Baptist M.P.s in the Nineteenth Century

THIS article, like an earlier one on Baptist M.P.s of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, concentrates chiefly on elucidating the Baptist affiliations of M.P.s during the period, and especially on trying to identify which M.P.s were Baptists. Each entry in the lists at the end includes the dates of birth and death of the M.P.; a list of the constituencies represented, with a note of political allegiance; some general biographical details; an assessment of the evidence for his Baptist convictions; and reference to a place where fuller information on his career may be found. The entries, as in the earlier article, are arranged in two lists. The main list consists of those who were Baptists. The supplementary list consists of those who were certainly not Baptists (although they have previously been supposed to be) and those whose Baptist allegiance is possible but doubtful.

The criteria for identifying Baptists are similar to those used for M.P.s in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but not quite identical. In the nineteenth century, as in the twentieth, a person would normally be called a Baptist when he was a member of a Baptist church who had been baptised as a believer. The chief test is church membership, which in most churches had to be preceded by baptism. When, however, the church in question practised open membership, it is necessary to investigate whether or not the person had accepted believer’s baptism. The consequence of making church membership the main criterion is to impose a rather stricter definition of who was a Baptist than was done for the seventeenth century. Hence, for example, J. J. Colman, who was baptised as a believer and did not explicitly repudiate his Baptist convictions, is excluded from the main list since he was in the process of leaving a Baptist church for a Congregational church at the time of his election to parliament. Yet even this definition does allow the inclusion in the main list of Lloyd George, despite (other considerations apart) his repudiation of the importance of believer’s baptism. When the test of whether an M.P. was a baptised member of a Baptist church is applied, there seem to be only three borderline cases due to lack of conclusive evidence. Henry Winterbotham continued to associate with Baptists when he was in the House of Commons, although he does not appear to have been in church membership. Abel Thomas came from a Baptist family and E. H. Carbutt was claimed as a Baptist by the denominational press, but no trace of their personal convictions has so far come to light. Each of these three remains a possible Baptist M.P., but they have here been put in the supplementary list.

There are nineteen on the main list of nineteenth-century Baptist M.P.s. This is perhaps a lower figure than might have been expected. Certainly it contrasts strikingly with the probable eighty-nine Congregationalists who sat in nineteenth-century parliaments. The difference
probably reflects the higher average social status of Congregationalists. The small number acts as a reminder of the normal obscurity of Baptists in nineteenth-century Britain. Social analysis is also instructive. Of the nineteen Baptist M.P.s, eight were manufacturers. Another five were in service industries and two were merchants. Fifteen, that is to say, were businessmen of some type or another. There were also two lawyers, one farmer and one miner. None came from the gentry. Baptist M.P.s were therefore overwhelmingly of one social type: middle-class, men of the counting-house rather than professionals, hard-working and energetic. Several were self-made men. Richard Harris, whose father was an ordinary master stocking maker, set up a warp frame for fancy hosiery, acted as his own mechanic and designer and after thirty years was paying over £1000 a week in wages. Sir John Barran, Thomas Blake and Sir Morton Peto similarly rose from small beginnings. Samuel Woods, the miner, was the only Baptist M.P. of the century to be drawn from the working classes, and it is significant that he was not elected until the 1890s. He was a precursor of the wave of working-class Nonconformist M.P.s that were to enter the Commons in the following century. The nineteenth century remained a time when success in business was the chief avenue to eminence for Baptists.

Table 1 shows the parliaments in which each Baptist sat. The numbers in the body of the table refer to the individuals in the main list at the end

---

**TABLE 1**

*Analysis of nineteenth-century Baptist M.P.s by Parliament*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1847</th>
<th>1852</th>
<th>1857</th>
<th>1859</th>
<th>1865</th>
<th>1868</th>
<th>1874</th>
<th>1880</th>
<th>1885</th>
<th>1886</th>
<th>1892</th>
<th>1895</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>Later</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No. of parliaments attended

---

Note: 'W' represents Sir George White. See footnote 2.
of the article. M.P.s are included under the year of the general election to each parliament even if they were elected to it at a subsequent by-election, and even if, in the case of J. S. Wright, the M.P. died before he took his seat. An arrow in the "Later" column designates those M.P.s who sat in one or more parliaments after the one elected in 1900. Before 1847 no Baptist had been in the Commons since 1784. 1847 was the first year in which Dissenters deliberately organized themselves on a national scale at a general election, although, as it happens, this campaign was not responsible for the return of the first Baptist. In the parliament elected in 1857 there was again no Baptist. That was the year in which the type of non-belligerent free-trade policies normally advocated by Baptists were decisively rejected at the polls, and the Quaker M.P. John Bright was not returned for Manchester. Up to 1880 there were never more than two Baptist M.P.s. Thereafter there was an increase until the 1892 parliament, but in 1895 and again in 1900 there were falls in Baptist representation as Conservative and then imperialist feeling swept the country. The overall trend was nevertheless for more Baptists to be elected as the century progressed, a consequence both of their rising numbers and the rising status of some in their communities.

