. Masterman and, with happy professional impartiality, Asquith and Lloyd George though more the latter than the former. An educational connexion starts in 1905 some of it flowing through the Theosophical Education Trust. It is balanced by a big business and a public services connexion and a dash of fashion—Sir Arthur Du Cros of Dunlop (his Craigweil, where George V grimly ended a Bognor convalescence, was a Horder-altered house), Lady Tate, Lord Bearsted, Jesse Boot from 1914, Lord Stevenson, Sir William Mather, Lady St. Helier, Mrs. Willie James and 'her' Officers' Housing Association.

At the end the commissions faded away. The last major one was the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (1926-29) which is chiefly attributed to Horder's associate Verner Rees though those who know its library will recognise the hand and mind that designed Nottingham University Library; and the reticently monumental good manners of this otherwise unpardonable intrusion into Bloomsbury, which makes for so acceptable a transition from Gower Street to the gigantism of Charles Holden's Senate House, must surely be Horder's.

For the rest there are stories, few now verifiable, of great commissions thrown away or rejected out of hand. There was Liberty's of Regent Street which went Tudor in Great Marlborough Street in the mid 1920s. "I do not intend to answer the question as to whether such a building is calculated to advance the art of

architecture", wrote one architectural journalist.<sup>25</sup> Certainly it was a fantasy which no thinking architect could tolerate, although it has delighted everybody else ever since. Horder's reaction when the commission seemed to come his way was vividly recalled by his elder daughter: "*Posts and chains in Regent Street!!*" And there was the Dorchester Hotel in Park Lane ("It was to be in concrete, I believe, and Mr. Horder wouldn't touch it"); and the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre at Stratford (his designs, it is thought, were sent in too late, and the commission went to Elizabeth Scott who had, it appears, been interviewed for a post in Arlington Street, and rejected); and that triumph for another Scott, the Cambridge University Library (or at least "a tremendous job at Cambridge"). Increasingly, labouring under a persecution complex, Horder turned to the work which broke him and his family: the obsessive restoration, with all his powers of wit and his talent at full stretch, of Court Lodge, East Meon, across from the churchyard where he and his wife are buried.<sup>26</sup>

Perhaps the aptest assessment lies with a client. Horder worked for Somerville College Oxford in three stages between 1931 and 1935, each stage revealing more waywardness. There was never doubt as to the quality of his ideas or their *rightness* and instinctive sense of place, but when £16,000 turned into £27,000 and the builders refused to work further under his supervision it was time for a parting of the ways. The college's historian who endured, perhaps enjoyed, the turmoil, has since reflected:

Of course it all seems a bit remote now. We enjoy the buildings—certainly among the best we have—and the sum of money involved seems so trivial by modern standards that one sometimes wonders what all the fuss was about! But then our capital was negligible too, and our needs many.<sup>27</sup>

With this battle for proportion we return to the ecclesiastical spine of Horder's work. Its development reflects his changing views and consequent acquaintance: the first Anglican commission, St. Cedd's Canning Town, a mission church like his first Congregational commission, came in 1904; the first Catholic work (a church at Harlesden, buildings for Caldy Abbey, work for St. Benedict's Ealing) came in 1907; but its core long remained Congregational.

This was in part an outworking of his social formation. The building of a Congregational church involved a chemistry of personalities, committees, funds and presuppositions, yearnings too, all of them part of the childhood air he breathed. It offered opportunity for experiment with space and shape in harmony with the unfolding of a particular tradition. Horder's completed Congregational churches—Bushey, Muswell Hill, Penge, Brondesbury Park, Fetter Lane Leyton, Bowes Park, to which one must add that most successful communication

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25. S. Kitson, quoted in Alison Adburgham, *Liberty's: A Biography of A Shop*, 1975, p.111.

26. Personal Information.

27. Personal Information.

of himself for his clients, Little Church Ealing Green—demonstrates this. Brondesbury Park is red-brick and domed, a Queen Anne-in-Italy. Bushey is a spired almost-village church. Muswell Hill, so suburban-rendered outside, is a liberation and a surprise within. Fetter Lane is an essay in Meeting-house austerity, a graceful tribute to an ichabod past. Penge is the best, and most ambitious, of all. Outside it is a crib from Norman Shaw strongly flavoured by E.S. Prior and Henry Wilson. Inside it is a medieval guild's hall tuned to Congregational usage. Each is a case study in diplomacy, frustration, the solving of problems and, at the end, especially inside, in restrained good manners, never far from the world of olive or apple green stain and Cromwellian tables.<sup>28</sup>

The commissions and their stories have another merit. They helped to conserve in their creator a social conscience which found consistent expression in designs for little houses and bungalows and smallholdings. It issued in the first council houses to be listed for preservation: a group of Cotswoldian cottages built at Filkins at Sir Stafford Cripps's expense to prove that form and texture were possible at prices public bodies could afford.<sup>29</sup> Their mainspring is to be found in the plans and perspectives he prepared in 1906 in collaboration with C.S. Horne of Whitefield's Tabernacle. Horne was a good friend; Horder altered Horne's London house, built him a country house and designed a village institute to his memory. Their collaborative work was called *The Institutional Church*.<sup>30</sup> It is full of Horneisms, the sort of up-to-date Congregational rhetoric that Horder had been reared to admire. Here was a work that was "not a plea for dishonouring our ancestry . . . But . . . for bringing a soul of courage and common sense to the actual problems that confront us", to create "intensely human churches". "I want to see more science, more common sense . . . *The saints have got to wake up and think*". "The twentieth-century Puritan can join hands with him of the seventeenth" to produce a people's church that is truly popular.<sup>31</sup> Hence Morley Horder's contribution: designs for model institutes ranging from one for a village to one for a large town—here a large-windowed bungalow, or a Voyseyesque corner house, or there a touch of baroque, or one in urban-Cotswold but each to be artistic, attractive, comprehensive, really snug. And cheap.

28. Muswell Hill is the subject of a forthcoming paper by C. Binfield in Hornsey Historical Society, *Local History Bulletin*; for Fetter Lane and Penge see C. Binfield, "English Free Churchmen and a National Style", S. Mews ed., *Studies in Church History*, vol. 18, *Religion and National Identity*, Oxford 1982, pp.519-533; for Ealing see C. Binfield, "Freedom Through Discipline: The Concept of Little Church", W.J. Sheils ed., *Studies in Church History*, vol. 22, *Monks, Hermits and the Ascetic Tradition*, Oxford 1985, pp.420-450.
29. P. Morley Horder, "Building in Stone in a Stone District", *The Countryman*, April 1930, p.35.
30. C.S. Horne, *The Institutional Church*, with Plans and Designs by P. Morley Horder [n.d.c. 1906].
31. *Ibid* pp.3, 7, 18, 34.

Thus with the suburban manse world of Garrett Horder flowing through the Whitefieldite world of Sylvester Horne, thence into the headier catholicism first of England, then of Rome, we come to Morley Horder's most expressive commission of them all: Cheshunt College, Cambridge. The story of its building is an object lesson in its own right of wrong turns narrowly taken and opportunities boldly missed. It is also a case study in the interaction of chance, personality and polity, a half-built statement in brick and stone and pantile, symbolic equally of the thwarted grand aspirations of its architect and its occupants.

An Edwardian Nonconformist in Cambridge need not feel architecturally embarrassed. For over thirty years James Cubitt's Emmanuel Church (1874) had distilled two centuries of Congregational witness, an R.W. Dale of a building massively holding its mid-Gothic own among Peterhouse, Pembroke and the Pitt Press, its tall tower and small spire an interruption in the Cambridge skyline. No dream this, here was an affirmation. More recently, within the last decade or so, the other Nonconformists had followed. The Baptists had rebuilt in St. Andrew's Street (1903) in the ample, friendly 'unclever' Arts and Crafts Free Gothic virtually patented for them by George and Reginald Palmer Baines. No comfortably-off suburban or seaside Baptist would feel out of place in St. Andrew's Street. Emmanuel was stone, St. Andrew's Street was flint, and for the Wesleyans there was a burst of stone-dressed, red-brick, late Perpendicular at The Leys (1905-6). It was dark inside with stained glass and wood carving, old-fashioned yet over the top as school chapels ought to be, with a rose window from Bayonne Cathedral and a roof "somewhat after the lines of" Westminster Hall. Royally inaugurated and "rich in detail, so as to closely approximate to many of the Collegiate Chapels in Cambridge", along with the baths and the gymnasium this new Memorial Chapel proclaimed The Leys to be one of "those glorious institutions known as the Public Schools of England".<sup>32</sup> That leaves the English Presbyterians. Presbyterians do not go over the top, even in Scotland. In Cambridge they possessed J. MacVicar Anderson's impeccably dour church (1891), such a St. Columba's as might warm the memory of any exile from Morningside or Hillhead. That, suggestively, was in Downing Street. Over at Westminster they possessed a college which by contrast was immemorially Tudor (more Margaret than Elizabeth no doubt, let alone Mary) and gently rakish, because of its tower, as only those with the confidence of breeding can afford to be. Curwen, the Baineses and Cubitt were all competent in their varying shades of Gothic. Westminster's Henry Hare was a true Edwardian, a virtuoso in Renaissance Baroque and Arts and Crafts, admired for his educational and municipal pomps. How bold (or how insensitive) of these English Presbyterians to annex for their Cambridge College the architect of that "wild Jacobean dream

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32. Sir G. Chubb, *The Memorial Chapel of The Leys School Cambridge*, 1925, pp.22, 20, 18, 13. The architect was Robert Curwen.

palace",<sup>33</sup> Oxford Town hall. Hare was a public architect building for a church which still dreamed of itself as national and still to exiled eyes was the church over the water. But each of these buildings announced *established* values, a settling into Cambridge on terms shaped more by its status as national university than as an East Anglian county town. And though Curwen, Cubitt and Baines were practised hands at Free Church buildings (and Cubitt was a son of the manse), and though a strong case might be made for the *Dissenting* aptness of St. Andrew's Street and a good case for Emmanuel it would be unreasonable to expect their Cambridge buildings to be otherwise.

Sensitivity to environment was a mark of Edwardian architects. The question is, what environment? Was the true Cambridge environment national, regional or local? Was it urban? Or intellectual? What was its Nonconformist dimension? Such questions allow an interpretation of Emmanuel, The Leys, Westminster, and of a college which was waiting in the Edwardian wings.

Since October 1905 Cheshunt College, in Cheshunt no longer, had been making do on Hills Road incongruously kitted out in Cintra House, a terrace of tall and most unCambridge houses. It had moved more in desperation than in faith and now it marked time. And yet, as an appeal would shortly remind the public, "Cheshunt College is one of the permanent results of the Evangelical Revival of the Eighteenth Century". In its century and a half it had trained some 700 men, 270 of them living yet, a tenth of them "in the Foreign Mission Field", a tenth in the Church of England.<sup>34</sup> That was an interesting statistic. For most people Cheshunt trained Congregationalists. As any of its students knew at a glance from its paintings and furnishings it was the college of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion and its basis "from its commencement, has been catholic and interdenominational; its students, on completing their course are at liberty to enter any Evangelical Church".<sup>35</sup>

Six years after Cheshunt settled in Cintra House, to become for purposes of correspondence Cheshunt House, a new president took office. George Campbell Morgan (1863-1945), the Westminster Chapel transatlanticist extraordinary, was considered by Albert Peel to be "the best expository preacher in the world today".<sup>36</sup> There spoke *Inevitable Congregationalism*.<sup>37</sup> W.E. Orchard put it differently: his Campbell Morgan was "a forceful preacher of somewhat old-fashioned views".<sup>38</sup> His appointment to Cheshunt might therefore again be seen as more desperation than faith. It was certainly a radical step, startlingly old-hat as only radicalism can be. But it had the desired effect. Among a host of lesser

33. A. Service, *Edwardian Architecture*, 1977, pp.52-3.

34. Building Appeal. C[heshunt] C[ollege] A[rchives] C9/2/10.

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Congregational Quarterly*, 1930 p.408 quoted in R. Tudur Jones, *Congregationalism in England 1662-1962*, 1962, p.371 n.1; *CYB* 1946 p.447.

37. The title of Peel's best known book (1937).

38. W.E. Orchard, *From Faith to Faith*, 1933, p.111.

ones Campbell Morgan laid down one prime condition. There must be a new building. Thus unfolded Congregationalism's best such opportunity since Mansfield College Oxford, a quarter of a century before. It proved to be the last. Given such a president, such a foundation and such a moment, how might this best be architecturally expressed in such a place?

Our story begins in 1911 and ends in 1929. Its three plots—the building of a college, the making of a president and the search for a future—merge into one context: the Great War.

Action began in July 1911. On the 24th the governing body decided to invite Campbell Morgan to the presidency.<sup>39</sup> In a mirror image of the now engrained Friday-to-Monday habit, though in a pleasing echo of the more conscientious clerical fellows of older Cambridge foundations, he would be in London Friday-to-Monday, in time for Westminster Chapel's Friday Bible School as well as its Sunday pulpit. His stipend would be £500. In return he would fundraise for the new buildings; indeed he would look forward to holding his Bible Conferences in them, an English counterpart to the Moody Northfield Conferences. At all of which E.W. Johnson, the college tutor, the rock on which the college rested through too many vicissitudes, and naturally sensitive to the sweeping of new brooms, expressed his "entire satisfaction with Dr. Morgan's openness of mind on theological and Biblical matters". It was left to Samuel Figgis, the produce-broking brother of "Figgis of Brighton" and uncle of Figgis of Mirfield (one of those ecclesiological quirks to confound amateurs of Edwardian religion) to express the residual hesitations of Lady Huntingdon's governors: were they really justified in pursuing building schemes?

August clinched it. On the 15th Campbell Morgan wrote from his Norfolk holiday house (naturally called Northfield) to accept the presidency. He set out the need to train men "for the work of a very definitely expository ministry". He repeated his terms: "I feel that the only condition upon which I could accept the trust which is offered to me, is that there should be an immediate and bold taking hold of the situation". There must be commitment's visible signs: a site and a building (or at least plans, architect, and appeal) and a committee structure too.

That was the easiest part. On the 25th, while the governors met in Cambridge, the site committee met in London and a site was almost in the bag. It was a perfect site, a short walk and yet a world away from Cintra House. To its west it faced across Trumpington Road to The Leys School, bounded by Brookside's donnish irregular terrace of good houses. Mr. Chips lived in one.<sup>40</sup> Henry

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39. Unless otherwise stated this account is based on Governing Body of Cheshunt College, Minute Book, 1906-13 [CCA, C1/20], 1913-21 [C1/21].

40. W.H. Balgarnie, Congregational minister's son and Leys master supposedly the original for the character in James Hilton's play. See C. Binfield, "Et Virtutem et Musas: Mill Hill School and the Great War". W.J. Shiels ed., *Studies in Church History*, Vol. 20, *The Church and War*, Oxford 1983, pp.351-3.

Fawcett, professor of politics turned practitioner and Postmaster General, died in another. The southernmost two belonged to Congregationalists, Miss Bond the grocer's daughter whose brother was Master of Trinity Hall and David Munsey the jeweller. The Munsey house with its orchard was the stateliest on Brookside. They were prepared to sell. Their joint price was £10,400. To the south were the Botanic Gardens and to the east was one of those social confluences so important for Nonconformist mission. Here was an area of stern white brick houses. The larger ones, some very large, were in Bateman Street. There lived the families of Fellows and the more prosperous educational groupies whom Cambridge always attracts and the quieter reaches of sound trade. Dense behind them were little houses for widows and college servants and all who kept a university afloat. Two acres; mission to east; trees to west; the railway station five muscular Christian minutes' walk one way; Emmanuel Church, King's Chapel, and the Divinity Schools five to ten even brisker minutes' walk another way.

In early October the site committee met again, this time in Cambridge, this time with plans.<sup>41</sup> Their Liverpool member, Oliver Jones, had taken the initiative with "rough plans of new buildings for the College, prepared by Mr. Grayson of Liverpool". He went further. He read Mr. Grayson's "report as to the suitability of the site". That was an artful move. Hastwell Grayson was a patriotic choice for a Liverpool man.<sup>42</sup> He was also a Cambridge man (Emmanuel). His firm, Grayson and Ould, excelled in the warmest Tudor vernacular. They had designed Wightwick Manor for those Wolverhampton Congregationalists, the Manders. They had built houses for the father and brother of that Bolton Congregationalist, W.H. Lever, and a ballroom for the magnifico himself. They were prominent among the architectural galaxy who were creating Port Sunlight for Lever Brothers. That was suggestive, since with his rare eye for a site and a fine elevation and his reputation for architectural philanthropy with an educational and ecclesiastical slant Lever was firmly in the sights of an appeals committee. Better yet Grayson and Ould were of proven Cambridge worth, as their new buildings for Selwyn, Trinity Hall and Westcott House testified. For all this the Cheshunt governors acted circumspectly. They would submit these plans to the Board of Education, if "only to show what could be done with the property". With that the site committee dissolved itself into a Building Advisory Committee.

The site was there. There was a scheme in mind. There were visions of benefaction. Now a figure was needed. And firm plans. The advisory committee decided on £35,000. That would cover the site (£10,000), the building (£20,000), and the furnishings (£5,000). They also decided on a competition:

41. CCA. C9/2/10.

42. For George Hastwell Grayson (1871-1951) see A. Stuart Gray, *Edwardian Architecture: A Biographical Dictionary*, 1985, p.197.

ten competitors, three prizes. By now there was excitement in the air as the instincts of a morally competitive society were given their head. Each governor might nominate two architects, or three. There would of course be an assessor. He would come from the top of his profession. And they favoured Reginald Blomfield, Beresford Pite, E.S. Prior, Basil Champneys of Mansfield, Rylands, Newnham and Divinity Schools fame. And they went for the cream: Sir Aston Webb<sup>43</sup>, whose practice was the largest in England, a triumph of colleges, universities, law courts, museums; Buckingham Palace, the Mall, the Hong Kong Supreme Court, Caius' St. Michael's Court; and Angel Street Congregational Sunday Schools Worcester, for Sir Aston was a Worcester deacon's son-in-law. Webb agreed. He knew the site. Across the road his King's Block of lecture hall and library for The Leys would be building in 1913-14. He drew up a statement of requirements. He did his duty, nosing round the Medical Schools to examine their library.

Ideas buzzed. Should there be a chapel? the governors wondered in November and asked the advisory committee. By now Samuel Figgis was fired with enthusiasm and in February 1912 he promised £1000 if four other people did the same. It was at that meeting that they decided on a *small* chapel. Committees began to grow. The Building Advisory Committee dissolved into a Building Plans Committee and a Funds Committee, and that showed its teeth by adding a paper Spicer to its number. Of course there were hiccups. There was one over 2 Brookside. David Munsey had lowered his price and was generally behaving like a brick (and he was made a governor in June) but Campbell Morgan who had been in the house since February "had the idea that—the house being part of the college premises—no rent would be charged". He was gently disabused. Rent was indeed to be paid, at the rate of £100 a year for three years; but this was to be a *notional* figure, twice the *actual* figure.

