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EDITOR: Dr. CLYDE BINFIELD, M.A., F.S.A.
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EDITORIAL

This issue ranges from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries and it illustrates the transition from orthodox to evangelical Dissent and thence to liberal evangelicalism. The Christian community is the common denominator, with some emphasis on its education and its ministry. The focus is local because it is Dissenting but everywhere is local at some point and the coverage here is Welsh, Scottish and metropolitan as well as provincial English. Nabil Matar is Professor of English at Florida Institute of Technology. His paper was originally delivered at the international conference, "Peace, Unification and Prosperity: the Advancement of Learning in the Seventeenth Century", held at the University of Sheffield in July 1992 to mark the end of the first phase of the Hartlib Papers Project. Edwin Welch, though resident in British Columbia, is the Cheshunt College Foundation's Honorary Archivist; it is a short step from the Countess of Huntingdon to Viscountess Glenorchy, and he brings to light a document not unknown but quite unused. Elisabeth Neale has ministered in

Congregational and United Reformed Churches; her paper on R.F. Horton, who died sixty years ago, focuses on his ministry in Hampstead. What was representative in Horton's day is now all but inconceivable. Because Horton was nationally known, church historians tend to concentrate on that side of him, on the whole to his disadvantage. The national Horton can be contextualized in his numerous books (which are not the present concern), in his *Autobiography* (which gripped and astounded because it described a friendship whose essence is now as hard to convey as the power of his ministry) and in the official biography (which his wife disliked); the Hampstead Horton, who was beyond all else a Congregational minister, that is to say a preacher and pastor, must be contextualized in the enviably full records of Lyndhurst Road, now at Dr. Williams's Library. It is to this Horton that Elisabeth Neale turns.

So to Caerludd, which (like Hampstead) is London. John Taylor's paper marks the fact that he is President of our Society. It captures both the culture of Dissent and the essence of Congregationalism at the point where orthodoxy was turning into evangelicalism. And it poses a proper question: how representative was what he uncovers here? That question might also be asked of Peter Sterry, Lady Glenorchy and "the great Dr. Horton".

Notes: (I) This request about Protestant Church architecture 1865-1920 has been received from Professor Ronald L.M. Ramsay, Department of Architecture and Landscape Architecture, North Dakota State University, College of Engineering and Architecture, P.O. Box 5285, Fargo, North Dakota, 58105-5285.

For several years we have been gathering material on a particular Protestant church type known here in the United States as the "Akron-Auditorium" plan. Characteristically, it includes an auditorium sanctuary with radial seating in concentric rows focused on the pulpit. Very often there is an adjacent Sunday School space which can be joined with the sanctuary by means of a folding partition or overhead door. Since the majority of churches planned along these lines were for Methodist congregations or other closely-related denominations, we are hopeful that your readers will be acquainted with examples that should be included in our study. Though the Akron-Auditorium idea seems to have been a U.S. invention, we have located examples in Canada and are curious whether they might also be found in other parts of the English-speaking world where Methodism was transplanted - particularly in the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand.

(II) *The Association of Denominational Historical Societies and Cognate Libraries* was constituted on 29 October 1993. Its objects are to facilitate the means of information by a newsletter, an annual meeting and occasional conferences, and to encourage projects which encompass more than one tradition. Its first

Annual Meeting is to be at Dr. Williams's Library, 27 October 1994 at 2 p.m. Its first conference is to be at Westhill College, Selly Oak, 28-30 July 1995. Its secretary is Mr. Malcolm Thomas, The Library, Friends House, Euston Road, London NW1 2BJ.

(III) *The William Tyndale Quincentenary Trust* plans a *Tyndale Quincentenary Conference* at Hertford and Magdalen Colleges, Oxford, 5-10 September 1994. Details can be obtained from Priscilla Frost, Oxford, OX1 1QT.

PETER STERRY AND THE COMENIAN CIRCLE: EDUCATION AND ESCHATOLOGY IN RESTORATION NONCONFORMITY

Soon after Peter Sterry, chaplain to both Oliver and Richard Cromwell, received his pardon from King Charles II in November 1660, he removed to the priory of West Sheen in Richmond. There he served Philip Sidney, Viscount Lisle, as chaplain and established the "lovely Society," a community of Nonconformists consisting of members of his patron's family and his own along with some outside pupils. The "Society" became a centre of learning for both young and old, and like the Nonconformist academies of Restoration England, fulfilled educational needs during the period of the Great Persecution.¹

At West Sheen, Sterry followed in the educational legacy of John Amos Comenius and his circle which, in England, included Samuel Hartlib and John Dury. Sterry had been familiar with all three men since the early 1640s. Robert Greville, Lord Brooke, who was Sterry's patron from 1639 until his death in March 1643, admired Dury and sponsored Hartlib's visit to England - indeed the latter had stayed at Lord Brooke's house in 1631. Lord Brooke also participated in financing Comenius's visit to England in 1641-42, and showed great interest in the proposal by Comenius and Dury to establish a Baconian College. There is little doubt that while serving Lord Brooke Sterry shared in his patron's admiration for those three thinkers. In *The Nature of Truth* (1640), a book written by Lord Brooke with assistance from Sterry, there is evidence of the pansophic ideas of Comenius which had been published and prefaced by Hartlib in England the year before as *Pansophiae Prodromus*.²

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1. For the life of Sterry, see Vivian de Sola Pinto, *Peter Sterry: Platonist and Puritan* (Cambridge, 1934); for the society, see my "Peter Sterry and the 'lovely society' at West Sheen," *Notes and Queries* 29 (1982): 45-46.
 2. Robert E.L. Strider II, *Robert Greville Lord Brooke* (Cambridge Mass. 1958), pp. 14-15. See the extensive essay by H.R. Trevor-Roper on "Three Foreigners: The Philosophers of the Puritan Revolution" in *Religion, the Reformation and Social Change* (London, 1972).

When Sterry became a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines in 1644, Dury was there too, and both gave sermons on 26 November 1645 at St. Margaret's, Westminster. In June 1649, a few months after Sterry had become Cromwell's private chaplain, making him thereby privy to all decisions of state, Samuel Hartlib was recognised as the "Agent for the Advancement of Universal Learning." Cromwell would certainly have consulted his chaplain on that matter. During the conference convened in December 1655 for the admission of the Jews to England, Cromwell depended on Sterry to support the Jews in their appeal: similar support came a few months later from Dury who published in June 1656 *A Case of Conscience* to demonstrate the legality of Jewish residence in Protestant land. Both Hartlib and Dury shared with Sterry an active evangelism towards the Jews and advocated their settlement in England. Among Cromwell and Sterry, Hartlib and Dury there was a clear propinquity of goals.³

Sterry sustained those goals during the Restoration period long after Comenius had left England, Hartlib had died and Dury had retired. Although the England of the 1660s had no place for the aspirations of these "three foreigners",⁴ Sterry felt that the time was ripe for a momentous transformation in puritan achievement: at a period of persecution and anxiety, he sought to realise in the "lovely Society" the chief goals of Comenius and his circle – the advancement of learning in preparation for the eschaton.

Comenius bequeathed to Hartlib and Dury the belief that the universal advancement of knowledge was essential for the realisation of the Kingdom of God on earth. More specifically, Comenius proclaimed that the beginning of the eschaton and the advent of Christ's millennial kingdom would occur only after learning had prevailed among all mankind. This learning would be disseminated through small educational communities which were to be "a kind of imitation of Heaven" wrote Comenius, "Christian societies in small models," echoed Hartlib.⁵ Such an ideal was pursued within the Hartlib circle in England well into the Restoration period: in 1660, John Beale prayed "for a Paradyse in which wee might retreat from the noyse of Trumpet & drum".⁶

With similar intent, Sterry treated the "lovely Society" as a haven where he and his persecuted Nonconformists could be "alone in [their] Eden," and in "the sealed Garden" of "Paradise," phrases frequently repeated in Sterry's letters. Furthermore, Sterry borrowed from Honoré Durfé's novel *Astrea* the

3. Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration* (London, 1975) p. 71; Trevor-Roper, "Three Foreigners," p. 285; G.H. Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius* (London, 1947), pp. 257-262; Antonia Fraser, *Cromwell Our Chief of Men* (London, 1977), pp. 558-59.

4. Trevor-Roper, "Three Foreigners," p. 292.

5. The quotations are respectively cited in S.S. Laurie, *John Amos Comenius* (New York, rep. 1972), p. 212 and Webster, *The Great Instauration*, p. 87.

6. Quoted in Webster, *The Great Instauration*, p. 87.

landscape of his West Sheen society: as the Druidic society of fifth-century Gaul was in an enclosed garden, so were Sterry's members in a *hortus conclusus* at the centre of which was a fountain and beyond which were the fields, the Thames and the city.⁷ Within this society Sterry sought to advance educational goals using every medium available to him: he wrote letters, treatises, poems, meditations, biblical exegesis, paraphrases and sermons to instruct the society – whether immediate family members or his “Honourable” patron. Sterry taught in a manner similar to that at a grammar school, but the presence of mature pupils around him necessitated extensive work on university lines – much like other Nonconformist academies in the Restoration period.⁸ Because of the diversity among his pupils, Sterry assumed various roles towards them: he was a grammar teacher and a university lecturer, a father and a theologian, a pedagogue and a scholar and a preacher. He drew margins and lines on blank pages so children could write evenly, corrected spelling mistakes, selected passages for his amanuenses to copy, supervised the older scribes in transcribing his own treatises and poems, and explained neoplatonic ideas to the senior members in the group, particularly to his wife, daughter and Lord Lisle.⁹ He advised on theological as well as pedagogical matters – as this passage about proper pronunciation shows which his son Joseph Lee copied:

Speake with open mouth, leasurely, cleerly, distinctly, strongly. In speaking upon every word, upon ever sillable in every word; forme every letter freely, and fully. Let your speech be like a booke well printed with fair, and cleare letters without any fault. (MS III, 3).

As Comenius had urged that children be taught “to pronounce distinctly” and be trained in “the skilfull use of Language,” so did Sterry.¹⁰

Also in the tradition of Comenius and his circle, Sterry maintained a liberal attitude towards women, and addressed their intellectual needs with seriousness. There are dialogues between Sterry and his wife, Frances, that attest to a theologically challenging relationship between them. Sterry explained to Frances the Hebrew meaning of Biblical words, interpreted the mystical relevance of metaphors and cited Greek, Latin and Jewish commentaries. Some of the dialogues between them were transcribed and sent to their daughter so she

7. For Sterry's use of *Astrea*, See my “‘Alone in our Eden’: A Puritan Utopia in Restoration England,” *The Seventeenth Century* 2 (1987): 189-198.
8. I. Parker, *Dissenting Academies in England* (Cambridge, 1914), p. 57. See also for a general overview of education, H. McLachlan, *English Education under the Test Acts* (Manchester, 1931), p. 20.
9. For a study of the Sterry manuscripts at Emmanuel College Library, see P.J. Croft and N.I. Matar, “The Peter Sterry MSS at Emmanuel College, Cambridge,” *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 8 (1981): 42-56. All references to the manuscripts will be in accordance with the classification presented in the article. All quotations from the MSS will expand abbreviations but retain the seventeenth-century spelling.
10. John Amos Comenius, *The School of Infancy*, ed. and introd. Ernest M. Eller (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956), p. 98 and chapter 8.

would share in the religious discourse of her parents. In so doing, Sterry practised what Comenius had urged: he cared for the education of his daughter exemplifying thereby that the responsibility for attending to children was not exclusive to the patriarch but to the mother too. Frances Sterry, the mother, demonstrated an intellectual capacity that produced, on a higher social level in Restoration England, Lady Conway, Henry More's correspondent, and it is unfortunate that no other material has survived by her except the lines recorded in the letters. There were also letters from Sterry to a lady in Fairlane, in one of which he interpreted to her the dream she had had about her deceased husband (MS IV, 24). In the West Sheen community, there was an interactive female presence.¹¹

Sterry viewed education as an avenue to faith, and faith to the kingdom of God. As with Comenius, there was to be no education divested of morality: in the late 1650s, when Sterry's son, Peter, was at Eton, the father threatened to suspend the son's education if school corrupted him: "If you find the Temptations of that place still too strong for you, I am resolved to remove you before the Devill have prevailed too farre over you, and brought you into greater snares of shame, and trouble" (MS V, 93). Later from West Sheen Sterry maintained a correspondence with one of his pupils, Robert Liddell, and repeated to him the importance of learning:

Love your booke. Learning is the right Eye of the naturall Man. This will entertaine you with the sweetest Light of the Picture of Christ in the Creature, till the Life itselfe breake forth. Learning is a rich footstool to the throne of the Divine Light and Love. It is below the throne, but above all the rest of the Earth. (MS IV, 101).

At a time when Nonconformists were reacting to their 1660s defeat by distancing themselves from the intellectual and scientific concerns of Restoration London, Sterry urged dedicated study, and at a time when universities were inaccessible to the new generation of saints, Sterry prepared catechisms for his pupils in the fundamentals of Christianity (MS IV, 298-339), and had his amanuenses copy texts from Marsilio Ficino and Plutarch, Porphyry and Jacob Boehme, St Augustine and Hermes Trismegistus. There was no contradiction between the ancient and the modern, the Biblical and the artistic: education was pansophic and he listed in his own hand cures for diseases culled from medical texts (MS I, 386), praised the work of Apelles, Titian and Van Dyke (D, 209) and used the *Poetics* to explain the Christian concept of salvation.¹² In his treatise entitled "Of Philosophy in General," Sterry integrated, in a true neoplatonic fashion, the works of Pythagoras, Plato and Aristotle. He proposed to deal (but did not finish

11. Webster, *The Great Instauration*, p. 220. Comenius, *The School of Infancy*, pp. 120-122. For the portrait of intellectually active women in the seventeenth century, see Antonia Fraser, *The Weaker Vessel* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1984), unit 3.

12. See my "Aristotelian Tragedy in the Theology of Peter Sterry," *Literature and Theology*, 6 (1992): 310-20.

the treatise, or at least, the copy that exists is incomplete), with the five parts of philosophy – logic; general science; physics; ethics and divinity – summarising for his pupils the fundamental principles in each part. Like Comenius, Sterry simplified learning so that all members could participate in a pansophia that combined theology with philosophy and science: education was to be encyclopaedic and achieve for the individual a totality of faith and knowledge thereby raising man to the stature of Christ.¹³

For Comenius and his English circle, Francis Bacon was the mentor whose *Great Instauration* served as the prophetic book of the millennium. As a result, Sterry instructed his pupils to read that work, but he balanced for them the Baconian ideals with the neoplatonic thrust of his own theology. In this emphasis on neoplatonism, Sterry reacted against Protestant scholasticism and sought a truly Christian philosophy in the tradition of the Renaissance neoplatonists – chiefly Marsilio Ficino – who had used the *prisca theologia* to arrive at such a philosophy. Sterry wrote a number of treatises in which he allegorized passages from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: he presented the Christian meaning of the myths, discussed the function of music, examined solar imagery and emphasised the unity behind the diversity of the creation. For him, the *Metamorphoses* was as much part of the *Novum Organum* as the Bible and Boehme.¹⁴

One of the “Baconian” goals of Comenius and Hartlib for the advancement of education had been the establishment of a universal college. Sterry sustained that goal at Chelsea College, a site which John Worthington described to Hartlib in May 1661 as “a place near London, very accommodate to the purposes of a little retired society”.¹⁵ Worthington's words illustrate exactly the kind of “society” that Sterry kept at West Sheen and it is very likely that in 1662-1663, when the fate of Chelsea College was still undecided by King Charles II, Sterry travelled the short distance between his West Sheen priory and the College to instruct a small community of students there.

