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EDITOR: Dr. CLYDE BINFIELD, M.A.

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EDITORIAL

In recalling the tercentenary of Elizabeth Gaunt's martyrdom K.W. Wadsworth (the historian of Yorkshire United Independent College) reminds us of an Anabaptist and London outworking of Ravenstonedale's Orthodox Dissent. In his interpretative essay on Wesley's theology John Munsey Turner (now Superintendent Minister of the Halifax Circuit, formerly Lecturer in Church History, The Queen's College, Birmingham) reminds those of us who worship with Methodists in shared buildings of what we are taking into our system as the different parts of Her Majesty's loyal religious opposition come closer together. Mr. Turner's *Conflict and Reconciliation* (1985) will be reviewed in the next issue. John Gibb and C.J. Cadoux might have had one thing in common: neither would have warmed greatly to the United Reformed Church. Recently Dame Mary Smieton had given a collection of letters to Westminster College and it is from this archive that Dr. Knox has drawn his article. Miss Kaye's article, based chiefly on the Cadoux papers now at the Bodleian, is an earnest of her biography of C.J. Cadoux to be published this year. It was originally delivered as a lecture at the Society's Study Day, held in Oxford in September 1985.

A TERCENTENARY - ELIZABETH GAUNT

Driving through Wells early last May I was momentarily surprised to see walking down the road a company of russet-coated soldiers bearing long pikes – until I recalled that I had just crossed the King's Sedgemoor and this was 1985, the tercentenary of the ill-judged battle on the moor with the scattering of those ill-trained men of Devon who had rallied to Monmouth and of the Bloody Assize which followed.

A reminder of 1685, not unconnected with Sedgemoor, may be seen in Cumbria. In the church of St. Oswald at Ravenstonedale one of the east windows is dedicated "To the glory of God and in memory of Mrs. Gaunt daughter of Anthony Fothergill of Brownber. She was the last female martyr burnt at Tyburn for the cause of the Protestant Religion. October 4th 1685".

St. Oswald's is a church of ancient foundation having been supplied in the 13th century by monks of the Sempringhamian abbey at Watton. After the dissolution the land, and the rights of presentation, went to the Wharton family and then to the Lowthers. The church was rebuilt in 1744¹ with box-like oak pews of timber from Lowther park which face a central aisle with a noble three-decker pulpit midway in the north side. William Nichols, the Congregational minister who was Ravenstonedale's historian, implies that the memorial window to Mrs. Gaunt (and a companion one in memory of Thomas Fothergill, master of St. John's College, Cambridge) was erected when the church was rebuilt; but this is not certain.²

The Fothergills were a notable local family with several branches. Sir William Fothergill was standard bearer at Solway Moss to Sir Thomas Wharton who was rewarded for his success in that engagement with a barony. Thomas Fothergill (of the memorial window) endowed a school at Ravenstonedale in 1688. A new school and schoolmaster's house were erected in 1758, with donations of £10 each from George Fothergill DD, principal of Edmund Hall, Oxford and Henry Fothergill MA, rector of Cheriton Bishop in Devonshire, and £20 from Thomas Fothergill DD, provost of Queen's College, Oxford. George had already given £30 or £40 towards rebuilding Ravenstonedale Church and £20 for communion plate.³ Other members of the family in different generations occupied high office in church and university.

Two exceptions to this story of success and loyalty to the established church were John and his sister Elizabeth, both born at the hamlet of Brownber early in the 17th century. John became a Quaker. Nichols quotes from the Quaker register: "In the meeting called Ravenstonedalle Meeting was that younge man

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1. Anon., *A Brief History of St. Oswald's Church, Ravenstonedale*. Kendal n.d.
 2. W. Nichols, *History and Traditions of Ravenstonedale*. Manchester, 1877, vol. II. pp. 102ff.
 3. J. Nicholson and R. Burn, *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland 1777*. pp. 524 *et seq.*

call'd John ffuthergill, Trannahill, called early into the work of the ministry, and richly furnished for the same, and laboured much in London and severall other parts of this nation and continued faithfull unto the end of his time in this work; died in London, the 25th day of the sixth month 1665".⁴ This is the context into which may be fitted what is now The High Chapel at Ravenstonedale, founded and endowed in 1662 by the fourth Baron Wharton (the Good Lord Wharton of the Bible Charity). Dissent was woven into the general stirrings of religious concern in the dale.

Elizabeth became an Anabaptist and married William Gaunt, a tallow-chandler. Details of most of her life are lacking. The memorial window states that she was the daughter of Anthony Fothergill of Brownber. Nichols says "daughter of Henry Fothergill". The only Elizabeth Fothergill mentioned in the Ravenstonedale Parish Register is found in the following entry:

1617 Decemb^r 14 Was bap george and elizabeth sonn and daw to maythew ffothergill⁵

Earlier entries refer to "maythew" as "of brownebar".

Her leaving Brownber is also obscure - perhaps secretly or hurriedly to marry William Gaunt, and apparently never to return. Her whole life remains dark until the end when it emerges into light only too cruelly bright. The story is told from three sources: the official state record of her trial, Gilbert Burnet's *History of my own Time*, and Macaulay's *History of England*.

In 1680 William Gaunt was a yeoman of the parish of St. Mary Whitechapel in London, probably in modest prosperity as a tallow-chandler. He and Elizabeth were "Anabaptists", committed to the cause of Dissent and perhaps its political implications. Elizabeth was well-known, as "Old Mother Gaunt", for her charitable works and gifts including much prison visiting in which she helped many of all religious persuasions.⁶ In 1683 she sheltered and fed a neighbour, James Burton, against whom a warrant had been issued for his arrest in connection with the Rye House Plot (to assassinate Charles II and his brother James on their return from the races at Newmarket). Eventually she arranged his escape. A first attempt proved abortive when Burton refused to sail in a small boat provided because it seemed too small and unseaworthy. But a second attempt was more successful. Horses were provided as far as Gravesend and

4. Nichols, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 73

5. Ravenstonedale Parish Register (County Record Office, Kendal, WPR/6I.1). Mr. John Fothergill of Tower House, Brownber has in his possession a family tree which gives Elizabeth as daughter of Anthony Fothergill of Brownber, born in 1621, and with several younger brothers and sisters, including John (the Quaker). Mr Fothergill also states that John (Quaker) did not die in London, but returned to live and farm at Brownber for several years.

6. Gilbert Burnet, *History of my own Time*. New ed., 1838, vol. II, p. 416.

thence a ship to Holland with a gift of £5 in Burton's pocket.⁷

Safe in Holland Burton fell in with the Duke of Monmouth and accompanied him on his return to England which resulted in the disaster of Sedgemoor. Burton was fortunate enough to escape after the battle. He fled to London where he spent a couple of nights at his own home and then, fearing capture in the fierce hunt which continued for anyone connected with the Monmouth affair, found refuge in the home of John Fernley, a barber of Whitechapel. At Fernley's house he was visited by William Gaunt with money to further his escape but, it would seem from evidence given at the trial, Mrs. Gaunt had no active part in the affair at that time.⁸

Burton heard that the King (James II) had declared that "he would sooner pardon the rebels than those who had harboured them". He gave himself up and obtained a free pardon in exchange for the names of Fernley, Mrs. Gaunt and perhaps others who had sheltered fugitives. They were arrested and tried at the Old Bailey on 19th October 1685, before Lord Chief Justice Jones and others. The only hard evidence against Mrs. Gaunt was that of Burton whom she had helped and sheltered in 1683, although Burton's wife and daughter were also called and Mrs. Gaunt's maid, Henry Cornish, a magistrate, and William Ring were tried at the same time on similar charges of harbouring fugitives. In the temper of the times the outcome was inevitable. One Justice seems to have had some hesitation about Mrs. Gaunt; but all four were condemned. A temporary reprieve was granted in respect of Fernley and Ring; but shortly afterwards Fernley was executed at Tyburn. In 1688 (January 22nd) Parliament reversed the attainder of Cornish for treason; but that was a little late. On 23rd October 1686 he was hanged at Cheapside near his own business premises. On the same day⁹ Elizabeth was executed. But her sentence, solemnly pronounced by the Recorder at the Bailey, had been "that you be drawn upon a hurdle to the place of execution (Tyburn) and there burnt to death - and the Lord have mercy upon your soul". When asked if she had no more to say, Mrs. Gaunt had replied: "I do

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7. Burton's statement in evidence at the trial. Asked why Mrs. Gaunt should take this trouble on his behalf, Burton suggested that it was because her husband also was implicated in the Rye House Plot and feared that if he (Burton) were arrested it might lead in turn to his own apprehension. No other evidence is available on Gaunt's connection with the Rye House Plot. It was claimed by the Prosecution at the trial that Gaunt was experienced in arranging the escape of traitors. Gaunt appears a mysterious figure. He was not arrested or tried. Mrs. Gaunt never mentions him in her evidence nor her message to the public.
 8. Burnet says that Mrs. Gaunt harboured Burton in her house after Sedgemoor and was looking for an occasion of sending him out of the country. This probably is confusion of the events of 1683 with those of 1685.
 9. The date given on the memorial window at Ravenstonedale (4th October) is in error.

not understand the law".¹⁰ William Gaunt was not tried and may have escaped.

Burnet reports the scene at Tyburn with the help of an eye-witness account given him by William Penn who seems to have had a morbid interest in such matters. On that particular day he had had to hurry from watching Cornish turned off at Cheapside in order not to miss Mrs. Gaunt's end. He noted that "she died with a constancy, even to a cheefulness, that struck all that saw it". She made a final speech in which (as was expected) she forgave those who had ill-used and condemned her, including James Burton who had returned her good service so ill. Then (said Penn) she laid the straw about her in such fashion that the faggots would burn her more speedily and in such manner that all the spectators melted in tears.¹¹

Macaulay adds: "It was much noticed that whilst this foulest judicial murder which had disgraced even those times was perpetrating, a tempest burst forth such as had not been known since the great hurricane which had raged round the deathbed of Oliver. The oppressed Puritans reckoned up, not without a gloomy satisfaction, the houses blown down and the ships cast away, and derived some consolation from thinking that heaven was bearing awful testimony against the iniquity which afflicted the earth."¹²

A "paper", said to have been left with the keeper at Newgate prison and written by Mrs. Gaunt, was published shortly afterwards in both Dutch and English at Amsterdam. It follows a perhaps typical pattern and one may doubt

10. Whilst a man was hanged or beheaded for treason, a woman was burnt alive at the stake. One woman who escaped such punishment was Alice Lisle, widow of a regicide. She was tried and condemned at Winchester for harbouring two rebels (Hicks and Nelthorpe) in her house. Not wishing to be implicated she had sent a servant to inform a Justice of the Peace, intending meanwhile that Hicks and Nelthorpe should be persuaded to leave. But the authorities arrived early and arrested both the fugitives and Lady Lisle. She was tried at Winchester at the beginning of Jeffreys' infamous Assize. Evidence was poor and the two fugitives had not yet been tried and condemned. The jury would have found her not guilty. But Jeffreys so ranted and bullied and threatened them that they finally brought in the verdict he demanded. Lady Lisle, then over 70 years of age, is reported to have fallen asleep in the dock whilst they argued over her fate. Jeffreys would have had her burnt at once. But popular feeling and sympathy for "Lady Alice" were such that influential friends interceded with the King who altered the sentence to beheading. She was executed on 2 September 1685 in Winchester market place. Four years later the sentence was annulled. Macaulay: *History of England*, Popular Edition, 1889, vol. I, pp. 312-314.

11. Burnet, *op. cit.*, p. 416.

12. Macaulay, *History* vol. I, p. 327.

whether it was Mrs. Gaunt's unaided work.¹³

Fothergills still remain in the Ravenstonedale area. John Fothergill lives in the Old Tower House at Brownber – which may be the house where Elizabeth was born. He treasures several carefully copied family trees of different branches of the family and a number of portraits including an oval-framed black and white likeness with the simple legend: "Mrs. Eliz Gaunt, Burnt Oct 23 1685."

KENNETH W. WADSWORTH

JOHN WESLEY – THEOLOGIAN FOR THE PEOPLE AN ESSAY IN CHRISTIAN CONSERVATISM

In a recent discussion by Robert S. Paul of the Scottish theologian P.T. Forsyth – in my estimation the greatest British Free Church theologian of this century – there occurs this sentence. Forsyth and Barth "became representatives of that line of seminal theologians that stretches from Paul, through Augustine, Luther, Calvin, the Federal Theologians and on through Schleiermacher and Reinhold Niebuhr who have discovered their most profound theological insights in their attempt to bring the Gospel pastorally to people".¹ To that company surely must be added John Wesley, who worked out his theology not so much in the groves of Academe as on horseback: *people's theologian*. I use that phrase not of some armchair or ecumenical conference globe-trotting advocate of revolution, but of one who works out from the great tradition a theology

13. *State Trials I James II*, xi, pp. 452–454.

"Newgate, 22 October, 1685.

Not knowing whether I should be suffered or able, because of weaknesses that are upon me, through my hard and close imprisonment, to speak at the place of execution, I write these few lines, to signify I am well reconciled to the way of my God towards me, though it be in ways I looked not for, and by terrible things yet in righteousness; for having given me life, he ought to have the disposing of it, when and how he pleaseth to call for it; and I desire to offer up my all to him, it being but my reasonable service; and also the first terms that Christ offers, that he that will be his disciple must forsake all and follow him. And therefore let none think it hard, or be discouraged, at what hath happened to me..."

After speaking of the trial and its unfairness and the harshness of her judges, she proceeds to forgive them all, including "the great one of all (James II), by whose power all these and multitudes more cruelties are done"; but insofar as this shows an implacable mind against the Lord Christ and His cause, she leaves judgment to the avenger of all such wrongs. And she ends with a warning:-

"unless you secure Jesus Christ and his holy angels, you shall never do your business, nor your hands accomplish your enterprizes; for he will come upon you ere you are aware, and therefore, O that you will be wise, instructed, and learn, is the desire of her that finds no mercy from you.

Elizabeth Gaunt".

1. D.G. Miller *et al.*, *P.T. Forsyth, the Man, the Preacher's Theologian, Prophet for the 20th Century* 1981, p. 63.

which can be preached and grasped by those whom Wesley called "plain people".

Another recent book, Rowan Williams's *Resurrection*² echoes Karl Barth by talking of "irregular dogmatics" by which he means a theological style closer than some others to the actual preaching of the Gospel - the commentary, the sermon, and perhaps the hymn are cases of "irregular dogmatics". Now this is Wesley again - for are not a Commentary and a Book of Sermons the standards of what an older generation of Methodists called "our doctrines"? Were not the hymns of Charles Wesley the means by which plain people sang their creed? *Lex orandi is lex credendi*, a matter discussed, as only a Methodist could, by Geoffrey Wainwright in *Doxology* (1980) in which worship and systematics are marvellously blended. This essay, taking up points previously made for a Roman Catholic readership in *One in Christ*, December, 1978, is intended to suggest that John Wesley's basic stance still has relevance to the ecumenical conversation.

But first a word of warning. Herbert Butterfield, doyen of historians and Methodist preacher, always warned against what he called the "Whig interpretation of history", reading the past in the light of the present.