The final column of Table 1 shows the number of parliaments in which each M.P. sat. One figure is far higher than any of the others: the fourteen parliaments in which David Lloyd George represented Caernarvon Boroughs from 1890 to 1945. The second highest figure is only half Lloyd George's. This one belongs to Sir Alfred Thomas, who sat for East Glamorganshire from 1885 to 1910. Both men were something like professional politicians, more especially in the case of Lloyd George. Sir Alfred became leader of the Welsh Parliamentary Party and Lloyd George reached the highest office. Both were elevated to the peerage. Two M.P.s sat for five parliaments, and these were the next most politically minded of the group: W. S. Caine and Alfred Illingworth. These men, however, were less party politicians than pressure group leaders. Caine entered parliament primarily to champion the cause of temperance, while Illingworth was a leading member of the Liberation Society that was dedicated to the task of separating church and state. Both were prepared to rock the party boat because their prime allegiance in politics was to their own cause rather than to the party. Caine left the Liberal Party over Home Rule but afterwards deserted the Liberal Unionists over temperance; Illingworth's zeal for disestablishment was frequently a worry to Liberal leaders. But many Baptist M.P.s were only politicians insofar as entry to parliament for their native town or district was the natural culmination of a career of public service. This was true of Richard Harris of Leicester and Sir George Goodman of Leeds at mid-century; it was still true of Robert Everett of East Suffolk and Jonathan Samuel of Stockton-on-Tees at the end of the century. Such men sat for very few parliaments, often only one. They were M.P.s almost by accident.

What part of the country did these M.P.s represent? Table 2 sets out the answer. England is divided into six regions: the south-west, the south-east (including London), the south midlands, the north and east midlands, East Anglia and the north. Wales forms a seventh region. There were no
**TABLE 2**

*Analysis of Constituencies represented by nineteenth-century Baptist M.P.s*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SW</th>
<th>SE</th>
<th>S Midlands</th>
<th>Wales</th>
<th>N and E Midlands</th>
<th>East Anglia</th>
<th>North</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3 3 3</td>
<td>2 2</td>
<td>1 1 1 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>6 6</td>
<td>4 4 4 4</td>
<td>5 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10 10 10 10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11 11</td>
<td>12 12 12 12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15 15 15 15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Parliaments</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>22</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of M.Ps</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Membership of post-1900 parliaments is excluded from this table.

Baptists returned by Scottish or Irish constituencies. The numbers in the body of the table again represent the individuals in the list of Baptist M.P.s. The number is repeated if an M.P. held a seat in that region in more than one parliament. The number of times any constituency in each region was represented by a Baptist M.P. and the number of Baptist M.P.s who sat for constituencies in each region are totalled in the two bottom lines. A line drawn eastwards from the Severn passing north of Birmingham to divide Bedfordshire to the north from Hertfordshire to the south separates the first three regions from the others. Baptists sat nine times for constituencies to the south of that line, forty-one times for constituencies to the north. Seven M.P.s represented seats to the south, but sixteen seats to the north. Baptists were returned overwhelmingly from the northern part of the country. In the seventeenth century the opposite had been the case. The face of Britain had been changed by industrialization, urbanization and the Evangelical revival. By the nineteenth century Baptists could often be seen as leaders in the north, but seldom in the south. The significance of the north of England by itself emerges clearly from the table: eight M.P.s sat in twenty-two parliaments for northern constituencies. Both figures are twice as high as for any other region. Baptist M.P.s, businessmen as they often were, represented the north in the proverbial nineteenth-century contrast between north and south.
TABLE 3

Analysis of nineteenth-century Baptist M.P.s by party

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of parliaments</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>Lib-Lab</th>
<th>LU</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of M.P.s</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The Liberal Unionist is also listed as a Liberal.

Party analysis reveals an even more striking imbalance. Baptist M.P.s were not scattered between the two great parties of the late nineteenth century, the Liberals and the Conservatives, but, as Table 3 shows, they were concentrated on the Liberal side. No Baptist M.P. was a Conservative. Only two Baptists, in four parliaments altogether, were anything other than plain Liberals. W. S. Caine was from 1886 to 1890 a Liberal Unionist, but both before and afterwards he was a Liberal. The shortness of his defection emphasizes how uncomfortable it was for a man with some characteristic Baptist attitudes to be outside the Liberal fold. Samuel Woods, parliamentary secretary of the Trades Union Congress from 1894, was a "Lib-Lab" M.P. In the 1890s, however, this meant nothing about divergence on matters of policy or principle from the Liberals. It simply showed that Woods was a representative of the Labour or working-class interest within the Liberal Party. "Lib-Lab" was the badge of a social group, not of an ideological persuasion. Woods, like Caine, was in practice for nearly all the time a Liberal. These are therefore only nominal exceptions. Baptist M.P.s in the nineteenth century were Liberals.

Sufficient information is available to permit an assessment of the place of the Baptist M.P.s in denominational life. They can be divided broadly into three groups: those whose activity as Baptists was virtually limited to their local chapel as deacons, Sunday School teachers or just members; those who were active in their localities or regions, in substantial giving to other causes or colleges, in association work or as preachers; and those who took part in the national life of the denomination, holding office in or speaking for some agency that represented the whole country like the Baptist Union or the B.M.S. The Baptist M.P.s divide almost equally. Seven seem to have been confined to their own chapels (nos. 2, 5, 10, 13, 14, 16 and 18), seven to have been active locally (nos. 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 15 and 19) and five to have achieved national prominence as Baptists (nos. 1, 4, 11, 12 and 17). This final group includes one president of the Baptist Union (no. 17), one treasurer of the B.M.S. (no. 11), a president of the Baptist Total Abstinence Society (no. 4) and a treasurer of the Twentieth Century Fund (no. 1). These men were probably as well known in their day for being Baptists as for being M.P.s.