Chelsea College had been founded by James I as a bastion against Roman Catholicism. Because it did not prosper as had been hoped, the Long Parliament proposed it as the location of Comenius's College of Light,¹⁶ and in 1641 gave to Comenius “the tables of the income of the College of Chelsea for the maintenance of twelve learned men.” Cromwell liked the idea very much

13. Webster, *The Great Instauration*, p. 114.

14. See my “Peter Sterry and the Puritan Defence of Ovid in Restoration England,” *Studies in Philology* 88 (1991): 110-121.

15. *The Diary and Correspondence of Dr. John Worthington*, ed. James Crossley (London, 1967), 1: 314.

16. See the references to the project in Robert Fitzgibbon Young's edition of Comenius's journal in *Comenius in England* (New York, rep. 1971), pp. 25-51. For surveys of Hartlib's and Dury's other projects, see J.J. O'Brien, “Commonwealth Schemes for the Advancement of Learning,” *British Journal of Educational Studies* 16 (1968): 30-42; Charles Webster, “Samuel Hartlib and the Great Reformation,” *Acta Comeniana*, 26 (1970): 147-164.

and encouraged the establishment of a council for Chelsea College. Sensing that encouragement, Samuel Hartlib quickly added in 1652 an appendix to his *The Reformed Spirituall Husbandman*, in which he urged the "Foundation of Chelsey-Colledge [as] a Publick Centre of good Intelligence, and Correspondency with foreign Protestant Churches".¹⁷ None of these hopes materialised and in October 1660, Hartlib reported that the Earl of Newport was trying to turn the College into "an Hospital".¹⁸ A few months later, Hartlib wrote that "Chelsey College is not yet set apart for a workhouse for the poor".¹⁹ In 1662, John Darley, a Cornwall rector, composed a treatise on *The Glory of Chelsey Colledge Revived* in which he traced the history of the establishment and pleaded with Charles II to restore this "ruinous Colledge" as a centre of anti-Catholic education.²⁰ The king did not respond, and no decision was taken in regard of the college until 1665 when John Evelyn recorded that Chelsea College was being used to house prisoners of war.²¹

There are indications linking Sterry to Chelsea College before it was turned into a hospital. West Sheen is not far from Chelsea where Sterry frequently stayed and from where he wrote to his wife. Sterry went to Chelsea not only for preaching but also for educational purposes: for he kept books there whose titles constituted a reading list for mature pupils. In his own hand, on 21 April 1663, at Chelsea, he listed the following authors: Thomas Aquinas, Ficino, Boehme, Fletcher, Shakespeare, Seneca, Origen, Philo, Savonarola, Sir Francis Bacon, Henry Hammond, Ovid, Proculus, and Plotinus (MS I, 385). These authors, and many others, could not have been intended for a pastoral congregation, a general public or children. Indeed, their diversity points towards serious intellectual activity: from Francis Bacon's *Great Instauration* to Proculus on *Timaeus*, from the romance of the *Grand Cyrus* to the Hebrew Bible. These were books for readers with interest in Baconian science and neoplatonism, Biblical scholarship and Shakespearean drama.

The list constitutes a core curriculum for Sterry's community at Chelsea. Significantly, Sterry had an educational platform quite different from that of contemporary Nonconformist academies which "championed a traditional orthodoxy . . . with Latin works by Protestant divines . . . ponderous and scholastic in form and content".²² By including writers as "unorthodox" as Boehme and Savonarola and Origen, Sterry was keeping alive in his Chelsea

17. Webster, *The Great Instauration*, pp. 221, 43 and 223; Samuel Hartlib, *The Reformed Spirituall Husbandman* (1652), pp. 37-38.

18. Worthington, *Diary*, I: 215.

19. *Ibid.*, I: 324.

20. John Darley, *The Glory of Chelsey Colledge Revived* (1662), p. 36.

21. Entry on 8 February 1665. On 16 February 1664, however, the King had given the Chelsea College title to John Sutcliffe "with power to pull it down." Obviously Sutcliffe did not do so, *Records of State Papers, Domestic, Charles II, 1663-64*, p. 485.

22. McLachlan, *Education*, p. 20.

community the educational reform of Comenius.²³ The books which Sterry listed were too cumbersome to carry around, and since he did not own property in Chelsea, he must have kept them there as part of a library for his pupils: for as with Hartlib and Dury, Sterry believed that librarians were instrumental in the advancement of learning which heralded the millennium.²⁴ No wonder that a letter from Sterry in Chelsea to his wife at this juncture reveals a pervasively apocalyptic mood: among books and pupils, separated from wife and daughter, Sterry awaited the messianic coming:

O that wee had ever, the Longings in our Hearts, the Language on our tongues of the Spirit, and the Bride: Come Lord Jesus, Come speedily, Come frequently, Come full of Grace, and Truth into our Embraces. (MS IV, 4).

At Chelsea, as in West Sheen, Sterry pursued his educational goals in the firm belief that the advancement of learning would hasten the eschatological kingdom of Christ. Throughout the remaining years of his life, Sterry exerted all his efforts towards teaching and travelled beyond Chelsea and London, tossing as he wrote in one of his letters, "between ye city & ye country" (MS III, 19) and reaching as far as Oxford, to instruct the saints in preparation for the eschaton.²⁵

Comenius, Hartlib and Dury believed that the advancement of learning was linked to the millennium. Citing *Daniel* 12:4, they promoted projects towards universal knowledge and towards research institutions modelled after the Baconian House of Solomon. For them, the kingdom of knowledge anticipated the kingdom of Christ.

Sterry sustained a similar eschatological ideal: although eschatological and millenarian views were prevalent among Nonconformists in the 1660s and throughout the period of the "Great Persecution," Sterry differed from his coreligionists in linking knowledge to the eschaton. Having recognised the failure of the Puritan saints to bring about the kingdom of God by the sword, Sterry urged a different interpretation of eschatology. This desire for an alternative direction for eschatology is a striking feature of Sterry's post-1660 thought: while many ex-Cromwellians remained trapped in their old millenarian metaphors, Sterry realised that the survival of Nonconformity in Restoration England necessitated a re-interpretation of the eschatological goal. And the Comenian legacy provided that necessary alternative.

23. Parker, *Dissenting Academies*, p. 44; McLachlan, *Education*, p. 20.

24. For the link between libraries and the millennium, see John Dury, *The Reformed Librarian-Keeper*, intro. Richard H. Popkin and Thomas F. Wright (Los Angeles, 1983), p. ix.

25. Pinto, *Peter Sterry*, pp. 57 ff.

Sterry prepared for the eschaton with an indefatigable educational effort: indeed, the founding of the West Sheen society on a conspicuously educational rather than on a narrowly sectarian basis shows the transformation in his thought from the Interregnum's militaristic commitment to the Comenian vision. Furthermore, his writings reveal that the closer he felt the kingdom of God to be at hand, the more he laboured to spread wisdom to the saints. Writing on 30 June 1660, months before he was pardoned by the restored king and still hiding in fear for his life, he cared little about the political change in England and earnestly encouraged his daughter to "stand fast here, & Grow by Prayer, Faith, Purity, Reading, Meditation" because the "Fulnes of God in Christ" was at hand (MS IV, 70). He was sure the messianic kingdom was at hand, and he proclaimed its advent not through military or retribitional imagery but pedagogical advice. Writing to his son in this same period, he declared:

God is not slack, but is perfecting his worke in Judgement, and filling up ye mysterie according to his eternall Purpose, and contrivance in himself, untill it be finished to ye Height of an Infinite love, Power, Wisdome, Riches, Beauty and delight. He yt beleives this, makes not hast. Beleive, Pray, Study, ye Scriptures, waite, day and night for ye powering forth of ye Holy Ghost. (MS III, 122).

There is here neither anger nor hope of imminent retribution against the Anglican persecutors. There is intensity of expectation and the injunction that the son "Study" and prepare himself for the eschaton. Significantly, while the first years of the Restoration period saw the Nonconformist underground fomenting unsuccessful rebellion and harbouring vengeful plans against the restored monarchy, Sterry pursued his educational goals in separation from his coreligionists' thoughts and deeds. Indeed, in all the letters that have survived from Sterry to his family and friends from 1660 until his death in 1672, there is not a single mention of Restoration political, social or military events. His *corpus* exhibits a consistent absence of polemic, and constantly dissuades members from subscribing to any "party or perswasion." Such was Sterry's distance from narrow sectarianism that he proposed an openness to other Christian denominations in England, including the Presbyterians and the Catholics, which his Nonconformist contemporaries shirked.²⁶ Furthermore, while Nonconformists, clergy and laity, hailed the plague of 1665, the fire of 1666 and the Dutch victory in 1667 as God's punishment on England, Sterry turned away from those events, and with the exception of a few warnings about the plague, did not concern himself in his letters and sermons with anything other

26. From the summary of a sermon given by Sterry in 1670 and published anonymously in that same year by a church goer: "Of Free Grace," pp. 4, 10. Sterry's openness to other denominations could also be accredited to the influence of Comenius who with Hartlib and Dury, had pursued the goal of inter-Protestant unity. See specifically Sterry's preface to *Discourse of the Freedom of the Will* (1675).

than the devotional and educational instruction of his correspondents. Neither national disaster nor personal suffering would divert Sterry from learning: in a letter to his son written during the height of the Great Persecution, Sterry urged Peter to “Study, magnifie admire.” He concluded with these words:

Be temperate in all things, chaste, pure, meek, abounding in light, love, joy in ye spirit. O my Son ye Lord is at hand, ye day hath already dawned, yet a little while & you shall see this heaven & earth passing away from before your Jesus appearing upon his white throne, then shall ye whole Earth become A Paradise; then shall ye heavens be opened, & Angells throughout ye whole Earth be seen ascending, & descending upon ye Son of man. (MS III, pp. 147-8).

Sterry exemplified the courage of defiant Puritanism: no longer was he dependent on a revolution of the saints to bring about Christ’s kingdom; in the 1660s, the eschaton would unfold to those who stood and waited – and while waiting, studied the scriptures and the book of nature. The relationship between the saints was no longer one of arms but of intellectual exchange. That is why Sterry persevered in his epistolary writings under all conditions: he was prevented from preaching publicly by the various Parliamentary Acts of the early 1660s which restricted the activity of Nonconformists; as a result, he relied on letters. Writing on 6 October 1660, only a few days before the trial and execution of the regicides, many of whom had been his friends, Sterry assured his daughter:

Is it not this, for which I lift up my heart to my Father, and your Father in Heaven, while I write, that wee may at this time, by my writing, and your reading, adde somewhat to the mutuall Faith of each other? O my Daughter . . . Beleive, and you shall see the Glory of god, now, neere at hand, filling, all within you, round about you, to the utmost bound of the ever lasting Hills. (MS IV, 31-32).

It was through writing and teaching that the eschatological kingdom would be established.

The eschatological content of Sterry’s writings reflects the intellectual impact of the Comenian circle. For Nonconformists in the early 1660s used eschatology as a weapon against the Anglican institution: God was to inflict dire retribution on the clergy and parliament that was persecuting the saints. *The Lords Loud Call to England* by Henry Jessey was one of many influential works that detailed the “Wonderful Judgements, or Handy-works of God, by Earthquake, Lightning, Whirlewind” which were to befall the Anglican persecutors. Jessey, with whom Sterry had been familiar during the Protectorate, along with other ejected

ministers, treated eschatology as the only remaining means of vengeance.²⁷ Later, Nonconformists went beyond the vituperative to the “prophetic” and the uncontrollable: writers like John Bunyan, Edward Bagshaw, William Sherwin, Henry Danvers and others proposed eschatological dreams of victory rather than realisable goals for their persecuted coreligionists. Nonconformist eschatology and millenarianism became in the Restoration period the domain of the esoteric and the abstruse.

It is in the balance between eschatology and concrete goals for human/English advancement that Sterry felt the bequest of the Comenian circle. Sterry distanced himself from the invective of his contemporary coreligionists, and directed eschatology towards England’s regeneration. In this respect, he is perhaps unique among Restoration Nonconformists in maintaining a firm eschatological basis to his thought but in giving it a “hopeful” rather than a bitter and declamatory direction. By so doing, and by working towards the advancement of learning both at West Sheen and at Chelsea, Sterry kept alive in the Restoration period the chief goals of Comenius and his circle.

N.I. MATAR

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27. H.J., *The Lords Loud Call* (1660), p. 18. See also *Strange News from the West* (1661) with a description of London on fire, p. 3; *A Strange and True Relation of Several Wonderful and Miraculous Sights* (1661); *England’s Warning-Piece* (1661). For anticipations of a violent eschaton, see Isaac Pennington, *Some Queries Concerning the Work of God* (1660), p. 3; Edward Bagshaw, *A Discourse about Christ and Antichrist* (1661) and *Signes of the Times* (1662); George Bishop, *The Last Trump* (1662), p. 12: “O England! Destruction, and Desolation within thy Borders.” See also Sir Henry Vane, once Sterry’s friend, *An Epistle General* (1662): “. . . the present Signs of the near approaching day of the Lord,” pp. 73ff.

THE RIDDLE OF CAERLUDD: Matthias Maurice’s *Social Religion Exemplified*

“It was from this book that Congregationalists for several decades drew their ideal of a Congregational church and its life,” observes R. Tudur Jones in his *Congregationalism in England (1662-1962)*.¹ The book was first published in 1737, enjoyed two further editions, and then in 1786 Edward Williams, the energetic proponent of Neo-Calvinism of the Evangelical Revival, produced a new edition, “revised, corrected, and abridged, with occasional notes, a copious index, and a preface containing some account of the author.”² In the preface to the seventh edition in 1860 Thomas Nicholas of Carmarthen College tells us he could remember when the book’s popularity was second to that of *The Pilgrim’s Progress*.³ Williams’s edition was translated into Welsh and published in 1797

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1. *Op.cit.*, p. 132.
 2. Joseph Gilbert, *Memoir of the Life and Writings of the late Rev. Edward Williams* (1824), p. 163.
 3. R. Tudur Jones, *Op.cit.*, p. 132.

and in 1862 Maurice's original text was translated into Welsh and published. This marked the end of the book's career.

Nicholas's reference to Bunyan is most apposite because Maurice had tried to imitate him; what Bunyan had done for the Christian disciple Maurice tried to do for the Christian society (or local church as we would say today). *Social Religion Exemplified* has indeed elements one expects in a novel: characters, dialogues, drama and emotion. It has a complicated set of plots like rooms in an old mansion leading off one another. It even has a death-bed scene. John Angell James of Carrs Lane, Birmingham, owned that it had moved him to tears as a youngster.⁴ Sadly, however, Maurice never reached the literary heights of John Bunyan. His plot is too contrived, his characters made of cardboard, and his dialogues become longwinded and look as if they have been culled from old sermons. This is not to say that there are no flashes of inspiration in the book, for there are.

That the book was popular in Wales is hardly surprising because its framework is Welsh. Maurice was a Welshman living in England and, like so many of his countrymen, he looked back on his native land with great nostalgia. So he sets his story in Wales, at Potheina, "where the Eternal God, as the God of universal Nature, has ordered every Thing to the best advantage," and there, under a spreading oak, a group of enquirers discuss church life and government.⁵ This oak tree group meets ten times and has ten dialogues. The group consists of seven persons, each with names considered fashionable in the early eighteenth century such as Philologus (Lover of Learning), Syllogisticus (Reasoner) and Epenetus (Giver of Praise to God). In the stories that they relate, however, all but two (Alfred and Edgar) are in Welsh which Joseph Gilbert in his *Memoir of the Life and Writings of the late Rev. Edward Williams (1824)* castigates as "harsh and unpronounceable," and "not pleasing" to English readers, a view which many other English readers will not share.⁶ Like Bunyan's names Maurice's are moralistic, for example Dewi (Beloved), Yefan (Gift of Grace), Cadarn (Strong), Tyner (Tender hearted) and Cyndyn (Stubborn). When towns and cities in England come into the story they are rendered into Welsh; Caerludd for London is one. Maurice more than once pays handsome tribute to the Druids whom he considers to have been monotheists and lovers of justice.