It was now June, moving into July 1912. The rhythm of meetings, some at Cheshunt House, but more in the City at Memorial Hall, was maintained. The air of jubilee was replaced by one of common sense. A scheme emerged costed at £20,000 if carried out in stages. Ultimately three houses would go in Brookside. The competition was modified: no premiums, but a fee to each entrant; and six entrants (eventually eight), not ten; and each governor to nominate one, not two or three. Money trickled in. £750 from a lady in Newport and £750 from old students in memory of Dr. Reynolds, since whom there had been no president to compare. The first donor of £1000 appeared, one of a Scotch connexion uncovered by Campbell Morgan, and just in time. Lord Armitstead was the identikit donor—late eighties, son of a Riga merchant, brother-in-law of a Scottish Congregational layman, Liberal war-horse, pall-bearer at Gladstone's

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43. For Webb, (1849-1930) see Gray *op.cit.*, pp.374-379.

44. This paragraph is based on *Conditions and Particulars of Competition*, July 1912, *Building Appeal*, CCA. Cp. 2/10.

funeral and ennobled by Campbell-Bannerman, a childless London Scot.<sup>45</sup>

And the architects were nominated. There were sixteen of them, a varied lot narrowed down to eight. Of those eliminated one is bound to regret the intellectually adventurous Beresford Pite<sup>46</sup>, H.J. Hare and the young Martin Briggs who was a Cheshunt manse son, drawn in his scholarly way both to the Baroque and the puritan. As to those who were selected, Withers and Meredith were an up and coming partnership with a corner in chapels; E.R. Barrow and George Hubbard were men with a flair for the Renaissance. Barrow's inter-war townscape in Sussex Street still delights and surprises the eye and Hubbard's Stuart House for Extra Mural Studies is just that, a William-and-Mary town-turned-country house. Hubbard would have been a suggestive choice for Cheshunt. In Highgate his Witanhurst for the soapmaker Sir Arthur Crossfield outdid the soapmaker W.H. Lever's The Hill, across in Hampstead. Hubbard was of an antiquarian turn. He wrote *Architecture on the Eastern Side of the Adriatic and Neolithic Dew-Ponds and Cattle ways*. But he was also surveyor to the Iron-mongers Company.<sup>47</sup> Of the others Hastwell Grayson was an obvious selection. So was Phillips Figgis, who as a cousin of Samuel and son-in-law of J.B. Paton, late of Nottingham, knew Cheshunt's type of need.<sup>48</sup> Faulkner Armitage was a heavy architect whose forte was as interior designer. He had fitted out much of Mansfield College and since his brother was a tutor at Yorkshire United College, he too knew his clients' needs and was close to the denominational pulse.<sup>49</sup> His people were grandees in Manchester's Congregationalism. That left another man whose family circle was close to the denominational pulse and who, like Briggs, was a Cheshunt man's son: Percy Morley Horder.

The competition was announced.<sup>50</sup> There were the usual stipulations about anonymity and sealed envelopes. There was £30 for each competitor. The winner's commission would be five per cent, his employment subject to "a *bona fide* tender from a reliable Contractor being obtained for carrying out the work within 10 per cent of the Architect's estimate". The general scheme was to be in two stages, the first stopping short of Brookside. The aim was to house thirty, perhaps even forty men, but in the first instance the target was twenty. Buildings "of quiet and simple collegiate character" were hoped for, and since only £20,000 would be to hand for the scheme (£14,000 for the first stage) "it is realised that great economy will have to be exercised to provide what is required for this sum".

45. George, 1st Baron Armitstead (1824-1915), M. Stenton ed. *Who's Who of British Members of Parliament*, vol. 1, 1832-1885, Hassocks 1976, p.12. His brother-in-law was W.E. Baxter (1825-90) of Dundee [*ibid.*, p.25].

46. For Pite (1861-1934) see Gray *op.cit.* pp.285-9.

47. For Hubbard (1858-1936) see Gray *op.cit.* p.218.

48. For Figgis (1858-1948) see *ibid.* pp.178-9.

49. For Armitage (1849-1937) see C. Binfield, *So Down to Prayers*, 1977, pp.173-6

50. *Conditions and Particulars* CCA. C9/2/10.

The particular followed the general: each student to have a set of keeping room (15'×12"), bedroom (8'×12") but not necessarily a gyp room, opening on to a corridor but "not with a staircase to every double set of rooms in the usual Collegiate manner". There were to be one lavatory to every four men, one bathroom to every five, and the urinals, changing room, shower baths and bicycle shed necessary for the exercise of muscular Christianity in Cambridge. The Dining Room (38'×20') was to be "of a plain character"; the library was to hold 10,000 books and its continuation might usefully form a chapel. That should seat sixty "for private prayer and devotion and not for public services". This was a common plan for Congregational Colleges but Cheshunt would avoid its worst excesses by providing a Lecture Hall (60'×30') to seat 300 with a hundred in the gallery. Here would be the arena for mission, Bible schools and the president's expository powers. "It is calculated that this would be the dominating building in the group". This left, classrooms apart, the staff quarters: three rooms and a small garden for the six college servants (all female); three reception and five bedrooms for the Resident Tutor; three reception, seven bedrooms, study, office (for "callers on business") and tennis courts for the President.

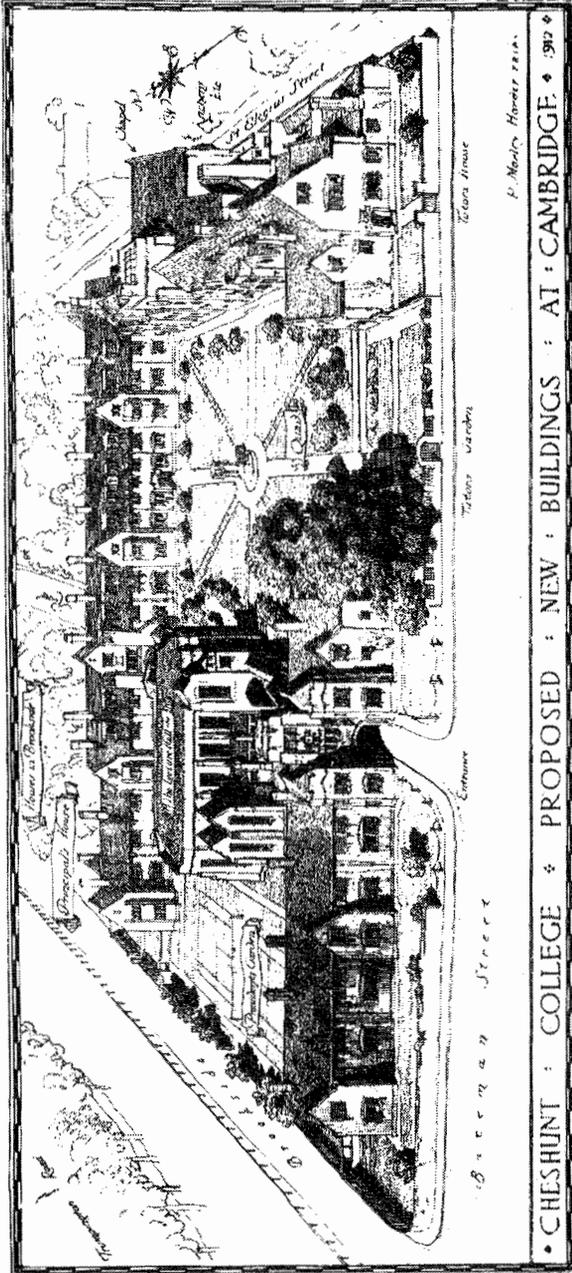
On 9 October the Building Plan Committee met in a Westminster Chapel vestry. They examined the plans, listened to Sir Aston, endorsed his choice: "No. 5". Five days later they met there again, this time to hear Webb's considered opinion. He was generally commendatory. "Most of the designs have some excellent points and show very careful study of the subject." But: "I am afraid none of the designs could be carried out for the amount named in the conditions, but No. 5 is the most economical". The envelope containing the name was then opened. "No. 5" was Morley Horder, as might almost have been guessed since Horder stood fifth alphabetically. "The general disposition of the buildings is in my opinion excellent and when complete the buildings should make a charming group".

*The Congregational Year Book* for 1913 published Horder's bird's eye perspective.<sup>51</sup> It was indeed charming. Though the architect called it Late Domestic Tudor it is more a recreation of such a Cambridge as Erasmus might have known warmed by the Cotswolds and tempered by Hampstead Garden Suburb, a reformed Hiram's Hospital perhaps, but with the style of a manor house and the class of the best in Yale. There were friendly leaded windows and long low roofs and just enough vertical punctuation from dormers and gables and chimneys and oriel bays. There was a gate house of course and here the treatment was most obviously architectural. It was almost swagger. A tower too. And the Lecture Hall, dominant to be sure.

The visitor from Cambridge, walking along Brookside, would have the decided sense that something very pleasant and scholarly was up. The Brookside houses, plate glass and urban, would give way first to the mullioned windows of

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51. *CYB*, 1913, pp.138-9; illus. facing p.138.



P. Moody, Horder & Co. 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100

• CHESHUNT : COLLEGE & PROPOSED : NEW : BUILDINGS : AT : CAMBRIDGE. ♦ 1872 ♦

the President's Lodge, and then to his garden and tennis courts screened from too much view by a hedge and low walls. From this gardened informality rose the tall apse of what seemed a great chapel. This was as yet the only sign of busy things beyond. Attracted, the visitor would turn into Bateman Street past a range of keeping rooms until the boundary walls were replaced by posts and chains (Bateman Street after all was not Regent Street), for here, armorially carved, was the gatehouse. Through the gatehouse. To the left the sound again of tennis balls. Ahead an entrance to the chapel, its size now fully apparent. Here was grandeur. Here was not chapel at all; this was the lecture hall, an expository cathedral in freest arts and crafts gothic. To the right was a cloister and beyond that lay the core of the college: a court (the architect's only solecism was to call it a "quad") bounded to the north by the keeping rooms, to the east by the teaching, eating and reading rooms. There, in the centre, looking across to the lecture hall, was a tower. It might be another gatehouse leading out into St. Eligius Street. In fact it led to the college's public rooms and beyond it lay the chapel. To the south of the court, diagonally across the college from the president's lodge, was the resident tutor's house. His garden was a private continuation of the court, providing for Bateman Street that touch of carefully domestic informality which was the mark of Brookside. Here the garden wall was punctuated by trellis work, for creepers.

Such was the college of the *Year Book* bird's eye perspective. It was an *impression*. The architect stressed his flexibility: "no attempt will be made to adhere to any particular style if it interferes with the convenience of a modern and useful college building". The sketch of his lecture hall was very much an impression. "It is proposed to alter the form . . . and make it more compact" and many more details "will be altered, after consultation with the Governors of the College". But he took characteristic care to stress environment. "It is to be noted that the group of elms near the entry are to be retained as far as possible, and that these will group easily with the entrance gatehouse".

It was a dream of a building and most of it remained a dream. Interested parties mulled over its details. The old students decided that their £750 was for the chapel. The Building Plans Committee decided to shape the lecture hall into an octagon with the chapel behind it, central to the community rather than sharing St. Eligius Street with the kitchens. And weightiest of all, "The President reported that Sir W.H. Lever [he had been created baronet in 1911] thought the proposed plans could not be carried out for £20,000 and that stone would be preferable to brick". The tiresome millionaire was right, as he tended to be on such matters.<sup>52</sup> One wishes that he had taken to Horder. They would have sparred marvellously. As it was, Lever's name brought in the big league. The Funds Committee cast its eye on Sir Arthur Nicholson, the Congregational silk manufacturer from Leek whose family had given their town its fine Rhenish

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52. For W.H. Lever, 1st Viscount Leverhulme (1851-1925) see *DNB*.

institute; on Colonel Windle Pilkington of St. Helens, the Congregational glass manufacturer; and on the Wesleyan Sir Jesse Boot who was shortly to become Horder's most important patron and the only one to give his talents space for full expression.

All were appealed to "who believe in the importance of training men for the Christian ministry in such a way as to ensure their being grounded in the best scholarship of their time, and to prepare them as Preachers of the Word, Pastors of the people of God, and Missionaries of the Cross".<sup>53</sup> It stressed the urgency: the Cintra House lease ran out in 1914; building should begin in 1913. It stressed the size of the need: £36,750 to make it debt-free, of which £14,609.7.2 was already promised. Samuel Figgis had found his four other £1000 donors and Lever was one of them. So far twenty-three people had given between £100 and £1000. The names of the donors demonstrate the broad constituency on which Cheshunt could still call: two sons of old Samuel Morley, second cousins therefore of Mrs. Garrett Horder (Lord Hollenden, £500 and Arnold, chief whip in Parnell's day, £50); some Spicers; Colman; Salt. There were the locals of course, town, gown and county in collusion—Sims Woodhead and Bond of Trinity Hall, Ramsey of Magdalene, A.J. Wyatt of Christ's, Neville Keynes of Pembroke, Mrs. Gibson of Castle Brae, Campkin of Rose Crescent, Gurteen of Haverhill, Warren and Day of St. Ives, Chivers of Histon (£100), Montague Butler of Trinity and from Bethune Baker £5, "One year's ancient stipend of the Lady Margaret's Chair". There was more, from the Presbyterian Lords Kinnaird and Reay and Lady Tullibardine, the Baptist Mrs. W.S. Caine, the Quaker Storrs Fry (£250), the Wesleyan T.R. Ferens (£250) and a Congregational Crewdson.

The stonelaying was the pivot of the appeal. It was 12 June, 1913, Cheshunt's 145th Commemoration and the last day of May Week when, as the *Christian World* reminded an innocent readership, "the undergraduates, with their sisters and cousins, devote themselves wholly to pleasure". The denominational and local press had a field day. The Lord Chancellor who laid the stone, Haldane, was surely the only one to have undergone believer's baptism and followed it with German philosophy. No wonder "Lord Haldane and Religion" was headline news. Accompanying him was Hines Page, the American ambassador, whose first public engagement this was: Campbell Morgan never missed a trick. The Master of Trinity (Montagu Butler) waggishly cast his mind back eighty-one years to the week when the Great Reform Bill passed into law and Lord Eldon, Haldane's predecessor, had declared that the sun of England had set for ever and it rained for sunless days thereafter. And *The Enquirer* pondered Oxford, Cambridge and theology, their Anglican style less wooden and provincial, their Free Church style less angular, the former "more susceptible to the deeper issues of thought", the latter with a "new reverence for the dignity of sacred learning", yet both set in places still "alien to the simplicity and self-discipline of the life of service". Oxford and Cambridge were life's backwaters,

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53. *Building Appeal* CCA. C9/2/10.

waning in intellectual significance while *modern* universities grew elsewhere.<sup>54</sup>

American guests suggested American methods. A full time organizing secretary was appointed for a year at £300, "he paying for the assistance of a lady-typist". He was E.T. Reed of the Reformed Episcopal Church of England, one of a complex of tiny episcopal sects floating alongside Lady Huntingdon's Connexion. He was late of the Sheffield Y.M.C.A. and justified his salary: in his year at Cheshunt he raised £1200-£1300. Meanwhile the president went fundraising. Windle Pilkington gave a luncheon for him in Liverpool; Sheffield's Cemetery Road Church was "uncomfortably full" for his address; there was a reception in Brighton's Royal Pavilion and more sermons at Wellingborough.<sup>55</sup> The culmination came with a "Three Months' Special Campaign" in April, May and June 1914 and if by July it was clear that Stage Two would cost as much again as Stage One at least £16,174 had been raised for Stage One. By October 1914 the deficit was down to £1123.9.1.

In this context the building at last went out to contract. Here Aston Webb's warnings proved well-founded. Eighteen firms tendered for sums from under £20,000 to nearly £26,000. Some (Dickens of Ealing, Miskin of St. Albans, Godson of Kilburn, Jones and Andrews of Beckenham) were used to Horder, his churches and his ways. Some (Rattee and Kett, Bell, William Saint) were local. Some (Higgs and Hill, Trollope and Colls) were in the big league.<sup>56</sup> Their estimates were the lowest and in August 1913 the Trollope and Colls tender was accepted: £14,441 for Stage One, excluding, for the present, hall and chapel. A month later they withdrew. They had miscalculated the cost of stone. In stepped the local man, Saint of St. Barnabas Road, contracting for £14,951 (£21,658 for the full scheme).<sup>57</sup> His firm had built the Leys Memorial Chapel. Then there was a key appointment; that of quantity surveyor, a crucifying job where Horder was concerned. This hero was to be Arthur E. Parsons who had worked in Horder's office and knew his man.

And now, safe in the arms of movement, architect and governors could turn to lighter matters.

The saga of the bricks began on 23 June 1913. "A suggestion was made to the Plans Committee that red brick be used." That was dynamite. Material mattered to an arts and crafts man, not least in a place so vulnerable to dullness as white-brick Cambridge. In 1897, for example, the Committee of the Clergy Training School (as Westcott House then was) had adjourned "in order to study the various bricks in Cambridge" and opted for Perse School red. As Principal Cunningham observed years later, "the result might be considered somewhat disappointing in view of the trouble taken over the matter!"<sup>58</sup> On 4 July 1913 the Cheshunt Plans Committee assembled at 148 Bond Street (Horder's office). They agreed that separate estimates be obtained for yellow brick with stone dressings and grey-green roof tiles, and for

54. *Christian World*, 12 June 1913; *The Enquirer* 14 June 1913, CCA. C18/2.

55. Cuttings, CCA. C 18/2.

56. CCA. C9/2/10.

57. CCA. C9/2/11.

58. B.K. Cunningham, *The History of Westcott House*, Cambridge U.P., 1932, pp.18, 19.

red brick. There were two schools of thought: the architect and most governors versus A.J. Wyatt, the William Morris man. The volcano rumbled. There was complete accord on brick and stone dressings in August, but as to colour—the governors took fright and left the choice to the Building Plans Committee. Then in September, only one governor having “expressed any adverse opinion to the adoption of dark red brick”, the architect exploded. He “very strongly objected to the use of red brick, and intimated that if they were used he would be compelled to alter his design.” And he produced examples of bricks “which he recommended for adoption”. What to do? There must be another meeting. The chairman would inspect brick buildings and report on them. The agenda would “clearly set forth the main issues to be determined” and the views of Sir Aston would be solicited. In apparent *non sequitur* a letter would also go to W.H. Lever (who had promised a further £500) “giving him particulars of the progress of the building scheme.”

What had happened was that Horder had come out in favour of parti-coloured bricks. The story arose that he captivated the committee by showing them a mix of bricks that he knew they would approve while proceeding to use his preferred, and quite different, mix on the actual building.<sup>59</sup> So all parties got their way, though some more than others. Meanwhile Lever fired a diversionary salvo. The chairman’s September letter to him had its due effect. In October he excitedly read Sir William’s reply, practically offering “an additional sum of £1000 in the event of stone being used in the construction of the buildings”. It was an offer almost impossible to refuse and eight of the nine attendant governors recommended acceptance of the contractor’s estimate for a stone-faced college.