Rather the primary assumption of all attempts to understand the men of the past must be the belief that we can to some degree enter into minds that are unlike our own... it is not for him to stress and magnify the similarities between one age and another and he is riding after a whole flock of misapprehensions if he begins to hunt for the present in the past. Rather it is his work to destroy those very analogies which we imagined to exist.³

Good examples of what Butterfield warned against are found in papers with titles like *Wesley and the Theologies of Liberation* (Theodore Runyon) and *Wesley's Doctrine of Sanctification from a Liberationist Perspective* (José Miguez Bonino) in the volume *Sanctification and Liberation*⁴ These are trenchant articles, but there is about them a tendency to use Wesley as a kind of confessional peg on which to hang ideas already clearly formulated from elsewhere, not least Karl Marx. It can be like the preacher who uses biblical texts not for exegesis but for eisegesis. Wesley cannot be turned into a liberation theologian before his time. Modern liberation theology can and must stand on its own feet and has a perfect right to do so. Wesley stands in the long line of Christian conservatives which includes Paul, Augustine, Luther, Hooker, Burke, Wilberforce, Shaftesbury and Newman, whose concern for the poor was just as real, if expressed differently, as that of ideological revolutionaries like Marx or Lenin or Christian Marxists like Miguez Bonino or Gutierrez, whose theologies emerge out of desperate concern for the oppressed and whom we

2. R. Williams, *Resurrection* 1982, p. 4.

3. H. Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History* 1931, pp. 9-10.

4. T. Runyon, (Ed.), *Sanctification and Liberation* 1981, pp. 9-63.

ignore at our peril, however critical we may be of them. So let us pay close attention to Wesley's context heeding - but not daunted by - Butterfield's warning. I would now pose five questions:

1. How does Wesley's position stand up as a way of interpreting the great tradition and is it preachable to plain people now?
2. Has Wesley's stance any ecumenical significance or are Methodists the warm-hearted, guilt-ridden, dangerously pelagian activists of the ecumenical scene?
3. Who and where were the plain people actually impinged upon by Wesley's people's theology and what happened to them?
4. What did Wesley's opponents have to say?
5. What of the tradition of Christian conservatism?

I

One traditional way of setting out Wesley's stance has been what could be called the Epworth Quadrilateral. All need to be saved, all can be saved, all can know they are saved, all can be saved to the uttermost. Some may find this slick, even glib. The statement comes from W.B. Fitzgerald and dates back to 1903. I would prefer an Epworth Triangle - priority of God's universal love, the need for a personal faith, no limitation to be put to God's grace given the limitations of living in a body in a "bent world". Wesley tries to reconcile the protestant doctrine of justification - being made or declared right by faith through grace - with a total abandonment of the view that God predestines some to salvation and some to damnation. Prevenient grace enables all to turn to God and makes humans responsible for their own damnation if they reject the Gospel. This is the beginning of that healing which is salvation. Wesley is always looking to and back from his view of humankind as capable of being made whole by grace. Modern revivals of the idea of Christ being the Head of the whole human race - "the light that lighteth every man" - are not far from Wesley's position, I think. F.D. Maurice and perhaps Karl Rahner spring to mind at once. Can this Arminianism of the heart withstand the impact of the reality of God in other religions or the total eclipse of hell in the mainstream Christian tradition? The first was just over Wesley's horizon and it was on the agenda of the Age of Reason typified by Lessing's play *Nathan der Weise*. Hell, though not overstressed by Wesley was part of the apparatus of the people's theologian. What of hell now?

The second side of the triangle is the need for personal faith. I know of no more stimulating recent discussion of this than that of the Czech J.M. Lochman's *Living Roots of the Reformation* (1979). Lochman just avoids what I have called a Whig interpretation. He reads the old doctrines forward rather than judging them from a neo-Marxist stance. He sees justification by faith as enabling us to see people in right standing with God, not as workers or performers. Faith is the way in which the comprehensive practice of the new life is made possible. Lochman, like Wesley, refuses to sunder individual and corporate ethics. Cut off from justice, faith becomes sentimental. In a

"performing society" - Capitalist *or* Communist - we must look to faith again to enable us to value people. I would want to add that justification by faith might save us from the awful, guilt-ridden, frantic philanthropy which seems now to be a substitute for Gospel. Our concern for others in need should arise, not from our guilt about the supposed sins of our imperialist grandparents but from the "Wonder why such love to me". Anything less can lead to pharasaic self-righteousness. This is a constant peril. Recently Lesslie Newbigin suggests that so often we say:

Theology must be done in a particular context. So we get the context and then get the questions and then begin to work out answers and end with a political programme which so often means law not Gospel, for if you don't agree with the programme you are a reprobate! How much of Christian talking about the problems of industry, of economic justice, of racial equality produces only a paralysing sense of guilt or impotence or else the blind fanaticism of the crusader who can see no moral issue in the world except the one he has chosen to concentrate on? This is the preaching of the law.⁵

Another route is to begin with people put right with God by faith who know only too well the sin and cupidity in themselves and in all human institutions, who know full well that the realm of grace and the realm of "my station and its duties", to use the phrase used much by A.D. Lindsay, are separate and yet intertwined together. Such a person sees no hope of Utopia but knowing himself to be a sinner goes out as "Christ to his neighbour" (Luther) with maximum elasticity.

The third side of the triangle, what Wesley called the "grand depositum", the doctrine of holiness, raises all the problems of how theology actually impinges on people. Were the Methodists any more holy than the others? Were they more complacent? Albert Outler has teased out the sources of Wesley's doctrine.⁶ There is no need to repeat them nor the well worn arguments about the inadequacies of Wesley's doctrine of sin or the difficulties about the consciousness of being sanctified.⁷ Most have simply removed the difficulties by not believing that part of the doctrine. The average English Methodist knows little of it unless he has heard it through the Cliff College style of stress on the second blessing, which is a derivative of one side of Wesley's doctrine at several removes through the holiness movements. Wesley stressed "faith working by love". We rightly need to take up Wesley's stress on healing and see holiness, health and wholeness as bound up together. The relationship of individual holiness to the holiness of the church is another factor which cannot be ignored. Could this bring church and medicine and psychiatry into creative dialogue?

5. L. Newbigin, *International Review of Mission* July 1979, pp. 301-312.

6. Albert C. Outler, (Ed.), *John Wesley* 1964.

7. R.N. Flew, *The Idea of Perfection in Christian Theology* 1934, pp. 313-341; F. Greeves, *Theology and the Cure of Souls* 1960, pp. 67-83; P.T. Forsyth, *God the Holy Father* 1957 ed., pp. 97-148.

Can Maslow have anything in common with Wesley or is the cultural distance too great for dialogue to be attempted?⁸ No Methodist now could imagine that holiness is in any way a Methodist monopoly. The clearest succinct statement of a "Wesleyan" stance I have read for a long time is in Richard Holloway's *Beyond Belief - the Christian Encounter with God* (1982). Wesley is not mentioned. Maybe Methodists deceive themselves that they have anything distinctive any more.

II

So I tuck in my second point as a logical sequence here. I believe Wesley's doctrine to have ecumenical significance in that Wesley drew on rich resources of eastern Christianity and Counter-Reformation spirituality as well as Protestantism. Is there here a genuine Catholic evangelicalism? If St. Thomas Aquinas spoke of "fides caritate formata" - faith formed by love - Wesley preached "love formed by faith", sanctification flowing out of justification. Is this far from that "activism in grace" which H.O. Evennett saw as the hallmark of the spirituality of the Counter-Reformation?⁹ How near is Wesley to the doctrine of holiness of the Council of Trent and the men of Ratisbon like the moderate Contarini? If it is possible to make a sociological comparison between Methodism and Catholicism,¹⁰ a full scale theological comparison is long overdue.

III

Wesley was concerned to communicate his Gospel to plain people. Spirituality was to be worked out in small groups. To word, sacrament and discipline were added the means of *Koinonia* which in the next generation, made Dora Greenwell exclaim to a friend, "You see what with class meetings and prayer meetings and preachings the Wesleyans have so much more means than Church people".¹¹ This was never entirely the case unless the parish was high and dry or low and slow, nor must the impact of field preaching be ignored which gave Methodist preaching an evangelistic cutting edge which had considerable survival value.

But what did it do? Who were the early Methodists? To imagine that they were all mini John and Charles Wesleys would be ludicrous. The sociology of early Methodism is still in its infancy but we can make a few generalizations. Methodism spread in the areas where the parish system was weakest at the beginning of industrialization. The area around Halifax in West Yorkshire is a fine example. The open village not dominated by squire or parson, where what social historians like Harold Perkin call the dependency system is at its weakest, was often penetrated by Methodism. It provided a focus, not so much for the despair, as Halévy and E.P. Thompson claimed, as for the aspirations of the

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8. A.H. Maslow, *Motivation and Personality* 1970; cf. F. Wright, *Pastoral Care for Lay People* 1982, pp. 11-22.
 9. H.O. Evennett, *The Spirit of the Counter Reformation* 1968, pp. 31-2; *Ibid* in J. Hurstfield, *The Reformation Crisis* 1965, p. 62.
 10. cf. J. Bossy, *The English Catholic Community 1570-1850* 1975, pp. 391-401.
 11. Dora Greenwell, *Two Friends* 1903 ed., p. 113.

artisan class, those whom later we can call the labour aristocracy, people just above the mass of the unrespectable poor who never came into Methodism in any large number, not even into Primitive Methodism.¹² Methodism gave a sense of belonging, of status to men and women to whom society gave little or nothing. It gave them scope for office, opportunities to exercise talents, skill in speech and organization which was often, later, carried over into politics of a liberal or radical kind. The consequence was men and women of thrift, frugality, reliability and initiative, who would move marginally up the social scale. If poor, they might become respectable poor, for Methodism made its appeal in the long run to what Christopher Hill calls the "industrious sort of people" - the skilled artisan, miners, tailors, cobblers, the saddlers and harness makers and, higher up the scale, petty clerks and small shopkeepers. The preachers, wrote Henry Bett, were nearly all from that social grade which lies between the working class and the middle class - skilled artisans, small tradesmen, small farmers, clerks, schoolmasters, a class he adds, "from which a good deal of what is best in English life has come".¹³ This, says Clyde Binfield, speaking of a later period, is "the context of chapel, a model of self-control, expressed collectively, offering a life of obedience, duty and noisiness to individuals. In a world where you had only your feet to stand on, there was no better recipe for stepping heavenwards"¹⁴ Later the leaders of the Sunday school movement, the friendly societies, the temperance movement and some of the leaders of Chartism and early trade unions, came from the same strata. This is part of the appeal of Methodism to the people through its pull on the respectable poor as well as on the middle class, driving a wedge between them and "fustian jackets, unshorn chins and blistered hands". Now Wesley feared the respectability of Methodism but his theology of method, thrift and cleanliness ("Do not stink above ground" was not an untypical dictum) produced what he patronizingly claimed to dislike. One wonders if disciplined, simple, pious lives, removed from worldly pleasures and centred on home, chapel and business, was the best that Wesley's "grand depositum" could produce. Maybe the abolition of the double standard in Christian ethics produces not the soaring of the eagles but the flight of the sparrow. Clearly here was a factor in producing what Harold Perkin (revamping the ever phoenix-like Halévy thesis) calls a viable class society, non-egalitarian and largely non-violent in contrast to the turbulence of European working-class culture, always far more revolutionary, and later, Marxist than its English counterpart.¹⁵ Morgan Phillips's dictum that the Labour Party is more Methodist than Marxist (1951) is but a half-truth but half a truth is better than no truth.

12. A.D. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England* 1976, pp. 59-68; 83-93; C.D. Field, "The Social Structure of English Methodism", *British Journal of Sociology* Vol. 28, June 1977, pp. 199-225.

13. H. Bett, *The Early Methodist Preachers* 1935, p. 33; J.M. Turner, "Religion and Capitalism - A Continuing Debate", *Epworth Review* Vol. 9, Jan. 1982, pp. 57-65.

14. C. Binfield, *So Down to Prayers* 1977, pp. 11-12.

15. H. Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society 1780-1880* 1969, pp. 196-208; 340-454.

IV

What of Wesley's opponents? They are a mixed bag from the mob to Beau Nash, from local threatened parsons to Bishop Douglas. They saw him as socially subversive, giving Jack the idea that he was as good as his master. In the eighteenth century, Methodism was seen as a threat to order and authority. The early nineteenth-century Methodists had to prove their loyalty, which was in itself clearly inducive to social conservatism. The doctrines of assurance and perfect love came under fire as tending to produce antinomianism and "enthusiasm", that "pretending to extraordinary gifts of the Spirit" which Bishop Butler saw as such a "horrid thing". Martin Schmidt sums up the opposition:

In spite of all their variations the attacks from the Anglican side were all characterized by a great similarity. From all the writings, speeches and newspaper articles came the same complaints about enthusiasm, exaggerated piety, fanaticism, lust for power, tyranny, excessive austerity or unrestrained lawlessness, hypocrisy, disparagement of the regular church and its representatives and more than all and yet running through all, threats to the peace of the church and disturbance of the public quiet. The memory of the Great Revolution a hundred years earlier was still living and it affected the whole controversy.¹⁶

A look at volume XI of the Oxford edition of Wesley's works, edited by the late G.R. Cragg, is probably now the best way into this area - the theological opponents like Tucker, "John Smith" and Bishops Lavington and Warburton, were foemen worthy of John Wesley's steel and not to be easily despised, as Methodist hagiography has tended to do.

V

Lastly, John Wesley as Christian conservative. We have to brave the missiles of the soft revolutionaries, liberation theologians and their fellow travellers, in showing that conservative in Wesley's context does not equal lack of compassion for the poor. After all, laissez-faire economics is not conservative doctrine but a liberal doctrine, as indeed is its legatee monetarism. Margaret Thatcher is a product of later Methodist Liberalism. Her father was a National Liberal alderman and shopkeeper, a blend of Adam Smith and Mr. Gladstone, not necessarily the worse for that, but certainly not remotely akin to Wesley's outlook. Classical Christian conservatism is quite different, as Anthony Quinton's *The Politics of Imperfection* (1978) shows. The stress is on human imperfection, on corporate continuity and tradition, an organic view of the state, scepticism about any idealization or idolatry of human nature or of politics, an Augustinianism which characterized both Luther and Wesley though what Rondet and Rupp called the "optimism of grace" showed Wesley's mutation of it as more synergistic. Wesley's politics were realistic not Utopian, flowing from

16. M. Schmidt, *John Wesley* Vol. II Part I, 1971, p. 227.

his Toryism which has to be seen as in *opposition* to dominant Whig groups in his time, a matter often overlooked,¹⁷ though since Namier it has not been possible to speak in terms of the modern party system when defining eighteenth-century political terminology. It was Wilberforce (to whom Wesley wrote his famous last letter on slavery with its thrust at the racialism which denied the validity of a black man's oath against a white man's - "What villainy is this!") and the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, who did more for the poor, black and white, than all the Foxites and later Gladstonites put together, until T.H. Green gave Liberalism a philosophy of moderate collectivism and a new version of Utilitarianism which led to a crusade for social justice under Lloyd George. Conservatism of nationhood (not a little of that in Wesley as in Burke, though Wesley can combine eulogies of the king with scepticism about an established church) and of environment and resources is not to be sneered at either. Wesley was an autocrat without the humbug of condescension or *noblesse oblige*. He could almost be called a Tory radical save that his style is hardly that of the youngish Disraeli. He was an opponent of revolution, American or French and at the same time a friend of the poor. He was a man who would traipse for hours in the London slush collecting for charity, who gave almost all his wealth away, having a horror of capital accumulation or luxurious living. The undeserving poor got far more support from him than ever do the undeserving rich whom he lambasts as wastrels. The poor gave Wesley a welcome and an audience. He saw them as receptive and humble with hidden talents, which Methodism was able to awaken. As John Walsh recently put it, "In Wesley's hands the denunciatory side of the Protestant work ethic is directed against the rich and not the poor".¹⁸ His economics may seem naive now, but then he disclaimed political acumen and did not consider himself a politician. Neither need we so consider him. In a strange way he was both a man of the Age of Reason and yet in touch with the mixture of magic and Christianity which made for popular religion. Hugh McLeod has made the point that "the popular evangelicalism of these years also filled some of the gap between official religion and folk religion that had widened at the Reformation and became a chasm in the eighteenth century as an increasingly rational-minded clergy had lost touch with the forms of thought of the superstitious masses... Methodism did not so much displace the folk beliefs as translate them into a religious idiom".¹⁹ A good illustration of Wesley's ambivalence here is his use of electricity for treating mental illness (though this was not unique) and his *Primitive Physick* which is largely folk-medicine.