Maurice came up against the inevitable problem which faces teachers who try to make their subject popular: the danger of the story overwhelming the message. Christ himself experienced it. "Do you not understand this parable?" we read in *Mark 4:13* where he is confronted by disciples baffled by the story of the sower. When Maurice is describing pastoral visits and church meetings the

4. R.W. Dale, *Life and Letters of John Angell James* (1861), p. 34 quoted by W.T. Owen, *Edward Williams DD* (1963), p. 32.

5. M. Maurice, *Social Religion Exemplified*. I.3. Whether we may identify Potheina with the village of Port Eynon on the Gower Peninsula is open to question.

6. Gilbert, *Op.cit.*, p. 163.

story and the instruction walk happily hand in hand but in the part of the book intended to convey church government the narrative throws order into confusion. Readers are like people wandering in an ecclesiastical second-hand shop packed with jumbled tenets and principles. In no way can Maurice's book be regarded as a manual and one feels sorry for the Congregationalists of the period who tried to use it as one.

The little group that gathers under the oak tree repeatedly hears about the author's ideal church, founded by Dewi and Yefan at Caerludd. The riddle of Caerludd is to know how much is fact and how much fiction. Undoubtedly we have in *Social Religion Exemplified* a treasure trove for all who love the detail of history. Novelists are close observers of life; fiction is disguised fact for the most part. Maurice is a skilled eye-witness, describing vividly what was said and done at troublesome church meetings and on difficult pastoral visits. Nor did he allow his zeal for Congregational principles to censor the weaknesses of the church. His realism must have endeared the book to ministers and deacons in the chapels which sprang up like mushrooms in the course of the Evangelical Revival. In fact, Maurice was drawing upon his own experience of church life to illustrate his apologetics.

Maurice was born at Llanddewi Velfrey, a small village between Carmarthen and Haverfordwest, in 1684, and trained for the ministry at Carmarthen. He was ordained at Henllan; then came a secession, and he founded a church at Rhdyceisiaid, and next a daughter church at Glandwr. In 1712 he moved to Olney. His last pastorate was Rothwell, a few miles to the north, where he settled in 1714 and remained until his death in 1738. He had no first-hand experience of London, but plenty to relate from Wales and the East Midlands.

Rothwell was no ordinary church. It had been the centre of fierce controversy late in the seventeenth century and its evangelical minister Richard Davis was the cause. He rubbed the local Dissenting ministers up the wrong way on the day of his ordination, 22 March 1690, when they were given no part in the service and the church itself carried out the ordination. That was not the end of the matter. News of Davis's preaching got around and it was said that he so emphasised grace to sinners that morality was pushed aside; some began accusing him of Antinomianism. Reports of hysteria when he preached were circulated. Pamphlets appeared.⁷ What hurt local churches most was when Davis began sending out lay evangelists into a wide area of the East Midlands carrying his kind of gospel and forming small groups of converts as outstations of Rothwell, these people making the pilgrimage to Davis's church Sunday by Sunday. In those days such behaviour was novel and offensive to Dissenters who were used to regarding the vicinity of their meeting houses as their own "parishes." Rothwell was intruding.

7. P. Rehakosht. *A Plain and Just Account of a Most Horrid Dismal Plague, begun at Rowell OR A Faithful Narrative of the Execrable and Noisom Errours, and the Abominable and Damnable Heresies vented by Richard Davis, pretended Pastour to a People at Rowell* (1692) is a sample of this warfare.

The protesters appealed to their London brethren who had recently formed a union of Presbyterians and Congregationalists called the "Happy Union," which in fact it never was, in 1691. Inconclusive talks with Davis in London led to a Commission, headed by Daniel Williams, visiting Kettering in 1692, but Davis refused to attend the meetings; in this he was supported by his church, on the grounds that the Commission amounted to a Presbyterian Classis. As Tudur Jones says, when the Commission published its findings "the United Brethren...sealed their own doom as a Union of Presbyterians and Congregationalists."⁸ They were very hard on Davis and consequently many Congregationalists like Isaac Chauncey thought the Commission had been high-handed and tended to side with Davis. This incident together with other problems led to the collapse of the union the next year. Rothwell, then, was no ordinary church.

It is not uncommon for one minister following another to wield the new broom and sweep as much of the previous minister's carefully cultivated ways as possible out of the door. Maurice was not one of these. Quite the opposite. He greatly admired Davis's work and when he succeeded him in 1714 he continued Davis's way but he brought to Rothwell patience, tolerance and wisdom which Davis always lacked.

The charismatic character of the church is evident. Maurice obviously delighted in the singing: "Men, Women and Children singing Praises to their God; some with tears of Joy, others with the most chearful yet serious Countenances."⁹ And prayers were led with "wonderful Judgment, Zeal and Affection."¹⁰ Here are a few verses from a hymn in Davis's hymn book, roughly contemporary with Watts:

My Jesus, he is all to me,
 What'er my soul can crave;
 A fountain free's my Christ to me,
 That I no want can have.

My Jesus, he is light to me,
 When I in darkness go;
 Such fulness in my Jesus is,
 That I no want can know.

My Jesus, he is liberty,
 When bondage doth oppress;
 Though I in sin have reeking been,
 My Christ is righteousness.¹¹

8. R. Tudur Jones, *Op.cit.*, p. 117.

9. Maurice, *Social Religion Exemplified*. I.226.

10. *Ibid.*, I.227.

11. Quoted by N. Glass, *The Early History of the Independent Church at Rothwell, alias Rowell* (1871), p. 143.

The substitution of "Christ" for "Jesus" in the last line brings the hymn to a good climax; otherwise its defects are all too conspicuous. It does, however, help us to take the spiritual temperature of the church Maurice went to and certainly loved.

Of Davis Maurice wrote:

*In Church Discipline he was of the same Judgement with the blessed Hooker, Cotton, Owen, Goodwin, Chauncy [sic], and other eminent and faithful Servants of Christ in the congregational Way's which the Doctor [(i.e. Calamy)] calls Independency.*¹²

Yet in composing *Social Religion Exemplified* Maurice seems to have deliberately avoided referring to the authorities he deemed "blessed," perhaps because of the readership he was courting for whom Scripture was the only authority worth respect. W.T. Owen concludes that the four principles of the Congregational Way which G.F. Nuttall describes in *Visible Saints*, Separation, Fellowship, Freedom and Fitness, "are equally apparent in Maurice's *Social Religion Exemplified*" though "Maurice's hyper-Calvinism tends to make his conception of freedom narrower."¹³

"The formal reason for a Church," says Maurice, is its covenant.

Members of Churches stand in a special visible Relation to each other, and this Relation is voluntary, and thereby by Agreement Persons are receiv'd, and Persons are rejected.¹⁴

When the statement concerning The Nature, Faith and Order is read at ordinations and inductions, as well as services constituting a new church, in the United Reformed Church, most of us are not aware of the age of the custom. But here, at Caerludd, the "Savoy Confessions" were read immediately before the people took the covenant. This they did, not by repeating it, phrase by phrase or reading it corporately, but by raising their right hands "towards Heaven" as it was read out, and saying "Amen" at the end. Maurice gives an abstract of the covenant, some lines of which I quote:-

We poor Sinners, having destroy'd ourselves by Sin, yet being brought through Grace and everlasting Love to look upon him, in whom our Help is laid, under a Sense of our exceeding Sinfulness, mourn and repent before the Lord: And do here openly, and without Reserve, resign ourselves and ours up wholly to *Christ*, the compleat Saviour of Sinners, in Church Fellowship and Communion; resolving and promising in his Strength, to believe his Promises, live by Faith on him, in whom they are all yea and *Amen*, obey his

12. Maurice, *Monuments of Mercy* (1729). Preface vii.

13. W.T. Owen, *Op.cit.*, p. 33.

14. Maurice, *Social Religion Exemplified*. I.124ff.

Precepts, hearken to the Voice of his Providence, serve him, and each other, according to all the Laws, Statutes and Ordinances of his House..

And so the discipline of the church was established. After affirming that God's written Word was their rule for life, the covenant went on to require members to work for "each other's Edification" and "the Increase of Christ's Kingdom, and the Good of all Mankind."

The declaration that the church had been constituted was very simple and it contains a phrase which is familiar to modern Christians who enjoy singing John Newton's hymn about it. "We are thro' Amazing Grace, a Church of Christ."

The church proceeded at once to the formal election and the ordination of its pastor and teacher, the choice having been made previously at a special meeting. It is here that the rigid Independency of Maurice, following Davis, becomes manifest. "The sole and whole Power of Ordination is in the church itself," says Maurice. Consequently, if a minister moves to another church he needs to be ordained there; there is no such order as that of "Universal Pastors" who imagine they are ordained once to all the churches. Furthermore, his extreme Independency affects presidency at the Lord's Table: "I cannot regularly administer the Lord's Supper to any Church, but that whereof I am pastor." "Regularly" in this context should be taken in the old, ecclesiastical sense, meaning "correctly" or "rightly;" it has nothing to do with frequency. Do not forget, reader, that we are under the oak tree enjoying all this. Lo, someone present queries it, remarking that there are a number of "godly and learned Ministers that do break Bread to more congregations than one," and he is told that they "cannot regularly and orderly do it;" They are taking "a Liberty... which Christ never gave." Incidentally, when someone asks whether laymen might preside at the sacrament, he is told "they could not in their present capacity" (i.e. without ordination).¹⁵

The structure of ministry is normal, such as we see in *The Savoy Declaration*, with pastors, teachers, elders and deacons. Although preaching is not mentioned among the pastor's responsibilities nor pastoral matters among the teacher's, we find when we come to the fascinating description of pastoral work that the pastor does preach and the teacher goes visiting church households: both take prayers and preside in turn at church meetings. Here, however, we touch on the riddle. Are we talking of fact or fiction, of practice or theory? Even Maurice has to note that many churches "make a Shift without a teacher." Indeed the roles are so close that it is easy to understand how financial pressure caused them to be combined.

Social Religion Exemplified illustrates both the virtues and the vices of the spirit of Independency. Maurice says little about lay preachers - he is writing a while before Wesley's laymen began preaching - but he has a great deal to say about

15. *Ibid.*, I.103-105, 110f.

education. Caerludd had its school and schoolmaster, Edgar, early in the eighteenth century yet the British and Foreign School Society did not see light until 1808. Edgar was ordained. Not as schoolmaster, teaching the three Rs and other secular subjects but as Catechist. One of Brother Edgar's responsibilities was to teach New Testament Greek to teenage pupils. But what of Hebrew? Once again the reader has to decide whether we are being led into a world of fiction and fancy, for we are asked to believe that Caerludd considered its school deficient because it taught no Hebrew but that this was overcome when Providence sent Jonathan Ben-Israel, a converted Jew, to the rescue, who soon set about teaching Edgar and Dewi Hebrew. The lessons took place fortnightly. Just how long it took them to achieve some facility in the ancient tongue we are left to wonder. At another point in the narrative we learn that one of the problems for the church was a lack of Bibles for members. This was tackled by getting the children to copy out passages for people in need of them while older ones set about "transcribing Greek Testaments." Even this did not satisfy the hunger of the pupils for knowledge, so the best scholars ventured upon the Septuagint. May one be forgiven for reaching for the salt-cellar?¹⁶

Again on the virtuous side, the heart warms to the author when he condemns the current practice of having long prayers and a long sermon at the Lord's Supper, for the congregation would have been at the morning service, having set out very early for church, many of them, and so was rather tired. He pleads for simple prayers uttered with "Tenderness and true Affection." When the bread is broken and the blessing on it sought the pastor should pray that the church might "be enabled to discern the Lord's Body, and by Faith feed upon the Bread of Life" and when he takes the cup he should give thanks "for the wonder of Divine Grace, Justice and Wisdom."¹⁷

Health as well as education has an important place in Maurice's teaching. Not discovering a great deal to help him in this regard in Scripture, he turns to the ancient Britons, who had strong constitutions, whose "Diet was plain and wholesome, and themselves given to Industry and Exercise." They knew "little or nothing" of "Lowness of Spirits, Hyppos and Vapours." Hyppos – hypochondriasis – is the lot of those "who only live to eat and drink." Readers who had assumed that Maurice had but tradesmen, artisans and farm workers in his congregation, are plainly mistaken. "Many of 'em were Persons of Leisure," he tells us. For their mutual improvement he encouraged them to form groups in their homes and not to waste their time in taverns.¹⁸

It is when we reach baptism that his Independency adopts an aggressive and unorthodox stance, which he would have defended as uncompromisingly biblical. Baptism, he declares, "is not strictly a Church Ordinance" though it can be regarded as "an Ordinance pertaining to Christianity." It has nothing to do with church membership and should not take place in the church, even

16. *Ibid.*, I.210ff.

17. *Ibid.*, I.199.

18. *Ibid.*, I.214ff.

though it is the responsibility of the teacher or pastor to conduct it. He derives this doctrine from Scripture, from the baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch, that of the Philippian gaoler and particularly from Paul's baptism by Ananias which he observes was "not in a Church, nor was he received as a Church Member." If he took Scripture literally, he did not take the words of *The Savoy Declaration*, that baptism "is by Christ's own appointment to be continued in his Church until the end of the world", quite so seriously. He did concur with it where it says "Baptism is but once to be administered to any person."¹⁹ In passing we should remember that before this century it was common among Congregationalists for ministers to perform baptisms in the homes of the flock.

While rejecting anything resembling synodical government, Maurice recognises the place of Assemblies for inspirational and educational purposes and his form of Independency is no isolationism. Indeed, the place he gives messengers from sister churches in the life of his ideal church is so demanding upon them that in practice it is unlikely ever to have worked. During vacancies and in cases of disturbance churches should invite others to send messengers to guide with advice and help restore peace and these messengers might be required to stay for some while. Their presence is most welcome but their authority is simply moral.²⁰

The highly organised weekly activities of the church are outstanding and obviously reflect what Maurice found in Rothwell. Probably he gilds the lily in describing it. He aims at every member attending three house meetings each week, one for Bible Study, one for divinity and one for sharing personal religious experience - all this long before the Methodist Class Meetings. Reports of these meetings are given to the regular church meetings. What is fact is that during Davis's ministry at Rothwell, 25 years, 861 church meetings took place. Assuming that meetings were less frequent in the heart of winter and during harvest time, church meetings must have been held about once a week; some were held on a Sunday when pressure required it.²¹

Well on in the part of the work dealing with pastoral affairs we come across a short lecture on discipline in democracy. Maurice is repelled by the attitude of some church members when they are in a minority. He has witnessed them leaving a meeting in "Disgust, with Indignation on their Countenances." It is a common blot on church meetings; it clouds the "Glory of Church Assemblies." It can be attributed to "Self-Wisdom, Self-will, and Self-sufficiency." Yet both Christ and reason point to the superiority of majorities.

Christ has promised his Presence to a Church of his, meeting in his Name: all the Members of a Congregational Church profess this.
Christ we humbly hope, his Face being sought, guides this Church

19. *Ibid.*, 1.53, 129. *Savoy Declaration of Faith and Order*. Chap XXIX.

20. *Ibid.*, 1.218.