It remains to comment on those who are on the supplementary list. The link of some with the Baptists is tenuous, but no fewer than sixteen had Baptist fathers — virtually as many as were Baptists themselves. No doubt other M.P.s not listed here also had Baptist homes. The tendency for successful men to abandon their sectarian background is well illustrated even by the group of sixteen. Two became Congregationalists (Colman,
Gourley) and two Methodists (Butterworth, Cameron). At least five and probably more conformed to the Church of England (J. D. Harris, Havelock-Allan, Marten, Tritton and Noel — though in the last case it would be fairer to say that he never abandoned his Anglicanism). The two who certainly became agnostics (Birrell, Haldane) were also the two among them who achieved cabinet rank. There is also an interesting link between churchmanship and political allegiance among these men. The only two Conservative M.P.s on the supplementary list had both become members of the Church of England (Marten, Tritton). Two were Liberal Unionists, and one of these certainly (Havelock-Allan) and another probably (Kemp) conformed to the Church of England. The shedding of Baptist convictions could be associated with the shedding of Liberal convictions. The two hung together.

Enough has been written to bring out the characteristics of the group. The typical nineteenth-century Baptist M.P. was elected in the second half of the century, a businessman representing a constituency in the northern half of England, probably considerably involved in denominational life and certainly a Liberal. But perhaps equally important was what the members of the group did not share. They were rugged men who hewed out their own path in life. They were personalities holding strong views who call out for more detailed treatment. Baptist M.P.s of the nineteenth century were nothing if not individualists.

Abbreviations used in the following Lists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Binfield</td>
<td>Information from Dr J. C. G. Binfield, Department of History, University of Sheffield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.M.</td>
<td><em>The Baptist Magazine</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.T.</td>
<td><em>The Baptist Times</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Conservative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.W.</td>
<td><em>The Christian World</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debrett</td>
<td>Debrett's Illustrated House of Commons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.L.B.</td>
<td><em>Dictionary of Labour Biography</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.N.B.</td>
<td><em>The Dictionary of National Biography</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dod</td>
<td>Dod's Parliamentary Companion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>Liberal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lib-Lab</td>
<td>Liberal-Labour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LU</td>
<td>Liberal Unionist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surman</td>
<td>C. E. Surman, 'The Congregational Two Thousand', Typescript at Congregational Library, London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams</td>
<td>Information from the Rev. M. J. Williams, ex-secretary of the Baptist Union of Wales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.W.W.</td>
<td><em>Who Was Who</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Nineteenth-Century Baptist M.P.s

1. Sir John Barran, Bart
   1821-1905
   M.P.: Leeds, 1876-85
   Yorkshire, Otley, 1886-95

2. Thomas Bayley
   1846-1906
   M.P. (L): Derbyshire, Chesterfield, 1892-1905
   Colliery owner. Member of Nottingham Town Council for nine years and of Nottinghamshire County Council from 1889. Sheriff of Nottingham. J.P. Promoter of unsectarian education. Determined opponent of slavery.
   Son of builder of Circus Street Baptist Hall, Nottingham *(D. L. B.,* 1, p. 42). Plaque to Bayley's daughter is in Woodborough Road Baptist Church, Nottingham, to which he presumably transferred his membership. *(Information from Mr F. M. W. Harrison.)*

3. Thomas Blake
   1825-1901
   M.P. (L): Leominster, 1875-80
   Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean, 1885-87
   Accountant, estate agent and news and advertising agent until retired in 1868. Alderman of Herefordshire County Council from 1889. J.P. Chairman of Ross-on-Wye School Board. President of Ross and Archenfield Freehold Land Society. Trustee of Ross Cottage Hospital. Member of Broad Street Baptist Church, Ross-on-Wye. Converted under influence of E. H. Phillips while his assistant in Bristol draper's shop. Baptized at Bethesda Chapel, Park Street, Bristol, the Plymouth Brethren congregation of George Muller. Builder of and preacher at Peterstow Chapel, regular preacher at Penraig Congregational Church and preacher over wide area after retirement. 1881, contributed £3162.16.3 towards £3700 for rebuilding Broad Street Chapel.
4. WILLIAM SPROSTON CAINÉ
1842-1903
M.P. (L): Scarborough, 1880-85
   (LU): Barrow-in-Furness, Apr. 1886-90
   (L): Bradford, E., 1892-95
   Cornwall, NW, 1900-03
Metal merchant, 1861-78, and then held mining and iron interests, but
firm collapsed 1893. Civil Lord of the Admiralty, 1884. Leading
temperance reformer at Liverpool. Vice-President of United Kingdom
Alliance. President of British Temperance League and National
Temperance Federation.
Member of Myrtle Street Baptist Church, Liverpool, and of Stockwell
Baptist Church, London. Son-in-law and brother-in-law of Hugh
Stowell Brown, minister of Myrtle Street. President of Baptist Total
Abstinence Society from 1880. Founder (1884) and minister (1894)
of Wheatsheaf Mission (Congregational), South Lambeth Road,
London. (Newton, below, pp. 13, 32, 129f, 134.)

5. JOHN CANDLISH
1816-74
Ship-owner and glass-bottle manufacturer. Alderman and twice mayor
of Sunderland. Opponent of taxation of commerce, especially shipping.
Member of Sans Street Baptist Church, Sunderland. Excommunicated
but readmitted. Brought up in Evangelical section of Church of
Scotland that became Free Church of Scotland. (B.M., May 1874,
p. 276). Hearer of William Brock at Bloomsbury Baptist Church when
in London (M'Cree, p. 56).