Let us then see him in his context, Tory in an eighteenth-century sense, autocrat, whom Roy Porter has called "an egomaniacal authoritarian prophet".²⁰ Certainly there was a strain of the obsessive about him. His basic theological stance - a quadrilateral of Bible, tradition, religious experience and reason - still has much to commend it and much still to be explored, which will

17. Linda Colley, *In Defiance of Oligarchy* 1982.

18. See below, note 21.

19. H. McLeod, *Religion and the People of Western Europe 1789-1970* 1981, p. 39.

20. R. Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* 1982, p. 194.

be greatly enhanced by the new edition of his Works. This man - very much a man of the eighteenth century, even of the Age of Reason - enabled little men and women, Christ's poor some of them, to catch a vision of God's democracy in which every person is a sinner who can become a saint.²¹

JOHN MUNSEY TURNER

PROFESSOR JOHN GIBB AND WESTMINSTER COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

John Gibb was born in 1835 in Aberdeen. He was the son of Alexander Gibb, a distinguished civil engineer who had served his apprenticeship under Telford. John graduated at Aberdeen University and continued his studies in Germany at Heidelberg and Berlin. During his student days he met John G. Smieton who had been born in Dundee and had graduated at Edinburgh University. He also continued his studies in Germany at Bonn where Gibb went to visit him. Smieton had planned to enter the ministry of the Free Church of Scotland but he had to abandon this hope because of ill health. In 1861 Gibb wrote from Heidelberg to Smieton who had returned to study in New College, Edinburgh, and he advised him to "take it easy for a while" and not to worry about missing lectures; Gibb assured him that his command of German was so fine that he could do all the necessary study without professorial aid although there was benefit in "an earnest, genial, truthful Christian thinker when theology is looking dark and dreary" and he thought that George Smeaton, one of the professors in New College, seemed "in a way and in a measure to be such a guide". This rather reserved commendation of Smeaton accords with his reputation as a very conservative scholar who turned out to be an opponent of Robertson Smith but it has been said that "he did not count in the Free Church leadership".¹

Gibb also planned enter the ministry of the Free Church and he returned from Germany to study in the Free Church College in Aberdeen. He completed his course in 1863 and was licensed as a probationer for the ministry by the Presbytery of Kincardine. He received a call to be the assistant to the Free Church minister in Malta. It was one of the marks of the vitality of the Free Church that it sought to parallel and even expand the range of ministry covered

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21. For Wesley's political thinking see: *Works of John Wesley* ed. T. Jackson, Vol. XI; M. Edwards, *John Wesley and the Eighteenth Century. A study of his social and political influence* 2nd ed. 1955; D. Hempton, *Methodism and Politics in British Society 1750-1850* 1984; B. Semmel, *The Methodist Revolution* 1973; W.J. Warner, *The Wesleyan Movement in the Industrial Revolution* 1930; J. Walsh, *John Wesley and the Poor*, (Summary in *Wesley Historical Society West Midlands Branch*, Spring 1980, Vol. 3, No. 5, pp. 48-51).
1. A.L. Drummond and J. Bulloch, *The Church in late Victorian Scotland, 1874-1900* 1978, pp. 56, 109. Smeaton does not get even a mention in P. Carnegie Simpson, *The Life of Principal Rainy*.

by the Church of Scotland not only at home but also abroad and so a presbytery of Italy was constituted and it was by this presbytery that Gibb was ordained at Leghorn. He wrote to Smieton from Valetta and said he was responsible for ministering to Scottish troops. Every other Sunday he conducted three services. He visited soldiers in hospital; the soldiers were willing to listen and there were some decided Christians among them. There were encouragements and discouragements. The Scottish Church ran a boys' school which was attended by pupils of "the better class". He lamented his own feeble witness and his indifference to others and he confessed an aridity which made it hard for others to believe that he was an inheritor of the kingdom: "sometimes unbelief comes sweeping through the work like desolation" but the only cure was to look to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Gibb was generally a rather reserved man and this confession of wavering belief showed the depth of the friendship he had formed with Smieton.

He remained in Malta until 1868 when he was appointed resident Tutor in the Presbyterian College in London. His candidature was supported by David Brown the Professor of Theology in the Free Church College in Aberdeen, by Smeaton of New College, by J.C. MacPhail, the minister of his home church in Aberdeen, and by Marcus Dods, a future principal of New College. Dods said Gibb had been distinguished among his fellow-students in the university for scholarship and general culture, and he was regarded by the students of the Free Church Divinity Hall as "a kind of referee and authority on all points of taste, scholarship and theology". Consequent upon the union of the Presbyterian Church in England and the United Presbyterian Churches in England in 1876 to form the Presbyterian Church of England Gibb was made the Professor of New Testament Exegesis and Patristic Literature in 1877. He moved with the College to Cambridge in 1899 and resided in one of the new houses in the College Bounds and during his tenure the house was named "St. Elmo"; this was the popular name of Peter Gonzalez, the thirteenth-century patron saint of seamen and this name kept alive Gibb's memories of his days in Malta. In 1907 there was "a redistribution of subjects" and Gibb was given the chair of Church History, though he continued to teach New Testament Greek.²

Smieton, in the meantime, had settled in London and devoted himself to the service of the Presbyterian Church. He assisted John Black, the first general secretary of the church, and then he helped the college as secretary, librarian and bursar. In 1899 he moved with the college to Cambridge where he continued to help as librarian, bursar and secretary of senatus. The association with the college in London and Cambridge further cemented the friendship with Gibb and even after his retirement from the service of the college in 1902 he kept in touch with Gibb whose letters to him provide interesting glimpses of life in the

2. See my *Westminster College: Its Background and History* for an account of the history of the College during Gibb's connection with it in London and Cambridge. See also *The Presbyterian*, 5 February, 1892; also 23 February 1911 which has an article on Gibb by S.W. Carruthers.

college and in Cambridge during the first decade of this century.³

Gibb was on the staff of the college until his retirement in 1913. His last lecture was given to the Greek Testament class and at the end of the lecture the students presented him with Bruder's Greek Concordance and Farrar's *Life of Christ*. He acknowledged the gift and "added a few words of friendly counsel to those students who are leaving College for the work in the ministry".⁴ He died in 1915 and his remains lie in St. Giles's cemetery in Cambridge. The Memorial Minute in the Synod records paid tribute to his wide reading and literary production and said he was "one of the most interesting personalities and most accomplished scholars in the presbyterian ministry" and beneath the intellectual equipment there had been "a character of singular charm and attractiveness and a great genius for friendship combined with shrew judgement of men".⁵ Principal Alexander Whyte of New College recalled his friendship with Gibb from his student days and said he was "a born gentleman, a man of great intellectual and moral and spiritual distinction, a rare man, whom to have for a friend was a privilege and an opportunity of no ordinary kind".⁶ Increasing deafness was a burden for a man who loved learned conversation but he declined to be a recluse and he was "a most welcome and agreeable member of every company he entered". He had many contacts with the literary world and wrote reviews for the *The Spectator* and *The Contemporary Review*. He formed a close friendship with Meredith Townsend, the editor of *The Spectator*, whom he visited every week for many years for dinner and long conversations. Townsend's daughter was often present and she later wrote a brief memoir of Gibb in which she portrayed him as a man of wide reading and great learning but averse to the intense discipline of literary production. In Principal Whitehorn's copy of this book he inserted a pencilled note: "John Skinner said of this book, 'It is not the John Gibb that I knew' ". However, though she may have overemphasized Gibb's leanings toward the medieval world, her portrait does not seriously diverge from the evidence from other witnesses. It accords with the evidence gleaned from his letters to Smieton.⁷

It had been a daring venture for the Presbyterian College to move from London to Cambridge where it was feared that the presbyterian witness would be smothered by the dominant Anglicanism, and the students, if not won over to Anglicanism, would be in danger of becoming mimic curates. However, once the Synod had made the decision to move, the project was supported with remarkable generosity and a college was erected which was worthy to take its

3. The collection of letters is in the College.

4. Minutes of the Synod, 1913, p. 41.

Farrar's *Life of Christ* was a popular work at the time and was issued in several stately forms; I have the copy my father gained as a Bible-Class prize in 1899.

5. Minutes of the Synod, 1915, p. 1040. The College has a portrait of Gibb by Carlo Bauerle who was a Presbyterian and who painted several royal portraits.

6. *The Presbyterian Messenger* June 1915, p. 213.

7. C.M. Townsend, *The Mind of John Gibb* (1923). Miss Townsend had moved from Unitarianism to Roman Catholicism.

place among Cambridge's historic buildings.⁸ Nevertheless, there were financial crises and the number of students was often small; it was difficult to maintain the early fervour. A Christmas card was sent to Gibb by Thom who had been a college servant in London; it reminded Gibb of the day of small things which "were probably animated by a more wholesome spirit than that which reigns at present".⁹ There was tension over the management of the domestic affairs of the college; there was need of economy and some believed this could be effected if a woman was brought in to oversee the daily running of the kitchen and the residential rooms. By a majority decision the management committee put this change into effect; "a woman of superior character" was appointed and this caused a considerable saving but it also caused the resignation of the London members of the committee and, more seriously, of Professor Macalister, the Clerk of Session of St. Columba's Church in Cambridge, and of Mr. J.R. Roxburgh, another pillar of St. Columba's Church who had succeeded Smieton as Bursar of the college.¹⁰

A somewhat exaggerated picture of the tensions in the college is to be found in letters to Smieton from S.R. Macphail whose father had been the minister of Free East Church, Aberdeen, in which Gibb had been brought up. Macphail had been minister in Elgin and Glasgow before coming south to be minister of Canning Street Presbyterian Church in Liverpool and he became Moderator of the Synod. He was known as an earnest evangelist and when he died in 1912 memorial tributes spoke of his leadership and evangelical zeal. He was much involved in the affairs of the Church and the college but his letters to Smieton give a sour view of the Presbyterian Church and this arose from a belief that he had been ill-treated by the Church. He tended to see intrigue in every corner and he alleged that intrigue in the college had forced Smieton to resign and had engineered the resignation of Principal J.O. Dykes, and he claimed that he himself had been edged out of his own church and was forced in his old age to become a wandering evangelist to earn his daily bread, "a public hack upon the road, a Levite begging his bread from door to door". He thought the whole Presbyterian Church was unsettled: "What a sad state our Church is in all round! We seem to be losing ground every day. It is poor comfort that other churches are in the same position. Oh, for a breath of the Spirit's power!"¹¹ None of this bitterness appears in the records of the Church or the college; the Synod paid warm tributes to Macphail and to Smieton and Dykes; the college staff and students gave Smieton a grateful farewell and Gibb was present at a dinner in

8. N. Pevsner, *Cambridgeshire* 1970 ed., p. 235; the College is "easily the most attractive of the buildings of colleges not belonging to the University".

9. Gibb to Smieton, 6/1/08 (hereafter, unless otherwise stated, dates will refer to letters from Gibb to Smieton).

10. 18/8/10; 20/12/10; 6/1/11; 20/7/11.

11. Macphail to Smieton: 20/11/01; 14/3/07; 15/8/10.

London given in honour of Dykes.¹²

The retirement of Dykes was followed by a period of instability. The college committee considered the nomination of either John Watson or John Skinner to be the principal. Watson was minister of Sefton Park Church in Liverpool and he had given unsparing service in raising funds to build the new college and many thought that his fame as a writer and preacher would bring renown to the college; others thought that Watson's claims were overshadowed by the fine and growing scholarly reputation of Skinner who was already on the staff. Gibb said he was a friend of both and he took no side on the matter; the two, he said, had qualities of a very different kind.¹³ As a temporary measure, the Synod appointed Dr. Monro Gibson, minister of St. John's Wood Church in London and a dominant figure in the life of the Church, but he was not an effective principal. Gibb said he was pleasant to work with but he noted his absences from the college; he was present for the opening of the Michaelmas term in 1907 but he was absent the following week; in the next term; the college had a guest night but Gibson was away in London and was unable to be present due to his wife's illness.¹⁴

Watson's former assistants in Liverpool wished to show their appreciation of him and of his work for the college by installing a window in the chapel which at that time was the enclosed space at the end of the Library. This caused some strained relations. It was planned that in the three lights there should be representations of St. John the Divine, Christ and Mary Magdalene. The Senatus had noted that in the design Mary was dressed in modern attire and looked like neither an oriental woman nor a medieval saint, and Gibb, Skinner and Professor Macalister were appointed as a committee to improve her.¹⁵ Gibb thought the college committee had been rather brusque in its response to the offer of the gift and he found himself in the role of a mediator. The donors complained about the delay in bringing the plan to completion but he tried to soothe their feelings by showing that Hare, the architect of the building, had to be consulted to ensure that the proposed design was appropriate to its setting. In 1908 the Synod expressed deep satisfaction with the gift.¹⁶

12. 26/3/07. Dame Mary Smieton has also given to the College the sumptuous album given to her father by those who had been students during his period in the College. It contains their photographs and there is an apologetic note from Alan C. Don; there had been delays in its preparation and it only reached Smieton two years after he left Cambridge, but Don hoped it would be an acceptable reminder of the esteem in which he had been held. The Synod of 1902 had thanked him for his valuable services and his long labours in the interests of the College (*Minutes*, pp. 382, 384, 579). Dykes wrote to the Synod of 1907 intimating his decision to retire and confessing that the Church's "appreciation of my work far exceeds any service I have been able to render". The Synod paid tribute to Dykes' great distinction as a teacher, administrator and friend; he had laid the Church under a debt of gratitude it could never forget: *Minutes*, 1907, pp. 35-37.

13. 3/12/06; 26/3/07.

14. 21/10/07; 23/2/08.

15. 20/1/07.

16. March 1908.

Gibb noted the appointment of John Oman and Charles Anderson Scott to be professors in the College, but he made no comment upon them. Comments on current and former students were rare in Gibb's correspondence. When on holiday in Brighton he visited Jeffrey Johnstone, the minister of nearby Hove. Gibb confessed to Smieton that he had had "a prejudice against him" but that had vanished during the visit; Johnstone had much improved during two years of study in Germany and was "a man of parts".¹⁷ Gibb also visited Eastbourne to baptise a son of Robert C. Gillie who was a minister there; he had preached for Gillie at the evening service when there was an immense congregation, but this was not due to Gibb's renown as a preacher but was Gillie's usual evening congregation.¹⁸ Gillie moved to Marylebone in 1909 and Gibb noted that he brought "goodwill and hard work to all he does" and this went a long way to ensure success.¹⁹ On the way to a holiday in Ilfracombe Gibb broke his journey at Bristol in order to see the city and to invite Charles Goodlet, a former student and a future moderator, to dine with him in his hotel. Another student, Norman Robinson was said to be "a promising man in character and attainments"; he had been at Clare College but had gone back to Liverpool and had graduated there; he had now returned to Cambridge to the college and was said by Gibb to be one of "an excellent first-year class".²⁰

Gibb had a wide range of contacts in Cambridge University and in the city. He was made an M.A. of the University and became a member of King's College where he often dined and where he said he found nice men. It was said that he was seen in the stalls of King's College Chapel more often than in the pew in St. Columba's Church. He was also on friendly terms with the Master of Trinity Hall and with the Masters of Selwyn and Emmanuel Colleges. The Master of Emmanuel, W. Chawner, had been the Vice-Chancellor of the University in the year when Westminster College was opened and he had attended the inaugural celebrations. When dining at the Master's Lodge in Trinity Hall, Gibb had taken Mrs. Lewis in to dinner and she told him that she and her sister were about to set out again for Egypt; they were "wonderful old ladies whose energies nothing can abate".²¹ He had dined at the new Roman Catholic foundation, St. Edmund's House; a London schoolmaster of his acquaintance was studying at the House for a time.²²

Gibb was surprised when he was told one day that the Abbot of Glastonbury was at his door and wished to see him. The last abbot of Glastonbury had been "hanged by that admirable representative of the Reformation, Henry VIII", and the buildings were in ruins. However, when the visitor was shown in, he turned out to be one whom Gibb already knew as the Abbot of Downside. It seems that he had had to leave Downside to make way for

17. 7/4/08.

18. 14/4/08.

19. 5/4/09. Gillie became Moderator of the General Assembly in 1925.

20. 3/12/06.

21. 23/2/08.