21. N. Glass, *Op.cit.*, p. 68.

in Wisdom according to his Word: All Reason tells us, the *Majority* must be the Church: and then, all reason in the World the *Minority* should chearfully concur. ²²

It would be surprising to find women allowed to play a full part in the church, being contrary to the mores of the time and, of greater importance, disobedient to Scripture in their eyes. "Women are not suffered to speak in the Church." But can it be imagined that women in those days, having seen women on the throne and having read what power God had given to certain members of their sex in the Bible, would remain muzzled? There had to be a compromise and so, "if anyone thought she had something of Importance to offer, she call'd a Brother out, and pray'd him to do it." It was to take a long time before people awoke to the oddness of the Holy Spirit communicating to men inside the room and women outside it.²³

The book has 230 pages on pastoral work. The organisation is briefly described and then come the case histories and it is here that Maurice's gifts as a "novelist" begin to blossom.

One wonders how an elders' meeting today would react if a prospective minister informed them that he planned to set aside two days each week for pastoral work, one day when people would call on him between 10 and 3 o'clock, and the other when he would be visiting. Yet this is what Maurice advocates. He must have adjusted it if a working man or women sought his advice. The elders too make times when people could visit them as well as going out to see their families. When either a minister or an elder comes across someone in need of material help the case is reported to the deacons who decide about it and give the visitor concerned the appropriate gift to convey. They are all "Men of Prayer" and they often, but not invariably, pray with those they visit.²⁴

What may shock us in the twentieth century but appears to have been accepted without demur two centuries ago is the lack of privacy in pastoral work. Those who go to the pastor's "at homes" for help are dealt with in a kind of clinic where no one is taken aside for interview and now and again other "patients" join in the discussion. Surely it would prove to be a fount of gossip? It is surprising that people would attend it, though we are also told that the church provides plain refreshment for all who come. Again, when pastor, teacher or elder visit a home, no concern for private privacy is expressed and lads, lasses, apprentices and servant-girls face difficult personal questions in front of one another, not to mention their masters and mistresses. Some answers are more embarrassing to the mistress than to the maid and to the father than the son. It would certainly not be tolerated today. Whether people's readiness to speak up in these circumstances was due to the age or to evangelical pressure one is left wondering.

22. Maurice, *Ibid.*, I.142f.

23. *Ibid.*, I.124.

24. *Ibid.*, II.5f.

(i) *A Case of Spiritual Depression*

"My dear Pastor," says Crefyddol (Religious), "I have for some time been under Discouragement of Soul...I cannot see that I grow at all." In reply, the pastor assures him that other people notice his spiritual growth, and the fact that he is dissatisfied with himself is itself an indication of growth in grace. One of the other elders present adds that true growth is "seeking Self less, leaning on Self less, so growing out of Self into Christ."²⁵

(ii) *A Case of Spiritual Dryness*

Next it was Sister Tyner's (Tender-hearted) turn to speak. Her trouble was worse than Crefyddol's, she thought; it was spiritual death. She had fallen from grace and now her sins separated her from God. Neither listening to the Word of God nor attending the Lord's Supper afforded her any consolation. "She broke off abruptly under many Tears, nor was there a dry Eye in all the Company." Not suprisingly she was not able to specify any particular sin which had caused the separation. Further questioning brought those present to ascribe her condition to spiritual pride and she was advised to make a thorough self-examination, to study and reflect upon certain biblical characters who had gone through similar troubles, and above all to remember that Jesus Christ had promised not to cast out anyone who came to him. Sister Tyner was not satisfied, however, and went on to express her great sadness that attending the Lord's Supper failed to help her. To this the pastor, Dewi, replied,

If that Ordinance was to be attended to by Ministers and People only when they are in good Frames, how often, think you, would the Churches in the World commemorate their Lord's Death? All who cast their Salvation upon Christ, whatever be their Frames, are bound in Duty to commemorate their Lord's Death.

(iii) *A Candidate for Church membership*

Tawel (Meek) is a woman at the "clinic" who wants to be a church member.

Dewi: "Are you a Believer in Jesus Christ?"

Tawel: "Sir, I hope, through Grace, that I am."

Dewi: "What do you apprehend Faith in *Christ* to be?"

Tawel: "Sir, I don't know whether I can answer you right; but I think it is, to trust him with all that concerns my Salvation."

She then confesses her sin. "I was...in *Heathenism*;" she acted against her conscience; she tried to stifle her convictions. And then she heard Dewi preach

25. The following cases appear in II.5-235 in *Social Religion Exemplified*. Maurice changes tense a great deal in telling his stories and his presents us with some difficulties in quoting from him. A selection of his stories is given; one of those omitted is a long one about the troubles of the church with a fractious coterie, leading to its expulsion.

on coming to Christ the *Physician* - who came into the world to save sinners. After asking her questions about Christian duties if grace alone is necessary - did Maurice recollect the accusation of Antinomianism in Davis's days? - and receiving satisfactory replies, she asks for baptism and is baptised "*straight-way.*"

(iv) *The Twelve-Year Old*

There appears at the door a lad of twelve, by name Ufydd (Obedient), with whom the pastor seems to be on excellent terms, having often talked with him. The fact that Maurice chooses to place before readers this particular case suggests that, following Scripture, twelve is the age for boys to be faced with the question of their commitment. But what will exercise the reader's mind will be the way in which this is done.

Ufydd relates how his mother had taken him into her chamber and bolted the door. "I thought she was going to chastise me," he says. Instead she pleaded with him about his spiritual state. "Thou art ruin'd and undone by sin." She wept, she prayed, she plied him with texts till he was altogether confused. When he was at last alone he recognised the truth of her words, for he had paid very little attention to spiritual things. He threw himself down to the ground, weeping. At Family Prayers that evening his father demanded, "What is the matter with this Boy? Is he not well?" and the mother answered, "I hope he is under some Concern about his Soul." Then father prayed "in a very particular Manner for me, and while he was at Prayer I found my Heart made *willing* to receive *Christ* as my Saviour."

After Prayer, my *Father* took me to him, and said, "Come, my poor Child, how is it with thee?" For Tears I could make no Reply; but after some time I said, "Dear *Father*, I am willing to be *saved* by Christ. I am willing to *serve Christ.*"

As to the rest of the tale of Ufydd we are left guessing, for at this point Maurice turns to admonish ministers to know their people, "to study Souls as well as Books," a sentiment we find in both Baxter and Owen. Ministers who do not study their people, says Maurice, are as useless as locksmiths who "never consult with the Wards of the Lock." Maurice seldom quotes from books save for Donne's poetry but here he has a line from Walter Craddock, "Ministers should, in all our ministerial Works, propose some solid Spiritual Scope, or End to our Ministry" and that end for Maurice is saving souls for Christ.

The purpose of the story is undoubtedly to persuade parents to decide when to bring children face to face with commitment to Christ. Probably preachers full of evangelical fervour would make use of such a story in their sermons to influence both young people and their parents. But probably many of us today would want to question the emotional pressure the parents placed upon one twelve years of age and would be inclined to doubt the permanence of a conversion arrived at in such a manner.

(v) A Sick Visit

Dewi calls on Rhinweddol (Virtuous), a sick member whose "Pains" have attended her for some time. "But the greatest Pain of all is in my Mind," she confesses, "for I think God is very angry with me, else he would not afflict me thus." The notion that illness is inflicted upon us by God as a punishment for our sins was prevalent in earlier centuries and still lingers on. How does the pastor react? He offers his personal sympathy, adding that, of course, "the Pity of a sinful Worm" like himself "is nothing, when compared with the Bowels and Compassions of your risen Redeemer." Then he reminds her of the faith of sick people mentioned in the Bible. Incidentally, his reference to Job seems affected and jarring: "as dear *Job* said..." All this makes little impression on the sufferer. "God has a Controversy with me and for my Sins he afflicts me; and before his Frowns and Displeasure I cannot stand." "Afflictions may be called the Frowns of God," agrees Dewi, yet "they are the Frowns of a Father." He is never vindictive; he only wants to help us get rid of sin. Upon that note Dewi leaves. If he prayed, we are not told.

(vi) The Polite, Perverse Son

The next visit is to a family whose son is a great trouble to them. The father explains that he "often turns his Back upon Family Worship," and adds, "nor can I get him to the publick Assemblies." The lad is discovered in another room and makes to escape as soon as he spies the pastor, but Dewi is having none of it. "Young Man," he cries, "you shall not go hence, I have something to say to you." He has indeed! There follows a lengthy lecture in the course of which the fellow is accused of despising father and mother, and ignoring Christ, the Gospel and the Everlasting Covenant. In conclusion Dewi calls on him to consider his ways, and says, "Let me have an Answer to all or to any Part of what I have said." The answer is polite, brief and blunt.

Sir, I am not inclin'd to spend any Thoughts upon what you say, nor can I bear your Discourse: I am your humble Servant.

With that he sweeps out of the room "in a violent manner," leaving "Father and Mother, and Dewi also, in Tears."

This story strikes one as utterly true to life. No doubt the family is one of the more genteel ones. The story shows Maurice's literary gifts beginning to manifest themselves. The object of this tale is, one supposes, to steel ministers in particular to tackle difficult pastoral tasks and not to fear distressing scenes. It is of interest that in his long speech Dewi says he must speak as he does because his conscience makes him do it. The author hopes that his readers will be led by their conscience to challenge wayward souls.

It is not surprising that the name of the young fellow is Cyndyn (Stubborn).

(vii) An Old Couple

Maurice next presents a model for visiting the kind of old couple all churches know well, rather infirm, not well-off, but the salt of the earth. After a warm welcome, he enquired about their spiritual welfare, though in language which sounds bizarre, seeing their circumstances: "Were they fat and flourishing in their Old Age?" They utter a model answer: increased frailty made them more conscious of their failings and more appreciative of their blessings in Christ. Like many visits by ministers to those no longer active in church life Dewi's appears to be rather brief. He enquired discreetly about their material needs and upon leaving said, "Pray accept of my Love and this ." What he pressed into their hands we are left guessing. Who decided what it was, Dewi, or the deacons?

(viii) Not a Pleasant Visit

This fell to an elder who remains anonymous. The family was suspected of failing to hold Family Prayers and give proper instruction in religious and moral matters to their children and servants. Coming to the point, the elder asks, "Do you put them upon their proper Duties to God?" Husband and wife prevaricate and eventually the wife admits that things have gone wrong and Family Prayers are neglected too often. When they are held, "it is seldom at a seasonable hour" and "Never in such a savoury Spirit and evangelical Fear, as becomes the Duty." The husband puts the blame on his business; he is often out when the time for prayers comes round. The elder asks if they say grace before meals. Again, the excuse is that the man is usually out on business; in any case "we don't eat together" very often. Cannot the wife say grace? She says she feels "generally low in my Soul," so she asks the son to do it "but he never does." Then the son is questioned. He cannot explain. So the elder asks him if he had not heard the pastor admonishing people to remember to ask God's blessing on their food when he preached the other day? He had not; he was not there. What was he doing? "Taking a harmless walk with a few Acquaintance in the Fields, Sir." This leads to a heated discussion on the sinfulness or otherwise of roaming the countryside at the time of public worship. Had he not heard preachers declaring the evil of sin and need for repentance? He had: "They said I was a sinner undone, without a Saviour, but I can't see much to it." The scene ends with the elder laying down the law and threatening to raise the whole affair at the church meeting.

(ix) The Maid

The elder does not quit the house before seeing the maid. Those better acquainted with eighteenth-century speech must judge whether an utterance like the following could have taken place:

Elder: How is it with you in your Soul? How is it with you in your Place and Service? I hope the Yoke of Christ in his evangelical Institutions, and in his providential Dispensations, is easy to you?

The questions are remarkable not only for their language but because they reveal how intrusive into private family affairs the Church was prepared to be. The maid, Prudd (Prudent), is fully equal to it, however, and answers both intelligently, soundly and discreetly. Maids reading the book were to take note! Maurice seems to suggest, indeed, that many a maid stood head and shoulders above her master and mistress so far as Christian character was concerned.

(x) *Servant or Slave?*

Here Maurice shows his concern for the welfare of the servant. An apprentice is called. He is quite the opposite to the maid. "Many thoughts pass thro' my Heart," he confesses, "but they don't take much hold of me, nor I of them." The type is not rare. Persistent questioning elicits the fact that the lad is kept working from morn till night and is not even provided with a candle to light him to bed. The elder turns to the master for an explanation.

Sir, in keeping him so close to work I do but my Duty...I never knew
Work hurt anybody. Idleness tends to nothing but Ruin: as for
Candle, I think to allow him one late in the night is needless,
wasteful and dangerous, I bid him be a good Boy, and serve God,
which he may do without a Candle.

The elder is not impressed and retorts, "Your poor servant seems to be a Slave" – all this in the hearing of the apprentice and the whole family.

The visit reaches a conclusion with admonitions to each in turn and prayer, which the master particularly requests. Is Maurice warning ministers and elders that those who seek to give the impression of piety are too often hypocrites? We meet this master again later on; his name is Diwall (Careful).

(xi) *Matthew 24:48ff – A Reconstruction*

An elder is asked to reprimand a woman servant for taking advantage of her master's and mistress's absence. Not only had she failed to attend worship – no personal rights in those days – but she had been entertaining her friends at the house and letting them help themselves to whatever they wanted. When challenged by the elder, the servant coolly argues that since in Scripture all believers are brothers and sisters, how could her master and mistress begrudge her affording a little cheer to her friends? In no uncertain manner she is told she had been purloining goods that belonged to other people and she was never to do it again. On reflection was this not a merciful judgment? Maurice was trying to instil into households good behaviour, faithful service, discipline and kindness.

(xii) *A Shady Shopkeeper*

This is a church meeting case. One member complained that another, who kept an outfitter's shop, had cheated him. He had seen a coat he liked but found it was too expensive to buy. But when he had gone into the shop another day it had been marked down and he purchased it, having asked whether it was the same coat and been assured that it was. When he examined it more closely at

home he became certain that it was a different coat so he went back to the shop and complained, only to be told that he had got what he paid for and had no cause for complaint. In true New Testament fashion he returned taking with him two friends to pursue the matter, all to no avail. Now the procedure was for a member with a grievance to see an elder about it and this elder would lay it before the church meeting if he thought it merited it. "They could never have done things decently and in order without that," comments Maurice. So the case came to the meeting, and the pastor, sitting like a judge, having heard both sides, declared for the plaintiff, and gave the shopkeeper a lecture till he was in tears and full of penitence, whereupon the members voted to accept his repentance.

(xiii) *Another Shopkeeper in Trouble*

This time the complaint was that two members had been charged differently for the same article and one had paid twice what the other had. The shopkeeper's name was Diwall, who figured in cases (viii)-(x), emerging there with little credit. Diwall's defence was that business operated that way and the church failed to grasp it. Witnesses were called and one shocked everyone by relating how he had obtained a loan from Diwall and now found himself virtually his slave, working all hours for him for nothing. Diwall's defence was rejected, no one raising a hand to support him but all hands were raised calling on him to repent. At the next meeting he appeared and seemed "very angry with the Church, especially its Officers," nevertheless he hoped they would pardon him, adding tartly, that "twas well his Happiness did not depend on them." He was admonished once more and asked to come to the next meeting which he failed to do. He was then expelled.

(xiv) *The Reform of a Drunkard*

Many pages in Maurice are taken up with drink and drunkenness. Those in the wool trade were particularly targeted. Beer rather than wine was the trouble. George Herbert's lines are quoted:

Drink not the third Glass which thou canst not tame
When once it is within thee; but before
May rule it as thou list.

A brother was brought before the church meeting for drunken behaviour. He expressed his sorrow and regret but not to the satisfaction of members. They called upon him to repent and some elders visited him subsequently and were not unhopeful of his improvement, but just before the next meeting he got drunk again.