6. ROBERT LACEY EVERETT
1833-1916
Tenant farmer. Member of Ipswich Town Council, 1877-89, and
alderman of East Suffolk County Council, 1889-1916. J.P. Member
of Ipswich School Board, Rushmere Parish Councillor, 1894-1904.
Member of Royal Commission on Agriculture, 1894-96. Opposed to
vivisection and compulsory vaccination. Contributed to C.W. as "One
from the Fields".
Deacon of Stoke Green Baptist Church, Ipswich. Father, J.D. Everett,
attended Stepney College for a year, intending to enter Baptist
ministry, c. 1826. Everett himself nephew of Rev. John Garwood,
secretary of London City Mission. Great-nephew of the Percies,
ministers at Guildford and Warwick. Wife superintendent of Sunday
School at Rushmere Baptist Chapel, which Everett had built. Everett himself baptized at eighteen. Lay preacher from his twenties. Treasurer of Suffolk Baptist Union and of B.M.S. Auxiliary. (B.T., 5 Jan. 1906, p. II. MS on Everett compiled by his daughter, Mrs Ida Keeble, in possession of Miss M. E. King.)


7. RT HON. DAVID LLOYD GEORGE (Earl Lloyd-George of Dwyfor, 1863-1945)

M.P.(L): Caernarvon Boroughs, Apr. 1890-1945

Member of Penymaes Chapel, Criccieth, where baptized, 1875 (William George, My Brother and I, London, 1958, p. 74). This cause was established in 1780, constituted a church in 1796, became Scotch Baptist in 1798, joined the Churches of Christ in 1841 and affiliated to the Baptist Union of Wales in 1939 (William George's chapel history per the Rev. T. R. Lewis). Hence technically member of Churches of Christ for most of his parliamentary career. When in London, normally attended Castle Street Welsh Baptist Church, Oxford Circus, where he may have been "formally admitted to membership" (C.W., 21 Dec. 1905, p. 3. William George, My Brother and I, p. 272), although B.W., 11 Oct. 1906, p. 5, denies this. Normally identified himself as Baptist and treated as such (e.g. B.T., 5 Jan. 1906, p. 1). Maternal grandfather was David Lloyd, Baptist minister of Llanystumdwy, Caernarvonshire (W.W.B.M.P., 3). A vice-president of Baptist World Congress, 1905 (C.W., 13 Jul. 1905, p. 21). President of B.U. of Wales, 1910. (B.T., 11 Feb. 1910, p. 88). In asserting his "latitudinarianism and rationalism in the society of my religious friends", according to his diary for 16 Dec. 1883, "I went so far as to doubt the essentiality or even expediency of stickling for baptism. The discussion was brought about by my defending the welcome reception given by the Leicester Baptists to Page-Hopps, the Unitarian."

“Reading Frederic Harrison’s address to the Positivist Society,” according to diary for 3 Jan. 1884. “If he gives a fair representation of these people’s views then all I can say is that they are wonderfully in accord with my own” (William George, My Brother and I, p. 78). When in London Mrs Lloyd George and the children attended the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church, Clapham Junction, where Mair (b. 1890) was baptized by affusion on her reception as a member in 1905 (B.W., 5 Dec. 1907, p. 227). Lloyd George loved good preaching, Welsh hymns and hymn tunes. After fall from office spent time studying lives and sermons of old Welsh preachers (William George, My Brother and I, pp. 79, 272).

D.N.B. John Grigg, The Young Lloyd George, London, 1973, and
Lloyd George: the people’s champion, 1902-1911, London, 1978, and numerous other studies, most of them listed by Grigg.

8. SIR GEORGE GOODMAN
1792-1859
M.P.(L): Leeds, 1852-57
Wool merchant. First mayor of reformed Leeds corporation and mayor three times subsequently, 1847, 1850 and 1851. J.P. Leeds representative to Great Exhibition and so knighted, 1851. Generous to Leeds educational and charitable institutions.

9. RICHARD HARRIS
1777-1854
M.P.(L): Leicester, Sep. 1848-52
Hosiery manufacturer. Member of Leicester Town Council from 1838, and later alderman. Mayor 1843-44. Promoter of Leicester Anti-Corn Law Association, 1838. Stood as parliamentary candidate on “purity principles”.
Member of Charles Street Baptist Church, Leicester. Previously “chief supporter” of Harvey Lane Baptist Church, Leicester (Victoria History of the County of Leicester, 4, London, 1958, p. 178). Baptized and joined Harvey Lane, 1800. Lay preacher. Deacon, 1826. A founder member and deacon of Charles Street, 1831-54. (Lomas, below, pp. 125, 128, 138, 142f.)

10. ALFRED ILLINGWORTH
1827-1907
M.P.(L): Knaresborough, 1868-74
Bradford, 1880-85
Bradford, W, 1885-95
In his early days “closely identified” with Westgate Baptist Church, Bradford. Funeral service held at Girlington Baptist Church, to which
his membership was presumably transferred. (British Weekly, 10 Jan. 1907, pp. 391, 393.)

W.W.B.M.P., 2.