22. 20/1/07.

the notable scholar, Dom Cuthbert Butler, and he was now a priest at Ealing. Gibb gathered that the titular abbacy of Glastonbury had been conferred upon him as a consolation for his demotion and also as a Roman Catholic claim to Glastonbury and its traditions.²³

Visiting speakers often drew Gibb's attention. He noted that A.J. Balfour was to speak at Newnham College. Balfour, he said, was more interested in philosophical speculation than in politics. Gibb felt drawn to his Conservatism and thought that he might vote Conservative at the next election were it not for his strong belief in Free Trade which was part of the Liberal programme. Campbell-Bannerman, he noted, was in poor health and might have to go to the House of Lords; his government was in bad repute and Gibb had a great aversion to Lloyd George, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and a rising star in the Liberal circles. Lloyd George, said Gibb, "does not much come up to my idea of an English gentleman"; "he is doing his cause harm by his speeches, especially by his extreme inaccuracy with regard to facts; one does not like to see the finances of England in the hands of a man who cannot be trusted to give an exact statement of anything".²⁴ He concluded that "Liberals are never very respectable in office".²⁵

In 1908 there were celebrations in Cambridge to mark the centenary of the birth of Charles Darwin and Gibb remarked upon "the influence on thought that quiet country gentleman had"; "his quiet modesty was one chief source of his power". Darwin's son had said to Gibb that it was his father's quiet character rather than his discoveries which made him so attractive. Gibb thought there was a measure of truth in this, since pioneers often had a defiance which frightened and repelled people, but he questioned the universal applicability of Darwin's dictum that it was the fittest which survived; this could be true in the animal world and among barbarous races, but in higher civilizations those who were far from fit had often contributed more effectively to the welfare of the race than their stronger contemporaries.²⁶

Gibb welcomed W.R. Inge as the new Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity; he had called upon Inge and found him a nice man; his arrival would be a beneficial addition to the Faculty which was "very learned and very dry at present".²⁷ Inge soon moved on to be Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral in London. In 1910 Professor George Adam Smith was the Commemoration Day lecturer at Westminster College and Gibb noted that "he spoke in a way that seemed to give satisfaction".

An indication of the trend of theological thought at the time is seen in a note by Gibb that P. T. Forsyth of Emmanuel Congregational Church in Cambridge

23. 6/12/07: Butler was Headmaster of Downside, 1888-92, and Abbot, 1906-22.

24. 8/11/09; 19/12/09.

25. 20/1/07.

26. 21/7/09; 21/8/09.

27. 21/10/07: The Divinity Professors were H.B. Swete (Regius), R.H. Kennet (Hebrew), F.C. Burkitt (Norrisian), W.E. Barnes (Hulsean), H.M. Gwatkin (Dixie) and V.H. Stanton (Ely).

had launched an attack on theological liberalism and pronounced it to be bankrupt and "the shareholders know it". Gibb said he was a theological liberal and intended to remain so, but "there is no doubt that too much of it in the pulpit is a dissolvent force; it is mainly of service as a purger of religion from superstition, and religion accretes superstition during its course, but liberalism has little creative or constructive power".²⁸ Gibb was clearly not an unquestioning devotee of Calvinism and when Macphail asked him to prepare a pastoral letter to be read in all presbyterian churches to mark the fourth centenary of Calvin's birth in 1509 he refused on the ground that while "he could lecture on Calvin as a great figure comparable to Gregory the Great or Innocent III", any pastoral he would write "would not have been in harmony with the proposed celebrations".²⁹

Gibb was not given to flaunting his Scottish roots or loyalties. He usually referred to England and the English government and not to the British government. On the other hand, with his Scottish Free Church background and its advocacy of a sound ecclesiastical establishment within the state, he was not at home with the English Free Churches. In the period before the college moved to Cambridge, W.G. Elmslie, one of Gibb's colleagues on the staff, was an advocate of union between the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists, but Gibb did not share this outlook. When a summer school of theology was held in Westminster College Gibb noted that there had been good lectures and a small attendance and those who did attend were not Presbyterians but Nonconformists, though some of them were interesting men. A year later, in 1907, he said he hoped to be away from Cambridge before the summer school assembled; "they don't belong to my party". Rendel Harris, the Quaker scholar, would be there and though Gibb counted him as a friend he felt far removed from Harris on the issue of education. Harris, said Gibb, would be advocating secular education and this would be the line of most of the speakers; the very thought of this was pushing him to a conservative mood and to a defence of the Established Church and the House of Lords: "I should alter that House somewhat and change its character, but I do not relish committing the future of *England* to a single chamber". The omission of any thought about Scotland is to be noted.³⁰

Gibb's literary interests were wide. He was noted for the width of his reading; he reviewed books for the *Spectator* and for the *Cambridge Review*. Along with W. Montgomery he had produced an edition of Augustine's *Confessions* which was published by the Cambridge University Press. Montgomery was also the translator of Schweitzer's *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*; Gibb remarked that this work was causing quite a stir and he himself went to visit Schweitzer with whom he had "some delightful intercourse".³¹ His interest in Goethe never waned and up to his death he was working on a study of Goethe which he hoped to publish under the title, *Hours with Goethe*. He sent large

28. 10/4/10.

29. Easter Sunday, 1909.

30. 12/8/06.

31. 27/7/10.

sections of the projected work to Smieton for his observations, particularly on points of translation from German on which Gibb confessed that Smieton was far more expert than he was. Smieton returned the work with high commendation, but Gibb thought he had gone too far in suggesting that the loss of this script would be a loss comparable to the destruction by fire of a large section of Carlyle's *The French Revolution*.³² Gibb was impressed by Goethe's "calm, deep, penetrating wisdom", "his wisdom is wonderful". It was, he said, a venture to write about Goethe about whom so much had already been written, but at least "I am learning much about myself and I shall be something of a Goethe scholar".³³ The work was never published.

Gibb was an assiduous traveller in Britain and Europe. His choice of holiday resorts was made in the hope that he would gain relief from his troublesome bronchitis. He made for continental spas like Baden-Baden. In London he stayed at times with his brother, Sir George Gibb, who, like their father, was a distinguished engineer, but more often he stayed in the Savile Club in Piccadilly; this also gave him access to the East Sussex Club at St. Leonards-on-Sea. He also went for holidays to Folkestone, Brighton, Lynmouth and Ilfracombe. He went to Bath in Somerset and greatly admired "the stately old city".³⁴ At Tunbridge Wells he attended service in the church of King Charles the Martyr which was crowded and had a fine musical service and where the earnest preacher spoke with power; though there was little that was ritualistic, Gibb judged the setting and the service to be High Church.³⁵ He went to Llandrindod Wells and he was disappointed with the place; he had thought that he was going to a quiet out-of-the-world watering place, but it was rather overcrowded.³⁶

He rarely journeyed to the Synod of the Presbyterian Church. His literary tastes and his appreciation of the medieval world and of the wider liturgical and ornate inheritance of the Church rendered much of the detail of presbyterian procedure uncongenial to him. His deafness also hindered him from following the course of debates. He never attempted to gather any group around him to influence the proceedings of the Synod. In 1908 he said he was going to the Synod to vote in the election of a new Clerk of the Synod to succeed W.M. Macphail; he intended to vote for John Reid, minister of Moseley, Birmingham, who had been a student of the college and then secretary of the College Board of Studies. Gibb had some hesitation about supporting him: "He rather irritated me as secretary of the Board with his ways, but his devotion to the Church makes me feel we ought to give him the job; the formal duties he will do admirably, if he will only refrain his tongue. But I fear he will not carry".³⁷ Gibb's fear was justified; W.L. Robertson was elected. Unlike his London colleagues, Lorimer,

32. 10/7/07; 21/10/07; 23/2/08.

33. 21/10/07.

34. 21/8/09.

35. 10/4/11.

36. 18/8/10.

37. 1/5/08.

Chalmers, M'Crie, Elmslie and Dykes, Gibb took little part in the public work of the church, and his place in the Cambridge traditions has been overshadowed by the wide repute of Skinner, Oman, Anderson Scott and Carnegie Simpson, but he was a distinctive and impressive figure and it was well that he could be contained, even if uneasily, within the Presbyterian Church.

R. BUICK KNOX

C.J. CADOUX AND MANSFIELD COLLEGE, OXFORD

In the chapel in Mansfield College, there is an inscription on one of the pillars commemorating the life and work of Cecil John Cadoux, who died in 1947 at the age of 64. He is not perhaps very well known today, but half a century ago he was well known in theological and Congregational circles as a staunch defender of Congregational principles, a scholar of formidable knowledge and ability, and an unswerving pacifist. To his family and close friends he was Jack; to the world at large, he was simply "C.J. Cadoux".

As far as places go, there were two above all which ranked highest in his affection. One was Smyrna, where he was born (on 24 May 1883); he always refused to call it by its modern name of Izmir, because he felt that the change of name was "a needless aggravation of the nationalistic pride and aggressiveness which were generated by the Great War and its aftermath". The other place highest in his affection was Oxford; and of all the institutions in Oxford, it was Mansfield College which claimed his deepest loyalty.

Cadoux spent 22 of his 64 years as a working member of Mansfield College. He came up to Mansfield in 1911 as a ministerial student, and after completing his three year course, remained for a further five years as a tutor, simultaneously working for the London DD degree. Then there was a break of 14 years during which time he was a professor at the Yorkshire United Independent College¹ in Bradford. In 1933 he returned to Mansfield as Mackennal Professor of Church History, and was still the holder of that post when he died in 1947. So we will look at those two periods of association between Cadoux and Mansfield College, and consider what each gave to the other.

When Cadoux came up in 1911 he was 28. It was quite common, then as now, for theological students to have spent time in other employment before committing themselves to training for the ministry; but Cadoux was the oldest of his contemporaries at Mansfield, all the others having just graduated in subjects other than Theology at either Oxford or Cambridge. He had spent almost ten years working as a clerk in the Admiralty, until finally the impulse to enter the ministry could no longer be resisted.

What had brought him to this decision? In the first place, Congregationalism and the Congregational ministry were part of his family background. The

1. For an account of the college and its history see K.W. Wadsworth, *Yorkshire United Independent College* 1954.

family were originally Huguenot refugees from France; unlike most such Huguenots, the Cadoux family seem to have settled in a Congregational church. Cadoux's grandfather, John Henry Cadoux,² born in 1816, was minister at Wethersfield Congregational Church in Essex for 32 years; and one of John Henry's sons, Edward Henry Cadoux,³ who was Cadoux's uncle, actually trained for the Congregational ministry at Spring Hill College, forerunner of Mansfield, and served as minister of several Congregational churches. Cadoux's own father, William Henry Cadoux, spent his life in business. It was that business career which took him to Smyrna, working for MacAndrews and Forbes, a firm which arranged the export of Turkish goods to London. Shortly after Cadoux's birth – he was his parents' ninth child – William Henry was taken ill and had to come home. For a year or two he had hopes himself of entering the ministry, but came to realise that as a middle-aged, newly qualified minister, he would never be able to find a church able to offer him a large enough salary to provide for his large family. So he set up in business on his own in London. Of all William Henry's children, it was probably Jack who was most influenced by his father's evangelical faith.

Cadoux was a man with an apparently instinctive veneration for his elders, at the same time always asserting his own independence of mind. Round his study wall in later life were portraits of those who had influenced him; his Mansfield teachers were to figure prominently in that collection. But first was his father. And combining that veneration for his father, a man of simple evangelical faith untroubled by critical scholarship, with the searchings of his own mind as a scholar in a later generation was not easy. In a series of articles in *The Christian World* in the 1940s, only a few years before he died, Cadoux referred to the way in which "Christian liberalism" had saved him from revolt against "the old evangelicalism".

Two further personal influences must be mentioned: Cadoux's brother Arthur,⁴ nine years his senior, and G.E. Darlaston,⁵ minister of the Church in the Grove, Sydenham. Arthur had gone to South Africa for health reasons as a young man, and after a short spell in business, had trained for the ministry there and been ordained. He returned home in 1908, and after two ministries in England, exercised a long ministry at Broomhill Congregational Church in Glasgow. Though he and Jack did not see eye to eye in everything, they were both liberal theologians of considerable intellect, and their lifelong friendship and correspondence meant much to them both. Though Arthur's output was not as large as Jack's, and though long, profuse footnotes were not his style as they were Jack's, Arthur's writing was original and critical, and often broke new ground.

G.E. Darlaston was seven years older than Cadoux. He was a Mansfield

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2. John Henry Cadoux 1806–1882. See *Congregational Yearbook* 1883 pp. 268–269.
 3. Edward Henry Cadoux 1853–1921. See *CYB* 1922 pp. 100–101.
 4. Arthur Temple Cadoux 1874–1948. See *CYB* 1949 pp. 515–516, and the Biographical Note by Idris W. Phillips in A.T. Cadoux, *Songs of Self and God* 1951.
 5. George Ernest Darlaston 1876–1931. See *CYB* 1932 p. 219.

man who had come to Sydenham, fresh from a year in Berlin listening to Harnack and others, in 1903. Cadoux was living nearby and was attracted to the young minister's church. He was like another older brother to Cadoux, offering stimulating intellectual conversation and wise personal guidance. It was he who steered Cadoux in the direction of Mansfield when he made the decision to offer himself for the ministry.

And so in October 1911 Cadoux found himself in Oxford, a member of Mansfield College.⁶ He already had considerable intellectual equipment. He had had a good traditional grammar school education at St. Dunstan's, Catford until it was cut short by the death of his father when he was seventeen. Though he was then compelled to earn his living as a civil servant, he never stopped studying in his spare time. He worked for and gained the external BA degree of London University, and followed this with a thesis on the history of Smyrna for the MA degree, which he gained the summer before arriving at Mansfield. All this had been achieved not only to the accompaniment of his full-time job at the Admiralty, but also in addition to his very active work as a Sunday School teacher and Boys Brigade officer. His own theological reading and study had made him a convinced liberal in theory, and a convinced pacifist in practice; he never wavered from either position.

At Mansfield, Fairbairn's⁷ great reign as principal had just come to an end, and the new principal, W.B. Selbie,⁸ was one of his pupils and greatest admirers. Selbie was an outstanding preacher and teacher, and drew large congregations to the Sunday morning chapel services in term from the undergraduate population, not all of them from a Congregational or even Nonconformist background. One of his favourite admonitions in sermon class was, "That wouldn't save the soul of a tomtit". He was a great influence on Cadoux as a teacher, and a life-long adviser and friend.

The three professors were James Moffatt⁹ in New Testament studies, George Buchanan Gray¹⁰ in Old Testament studies and Vernon Bartlet¹¹ in Church History. Selbie taught systematic theology himself. Though Cadoux retained a lifelong interest in New Testament studies, and produced a major work in that field - *The Historic Mission of Jesus* (1942) - there is no evidence of any particular influence of Moffatt on Cadoux. Buchanan Gray was a brilliant Old Testament scholar; he introduced Cadoux to Hebrew studies and exacted rigorous standards from him as from all his students. He and his wife were also

6. For the history of the college see W.T. Pennar Davies, *History of Mansfield College 1886-1947* 1947.

7. See W.B. Selbie, *The Life of Andrew Martin Fairbairn* 1914, and *CYB* 1913 pp. 165-166.

8. William Boothby Selbie 1862-1944. See *CYB* 1945 p. 441 and Norman Goodall, "William Boothby Selbie" in *Congregational Quarterly* 1944 pp. 301-304.