At this point in the story there is a digression. Christophilus, one of the oak tree group, intervenes to tell everyone how very serious the problem of drink is in large cities. Hogarth's illustrations spring to mind as he says,

Hell-houses multiply, and those who are Masters of 'em are cloathed in fine Linen, and fare deliciously every day, and many of those on whom they wait, as they call it, have hardly decent Rags to cover them...

He goes on to describe some of the customers:

some with glaring Eyes, and glowing Cheeks, some with heavy Eye-lids and falling Jaws, others calling for the...Pot, as plain as they can speak, and what's to pay; and when they have stumbled home, chide their half-starv'd Families, for doing no more.

It is high time for the Churches to mourn; for the Land to mourn: for such Locusts, Caterpillars, and Cankerworms are very like, unless amazing Grace prevents, to render all desolate.

Returning to the story, eventually the pastor went to the man and took him into a room alone. The door was closed and the two began to pray. The pastor was

under a more than ordinary gale of the Spirit of Prayer. He mourn'd, he cried, he confess'd, he petition'd, he pleaded with many Tears, and his Mouth was fill'd with Arguments; the Recovery, O the Recovery of his Poor Fellow Member, bound with the Cords of his own Sins, and led Captive.

The drunkard also prayed, making full confession of his sin. We are left to assume he was cured of his failing.

There is another case fully described of a young man who claims that by going drinking with his companions he is helping to break down the barriers that exist between church people and those outside. But Dewi says he is deceiving both them and himself and calls on him to abstain from all drinking save that which "Nature makes necessary." The upshot is that this moderate drinker takes to heart what is said and a year later is expressing his gratitude to the elders:

My natural Spirits [are] more free, and chearful, my Temper more even and comfortable to myself and others, my Sleep easy and refreshing.

My hope is that, despite the severe condensing of these stories, sufficient of Maurice's skill as a narrator is reaching the reader to explain why the book was so popular for so long. When church discipline broke down, the book's career was finished. Maurice's talent for story telling is most fully developed in the very long story of Cyndyn's conversion.

(xv) *Cyndyn – Part II*

As we come towards the end of *Social Religion Exemplified* it becomes obvious that the story-teller is triumphing. He decides to add a second instalment to the tale of Cyndyn, who appeared in story (vi); it turns out to be a fully developed short story covering over forty pages.

Maurice begins by painting Cyndyn in the worst light and colours. He was "of a perverse nature;" "never . . . willing to get up in the morning;" he would fall "like a Swine" on his food; at worship he would "play with Hands, Fingers or

Feet” or else go to sleep; he “chose the worse Company” and “hated Instruction and was in love with all the ways of Death.”

One day after a transgression his father chastised him and sent him to bed. Maurice recounts the parents’ anxious conversation that night, incidentally revealing to us his own depth of feeling.

Mwynedd. My Dear, what have you done! For my part my Heart is under the greatest Concern. Will he not think Christianity cruel? Have you not given him what he must carry with him to his Grave? Our Child to our great Grief is very rebellious, but pray what do you think you have been at?

Gobeithiol. My Dear, don’t you add to my Grief; it is almost greater than I can bear. I have not chastised willingly; I have scourged myself: and though it was my Work, it was my strange Work. I desire I never may do it more. I am afraid I have exceeded: but I aim’d at my Duty...

Neither this nor the long interview between Yefan, the Teacher, and Cyndyn accomplishes any change. Cyndyn’s defence reminds us of Augustine: “I hope I shall in due Time give all to him [Christ].” “Now is the due Time,” cries Yefan but Cyndyn is not persuaded: “Sure a poor young Man may enjoy himself and the innocent Pleasures of Life a little.” Yefan takes pains to explain that the church has a pastoral responsibility for the young man but this Cyndyn refuses to accept. Yefan will not leave this argument alone but worries it like a dog with an old slipper while Cyndyn’s ire continues to rise and he shouts, “Be so kind as to leave me alone!”

The next move was for the church meeting to send the sinner a letter of Admonition. For us the most interesting point about the letter is its Calvinism. Thus we read for example: “The everlasting Covenant of God you have rejected, your Birth-right you have despised, the easy Yoke of the Redeemer you have refused.” Cyndyn took the letter and kept it carefully but would not appear at the church meeting and confess his sin and profess repentance. So the meeting agreed that the two ruling elders should admonish him verbally, which they did, reducing him to tears but not to repentance: “his Countenance appear’d very sullen and unthankful.” The next wave of elders in the attack consisted of Yefan with Edgar but they too had to retreat before the “stiff unthankful Countenance.” The situation in the home was becoming unbearable.

Nor had his Parents any Comfort in him; ever and anon he would threaten to leave ’em; and they were not very averse to let him go, tho’ they said nothing: but send him away they would not. They lock’d up nothing from him that was his, and also put something more in his way, that at any time when he pleased to depart, he might take with him what he thought fit.

ONE Night he takes his Opportunity, informs no body of his design, and away he goes. It was some little time before his Parents knew that he was gone in earnest; but when they knew by examining what things were gone, and what things were left, no body can tell what distress they were in: but they both went to prayer, and you must think with many tears committed him to God, wherever he was...They were in a thousand Thoughts a-day about him; and for many Weeks, yea, for many Months, the sight of the Bed where he used to lie...would make them cry, ready to break their Hearts.

Cyndyn travelled from Caerludd to Bedfordshire and managed to scrape together just enough to live on in a small town but he "was under a Necessity of being sober, for he had not much to spend." Not surprisingly, he was thoroughly dejected.

At this point in the story, having credited Maurice with considerable talent as a story-teller, he lets us down. Perhaps the following words will indicate why:

One day walking near the Town, in one of the Meadows, many Thoughts crouding his now bewilder'd Breast; distress'd by most of 'em, and relieved by none; he sat down safe from Observation and burst into Tears, and cry'd out, Oh! most miserable Creature, what and where am I?

Is not this too much like Christian's "walking in the Fields...greatly distressed in his mind; and... he burst out...crying, *What shall I do to be saved?*" Like Christian Cyndyn had his Bible in his hand; he also had the Admonition, neither of which helped him, save to be more wretched.

No Evangelist came to Cyndyn's aid. Instead it was a comrade at work called Ymgais (Inquisitive) who proved to be the catalyst. He asked him what was wrong. Learning that it was a spiritual problem he offered to speak to "a *Druid* who can procure your Peace." This touched Cyndyn on the quick.

Cyndyn. And, distress'd as I am, I have two things to tell you: Though you are not so sinful as I am, yet you are a great Sinner; and all the *Druids* in the world can't help you.

Ymgais. Your Sins indeed you know best, but none of my Neighbours who have known me from a Child will say that I am a great Sinner; but pray what makes you think so of me?

Before he realised it, Cyndyn had launched into an explanation, a proclamation indeed, of the doctrine of salvation, which he supported with biblical readings. Suddenly he was reading,

This is a faithful Saying, and worthy of all Acceptation, that Jesus Christ came into the World to save Sinners, of whom I am Chief. But as he mention'd the Word to comfort another, beyond his own Expectation his own Soul was relieved, his Fetters fell off...

In a short while Cyndyn had Family Worship organised at Ymgais's home, where he was now lodging, neighbours began to join in and it was "like a little Church." But Cyndyn continued to refuse to think of going back home.

The one day Ymgais had to go to Caerludd on business he was determined to go to Dewi's church. After the service in conversation with Dewi he related how he had become a Christian and how much he owed to a young Christian from Caerludd. Now Cyndyn's mother was standing nearby and Dewi remarked to her that he had an idea that it might be her son, so he asked Ymgais, "pray Sir, what was his Name?"

Ymgais. Sir, you make me afraid to tell it; his name is *Cyndyn*.

Mwynedd. Oh *Cyndyn! Cyndyn!* not my *Cyndyn* sure! too much, too much

———Sinks away———.

The story ends with a touch of *Luke 15:22f*, Cyndyn returning home and falling at his parent's feet, they "order'd fresh Apparel for him, and they began to be merry." On the next Lord's Day Cyndyn gave a "Publick Account of the Dealings of God with him" and was restored to fellowship and Anianol (Natural), Diwall's rebellious son, was converted by what he heard. And they all lived happily in "humble holy prudent Conversation" thereafter.

The riddle of *Social Religion Exemplified* remains to tease us. The story of Cyndyn is a case in point. Much of it is spun from the author's imagination and it had to be to shield actual people from exposure that they might well not have wanted, and yet is there not a kernel of truth in it? The curious fashion in which Cyndyn's conversion takes place is evangelically off-beat and it inclines one to remember the saying that truth is stranger than fiction. But drawing the line between theory and practice, and between fact and fiction is what? An amusing, unwinnable game?

There is yet another teasing question. Did Maurice write this book to defend and advance the Independency that Rothwell aspired to, or did he sense that revival was about to sweep the land? Had he heard rumours of the young men, Howel Harris and George Whitefield, preaching and gathering great crowds? Certainly his book could not have appeared at a more opportune time. We have long known that the roots of the Revival went back into Puritanism; what we see in Maurice is one of those roots, feeding the Revival.

Maurice may have fallen a long way short of Bunyan and his efforts to persuade Congregationalists to do things decently and in order may have been disordered and incomplete, but he succeeded in painting a picture of the Independent Church of his time as he expected it to be, which inspired thousands of Christians during the Evangelical Revival to try to copy it, as far as they could. Plenty of manuals have been written but are they ever inspiring? Some stories too; some rather sad tales. But has anyone else besides Maurice ever written a popular book about our church life and ministry and order?

JOHN H. TAYLOR

LADY GLENORCHY'S LEGACY

New College MS. 50/1 in Dr. Williams's Library bears the uninteresting title of "Lady Glenorchy's Legacy Account Book, 1786-1801."¹ It is however, an invaluable source of information about Calvinistic Methodism and the Evangelicals at the turn of the century, and deserves to be much better known. So far as I can discover it has not been used by historians of the period.

Willielma, Lady Glenorchy (1741-86) was converted to Methodism after her marriage to Lord Glenorchy in 1761. Later she left John Wesley for Calvinism. When her husband died ten years later he left her a considerable estate, the proceeds of which he intended her to devote to "encouraging the preaching of the gospel, and promoting the knowledge of the Protestant religion, erecting schools, and civilizing the inhabitants" of the Highlands.² Lady Glenorchy enlarged this trust to embrace first the rest of Scotland, and later England. Her efforts included the founding of chapels as far apart as Edinburgh, Matlock and Exmouth, paying for the training of ministerial candidates by evangelical ministers, and the printing of tracts.³ When she died on 13 July 1786 she left £5,000 to the Scottish Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, and £5,000 to the Revd. Jonathan Scott to continue her activities to promote evangelical causes. She had already transferred her chapel at Matlock to Scott in the previous year.⁴

Her biographer does not mention how or when she had met Scott, merely quoting from her diary that she met "her dear friend" Mr. and Mrs. Scott at Buxton in July 1782.⁵ Jonathan Scott (1735-1807) was the son of an army officer and followed his father's career. He is believed to have been converted to Methodism by a sermon preached by William Romaine at Lady Huntingdon's chapel at Oathall in Sussex.⁶ After combining soldiering with preaching for several years he resigned his commission in 1769, settled in Shropshire, and began itinerating.⁷ He probably became acquainted with Lady Glenorchy through the Hill family of Hawkestone. Scott corresponded with Sir Richard, the brother of Rowland Hill, and Lady Glenorchy with their sister. In choosing Scott to administer the fund Lady Glenorchy made a good choice, though her

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1. I am indebted to Dr. G.F. Nuttall who brought this volume to my attention and has since commented on this article, and to John Creasey, Dr. Williams's Librarian, for additional information.
 2. T.S. Jones, *The Life of the Right Honourable Willielma, Viscountess Glenorchy* (Edinburgh, 1822), p. 260. This life by her chaplain is principally devoted to extracts from her spiritual diary, and is not very helpful for personal details. The only other biography is D.P. Thomson, *Lady Glenorchy and her Churches* (Crieff, 1967).
 3. Jones, *op.cit.*, pp. 143, 282, 501, 508. The resemblance to the activities of Lady Glenorchy's friend, Lady Huntingdon, has been frequently noticed.
 4. *Ibid.*, p. 517.
 5. *Ibid.*, p. 482.
 6. However see R.F. Skinner, *Nonconformity in Shropshire* (Shrewsbury 1964), p. 33 for a different version.
 7. See *Congregational Historical Society Transactions*, vol. 3 (1907), pp. 49-54.

biographer hints that if she had lived longer she might have changed her will.

The legacy to Scott was intended "for the Purposes of carrying on several Plans already begun, and others already mentioned to him for propagating the Gospel in different parts of England."⁸ In the account book Scott more closely defined her intention as

- (1) to support one or more students "training for the Gospel Ministry,"
- (2) to augment the salaries of evangelical Dissenting ministers,
- (3) to help build or enlarge Nonconformist places of worship,
- (4) to support Lady Glenorchy's chapels at Matlock (Derbys.) and Stone (Staffs.).⁹

In November 1787 and August 1788 Scott received the legacy, in the form of 5% stock from the executrix, Lady Maxwell. Like Lady Glenorchy, Scott interpreted the restriction (to England) very widely, though relying on the legacy to the Scottish Society for work in that country. Not only did Scott have a considerable income from this legacy, but he also held a similar one from Rowland Hill's sister.¹⁰

The students supported by Lady Glenorchy's legacy were to be "Calvinistic Dissenters." After two months probation they were to be educated for two years. Lodging, board, washing, tuition and "such *Books* only as shall be judged by his Tutor *absolutely necessary*" were to be provided by the legacy. Students were not compelled to study any language but English if they were otherwise considered suitable.¹¹ So far the plan followed that of Lady Huntingdon's Trevecca College, but it differed by not providing a college building.¹² The students were placed with suitable evangelical ministers¹³ (probably including Scott himself), and assistance was also given to students at Hoxton and Newport Pagnell academies. It is difficult to disentangle the names of the students wholly supported by Scott, but the following have been noted:

- 1787 Mr Gavie
- 1790 Messrs. Whitehead, Coles (or Coales), Reece, and William Jones
- 1792 Messrs. Samuel Torr and Grove

8. MS. 50/1, p. 1 [all future page references are to this vol.]
9. Pp. 9-11.
10. P. 65. His account book for this legacy has not survived.
11. Pp. 9 and 10.
12. It is interesting to note that this course was recommended to Lady Huntingdon on several occasions when the College debts became burdensome.
13. The two principal tutors were those employed by Lady Glenorchy herself - Edward Williams, the minister at Oswestry, and his successor there John Whittridge (G.F. Nuttall, *The Significance of Trevecca College*, London, 1969, p. 10.)

All the students were sent out to preach from time to time. William Jones received an extra two guineas because "he said my servant burnt a pair of his Boots when officiating for me."¹⁴ Gavie and Coles also acted as Scott's assistant for a time, and Coles only left him in August 1794.¹⁵ Coles appeared frequently in the account book. In 1791 he preached out of doors at "Norton near Drayton" (Shrops.), and helped to entertain the ministers "at the Association."¹⁶ In the following year he was involved in a riot at the new chapel in Uttoxeter and was helped to replace his clothes lost there.¹⁷

Much money was spent on helping ministers and their families. A principal charge throughout the book was Thomas Phillips. He had been Lady Glenorchy's chaplain for a time, but was now "confined under a heavy Affliction." At first he was boarded out in different towns, but by 1798 he was in the Manchester Lunatic Asylum and was still there when the accounts end.¹⁸ Although Scott concentrated on supporting Independent and Calvinistic ministers he occasionally assisted others. In 1791 he gave two guineas to Mr. Pyne "a poor Baptist minister,"¹⁹ and in 1794 one guinea to Mr. Coleshaw "a poor Methodist Preacher."²⁰ Thomas Charles of Bala, whom he described as "a poor Welsh Minister," received five guineas in 1794,²¹ and Mr. Whittridge was allowed to live Rent free in my house at Newcastle [under Lyme].²² Other donations included a gown "for a poor Minister's wife."²³

Books also occupied an important place in the accounts. Scott bought religious books "to give away" and even had tracts printed for distribution.²⁴ More substantial works included

a 2d hand Cruden's *Concordance* to give a minister.²⁵
Caryl on *Job* for the Academy.²⁶

14. P. 61.

15. P. 63.

16. The Shropshire Association of Congregational Ministers was not formed until 1796. This may have been an informal predecessor.