11. SIR SAMUEL MORTON PETO, Bart
1809-89
M.P.(L): Norwich, 1847-54
Finsbury, 1859-65
Bristol, 1865-68


Member of Devonshire Square Baptist Church to July 1849. Worshipped at St Mary's Baptist Church, Norwich, in 1840s and erected Bloomsbury Baptist Church, London, for its minister, William Brock. Member of Bloomsbury, 1849-73, and deacon, 1849-68. Transferred to South Street Baptist Church, Exeter, 1873 (according to Bloomsbury records, although South Street records mention his attendance, not his membership). Subsequently member of Beechen Grove Baptist Church, Watford. Founder of Regent's Park Chapel and of Metropolitan Chapel Building Society. Treasurer of B.M.S., 1846-67. Donor to Metropolitan Tabernacle and many other churches and missionaries. In later years, on committee of Hertfordshire Baptist Union. (Henry Peto, below, pp. 85ff. B.M., Dec. 1889, pp. 551ff. Bloomsbury Baptist Church Records per Mrs Faith Bowers.)


12. BRIGGS PRIESTLEY
1832-1907
M.P.(L): Yorkshire, Pudsey, 1885-1900

Worsted manufacturer.


W.W.B.M.P., 2.

13. SIR HUGH GILZEAN REID
1836-1911
M.P.(L): Aston Manor (1885-86)


Member and office-bearer of Newport Road Baptist Church, Middlesbrough (B.W., 16 Nov. 1911, p. 197). Originally intended
entering Baptist ministry in Scotland. Often attended Beeches Lane Baptist Church, Birmingham (Langley, p. 79).

W.W.B.M.P., 2.

14. JONATHAN SAMUEL
1853-1917
M.P.(L): Stockton-on-Tees, 1895-1900, Jan. 1910-17
Once in iron and steel trades, then grocer when M.P. Member (1882-1904) and alderman (from 1896) of Stockton-on-Tees Town Council. Mayor 1894-95 and 1912. Hon. Freeman, 1904. Member (from 1889) and alderman (from 1903) of Durham County Council. J.P.
Member of Stockton-on-Tees Tabernacle (B.T., 16 Dec. 1910, p. 822).

W.W.B.M.P., 2.

15. SIR ALFRED THOMAS (Lord Pontypridd of Bronwydd, 1912)
1840-1927
M.P.(L): Glamorganshire, E, 1885-Dec. 1910
Member of Tabernacle Welsh Baptist Church, Cardiff, where baptized by the Rev. Nathaniel Thomas. Deacon. Chairman of B.U. of Wales, 1885-86. In London, worshipped at Castle Street Welsh Baptist Church, Oxford Circus (B.T., 7 Jul. 1905, p. 488). Lay student of Regent's Park College. (Information from Dr E. A. Payne.)
D.N.B. D.W.B.

16. CHARLES TOWNSEND
b. 1832
M.P.(L): Bristol, N, 1892-95
Wholesale and export druggist. For long time leader of Bristol Liberals. On general purposes committee of National Liberal Federation. J.P.
Member and deacon of Tyndale Baptist Church, Bristol (Freeman, 1 Jul. 1892, p. 458).

W.W.B.M.P., 2.

17. WILLIAM WILLIS
1835-1911
M.P.(L): Colchester, 1880-85
Barrister. LL.D., 1865. Q.C., 1877. County Court Judge for Norfolk, 1897, and for Southwark, Greenwich and Woolwich, 1906. Published works on English literature, including The Shakespeare-Bacon Controversy (1902).
Member of Commercial Street Baptist Church, Whitechapel, from 1856 and while M.P. (E. F. Kevan, London's Oldest Baptist Church, London, 1933, p. 149). "Charles Stovel's disciple" (Freeman, 4 Dec. 1885, p. 807). Later member of Dereham Baptist Church, Norfolk

18. **SAMUEL WOODS**  
1846-1915  
M.P. (Lib-Lab):  
Lancashire, Ince, 1892-95  
Essex, SW, Feb. 1897-1900  
Miner. Agent of Ashton and Haydock Miners' Association. President of Lancashire Miners' Federation from 1884. Vice-president of Miners' Federation of Great Britain from 1889. Member of Ashton Local Board from 1888. Put forward for parliament by Wigan miners. Secretary of Parliamentary Committee of Trades Union Congress, 1894-1904.  
Baptized in 1863 and became lay preacher (*D.L.B.*, 1, p. 352). Educated at night school by the Rev. F. J. Greening (Dod, 1893, p. 376). Hence no doubt baptized at and joined Park Road Baptist Church, St Helens, where Greening was minister in 1863.  

19. **JOHN SKIRROW WRIGHT**  
1822-80  
M.P.(L): Nottingham, 1880  
Button manufacturer, retiring c. 1872. Chairman of Birmingham Liberal Association. Member of Birmingham School Board. Temperance advocate. Did not take seat because died 15 April 1880, before parliament assembled.  
A founder, member and deacon of People's Chapel, Great King Street, Birmingham. Treasurer of Midland Baptist Association. Great-grandson of John Fawcett, Baptist minister at Halifax. (Langley, pp. 108, 110.)  
*W.W.B.M.P.*

**Supplementary List of Supposed Nineteenth-Century Baptist M.Ps**

**JABEZ SPENCER BALFOUR**  
1843-1916  
M.P.(L): Tamworth, 1880-85  
Burnley, Feb. 1889-Dec. 1892  
Promoter of various firms including Liberator Building Society, following whose collapse in 1892 he was imprisoned for fraud. First mayor of Croydon. J.P.  
Spent youth at Church Street Baptist Church, NW London, where his mother, Mrs Clara Balfour, and his sister, Mrs Dawson Burns, remained
members, but was Congregationalist (*Freeman*, 1 Jul. 1892, p. 457).