Had Lever offered more he must have got his way. Instead Horder’s stone and parti-coloured bricks won after all, “subject to some members of the Committee settling at Cambridge the exact colour and tone of the bricks to be used”. It was Christmas 1913. Two months into the new year the governors noted that “the combination of stone with parti-coloured brick promised to be very satisfactory”.

By now there were three matters at issue. One was completion. One was the opening. The third was more ominous in every way. In July 1913, before the saga of the bricks and the sudden exit of Trollope and Colls, it “was insisted that the contractors must be at work by 18 August, and the buildings be completed and furnished by the end of August 1914. The architect stated there would be no difficulty about these matters”. But it was May 1914 before the governors felt sufficiently confident to turn their attention to the opening. It was to be on 12 October 1914. They had the Prime Minister in mind, with the American ambassador again in attendance. Asquith was to the Congregationalists what Haldane had been to the Baptists, though he kept his bridges in better repair. Since the Leys had secured Campbell-Bannerman to open their gymnasium it was natural that Cheshunt should look to his successor, and they approached him through Percy Illingworth, the chief whip and a Baptist. In the early summer of 1914, however, Asquith had other matters on his

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59. Personal Information.

mind, chiefly Irish. He declined. The governors were minded to turn either to Lord Bryce or to Sir Arthur Haworth. Lord Bryce, scholar, Liberal, elder statesman and ex-ambassador to Washington, could as a Scot be regarded as an honorary Free Churchman.<sup>60</sup> Years before, in 1881, he had been President of the Oxford University Nonconformist Union. Sir Arthur, though no scholar, was certainly no fool.<sup>61</sup> He was a pillar of strength to Mansfield College and stood with Sir Albert Spicer as the leading Congregational M.P.

For a while the last details of the building flickered across the minute books. In June 1914 the architect suggested that the head of Erasmus, or Cromwell, be carved over the doorway. Less controversially and more historically the governors preferred George Whitefield or, since her arms graced the tower, the Countess herself. In July the committee preferred pattern or parquet linoleum to the architect's "plain cork carpet" for the men's rooms. By the turn of the year, though the internal fittings remained far from complete, the grounds had been laid out. True to form Horder provided some of the creepers and plants. The buildings had cost about £18,900 (the total expenditure would creep up to £29,264.10.0) and the deficit hovered at £3900-£4500. And the opening was fixed at last.

It was to be on 26 October 1915, a year late for some obvious reasons. Lord Bryce would be chaired by the Vice Chancellor, who was the governors' sixth choice. Sir William Lever, Sir Arthur Haworth, Lord Hollenden, T.R. Ferens and Sir Robert Laidlaw all declined. That day the Building Plans Committee dissolved.

The Great War brought its own crisis to Cheshunt, but it also intensified one simmering crisis and it brought the future into high relief.

For there was crisis over the presidency. Fundraising, pulpiteering *and* ministerial training were too much for Campbell Morgan. In June 1913 the governors considered a letter from him. He would have to live permanently in London from September. His wife's health and his congregation's happiness required it. He would of course fulfil his current academic duties and expect to be in residence from first thing Tuesday to last thing Thursday. "Later arrangements would probably demand the very serious consideration both of the governors and himself". That came in February 1914: he would have to resign at the close of the Easter term, on medical advice.

Campbell Morgan's energies now began to flag. In June he expressed his "deep regret at the improbability of his obtaining any further sums on account of the £3,000 from America which he had guaranteed". July found him in London. When war broke out he alone of the great preachers was at his post in his pulpit.<sup>62</sup> His last formal link with the College, other than one of Frank Salisbury's more striking state portraits, snapped in January 1917 when he resigned from the governing body. He was off to Australia for a year. "I shall always regret that I tried the impossible".

60. For James, Viscount Bryce (1838-1922) See *DNB*.

61. For Sir Arthur Haworth, 1st Bt. (1865-1944) see A. Peel, *The Congregational Two Hundred*, 1948, pp.277-8.

62. Tudur Jones *op.cit.* p.335.

Thus the College opened with its target to be met, a president to be found, and War draining its students away. By November 1915 only five remained in residence and only two planned to return in the new year. For the rest it was service with the R.A.M.C. or the Y.M.C.A. For one of them, Z.F. Willis, it would be lifelong service with the Y.M.C.A., and a knighthood. And Serbian refugee boys camped out in the new buildings.

It was a time for radical measures. A tantalising variety of names were mooted. Would Forsyth come back to Cambridge from Hackney? Or Grieve from New? Or Buchanan Gray from Oxford? Or Moffatt? There were pressures for an amalgamation with Baptists. So what about the Baptist layman, T.R. Glover? His merits were strongly urged. Or H.G. Wood? In October 1914 matters got as far as an interview with "the President of one of the Baptist Colleges" and in May 1916 a temporary sharing agreement was reached for five years with Midland Baptist College, "possibly with a view to amalgamation". In June 1917 they resolved on an approach to Regent's Park College, and were rebuffed. It began to look as if Cheshunt would close completely and not just for the duration. In January 1918 a Wesleyan layman, Michael Gutteridge, offered £30,000. It would make an admirable Wesleyan theological college. But Trumpington Road was not to become a Methodist preserve, Wesley House settled eventually in Jesus Lane and Cheshunt continued its presidential search. Harry Emerson Fosdick was mooted in 1919. He was not interested; there was to be no Rockefeller money for Cheshunt. They turned to the thirty-five year old C.H. Dodd, and offered him £600 and a house. In April Dodd declined. He preferred to stay at Mansfield and Cambridge was to wait another sixteen years for him.

The strangest of all possibilities, however, had come much earlier, in May 1914. The college's appointments committee reported several letters favouring the candidature of a youngish Presbyterian still in his first pastorate, at Enfield; W.E. Orchard. He was a Westminster man, so he knew the Cambridge scene though angled from St. Columba's rather than Emmanuel Church. The college secretary, J.G. Henderson, saw Orchard and reported back:

He felt he had a special mission and message. He was entirely Catholic in his faith, and he accepted absolutely the Divinity of Jesus Christ. He was strongly Evangelical, though aiming to express old truth in modern terms. He would give the work of the College his chief attention. Age about 38. Stipend mentioned, £600.

Orchard's published recollections bear this out. He knew that Cheshunt was "in a difficult position . . . unable to attract the services of a prominent minister or reputable scholar".<sup>63</sup> What appealed to Orchard was the college's basis:

It occurred to me that it might be run as a Union College, and if proper arrangements could be secured, might also train men for the Anglican

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63. Orchard, *op.cit.* p.111.

ministry, and would, therefore, serve the cause of Reunion, which I was beginning to consider as the primary ecclesiastical concern.<sup>64</sup>

Orchard was intrigued. It seems likely that among the letters which advocated his candidature was one from the architect's father. Or at least, Garrett Horder was thinking along lines similar to those which appealed to Orchard, for in May 1914 he wrote with otherwise unconstructive wisdom to the *Westminster Gazette*:

The college in its present form as a training-place, in the main, for ministers of the Congregational churches is not needed. They are over-provided with colleges. Probably no section of the Church has so many in proportion to its size. I find there are no fewer than twelve in all, when Wales and Ireland are included, with numbers of students ranging from fifty-one to fifteen.

Garrett Horder's answer, post-Edinburgh 1910, was an inter-denominational missionary college:

The history and foundation of the college are of so really catholic a nature that men of all Churches, episcopal and non-episcopal, could enjoy its benefits. And so the growing unity of the Churches and the mission field would be provided with a Home Expression.<sup>65</sup>

Nothing came of any of it. Orchard was convinced that Westminster men began a whispering campaign. Certainly his recent past was brilliant enough to give the most tolerant appointments committee pause. Cheshunt interviewed him in June and turned him down (by four votes to two) in July. At exactly the same time the King's Weigh House was after him, and so it was that Cheshunt's almost-president fulfilled a London wartime ministry as important as (and as unlike) that of Cheshunt's past president. In the event the presidency went to quite a different man. Sydney Cave became president in 1920<sup>66</sup>, but to the extent that he had spent a decade in India (preceded by study in Germany) Garrett Horder might consider himself vindicated. As for Orchard and the Horders, his understanding of "catholic" could not be Garrett Horder's but it was increasingly his son's.

One element of the new buildings to achieve intermittent support was the Chapel. The idea was close to the hearts of old students who wanted a memorial to H.R. Reynolds. It hovered around the constantly altered plans: behind the east tower; attached to the great lecture hall; somewhere in the north range. The chapel scheme was shelved in February 1914, although the idea remained that room might be found at the end of the north keeping rooms. Indeed the plans were revised accordingly and Horder claimed fifty guineas for them. He got £25. There matters rested for a decade. In that time Horder moved from Bond Street to Arlington Street. He was moving towards the professional peaks. Greatly daring, Cheshunt turned to him again. It was the chapel scheme. Seldom can so restrained a building have provoked

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64. *Ibid.*

65. Cuttings, CCA. C 18/2.

66. For Cave see *CYB* 1954 pp.506-7.

so taut a correspondence.<sup>67</sup>

It began early in March 1928. Horder wrote to J.G. Henderson of Eastbourne, Cheshunt's secretary, noting that, "You have now decided to proceed with your long-delayed College Chapel", and adding: "I do not know why you suggest that I can produce the building for which I have prepared plans for £2500 when I have told you it will cost £3000 as a minimum exclusive of furniture. . ."

That tone was maintained through the year. In May his secretary wrote on Horder's behalf:

Mr. Morley Horder regrets he cannot keep the appointment you suggest at such short notice, as he has to be in Leicestershire on Thursday. He notes there is a meeting of the College on 10 May in Cambridge and it might be possible for him to be in Cambridge on other matters on that day, in which case he will attend.

Three weeks later she wrote again:

Mr. Morley Horder was unable to attend the meeting at Cheshunt College on 10 May, as he had hoped, but he asks me to let you know that he will be in Cambridge on Friday.

In June he decided to switch the chapel site. The original proposal would mean the loss of elm trees and he deplored that, even though "elms are rather doubtful trees and these particular trees are probably past their prime". He now proposed to put the chapel in the tutor's garden. "As far as I can see this is very little used".

So to July. He could not meet the governors "as I shall probably have to leave town for Nottingham for the Opening of the University" but he would send plans and two models and he wrote airily:

I suppose the end of the Chapel will be treated architecturally, there will be two raised steps, and that a communion table and chairs will be required against the wall with a reading desk and rails to the front. I suggest that the Chapel should be entered through a screen in the usual collegiate manner over which there would be a gallery with space for an organ.

He chanced his arm. Ideally the interior would be stone faced, if the cost could be borne:

The advantage of this scheme is that it in no way interferes with future extensions. I still, however, consider that the present Entry to the College is unworthy and that the Chapel might have been an opportunity to get a more collegiate entrance between the Principal's house and the Chapel, as I indicated, but I gather that this proposal was definitely turned down.

Poor Horder. He sensed that Cheshunt was now on its guard:

A Building Committee of twelve seems rather unwieldy. . . What I want to

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67. The following section is based on the correspondence contained in CCA. C9/2/10-18.

know is whether there is to be a communion table and the usual three chairs at the back wall, and a platform, rail and reading desk. Is there to be a pulpit? I could not undertake the work if I cannot have a builder who understands my work. Open tendering is waste of time and money . . .

That was in late July. At the end of August he wrote:

I . . . had 11 September fully in mind as a very definite fixture, and I do not know why you suggest I should have forgotten this. The plans will certainly be ready . . .

Henderson and Horder danced warily round each other. "While we put that sum", Henderson carefully wrote of the £3000 allocated for the chapel, "as our outside limit, we were relieved to hear you say that your builder's estimate was for £2700". To make doubly sure Henderson secured the good offices of Arthur Parsons. Horder bridled at once. "It is curious that Mr. Arthur E. Parsons should call in. Of course I know him quite well as he used to be in my office". Here Morley Horder became holy murder indeed. Nothing would induce him to forward his specifications. "What an impossible fellow he is!" the college treasurer wrote to the college secretary late in October, stressing that not a step could be taken until the committee had seen them and approved. Henderson dutifully told Horder so and Horder replied by return: "I take it I am in order in making all arrangements to start this week and get the bricks and other materials on the site". Next day, in words of one syllable, Henderson repeated the gist of his letter: a verbal estimate would not do especially when the builder's £2700 had apparently risen to £3000. "Cannot we have a formal specification", he begged. Once again Horder replied by return: "[I] do not understand why we cannot get on without all this red tape". Henderson stood his ground: "Neither Mr Burns [the treasurer] nor I have any authority to go forward pending the specification". On it went. "Sir J.C. [?Carmichael] and A.E.P. [Parsons] were greatly tickled at our experiences!" added Arthur Burns in a little note to Henderson on 7 November.

The correspondence closed in December. At last the committee had clapped eyes on the specifications. All was almost well. Henderson wrote to Horder on the 14th:

We hope that without further delay the whole of the work may now be carried out and completed.

We are also pleased to have your assurance that the £3000 we have in hand will be sufficient not only for the erection of the chapel but to include £300 for lighting, heating and furniture.

Horder's prompt reply cannot wholly have reassured poor Henderson:

I hope what you say will prove correct . . . £300 is a provisional sum for such works as are not shown on the plans which you saw and which may be necessary and will be dealt with when the roof is on.

Now that those passions are spent and the irritations have long faded into the college papers and the buildings are nowhere used as once intended, we can only rely on the memories of those who knew the buildings and suffered the smoky chimneys of its keeping rooms and can yet vouch for the accuracy of the photographs which

survive of its public rooms for confirmation of Horder's triumphantly understated success. Cheshunt's exterior is a journey from the fifteenth into the later sixteenth century. Its interior continues that journey from Cromwell's England to that of the Countess. In 1946 Martin Briggs, himself briefly considered for the Cheshunt commission and Horder's biographer for the *Dictionary of National Biography*, generously described the little chapel's charming austerity and its movement from one century to the next but one:

... the interior contains inlaid mahogany fittings—pulpit, lectern, and communion table—of Georgian type. The outstanding merits of this design are its extreme simplicity, and the skilful use made of colour: white walls, apple green panelling, and mahogany fittings. The lighting is diffused . . .<sup>68</sup>

The interior might be regarded as a controversial triumph. It took form in the course of the 1930s with Bernard Manning, historian and Honorary Bursar of Cheshunt from 1932, as its supervising angel mediating between college and architect. The apple green divided the college community and what must for want of a better word be called the reredos—a shape that might be the ground plan of Bourges Cathedral and that certainly echoed the shape of the Countess's chair set behind her table—was a puritan drama in black with a panel superimposed of the *chi-ro* above a Pauline text in Greek: a Protestant icon.

The orthodox Dissent of Bernard Manning and J.S. Whale (who had succeeded Sydney Cave in 1933) was too much for the 1950s and the chapel was gentled, some would say emasculated, in memory of H.C. Carter, minister of Emmanuel Church, J.S. Whale's father-in-law and Bernard Manning's friend and minister.<sup>69</sup> Blue curtains flanked the reredos, the cross replaced the *chi-ro*—the Greek text vanished with the green paint and the mahogany pulpit was scaled down. Such things are bound to happen in theological college chapels and in Cheshunt's much of the old allure remained.

The chapel's qualities of simplicity and colour, relieved of their austerity and softened by the domesticity of a country gentleman's house, were to be found in the three rooms where Horder had freest rein in Cheshunt: the dining room, the Combination Room and the Merriel Grant Library. The panelled dining hall was the perfect foil for the college pewter and portraits—the state paintings of Presidents Reynolds and Campbell Morgan, the head and shoulders of the Countess (head resignedly half-resting on her left knuckle)—and for the waxed Cromwellian tables and benches and chairs.

Upstairs the Combination Room and library could—should the double doors facing each other across the landing be opened—form a long gallery, barrel-vaulted, plainly plastered and wood-beamed, lit by William-and-Maryish electroliers. The Combination Room was more the drawing-room of the manor

68. M.S. Briggs, *Puritan Architecture and its Future*, 1946 p.49.

69. For H.C. Carter (1875-1954) see *CYB* 1955 p.509; for Manning (1892-1941) see F. Brittain, *Bernard Lord Manning, A Memoir*, Cambridge 1942.

house, with the Countess's furniture, more portraits, one a large family group in seventeenth-century dress, and looking glasses. Here good sense is civilised by Hepplewhite and Chippendale. The library is a return from court to country values, Windsor chairs for the reader, bookcases seven-shelves high, vitrines for archival treasures, but all of it, to quote the architect's memorialist, "urbane rather than fustian".<sup>70</sup>

Which brings us to Sir Herbert Baker. In October 1944 the architect of Pretoria and New Delhi, whose origins lay in a Kent yeoman's house such as Cheshunt might have been a grander Cotswold cousin of, recalled doing the rounds of new Cambridge buildings with Rendall of Winchester College:

And we came to the conclusion that Cheshunt College by Horder was the best building of all, and a good example of the successful treatment of yellow brick, well chosen in colour, mixed with stone in harmony—Clipsham I think it was—and a grey-Dutch pantile which gave a soft non-reflecting moleskin to the roof masses.<sup>71</sup>

Those pantiles were a wartime expedient to cut costs, and Cheshunt's intelligent serenity was achieved through layers of disharmony which lapped over, with similarly serene results, ruefully recalled, to two Cambridge building schemes directly influenced by Cheshunt—those at Jesus College and Westcott House.

Bernard Manning was intermediary for the former. It was he who gave the chapel its inlaid mahogany fittings, the pulpit, the lectern and the table rail with its turned balusters. Manning greatly admired Cheshunt's buildings. He was also Bursar of Jesus from 1920 and in a dozen years supervised that college's largest extensions yet. There were two stages of them: bathrooms and sets in 1922-3 and fifty sets completed in 1930.<sup>72</sup>

Contemporary opinion was impressed. Jesus was the only college whose rooms did not look onto busy streets. Manning described to the College Boat Club the effect which this had on forming a Jesus temperament, "a family spirit, intent upon our own affairs and rather unconcerned about many things for which other people struggle, untroubled by the scheming anxiety that public ambition brings".<sup>73</sup> A few years later A.L. Maycock felt that Horder's buildings had enhanced this quality with "an evident consciousness of a great memory, worth preserving and continuing, an affectionate respect for the ideals and manners of the past, a desire to show by an outward harmony the changeful continuity of the society's history".<sup>74</sup> Pevsner felt much the same. While the buildings were of no special merit (though "the choice of the brick was done

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70. *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, November 1944.

71. *Ibid.*, October 1944.

72. Brittain, *op. cit.*, p.44.

73. *Ibid.*, p.12.