9. James Moffatt 1870-1944. See *Who Was Who 1941-1950*.

10. George Buchanan Gray 1865-1922. See *CYB* 1923 p. 107.

11. James Vernon Bartlet 1863-1940. See *CYB* 1941 pp. 392-393, *CQ* Oct. 1940 pp. 366-368, *CQ* Jan. 1941 pp. 26-30, and the biographical memoir by C.J. Cadoux in J.V. Bartlet, *Church Life and Church Order* 1943.

understanding friends to him. But the one who exercised the greatest influence on him was Vernon Bartlet, a legendary figure whom his students called "the last of the Early Fathers". Bartlet was not a good lecturer, and many of his students used his lectures as an occasion for catching up with correspondence of a personal nature. If a long and involved sentence would do instead of a shorter, simpler one, he would prefer the longer one. One of his students memorised a particular example after having tea with him in the Tower rooms: "The point of his remark," wrote the student years later (it was Wheeler Robinson, writing in the *Mansfield College Magazine* in January 1941) "was that religion is common to all sorts and conditions of men. The actual words were 'What I may call the *polupoikilos sophia* of God is nowhere more remarkable than in the unsophisticated and undifferentiated simplicity of religious life' ". But he was a fine tutor, and generations of Mansfield men looked upon him as their father in God. It was always to Bartlet that Cadoux turned first when he had a problem. Much more even than Cadoux, Bartlet had had to struggle his way through from a narrow, evangelical upbringing to a faith which need not flinch from critical scholarship. Years later, after Bartlet's death, Cadoux edited some lectures which Bartlet had given in Cambridge under the title *Church Life and Church Order* (1943), and prefaced them with a substantial biographical memoir. He put it like this:

It was as a pupil of Dr. Fairbairn that he gradually and happily emerged, through what must have been painful as well as long drawn out struggles, and (it must be added) to the lasting regret of both his parents, from the grim obscurantism in which he had been trained, into a serene and open-eyed faith. Firmly grounded in a devout and filial trust in God as Father through the revelation of Him given to us in Jesus Christ, his religion no longer stood in need of evading or defying the clamorous demands of history and of reason. (p xvii)

History and reason. Cadoux would claim to have learnt about the historic method from Bartlet. Bartlet claimed to have learnt it from the Oxford Anglican scholars William Sanday¹² and Edwin Hatch.¹³ In the same biographical memoir, Cadoux defined that historic method thus:

In essence it means the effort to discover first what the extant records have to tell us of the thoughts of those who first penned them, without regard to any preferences we investigators may have touching what they ought to have meant, and before attempting to assess their religious meaning and value for later generations. (p xl)

12. William Sanday 1843-1920, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, University of Oxford 1895-1919. See *DNB: The Twentieth Century 1912-1921*, and Stephen Neill, *The Interpretation of the New Testament 1861-1961* 1964.

13. Edwin Hatch 1835-1889, Reader in Ecclesiastical History, University of Oxford 1884-1889. See *DNB*.

That was a good description of Cadoux's own approach to history and biblical study. His critics felt that it was more difficult than he realised to avoid the influence of a scholar's own preferences, and to separate history from theology. But Cadoux's emphasis on the importance of history for the Christian scholar has been an important witness in succeeding generations.

Cadoux's fellow students included Nathaniel Micklem¹⁴ and A.J. Haile, who died in 1984. Two years junior to him were Claud Coltman and his future wife Constance Todd, the first woman to be ordained as a minister of the Congregational Union. The college was then non-resident – to avoid what was thought of as the seminary atmosphere – and Cadoux had “digs” in Southmoor Road, about a mile away. He played hard and worked even harder. For recreation he rowed, walked and cycled. Academic honours came to him easily. In 1913 he took a first in the London BD; in 1914 a first in Theology Schools in Oxford. He won several prizes, and earned a reputation as a phenomenally energetic and organised scholar. At the college smoker – the annual Christmas concert – in 1913 a song was sung with a verse extolling the characteristics of each student in turn. Cadoux's was as follows:

Next beams the cheery punster, old Cadoux,
Winner of pots and prizes not a few;
Encyclopaedias he devours with ease
And plans a schedule while you pass the cheese.

Those schedules were legendary; carefully compiled theological reading lists, a play by Shakespeare every month, a passage from the Greek New Testament and from the Hebrew Old Testament each day, a hymn for each day – everything was carefully planned, and by and large the plans were fulfilled.

It was fortunate for Cadoux that in 1914 the college needed a Hebrew tutor, for though he always regarded preaching and pastoral guidance as part of his vocation, he was clearly cut out for an academic career, and could, I think, never have been happy without academic teaching and writing. He was told that he would be appointed to the Hebrew tutorship provided he gained a first in Schools. When the results came out, and his first was confirmed, he was appointed to the tutorship for five years from October 1914. Having completed the course at Mansfield, he seems to have been accepted as an accredited minister of the Congregational Union though he was never actually ordained, since he never took a permanent pastoral charge.

His work as tutor was effectively part-time, particularly as more and more students disappeared to fight in France. He filled the rest of his time with work for the London degree of DD – the Oxford version being closed to Nonconformists until Selbie was awarded it in 1920. At first his subject was “The chronology of Hebrew prophetic writings”, but this was soon abandoned for “A history of the Christian attitude to pagan society and state, down to the time of Constantine”. He worked on this for three years, and eventually became “Dr.” Cadoux. This work was a substantial academic achievement. Part of it was

14. See Nathaniel Micklem, *The Box and the Puppets* 1957.

published in 1919 as Cadoux's first book, *The Early Christian Attitude to War*; the whole in 1925 as *The Early Church and the World*. These two works still figure on book lists and in bibliographies, and they establish Cadoux's reputation as a scholar.

That academic work on the early church and its attitude to social problems went in harness with Cadoux's own commitment as a Christian pacifist. In this he stood apart from most of his Mansfield colleagues and students. Selbie was certainly no pacifist, and though he respected Cadoux's personal integrity, thought he was wrong on this issue. Neither did he want Mansfield to be thought to support such ideas. There was an occasion when Selbie was travelling north from Oxford and happened to read in *The Oxford Chronicle* (26 March 1916) that "a Mr. C. John Cadoux, of Mansfield College, Oxford" had appeared at a tribunal in support of four conscientious objectors. Selbie immediately put pen to paper on Rugby station and wrote to Cadoux, "I suppose nothing that I can say will persuade you of the extreme unwisdom of such action but I must beg you to keep the name of the college out of it. Give your private address and do not compromise us".¹⁵ The only member of the Senior Common Room who really had sympathy with Cadoux's position, though not in any active way was C.H. Dodd,¹⁶ who succeeded Moffatt in 1915. Otherwise, there were one or two students who took Cadoux's line; most of the rest eventually went off to fight in the war.

Cadoux was one of those who attended the meeting in Cambridge in December 1914 which led to the formation of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. He took an active part in its affairs, as committee member, and above all as intellectual apologist for its standpoint, until his poor health forced him to curtail his activities. He contributed to the FOR journal, *The Venturer*, and to the volume edited by Hugh Martin entitled *The Ministry of Reconciliation* (1916). And he became a lifelong friend of W.E. Orchard¹⁷ and of Leyton Richards,¹⁸ both outstanding pacifist leaders. He supported many young men, amongst them some of his old Sunday School pupils, at military tribunals.

In addition, he served for a short period in France in the Friends Ambulance Unit, from April until July 1915, when he experienced the second battle of Ypres. Curiously perhaps he never drew on that experience in all his writing against the war. It was characteristic of him to argue his case rationally and methodically, painstakingly building up his argument.

Early in the war, Cadoux had married Marguerite Asplin, sister of his brother Arthur's wife. By the time the war came to an end he had a family of two sons to support. He knew that his term as tutor was coming to an end, and that it

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15. Cadoux Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford. These provide the main sources for the life of C.J. Cadoux.
 16. Charles Harold Dodd 1884-1973. See F.W. Dillistone, *C.H. Dodd: Interpreter of the New Testament* 1977.
 17. William Edwin Orchard 1877-1955. See W.E. Orchard, *From Faith to Faith* 1933.
 18. Leyton Richards 1879-1948. See E.R. Richards, *Private View of a Public Man* 1950, and *CYB* 1949 p. 503.

was necessary for him to find another job. He had from time to time thought of looking for a church, but it was not easy for an outspoken pacifist to find a Congregational church willing to accept him. His inclination in any case was to continue in academic life. And so, when he heard that the Yorkshire United Independent College in Bradford was seeking a professor of New Testament studies, he decided to apply. Despite a certain antipathy to pacifist views amongst the College Governors, he was appointed, and moved to Bradford in September 1919.

This represented an apparent switch of interest. In Oxford he had taught Hebrew and researched in early church history. But he had kept up his interest in New Testament studies not only by reading but also by attending William Sanday's regular seminars on the Gospels, and Sanday was one of his referees for the Bradford post. He looked forward to teaching in this field.

Cadoux had fourteen mainly happy years in Bradford. Two daughters were born, and his family life provided a lively counterpoint to his academic life. He had congenial colleagues at the College, he was on excellent terms with his principal, Ebenezer Griffith-Jones,¹⁹ in spite of some disagreements, he was much in demand for preaching all over Yorkshire, and he enjoyed his teaching. But all the time he hankered to return to Oxford. Though Bradford had a flourishing theological circle, Leeds University within a few miles, and an Athenaeum Society with stimulating discussion between congenial minds, Bradford was not Oxford. Cadoux returned to Mansfield at every conceivable opportunity, and never missed the Old Men's Meetings. By the time he had been in Bradford for ten years, he felt that he ought to be a serious contender for any appropriate vacant post at Mansfield, and he had more than one disappointment. In the end it was in 1933 that he returned to Oxford, as Mackennal Professor of Church History and Vice-Principal at Mansfield.

He was now aged 50. When one remembers that he did not begin his life as a theological scholar until he was 31, it was remarkable what he had achieved. There was a string of articles in scholarly journals – several each year – and two very substantial books as well as several shorter ones. The substantial books were *The Early Church and the World*, to which we have already referred, and *Catholicism and Christianity*, which came out in 1928. Both works revealed enormous learning and meticulous research. *Catholicism and Christianity* was in effect an apologia for Liberal Protestantism and for Congregationalism – over 700 pages of it. It examined Roman Catholic claims from three different standpoints, philosophical, historical and moral, and found them wanting. The core of the book was the chapter on “The ultimacy of the inner light”. While he was writing it, he referred to it as “the nutcracker chapter”; once the question of authority was settled, everything else followed. He was recognised as having been scrupulously fair in his argument, and accurate, if selective, in his evidence. The book ended with a passionate defence of Congregationalism as “the one truly Catholic basis for the constitution of the Church”.

19. Ebenezer Griffith-Jones 1860–1942. Principal, Yorkshire United Independent College 1907–1932. See *CYB* 1943 p. 428.

Thus Cadoux was recognised as a staunch upholder of traditional Congregational principles, and a formidable intellectual defender of them. Not that he was uninterested in reunion; he had attended the conference convened by A.C. Headlam at Christ Church in 1920²⁰ to help to prepare the way for the Lambeth Conference of that year, and read a paper on "The crux of the problem of Christian reunion". He wanted to see intercommunion between Anglicans and Nonconformists, and he had many Anglican friends. But he opposed all ecclesiastical exclusiveness – the Church, he said, consisted of all those who professed faith in Christ – and he opposed all credal tests. He was thus seen by those of staunch liberal views and theology – amongst them some members of Mansfield Council – as one of their most able protagonists.

Mansfield had moved into a new era in 1933. Selbie had retired in 1932 and Nathaniel Micklem had taken his place as principal. Micklem had moved a long way from his theological position in the pre-war era when he and Cadoux had been fellow students, as his book *What is the Faith?* (1936) was to reveal. Their differences were highlighted by the "Blackheath controversy", which was sparked off by a letter in *The Christian World* (9 February 1933) the day before Cadoux's appointment to the Mackennal Chair. The letter publicised a re-statement of faith, drawn up as a result of several discussions amongst a group of modernist Congregational ministers, convened by the minister of Blackheath Congregational Church. Micklem's response was immediate; his letter referring to the statement as "the conclusion of rational discussion unassisted by revelation" appeared in the following week's edition of *The Christian World*. Cadoux took no direct part in that particular controversy, and he was not considered a "Blackheathen", but he did not like Micklem's viewpoint, and in the succeeding years in his own articles in *The Christian World* he defended a very different position, and claimed that it was dangerous to interfere with what he called "the freedom of Christian speculation". In turn Micklem felt that these articles were a veiled attack on his own position, and indeed on what he understood as Christian orthodoxy. Cadoux in his turn felt that he was not being trusted theologically. And so there was a tension between principal and vice-principal which affected both men, and to some extent the whole college.

A further cause of friction was that Cadoux's responsibilities as vice-principal had not been defined, and he felt he had been given a title with no real function.

Cadoux's remaining colleagues were now T.W. Manson,²¹ New Testament professor, later to be succeeded by A.M. Hunter, H. Wheeler Robinson,²² the

20. For an account of this conference see R.C. Jasper, *A.C. Headlam* 1960.

21. Thomas Walter Manson 1893–1958. See *Who Was Who 1950–1959*, and H.H. Rowley, "Memoir of T.W. Manson" in ed. M. Black, *Studies in the Gospels and Epistles* 1962.

22. Henry Wheeler Robinson 1872–1945. See E.A. Payne, *Henry Wheeler Robinson: Scholar, Teacher, Principal* 1946.

Baptist Old Testament scholar, W.H. Cadman,²³ New Testament tutor, and Romilly Micklem,²⁴ chaplain. Of these, the most congenial to Cadoux in outlook and personality was Wheeler Robinson, and the two enjoyed a warm friendship.

Cadoux lost no time in renewing his contacts with the Oxford theological scene. He revived his membership of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology, and was treasurer for many years; he joined the Nicene Society, the Origen Society, the Reunion Society, and attended the regular New Testament seminars, now led by B.H. Streeter. He read papers regularly at these societies, and loved the discussions, to which he contributed enthusiastically.

His teaching and lecturing was in Church History. Apart from the early period, he did not have a specialist knowledge of this field. Characteristically he prepared all his lectures thoroughly, but he does not appear to have been particularly excited by the Reformation period, which figured prominently in the syllabus. And his own writing and research were in other fields.

In the period before the war, he was at work on three major projects - a history of Smyrna, a defence of liberal theology which found expression in some lectures at Bangor University in 1937, published as *The Case for Evangelical Modernism* (1938), and a study of the Gospels, eventually published as *The Historic Mission of Jesus* (1942) and in a popular version as a Pelican book, *The Life of Jesus*, which came out posthumously in 1948.

Ancient Smyrna, which came out in 1938, was a labour of love. It was based in the first place on his original London MA thesis, but further on material he had been collecting on and off throughout his time at Bradford, and above all on his visit to Smyrna in 1930 with Francis Boyd²⁵ - one of the highlights of his life. Smyrna, the home of the martyr bishop Polycarp, one of the seven churches of Revelation, and his own birthplace, excited his imagination as nowhere else outside England. His exhaustive history of the city up to 324 A.D., the first of two projected volumes - the second was never completed - helped to earn him the Oxford degree of D.Litt., of which he was justifiably proud.

The Case for Evangelical Modernism was a vigorous defence of liberal modernism. Cadoux defined that modernism as "that attitude to Christian doctrine which, taking due account of the occasional conflict between truth and tradition, rejects the customary identification of tradition and orthodoxy, and sees the real test of orthodoxy (i.e. right belief) in truth" (p 10). He tried to distinguish between history and theology, between the Gospel records and the doctrine which had developed from them; he believed that the quest for the historical Jesus could still yield "the truth", and that that, illuminated by "the inner light", would be the ultimate authority.

Cadoux enjoyed controversy. His references in the book to "the joy of battle" and "the friendly clash of conflicting views" illustrated that. It was a way

23. William Healey Cadman 1891-1962. See *CYB* 1966-7 p. 446.

24. Edward Romilly Micklem 1892-1960, younger brother of Nathaniel Micklem. See *CYB* 1960 pp. 444-445.

25. now Sir Francis Boyd. One-time political editor, *The Guardian*.

in which a pacifist could legitimately be aggressive. The book was really intended as a refutation of the views of both Brunner and Barth, whose books were now enjoying great favour in the Mansfield Junior Common Room. It provided perfect material for the forthcoming Mansfield pantomime. As the president of the JCR wrote in the *Mansfield College Magazine*, "Providence has been very good to us this term in supplying us with sources and materials". Thus an adaptation of Cinderella was presented at Christmas 1938, with the three sisters Liberella, "Quiney whose home is in the Vatican" (a reference to Principal Micklem's lectures on Aquinas which did not find favour with all members of the Mansfield Council), and "Barthy the revelation fan"; the "three blind alleys" of the second chapter of Cadoux's work made a good title for one of the songs.²⁶

The Historic Mission of Jesus was Cadoux's major work in New Testament studies, a very detailed consideration of the mission of Jesus; an attempt to distinguish it from its subsequent interpretation. It would take too long to attempt any analysis of it here. But we note two of the things which T.W. Manson wrote about it in the *Mansfield College Magazine* (July 1942): "Even those who will regard it as the last kick of expiring liberalism will have to allow that for a last kick it has uncommon force and shrewdness", and "It is a liberal education in theological liberalism to read it".