W.W.B.M.P., 2.

**RT HON. AUGUSTINE BIRRELL**

1850-1933

M.P.(L): Fife, W, Jul. 1889-1900

Bristol, N, 1906-18


Son of the Rev. C. M. Birrell, minister of Pembroke Chapel, Liverpool, 1838-72. Augustine's sister married the Rev. Edward Medley, minister of Derby Road Baptist Church, Nottingham, 1876-91, whose brother was the Rev. William Medley, classical tutor at Rawdon College (*Freeman*, 11 Dec. 1885, p. 823). Augustine's first wife was member of Ealing Green Congregational Church (Binfield). Augustine in his own words was "never baptized as an adult, and unless my maternal grandfather baptized me in Edinburgh as a baby, have never been baptized at all" — his grandfather, Dr Henry Grey, being a minister of the Free Church of Scotland (Birrell, below, pp. 11f.). Did not reach Christian convictions: as an undergraduate he found the ministry at Emmanuel Congregational Church, Cambridge, "out of the current of my thoughts" (Birrell, p. 65). In 1905 prepared to say that he was not now associated with a Baptist Church, but still classed himself as a Free Churchman. Delighted in Puritan theological literature (*C.W.*, 14 Dec. 1905, p. 21).


**ALFRED BILLSON**

1839-1907

M.P.(L): Devon, NW, 1892-95

Halifax, Mar. 1897-1900

Staffordshire, NW, 1906-07


**JOSEPH BUTTERWORTH**

1770-1826

M.P.(Independent): Coventry, 1812-18

Dover, 1820-26


ROBERT CAMERON
1825-1913
M.P.(L): Houghton-le-Spring, 1895-1913
Head of Friends' School, Sunderland, for forty years.
Son of Rev. D. Cameron, Scottish Baptist minister. Spoke at Baptist Union assembly. But a Methodist *(C.W., 4 Jan. 1906, p. vii)*.

SIR EDWARD HAMER CARBUTT, Bart
1838-1905
M.P.(L): Monmouth District, 1880-86
Noted as Baptist by *Freeman*, 16 Apr. 1880, p. 195, but this source often guilty of wishful thinking and no further evidence of Baptist allegiance.

THOMAS CAVE
1825-94
M.P.(L): Barnstaple, 1865-80
Vinegar brewer and then head of London financial firm until retired in 1864. Chairman of railway companies. Sheriff of London and Middlesex, 1864. J.P.
Listed as regretted casualty by *Freeman*, 9 Apr. 1880, p. 182. Vice-president of London Free and Open Church Association (Debrett, 1872, p. 45). Hence Unitarian.

JEREMIAH JAMES COLMAN
1830-98
M.P.(L): Norwich, Feb. 1871-95
Mustard manufacturer. Member of Norwich Town Council, 1859-71, and alderman from 1896. Sheriff, 1862-63. Mayor, 1867-68. J.P. D.L.
Member (from 1856) and deacon (1861-70) of St Mary's Baptist Church, Norwich. Rented sittings at Bloomsbury Baptist Church, London, when young. Under wife's influence had children baptized as infants in 1870 and transferred membership to Princes Street Congregational Church, Norwich, in 1871. Remained treasurer of Norfolk Association of Baptist Churches until death. Preferred "Christian work that is not hedged about by high denominational walls." *(H. C. Colman, below, pp. 79, 135f., 143)*.

THOMAS COOTE
b. 1850
M.P.(L): Huntingdonshire, S, 1885-86
Colliery factor at St Ives, Huntingdonshire.
Noted as Baptist by Freeman, 18 Dec. 1885, p. 838. Coote’s father, another Thomas, was treasurer of the Huntingdonshire Union of Independent and Baptist Churches in 1862, and by 1886 Thomas junior had succeeded him in that office (Congregational Year Book, 1862 and 1886). But the father was the leader of a Congregational separation from the Fenstanton Union Church in the 1870s and on the Congregational Union Committee from 1879. The son was also presumably a Congregationalist. At Huntingdon, where he lived, however, he would be a member of Trinity Union Church, which was predominantly Baptist, and this would explain the reference in the Freeman (Binfield).
W.W.B.M.P., 2.

SIR HERBERT HARDY COZENS-HARDY
(Baron Cozens-Hardy of Letheringsett, 1914)
1838-1920
M.P.(L): Norfolk, N, 1885-Feb. 99
Attended Bloomsbury Baptist Church, London, from 1854, and communicant there from 1856 (Bloomsbury Baptist Church Records per Binfield). Brother-in-law of J. J. Colman (q.v.). Brought up a Wesleyan, but parents seceded to Free Methodists. (H. C. Colman, Jeremiah James Colman: a memoir, London, 1905, pp. 188f. and 306f.) Married at Grafton Square Congregational Church, Clapham, 1866 (Clyde Binfield, below, p. 135n.). From 1868 attended Kensing­ton Chapel (Congregational), where member when M.P. Transferred membership to Whitefield’s Tabernacle (Congregational), 1907 (Binfield). At Holt, attended Methodist Free Church (Free Church Record, 1899, p. 53).