74. *Ibid.*, p.45.

with great care” and the armorial shaft of wit by Horder’s friend Eric Gill was achieved with equal care), their planning was “something to be proud of” in the way it linked inferior nineteenth-century work with the rest of the college to make a proper court of Chapel Court.<sup>75</sup> An obituarist went further: Horder’s work in the “unsympathetic Cambridge white brick [was] expressive and elegant”. He admired the refusal to “break into the crumbly rusticity and consciously ingenuous classicism which has recently proved popular in the older universities”.<sup>76</sup>

In other ways Horder’s work has entered Jesus lore. There was his wretched habit of using old drawings as rollers for current drawings. There was one cherished mark of his unobtrusive agelessness—every set of his Chapel Court rooms differs from every other, such that the Jesus connoisseur might test from internal evidence in which of the forty-six sets he finds himself. No wonder

We have more material for a study of Morley Horder than for any other person or subject connected with the College. His plans for the new buildings and for the baths in Pump Court are more prolific than all the rest of the College maps and plans put together . . . Morley Horder drew *everything*, door furniture, lavatory cisterns, gas pokers, the lot.<sup>77</sup>

In August 1939 Bernard Manning and his High Church Jesus friend, Freddy Brittain, crossed Jesus Lane to Westcott House to examine its chapel. They were hunting for ecclesiological horrors, puritanically perceived, and subsequently published in exquisite pastiche as *Babylon Bruis’d and Mount Moriah Mended*. Westcott did not fail them:

We took out ye Revised Version and destroyed xlvj. tip-up Seates. Item, at ye gate of ye House we utterlie destroyed and abolishe .1. foolish Coney and .1. superstitiouse Pigge.<sup>78</sup>

Shortly afterwards Brittain joined the Westcott House Council in counterpoise to Manning’s Cheshunt governorship, their friendships across governing bodies echoing the architectural relationship between their two chapels.

Westcott’s pre-war architects had been Grayson and Ould followed by Temple Moore; sound names. At Westcott as at Cheshunt the chapel (Temple Moore’s design “would have been a building of great dignity”)<sup>79</sup> was delayed. Like Cheshunt, Westcott had closed during the war and like Cheshunt it reopened with a new principal. Westcott’s man (stipend £400) was B.K. Cunningham, widely held to have been the most influential Anglican principal of his day. The need for a new building was rapidly apparent.<sup>80</sup> The principal and the college

75. N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Cambridgeshire*, Harmondsworth, 1954, p.76.

76. *Journal R.I.B.A.*, November 1944.

77. Personal Information.

78. Quoted in F. Brittain, *It’s a Don’s Life*, 1972, p.186.

79. Cunningham, *op.cit.*, p.33.

80. Unless otherwise stated, this account is drawn from Westcott House, Minutes of Council 1887-1961.

secretary went to Cheshunt to spy out the land and to report on the work of its architect. In 1922 Horder was chosen for the first of the three Westcott schemes on which he worked for the rest of the decade. Three sets of rooms were completed in 1923. A major scheme followed at a cost of £20,000 met from the estate of V.H. Stanton, late chairman of the college council, to the south of the gardens: chapel, library and ten sets, linked to the Grayson and Ould blocks by a cloister. They were dedicated on 8 November 1926, "the memorial of the saints, martyrs and doctors of the Church of England."<sup>81</sup> More sets followed in 1929, to continue those of 1923. They cost £6,000. The college now held forty students, the number once dreamed of for Cheshunt.

At Westcott as at Jesus Horder with his usual skilful understatement turned the garden into a college court. There could not be the same quality of serenity as at Cheshunt because of the variety of the existing buildings, so Westcott's are busier and friendlier with a homeliness born of steep roofs and dormers and red brick and the studied informality of an orchard garden best seen in May Week. On the whole Horder had his way: the design of the chapel gallery, the shape of the chapel ("if the architect should think good, the end of the Chapel shall be left square, in the place of the apse formerly proposed"), the style of the library bookshelves (oak, not the painted deal which the architect with rare thoughtfulness suggested as the cheaper alternative), and the library chairs, country again but this time rush-seated. The simplicities are the same: the chapel lofty, barrel vaulted, entirely plain save for the dark wood of its gallery and pews, the library low, its vault a very flat barrel—Cunningham described it in his Principal's Report for 1925-26 with just a hint of irritation:

The Chapel is simple and dignified and pleasing in its proportion. In the plan of the new Library the Architect perhaps forgot that the first function of a Library is to hold books, but with the insertion of island bookcases the room is cosy, and suggests itself as an agreeable place in which to work.

Horder's work for Cheshunt, Westcott and Jesus finished more or less together—1929-30. With the National Institute for Agricultural Botany on Huntingdon Road, the group of houses on Barton Road, the buildings for Somerville College Oxford and more houses in Oxford, and given the eccentricity of his clients—that is to say women dons, dissenting ministers, agricultural botanists and *professional* Anglicans—there is the more force in an informed assessment of his work:

Even in the exacting and clamorous architectural markets of Oxford and Cambridge Morley Horder's buildings demanded attention not because they shouted loud in a language alien to that of the place and its traditions but because they conformed to tradition and yet possessed a characteristic

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81. Cunningham, *op.cit.*, p.43.

individuality—eccentricity even—which was as humanist, witty and intelligent as their author.<sup>82</sup>

Those of us who have lived in Cheshunt, experiencing the strange temperaments, tantrums and intensities of life among the saints in a theological college will know that if conformity to tradition, wit, humanism and intelligence, are not heroic virtues, nor even basic Christian virtues, they yet form a marvelously suggestive and surprisingly strengthening context, for which we continue to be grateful and from which, in memory, we draw.

And the last word? It should be from Horder's widow. After his death in October 1944 Katherine Morley Horder completed and vetted her husband's biographical record for the R.I.B.A. Against a section seeking details of such specialist work as quantity surveying and valuation she wrote, ringed and asterisked: "These surely are not architect's work?"<sup>83</sup> What is architect's work? Go to Cheshunt, still half completed. Though its use has changed, the intended life gone from it, you will still catch your breath with pleasure at its peacefulness. That such calm can cover the inadequacies of college living, created by a man at war with himself, is a work of grace. It is architect's work.

CLYDE BINFIELD

### CONSTANCE COLTMAN — A FORGOTTEN PIONEER

"We stand here rejoicing in the fact that we have seen what may very well prove to be in that branch of the Holy Catholic Church to which we more immediately belong the beginning of a new era. A new age is travelling at the birth, and the old civilisation in which woman was the subordinate of man has come to an ignominious end. The new civilisation which we hope to build—not only out of its ruins, but out of new power received from on high—is one in which men and women will be in partnership".<sup>1</sup> These words were spoken by the Revd. Stanley Russell in the King's Weigh House Congregational Church on the evening of Monday 17 September 1917, when Constance Mary Todd, a twenty-eight year old Oxford educated woman, was ordained to the Christian ministry, specifically to serve in the Darby Street Mission of the Weigh House. The person who was ordained alongside her, Claud Coltman, became her husband the following day. She wished to be ordained in her own right so that her marriage which followed might be considered an equal partnership in life and ministry. The ordination was followed by recognition by the London Congregational Union, and so official accreditation as minister by the Congregational Union of England and

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82. *Journal R.I.B.A.*, November 1944.

83. *R.I.B.A. Biographical Record*.

1. *The Christian World*, 20 September 1917, p.5.

Wales. Thus Constance Coltman was the first woman to be ordained to the Christian ministry in the United Kingdom.

She was not the first woman to undertake ministerial tasks. Quakers, Methodists and the Salvation Army had in the past listened to women preachers; and it was the Unitarians who first appointed a woman minister. Gertrude von Petzold took the full theological course at Manchester College, Oxford, 1901-4, and at the end of her course was appointed minister at Narborough Road Free Christian Church, Leicester. In 1908 she went to the United States for two years, then returned to the pastorate of Small Heath Unitarian Church, Birmingham; she was clearly a successful and well-liked minister. But in 1915, a problem arose about her naturalisation, and she was given leave of absence; she disappears from all records from then on.<sup>2</sup>

In the first decade of the twentieth century, a few women began to preach and perform other ministerial tasks in Congregational churches; Hatty Baker was one of the most prominent. When a Congregational hall was built in Horsted Keynes, Sussex, she took services there on alternate Sundays; she not only preached, but undertook pastoral work, and officiated not only at baptisms but at celebrations of Holy Communion<sup>3</sup>. Her case was brought to the attention of the General Purposes Committee of the Council of the Congregational Union in March 1909. The Committee had recommended to the Council that if a woman were to comply with the requirements of college training imposed on male candidates for the ministry, and if she were to receive a call to a specific congregation belonging to the Congregational Union, she should be accredited and her ordination recognised; this recommendation was passed as a resolution by the Council.<sup>4</sup> Hatty Baker was unable to fulfil these requirements, and so had to continue in unofficial, unaccredited ministry.

In 1911, Hatty Baker gave a lecture on "Women in the Ministry" at the King's Weigh House, for the City of London Branch of the Liberal Christian League; the published pamphlet version of the lecture describes her as the Honorary Secretary of the Free Church League for Women's Suffrage.<sup>5</sup> Her lecture dealt with the biblical, theological and historical background to Christian ministry. In many ways, it foreshadows the contemporary debate. She referred to the way in which "all classes of people of somewhat narrow doctrines and antiquated views" bombarded her with quotations from Paul's letters; but she was equal to

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2. See R.V. Holt, *The Unitarian Contribution to Social Progress in England*, 1938, p.245; *Essex Hall Yearbook 1916*; C.G. Bolam, *Three Hundred Years 1662-1962: The Story of the Churches forming the North Midland Presbyterian and Unitarian Association*, Nottingham 1962; and *The Inquirer*, 2 July 1904, 5 June and 7 August 1915.

3. See article by C.S. Bremner on "Women in the ministry" in *The Christian World* 15 April 1909.

4. *The Christian World* 18 March 1909 and 4 October 1917.

5. Hatty Baker, *Women in the Ministry*, 1904.

this, and showed how Paul can also be quoted in support of the ordination of women; how, for example, 1 Cor 14<sup>34</sup> is contradicted by 1 Cor 11<sup>5</sup> (when understood in its historical and literary context). She reminded her hearers of the offices undertaken by women in the early church; and that the early fathers of the church wrote to Christ as "homo non vir"—it was his *humanity* which they stressed. And she emphasised the value of the ministry of women in interpreting, together with men, "the heart of our Mother-Father God".

She told of the opposition she had encountered, worst of all from "men-ministers". She felt the prejudice in the Free Churches against women ministers to be "very deeply rooted". She told how she had sought the views of Congregational theological college principals about the admission of women, and had been told that until a woman applied for admission, no decision would be made. But she was greatly encouraged by the response of educated women, and looked forward to a time when large churches with more than one minister would call a woman minister as part of the team.

There is no evidence of friendship or any contact between Hatty Baker and Constance Todd, but it is clear that Hatty Baker did much to clear the way for Constance Todd's admission to Mansfield College and subsequent ordination.

The political movement for women's suffrage and the movement for greater participation by women in the life of the church ran in harness. Many women were involved in both. In the Church of England, a movement for female participation in its councils was being conducted. The Church League for Women's Suffrage, founded in 1909, was by 1915 concentrating on achieving equal rights for women on (Anglican) church councils. (After much debate, in 1914 women had been allowed to serve as representatives on parochial, but not ruridecanal, diocesan or central, church councils.) In June 1917, only a few months before Constance Coltman's ordination, the Life and Liberty movement was launched with a letter to *The Times*. One of its objects was full female participation in a self-governing assembly of the Church. Their campaigning led to the Church Assembly Act of 1919, which gave lay women equal rights with lay men in the self-government of the Church.<sup>6</sup> But women's ministry was confined to the Order of Deaconesses and voices raised in support of women's admission to the full diaconate or priesthood found little encouragement and plenty of opposition. It has to be said though that the outstanding woman preacher of the twentieth century was an Anglican—Maude Royden—who remained loyal to her own tradition in the face of much discouragement and opposition.

Meanwhile more women were taking part in the government of Congregational churches through serving as deacons. At the same church meeting of the Weigh House at which Constance Todd was admitted to its membership

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6. B. Heeney, "The beginnings of church feminism: Women and the councils of the Church of England 1897-1919", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol 33 no 1 (January 1982) pp. 89-109.

(4 January 1917—before her call to ministry there), a new constitution of the church was accepted, according to which there was to be a church committee (equivalent to a deacons' meeting) of nine elected members, six men and three women. An amendment to change this pattern simply to "nine elected members" was lost, but by 1919 the positions on the church committee were open to men and women without quotas. Amongst the women members of the committee was Margaret Bondfield, the first woman cabinet minister. This changing attitude was being reflected in other churches too.

Constance Todd was born on 23 May 1889 in Putney, the eldest of the four children of George Todd and Emily Ellerman. George Todd was a Scottish Presbyterian. In the earlier part of his career, he founded and was headmaster of a government school, Colombo Academy, in Ceylon. When he returned to England he entered the Scottish Education Department and eventually became First Assistant Secretary.<sup>7</sup> He was an Oxford graduate, having been Snell Exhibitioner at Balliol, and had a deep love of literature, Italian as well as English. Emily Ellerman was one of the first generation of women to study medicine, though a serious accident with an open fire prevented her from practising as a doctor. Her own father had come to Hull from Germany to be Hanoverian Consul at Hull, and the Ellermans became wealthy shipping magnates. Both George and Emily Todd assumed that their daughters as well as their sons should have the best education they could provide; and that they should go on to higher education and train for a profession as their mother had done. Constance Todd seems to have grown up with good self-esteem, and this was of enormous advantage to her after her marriage when she and her husband tried to work out a new kind of relationship based on a shared career of ministry.

The Todds attended Putney Presbyterian Church, one of the many Presbyterian churches founded (largely by the initiative of Scottish *émigrés* to the south) in the late nineteenth century. The family was well provided for, and domestic servants ran the household. They travelled a good deal in Europe; George Todd indeed died in Rome, and is buried in the Protestant Cemetery there. This travel, and her German grand-parentage, helped to inculcate Constance's strong international outlook. She went to the recently founded (1897) St Felix School, Southwold, in Suffolk, and then followed in her father's footsteps by winning an Exhibition to Oxford, to Somerville College to read History in 1908. Here she gained particularly good reports for her work on European History; she was fortunate in being taught by the then leading authority on the Italian Renaissance, Edward Armstrong, who described her as "one of the very best special subject people that I have ever had".<sup>8</sup> Like her father, she loved Italy, and Florence above all. She took her final examinations in 1911 and gained

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7. *Who was Who 1897-1915*.

8. *Reports 1907-1909* Somerville College, Oxford. The special subject was almost certainly the Italian Renaissance.

good second class honours, though she could not yet describe herself as a graduate of Oxford University, since degrees were not open to women until after the first world war. She did not take any active part in the suffragette movement, though she did call herself a "suffragist". A lifelong abhorrence of violence made her unwilling to identify herself with a movement which used violence as one of its methods.

She entered Mansfield College, Oxford in 1913, a few months after the death of her father. She had persuaded the Principal, W.B. Selbie, not only of her academic suitability but also of her genuine calling to the ministry. Her daughter remembers her saying that she had difficulty in finding acceptance, and that she had approached other colleges as well. But I have not been able to find any evidence of this. She was the first of a trickle of women students to pass through Mansfield while Selbie was Principal. On the eve of Selbie's retirement, Dorothy Wilson, one of his former students, wrote in the *Mansfield Magazine* that he was "kind and fair and wise" to his women students, "never hiding from them the fact that life for a woman minister is as yet bound to be difficult, but also making clear his conviction that God can speak through a woman as well as through a man, that she, too, may be called to His service in the ministry and can then do nothing but answer the call".<sup>9</sup>

Her presence in the College (which was non-residential) put the Junior Common Room in something of a flurry. The minutes of the Mansfield College JCR record the following discussion on 17 October 1914:

The President [B.I. McAlpine] then proposed that Miss Todd—recently admitted as a student of Mansfield College—should be invited to make use of the JCR between lectures. After prolonged discussion, and the proposal, modification and withdrawal of several amendments, it was finally decided to invited Miss Todd to make use of the JCR at any time (except during House meetings) and to attend conferences. The House also agreed that the Principal should be informed that no objection was felt to Miss Todd being present at sermon class.<sup>10</sup>

This was still the age of chaperones for undergraduates at mixed gatherings. On 6 May 1914, a special meeting of the JCR considered the proposals of a standing committee, in effect excluding any female member from the JCR after hall in the evenings, except to attend meetings arranged by the college for members of the college. While affirming its belief in "women as being of right of Christian principle members of the Christian Church on full equality with men", and their right to enjoy the advantages of theological colleges, the JCR considered itself incapable of embodying these principles fully in its constitution.<sup>11</sup> This position, again, was only reached after amendment and counter-amendment. But

9. *Mansfield College Magazine* June 1932 p. 135.

10. Mansfield College Junior Common Room Minute Book vol 2, 17 October 1913.

11. *Ibid* 6 May 1914.

Miss Todd evidently enjoyed herself at Mansfield, and just before going down she told the JCR that "the three years she had spent at Mansfield had been among the most wonderful in all her experience".<sup>12</sup>

Intellectually she proved herself a very good student. She won the Fairbairn Memorial Essay Prize, and showed a particular interest in and aptitude for Hebrew. A few years later she put this to good use by translating the books of Ruth, Jonah and Obadiah from Hebrew into colloquial English for a series published by the National Adult School Union (1920). She took and gained the London University BD degree. Her teachers included not only Selbie, but also Vernon Bartlet, George Buchanan Gray, James Moffatt, C.H. Dodd and C.J. Cadoux.

She had also met Maude Royden, who came to address the Junior common Room on "The spiritual significance of the Women's Movement" in the autumn of 1914. The editor of the JCR Notes in the *Mansfield College Magazine* (December 1914) wrote, "We believe this to be the first time that a lady has addressed the JCR in conference, and it was therefore fitting that our lady student should be the first to occupy the chair". We do not know exactly what Maude Royden said. But judging by her book *The Church and Woman* (1924), we may imagine that it was an inspiring talk, touching not only on what women might contribute to the church but on what Christian women could contribute to the life of the world in general. "Women, indeed, may truly claim that their progress in freedom involves at every point the question of moral power as the supreme governing power in the world".<sup>13</sup> Until the second world war, Maude Royden was a pacifist, and always a campaigner for peace. Constance Coltman retained a great admiration for Maude Royden, and to some extent followed in her footsteps.

The first world war had broken out before she had begun her second year of training at Mansfield. Her revulsion to violence, and her horror at the spectacle, not only of Germans fighting English, but of German Christians fighting English Christians, often with a feeling of religious duty, had led her to take a pacifist stand. She joined the Fellowship of Reconciliation in 1915, soon after its foundation, and remained a member for the rest of her life. The college was divided on the issue. The Principal had no sympathy with pacifism, and many of the students reluctantly decided that it was their duty to join the army. Others, including Claud Coltman, Constance Todd, and C.J. Cadoux, met together as a pacifist group, notwithstanding the expressed disapproval of the Principal.<sup>14</sup> Their conviction must have been strengthened when W.E. Orchard spoke at a JCR Conference in March 1915 on "The Church and Militarism", for W.E. Orchard was the most fearless pacifist preacher in London.