What was in effect a popular version was published just after Cadoux died - the *Pelican Life of Jesus*. What a pity that, having had to raise a subsidy for most of his books, he did not live to see his only best-seller published - it sold almost 100,000 copies, and must have reached a far wider audience than any of his previous books.

Theologically, Cadoux felt increasingly isolated within Mansfield. He felt that he alone was the faithful guardian of the tradition he had inherited from Selbie and Bartlet. Some of the newer currents of thought finding favour in Mansfield he regarded as "definitely reactionary and erroneous". They seemed to represent the very bondage from which he and others had to struggle so hard to be free.

The outbreak of war in 1939 brought a fresh challenge to all pacifist thinkers, Cadoux included. It also affected the members of Mansfield in a practical way. The government took over almost all the college buildings, and teaching was transferred to the newly built Regent's Park College in Pusey Street. The life of the college however continued without the kind of depletion suffered in the First World War. Domestically, the war affected Cadoux in that both his sons went off with the Friends Ambulance Unit; Harold, the younger, was a prisoner-of-war for several years. The family filled their house with lodgers, and Cadoux himself acted as an air-raid warden. Otherwise his work, teaching, writing, preaching, went on with disciplined regularity.

His reaction to the war was, within three days of its declaration, to sit down at his desk and see if he could still justify his pacifist convictions in this new

26. The script of the pantomime is with the Cadoux Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

situation. He said he had to face the question "whether, if this re-examination were to show me that I had been mistaken, I should have the courage to abandon a position which I have for so many years strenuously defended". His reconstruction of the issue left intact his deep commitment to pacifism, but now there was a more sympathetic understanding of other points of view. Cadoux was essentially a consistent thinker who did not change his mind on any of his basic convictions. His pacifism and his theology were all of a piece; Christ set an example of non-violence which his disciples were to follow.

The book came out as *Christian Pacifism Re-examined* in September 1940. It was a careful, reasoned argument. While it was unlikely to have converted any opponent, it did provide a clear justification for Christian pacifism for many a young person preparing to plead conscientious objection to military service. Cadoux personally helped several young friends to face military tribunals.

By the time the war ended, Cadoux was in very poor health, but still always ready for an argument. His last foray into controversy was amid the discussion about possible union, or reunion, between Congregationalists and Presbyterians. Cadoux had always opposed movements towards organic unity between different denominations. What he favoured was mutual recognition of ministers, interchange of pulpits, inter-communion, in recognition that the Christian Church consisted of "the whole company of the professed disciples of Christ". He feared for the sovereign independence of each local church in any union with the Presbyterians, and was not enamoured of synodical church government. His pamphlet, *The Congregational Way*, published early in 1946, set forth this argument in some detail, offering what some felt was a somewhat idealised picture of Congregationalism in practice. Congregationalism, he claimed, was "a truer representative of the Catholicity of the One Church than any other denomination can possibly be" (p 21). Cadoux was recognised as one of the leading opponents of the proposed union, and as such was nominated for the Chair of the Congregational Union of England and Wales; but his health was too poor to stand up to all the travelling involved, and he had to decline the nomination.

By the summer of 1947 he was losing his struggle with ill health. He did little teaching in Trinity Term, and by July was confined permanently to his home. He was not well enough to attend the baptism of his first grandson, Michael, whose birth had given him such pleasure and excitement a few months earlier. On 16 August he died at home. The funeral service was held in Mansfield Chapel three days later; Alec Whitehouse²⁷ conducted the service and Will Moore²⁸ gave the address.

Cadoux was a great individualist in character, and as a thinker he laid great stress on the individual conscience and on individual responsibility. He was a born Independent, with the virtues and defects of that allegiance. He was a

27. Walter Alexander Whitehouse 1915- . Chaplain of Mansfield College, 1944-1947, late Professor of Theology, University of Kent 1965-1977.

28. Will Grayburn Moore 1905-1978. Fellow and Tutor in Modern Languages, St. John's College, Oxford. Member and one-time chairman of Mansfield College Council.

lifelong Congregationalist, but had many friends in other churches. One of the most touching messages which arrived just after Cadoux's death was from W.E. Orchard, now a Catholic priest - "Want you to know saying Mass for Doctor Cadoux tomorrow".

He was a scholar of prodigious industry, a writer who appealed to the reason of his readers more strongly than to their imagination, whose books may have appealed to a limited circle of readers, but a circle which has continued.

He was a demanding teacher, but one who was prepared to take endless trouble to help any student in need. To many he became a lifelong friend, and kept up a continuing correspondence with several. He and his wife held regular twice-weekly tea parties for Mansfield students and others at their home in the Woodstock Road, and here he was at his most relaxed, sharing stories and fun. He liked an argument, but never in an uncharitable spirit.

It was at Bradford that the C.J. Cadoux Memorial Lecture was endowed and delivered annually by a succession of distinguished theologians for nearly 25 years. But Mansfield set Cadoux on the path of critical scholarship, provided him with teachers who were lifelong friends, and gave him a status within the Oxford theological life which he loved so much. It also formed him for his vocation, fittingly summed up in the inscription in the chapel - *Pro regno Christi molitor* - "A labourer in Christ's kingdom".

ELAINE KAYE

AN EDWARDIAN LETTER FROM AUSTRALIA, AND ITS BEARING

In the first decade of this century a Congregational minister in Queensland, Australia, corresponded with a Congregational church member in Newcastle Upon Tyne. They had known each other for upwards of thirty years, so their correspondence was pleasantly unrestrained. Three of the minister's letters survive. Two of them are of interest because they tend to confirm the accepted picture of an alert Edwardian minister of the more radical sort. "We tried to get Moody and Sankey into St. James's Church but unsuccessfully," he recalled in December 1903. "I fancy it was too inconvenient for their purpose."¹ Four years later, in July 1907, he turned from reminiscence to current affairs. "England is a terribly Conservative country, and the pull back of its Conservatism is felt even by the strongest Liberal government that has ever been in power, viz., the present one - That is how I explain the fact which has troubled so many minds, - why so little has been accomplished with the overwhelming majority that

1. Revd. A.J. Griffith to T. Boag, Brisbane, 12 December 1903 in *Scrap Book [Relating to St. James's Congregational Church, Newcastle upon Tyne, compiled by G.W. Boag and Harold Boag, September 1952, now in possession of St. James's United Reformed Church.]* p. 29.

follows C-B."² And he went on to consider two questions of the hour, women and Ireland. As to the first, he abhorred "...the miserable prejudice which withholds the franchise from women". As to the second: "I am a strong Home ruler... Many Australians are not Home Rulers, and I am everlastingly pointing out to them the selfishness of their position, - they have it themselves and make splendid use of it, but deny it to Ireland, whose people are brighter and more brilliant than Australians are or will be yet for a century". So, at the last, to family matters: his son was following in his footsteps as a minister, but out in Tientsin, helped immeasurably "by that sweet, capable wife of his".³

So far, so interesting: the suffrage, women, evangelism, the mission field, England, Ireland, Australia, China, and in each the forward look. But it is the third letter, written in October 1905, which gives this correspondence its special value:

You refer more than once in your letter to Bernard Snell. He is a man I thoroughly believe in, and have done ever since he used to come to my home in his first days at St. Paul's. We have been fast friends ever since. You express surprise at his settling such a matter as a liturgical service in his Church, apparently autocratically. You mention the same phenomenon in connection with John Hunter and R.J. Campbell. The explanation is very simple. I do not think the 'Church Meeting()' is anything more than a perfunctory institution, or matter of form in the Church presided over by any one of those 3 men. The City Temple is a 'private Church', more than a 'congregational Church' - So is Brixton. And as for John Hunter's! preserve us - who could imagine John Hunter accepting (e.g.) your version of the minister's position as bearing upon himself? You are 'averse from regarding the minister of a Congregational Church as more than a brother member charged with certain particular duties'! ...Even while you wrote his highhanded overriding of the Church meeting led to trouble at the Weigh House and to his resignation. And things at Trinity Church, Glasgow, at the present time are working to a crisis. With Mr. Campbell, the City Temple never (since Dr. Parker took it) was managed Congregationally but 'privately'. I hate such ways: and if I was a member of such a Church I should fight against them tooth and nail. I believe in the Congregational Church Meeting with its freedom of speech, and equality of status before Christ. It was the germ cell of American democracy, of manhood suffrage, and even of *adult* suffrage. I believe, too, that it is the truest way of getting the 'mind of the spirit' rather than the mind of the individual.

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2. Griffith to Boag, 20 July 1907, *Scrap Book*, p. 77b. "C-B" is the Prime Minister Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman.
 3. James S. Griffith (Mansfield 1901) became Principal of the Independent College of Victoria and died at Melbourne in May 1939. *Congregational Quarterly* Vol. XVIII, No. 1, January 1940 p. 28.

The rest of the letter has an Australian slant, but this too is instructive and merits extensive quotation. The writer had been elected to the chair of the Queensland Congregational Union, and he had chosen "Socialism" as the subject of his presidential address. He commended it to his friend in England as "a little indication of the really intense and burning questions which are the pressing problems with us".

We are very much more free to develop [sic] along new lines. And the attempt is being made. The Labour party are more than an active force here. They are in the ascendant in Queensland and (considerably so) in the Commonwealth (Federal) Parliament. They have adopted 'Socialism' as their aim; they have in view the nationalization, not only of the land, but of all material resources, gold, sugar, wool, etc., and also of all industries (manufactures, etc.). But their viewpoint is far too narrow. The majority of the Labour party work avowedly in the interest of one class instead of in the interest of the whole community. That one class is of course their own. It is a system of selfishness just as much as Capitalism has been, to so great a degree, a system of selfishness. Now I believe in Socialism. I find that Christ did not encourage individualism (except as far as the individual could make himself the servant of the many), but He did constantly teach a vast comprehensive cosmopolitan Socialism, which was to be the end for which His servants lived and worked. He called it the 'Kingdom of God'. My contention with these men here is that they are too narrow; they are often all individualists (making the unit of individualism a class instead of a single person), and not socialists.

There were other reasons for fearing that Australian socialism was too limiting a creed. One was that the Australians drew "a sharp colour line, with their cry for a white Australia. And disbar from the ordinary privileges of humanity all the human race, except the white sort. This again is narrow, selfish, and utterly contrary to that human brotherhood up to which true Socialism works".⁴ A second reason, not mentioned in the letter, will be considered later.

Clearly this is a letter to linger over. The writer, A.J. Griffith, had ministered in Australia since 1887, first in Sydney, then in Brisbane, though not always in pastoral charge.⁵ Before that there had been fifteen years of English pastorates, at Newcastle upon Tyne, Wellingborough and Sandown, Isle of Wight. Before that there had been college, Spring Hill, Birmingham, where John Hunter, to whom he referred in his letter, had been a year his senior. And before that there had been school, Silcoates, near Wakefield, for Griffith was a son of the

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4. Griffith to Boag, Brighton Road, South Brisbane, 30 October 1905, *Scrap Book*, p. 77a.
 5. for Alfred John Griffith (1846-1920) see *Congregational Year Book* 1921, pp. 108-9.

Congregational manse, as well as a nephew and a brother of it; and he became a father of the manse as well as a son-in-law of the office-bearing diaconate. Congregationalism could hold few illusions for such a man. Griffith's correspondent was Thomas Boag, a member of his first church, St. James's Newcastle. The Boags were one of St. James's traditional families, not a generation passing without its Boag. In this way Griffith's letters found their place in the church archives, collected into a scrap book compiled by two Boags in 1952.

This establishes the letters' credentials, for here is evidence of a sort all too seldom found in a chapel archive: the reflections of two friends of longstanding, one a minister, the other a layman, well-tried and long-tested in the comfortable mainstream of their denomination. Here, outside the range of carefully angled chairmen's addresses, or *in memoriam* volumes of Lives and Letters, or editorials in the religious press, is evidence from pulpit *and* pew of how attitudes develop. It was not written for publication, and it has not hitherto been published.

St. James's Newcastle was Griffith's first pastorate. It was at once a plum (its stipend was carefully set to start at £300) and a test for any young man straight from college.⁶ Griffith survived the test and enjoyed enough of the plum, and he did so without unduly compromising youth's fresh ardour. Spring Hill had an adventurous and intellectual reputation and once in Newcastle Griffith drew on it. He secured John Hunter as his anniversary preacher in 1874, and Baldwin Brown of Brixton as the preacher for 1878.⁷ Baldwin Brown was in one sense an impeccable choice, because he was chairman of the union in 1878; but his Newcastle engagement was immediately after the famous Leicester autumnals, when the denomination was seized with its most serious theological controversy for twenty years, and when its most representative figure (for that is what the chairman of the union was) spoke out for the "heretical" minority.

Griffith's ministry was up to date in other ways. There were no pew rents in his time at St. James's. Each member of the congregation whether seatholder or not, was urged to assess himself, placing that self-assessment, via numbered envelopes, in the weekly offertory boxes fixed by the chapel doors. There was a certain dignity to the services. They included a chant and the congregation was asked to join "audibly in the repetition of the Lord's Prayer, and in the *Amen* which concludes each Prayer". Visitors were warned that Sunday services lasted an hour and a half ("Do not grow impatient before the full time allotted to the Worship of God expires"), but they were also alerted to the fact that morning worship once a quarter was especially directed to the children, with the sermon "addressed to them".

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6. see C. Binfield, "The Building of a Town Centre Church: St. James's Congregational Church, Newcastle Upon Tyne", *Northern History*, Vol. XVIII, 1982, pp. 155-181, esp. pp. 164-6. The following section draws from this account as well as from *Church Minute Book* 1874-1894; *Deacons' Minute Book* 1878-1886; *Church Manual* 1875.
 7. for John Hunter (1849-1917) see *C.Y.B.* 1918, pp. 135-7, and L.S. Hunter *John Hunter D.D., A Life*, 1921. for J. Baldwin Brown (1820-1884) see C. Binfield, *So Down to Prayers*, 1977, pp. 189-199.

Griffith's concern to exclude neither the poor nor the young was naturally reflected in his concern that there should be no hurtful exclusion at communion: "The Sacramental Service is an Open Service. Neither Deacons, nor Minister, nor private Members 'fence' the Table of the Lord. All who love Christ are welcomed freely and without question".

Such freedom had its secular, even its intellectual dimension, for in the 1870s St. James's had a Mutual Improvement Society which addressed itself to dancing, cremation, Home Rule, Disraeli, Livingstone, phrenology, the colonies, the Good Templars, Lord Byron, "Are the dark races destined to extinction?", "Is Present Taxation based upon Correct Principles?" and "Is a Conservative or a Radical policy the better for the community?"

Griffith's pastorate was not without its tensions. The growing number of young members led to the abortive proposal that no young member, male or female, should "vote on any subject whatever that may be put before its meetings except in the election of a minister as specially mentioned in the Trust Deed". There was trouble with one of the Boags, over the impact of Good Templarism and there was unease over the repetition of the Lord's Prayer, such that it was "suggested that it might be valuable to us all if a paper were prepared and read at one of our meetings on the subject of ritual". That suggestion seems to have led (via a Sunday sermon on the matter) to a "ritual committee" which, as is the way with compromise committees, found it hard to fix upon a meeting. There was also the problem of the minister's health. Newcastle winters depressed him physically and mentally. In the spring of 1878 he took an enforced holiday of ten weeks, and in the autumn of 1880 he submitted his resignation. In his letter to the church he referred to his "doubts and mental difficulties", to the stresses of such a pastorate on a man fresh from college, to his subsequent marriage and to new family responsibilities, and then added: "In my sickness, you were my truest physician, and to your thoughtfulness and generosity, I owe what I shall always regard as the turning-point in my physical existence". And a month later, at a Promenade Tea, the church presented their minister with a hundred gold sovereigns and two pictures, one of the chapel, the other of the city. There was a sewing machine for his wife.