WILLIAM DAVIES
1821-95
M.P.(L): Pembrokeshire, 1880-92
Noted as Baptist by Freeman, 18 Dec. 1885, p. 838. Inherited in 1874 estate of William Rees, his partner as solicitor, a patron of Baptists. His first wife had died in 1872 and was buried in Macpelah Baptist Cemetery. Davies was trustee of Haverfordwest Baptist College and a donor to the churches at Broadhaven and Thornton (Williams). However, he was not a Baptist, but an Independent (K. O. Morgan, Wales in British Politics, 1868-1922, Cardiff, 1970 edn, p. 40n.).
W.W.B.M.P., 2.
JOHN PASSMORE EDWARDS
1823-1911
M.P.(L): Salisbury, 1880-85
Editor and proprietor of newspapers, notably *Echo*, 1876-96. President of London Reform Union and of Anti-Gambling League. Founded libraries, hospitals, settlements, etc.
His mother was a Baptist. Edwards himself held very broad religious views and was sceptical of churches (Edwards, below, pp. 7, 47f.).

SIR EDWARD TEMPERLEY GOURLEY
1828-1902
M.P.(L): Sunderland, 1868-1900

RT HON. RICHARD BURDON HALDANE
(Viscount Haldane of Cloan, 1911)
1856-1928
M.P.(L): Haddingtonshire, 1885-1911
Grandson of James Alexander Haldane, minister of Tabernacle Church, Edinburgh, 1799-1851 (Baptist from 1808). Son of Robert Haldane, W.S., a member of Dublin Street Baptist Church, Edinburgh, and lay preacher (*B.T.*, 12 Jan. 1906, p. 24). Richard was baptized by the Rev. William Grant at Bristo Place Baptist Church, Edinburgh, but only to please his parents. Immediately afterwards he declared "I had no connection with the church, or its teaching, or with any other church" (*Haldane*, below, pp. 21ff.; *C.W.*, 25 Jan. 1906, p. 475).

JOHN DOVE HARRIS
1809-78
M.P.(L): Leicester, 1857-59, 1865-74
Hosiery manufacturer. Mayor of Leicester, 1850 and 1856. Voted in parliament for Irish disestablishment.
*W.W.B.M.P.*
SIR HENRY MARSHMAN HAVELOCK-ALLAN, Bart
(assumed additional surname of Allan in 1880)
1830-97
M.P.(L): Sunderland, 1874-81
Durham County, SE, 1885-86
(LU): Durham County, SE, 1886-92, 1895-97
Soldier and landowner. Served with father, Sir Henry Havelock, during Indian Mutiny, and received baronetcy, 1858, that would have been conferred on his father had he not died. V.C. K.C.B. J.P. D.L. Retired as Lieutenant-General, 1887, but killed when visiting troops on North-West Frontier.
Havelock-Allan's father and mother, the daughter of Joseph Marshman of Serampore, were Baptists. Sir Henry sometimes worshipped at Bloomsbury Baptist Church. (Information from Mrs F. Bowers.) He was still treated as a Baptist by Freeman, 11 Dec. 1885, p. 823, but the same journal was declaring seven years later that he "is no more a Baptist than he is a Liberal" (1 Jul. 1892, p. 458). According to a manuscript autobiography, he regularly attended Darlington Parish Church (Havelock-Allan Papers, North Yorkshire County Record Office, per the county archivist). At what date he conformed is unclear, but it was probably no later than his marriage in 1865 to the daughter of the Earl of Ducie.
D.N.B.

SIR GEORGE KEMP (Baron Rochdale, 1913)
1866-1945
(L): Lancashire, Heywood, Aug. 1904-06
Manchester, NW, Jan. 1910-Jul. 1912
Son of George Tawke Kemp, founder member of Bloomsbury Baptist Church, London, and later deacon of West Street Baptist Church, Rochdale (Binfield). Mother was daughter of Henry Kelsall, a Baptist, and sister of the second wife of Sir Morton Peto. No suggestion that Kemp himself, educated at Shrewsbury, Balliol and Trinity, Cambridge, was Baptist.
W.W.W.

SIR JOSEPH FRANCIS LEESE, Bart
1845-1914
M.P.(L): Lancashire, Accrington, 1892-1909
Born in a Baptist family and a lay student at Regent's Park College (Freeman, 22 Jul. 1892, p. 516). No Baptist allegiance in later life. At one time member of Bowdon Downs Congregational Church, Manchester. (H. Shaw, The Story of the Church of Christ of the Congregational Order meeting at Bowdon Downs, 1839-1900,
SIR JOHN LENG
1828-1906
M.P.(L): Dundee, Sep. 1889-1906
D.N.B.

SIR ALFRED GEORGE MARTEN
1829-1906
M.P.(C): Cambridge, 1874-80
Brother of the Rev. Robert Humphrey Marten, minister of High Road, Lee, Baptist Church, 1855-85. A. G. Marten himself was educated at the Dissenting Mill Hill School, but must have conformed before became a fellow at Cambridge.

W.W.B.M.P. W.W.W.

GEORGE FREDERICK MUNTZ
1794-1857
Sometimes supposed to be Baptist, probably because of confusion with his son, another G. F. Muntz, who in the 1870s was baptized by Charles Vince at Graham Street Chapel, Birmingham, and gave land for Christ Church, Umberslade, near his hall (*Langley*, p. 207). The Muntz who was M.P., though an advocate of Dissenting causes, was "proud of his Anglicanism" (*Derek Fraser, Urban Politics in Victorian England*, Leicester, 1976, p. 46).
D.N.B.