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12. *Ibid* 21 June 1916.

13. A. Maude Royden, *The Church and Woman*, 1924, p. 195.

14. C.J. Cadoux, Diary 25 November 1914.

Constance Todd left Oxford in the summer of 1916 and returned home. The *Mansfield College Magazine* (June 1916) noted that she was to take instruction in nursing. It seems that her friendship with fellow student Claud Coltman had been discreetly managed, for the JCR heard "with surprise and pleasure" of their engagement at the beginning of the following term. They had in fact first come to know each other after she asked him to escort her home because she feared that another man was trailing her. They planned to marry when they found a pastorate which they could undertake together.

Constance Todd was drawn by the preaching of W.E. Orchard, and became a member of his church in London, the King's Weigh House, in January 1917. Claud Coltman was also in London, working in Mansfield House, the Mansfield College settlement in the East End, as Fairbairn Student for the year. The Weigh House too had a mission in the East End, in Darby Street, and was looking for "a resident authority" to rejuvenate its work. Gradually the possibility emerged of the young ministerial couple undertaking this difficult assignment. It was first put to the Weigh house church meeting by the church committee on 12 July; the scheme was dependent on raising the necessary finance. Appeals were made for the money, and negotiations begun with the London Congregational Union; plans were then made for an ordination ceremony before the wedding in September. Principal Selbie at first agreed to conduct the service, but withdrew when he discovered that "the rules with regard to consultation and arrangement with London Congregational Union had not been complied with". He did however, assure Constance Todd that he would take part in an ordination that was "in accord with the regulations of the Union". There was a constitutional problem in that the Darby Street Mission was not a "constituted authority" and therefore could not officially offer a "call". This particular issue was resolved on 13 September when the Weigh House church meeting officially "called" Constance Todd and Claud Coltman to be assistant ministers of the King's Weigh House, with responsibility for Darby Street, and then submitted the matter to the next meeting of the London Congregational Union, and to the meeting of the Congregational Union Council on 4 October.

Meanwhile on Monday 17 September 1917 the ordination took place. The Weigh House church meeting minutes record: "This day Claud Coltman MA and Constance Mary Todd BD were solemnly ordained to the Holy Ministry by the laying on of hands and invocation of the Holy Ghost".<sup>16</sup> Dr Orchard presided, assisted by G. Stanley Russell (of Grafton Square Church), G.E. Darlston (of Park Chapel, Crouch End) and Leyton Richards. The following day the newly ordained ministers were married by Dr Orchard. (And on the day after

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15. *The Christian World*, 4 October 1917. *The Congregational Year Book* for 1918 incorrectly states that Selbie took part in the ordination service.
  16. King's Weigh House Church Meeting Minute Book 1916-26, 13 September 1917 (Dr Williams's Library 38.304).

that, 19 September 1917, the funeral of a former Weigh House minister, John Hunter, took place—it was an auspicious week for the church.)

The next edition of *The Christian World* (20 September 1917) carried a detailed account of the Weigh House ordination service under the heading, "ORDAINED AND MARRIED: Man and wife as joint ministers: ceremonies at the Weigh House": Two pages earlier was an account of the opening of Maude Royden's assistant ministry at the Congregational City Temple, just the day before Constance Todd's ordination. While remaining an Anglican, Maude Royden preached and led the worship every Sunday evening at the City Temple for the next two years.

It is strange to reflect that the minister who presided at Constance Todd's ordination became a Roman Catholic priest nineteen years later. Already in April 1917, his concern for valid orders had led him to seek and receive episcopal ordination from Bishop Vernon Herford, self-styled Bishop of Mercia, whose own ordination by a Bishop of the Jacobite Church of North India, was recognised by Roman Catholics, Orthodox and Anglicans as "valid but irregular".<sup>17</sup> Orchard was thus conferring on Constance Todd not only ministry in the generally understood Congregational sense, but what he believed to be ordination in the "true" apostolic succession. I doubt whether Orchard ever regretted his action, though after he became a Roman Catholic priest, he could not have said so in public. Before he came to the Weigh House, he preached and then published a sermon on "The Motherhood of God". Taking as his text Isaiah 66<sup>13</sup>—"As one whom his mother comforteth, so will I comfort you"—he wrote, "It is to be feared that the exigencies of our language have betrayed some of us into imagining that God is of the masculine gender".<sup>18</sup> This was unusual preaching for its time. Orchard's much later book, *The Cult of our Lady* (1937) showed a continuing sympathy with feminism, albeit expressed in very different form. Constance Coltman did not follow Orchard to Rome, but to the end of her life she continued to express gratitude for his influence. Through him, she and her husband both joined the Society of Free Catholics, a group of men and women of many different churches who were re-discovering and using some of the riches of the church's historic liturgies.

Official recognition of Constance Coltman's ordination and her accreditation as a Congregational minister soon followed her ordination. *The British Weekly* (4 October 1917) carried a report of the discussion at the recent meeting of the Congregational Union Council as follows:

The Council spent some time in discussing the question—"the very vital question" as Dr J.D. Jones described it—of the admission of women into the Congregational ministry. The discussion was begotten of the fact that recently Mrs Coltman had been ordained to the oversight of a mission

17. See Elaine Kaye, *The History of the King's Weigh House Church*, 1968, p. 125.

18. W.E. Orchard, *Sermons on God, Christ and Man*, 1913, p. 71.

church in association with Dr Orchard's church at the Weigh House. On her application to the London Congregational union for admission as a duly ordained minister, the London Union had deferred its decision until the Assembly had expressed its judgment on the broad principle whether women were eligible for the ministry. While the discussion was waging between the pros and the cons of the principle, Mr Gerard Ford suddenly remembered that some years ago the Union had adopted a resolution in favour of the admission of women into the full work of the ministry, although, he naïvely added, no one thought at that time that advantage would be taken of such a decision. Therefore it was decided to despatch a special messenger to Memorial Hall for the minute book. On its arrival, it was found that Mr Ford's recollections were strictly accurate, for the records showed that the resolution in favour of the admission of women as accredited ministers was adopted by the assembly eight years ago. And so the discussion on "the barrier of sex" instantly subsided.

In the following week's edition of *The Christian World* (11 October), J. Penne referred approvingly to the recognition of women's rights to enter the Congregational ministry on equal terms with men, and called it a revolutionary proceeding".

It seemed as though the barrier to female ordination had fallen without a struggle. But subsequent history has shown that this was not so, for very few women followed Constance Coltman into the ministry, and those who did found that in practice it was not easy to gain acceptance by a local congregation. (A commission appointed by the Congregational Union on the ministry of women reported on such difficulties in 1936<sup>19</sup>). Constance Coltman had certain great advantages which made it possible in her case. She came from a highly educated family in which it was taken for granted that girls would be well educated. Her daughter has written that she "created an atmosphere . . . in which for women to be learned was as natural as breathing". When she made an approach to a theological college, she was already an Oxford graduate. Secondly she came from a well-to-do family and had private means. This freed her from financial constraints, and enabled her, for example, to employ domestic help in the house to free her for ministerial work. And her marriage to a fellow minister, and the fact that they sought joint ministries, made it easier than it might otherwise have been for her to receive a "call". But this is not to denigrate what she achieved.

She expressed her own convictions about ministry in two articles: "Women and the Priesthood" in *The Free Catholic* (1920)<sup>20</sup> and "Protestantism and the Ministry of Women" in *Mansfield College Magazine* (1924)<sup>21</sup>. A more adequate

19. *Congregational Year Book*, 1937, pp. 84-93.

20. *The Free Catholic*, vol. V, no. 10 (October 1920), pp. 161-164. *The Free Catholic* was the journal of the Free Catholic movement. It had many women contributors.

21. *Mansfield College Magazine*, June 1924, pp. 137-142. She contributed an essay on the same lines to A. Maude Royden, *The Church and Women*, 1924.

concept of God would lead to a greater appreciation of women's contribution to the church. "When the Reformers banished Mary from the Court of Heaven they too often exiled with her the gentler and tenderer of the Divine Attributes. But the remedy is not a return to the worship of Mary, but to Jesus' own conception of the character of God, as Himself both Holy and Forgiving, Just and Merciful, because He is perfect Love."<sup>22</sup> This richer conception of God would lead to a deeper understanding of ministry and what women could bring to it. In 1921, in the wake of the Lambeth Conference's decision to exclude deaconesses from any "canonical function", such as hearing confession or administering the sacrament to the sick, she contributed an article to *The Free Catholic* entitled "The need for Women Confessors".<sup>23</sup> "If there are not to be women confessors without women priests", she wrote, "it will be difficult to persuade women to wait patiently for Ecumenical Councils and Reunion all round". Some women, she argued, would prefer to make confessions to another woman, who would understand their difficulties better; ". . . though many men confessors are wonderfully patient with their women penitents, they rarely quite understand even the ordinary difficulties of the interior life for a woman. Most women have to work out their vocation within a narrower circle, and with a different balance and emphasis than most men". "It is even possible that some men should have women confessors". It might seem strange that she should speak of pastoral work in these terms, until one remembers that Dr Orchard had introduced confession for those who wished at the Weigh House, and that many in the Free Catholic movement were exploring the Catholic as well as the Protestant tradition.

The Christian gospel offered "the complete spiritual emancipation of woman-kind". Christ, born of a woman, "has redeemed once and for all the whole sphere of sex"; at the same time "woman has a value altogether independent of her sexual functions, which is derived not from her relationship to man, as wife or mother, but from her relation to God".<sup>24</sup>

The belief in the individual's relation to God was the mainspring of Constance Coltman's own vocation. She had a deep conviction of being called by God to the ordained ministry, and it was this which convinced the Congregational authorities that they could not stand in her way. Now that women had access to higher education, she believed that many more would come forward. Though the numbers were small in her lifetime, she did everything she could to encourage and support younger women who felt called to the ministry.

Out of a conference of women ministers and their supporters (including both Unitarians and Jews) in 1926 developed the Fellowship of Women Ministers, of

22. "Protestantism and the Ministry of Women", *Mansfield College Magazine*, June 1924, p. 140.

23. *The Free Catholic*, vol. VI, no 4, April, pp. 66-68.

24. "Protestantism and the Ministry of Women", *Mansfield College Magazine*, June 1924, p. 141.

which Constance Coltman was elected president.<sup>25</sup> This prepared the way for the formation of the interdenominational Society for the Ministry of Women<sup>26</sup> in 1929, successor to the Anglican League of the Church Militant. Maude Royden was its president and Constance Coltman one of its vice-presidents.

On 17 November 1938, Constance Coltman preached the sermon at the annual service of the Society at the King's Weigh House on the theme, "Women's Kingdom" (the text was Esther 4<sup>14</sup>).<sup>27</sup> Describing the ordination of women as "the crown and consummation of the Women's Movement", she predicted (rightly in many cases) that the ministry of the future would consist more and more of teams of specialists, and that women would have a distinctive contribution to make to such teams. They would make a special contribution to the development of religious education, and to preparations for baptisms. Especially if they were mothers, they would be able to empathise more readily with ordinary working people. They would strengthen the movements for peace, and they would want to press forward more urgently for the reunion of the church. And they would stand as a peculiarly valuable symbol for the conversion of the world, for their very existence would proclaim the equality of all human beings. In retrospect, these appear to have been far-sighted observations, still awaiting full expression.

In her own ministry, Constance Coltman tried to embody these ideas. All her ministries were joint ones with her husband. Their ministry began and ended at the Weigh House, with three main pastorates in between. Her ill-health, and the inherent difficulties of the task, caused them to withdraw from the Darby Street mission in the East End of London after four years. There followed a short temporary pastorate at Greville Place, Kilburn, while they looked for a more permanent arrangement. Their names were given to Cowley Road Congregational Church, Oxford, who were looking for a new minister. They came to preach one Sunday, Constance in the morning and Claud in the evening. On 24 June 1924, the church meeting (C.H. Dodd presiding) decided to call them to be "co-pastors" at a stipend of £250 p.a. (less £30 p.a. rental for the Manse).<sup>28</sup> So began an early experiment in job-sharing.

During their eight years in Oxford, their three children, two daughters and a son, were born. Constance divided her time between looking after her children and doing ministerial work. She blended the two effectively in a series of articles for *The Sunday at Home*, which seemed to generate a large postbag. "A Christian home is the nearest approach to the Kingdom of God on earth that the world has yet seen, and the art of achieving right relationships within the home is

25. See D.M. Northcroft, *Women Free Church Ministers*, 1929, p.6.

26. See the Annual Report of the Society for the Ministry of Women 1930, at the Fawcett Library, London. See also *Women in English Religion 1700-1925*, ed. Dale A. Johnson, 1983, chapter 6.

27. Published in *Women in the Pulpit* ed. D.P. Thomson, 1944, pp. 60-67.

28. Cowley Road Congregational Church Minutes, in Oxfordshire County Record Office.

surely both the hardest and the highest element in the right conduct of life", she wrote in that journal in 1931.

In 1932 the Coltmans moved to Wolverton in Buckinghamshire. Though now part of Milton Keynes, Wolverton was then a small country town near Bletchley; the railway provided the main employment. They needed a larger house, which Wolverton could provide, and they wanted to give their children access to the countryside. They met the deacons on 11 April 1932, the day after both had preached. When they were invited to ask questions or make comments, Claud Coltman tried to explain "what their unique position of co-pastors really meant". They had no hard and fast rules for conducting the services—they considered more the especial needs of the church; though he usually conducted the funerals and his wife the christenings, and they shared the weddings according to the wishes of the couple concerned.<sup>29</sup> (In practice it was almost always Claud who presided at church meetings.) Nine days later the church meeting voted by an almost unanimous vote to call them to be co-pastors.

There are members of Wolverton United Reformed Church today who remember the Coltmans' ministry. They remember Constance Coltman as a very active pastor; she did a lot of visiting, particularly of mothers and children. She was often to be seen with a pair of scales, ready to help a mother care for a new baby; and she gave advice on birth control. She was active in work with young people, and prepared candidates for church membership. She did not preach as much as her husband, but took part in most services. She wore a purple dress, a silk surplice and an academic cap.

From Wolverton the Coltmans moved to Old Independent Congregational Church, Haverhill, early in the war. They stayed there for six years. Many families were evacuated there, and the Coltmans kept an open door for them. Many service families were helped too. Constance Coltman once even took a Church Parade because the chaplain was ill. Soldiers in the church NAAFI told her daughter afterwards that they enjoyed it because it was less bossy and military than usual. Both the Coltmans were known to be pacifists, but they felt it important not to allow this to be decisive. Their ministerial partnership there is remembered with great affection.

In 1946 they moved back to London, and were invited to help to revive the life of the King's Weigh House. When Orchard went over to Rome in 1932, many members of the church followed him. The congregation had struggled to continue, but after the building was bombed during a service in October 1940, there was only a small company left to keep the worship going. Constance Coltman served as a minister for three years, from 1946 until 1949, then effectively retired, while her husband continued until 1957. They eventually retired to Bexhill-on-Sea.

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29. Wolverton Congregational Church Deacons' Meetings Minute Book I 1928-36. In the care of Wolverton United Reformed Church.

Constance Coltman was active in retirement, still pursuing those two major concerns of her public life, the ministry of women and peace. As a founder member of the Society for the Ministry of Women, she continued to help many women to enter the ministry. In 1960, when she was already 71, she travelled to Sweden to meet the first women to be ordained there. She had already learned Swedish so that she could correspond with the aspiring ministers. She supported the peace movement by taking part in the Aldermaston marches and joining Christian C.N.D. as well as continuing to support the F.O.R.

She died on 26 March 1969; she would have had her eightieth birthday two months later. A memorial service for her was held on 26 April at Whitefield Memorial Church in Tottenham Court Road, appropriate because that was the church to which most members of the now-closed Weigh House had moved. Three members of the Society for the Ministry of Women spoke of what she had achieved.

In October 1920, in *The Free Catholic*, Constance Coltman had rejected the frequently repeated view that the question of the priesthood of women should not be raised until the church is reunited.

Only as each Church, according to its own light, draws nearer to Him who is the one Truth, will the Churches find themselves side by side. Those who shrink from acting on the truth they themselves have glimpsed because others have not yet seen it, are committing the real sin of schism by separating themselves from the Truth, who is the Head of the Church. They are denying the operations of the Holy Ghost.

Might we not wish to say the same today?<sup>30</sup>

ELAINE KAYE

### D.H. LAWRENCE AND CONGREGATIONALISM

The significance of D.H. Lawrence's Nonconformist past is widely acknowledged and yet the more precise nature of its character and influence has been largely bypassed. One possible reason for this is Lawrence's own retrospective tendency to minimise the extent of his involvement with the chapel religion of his childhood. In relation to other key influences, critics have pointed to this habit of "covering his traces".<sup>1</sup> So in *Hymns in a Man's Life*, published in 1928

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30. I wish to acknowledge the help of Constance Coltman's daughters, Mary Newman and Irene Brown, and of Alma Bartholomew, Phyllis and Stanley Light, Donald Norwood, Joanna Parker, Justine Wyatt and members of Wolverton and Haverhill United Reformed Churches in the preparation of this article.

1. See Eleanor Hewson Green, "The Works of D.H. Lawrence with relation to Schopenhauer and Nietzsche", Nottingham University Ph.D. Thesis, 1973 p.5; C. Milton, "Friedrich Nietzsche and the Early Works of D.H. Lawrence", Aberdeen University Ph.D. Thesis, 1975.

when Lawrence was about forty-three, he writes:

By the time I was sixteen I had criticized and got over the Christian dogma. It was quite easy for me . . . Salvation, heaven, Virgin birth, miracles, even the Christian dogmas of right and wrong—one soon got them adjusted. I never could really worry about them.<sup>2</sup>

However some of the early letters belie this dismissal. In a letter dated 15th October 1907, when Lawrence was twenty-two, he appears very much concerned with precisely such issues. He writes to his minister, Robert Reid:

Dear Mr. Reid,

I should be very glad to hear your treatment of some of the great religious topics of the day . . . Reading of Darwin, Herbert Spencer, Renan, J.M. Robertson, Blatchford, and Vivian in his *Churches and Modern Thought* has seriously modified my religious beliefs. A glance through R.J. Campbell's *New Theology* suggested to me that his position was untenable . . . I do not think that Campbell solves any problems; I do think he is practically an agnostic—and a mystic.

But I should like to know whether the Churches are with him on the subjects of the Miracles, Virgin Birth, The Atonement, and finally, the Divinity of Jesus. And I would like to know, because I am absolutely in ignorance, what precisely the orthodox attitude—or say the attitude of the nonconformist Churches to such questions as Evolution, with that the Origin of Sin, and as Heaven and Hell.

I know these are tremendous issues, and somehow we hear of them almost exclusively from writers against Christianity.

Reading the *Rise of the Dutch Republic* I am staggered by the astounding difference between the accepted doctrines of various ages. It seems remarkable too, that change has always originated in a people antagonistic to the Church. It is essential that we should understand the precise position of the Church of today.