17. Pp. 51 and 57.

18. Pp. 73 and 87. Thomas Phillips is not mentioned in Lady Glenorchy's biography or any other work available to me.

19. Thomas Pyne was the Baptist minister at Wellington about this period.

20. Mr. Coleshaw has not been identified, but was probably not one of John Wesley's preachers.

21. Charles of Bala preached in the chapel at Wem which passed to Jonathan Scott in 1793 (D.E. Jenkins, *Life of the Rev. Thomas Charles*, Denbigh, 1910, vol. 1, p. 487.)

22. Pp. 25, 47, 63 and 65. Fifteen shillings a year was charged for Whittridge's rent in the account book.

23. Pp. 25 and 29.

24. Pp. 23 and 27.

25. P. 23. Cruden's *Concordance* was first published in 1737, with later editions in 1761 and 1769.

26. P. 33. Caryl on *Job* was published in 1651-66. It is uncertain to which Academy it was presented.

Luther on Galatians, Sheridans Dictionary and Bates' Hebrew Lexicon for the Academy.²⁷

An abridgment of Dr. Owen on Hebrews and Antipaedo Baptist Examined "to give to young ministers."²⁸

Scott helped too many congregations for them all to be listed here. They ranged from neighbouring chapels such as Bilston to others in Cornwall, Wales, Scotland and St. Johns in Newfoundland.²⁹ He provided stamped register books for a number of chapels so that Dissenting congregations might claim to have official registers.³⁰ He also paid for furniture, candlesticks and communion plates. Assistance was given to chapels in serious difficulties. The "poor Loe Church in Cornwall" had been established as a Congregational chapel by Sir Harry Trelawny, who afterwards became a Unitarian minister and left the congregation without support.³¹ Another donation was to the Tyldesley Bank church near Manchester to rescue its minister, John Johnson, from the chapel debt.³² In 1794 he gave two guineas to a congregation at Needham "where Dr. Priestley once was but now has the Gospel preached in it."³³ He also paid the cost of enrolling chapel deeds in Chancery under the Mortmain Act in order to protect the trust.³⁴

In later years more emphasis is placed on missions and charitable works. Scott subscribed to the Moravian Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society, the Welsh Circulating Schools, and various home missionary societies.³⁵ This change of emphasis may be the result of increasing age - Scott died in 1807. Instead of travelling extensively to make his gifts, he now conducted his charity through others. After John Thornton died in 1790 he helped "Revd. Mr. Berridge towards the support of his Lay Preachers he having

27. Pp. 35 and 45. Thomas Sheridan published *A General Dictionary of the English Language* in 1780. Julius Bates published *Critica Hebraea, a Hebrew English Dictionary* in 1767.

28. P. 41. Both these works were the productions of Edward Williams, one of the tutors employed by Lady Glenorchy and Scott.

29. This donation may have been prompted by the early attempts of Laurence Coughlan, one of Lady Huntingdon's ministers, to evangelise there.

30. For this attempt to legalise Dissenting registers see *Journal of Society of Archivists*, vol. 2, p. 413.

31. Pp. 45 and 55. Trelawny moved from Calvinistic Methodism, to Congregationalism, to Unitarianism, to an Anglican incumbency, to the Roman Catholic priesthood. This church was at Looe in Cornwall.

32. Pp. 43 and 51. Johnson was one of Lady Huntingdon's ministers, who had left Tyldesley Bank for her college at Bethesda in Georgia after building the chapel. When he returned from Georgia he was arrested for debts on the building.

33. P. 63. Joseph Priestley, scientist and Unitarian minister, had been minister at Needham Market (Suffolk). When he left the congregation declined. The meeting house was bought and re-opened in Sept. 1793, and this donation was made in the following year.

34. For the enrolment of Nonconformist trust deeds see *Journal of Society of Archivists*, vol. 3, pp. 397-403.

35. Pp. 65, 69, 79 and 81.

lost the Bounty.”³⁶ In 1795 and again in 1801 there were donations to the poor “it being a remarkable hard Winter and a dear time,” and in 1794 he assisted the poor weavers of “Spittalfields” in London.³⁷

Although the account book ends in 1801 with many pages unused, there is evidence that Scott continued to make payments until his death. Increasing old age may have made him less scrupulous in recording what he spent. The evidence comes from the records of Sion Chapel at Ashbourne in Derbyshire. From 1791 he seems to have made regular payments of five guineas to ministers preaching there.³⁸ After John Cooper founded Sion Chapel in 1801 the five guineas were paid to him, and this continued until 1807 – the last payment being made by Mrs. Scott.³⁹ His widow continued to administer the fund, and at her death bequeathed it to Thomas Wilson, the Congregational benefactor,⁴⁰ who used some of the pages in this account book to make copies of letters which he wrote between 1816 and 1819. The letters are comparatively unimportant, but they have helped to preserve information of the greatest importance for the early history of the Evangelical Revival, and to provide information about the work of a neglected minister – Jonathan Scott.

EDWIN WELCH

36. P. 53 (1792).

37. Pp. 63, 65 and 87.

38. Pp. 45, 51, 59.

39. Cheshunt College Archives (Westminster College, Cambridge), C 10/6, 6, 13, 22, 31. Cooper's chapel was held in trust by the College governors, and supplied by ministers from Lady Huntingdon's Connexion.

40. Wilson (1764-1843) was a founder of Hoxton Academy amongst his other activities, and the father of Joshua Wilson, founder of the Congregational Library.

A TYPE OF CONGREGATIONAL MINISTRY: R.F. HORTON (1855-1934) AND LYNDHURST ROAD

Although Horton has been dead for over half a century his name is still occasionally mentioned, and this is all part of what might be termed “the Horton myth.” The present writer, when sitting a Higher School Certificate History paper in the Lyndhurst Road premises in 1950, was told by the University invigilator (who was a member of the church) to remember that she was sitting where the great Dr. Horton had once been minister. When the packed Congregational churches of a past age are discussed the name of Horton still crops up, which makes it puzzling why there is no reference to Horton in Eric Routley's *The Story of Congregationalism* (1961) or in Ernest Payne's *The Free Church Tradition in the Life of England* (1944). However, more recent publications contain a number of references to him, and so “the Horton Myth” is

perpetuated.¹ Certainly Horton's contemporaries were quick to recognise his ability and his gifts. Silvester Horne, who was ten years his junior, said that he got many of his ideas from him² and that he found him "one of the most fascinating figures" of the day.³ The two men were friends, and Horton sometimes holidayed at Sheringham with Horne and his family. Another of Horton's young admirers was R.J. Campbell. He had heard Horton preach in Mansfield College Chapel and invited him to preach at his induction at Union, Brighton, in 1895, and from then on the two became friends. Campbell keenly read all Horton's books and at Horton's twenty-first anniversary at Lyndhurst Road commented that he attracted the minds which Spurgeon failed to reach although "his evangel is quite as intense and as fruitful as Mr. Spurgeon's."⁴ Campbell preached at the close of Horton's ministry at Lyndhurst Road. Nevertheless Horton never shared his theology.

Robert Forman Horton was born 18 September 1855 at Egremont Place, New Road, London, the only son of Sarah Ellen and Thomas Galland Horton. They also had two daughters. At the time his father was minister of Tonbridge Chapel, Euston Road; later he held pastorates in Reading and Wolverhampton. Robert attended Tettenhall Grammar School and then the VIth form at Shrewsbury and in 1873 went up to New College, Oxford. Horton was a keen debater and in 1877 he became President of the Oxford Union. Two years later, with a first in "Greats," he was elected a Fellow of his college. Horton might have chosen to stay at Oxford where an attractive academic career was in prospect, but as circumstances turned out he had to decide between Oxford and the Congregational ministry. It was through an Oxford friend, Cecil Curwen, that Horton was

1. This is strikingly shown in M.D. Johnson's important *The Dissolution of Dissent, 1850-1918* (1987). That was also the title of a work by Horton (1902), who showed that, while Dissent was numerically stronger than ever, when Nonconformists became socially more mobile they tended to join the Anglicans; so he highlighted the distinctive Free Church witness and its contribution to society: "The Free Churches must not at their peril surrender to the Established Church, unless and until those things for which the fathers fought and died are in perpetuity." (R.F. Horton, *The Dissolution of Dissent*, 1902, p. 130). In Johnson's book Horton is a prominent figure. The sole photograph, which prefaces the book, is of Horton in 1910. The work's range (from 1850 to 1918) by inference places overmuch blame on Horton for Nonconformity's collapse. Indeed, Johnson concludes (p. 299): "Horton's Lyndhurst Road is now boarded up – a standing monument to the dissolution of Dissent." Perhaps not, for now (1994) it is no longer boarded up. In 1990 it was purchased by George Martin for use as Air Recording Studios. The extensive restoration took three years and now the stained-glass windows are back in place (with double-glazing to protect their exteriors), the war memorial plaques remain and a number of pews have been retained. A granite plaque, at the gallery level, states that the church was built for Horton. So Lyndhurst Road lives on in a new guise, a tribute to Nonconformity (not least its services to acoustics) in its heyday. In contrast, across the road stands St. Stephen's parish church, redundant since 1977 and still boarded up.
2. *Lyndhurst Road Church News Sheet*, October 1901, p. 8.
3. W.B. Selbie, *The Life of Charles Silvester Horne* (1920), p. 147.
4. *Lyndhurst Road Church News Sheet*, October 1901, p. 7.

introduced to Hampstead; he often stayed with Cecil, whose father had founded a Congregational church in 1876 in an iron building in Willoughby Road on the Carlyle estate. On Horton's year off from Oxford, before embarking on his fellowship, he had been persuaded to act as this cause's student pastor: he "undertook to do so as an experiment... But God leads us by a way which we know not. Directly I began to preach regularly, an unknown gift developed. The sermons came of themselves."

In January 1881 he returned to Oxford, although he was still able to serve the Hampstead church in the vacations. Meanwhile the numbers attending its services had far outgrown the little building; some 600 people had tried to cram into what was meant for 440. So the need for a permanent and larger building was obvious but the only site available was a four-acre plot on the corner of Lyndhurst Road and Rosslyn Hill, opposite the Anglican St. Stephen's on the other side of Rosslyn Hill. The land was purchased from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and as the church only needed three-quarters of an acre the remainder was sold, which usefully added £1,000 to the building fund. Horton himself regretted that the church "was to be seen in competition with St. Stephen's, which had been mainly built by Nonconformists in the previous generation." At this time he was being pressed to become its minister and finding it difficult to come to a decision. However, the matter was brought to a head when he received "a memorial," sent to him at Oxford, and signed by 200 members and adherents, among them Herbert Asquith, who sometimes attended the services. So Horton was faced with a choice between Oxford and Hampstead. One of the deacons at the time was H.M. Bompas, Q.C., who had "argued in his peculiarly persuasive way, that if I wished to affect Oxford, I could do best by establishing a position in London and in the country at large." It was only when the foundation stone had been laid in April 1883 that Horton decided to accept the call; he would settle in Hampstead at the beginning of 1884.⁵

Horton described himself as "a Congregationalist in the succession of Dr. Dale." He was also conscious of a missionary succession. When Robert Moffat laid the foundation stone of the church on 12 April 1883, the occasion made an indelible impression on Horton. In his first annual report to Lyndhurst Road, he stated that "the mantle of the Missionary has fallen upon us; in every brick of our walls, in every heart of our Church is grained; let us pray: 'Preach the Gospel to every Creature. April 12th must be a sacred day in our annals, it is the day of consecration to world-service.'" The missionary challenge was an integral part of Horton's preaching; many men and women from Lyndhurst Road offered

5. On the day that Horton left New College the Convocation of the University voted to reject him as an examiner for the Divinity examination which had to be sat by all who took an Oxford degree. This is because he was a Nonconformist. Horton, to all appearances the essence of an Oxford man, said that he left the college for good and "As a Nonconformist Minister I was no longer of any interest to it." Nevertheless he had made his mark as the first Fellow of an Oxford College to be also in Dissenting pastoral charge since Cromwell's day. R.F. Horton, *An Autobiography* (1917), pp. 5, 55, 56, 59.

themselves for service overseas with the London Missionary Society, and in some years the church gave upwards of £1,200 to the Society.

In the same report, Horton emphasised that the church had “one plain and simple duty, and in the doing of that lies all the future. It is the Will of God, our Supreme Rule of life, as a Church, as families, as men and women.”⁶ That phrase, “the will of God,” was to occur in much of Horton’s preaching and writing; it was his motivation as a minister.

Originally known as “Hampstead Congregational Church” the name “Lyndhurst Road” first appeared on the church’s *Manual* for 1885. The new building had been opened on 3 July, 1884. The architect was Alfred Waterhouse, who had also designed Manchester Town Hall. A newspaper report described it as

a handsome structure of the Romanesque style of architecture, hexagonal in form, the pulpit occupying the side of the hexagon with an organ over it. The three sides more immediately opposite the pulpit are deeply recessed, and are filled with three large galleries so arranged that the occupants of the seats have a clear view of the minister... Behind is a schoolroom which will accommodate about 2,500 children, and there are the usual vestries and a caretaker’s cottage.⁷

The buildings cost £30,000 and the church could accommodate a maximum of 1,500 people.

The opening of the church occasioned an unusual relaxation of denominational frontiers. The Wesleyan leader, Hugh Price Hughes, was present as well as the Vicar of Holy Trinity, Hampstead; the sermon was preached by A.M. Fairbairn. Hughes told them that the people of Hampstead were going to save Kentish Town but as he knew the perils of a suburban church, it was really Kentish Town that would save Hampstead.

In his autobiography, published in 1917, Horton stated that when commencing his ministry he had had four objects in mind. These were: “First, to be a witness of Christ Jesus; Second to form and shepherd a Church which should be an integral part of the Holy Catholic Church; Third, to promote social reform; Fourth, to carry the Gospel to the remote ends of the earth.” However ineffectual his labours these were always his objects, and in that order given. Although it was perhaps a different matter for Horton to define his objectives towards the end of his ministry, instead of at the beginning, they tally with how he had set about his ministry. More radical ministers might have made Horton’s third aim their second one.

When Horton settled in Hampstead it was rapidly growing. A mid-century population of 12,000 had grown by 1881 to just over 45,000; ten years later it was just over 68,000. What had been little more than a large village, mostly clustered

6. *Lyndhurst Road Church, Hampstead, Manual for 1884*, pp. 8-11.