By most standards Griffith's was a successful ministry. Perhaps it was a seminal ministry, because under Griffith's successor the Italianate chapel was deserted for a gothic cathedral, spired and stained glassed, and henceforward St. James's Newcastle was considered to be one of English Congregationalism's key provincial churches, a barometer for its denomination and a power in its city, its ministers coming men with their best already in their grasp. If the new building of 1884 dictated this, for there is always a do or die element in gothic grandeur, A.J. Griffith's ministry of the previous decade freed the way spiritually and intellectually. Which brings us back to his letters two decades on.

Joseph Parker apart, Griffith refers to three men: one a near contemporary in the ministry, whom he had known at college; one a decade younger, whom he came to know in Newcastle; the third a generation younger. Each of these men was of incalculable significance in determining the Congregational "atmosphere"

for the next century: John Hunter in dignifying and catholicising its worship, Bernard Snell in promoting its intellectual liberalism.⁸ R.J. Campbell in sweeping these elements into his "New" (and high politicised) Theology.⁹ Each of these men was before all else a preacher. That was their weakness as well as their strength. It was the preacher that fatally flawed Campbell's New Theology, that diluted Snell's Liberalism, that individualised Hunter's catholicism, just as it was the preacher that made each of them irresistibly credible to a host of men and women alert in the pew or relaxed at home ready for their weekly sampling of the religious press. Snell, at Brixton Independent Church from 1891 (where he succeeded Baldwin Brown), Campbell, at the City Temple from 1903, and Hunter at the King's Weigh House from 1901 to 1904, were magnets for metropolitan peripatetic sermon tasters. But their influence was more firmly built than that, for there was a provincial thrust to each of them. Snell had been eight years in Newcastle and five in Salford before settling to his chief ministry in Brixton, and once there his influence was for forty years diffused powerfully through the growing South London, North Kent and Surrey confederacy of suburban and neo-suburban churches. Campbell's splendid notoriety at the City Temple was preceded by eight years of relative serenity at Union Street Brighton, while John Hunter's three years at the Weigh House turned out to be a hiccup in twenty-three years at Trinity Glasgow, for which Salem York and Wycliffe Hull had provided fifteen years of preparation. Whatever their notoriety or their denominational disenchantment, these were men who had proved *nationwide* their vocation, attractive alike to fellow ministers and to the generation freshly settling into their pews. They were not sports. Snell, indeed, was chairman of the Union in 1917. As preacher, thinker and organizer a man like Griffith was one of them and churches like St. James's were ready to call such men.

There was, however, one crucial difference. Hunter, Snell, Campbell (and indeed Parker), those men who set the temperature for the next generations of Congregationalism, were not *Congregationalists* at all. They were *Independents*. Hunter was increasingly and self-confessedly an independent. Snell was minister of a church which was self-consciously styled the Brixton *Independent* Church, free in thought and thrust; and the City Temple has been ever a bafflement for students of church order. These men reached their congregational eminence by the power of word and personality, not churchmanship. Indeed, where churchmanship was concerned they had more often than not been bruised by the jerky mechanisms of church and deacons meetings, and where they had not been bruised they were impatient of their slow and petty tempo. Independency was their protection against the unpredictability of congregationalism. It conferred upon them a divine irresponsibility.

It was this which Griffith could not stomach. He too had won through his first pastorate by dint of word and personality but he had seen to it that church

8. for Bernard Snell (1856-1934) see *C.Y.B.* 1935 pp. 289-90; also J. Cox, *The English Churches in a Secular Society. Lambeth, 1870-1930*, O.U.P. 1982, pp. 147-151, 244-6.

9. for R.J. Campbell (1867-1956) see *A Spiritual Pilgrimage*, 1916.

meeting and deacons meeting were with him and his letter of farewell to St. James's bears moving testimony to this. He had found the discipline of Congregationalism to be a liberation rather than an impediment, such that when two thousand miles away he surfaced in a world where the talk was all of class conflict and capitalism and socialism, it was his churchmanship which clarified his prejudices. The mutual responsibilities of living in communities were neither new nor worrying to him. They enlarged his horizons rather than restricted them and in Australia they carried him to the crest of a Congregational wave.

In New South Wales Griffith found some sixty Congregational churches, self-critical and advanced. Though their critique was directed more to the parlour or the study than to the kitchen, they enjoyed what one historian has called their "Protestant sensitivity to conscience and to brotherhood".¹⁰ Their social radicalism was poised for socialism. Griffith responded to the hour. He was chairman of the Congregational Union of New South Wales in 1898, telling it that the Church must "make its politics the politics of earth", for as the Kingdom of God summed up the teaching of Christ so his Church was the bearer of the Kingdom in "a vast comprehensive cosmopolitan Socialism... the end for which His servants lived and worked". But it was founded on church meeting.

By then Griffith had left New South Wales for Queensland. There too Labour was a power, beckoning and attractive. And illusory. It is there that we come to the hidden agenda of Griffith's letter to Boag. For Queensland's evangelical Protestants were politically speaking on the wane. Their platform was too easily identified with temperance, sabbatarianism and social purity, traditional causes which failed to meet the opportunity of Labour. In Queensland Labour was ceasing to be socialist. It was well on the way to becoming Roman Catholic. In 1905, the year of Griffith's second letter to Thomas Boag, Queensland's Catholic bishops judged the Labour Party not to be socialist, at least not as condemned by Pope Leo XIII in *Rerum Novarum*.¹¹ It was not so very different in New South Wales, despite the livelier intellectual radicalism of its evangelical Protestants, especially its Congregationalists. There too Labour lost its socialism and gained its Roman Catholics, leaving its Protestants to draw back. Both lost out. For up-to-date Congregationalists radical Australia's promised land was as elusive as liberal England's.

Whether in England or Australia Griffith stands out as a representative Congregational minister of the fearless sort, in the line of Hunter, Snell or Campbell. Bold analysis was his forte. But so was churchmanship. As a man of his time, and particularly as an Australian by adoption, Griffith delighted to see

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10. J.D. Bollen *Protestantism and Social Reform in New South Wales 1890-1910*, Melbourne University Press, 1972, p. 178. I am indebted to Dr. Sheridan Gilley for this reference.
11. R. Lawson, "The Political Influence of the Churches in Brisbane in the 1890s", *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 7, No. 2, December 1972, pp. 144 *et. seq.* esp. p. 160. I am indebted to Dr. Gilley for this reference.

in Congregational polity the germ cell of freedom of speech, of equality of status, of that ultimate in democracy, *American* democracy: but it was church meeting where this was formed and not chapel pulpit. Here he went beyond Hunter, or Snell, or Campbell.

It is tempting to see the twentieth-century English development of Congregationalism as an outworking first of the genius of such men as these, and others as famous, and then of reaction against it. It is perhaps more sensible to look for the A.J. Griffiths, who expressed both action and reaction, at once celebrating radicalism in its heyday and conserving churchmanship in its weakest day. It is in them, with the meeting of preacher *and* churchman, that the true Congregational dynamic is to be found, and the explanation for what has followed after. It is also they who demonstrate beyond peradventure that, wherever and whatever the Kingdom of God, the promised land never comes, politically speaking.

CLYDE BINFIELD

REVIEWS

Freedom or Order? - The Eucharistic Liturgy in English Congregationalism, 1645-1980. By Bryan D. Spinks. Pp. 290. Pickwick Publications, 4137 Timberlane Drive, Allison Park, PA 15101. 1984. \$22.50

Bryan Spinks, an Anglican liturgiologist, provides all who are interested in the development of patterns of worship, particularly those for the Lord's Supper, with a rich source book. No less than fifty-five orders of service are quoted, together with good commentaries. Most of them belong to the last hundred years and it is the description of the growth of interest in liturgy in the modern period which is the book's chief merit. There are excellent chapters on John Hunter's *Devotional Services for Public Worship* and W.E. Orchard's *Divine Service*; one is glad to see on record the significance of people such as Stuart Gibbons and James Todd, and also tribute paid to the many ordinary ministers who have pioneered liturgical reform in their congregations. The immense popularity of the rather liberal *Manual for Ministers* in this century is made very plain, together with the criticisms of P.T. Forsyth and Bernard Manning. The author is not so sure that the liturgical revival under the influence of the Ecumenical Movement, which has given the United Reformed Church an order of service for every member of the congregation to use in *New Church Praise*, has yet won the hearts and minds of ministers and members. In his concluding remarks, he says, "The experience of the present writer is that local tradition is continued, and the recommended pattern of worship is ignored".

The book has a vast bibliography and lists the principal liturgies discussed, but has no general index, so if you want to know what is said about Isaac Watts or George Barrett you must go hunting.

JOHN H. TAYLOR

Evangelicals United: Ecumenical Stirrings in Pre-Victorian Britain, 1795–1830. By Roger H. Martin. Pp. XII, 230. The Scarecrow Press, Inc. Metuchen, New Jersey, and London, 1983. \$17.50

Evangelicals United is a good title. It could be about a football team or a building society, a tribute to muscular Christianity and prudent endeavour. It is also a sad title. It suggests a contradiction in terms. Evangelicals are seldom united. Good or sad, it signposts a serviceable book.

Its intention is to analyse the “ecumenical stirrings” of the period between 1795 and 1830, that extraordinary evangelical cauldron whose other stirrings have in the past twenty-five years engaged the distinctively variable gifts of Ford K. Brown, Haddon Willmer, W.R. Ward, Doreen Rosman, David Hempton, and more besides. Roger Martin’s contribution is to examine the London Missionary Society (1795), the Religious Tract Society (1799), the Bible Society (1804) and the London Society for the Promotion of Christianity Amongst the Jews (1809). He calls these the four chief institutional embodiments of the period’s ecumenical stirrings. They still survive, although three of them do so in different forms and under different names. Their joint impact was at once international and nationwide. And how dangerous they were! In a Europe overrun with Jacobinism and Freemasonry, socially, politically, economically and militarily up-ended, they provided yet another complex of tentacular organisation with which to threaten traditional ways. How one sympathises with poor high and dry Thomas Sikes, confronted by “coal-heaving ministers, bird-catching ministers, Baptist ministers of all trades, those of the Roman Catholic communion, together with the green-aproned female ministers of the friends”. They alerted countless homes to Christian missionary and literary endeavour. They brought countless homes together in such endeavour. Here were evangelicals united.

Professor Martin’s own endeavour in identifying and reflecting upon their *British* impact and its pan-evangelical significance has been frustrating and in part frustrated. Of his four societies, the London Missionary Society had become chiefly Congregational by 1818 and its offshoot, the London Society, was wholly Anglican from 1815. The others have survived ecumenically despite schism and sniping. Schism and sniping are prominent parts of their story, if only because such things are the stuff of minutes, and Professor Martin depends on official archives. The *quality* of the quartet’s influence is harder to assess. It reaches official records, if at all, only as statistics.

Given these limitations, Professor Martin works with useful modesty. He begins sensibly with the contradictory forces generated from the 1740s by the Evangelical Revival, and especially by the “broad, emotional, missionary Calvinism” of pan-evangelicalism’s spiritual founder, George Whitefield. He then turns to one of the largest British missionary enterprises, at once pacesetter and exemplar, with its agents in every continent: the London Missionary Society, or “The Missionary Society” as it was officially called with splendidly offensive all-sufficiency before 1818. Yet it never was “The Missionary Society”. From the first it only partly realised the pandenominationalism of its

Fundamental Principle. By contrast the Bible Society was "the perfect embodiment" of pandenominationalism. It even had Roman Catholic agents. For all the tensions it offered a grand platform for the shared constituency of the evangelical spirit, reconciling social and political diversities under its evangelical umbrella. The R.T.S., whose early experience was closer to that of its parent, the L.M.S., came to share something of this success. The London Society never could, outside the National Church.

Inevitably the nature of Professor Martin's terrain infects his study with a degree of artificiality. For how far can his quartet be lifted from the evangelical cauldron for examination? Yet how else could it be done? Such a book can never quite succeed as it deserves, and yet as a contribution to studies of the cauldron years it is to be welcomed and its author's conclusions bear pondering. Is any organisation which aims, as the early L.M.S. did, at *churchly* ecumenism, at shared worship, (including shared sacramental worship), and at shared ordination, doomed as far as that sharing goes? Are the only survivors bound to be those that go for the lowest common denominator, as with the Bibles, distributed as a business without note or commentary, or with committees despatched without prayer, and with agents who must never be missionaries? That is the ecumenism of the market place.

J.C.G.B.

Denominationalism and Dissent, 1795-1835: A Question of Identity. By David M. Thompson. Pp. 28. Friends of Dr. Williams's Library, Dr. Williams's Trust, 16 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0AG, 1985. £1.00

This is a shrewdly directed, historiographical state-of-play piece, of a sort relatively rare among Dr. Williams's lectures. It considers, with some courteous but palpable hits, recent work by Roger Martin, David Hempton, Deryck Lovegrove, Munsey Turner, W.R. Ward and A.D. Gilbert in the light of one key question: was "denominationalism" a reaction against or a consequence of the Evangelical Revival? Dr. Thompson refuses to see it as a hardening of the spiritual arteries, "some inexplicable fall from grace". Instead he stresses the ambiguities and complexities of the various shadings of denominationalism and undenominationalism in his chosen period; he draws attention to a significant contemporary shift in the meaning and image of the word "denominationalism", and he urges that undenominationalism and denominationalism ran parallel to each other, waves lapping and overlapping rather than tides in ebb and flow. Indeed, "denominationalism" was a natural and lively response to needs made cumulatively apparent by the onward working of the Revival. "To emphasize spirit and underestimate institutions is simply romantic".

His main argument over, Dr. Thompson then taps it sharply into its proper place: for the denominational/undenominational distinction is of limited use anyway since it obscures an ecumenism which sidestepped theology, and theology cannot be sidestepped quite so easily. "Because the underlying theological differences of an earlier age had not been resolved, the form of the

newly expanding Churches exposed those divisions once again. This was the 'new denominationalism' of the Evangelical Revival." This is what the ecumenism of the present age seeks to resolve. Dr. Thompson's arguments are convincing. They are not to be ignored. But then, given his own distinguished ecumenical track record, he would, wouldn't he?

J.C.G.B.

The Ladies of Castlebrae. A Story of Nineteenth-Century Travel and Research. By A. Whigham Price (with Foreword by Eric Newby). Pp. XIV, 242, Alan Sutton, Gloucester 1985. £10.95

Members of the former Presbyterian Historical Society of England will recall Allan Whigham Price's lecture on the Giblews and readers of the old *Congregational Quarterly* will recall his articles on D.H. Lawrence. Their merits are combined in *The Ladies of Castlebrae*. Quite simply, it is a lovely book, effortlessly written, very funny (Chapter VIII should not be read on a train journey unless the compartment is empty or you are sure of your fellow-travellers) and more serious than it ever seems. It is written as biography, prefaced as reminiscence, with the flavour of a novel. Perhaps this explains, although it does not excuse, the tiresome absence of an index. It also allows the author to become an agreeable companion, almost an additional character in his plot, and this is an indulgence which is entirely fitting.

And who were the Giblews? Agnes Smith Lewis (1843-1926) and Margaret Dunlop Gibson (1843-1920) were the identical twins who gave Westminster College its site and much else besides, who discovered the Lewis Codex in a monastery on Sinai, who were the first woman doctors of divinity anywhere (Heidelberg 1904). An exploration of their careers is an exploration of dissident (i.e. United) Presbyterianism (Robertson of Irvine style) in Ayrshire, Cambridge academe from not-quite-the-inside, and the Middle East well before Lawrence got to Arabia. Above all it is an exploration of personality. To say more would be to prevent readers from their own delight in discovery. Even in these days of vanishing manse studies and non-existent manse libraries it would be a singularly churlish Westminster man or woman who failed to buy *The Ladies of Castlebrae* and a dull one who neither profited from nor enjoyed it.

J.C.G.B.