ERNEST NOEL
1831-1931
M.P.(L): Dumfries District, 1874-86
Gentleman. J.P. D.L. Chairman of the Artisans' Dwellings Company. Son of the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Wriothesley Noel, minister of John Street Baptist Church, Holborn, 1849-68, who left the ministry of the Church of England in 1848. Ernest appears to have had no other Baptist links.
W.W.B.M.P., 2.
EVAN MATTHEW RICHARDS
1821-80
M.P.(L): Cardiganshire, 1868-74
Usually described as Baptist (e.g. Nonconformist, 16 Dec. 1868, p. 1220) because his wife was member of Mount Pleasant English Baptist Church, Swansea, and he attended with her (Bassett, p. 302). His own funeral was at Bethel Welsh Congregational Church, Sketty, Swansea, and conducted by Congregational ministers (obituary in The Cambrian per the Rev. M. J. Williams). He should therefore properly be classed as a Congregationalist.


(A.) ROBINSON SOUTTAR
1848-1912
M.P.(L): Dumfriesshire, 1895-1900
Civil engineer, but retired 1884. Then attended Oxford University. President of Oxford Y.M.C.A. Vice-president of National Council of Y.M.C.A. Author. Temperance authority. D.C.L.
Member of New Road Baptist Church, Oxford (Freeman, 1 Jul. 1892, p. 458). But the church practised open membership, Souttar was brought up in Aberdeen, probably as a Presbyterian, and there was in 1892 no Presbyterian church in Oxford. In 1903 he was “intimately associated with the Congregational and Presbyterian bodies, and frequently occupies the pulpit in the latter denomination” (C.W., 24 Sep. 1903, p. 3). It therefore seems likely that he was a Presbyterian who joined New Road as the senior Free Church in Oxford while he lived there.

W.W.B.M.P., 2.

ABEL THOMAS
1848-1912
M.P.(L): Carmarthenshire, E, Aug. 1890-Jul. 1912
Barrister. Q.C., 1891. Bencher of Middle Temple, 1900. Chairman of Pembrokeshire Quarter Sessions. J.P.
Son of Theophilus Evan Thomas, of Trehael, Pembrokeshire, a prominent Baptist, builder of Blaennllyn Chapel and “minister of the gospel” (Debrett, 1893, p. 150; Bassett, p. 213). Abel was noted as Baptist by Freeman, 1 Jul. 1892, p. 458, but this source is far from trustworthy and there is no confirming evidence of his allegiance.

W.W.B.M.P., 2.

SIR (CHARLES) ERNEST TRITTON, Bart
1845-1918
M.P.(C): Lambeth, Norwood, 1892-1906
Senior partner in bill brokers and banking agents. Member of London Chamber of Commerce. Member of London City Mission Committee. Bart, 1905.
Son of Joseph Tritton, treasurer of B.M.S. He himself was treasurer of Church of England Temperance Society (Dod, 1893, p. 360) and vice-president of Church Missionary Society (W.W.W.), and so clearly an Anglican.

ARTHUR BRENDE WINTERBOTHAM
1838-92
M.P.(L): Gloucestershire, Cirencester, 1885-86
(LU): Gloucestershire, Cirencester, 1886-92
(L): Gloucestershire, Cirencester, Jul.-Sep. 1892
Partner in woollen cloth manufacturers. J.P.
Brother of H. S. P. Winterbotham (q.v.), but no known Baptist connection. (Information from Mr W. O. Wicks.)

HENRY SELFE PAGE WINTERBOTHAM
1837-73
M.P.(L): Stroud, Aug. 1867-73
Grandson of the Rev. William Winterbotham, minister of Shortwood Baptist Church, Nailsworth, Gloucestershire. Henry’s father, Lindsay, was a member of Shortwood until 1853, when his name was erased. A banker, Lindsay had moved to Tewkesbury. Henry’s name did not appear in the Shortwood records (per Mr W. O. Wicks). In London, Henry was a hearer of William Brock and a donor to Bloomsbury Baptist Church (M’Cree, p. 56; Binfield), although he also sometimes sat under Thomas Jones at Bedford Chapel, Oakley Square (Congregational Year Book, 1883, p. 294). The obituary in The Baptist Magazine (Jan. 1874, p. 32) avoids any reference to church membership, concluding that he was “an avowed, though not extreme, Nonconformist”. It therefore appears unlikely that Winterbotham was a member of a Baptist church.

D.N.B.
NOTES

1D. W. Bebbington, 'Baptist M.Ps in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', The Baptist Quarterly, 28/6, Apr. 1980. I am very grateful for extensive help with the present article to many people, including the following: Dr J. C. G. Binfield, Mrs Faith Bowers, Mr J. H. Y. Briggs, Mr F. M. W. Harrison, Mr C. B. Jewson, Miss M. E. King, Mr Stephen Lees, the late Rev. Dr E. A. Payne, C.H., the Rev. Dr K. R. M. Short, Dr N. W. Summerton, Dr D. M. Thompson, Mr W. O. Wicks and the Rev. M. J. Williams.

2Sir George White, first elected at the 1900 election, is omitted from consideration here because his parliamentary career falls almost entirely in the twentieth century. He is to be included in a list of twentieth-century Baptist M.Ps to be published later in this journal.

3Cf. the list of nineteenth-century Congregationalist M.Ps to be published later in the journal of the United Reformed Church Historical Society.

4Thomas Lomas, A Memoir of the late R. Harris, Esq., formerly M.P. for Leicester, London, 1855, pp. 69, 105.

5Cf. a talk to be published later in this journal.

D. W. BEBBINGTON,
Lecturer in History, University of Stirling.