7. *Daily News*, 4 July 1884.

round the Heath, had by Horton's day become a fashionable London suburb. The growth was part of a general trend made possible largely because of improved public transport. In 1897 Horton described a Hampstead in which

every street has its writer or statesman, or others... Perhaps we act kindly in allowing them to pass unnoticed. But no anchorite was safer in the Desert of Thebaid than the distinguished man who returns from the glitter and fame of the city to this suburban retreat. Here his opposite neighbour does not know who he is, and the postman and the rate collector alone are the possessors of his name.⁸

Horton was a bachelor when he began to minister in this suburban retreat; he did not marry until 1918, when he was sixty-three. Up to 1910 he relied on the moral support and encouragement of his great friend, Rosa Oakes, whom he had first met in Halifax when he was a sixteen-year old schoolboy. She, then Rosa Mellor, was a school-friend's eldest sister, six years Horton's senior and engaged to be married to John Oakes. She told Robert that they could only be friends if he recognised the nature of the friendship. If that appears ambiguous it should be remembered that at the time Horton was a schoolboy and she was a young adult woman. He greatly valued her wisdom "and saw that face, which from that day forward shone upon my life with a light that seemed to come from another world."⁹

He turned to her for guidance as well as her prayers. Both shared a love of poetry and they wrote some jointly. From 1902 to 1910 John and Rosa Oakes lived with Horton at "Chesils" in Christchurch Road. Before that he had lived with his aunt, who belonged to the Plymouth Brethren and vigorously opposed Horton's liberal theology. When he accepted the call to Lyndhurst Road it was Rosa Oakes who assured him that he possessed all the necessary qualities, and that he should be dismayed neither by the difficulties of suburban London nor the reticence – easily seen as stand-offish – of his personality: "You will by your example show them that a man can be at once refined and brotherly." Horton's diaries, now destroyed but quoted in his biography, displayed his dual personality. He was often either up in the heights or down in the depths. Peel saw him as "two men in one; sometimes the intellect, sometimes the emotions took charge."¹⁰ Certainly this is borne out by a scrutiny of his preaching and his writing as reflected in Lyndhurst Road's magazines and newsletters.

The young Horton was determined that, as far as possible, Lyndhurst Road should conform to a New Testament pattern. So, in the church's New Year Letter for 1887, he suggested "A Plan for Quickening the Sense of Church Fellowship." He was keen to bring their terminology "into a stricter agreement with the Apostolic Churches of the New Testament," pointing out that although the

8. *The Hampstead Annual*, 1897; article by R.F. Norton, p. 38.

9. R.F. Horton, *An Autobiography*, p. 18.

10. A. Peel, *The Congregational Two Hundred*, (1984), p. 253.

church at Philippi had been less than a third of the size of Lyndhurst Road (the membership then stood at 651), Paul had used the phrase "including their bishops and deacons" (*Philippians* I, v.1). Horton understood "bishops" to include elders so he asked: "Where are the elders in our own Church? Have they disappeared?" In fact they were already carrying out the work of oversight and governing but were now called "deacons." He wanted the church to come to terms with this new terminology and for them not to "serve tables" but to "serve souls," and considered himself one of these elders "filling the place which Timothy was appointed to fill . . . doing the work of an evangelist . . . set apart wholly to the work of the Church," but otherwise not distinguishable from the other elders. Horton suggested that there should be one elder for every fifty church members, with each elder allocated a particular district. There should also be one deacon for every twenty members. The deacons would be both male and female: "Appalling, indeed, would it be to the apostolic mind to discover, that of recognised ministry of womanhood in the present day Churches no trace appears to exist." He pointed out that although Mrs. Joseph King was doing the work she had not been officially appointed by the church. In future the deacons and deaconesses would be referred to as "Church Visitors." So, in introducing elders, Horton could (the large question of ordination apart) be regarded as far ahead of his time because they were only generally introduced into the Congregational tradition when most Congregationalists united with the English Presbyterians in 1972.

Horton's elders merit attention for he had a strong team to assist him in the pastoral oversight and leadership of the church. A scrutiny of the lists of elders over fourteen-year intervals shows that in 1885 they numbered eight; they were then listed as "Deacons," and not called "Elders" until 1888. Among them was H.C. Bompas, the barrister and politician who lived at Abingdon House, Greenhill, close to the Heath. He was very active in local affairs, a member both of the committee "to oppose Tramways through Haverstock Hill and High Street," and of the Open Spaces Committee, whose secretary was C.E. Maurice, a son of F.D. Maurice the Broad Church theologian.¹¹ Bompas was a tower of strength to the young minister, as Horton reflected when in 1909:

I had to bury Judge Bompas... He had been one of my earliest friends in Hampstead; his optimistic spirit and genuine humility and kindness, had made him invaluable to me in those early days, and his family had been to me a great interest.¹²

Edward Curwen, the stockbroker whose son Cecil had first introduced Horton to Hampstead, also lived in Greenhill, at Westridge. Another of the deacons was Joseph King of Welford House, Greenhill. Horton referred to him as "a theological student himself and an active member of Lyndhurst Road." He

11. F.M.L. Thompson, *Hampstead: Building a Borough 1650-1964*, (1974), pp. 364, 325.

12. R.F. Horton, *An Autobiography*, p. 286.

helped Horton to revise his book, *Inspiration and the Bible*, and when he found difficulty in finding a publisher King introduced him to Fisher Unwin. King had political aspirations; he unsuccessfully stood as a Liberal for Thanet in 1906 but later became M.P. for East Somerset.¹³ Other deacons were Alfred Davies, the influential London Welshman, who was a patron of the young Lloyd George, and Eliot Pye-Smith Reed, in whose names dwells a whole cousinhood of Nonconformity.

Five of these deacons lived in the old part of Hampstead, so it is perhaps significant that seven out of the eight lived in houses with names to them rather than numbers. These men were comfortably off.¹⁴

In 1899 there were twenty-seven elders, and by then the church membership was divided into districts with one or two elders assigned to each of them. Whilst some lived in the area for which they were responsible, most did not. The eldership then included W.F. Adeney, who three years later became Principal of Lancashire Independent College. W.G. Snowdon Gard was a lawyer, and Henry Glanville was Superintendent of the Open-Air Mission on Hampstead Heath. Richard Lown, whom Horton (referring to the new church at Cricklewood) described as "among the workers from Lyndhurst Road who gave their strength to that forward movement," died while still a young man, and so Cricklewood's Lown Memorial Hall was named in memory of him. Cuthbert McEvoy was a tutor at Regent's Park (Baptist) College; while he was at Lyndhurst Road he heard the call to the ministry and subsequently became minister at Cricklewood.¹⁵ Horton particularly valued the leadership of Thomas Minshall: "one of those who moved with his family to Hampstead in order to help me in my ministry. For long years he was my never-failing helper." He helped Horton with his correspondence, and assisted some of the members in finding employment. He also edited the quarterly *Lyndhurst Road News Sheet*, "and made it a bond of union for the church and a constant guide and encouragement to me."¹⁶

In 1913 there were twenty-four elders. They now included A.E. Garvie, Principal of New College in Finchley Road, who was prepared to have the pastoral care of a district, South Hampstead, which was some distance away from where he lived. One of the founder members, Eliot-Pye-Smith Reed, was still an elder. The Revd. Edward Shillito ("I have had many assistants and colleagues, and am fortunate enough now to have Edward Shillito the poet.") was then warden of Lyndhurst Hall, Kentish Town. R. Wardlaw Thompson,

13. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

14. Hugh McLeod notes that the *Manual* for 1884, which listed the contributions made by the deacons to the building fund, showed that (with one exception of £45) all gave over £100 and one gave £2,000. H. McLeod, *Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City* (1974), p. 40n.

15. R.F. Horton, *An Autobiography*, pp. 66-7. Cuthbert McEvoy's son was Air Chief Marshall Sir Theodore McEvoy (1904-91). *Times*, 3 October 1991.

16. R.F. Horton, *An Autobiography*, pp. 274-5.

who came to London to be foreign secretary of the London Missionary Society, was an elder. So was Sir Charles Tarring, who had been a colonial judge.¹⁷

Fourteen years later, in 1927, there were twenty-one elders. In 1930, which was Horton's last year as minister, there were only fourteen plus three "Hon. Elders," one of whom was Garvie.

From 1899 the elders lived ever further away from the area of the church: so many new houses of a more convenient size had been built by then in what was now a very large as well as very eligible suburb.

So from elders to that other determinant of Congregational church order: church meeting. Horton emphasised the importance of Lyndhurst Road's church meeting which was held on the Thursday evening before the first Sunday of the month. So it disappointed him that only a small percentage of the membership attended what he could never regard as a mere business meeting: for him they were "seasons of spiritual refreshing, seasons of joyous sympathy and mutual comprehension." The 1906 *Manual* showed better attendances: about 500, out of a nominal membership of 1200.

It was Horton's custom to receive new members at the church meeting. In 1907 he stated:

half of them are the boys and girls of the church who are just sixteen, and are here to take their places in the fellowship, making confession of Christ's name. The other half are people who have been won to Christ by the preaching and by the work of the church.

He found church meetings a source of encouragement and inspiration for future plans. They were not long meetings:

At the end of an hour there is a hush of subdued thanksgiving for the presence of Christ and for the privilege of His Service. No one wants to go. The breaking up of the meeting is almost a pain... But it is understood that this is only the power-room for the whole of the church.¹⁸

It was common among all denominations to have pew rents. This meant that in many churches the poor, if they attended, had to sit in the gallery or specially allocated sittings, which suggested class distinction. Lyndhurst Road was an early exception. The church's policy was clearly stated in the 1884 *Manual*,¹⁹ and it appeared in all subsequent issues. Even so, on the Sunday nearest each

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 246, 68.

18. *Manual*, 1907, pp. 10-12.

19. It stated that there was no fixed or precise rent attached to pews: "The system of Pew-rents as such does not seem in accordance with the spirit or principle of the New Testament. All are expected to contribute regularly to the support of the Ministry and Ordinances of the Church, according to their ability and their sense of obligation to their Lord."

quarter day envelopes were placed in the pews to receive "the voluntary subscriptions." It should not be assumed that the church was wealthy enough to do without any substitute for pew rents: the church treasurer in 1912 told the members and congregation that to avoid annually recurring deficits the offerings should be increased by £8 per Sunday – and that each Sunday about a thousand pennies were found in the offertory.²⁰

Lyndhurst Road rapidly became a well-known London church (Sunday services at 11 a.m. and 7 p.m.) mainly because of its minister's reputation as a preacher. His attitude to preaching, and its aim, he set out in the Lyman-Beecher lectures which he gave in 1892 at the Yale Divinity School and subsequently published as *Verbum Dei* (1893). Shortly afterwards Yale awarded Horton a D.D. and although he was reluctant to accept it and told his church that he still wished to be known as "Mr. Horton," he found that successive generations in the church insisted on calling him "*Dr. Horton*."²¹

Horton was seldom away from his pulpit on a Sunday, unless it was because of holidays or sickness (the church's Baptismal Register confirms this continuity of ministry), and he sometimes spent a month of the Spring term at Mansfield College. He never preached from a full manuscript and in a magazine interview he said: "My sermons are thought out bit by bit through the week. Then I make a few notes on Saturday, and preach from these. I find this best for me, and it is best for the poor and less educated people."²² Those were never forgotten and for fifty years, on the first Sunday of each month, he delivered the artisans' lecture, which was frequently devoted to some social issue of the day.

In the published *Sermons delivered in Lyndhurst Road*, and some of his other works, one can glimpse his style. Some of his sermons were taken down in shorthand as he preached; there was the added virtue that his was not a self-conscious style and the selection of sermons for publication was not made by Horton himself.²³ His biographers, Peel and Marriott, were of the opinion that he "combined in a singular degree evangelical fervour with liberal theology." This was important at a time of theological reconstruction for while Horton took account of Higher Criticism he consciously retained the fundamentals of the Gospel. Horton's preaching carried with it his conviction that he had a message from God to deliver to his people. There was a persuasiveness and urgency about his preaching, for instance at the conclusion of his sermon on Joel:

20. £8 = 1920 pence in pre-decimal coinage.

21. At his ordination Horton said (leading to a famous ambiguity which Oxford's caricaturists merrily punctuated) that he had been "influenced by the great example of Dr. Dale [who later proposed him as Yale's Lyman Beecher Lecturer], I avowed my intention of declining the title of Reverend and refused to adopt a clerical dress. 'I shall wear no clothes to distinguish me from my fellow Christians.'" [*Autobiography*, p. 61]. It is, therefore, significant that in the membership lists his name appeared as "Mr. Horton." However, by 1913 it was "The Revd. R.F. Horton, M.A., D.D." in the church's *Manuals*.

22. *The British Monthly*, October 1905, p. 28.

23. Nearly all the rough notes Horton preached have been destroyed.

I earnestly ask any of you who are reached by the Word of God this morning, and who wish to turn to Him and begin the life of faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, not to put it off. I shall wait at the close of the Service to see any of you who are thus turning to God..."²⁴

Ernest Jeffs, editor of *The Christian World*, who made a point of listening to well-known preachers, considered that from a literary point of view Horton's sermons were peculiarly worth study:

His style naturally flowing and pleasant, with a sort of easy 'long-windedness' (or 'long-leggedness') in the sentence which reminds one of Thackeray's long melodious lines. But the extreme and unique lucidity of the sentences are rather more 'natural,' without adornment, without rising into a flourish or falling into flatness, the pleasant, swift, eager exposition glides on - every 'hard word' at once explained or exchanged for a simpler one; every point being made to stand out with perfect clarity...²⁵

Horton, like any other preacher, could not always be on top form. His biographers said that when he was tired, or felt the atmosphere uncongenial, his preaching "would be like distilled water, with no bite." However, "when the mystical and the rational were fused, as they so often were, his preaching reached a level almost unsurpassed in his generation."

Horton's preaching was very much concerned with teaching his people how to live the Christian life, how to face up to new issues of the day, and how to be a more effective church. A glance at some sermon titles shows that he dealt with a variety of subjects: "Apostolicum" (addresses on the Creed), "The Living Christ," "National Sins," "The Power of Prayer," "Does the Cross Save?," "Science and the Supernatural," "The Eight Hours Question," "The Depths of Satan," "Vivisection" and "Re-union." He also often warned his people about the dangers of Roman Catholicism. Many questions raised by his people were dealt with by Horton in his books (which do not come within my present scope). One example would be *Inspiration and the Bible* (1888), based on addresses he had given on how to read the Bible. In all there were over fifty publications.

At the beginning of the twentieth century a lawyer, Walter B. Warren, found Lyndhurst Road the best attended place of worship in Hampstead (the usual attendance was 900, excluding children): "Here Dr. Horton reigns, here are forces of great good. With a preacher whose message is ever fresh and uplifting, a spirituality that moulds good men, and with a social organism of religious energy and enterprise, the influence of such a centre is incalculably great."²⁶ Such a comment might lead one to conclude that Horton enjoyed preaching

24. R.F. Horton, *The Hidden God* (XV), 1905, p. 250.

25. E.H. Jeffs, *Princes of the Modern Pulpit*, (n.d.), pp. 270-1.

26. W.R. Warren, "The Problem of North London," in R. Mudie Smith (ed.), *The Religious Life of London*, (1904), p. 134.

and found it easy. On the contrary, in his autobiography he wondered whether "There is any example of a great preacher who is not torn and racked with great anxieties and misgivings," and he considered that great and popular preachers were "The modern martyrs of the Church. The strain on nerve and heart make life a purgatory; the good they do is secured at a cost to themselves which, if it were realised, would win the sympathy, the pity, of the whole church." Extracts from his diaries, published by his biographers, confirm this. By the turn of the century his health was poor and eventually he lost the sight of one eye. Any outside preaching engagements put an enormous strain on him and in 1903/4 when he was Chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales it was only with some difficulty that he was able to deliver the Chairman's Address (on "Congregationalism and the Church Catholic"); because he was not well enough to travel round the churches during that year all the ministers were invited to Lyndhurst Road for a week in June: 650 accepted.