The Testing of the Churches 1932-1982. A Symposium. Edited by Rupert Davies. Pp. 214. Epworth Press, London 1982. £5.95

In 1982 Rupert Davies lectured to the Wesley Historical Society on the theme "Fifty Years on: the Fruits of Methodist Union". Then, with an entrepreneurial skill for which his readers must be grateful, he built his lecture into a symposium of ten papers, divided into two parts. Their concern is with the main English churches (any overlapping with the Celtic nations notwithstanding) in the fifty years after Methodist Union. There are four Anglican contributors, three Methodists, two United Reformed and one Roman Catholic. One is a woman. The lay apostolate is not adequately reflected in their clerical

preponderance. They belong to what one of them calls the "rent-an-ecumenical team of the early seventies". This gives the collection instant value as an engagingly partisan period piece. The contributors have been captivated by the Liturgical Movement, they give a generally low assessment to the Charismatic Movement, they are not unduly concerned by developments in Evangelicalism, whose significance is probably understated. They provide abundant testimony to an interdenominational transformation greater than most of us who have lived through it can realise. Worship, polity, self-image, numerical size, have been up-ended. What they also demonstrate, and not just by whistling in the dark, is the vitality of English churchmanship. The defensive plea that quantitative decline is not necessarily qualitative decline here becomes a ringing affirmation. All this makes for a very readable book.

Its weakness as well as its strength lies in the fact that each contributor has been closely, even passionately, involved with what they describe. This particularly applies to the authors of the four main papers, whose brief is the testing of each of the major English Christian traditions. Of the four, John Coventry's is the most readable, full of choice naughtinesses, owing its particular authenticity to its consciously autobiographical nature. It is a memoir, by the self-styled "all-purpose-Roman-Catholic-consultant-observer" member of the rent-an-ecumenical team, through which gleams a shrewd appraisal of the Catholic transformation in class, education, and mentality. He embarks on his people's increasingly rapid voyage to extroversion from the sub-cultural, counter-cultural introversion of their insular expression of a universal church. "A new spirit and a new life stir within the new middle class. Who knows? An English Roman Catholicism may emerge."

Rupert Davies is bluff and breezy. He too has lived through it. Introversion has never been a characteristic either of his writing or of his Methodism. Numerical decline has not meant defensiveness for him. What it has meant is a conscious (over conscious?) rediscovery of catholicity, which is reflected in his comment about the Methodist ordination of women (1971-4): "Methodism, along with what is now the majority of churches in the world, can offer a 'whole ministry' to the one church of the future". The over-consciousness is reflected in his account of the slow fusing of the two Methodist cultures (United/Primitive-Wesleyan; North-South; working/lower middle class - middle class) and his very Wesleyan view of what he calls, without explanation, "nonconformity". Wherever "nonconformity has entered Methodism it has been an anomaly". Perhaps this explains why the Methodist contribution to the survival of the Free Church Federal Council nowhere figures in his piece.

With Ronald Preston we turn to the *Honest to God* denomination, transformed in worship (the Alternative Service Book's conservatism notwithstanding), structure, appearance (lots of synod and no more gaiters), yet still theologically defensive and now ecumenically paralysed, "out of full communion with all the rest of christendom", bar the Old Catholics. And for all its agonising, more effortlessly superior than ever - although, like his fellows, Professor Preston plays this down by homologating the ancient universities into

“Oxbridge”, which is very Kingston Bypass.

Professor Preston's essay is more survey than memoir, but he too is describing a denomination from within for a period which he has lived through. By contrast David Thompson has had a harder task. He has had to describe from his formation within the Churches of Christ three of the older Free Churches (Baptists, Congregationalists and Presbyterians) for a period which he was born into. The result is the best of the essays. Here is perspective, movement and information, backed by endnotes, in ample proof of his four themes: numerical decline, theological vigour, political challenge, ecumenical opportunity. Like John Coventry he stresses the impact of the 1944 Education Act (although the “Congregationalism” of Chuter Ede, R.A. Butler's understudy, will be news to Unitarians). Unlike Ronald Preston, who believes that the Second World War had no long term effect on the Church of England, Thompson emphasises the slow, immense change in Nonconformist psychology which that war caused. He makes the helpful point that the older Free Churches, lacking both parochial tradition and tough connexionalism, were the more exposed to rapid change on too many fronts. They could not cope with the practicalities let alone shift with the implications. He makes other sharp points. There is, for example, the irony that just when Oxford and Cambridge became the foci for ministerial training (these apart, today only the universities of Bristol and Manchester are directly related to Baptist and United Reformed colleges) and just as theological education had become truly ecumenical, fewer candidates than ever were to be found to take university examinations in theology. Nonetheless, although the view may be less exhilarating from Sheffield than it is from Cambridge, the inescapable conclusion must be that if this is decline, give us more of it; for it has encompassed life and excitement and brought us to a watershed decade.

Space prevents adequate consideration of the suggestive cluster of six secondary essays. The place of preaching, developments in theology and philosophy, the impact of other faiths and a sociological view of unity are all treated. There are two pieces on liturgical change. Geoffrey Cuming is very enjoyable on the churches of England and Rome, although he confirms this reviewer's conviction that parish communion is a bore. Donald McIlhagga on the Free Churches is more *parti-pris* than all the other contributors put together. His is a combative tract on right order, too modishly dismissive of what irritates his liturgical sensitivity and too fond of words in inverted commas, which may be (unattributed) quotations or which may be approximations to what he would have written had he had more time to think about it. His is the essay which will date soonest. It is also likeliest to be of most interest to subsequent historians. And at least he comes to grips with sexism (or “sexism”).

A political footnote. In the past fifty years one prime minister has been married in a Methodist chapel and one in a Congregational one, the second prime minister to be Congregationally married. Since he was Harold Wilson, married at Mansfield by Micklem, and since he remained in church *membership* while in office, perhaps he merited a note. What has been noted is that in our

period at least chapel really did become the Liberal Party at prayer: for at one point half the Liberal M.P.s were Congregationalists. That striking, if misleading, statistic brings us naturally to Christopher Lewis's suggestion that the S.D.P. is ecumenism at prayer. Is this the first time that a serious book on church history has referred to the S.D.P.?

J.C.G.B.

Our Fathers that Begat Us: The Story of the Protestant Dissenters of Newton Abbot: 1662-1984. By John Huxtable and Alex Snow. Pp. 53. Newton Abbot 1985. Obtainable from the authors, Manor Cottage, East Ogwell, Devon. TQ12 6AS

Here is the story (whose authorship gives it immediate historiographical interest) of a church in a country town, on a fine site, with imposing premises and a suggestive history. It is a 1662 church. Its first minister, William Yeo, is a key figure in many Dissenting genealogies. It is also one of those numerous but ignored churches which moved from Presbyterianism to Congregationalism rather than Unitarianism, and it did so remarkably late. Dr. Huxtable dates the transition to between 1824 and 1842. It has had notable secretaries. One, from early this century, was subsequently hanged for murder. Another, still in office, became Minister-Secretary of the United Reformed Church and President of our history society. As for other members: in 1959 there were 248 of them, in 1978 there were 112, and in 1985 there were 85. Consequently the imposing premises (preserved by a listing ingenuously described as "a bolt from the blue") are in other hands, the church worships - with the Methodists - in another place, and the present ministerial vacancy is arguably the longest since 1662. The story, melancholy in outline, is less so in reality. The authors point with charitable honesty to spiritual weaknesses (there is a strong dash of Yorkshire in the Devon character) but they also properly assume the underlying strength which directs a Christian Church. If that strength is reflected years hence in an updated history, it might be noted that the Dr. Allen who opened the Queen Street buildings in 1876 was that Huxtable-figure of his day, Henry Allon. And can the frontispiece really be of William Yeo - with that dress and wig?

J.C.G.B.

Headingley Hill Church 1866-1978. By Valerie Green and David Figures. Pp. 68. Leeds 1985. Obtainable from St. Columba's United Reformed Church, Headingley, Leeds. £2.50

Headingley Hill was a great Northern Congregational Church. That is to say, it worshipped on a prime site in a prime building in a prime suburb. Cuthbert Brodrick, the architect of its buildings, was also the architect of Leeds Town Hall. Many of its grander members, younger generations of the notorious Bainesocracy among them, were in the forefront of Leeds life. Its membership reached 740 in 1914. It had ministers to match. In 1966 Valerie Green wrote a perceptive centenary history of the church. By then the glory was departing. The 564 members of 1934 had become the 80 members of 1964. The buildings were

an embarrassment which a road widening scheme promised to remove. There remained twelve years of separate existence before the church united with the former Presbyterian congregation of St. Columba's, more prosperously placed further into Headingley. Its buildings survive, imaginatively used as offices, since the road scheme came to nothing and the surroundings were designated a conservation area with Brodrick's gothic as the listed jewel in its crown. Now Valerie Green's history has been reprinted with the addition of a chapter by David Figures. That is good stewardship because the Headingley Hill story is not really one of decline at all, as anybody who knew its later ministers and members will testify. It remained to the end a lively, concerned, distinctive community torn but unbowed by the pressures of buildings, roads, unions, mergers, and mission too. David Figures's last chapter, and particularly its four pen portraits of two ministers and two elders, is a tribute to life and vigour.

J.C.G.B.

Ian Sellers's "A New Town Story" [*J.U.R.C.H.S.* Vol. 3, No. 7, pp. 290-307] is expanded and illustrated in one of its aspects by his *Bethesda Church Runcorn. 150th Anniversary 1835-1985*. Pp. 36. Obtainable from the church.

The Mediators. By Henry David Grey. Pp. 624. American Congregational Centre, Ventura and South Pasadena, California, 1984. \$25.00 hard cover. \$15.00 soft cover.

This is a detailed record of letters, discussions and events leading up to the merger of the Congregational-Christian and Evangelical and Reformed Churches in the United States in 1957. It expresses and explains the attitudes of those Congregationalists who were opposed to that merger.

DANIEL JENKINS

SOME CONTEMPORARIES

The Baptist Quarterly (XXXI, 1-4, 1985)

No. 1: Raymond Brown, "Baptist preaching in early eighteenth-century England"; G.F. Nuttall, "Andrew Gifford on his youth". No. 2: S.D. Henry, "Scottish Baptists and the First World War"; L.G. Champion, "The Chesham and Berkhamsted Church Book"; G.F. Nuttall, "Andrew Gifford at Tewkesbury Academy (1719)". No. 3: Alan Sell, "John Chater: From Independent minister to Sandemanian author". No. 4: J.B. Whiteley, "Loughwood Baptists in the seventeenth century"; Stephen Brachlow, "Puritan theology and General Baptist origins".

Calvin Theological Journal (XX, no. 1, 1985)

Charles E. White, "Were Hooker and Shepard closet Arminians?"

Churchman (XCVIII, no. 4, 1984)

F.F. Bruce, Gillian R. Evans, Gordon Leff and Roger Beckwith on Wyclif; and David Young, "F.D. Maurice and the Unitarians".

Cylchgrawn Hanes (V, 1984)

Eifion Evans, "Thomas Jones, Cwmiou (1689-1772)"; D. Idloes Owen, "Early days of the 'Hen Gorph' in Bangor, Gwynedd".

Enlightenment and Dissent (No. 4, 1985)

Mark Philip, "Rational religion and political radicalism"; Alan Sell, "Henry Grove: A dissenter at the parting of the ways"; D.O. Thomas, "Francis Maseres, Richard Price and the industrious poor"; Martin Fitzpatrick, "Science and society in the Enlightenment".

The Evangelical Quarterly (LVII, 1985)

No. 3: John R. Tyson, "Charles Wesley's sentimental language". No. 4: Martyn J. Whittock, "Baptist roots: The use of models in tracing Baptist origins".

The Irish Theological Quarterly (LI, no. 1, 1985)

Rene Kollar, O.S.B., "The opposition to ritualism in Victorian England".

Journal of Ecclesiastical History (XXXII, no. 3, 1983)

J. Goring, "The reformation of the ministry in Elizabethan Sussex".

The Library (V, no. 3, 1983)

B.J. McMullin, "The Bible and continuous reprinting in the early seventeenth century".

Mid-Stream (XXIV, 1985)

No. 1: Alan Sell, "Dubious establishment? A neglected ecclesiological testimony". No. 3: Richard L. Harrison, Jr., "Early Disciples Sacramental Theology: Catholic, Reformed, and Free"; D. Newell Williams, "Historical development of ministry among Disciples".

Montgomeryshire Collections (LXXI, 1983)

E.R. Morris, "Llanfyllin Dissenting Meeting House (Pentre Independent Chapel): The early years to 1800".

Northamptonshire Past and Present (VII, no. 1, 1983-4)

A.G. Dickens, "Early Protestantism and the church in Northamptonshire".

Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London (XXIV, no. 1, 1983)

R. Vigne, "Cromwell's intervention on behalf of the Vaudois".

Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society (XLIV, 1984)

Part 5: Frank Baker, "John Wesley and America"; Oliver A. Beckerlegge, "James Everett: 1784-1984"; also John A. Vickers on T. Coke, and D.W. Riley on "Tegg v. Everett". Part 6: W.M.S. West, "Methodists and Baptists in eighteenth-century Bristol"; W. Islwyn Morgan, "The Welsh Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, 1809-1893".

Reformed Review (XXXVIII)

- No. 1: Issue devoted to "Thomas F. Torrance: Reformed theologian". No. 2: Issue devoted to "Theology: Dutch and American".

The Reformed Theological Review

- XLIII no. 3, 1984: W. Stanford Reid, "John Calvin, early critic of capitalism", - concluded in XLIV no. 1, 1985, which also has R. Swanton, "The Westminster Confession and the Declaratory Statements".

The Reformed World (XXXVIII, 1985)

- No. 5: Lukas Vischer, "The ecumenical commitment of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches", (with three responses); Alan Sell, "John Wyclif (d.1384): Anniversary reflections". No. 7: Allison A. Trites, "An assessment of the Baptist-Reformed dialogue". No. 8: Alan E. Lewis, "Catholicity, confessionalism and convergence".

Scottish Church History Society Records (XXII Part 1, 1984)

- Derek B. Murray, "The influence of John Glas"; R. Buick Knox, "Dr. John Cumming and Crown Court Church, London".

Scottish Journal of Theology (XXXVIII, 1985)

- No. 1: Alan Sell, "An Englishman, an Irishman and a Scotsman..." (i.e. W.B. Pope, R. Watts and A.M. Fairbairn).

Society for Army Historical Research Journal (LXI, no. 245, 1983)

- P.H. Hardacre, "Colonel John Bridges. A Cromwellian in Ireland".

Southern History (V, 1983)

- G.J. Mayhew, "The progress of the Reformation in East Sussex, 1530-1559: the evidence from wills".

Trans. Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society (CI, 1983)

- A.E. Jones, "Protestant dissent in Gloucestershire: A comparison between 1676 and 1735".

Trans. of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion (1983)

- C. Davies, "Erasmus and Welsh Renaissance learning"; D. Hugh Matthews, "David Rees, Limehouse (1683-1748): An eighteenth-century London Welsh preacher"; J.B. Hilling, "The architecture of the Welsh chapel".

Trans. of the Hunter Archaeological Society (XII, 1983)

- M. Mercer, "The Hollis Educational Trust: A Nonconformist contribution to elementary education".

Trans. Royal Historical Society

- 5th ser. vol. XXXIV, 1984: John Morrill, "The religious context of the English Civil War". Vol. XXXV, 1985: Stefan Collini, "The idea of "character" in Victorian political thought"; Michael Hunter, "The problem of Atheism in early modern England".

Trans. South Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society (XXV)

Alan Sell, "The Walsall riots, the Rooker family, and eighteenth-century dissent".

Trans. Unitarian Historical Society (XVIII)

No. 2 (1984): G.M. Ditchfield, "A Unitarian view of English dissent in 1807"; Peter B. Godfrey, "Joseph Hunter, 1783-1861"; and Alan Sell on Noah Jones (1725-1785), and Brian A. Packer on the Liverpool Domestic Mission. No. 3 (1985): Alan Ruston, "Unitarian Trust Funds: the Hibbert and the Rawdon"; and "Record Section: Correspondence of Theophilus Lindsey with William Turner of Wakefield and his son (1771-1803)", trans. Helen M. Nicholson, ed. John McLachlan.

ALAN SELL