Pardon me if I sound presumptuous and write with the assurance and inflatus of youth. I do not know how to take my stand and am yours Sincerely, D.H. Lawrence.<sup>3</sup>

Despite Lawrence's exposure to New Theology and more sceptical thinkers he still seems to want to align himself with the faith of the Church. Indeed there may even be the hint of an aspiring apologist for orthodoxy! However the seeds of doubt have clearly been sown and Lawrence's response suggests that it is not so much the rationalists who undermine his faith but "the astounding difference

2. D.H. Lawrence "Hymns in a Man's Life", Roberts, Warren and Moore, eds., *Phoenix II*. New York: Penguin Books, 1968, p. 599.

3. James T. Boulton, ed., *The Letters of D.H. Lawrence: Vol 1*. Cambridge U.P., 1979. pp. 36-37.

between the accepted doctrines of various ages" which the *Rise of the Dutch Republic* reveals. Not only is theology currently in flux, it appears to have always been so. As the notion of sustained orthodoxy is challenged, and with it the consensus of the traditional authority for the accepted doctrines, the responsibility of choosing for oneself what to believe seems unavoidable. At about the same time, Lawrence was growing disillusioned with college and lost what reverence he had had for his teachers: another important source of authority was thus undermined.

Lawrence's second main letter to Reid—written on December 3rd, 1907—indicates that the Congregational minister was aware that it was something other than "the violent, blatant" attacks on Christianity which were affecting the young man. At any rate, his measure of understanding seems to encourage Lawrence to open his heart to Reid; the tone is much less guarded: more informal, intimate and revealing. Whilst the perspective of this letter is of one no longer able to identify with the Christian world view, it points back to a still recent time when Lawrence very much wanted so to identify.

I have been brought up to believe in the absolute necessity for a sudden spiritual conversion; I believed for many years that the Holy Ghost descended and took conscious possession of "the elect"—the converted one—I thought all conversions were to a greater or less degree, like that of St. Paul's. Naturally I yearned for the same, something the same. That desire was most keen a year ago, and during the year before that, when I had to fight for my authority in school. Through all that time I was constantly making the appeals we are urged to make, constantly bewildering myself as to what I should surrender—"Give yourself" you say. I was constantly endeavouring to give myself, but Sir, to this day I do not understand what this "giving" consists in, embodies and includes. Now I do not believe in conversion, such conversion . . .<sup>4</sup>

Again we see that Lawrence's later attempts to minimise his emotional commitment to Christianity must be qualified by what we read in the letters. And it is not just to his minister that Lawrence confesses his previous longing for conversion. In a letter to a friend the next year he wrote:

I was sore, frightfully raw and sore because I could not get the religious conversion, the Holy Ghost business I longed for.<sup>5</sup>

Clearly, then, Lawrence's Congregational upbringing continued to exert—on into his twenties—a deeper influence on the young man than he would later have had us believe. So what sort of influence was it?

The religious world shaped by Reid and the Eastwood Congregational church has been taken too easily for granted by most Lawrence scholars. There has been

4. *Ibid.* p. 39.

5. *Ibid.* p. 49.

the too easy acceptance of a stereotype. At one extreme is T.S. Eliot's famous dismissal of Lawrence's religious inheritance as "vague, hymn-singing pietism"<sup>6</sup> or Richard Aldington's reference to "this powerful, raucous religious emotionalism . . . crude religious propaganda . . . slap-bang bibliolatry".<sup>7</sup> This is loudly challenged at the other extreme by defendants such as F.R. Leavis, who stress Lawrence's place in an alternative tradition, with an intellectual vigour and cultural vibrancy far more creative—it is implied—than the established mainstream.

One reason for the continuing polarisation of such clichés has been a lack of hard evidence. This has led scholars to make deductions from Lawrence's reminiscences, from what we know that he read, and from the general theological context of the time. As we have seen, Lawrence's recorded memories cannot be taken at their face value. And, important as a grasp of the wider religious context is, to assume too much about a specific situation from general trends is hazardous. A uniformity of direction which ignores counter movements or discrepancies in the chronology of transition, may too easily be taken for granted.

Donald Davie in his published lectures, *A Gathered Church*, and Anthony Rees in his Ph.D. thesis, "The Politics of Industry", both tend towards such uniform assumptions in their otherwise very interesting and illuminating studies. Both acknowledge that their views must, for want of direct evidence, be based on assumptions. Yet even without such evidence their opinions demand further investigation and possible qualification. Although his theme is "the nonconformist contribution to English culture",<sup>8</sup> Davie suggests that Eliot's assessment of Lawrence's Congregational inheritance is close to the truth and that Lawrence was aware that a tradition existed, but not that he had access to it or gave it allegiance. Davie bases some of this scepticism on a letter from Jessie Chambers to Emile Delavenay in which she explains that the culture which she and Lawrence imbibed in the Eastwood Congregational Chapel was "a wholly literary culture":

Now all this feeling about the value of life and experience, how it is embodied in art and literature, is in my mind . . . deeply and inevitably associated with religious feeling. For me that is religion.

And Davie contrasts this "wholly literary", vague, nebulous religious experience (not worthy, he implies, of being classified within the tradition or "culture" or even "sub-culture") with "the Oliver Cromwell Independents", to demonstrate the extent to which Congregationalism had "lost its bearings and renegaded on its inheritance".<sup>9</sup>

6. T.S. Eliot, *After Strange Gods: A Primer of Modern Heresy*, 1934, p. 39.

7. R. Aldington, *Portrait of a Genius, But . . . (The Life of D.H. Lawrence, 1885-1930)*, New York 1961, pp. 21-22.

8. D. Davie, *A Gathered Church: The Literature of the English Dissenting Interest, 1700-1930*, 1978, p.1.

9. *Ibid.* p.95.

However, this is fair neither to Jessie's letter nor to her Congregationalism. Just before the extract which Davie quotes, Jessie makes it clear that she is trying to demonstrate continuity with rather than divergence from the tradition of her forbears by illustrating how culture and literature were inextricably bound up with what it meant to be Congregationalist: "The only way we departed from that tradition", she writes immediately before Davie's extract, "was in going much further and deeper than our parents had done".<sup>10</sup> Certainly the sentiments reflect the immanentist trends of the time, but that Jessie did not simply equate art, culture and religion in some sort of inclusivist, miasmal haze is made clear in a letter she wrote three years later to Lawrence's Jewish friend, Koteliensky, where she states her—

conviction that all other values, except those revealed by Christ, lead straight into a blind alley . . . [it is] the only way for human beings to become and remain human . . . What seemed to me the tragedy of DHL in the days when I knew him was his refusal to accept the Christian value . . . his values had become so confused that he put the worthless above the priceless . . . I shall always believe that he died because his life had got into a blind alley and he didn't know how to get out of it.<sup>11</sup>

Clearly, Jessie thought that Lawrence should have known better. Certainly we cannot accept Davie's dismissal of the Congregationalism imbibed at Eastwood as a *wholly* literary culture.

Anthony Rees accepts—in my view too uncritically—the conclusions of Donald Davie and bases much of his argument on deductions made from the general theological trends of the time. Thus he takes R.J. Campbell as representing Lawrence's point of departure from Congregationalism, "in the absence of any direct evidence of the doctrine preached at Eastwood".<sup>12</sup>

However, some direct evidence of the doctrine preached at Eastwood does exist and should no longer be ignored in studies of Lawrence's religious inheritance. For reports of Robert Reid's sermons were published in the local newspaper, *The Eastwood and Kimberley Advertiser*. Between 1905 and 1908 there are twelve substantial reports or transcripts of Reid's sermons. This is a period of particular interest to the student of Lawrence as we know from the letters that it was during this time that Lawrence was writing to the minister with his questions and doubts. Indeed it is possible that one series of these sermons—on Science and Religion—was by way of a response to the young man's queries. Because Lawrence was still a chapel-goer—and in his second long letter to Reid on 3rd

10. Delavenay/Tomlinson Collection. Unpublished letters, Nottingham University Library, T28; 21st June 1935.

11. G.J. Zytaruk, "The Collected Letters of Jessie Chambers", *D.H. Lawrence Review*, Vol 12:1 & 2, Spring & Summer, 1979, p. 177.

12. A.J.M. Rees, "The Politics of Industry: The Later Novels of D.H. Lawrence, with special reference to the East Midlands Coalfields", University of Sheffield, Ph.D. Thesis, 1984. p.225.

December 1903, he thanks the minister for his recent sermon and sermons the Tuesday after one of them was preached—we can be fairly certain that he heard some of these.

Reid is undoubtedly the Congregational minister who had the highest profile in the young Lawrence's life; he was minister at Eastwood from when Lawrence was thirteen until the young novelist had left his hometown at the age of about twenty-three. In addition to the sermons, there is a detailed account of Reid's ordination at Eastwood. The bulk of the article is taken up with a report of Reid's address in which he summarises his spiritual autobiography and outlines his basis of faith. The records in the Minutes Book also fill out our impressions of Reid's spirituality. Certainly our notion of Lawrence's "inherited" understanding of Christianity—as received from the Chapel—can now be rooted in more concrete evidence. So what is the gift of this kind of Christianity which Lawrence was hearing twice each Sunday from the Eastwood Congregational pulpit?

Reid was brought up in Aberdeenshire, in, to use his own words,

the somewhat stern and severe discipline of a Scottish peasant home, and received his earliest impressions from his mother, who taught him to pray, to fear God and to keep his commandments. As a daily exercise he had to read a chapter of the Bible and commit to memory a portion of the shorter form of the Westminster Catechism.<sup>13</sup>

These roots, deep in Scottish Calvinism, are discernible in what evidence we have of Reid's ministry. Reid's letter of acceptance of the Eastwood charge reveals a deep-rooted caution against human presumption and an earnest seeking of the Lord's will in prayer; the doctrine of assurance is echoed in his interpretation of "the inward consciousness and outward evidences" as indications of Divine approval; man's dependence on God and the vanity of merely human endeavour is taken for granted.

After a business career, Reid entered the Congregational Institute for Theological and Missionary Training (later called Paton College) in Nottingham where he came under the energetic influence of J.B. Paton. His training represents the Congregational tradition at its most robust, with a convergence of the denomination's strengths: spiritual but not otherworldly, orthodox but not narrow, impassioned but also disciplined.

In his ordination statement Reid shows himself to be firmly within the mainstream of that tradition, both in his churchmanship and doctrine: his doctrine of salvation, for example, is entirely conventional, full square in the Victorian evangelical tradition. He reveals a break with the strict Calvinism of his own roots in obliquely denying a hell of eternal punishment for the unsaved, proposing instead the ultimate destruction of evil, unendurable by a Holy God. His view of Scripture also reflects the contemporary shift from inerrancy and there is a shift,

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13. *Daily Express*. September 30th, 1898.

too, in his perception of the essential unity of his denomination as experiential rather than credal.

Nevertheless, in a sermon entitled "The New Theology and the Atonement",<sup>14</sup> Reid clearly distances himself from R.J. Campbell's thoroughly going immanentist New Theology which was causing such a stir at the time. He repudiates mere human interpretation as substitute for Scriptural authority and reasserts the uniqueness of Christ and his atoning death.

There is a series of four sermons on "Science and Religion" in which Reid's Victorian optimism in progress is the dominant note, his faith in the complementarity of Science and Religion, his key theme. There is another series on "The Seven Cardinal Virtues", a single sermon on "The Debasement of the Imagination" and one fully-transcribed memorial sermon. Together these offer a comparatively full impression of Reid's mode of Christianity. For our present purposes, reference to some of these sermons may help to convey the tone and identify the strands which are particularly illuminating in understanding the novelist's Congregational inheritance.

Reid's sermon entitled "The Debasement of the Imagination" was reported in the *Eastwood and Kimberley Advertiser* in November 23rd, 1906; his text is from Ezekiel 8:12. The predominant note is moral rather than spiritual and, as the subject demands, is concerned with the relationship between the inmost being and the manifested character. The language and imagery often reflect the distinctly Victorian tone of the sentiments.

Men may make of their imagination a sty in which all foul things run riot or they may make it a sanctuary in which no unclean thing may find a home; a holy chamber into which they can retreat and dwell amid the lofty and the pure, the lovely and the good . . . You may live if you choose in the mountain air or the malarial bog; in the sunshine or in the slime, and to live with a debased imagination is like living in the midst of a pestilential swamp with its fever-laden vapours constantly breathing forth death.

The vivid, not to say lurid, images are extreme: no neutral ground is presented; only states of utter purity or complete debauchery. This suggests a moral earnestness in which every smallest reaction has a moral value and whose judgement is in black and white rather than in shades of grey. The imagery itself is telling. Purity is associated with cleanness, security, rare ethereal mountain air, and light. Debasement is more vividly portrayed and the repeated image is that of the malarial bog, the pestilential swamp, slime, and later, a dirty puddle. It is envisaged as marshy, damp, cloying; dark and disease-ridden and death-dealing. Debasement is characterised by chaos, disorder, its elements lack differentiation.

Interesting, too, is the emphasis on choosing. It is assumed that it is man's responsibility as to whether his imagination is a sty or a sanctuary. This reflects the

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14. *Eastwood and Kimberley Advertiser*: February 8th, 1907.

assumed primacy of reason; instinct is not in and of itself suspect but there is the implication that it naturally tends towards the wayward and requires a firm hand. The imagination becomes active when "released from the restraints of business and society" and Reid urges his hearers to "Close the door of your mind against the indelicate and impure":

If you are careful as to the food you eat out of respect for the health of the body will you have less concern for the health of your mind and soul? Why should you jealously guard the outer porch of the temple and desecrate the holy places within? . . . The chamber of imagery is the chamber of judgement.

Although there are undoubtedly the seeds here for a repressive psychological perspective, Reid also emphasised, with strong Platonic overtones, the possible positive power of the imagination:

Every great movement of progress in the world once existed only in the imagination of one man whose mind had been illumined by the inspiration of the Almighty. . . . The function of imagination is to improve on the actual. Imagination looks beyond the actual to the ideal; sees something rather waiting to be achieved; impels man to reach forth to the unobtained and the unaccomplished. My idea of the practical includes things that are out of sight. It includes the forces that shape character and determine destiny. And the 'practical' person who takes no account of the power of the imagination—in life is omitting one of its most active and potent factors.

It is clear that Reid's positive vision of the imagination is primarily one of Reason rather than Passion. It is perceived chiefly as power harnessed and translated into practical usefulness, with little concept that creativity, fantasy and spontaneity are worthy in and of themselves.

Of Reid's sermons on the Cardinal Virtues, the one on Temperance, reported in the *Advertiser* on July 5th, 1907 is, from our Laurentian perspective, particularly interesting in its psychological presuppositions. Reid takes for his text: "He that ruleth his spirit is better than he that taketh a city" and begins, as he frequently does, in considering the word's contemporary usage. Noting the restricted range of its modern application—"in popular speech it is almost exclusively employed to signify total abstinence from intoxicating liquors"—Reid tries to go beyond this limited and specialised meaning to its original much wider and more general significance.

Instead of standing simply for the control of one appetite, it was used to express the habitual restraints of all human passion. Temperance, therefore, is not a mere seasonal virtue; it has to do with the whole of life.

Again we may detect the Puritan suspicion of ungoverned human passion already discovered in Reid's view of the imagination. However, Reid is emphatic that restraint should not result in some bland moderation:

. . . moderation is not always the true guide of life. Many people are moderate without being anything else. The only extreme which they ever allow

themselves is the extreme of moderation. And to be moderately truthful, or moderately honest is not a mark of high moral distinction. The avoidance of extremes is a common and familiar council, but it is not always the council of wisdom or courage.

Reid is critical of "a timorous and wavering disposition" (as exemplified, he thought, in Erasmus) of "that excess of weak and timid moderation which always drifts in the direction of base compromise", and invariably ends in the surrender of principle.

In exalting the virtue of temperance therefore we need to exercise care lest we confuse it with the cold, selfish spirit of calculating prudence which never runs against accepted opinion or exposes itself to reproach by departing from traditional and customary grooves; but judiciously steers a middle course for the sake of ease and comfort. The truly temperate life is the well-disciplined life; the life in which wild and wayward impulse is checked and restrained by reason and conscience.

This is far from the "cash Christianity" so scathingly exposed in Lawrence's later poetry. Reid shows here that he understands very well the temptation to "play safe" in morality and seems to have little sympathy for mere convention and even less for the mean-minded acquisitiveness of a calculating prudence. There is a place for risk. Again, however, we see that it is Reason that is emphasised rather than passion or feeling; primitive energy is perhaps almost automatically assumed to be "wild and wayward" and in need of checking and restraining; the Augustinian virtues of order, proportion, and discipline hold sway. Indeed Reid goes on to say:

The word which best expresses the root idea of temperance is self-control. And that is a word which carries with it the notion of discipline, so that our subject is really the subject of discipline. No need is more imperious for this nature of ours, with all its varied appetites and desires, all its manifold powers and passions, than the need of strong and wise government. The first and greatest conquest for every man is the subjugation of all the turbulent elements in that inner world of his own personality over which he is meant to exercise authority.

Reason and the will must control impulse and feelings. In the light of modern psychological perspectives, this may seem repressive. Yet what Reid is advocating is far from a kind of life-negating or masochistic morality.

The first and highest function of all wise rule is, not to impose needless and irritating restrictions, but to provide the conditions under which the sum of individual energy and capacity may be exercised and developed to the advantage of the entire commonwealth.

And in translating this to the spiritual realm, Reid argues for an application of this same principle.

To promote . . . balance and effectiveness and integration of the whole. Self-restraint is always a method of self-cultivation and self-control is

essential to the highest self-expression.

The underlying assumptions and way of achieving this ideal of "cohesion and obedience of every subject in the inner kingdom of man's complex being" are highlighted well in Leonardo Boff's book on St. Francis. Boff's analysis may also help us (even if at the risk of anachronism) to understand what Lawrence was reacting against in his raillery against the Congregationalism of the Eastwood Chapel. To this we shall return.

With a path for sainthood which involves "the integration of the negative", Boff contrasts a strategy of channelisation. This strategy describes what the sermons reveal of Reid's approach:

A strategy of channelisation means that Eros and Pathos are accepted in their demonic strength, but only to the degree to which they support some rational plan of action . . . This is the model utilised in the search for perfection through the development of the virtues. The aspects of light, goodness and positiveness are dealt with directly. The other shadow dimensions that also belong to human reality are continually being brought under control . . . The Christian saint is in perfect control of all instincts; one's ideal of perfection is pursued inflexibly; and passion that is opposed to the virtues is put down and repressed. The Christian saint is perfect, but rigid and hard, and at times heartless. There is no gentleness . . . Instead, there is impeccable perfection, achieved at the expense of what is human in attitude and relationship.<sup>15</sup>

The extent to which this captures the spirit of Reid's moral world-view is revealed in another sermon reported on January 17th, 1904, entitled "The Strange Case of Dr. Jeckyll and Mr. Hyde". Here Reid describes the two distinct sets of qualities: good and evil.

