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TRANSACTIONS

THE CONGREGATIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

EDITOR JOHN H. TAYLOR, B.D.

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Editorial

'Martin Marprelate' was the title of Professor Leland H. Carlson's lecture given at the 70th Annual Meeting of the Society held on 21 May. For over twenty years Dr. Carlson has been engaged in producing Elizabethan Nonconformist Texts series published for the Sir Halley Stewart Trust by George Allen and Unwin Ltd. The late Dr. Albert Peel and he worked on the first two volumes, Cartwright, Harrison and Browne; he alone on the last three, Greenwood, and close on a thousand pages of Henry Barrow. Now it is the turn of John Penry and this involves the mystery of the Marprelate Tracts.

In an informal, unscripted lecture Professor Carlson revealed to us his role as an investigator. We were already not unaware of his enthusiasm, his industry and thoroughness, but the story he told of his battles with the computer in an effort to analyse the literary styles of Martin, Penry and Job Throgmorton left us astonished. This labour is still incomplete. Early engagements with the computer were not entirely successful and Dr. Carlson returns to California to achieve final victory. What we heard was by way of interim report and therefore we must apologize to readers for not being able to reproduce this year's lecture after the usual fashion.

EDITORIAL

We heard enough, however, to feel convinced that the seriousminded Penry could hardly have been responsible for Martin's masterly satire; this was much more in the line of Job Throgmorton, whom Camden described as 'a learned man and of a facetious and jibing tongue'. In all, one of the most fascinating lectures ever given to the Society.

Another pleasure at the Annual Meeting was to see on display the thirteen handsome volumes of the Kraus-Thompson reprint of the Society's Transactions, 1901-1964, together with the index. The work is very well done and even photographs are nearly up to the originals.

Miss I. M. Fletcher, the L.M.S. archivist, has sent us a note about the Rev. George Gogerly who figured in a short contribution to our last issue. It was stated that Gogerly trained to be a missionary at the Gosport Academy before going to Calcutta as a printer. L.M.S. records do not substantiate this. It was after his printing work collapsed—he was none too competent in charge of the press and failed to keep proper accounts—that he became an ordained missionary. His training was done in India. He was ordained in 1828 and served until 1835 and again from 1839-41.

We are always pleased to receive short notes or queries. Members send us chapel histories from time to time and these we welcome. A somewhat unusual one was sent us by A. J. Hatley recently : *Marsh Street Congregations*, being an occasional publication of the Walthamstow Antiquarian Society (1969), compiled by S. Hanson, A. D. Law, and W. G. S. Tonkin. It contains short historical notes on the churches and a list of the ministers of the Old and New Meetings, plans and drawings, and details of the inscriptions on thirty-eight tombstones in the graveyard. An unusually interesting one is that of Sarah Razafy 'A Christian Refugee From Madagascar who fell asleep on 26 Dec. 1840.' In 1839 the minister of the church, J. J. Freeman, was Foreign Secretary of the L.M.S. and six Malagasy Christians arrived there in flight from the persecution in their island. The publication is not printed but duplicated, yet nevertheless is attractively presented.

FRANCIS HOLCROFT

In the second half of the 17th century three remarkable men were prominent in the gathered churches of the East Midlands; John Bunvan of Bedford (died 1688) whose 'parish' covered groups in Bedfordshire, north Hertfordshire and west Cambridgeshire:¹ Richard Davis of Rothwell, Northants, (died 1714) whose 'parish' covered groups in Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire and Warwickshire;² and Francis Holcroft (died January 1691/2) who looked after groups in Cambridgeshire, Hertfordshire and Huntingdonshire.

In an earlier paper in these Transactions³ I drew attention to the important manuscript account of Francis Holcroft, written by Richard Conder of the Croydon cum Clopton, Cambridgeshire Independent Church, and expressed the hope that it would be possible to publish the text in full at a later date-this article is the fulfilment of that hope.

In the interim period, however, Margaret Spufford's valuable The Dissenting Churches in Cambridgeshire from 1660-1700 appeared⁴ and gave the background to Holcroft and his times, and printed some extracts from my typescript of Richard Conder's account of Francis Holcroft.

To the Holcroft references cited by A. G. Matthews in his Calamy Revised⁵ and by Margaret Spufford, may be added the account of Holcroft appearing, with notes, in Reginald Hine's The History of Hitchin⁶ and three from publications of Cambridgeshire societies.

At the death in 1686 of Barnabas Oley, vicar of Great Gransden, Huntingdonshire, the squire, Charles Caesar, said that all the people in the village went to the parish church except 'one old silly woman who follows Holcroft and Bunion '.7

¹Copies of my typescript and index of the first Church Book of Bunyan's Bedford Church (1656-1821) are with the church, with Dr. Williams's Library, London and with the County Record Office, Bedford. ²Copies of my typescript and index of the first Church Book of Richard Davis' Rothwell, Northants, Church (1655-1704) are with the church, with Dr. Williams's Library, London and with the County Record Office, Northampton.

Proceedings, Cambridgeshire Antiquarian Society 1xi (1968) pp.67-95. 51934.

6ii (1929) passim.

^sxx, pp. 170-72.