People who came on a Sunday to Lyndhurst Road found a happy and congenial atmosphere there. It was never a church divided by factions, and it would appear that if people disagreed with Horton they simply left. The only furore was provoked by an article which Basil Martin, then in charge of Kentish Town Mission, wrote for a magazine, *The Young Man*. Although there was much praise of Horton in it he described Horton as without any ambition and full of inconsistencies. The religious press was flooded with correspondence about it. *The Lyndhurst Road Quarterly News Sheet* (October 1893) thought that the incident had been treated too seriously: those "who know Mr. Horton do not need to be told what manner of man he is." After twelve months Martin left Kentish Town and later became a Unitarian.²⁷

Prayer was of the utmost importance for Horton and its priority was frequently mentioned in his sermons. Although a weekly Saturday-night prayer meeting was held at Lyndhurst Road he lamented its poor attendance and he wished that he could persuade more of his people to attend: "if you would really *pray*, you should see the salvation of our God; if you would meet . . . and openly, unitedly, believingly pray, you might see souls delivered out of prison every time we hold a service in this Church."²⁸ To help them to pray he produced a manual of devotion, *The Open Secret* (1904); it was "necessary that the mind should be informed and fortified by the steady meditation on spiritual and eternal things."²⁹

27. In his autobiography (*An Impossible Parson*, 1935), Martin admitted that he had an inferiority complex whenever he was with Horton. Martin's father had ministered at George Street Oxford in Horton's undergraduate years. Martin's son, Kingsley Martin, became a famous editor of *The New Statesman*.

28. R.F. Horton, "The Power of Prayer," Sunday morning, 8 January 1893, *Sermons delivered in Lyndhurst Road Church*, 1893, pp. 279-80.

29. R.F. Horton, *The Open Secret: A Manual of Devotion*, 1904, p. 12. Horton had a great admiration for George Herbert whose poem, "The Open Secret," ends the manual.

When 1900 dawned it marked the twenty-first anniversary of Horton's connection with Lyndhurst Road. He never cared for interviews and told a reporter from *The Temple Magazine* that he submitted to them in the cause of truth as otherwise they would draw on their imagination. By then a schoolroom had been built at Cricklewood, where there was a fellowship of fifty-eight people and the prospect of a church. Lyndhurst Road had already received £3,000 in subscriptions towards it, and had also been instrumental in establishing a church at Harlesden in addition to the longstanding commitment to the Kentish Town Mission. Horton, who reckoned that all this brought him into contact with about 3,000 people, reflected that as he looked back what struck him most was the "extraordinary generosity and goodness of the Church." The reporter commented that:

The intellectual strength of the man is clearly revealed in his countenance; a broad high forehead, a keen penetrating eye, denoting the acumen of the scholar and critic, and a quickness of movement and speech, which tells of the man of action, are all his . . . his energies are by no means confined to the study, or his hold over the hearts of his people would not be what it is.

This was when Horton was at his peak and, therefore, it was not surprising that he received invitations to move. In 1902 he declined the principalship of Lancashire Independent College. An invitation in 1905 to become minister of Westminster Chapel Horton found particularly attractive. He wrote in his diary; "I should escape the suburbanity, the weakness of which I have already discovered and be in London itself." It was at times like this, when important decisions had to be made, that Horton invariably sought the guidance of Rosa Oakes. He referred to her then as "my never failing counsellor" and wrote that her "shrewd wisdom" saw the claims that Lyndhurst Road had upon him, and the weaknesses of the proposed arrangements at Westminster Chapel. When rumours of the invitation (before it was actually received) reached Lyndhurst Road a special church meeting was called, and after two hours of discussion Eliot Reed, elder and church treasurer, proposed that the elders be authorised to send a letter to Dr. Horton urging him to stay. It was unanimously agreed. Professor Adeny, another elder, had voiced the opinion that Westminster needed "slum work," and although Horton might "be a kind of archangel city missionary" he did not think it was the work for which his gifts were most fitted. Some members with children hoped for their sake that he would never leave Hampstead, and others spoke of how they had benefited from his preaching.³⁰ A week afterwards another church meeting was held to hear Horton's decision. He told them that after their action "it would be almost impossible to conceive anything which would justify me in leaving the work at Lyndhurst Road."

30. *British Monthly*, October 1905, p. 16.

Horton never again seriously contemplated leaving Hampstead.³¹

Horton was never satisfied with what he had tried to accomplish in the church. However, in the last paragraph of his autobiography he concluded:

And if the story of Lyndhurst Road impresses any reader with the sense of the blessing which has been on the Church, and the success that has attended its labours, let me record my own conviction, that the long prosperity of this Church has been due to these two things: first, that we have made the missionary claim the foremost responsibility of the Church; and second, that a prayer-meeting every Saturday night prepares us for the worship and work of the Sunday, and a week of early prayer-meetings every July recruits and often recreates the Church for its onward march.³²

There were times when, like any other minister, Horton did not find his pastorate easy. When he preached on social issues some members objected to his "social radicalism": "every time I pleaded the cause of the people the wealthy employers and successful professional men charged me with introducing politics into the pulpit." It has never been an unusual charge to bring against prophetic preaching. For instance, in a sermon on "The Eight Hours Question" he pointed out that bus and train drivers worked on average fourteen hours a day, and shop assistants thirteen. Horton felt that over-work stood in God's sight condemned, and in a Christian nation there was a responsibility to call for legislation. When Horton preached on "Vivisection" the ladies in the pews must have felt uneasy when he mentioned that the osprey plumes for their hats could mean the death of ten to twenty birds, leaving their young motherless and unfed. For Horton there could be no division between private and public morality, hence his statement that men "who practise every vice in private systematically appear in Church on Sunday." He detested gambling because of "the habit of mind" which it produced, as well as the effect it had on society. It was hardly surprising that some who had their consciences pricked by such preaching left the church.

In the 1880s Horton founded a Social Reform League for men, which met on Sunday evenings at the church, and from that there was established a Sanitary Committee, which sought to get the law applied to some of the insanitary housing in the neighbourhood.

He also started the Adult School Movement in Hampstead. The work at Kentish Town was mainly delegated to a full-time superintendent minister with a team of workers from Lyndhurst Road. How often Horton went there is difficult to determine, and in any case with such a growing church in Hampstead his regular involvement was not to be expected in Kentish Town. As

31. Horton felt that Campbell Morgan, who went to Westminster instead of him, did more there than he himself could ever have done: *An Autobiography*, p. 117.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 350.

W.G. Snowdon Gard, the mission's superintendent, told one of Charles Booth's investigators: "Dr. Horton has nothing to do with any of the detail of the management of the Mission or the School, and he is in fact rather impatient of detail, as one would expect of such a man." He also said that if anything was to be started "Dr. Horton is the man. He is the great enthuser." Gard's only criticism was that Horton "was too ready sometimes with suggestions for new things."³³

Although in his preaching Horton was accused of social radicalism his activities were mainly confined to Hampstead, but his uncertain health may have had a bearing on this. He certainly was not the active reformer that Silvester Horne or John Clifford were.³⁴ He could never be persuaded to stand as a Liberal candidate, although he lent his support to church members who stood as parliamentary candidates. He was also one of the contributors to *The Suburban Church*, taking that name from America where he particularly admired Dansulus' work in Trinity Church, New York: the idea was that "a Church should not only be a society for worship" but that "it should be a society as complete and as varied as human society is. Within its borders the social needs of the people of all classes .. should be met." He wanted young people who had come to London to feel at home in the church and to find their recreation, education and friendship there - "all transfused with the spirit of religion, and lit with the light of Christ." This has to be seen in the context of the social changes that had taken place at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. Hours of work had become shorter and real wages had risen so there was more time and money for leisure. Because of this the charge could never be brought against Lyndhurst Road that it was simply a preaching station. A great variety of activities took place each week, some of them educational and others recreational. Indeed, Horton tried to involve as many *members* as he could in the church's life: "each member of the church should count that month lost which sees not some kindly action done to some member of the church; . . . each member should determine to give the Gracious Father no rest day or night until He reveals 'what is my particular work in the Lord's Vineyard . . .'"³⁵ It would therefore, have been possible for some members to have spent all their leisure time there. Horton wrote in one of his annual reports: "I would that every organization could be as it were a transparency. Every church building a crystal or glass building, that we might always look through them to the reality."³⁶ It is interesting that in all the various activities there is no sign of a Band of Hope. Could this be because, although Horton preached on temperance, he never claimed to be teetotal and on his holidays

33. The Booth Collection (L.S.E.), Notebook 218, pp. 161-9.

34. Thus note the campaign waged by Horne and Clifford against the 1902 Education Act. Horton took no part in it. In his own words he "early came to the conclusion that I personally could best serve that, and other similar causes, by steadily preaching the Gospel of Christ and doing what was in my power to deal with individuals."

35. *Manual*, 1886, p. 10.

36. *Ibid.*, 1885, p. 8.

abroad he drank wine with his meals? The church had one of the earliest Boys' Brigade Companies in England (1892). It is small wonder that Charles Booth, after interviewing Horton, described him as "a remarkable man and head of an extraordinary and successful organisation [Lyndhurst Road] of which he is the founder," before remarking: "Dr. Horton is merely the constitutional head; he confines himself to preaching and teaching."³⁷

However, it should not be imagined that Horton was only to be seen in the pulpit or charring meetings. On Saturday afternoons from 1896 onwards he liked to go out cycling with some of the young people, although they tended to feel that there was an aloofness about him, and one of them commented that "his old-world politeness was rather overwhelming to those accustomed to the easy-going familiarity of modern times."³⁸ On Sunday afternoons the Bible class at his house was followed by tea with him and Mr. and Mrs. Oakes. On weekday afternoons, and sometimes evenings, Horton would visit members of his congregation and on Thursday evenings he led the mid-week service. He personally promoted the Lyndhurst Road Society (1885), which was of a literary nature, and met weekly. He regarded it as important because "There is a life of culture to be considered as part of religion."

On Sundays his congregation consisted of anyone from university professors and New College staff, business and professional men, to housewives and domestic servants. While some writers³⁹ have regarded late Victorian Nonconformity as a man's religion, Horton wrote in 1889: "For some time I have been asking why it is that in London the men are so manifestly breaking with Church life .. I find that our own Church is not singular in this; everywhere the women outnumber the men." He thought that young men preferred churches "where the personal question must be avoided" and went so far as to appeal to the men of his church to tell him if "as it seems to them, the cause lies in any fault of the minister or his ministry,"⁴⁰ but no answer was forthcoming.⁴¹ On the other hand Joseph Parker at the City Temple appears to have had no difficulty in drawing men into his pews and J. Morgan Gibbon in North London, who was minister at Stamford Hill (1889-1932), told one of Booth's interviewers that he was proud that a great many young men came to Sunday services which numbered congregations of 1,600 and 1,700 at each.⁴²

37. The Booth Collection, Notebook A38, LXXVI, pp. 7 and 87.

38. A. Peel and J.A.R. Marriott, *Robert Forman Horton*, 1937, p. 296.

39. e.g. J. Munson, *The Nonconformists*, 1991, p. 128.

40. *Manual*, 1889, pp. 9-10.

41. Charles Booth not only commented on the shortage of men in the congregation but also noted how middle-class it was (which was not surprising for that part of Hampstead). He visited it on the morning of 11 December 1895, and found the church "full...about 1500. Coming out I saw young men of the working class, but most of the people are obviously middle and upper class: it was essentially a family congregation, husbands and wives with their young people, especially their girls: on the whole females largely preponderated." Notebook B2 18 (3rd series), p. 117. Is that because the boys were away at school?

42. Notebook B194, p. 181.

By the first and second decades of the twentieth century Hampstead was changing rapidly; blocks of flats had been built and many residents were moving into the Home Counties. Horton wrote in 1911 that the changes and removals were so constant and rapid that it was impossible to make the list of members "correct even for a few days together. While it is in the printer's hands it has already ceased to be an accurate record." At the same time he himself had reached a low ebb. Rosa Oakes had died, which was to him "a blow, a loss, a sorrow, of a kind which words do not describe. The streams of help which have flowed into my work and ministry from the beginning have been, by the hand of God, cut off." He told the church it was a loss worse than the loss of physical sight and he asked for their prayers.

Among the homes where Horton found solace was that of the Basden family, and in April 1918 Horton married the youngest daughter, Violet, whom he had baptised. She wholeheartedly threw herself into the role of minister's wife, and it was observed that there was a new brightness about Horton's home. Later a daughter, Genevieve, was born and the little girl even shared his study with "Dad-dad."

Like most churches at that time, Lyndhurst Road suffered a fall in membership. In 1919 membership stood at 1,071; by 1924 it had dropped to 931. By now Horton was considering retirement and he wrote in his diary: "The reason for the decline . . . is that with old age my powers, physical and mental, are no longer equal to this great work. I belong to the nineteenth century and get out of sympathy with the trend of things today." Nevertheless, he could not bring himself to resign and five years later he had still not done so, but then he made a statement to the church meeting, 2 May 1929, asking it to find another minister "to carry on my work, as my power to do it necessarily declines." He promised to support his successor, to whom they must give a free hand. On 16 March 1930, Horton preached his two final sermons at the church. By then he was seventy-five and almost a shadow of the preacher that he had once been: his voice was weak and the church was only half full. Many felt that he had delayed his retirement for too long. The church called Dr. John Short⁴³ to succeed Horton, who remained in membership. Short declared that he found Horton "The most Christ-like. Our relationship was as nearly perfect as any earthly relationship can be." Nevertheless he must have felt that he was ministering under the shadow of "the great Dr. Horton."

Horton died on Good Friday, 30 March 1934. Fifteen hundred people attended his funeral at Lyndhurst Road on 4 April, conducted by Short, and the following Sunday a Memorial Service was held at which Dr. H. Elvet Lewis, Chairman of the Congregational Union, preached. Violet Horton received over 600 letters, including one from the Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald. The editor of the local paper felt that:

43. Short (1896-1989) came from Bathgate, Linlithgow and in 1937 moved on to Richmond Hill, Bournemouth, and thence to Toronto. He was followed in Hampstead by C. Stanley Herbert (1939-52) and T. Illingworth Jagger (1953-78). Thus Lyndhurst Road had only four ministers in its century of life.

The passing of Dr. Horton has robbed Hampstead of one of its familiar figures... Few preachers chose their words so carefully and phrased them so effectively as did Dr. Horton; and though of late years there was little of the fire which marked his earlier years, his sermons delivered in a silvery well-modulated voice were fine examples of spoken English at its best. But Dr. Horton was more than a preacher, as the huge crowd at his funeral testified.⁴⁴

Horton strongly influenced several generations of ministers and by the time he was forty it was said that his name was known the world over. When he heard that other ministers regarded his ministry as a pattern, he privately commented "Poor Fellows!" It was characteristic of the man to deprecate his achievements but J.D. Jones of Richmond Hill, Bournemouth, spoke for many when he said that "Congregationalism has lost its greatest and its best."⁴⁵ He combined in Congregationalism's best traditions the roles of preacher, pastor and writer, as well as of liberal and evangelical.⁴⁶

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44. *Hampstead and Highgate Express*, p. 5. 7 April 1934.

45. A. Peel and J.A.R. Marriott, *op.cit.*, pp. 347, 365, 361.

46. By 1978 membership had dropped to 110. The last Sunday service at Lyndhurst Road was held on the last Sunday in March, 1978. It was conducted by Peter Jupp, then a chaplain at the University of London, who told the writer that about thirty-five people were present. A week later, 1 April (a Saturday), there was a service of "Thanksgiving for its Life and Work," at which addresses were given by T. Caryl Micklem and Richard J. Hall, then moderator of Thames North Province of the United Reformed Church. Violet Horton attended both services. She died 22 November 1984, aged 93. (*Times*, 27 November 1984).

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ALAN P.F. SELL