If like Dr. Jeckyll we allow the evil free play, and did not do our utmost to restrain our wicked desires and stamp out the tiger and the ape in our nature, so surely would the time come when we should find that even if we desired to cultivate the good, we should be unable to do so.

This suspicion of uncontrolled passion is again evidenced as the sermon on temperance continues. The keynotes are fear of the irrational and the riotous and an insistence on restraint and control:

Nothing can be more destructive to Nature than power escaped from control. Flood and fire and tempest are terrifying in their victorious force; yet, when subdued to the control of man and restrained within reasonable limits, water, fire and wind are beneficial and not destructive agencies. It is not otherwise than with the faculties and passions of [man's] own nature. Escaped from the control of reason and the moral sense, they are wasteful and destructive, only as they are under the firm command of the will do

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15. L. Boff, *St. Francis: A Model for Human Liberation*. 1985, pp. 132-133.

they become ministers of beneficence. The due restraint of passion is the true cultivation of power. Self-control never means the cramping of power, but the perfecting of faculty—it means power rendered efficient.

This is by no means hysterically repressive, but the dominating motifs of Boff's Logos are clear: subjugation, restraint, reasonable limits, reason's control, moral sense, and the firm command of the will. The key motivating factors are similarly characteristic of Logos rather than Eros in their utilitarian concern for the beneficial and efficient; for non-wasteful energy.

Boff's definitions of Eros and Logos express very well the two major, contrasting world views within which the young Lawrence grew up: those embodied in the inarticulate, sensuous Eros father, and the intellectual, ambitious Logos mother. His mother's brand of Christianity—like that of Reid's—is clearly characterised by reason, order, restraint: these are the controlling motifs in the Congregationalism Lawrence would have imbibed from his mother and the Chapel.

As Lawrence himself once wrote, "Nothing is more difficult to determine what a child takes in, and does not take in, of its environment and teaching",<sup>16</sup> yet some of his own impressions of the Congregational Chapel religion of his youth are recorded in his essays. He expresses gratitude for having been brought up— . . . a Protestant; and among Protestants, a Nonconformist, and among Nonconformists, a Congregationalist.<sup>17</sup>

The chief source of this gratitude is the "wonder" of the magical imaginative world evoked by the Nonconformist hymns and the rich Jewish poetry of the Bible. For this Lawrence claims to be eternally grateful. Yet he recalls with an almost audible shudder the way this wonder was, as it were, squeezed dry by the rigidity of the exhaustively analytical interpretation of the Bible;

. . . it was day in, day out, year in, year out, expounded, dogmatically and always morally expounded . . . The interpretation was always the same . . .

Not only was the Bible verbally trodden into the consciousness, like innumerable footprints treading a surface hard, but the footprints were always mechanically alike, the interpretation was fixed, so that all real interest was lost.<sup>18</sup>

Ironically, it seems that what were generally considered to be the strengths of Reid's preaching proved for Lawrence to be a stumbling block. The logic, reasonableness and thoroughness of the sermons made them, as Jessie Chambers said, more like lectures than sermons.<sup>19</sup> Reid takes pride in clarifying terms and concepts. The sermons are always carefully structured and, in the tradition of Paton, the aim of the rhetoric is never an end in itself, but always to persuade

16. D.H. Lawrence *op. cit.* p. 597.

17. *Ibid.* p. 600.

18. D.H. Lawrence, *Apocalypse*. Penguin, 1981, pp. 3-4.

19. Jessie Chambers, *D.H. Lawrence: A Personal Record*. Cambridge U.P., 1980, p.83.

the hearers. Yet this domination of what Boff would call Logos (analytical reason, order, control) in its utilitarian efficiency of energy involves a kind of reductionism. There is the assumption that everything must be expounded and explained and transformed into what can be justified as morally valuable. This is precisely the spirit which seems to ignore the quality of wonder and mystery which keeps a tradition vibrant.

Now a book lives as long as it is unfathomed. Once it is fathomed, it dies at once . . . once it is known, and its meaning is fixed or established, it is dead.

In a lecture, "Memories of D.H. Lawrence", by Jessie Chambers's brother, David, he recalls Lawrence's break with the chapel:

He was becoming impatient with the narrow life of Eastwood. Above all he was breaking the bonds of Chapel religion and Chapel morality. This seems to me a very important turning point between the old life and the new and I think I can identify the occasion for it, though I cannot be sure of the exact date. We were returning from Chapel on a summer evening: his mother, my mother, various members of the family, with Lawrence and perhaps one or two of his friends. It was a beautiful evening, and we chose to return through the field paths . . . Lawrence was in a dark mood and by the time we had reached the Warren he began to inveigh against the Chapel and all it stood for and especially against the Rev. Robert Reid for whom we all had a great respect. Lawrence poured a stream of scorn and raillery upon the poor man, made fun of his ideas and mimicked his way of expressing them: it was a fierce, uncontrollable tirade, an outpouring of long pent-up rage that left us all silent and rather frightened. We had never seen him in such a mood before. He seemed beside himself. His mother was as shocked as the rest of us, and perhaps she had the most reason. It was she who had fastened the Chapel bond around him, he submitted but with a bad grace . . . He was now in open rebellion.<sup>21</sup>

Lawrence, Chambers tells us, had just finished his course at University College, Nottingham, at the time. He would have been nearly twenty-three.

MARGARET J. MASSON

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20. D.H. Lawrence, *Apocalypse*. p.4.

21. J.D. Chambers, "Memories of D.H. Lawrence". *Renaissance and Modern Studies*, Vol XVI, 1972, pp. 5-17.

## REVIEWS

*The Life of James Sharp, Archbishop of St Andrews, 1618-1679: A Political Biography.* By Julia Buckroyd. Pp. 150. John Donald, Edinburgh. 1987. £18.00.

James Sharp was a prominent figure in the troubled events of the seventeenth century in Scotland. A man of ability, his university course in Aberdeen was followed by an active life as the Presbyterian minister of the parish of Crail in Fife, as a university teacher, as an ecclesiastical and political negotiator, and finally as Archbishop of St Andrews from 1661 at the time of the Restoration until his assassination in 1679.

His memory has not been held in great respect by any section of Scottish opinion and the colossal monument erected by his son in Holy Trinity Church in St Andrews has seemed to be far out of proportion to his merits. He has generally been seen as a man of restless ambition who was willing to sacrifice Presbyterianism in Scotland to ensure his own elevation to the archbishopric and was thereafter ready to sacrifice any principle in order to retain his position and whose assassination was a deserved, if pitiable, reward for his perjury.

This book by Dr Buckroyd sets out to reassess this verdict. She re-examines the evidence available to earlier writers and considers a few new or neglected strands of evidence. On the credit side, she states that "his personal conduct and observance were such as to satisfy the exacting standards of his contemporaries". She shows that he had been a "diligent and effective" parish minister and a firmer Presbyterian than he has been reputed to be, though under the influence of his Aberdonian teachers he regarded forms of church government as of secondary importance and therefore amenable to change in the higher interest of stability in Church and State. This angered the Covenanters who believed in the divine right of presbytery and he further alienated them by his admission that the aim of the Solemn League and Covenant to impose presbyterian government upon the Church of England was a hope which was dying fast in the late 1650s. Dr Buckroyd thinks he had made a genuine effort in his negotiations in London and in Breda to ensure the survival of Presbyterianism in Scotland but he came to believe that Scotland could only be rescued from the Cromwellian legacy and from subsequent anarchy by the restoration of the monarchy. Moreover, when he realised the determination of the king and his advisers to restore episcopacy in Scotland, he decided that the best way to temper its application was for Scots such as himself to accept episcopal office. He ensured that there was no re-ordination of ministers already ordained by presbytery and that there was no attempt to enforce the use of a prayer book.

As royal pressure for conformity increased and was met by strong Covenanting non-conformity, Sharp became more and more sucked into the policy of repressing the covenanting conventicles and he believed the episcopal system was vital for the stability of both Church and State. Dr Buckroyd says that by 1664 he had become "a politician engaged in the pursuit of power for its own sake", but he found that such power as he retained was illusory and thereafter "it was downhill all the way". He was now willing to involve himself in "criminal behaviour" to retain his office. In the process he had lost his own integrity.

Thus, even after this sympathetic biographer has done her best to provide a balanced portrait of Sharp, the outcome of her study is to leave him still a tragic figure whose early promise was swallowed up in the whirlpool of events and by "his own appetite for advancement". This clear and careful study softens some of the harsher judgements upon Sharp but nevertheless presents him as a man who on the whole ill served himself, his nation and his church.

R. BUICK KNOX

*The Literary Culture of Nonconformity in Later Seventeenth-Century England.* By N.H. Keeble, Pp.xi, 356, Leicester University Press 1987, £35.

As a specialist in English Literature who is already an authority on Richard Baxter and who has a firm command of the historical sources, N.H. Keeble is particularly well equipped to tackle this neglected subject. His book is persuasive, well written and very attractively presented and produced. His proposition is that the literature of the Dissenters was generated by the experience of persecution in the decades following the Restoration and that it should be studied as a whole and in these terms. He begins, citing Baxter and others, by explaining the puritan view of the Cromwellian years as a near paradise that had been lost. As toleration was replaced by both exclusion and persecution, the puritans found themselves bound to redefine the Good Old Cause and to set their minds on a spiritual and inner realisation of Christ. Keeble's summary narrative of the Restoration religious settlement is an unprejudiced account of a controversial topic. The essence of the emerging Nonconformist tradition is shown to be the gathered church "coming together not by custom but by choice"; the characteristic image of church fellowship in the literature was as "a loving and welcoming family". Absorbing recent research, Keeble portrays the impact of persecution as measurable more in terms of its sharpness and severity—and often of its suddenness—than of its consistency. He establishes the scale of the Nonconformist literary output and argues that a good deal of it did reach the poor as well as the better off, since texts or versions derived from them were a significant element of the chapbook market. He reaches his main theme and the core of the book with a depiction of the outlook and objectives of the Nonconformist authors. They were gently didactic: "Whatever he writes about, the nonconformist writer applies, practically, morally and spiritually". Christopher Hill's remark that *Paradise Lost* is "about how men should live in the real world" is approvingly cited.

The central dilemma of the puritan movement in the seventeenth century had been the conflict between sources of authority: between the word and the spirit. Sectarianism had marked the victory of inspiration. The Nonconformists of the 1660s and 1670s came from both sides of this tradition. Keeble nicely sets Bunyan's reliance upon experience against Baxter's reliance on those "penny godlinesses" his father encouraged him to read at home. The Nonconformist attitude to humane learning, he suggests, has to be seen as a spectrum of views based on a shared premise that "though man may be rational he is not merely rational". The Dissenting tradition had plenty of room for the imagination and some even for fun and humour. It was all a question of ends: "It did tolerate only the edificatory but the sources of edifi-

cation were many, various and delightful". Thus drama was not unacceptable as such but the drama of the 1660s, which was no more than "a decoy for the stews", was sinful. While popular romances were set aside, Bunyan's use of fiction was authentic because it carried the reader into the spiritual world. Poetry could flow naturally from religious devotion, whether it was that of Milton in *Paradise Lost* or of Oliver Heywood in his distress at the loss of close relatives. Music had its place, we are reminded, with the beginnings in the late Stuart period of the hymn writing and singing tradition that later burgeoned with Methodism. Keeble skilfully connects these points with his central argument that what Nonconformity was about was seeking "a paradise within". Rethinking their destiny, the Dissenters came to expect suffering. Indeed it was the badge of the saint and John XVIII, verse 36 became a favourite text. Keeble takes issue here with Hill who has seen a political optimism in *Samson Agonistes*. He would prefer to stress the positive aspects of the Nonconformist's patient search for internal perfection and liberation. His argument certainly makes very good sense of the introspective writing for diaries and autobiographies in which so many of the Dissenters engaged. Keeble never really tackles the question of chronological development or progression in the texts he uses and they are sometimes used, one feels, without sufficient chronological discrimination and discussion. Hints that things changed in the 1690s, when Celia Fiennes wrote without "the urgent attentiveness and pressing literary purpose" of earlier authors, are not followed through. Also the contrast between Nonconformist culture and the culture of the court may sometimes be a little overdrawn. But this is perhaps merely a mark of the conviction and vigour with which the book is written. Keeble has effectively made his case that the Nonconformist tradition in the later seventeenth century took delight in the emotions and was "aspiring to rapture". This is an important book.

ANTHONY FLETCHER

*Women in English Religion 1700-1925*, Ed. Dale. A. Johnson. Studies in Women and Religion Volume 10, Pp. 353. Edwin Mellen Press, New York, 1983.

Dale Johnson's collection of source material on *Women in English Religion* is very much to be welcomed. The selection embraces both the contributions of women about their own position in the churches, in society and in the framework of Christian thought, recognizing that concentration on the articulate can skew the general picture unless contexted by those who more submissively taught their Sunday School classes Sunday by Sunday, engaged in other charitable good works, and were frequent in their attendance at worship. This then underlines the need to know what models of Christian existence and what views of womanhood were presented to them by the pulpit and the leaders of their churches week by week. How much church backing was there, for example, for the "separate spheres" idea? Is it, as some have argued, that the collapse of the church's public significance over-magnified women's control over matters religious? Did the later institutionalization of revival-originated churches squeeze out the female initiative of primitive years? The sources cited, from Mary Astell to Maude Royden, are fairly chosen from a wide range of authors, male and female, Church and Dissent, orthodox and heterodox, liberationist and submis-

sive. Special attention is given to such themes as Women and the Evangelical Revival, Women and Religious Work, Education and Suffrage, The Deceased Wife's Sister's Bill and the Contagious Diseases Act and the debate about women's ministry. Early Presbyterians and later Congregationalists (including Angell James, a rather conservative Baldwin Brown, R.J. Campbell, J.H. Hitchens, G.S. Reaney) are included amongst those anthologised. The Quakers are properly prominent, but the Baptists do not deserve almost total neglect, and the contribution of the Salvation Army could well have been expanded. At one extreme, the pilgrimage of Maude Petre, the aristocratic associate of the Catholic modernist George Tyrrell, makes fascinating reading, whilst at the other, the persistent difficulty of handling Pauline texts, especially for Evangelical Churches, is clearly illustrated. No attention is given to the impact of women's involvement in overseas missions which in this reviewer's judgment was an important ingredient in changing the received views of the churches. The concluding notes and bibliography are helpful to those wishing to read further in this crucial but neglected area.

J.H.Y BRIGGS

*The Brethren Encyclopedia*, 3 vols. Pp.xiii, 2126, 1983-4; From: The Brethren Encyclopedia Inc., 313 Fairview Avenue, Ambler, PA 19002, U.S.A., \$137 (postage included).

Let us first be clear with which Brethren we are dealing. These are not those associated with nineteenth-century Plymouth, but those whose movement began at Schwarzenau/Eder, Germany, in 1708, and was largely transplanted to North America within the next thirty years. Today the main Brethren denominations are the Brethren Church (BC), the Church of the Brethren (CB), the Dunkard Brethren (DB), the Fellowship of Grace Brethren Churches (FGBC), and the Old German Baptist Brethren (OGBB).

The Reformed should be the last to rebuke a communion which has known internal secession, and the Brethren are acutely aware of the double irony of strife within a peace church tradition. Indeed, one of the objectives of this *Encyclopedia* was to mark the centenary of an unhappy division; another was to draw together contributors from the five churches, with a view to deeper mutual understanding within the family. The first objective has been met; we may have every hope that the latter is on the way to realisation; we are utterly convinced that Donald F. Durnbaugh and his large team of assistants and contributors have rendered a signal service to the wider Church in making these volumes available.

Volumes 1 and 2 carry us from A to Z. Volume 3 contains a chronology, maps, charts and statistics; lists of congregations and annual gatherings; lists of ordained ministers and elders (1708-1980), missionaries, institutions and donors; and an extensive bibliography. The ethos of the Brethren is conveyed by numerous photographs, and by typographically-distinguished documents and anecdotes. There are 260 articles on family history, and some 2,600 accounts of all those local congregations of the five main bodies which have existed for at least ten years with at least ten members. These, together with numerous biographies, and articles on historical,

doctrinal, sociological and institutional matters fulfil the editorial hope of presenting a “reasonably full coverage of Brethren life, belief, practice, and heritage”; and this despite the fact that “Brethren have generally been reluctant to recognize the importance of documenting their archives”—a lament of wider appropriateness, one fears.

Scholarly disagreement persists as to the relative degrees of Brethren indebtedness to sixteenth-century Anabaptism and eighteenth-century Radical Pietism. The restorationist emphases of both persist, however, as do Anabaptist-like principles concerning the visible, disciplined local church, and separation from the world. Time would fail to tell the story through the wealth of material here provided—though your reviewer doffs his cap to elder James Arnold Sell, who lived to the age of 102 years, and salutes the not untypical church planting zeal of the mother church of North Dakota at Cando, which spawned nine daughters and survives to this day.

Although Brethren have not made much use of formal credal statements, their theology is orthodox, evangelical, conservative rather than liberal. It is not, however, entirely uniform. At least four, and perhaps six, of the original eight Brethren of Schwarzenau had been members of the Reformed Church. They continued to accept much of the Heidelberg Catechism on which they had been reared; but they denied the propriety of infant baptism, of state churches, and of oath-taking, and they asserted the place of the human will in salvation. We thus find that most of the Brethren groups are more Arminian than Calvinist, the exception being the FGBC, a product of the conservative-liberal debate of the 1920s and 30s which is largely inclined towards dispensational Calvinism. Other Brethren have been known to accuse the FGBC of antinomianism. The penal substitutionary theory of the atonement has traditionally been advocated in Brethren circles. Salvation, open to all who respond to Christ in repentance and faith is “an accomplished fact, a continuing walk, and a future hope”. Whereas the CB includes premillenarians, postmillenarians and amillenarians, the OGBB and the DB are for the most part premillenarians.

All Brethren agree that the Bible is divinely inspired, and that its message comes home to us by the Spirit. The FGBC are, however, strongly committed to biblical inerrancy, and uphold “biblical creationism” over against the theory of evolution. Some other Brethren share this position, though the OGBB and the DB lay more emphasis upon practices deemed to be scriptural than upon doctrines about the Bible.

Brethren Christianity is strongly Christ-centred, turning upon a personal relationship between the believer and his Lord, which is lived out in the household of faith. Entry to the household is by believers’ baptism (though some Brethren congregations will accept a letter of transfer from those who were baptised as infants) which is, in descending order of importance, for believers only, by immersion (*pace* the Mennonites) and trine. So concerned were Brethren over the mode of baptism—the subject of numerous controversial pamphlets in the past—that they were at times in danger of losing the meaning of it. (Not indeed that Brethren theologising was always intense: William Beahm defined sin as “a raspberry seed under God’s denture”.)

Consistently with the foregoing, the Brethren advocate a high doctrine of the Church, as thus defined: “Whereas a low view defines the church as a loose associa-

tion of like-minded believers who are already saved, a high view places more emphasis on the church and its ordinances as a means of grace". Within the corporate priesthood there has traditionally been no ministerial/lay distinction, baptism being held to include all the elements of ordination. In some circles today, however, ordination services have accompanied the increasing professionalising of the ministry—this being one product of formal ministerial training programmes.

The Love Feast, incorporating feet-washing, the holy kiss, and the Lord's Supper, is traditional in Brethren circles. In the first half of the nineteenth-century there were squabbles over the type and quantity of food to be served. (Incidentally, Brethren—or sisters—have probably published more cookery books in proportion to their size than any other Christian family.) Some prescribed mutton, since Jesus was keeping the Passover; others advocated a less inhibited menu on the ground that the new covenant releases from former prohibitions. The laying-on of hands as a symbolic (not a sacerdotal) act is practised during the anointing of the sick, baptism, and the installation of officers. Fasting is generally considered to be a valuable, though a private, matter.

Among Brethren side-shoots was the Ephrata Community. Founded in the eighteenth-century by Johann Conrad Beissel (who had been influenced by English Seventh-Day Baptists), its membership observed Saturday as the Sabbath, encouraged celibacy whilst not excluding the married, maintained a notable publishing house, but gradually declined (typhus playing a part), ceased, and is now a tourist attraction. Beissel's successor as leader, J. Peter Miller (1709-96), had defected from the Reformed Church, to the chagrin of that body. Renewed interest in communitarianism has developed amongst the Brethren since the middle of the present century; some Brethren families, for example, have joined the Hutterian Brethren.

Along with high churchmanship as Brethren understand it has gone a keen interest in church discipline and a godly walk. Hymns and gospel songs have made their way at different rates among the Brethren groups, the OGBB still using the twenty-sixth edition of their 1882 hymnal only in their official worship. This group never accepted Sunday Schools—indeed, opposition to such was a factor in their secession of 1881. Other Brethren have produced numerous hymnals and courses of instruction, and the CB cooperates with twelve other denominations in producing educational materials. In 1955 the FGBC joined Carl McIntire's fundamentalist American Council of Churches. The CB is the only Brethren group to belong to the National and World Councils of Churches.

As to life-style, some Brethren groups continue to adopt a separatist policy of witnessing over against the world, rather than one of infiltration. This witness is signalled in part by dress. Thus, for example, the DB encourage men to wear beards, forbid hats to women, ties to men, and wristwatches to both sexes. Again, in 1913 and 1921 seceders from the OGBB held that the motor car, the telephone and other modern inventions constituted dangerous temptations to entanglement with the world. Traditionally, Brethren have been opposed to secret societies, but today the OGBB and the DB alone make non-membership of such bodies a condition of church membership. On the other hand, and unlike some other Brethren, the

OGBB, who in 1980 cautioned against attendance at ice- and roller-skating rinks, are not opposed to drinking alcohol in moderation. The CB is more permissive than the FGBC regarding abortion; in the OGBB excommunication follows discovered pre-marital sexual relations. While the DB do not avail themselves of higher education, the Brethren P.J. Flory and H.C. Urey won Nobel Prizes for chemistry and nuclear physics respectively. Though many Brethren have retained connections with agriculture, some—the Studebakers, for example—have given their name to manufactured products.

The Brethren have been, and are, active in missions and in relief work, but it is as one of the historic peace churches that they command particular attention today. There is, however, diversity within the peace position. It encompasses the refusal to participate in, or train for, war; the readiness to suffer rather than to fight; the advocacy of non-violent ways of resolving conflict; and a general commitment to peace-making in a threatened world. While the OGBB and the FGBC tend to endorse the view that the state has the obligation to take the lives of those proved guilty of dangerous crimes, other Brethren, as part of their over-arching pacifism, do not.

There is much of interest to the Reformed family in these volumes: not least the Brethren expression of the congregational polity, and their position (more homogeneous than ours) on church-state relations. We do not always appear in a good light. We have hounded the Brethren for their pacifism, and in 1858 Samuel Garber of the Brethren was arrested for preaching against slavery in a Tennessee Presbyterian church. In view of the Reformed family's increasing closeness to the Disciples tradition (with which we have already united in the United Kingdom and elsewhere) we may expect some interest in the early Brethren-Disciples struggles. The Brethren felt that what they regarded as the revivalist excesses of camp meetings—of which that at Cane Ridge in 1801 was the archetype—were “not profitable”; and over against the Campbell-Stone restorationist movement some Brethren declared that an unbroken chain of authority flowed from the apostles *via* the Waldensians and the Anabaptists to themselves—a view now abandoned. Nevertheless, in some areas Brethren went over to the Disciples.

Since this review is written in Calgary at the onset of the Winter Olympics fever, it is not inappropriate to note that Robert “Bob” Richards, then a CB minister, won an Olympic gold medal in 1956 for pole-vaulting. What the OGBB and the DB thought about that is left to the imagination.

So is the passing thought: with about half the membership of all the Brethren together, and with two more centuries to cover, could the United Reformed Church produce an encyclopedia to mark its jubilee in 1997? Have we the writers, the interest, the donors, the will?

Christian—and not only Brethren—disharmony will, no doubt, be overcome hereafter. That, at least, is one implication of the epitaph composed by Alexander Mack Jr. (1712-1803), Brethren historian and apologist (if not poet), which adorns his headstone at Germantown, Pennsylvania:

GOD

Who us of dust did make

and us again to dust will take,  
His wisdom, like the sun, shall break  
When in his likeness we awake.

ALAN P.F. SELL

*A Burning and A Shining Light. English Spirituality in the Age of Wesley.* By D.J. Jeffrey. Pp.x,517. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan/Paternoster, Exeter. 1987. Pbk, £13.90.

*A Thousand Tongues. The Wesley Hymns as a Guide to Scriptural Teaching.* By John Lawson. Pp.208. Paternoster, Exeter. 1987. Pbk, £5.95.

The Professor of English Literature at Ottawa University provides a useful and well-chosen compendium of evangelical texts in prose and verse, a reliable source book for the student of the spirituality of the great awakening. Here is the best of Watts and Doddridge, Law, Fletcher and the Wesleys, Whitefield, Newton and Cowper, Elizabeth Rowe and Kit Smart, Hannah More and William Wilberforce. The book's introduction is possibly too imaginative and over-committed for British tastes, and the inclusion of More and Wilberforce is questionable: surely after Muriel Jaeger these must both be seen as belonging to the "pre-Victorian" age rather than to that of the Wesleys? Possibly their places could have been taken by James Hervey whom Jeffrey twice apologises for omitting and Anne Steele to whom he does not refer—yet she would have given us both a Baptist representative and a good instance of a humbler type of piety than that of most of the authors represented here. In addition, as the editor declares that he has searched for spiritual writers right across the ecclesiastical spectrum, can any such eighteenth-century volume be complete without the Roman Catholic Bishop Challenor's *Garden of the Soul*? Yet this only highlights the ever-present dilemma of the source-book compiler: on the identity of the "greats" and the need for their inclusion in a composite volume all editors would probably be agreed. It is *à propos* the minor figures that personal preferences intrude. Meanwhile we can be grateful for a volume which gives us the full flowering of eighteenth-century spirituality in a manageable compass, an attractive format and at a reasonable price.

John Lawson's book is Wesleyan scholarship at its very best. This English Methodist minister who has long resided in the United States has taken fifty-three theological themes and demonstrated how each is illumined by one or more of the Wesleys' hymns which he prints in full. He then gives a minute and rigorous analysis of the scriptural references underlying whole verses, individual phrases and even single words of the hymns cited, a process which takes us much further than the textual index at the back of the new "Methodist and Ecumenical" *Hymns and Psalms*, a welcome innovation though this is. The whole work is shot through with profound theological understanding, and the Wesleyan singularities, the universal availability of God's grace, Perfect Love and the Real Presence are handled with a rare sensitivity. Lawson's book is a "must" for all evangelical Methodist preachers and for others who wish to know what lies at the heart of this remarkable, and to many outsiders rather puzzling, tradition. It is no exaggeration to suggest that it constitutes for today what

John Wesley claimed his own hymn book to be: "a little body of experimental and practical divinity".

IAN SELLERS

*Virtuous Discourse: Sensibility and Community in Late Eighteenth-Century Scotland.* By John Dwyer. Pp. 204. John Donald, Edinburgh, 1987. £20.

Only twenty years ago the Scottish Enlightenment was so little understood and explored that there was a real need for books which told us what Hume, Blair, Robertson and Kames wrote about—and that they knew each other. Those days are long gone: a whole series of secondary questions has thrown up seminars, conferences, essays and monographs. Necessarily those publishing in this area today take certain things for granted and devote much of their space to contesting recently advanced hypotheses. In broad terms, scholars have set off on four different routes: some have analysed with ever greater precision the Great Texts of the weighty writers, placing them in intellectual traditions like civic humanism, natural law or stoicism. Others have made a quantitative attack on the question of "improvement": did ordinary Scots read? Was the economy transformed by a surge in commerce and the profits generated by new agricultural techniques? Others have sought to account for the sudden flowering of intellectual life, especially in mid-century Edinburgh, by asking questions about school-work and family relationships as well as the more obvious fields of the university, its teaching and politics, and the rise and fall of the literary and social clubs. The fourth approach has been to find out more about the second-order writers, in an attempt to establish how far the conspicuous figures thrived by saying what most people thought (but better and more memorably), and how far their greatness lay in seeing and saying something new. All have had to reckon with the fact—surprising to those reared with the idea of an anticlerical, irreverent Voltairean Enlightenment—that the Moderates in the Church of Scotland were friends and patrons to most of what they describe.

John Dwyer's book attempts to marry the first and fourth approaches. He sets out to examine the "discourse" of late eighteenth-century Scottish literati in order to restate the importance of the pursuit of virtue, as distinct from prosperity, as the key to their common vision. He has used letters, journals and newspapers of the day as well as books, printed sermons and periodicals. Chapters one, two and seven represent his claim to be developing and disagreeing with recent work: in the first he presents the case for moving beyond "the most enlightened and best known" writers; in the second he argues that civic humanism, stoicism and sensibility were the "conceptual networks", the "discursive domains" of his thinkers; in the seventh he contends that Adam Smith's final revisions to *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* show Smith choosing deliberately to emphasise the moral threat posed by Scots' new appetite for wealth. In his last attempt at constructing a system of ethics, Dwyer argues, Smith demoted "ordinary" public opinion as a moral touchstone, turning instead to the insights of the "impartial spectator" or a "man of superior prudence". Chapters three, four and five explore adolescence, domestic life and women as problems—or at any rate concepts—which the literati examined in a way Dwyer finds significant,

while in chapter six he sets out the moral instruction to be found in the novels of Henry Mackenzie.

These middle chapters exemplify the advantages and drawbacks of the fourth approach: Dwyer takes us well beyond familiar published and excerpted material but in order to demonstrate that a view was typical, he has to follow it with quotation after paraphrase to the point of tedium. The obvious overlaps and connections between his categories similarly impose a certain amount of repetition; we can still wonder whether Dwyer's exhaustive reading has missed another eccentric as odd as Robert Wallace who wrote (but did not publish) in defence of sexual licence; while much of what his literati thought obvious would have seemed so to seventeenth-century Englishmen or to nineteenth-century Russians. Discovering this is plainly worthwhile, but perhaps not all the evidence deserved so much space?

Dwyer's work has usefully extended our knowledge of the Scottish Enlightenment; he has stayed with the pack in pursuit of paradigms and modes of discourse; he has dropped back to search honourably in the undergrowth of the everyday. What he has not done—and why should we expect it?—is to astonish us.

LINDA KIRK

### SHORTER NOTICES

Local church history is fundamental to our tradition. Congregational churches, Baptist churches, and the Churches of Christ cannot be understood without constant concentration on the unique local collectivity which is each church. The Presbyterian perspective is different, but there too it is perilous to ignore individual congregations. The variety of local church histories is among the pleasures of the *genre*.

Norman Hardyman, *West Street Story: A History of Maidenhead United Reformed Church* 1985, Pp. 202 (obtainable from the author, 16 Rushington Avenue, Maidenhead, Berks S45 1BZ, £5.25 inc. p. and p.) is in the grand manner—meticulously detailed, amply and sensitively illustrated, containing all the elements that the general historian needs at once for analysis and for forming the larger view. The book is both a marvellous quarry and a proper celebration of a Christian church. It is a model.

*West Street Story* celebrates the bicentenary of a building. Two centenary histories are more modest. *Prenton Centenary* is a history of Prenton United Reformed Church from 1887 to 1987. It has eight illustrations in sixteen pages, six of them ministerial. The first minister and the present one wear ties and those in between are dog-collared. That may be significant but there is of course more to the Prenton church than that, as this booklet, available from the church, makes clear.

*Newton in Bowland's* tercentenary falls in 1996. Meanwhile a seven page booklet celebrates the centenary (1887-1987) of the present building. It has never been other than a village cause but Mary Beattie's brief comparison between the Newtons of 1887 and 1987 is as apposite a way of pinpointing the rural challenge as could be asked for. The booklet may be obtained from the Revd. J.D. Salsbury, 6 Somerset Avenue, Clitheroe BB7 2BE.

Attention should be drawn to Kenneth Dix, *Benjamin Keach and a Monument to Liberty* 1985. Pp. 36, The Fauconberg Press, 38 Frenchs Avenue, Dunstable, Beds. LU6 1BH. This is a history of the Baptist chapel at Winslow. Its sepia illustrations are as atmospheric as the famous little building which it describes.

Family history is a growth industry. All one needs to turn it to good chapel use is an ancestral diary, preferably ministerial: family piety balanced by the clear-eyed inquisitiveness now encouraged by family history societies will do the rest. Daphne St. Joseph's edition of *Memoirs of the Reverend Henry March 1791-1869* is ample vindication. Henry March ministered at Bungay, Colchester and Newbury between 1818 and 1860 with an uncomfortable interlude at Mill Hill School. His memoirs, filled out with family trees and family photographs (they were a fine looking family) provide those insights into the bread and butter aspects of manse life which church historians yearn for and seldom find. It is such a source as this which makes one realise how there was a Congregational network across the country despite variable communications and a minimal denominational organisation. Copies may be obtained from Mrs. St. Joseph, Histon Manor, Cambridge CB4 4JJ, for £19 (that is the cost price) plus £2 postage.

J.C.G.B.

### SOME CONTEMPORARIES

*The Antiquaries Journal* (LXVI pt. II, 1986)

Victoria Brandon and Stephen Johnson, "The Old Baptist Chapel, Goodshaw Chapel, Rawtenstall, Lancs."

*The Baptist Quarterly* (XXXII, 1-4, 1987)

No. 1: Brian Stanley, "Nineteenth-century liberation theology: Nonconformist missionaries and imperialism"; Douglas Brown, "Christopher Blackwood: Portrait of a seventeenth-century Baptist". No. 2: M. Nicholls, "Charles Haddon Spurgeon, educationalist: Part 2, The principles and practice of Pastors' College". No. 3: Kenneth D. Brown, "The Baptist ministry of Victorian England and Wales: A social profile"; Faith Bowers, "Sense and sensitivity of Dissent: The working out of non-conformist principles in a Victorian chapel"; David Hein, "S.F. Smith and 'America'". No. 4: William Allen Poe, "The Reverend Edward Parker"; Magnus Lindvall, "Anders Wiberg: Swedish revivalist and Baptist leader"; Ian Sellers, "Other times, other ministries: John Fawcett and Alexander McLaren".

*Calvin Theological Journal* (XXII, no. 1, 1987)

Helen Westra, "Jonathan Edwards and the scope of gospel ministry".

*Cylchgrawn Hanes* (nos. 9/10, 1985/6)

Eifion Evans, "Where are our roots?" (Welsh Revival Memorial Lecture); Gwilym Evans, "Morgan Howells and Dic Penderyn".

*The Ecumenical Review* (XXXVIII, no. 2, 1986)

An issue devoted to the contributions of W.A. Visser't Hooft and Eugene Carson Blake, the first two General Secretaries of the World Council of Churches. Article by themselves, and by Hendrikus Berkhof, D.C. Mulder, Ion Bria, and Paul A. Crow, Jr.

## REVIEWS

*The Evangelical Quarterly* (LIX, 1987)

No. 2: Donald K. McKim, "William Perkins and the Christian life". No. 4: Mark W. Karlberg, "The original state of Adam: Tensions within Reformed theology".

*History* (LXVIII, no. 224, 1983)

C. Haigh, "Anticlericalism and the English Reformation". (Wrong author given last year)

*International Review of Mission* (LXXVI, no. 304)

An issue marking the tenth anniversary of the Council for World Mission: four articles, four testimonies, and a hymn by Fred Kaan.

*The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* (LV, 1983-6; issued 1986-7)

Nos. 1 & 2: Stephen C. Morland, "A Mid-Somerset Meeting in the seventeenth-century: Long Sutton"; David M. Butler, "Places of Worship in the National Census of 1851". Nos. 3 & 4: Violet A. Rowe, "The Quaker presence in Hertford in the nineteenth-century".

*Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* (LXVIII, no. 255, 1985)

R.H. Whitworth, '1685 - James II, the Army and the Huguenots'.

*Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* (No. 59, June 1982)

J. Painter, "C.H. Dodd and the Christology of the Fourth Gospel".

*The Mennonite Quarterly Review* (LXI, no. 3, 1987)

Alan P.F. Sell, "Anabaptist-Congregational relations and current Mennonite-Reformed dialogue".

*Proceedings of the British Academy* (LXIX, 1983)

G. Williams, "Religion and Welsh literature in the age of the Reformation".

*Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* (LXXIII)

D. Haigh, "Excavations at Cromwell House, Huntingdon, 1984".

*Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* (XLVI, 1987)

Pt. 1: J. Munsey Turner, "The Christian and the study of history". Pt. 2: R.W. Ambler, "Preachers and the Plan—Pattern of activity in early Primitive Methodism"; John P. Tuck, "Some pocket books in the Methodist Archives"; Henry D. Rack, "Early Methodist visions of the Trinity".

*Records of Scottish Church History Society*

XXII, pt. 2, 1985: Duncan Shaw, "Zwinglian influences on the Scottish Reformation"; Friedhelm Voges, "Moderate and Evangelical thinking in the later eighteenth-century: Differences and shared attitudes". XXII, pt. 3, 1986: Andrew T.N. Muirhead, "A Secession congregation in its community: The Stirling congregation of the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine"; Bernard Aspinwall, "Popery in Scotland: Image and reality, 1820-1920"; Douglas M. Murray, "The Barnhill Case, 1901-1904: The limits of ritual in the kirk".

*Sussex Archaeological Collections* (CXXIII, 1985)

C. Brent, "Lewes dissenters outside the Law, 1663-86".

*Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society*

1984: C.F. Stell, "Calderdale chapels". 1985: D. Northcliffe, "Rev. Oliver Heywood".

*Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society* (LIX, no. 1, 1987)

A.P.B. Hewitt, "The social conscience of John Corder"; Alan R. Griffin, "William Hollins: The human dimension"; Willard C. Frank, Jr., "Harry Toulmin and William Christie in Virginia, 1793-1801".

ALAN P.F. SELL