¹Transactions Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Archaeological Society II (1908) pp. 115-16.

In the three note books in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, of Sir Thomas Sclater, J.P. for Cambridgeshire 1660-84, are several references to Holcroft and his associate Joseph Oddy. The references show that during their imprisonment after the Restoration Holcroft and Oddy were treated as gentlemen and with leniency. The notebooks include some interesting notes about the visitors whom Holcroft saw when a prisoner in Cambridge Castle. Judge Keeling asked Sclater and the Vice Chancellor to keep a list of the suspected persons who visited Holcroft. The list included country gentlemen, London merchants and Sarah Cornwall 'musitian's 'daughter of Great St. Mary's.⁸

The will of Holcroft is revealing. Parcels of his goods were in the houses of three different friends. His library was valued at £40, much more than the libraries of most beneficed clergy. His clothes were worth £5 and his chestnut nag, with bridle and saddle, were valued at £3.⁹

And now the text of Richard Conder's account of Holcroft. It is printed here in the original spelling but with some breaking down into paragraphs and with a minimal number of punctuation insertions.

a shoort an acount of the Relashion of God's servant mist. Holldcroft, his coming furst out to preach the gospell, his desier was that God wolld lead him into som darck place to preach the gospell wher the name of Jeasous had not bin named, loocking that God woolld call him biond the seas. but continoing in his studies in the collidg, his chamber being over the colig geat,¹⁰ he observid that their was a hors brought on the lord's day mornings for a suply to goo into the cuntri, and being soplied by a druncken scoller the horse woolld stand their a great whill and soomtimes he woolld be had away again and no soply was sent.

and the observation of theas things greefid God's servant to think that they lay still their and the poar contri wantid suppli. and the hors being brought after the ueusal manor and non to goo, God's servant, hafing a sence of the woorth of preshous solls he cam down out of his chambor and toock the hors and came into the contri about nine or ten miles to Lidelinton,¹¹ not knoing at all the way.

⁸Proceedings of Cambridge Antiquarian Society xvii (1912-13) p. 96. This should be compared with Conder's account of Holcroft's suffering in prison.

⁹Proceedings, Cambridge Antiquarian Society, xvi (1911-12) pp. 167-8.⁻ ¹⁰Clare College, Cambridge. ¹¹Litlington near Royston.

and he thought it was feri like the place that he desired to preach in, the place being so darck, and so it pleased the lord to bring him and to contineu him, and soone oned him in his woork, and from thence to Basingbon¹² and their preached on the weeck days as weell as the Saboth.

and the lord oned him much in converchon of soolls and their began to be a talk of him, and my father being a anchent profeser then being feri son in this contri, heard of his meting on one of the holi days as they calle them at Eastr or Whisantid, he maid his servant and children to goo with him to the meeting thow it much displeased us and he preached then from them woords 'the ston that was regected by vow builders is becom the head ston of the corner'.

and i being yong did not understand what he preached but thought he was a strang man to talk so much about stoons. and when wee cam away he followed us out and tallcked with my father about severall things, and my father being feri plain with him he askid him what he thought in him, and his ansour was that he toock him to bee on of the reformed prests of that day, and hee claped him on the shoolder and said ' thow dost not know my mind, but thow maist know it hearaftor'.

and soo hee partid with him and soon after the woorck of God went forward and soolls was converted and the lord was much with him and soonn seet his hart to build him an hows. and the lord's hand was seen in that day in calling seaverall of the vong scollers in the unifarciti which did preach about in the cuntri towns, as mister oddi¹³ at Melldrid¹⁴ and mister Ecins¹⁵ at Chisell¹⁶ and mister Ponder¹⁷ at Whadon.¹⁸

and God's servant, being ficxed for the rulls of God's hous, was soonne set apart pastor by mister Staloms and soom others which I hafe forgat, then being feri yong, but this I remember they cept the day and all the night after with great joy and singin, and I remember that my father and mother can hom in the morning and as soonne as my mother had doon milleking shee cam in and toolld my father that shee must goo to Basingbon again, and they toock their hors and weent away.

¹⁵Robert Ekins, see Calamy Revised.

¹⁰Chishill.

¹²Bassingbourn.

¹⁴Meldreth.

¹⁸ Joseph Oddy, see Calamy Revised. 17 Samuel Ponder, see Calamy Revised. 18Whaddon.

their was shuch a mighti preasenc of God amongst them that they ware redi to forsack all to follow Crist, and I remember that my mother was on of the furst allmoast that was adid to lay the foundation, but my father stood out a priti whill and did not joyn with them upon the acount of the cofenant, for he was not clear in the cofenant nor the sealls of it whill they beleefid. but the lord brought him and seet him to see into it afterwards and in the time of builldin this church it was a tim of trobell, for now king Charls cam in and God's servant and theas befoare mentioned was turned out of the publick placises.

but the woork of God went forward and their was daly adid to the church, and God's servant was for gooing on in church order and for choosing ellders, and at a meting at Eavesdon¹⁹ was chosen foor, namly mistor Oddi and mistor Corbin²⁰ and mistor Waite and mistor Bard, and God's servant, after he was turned out at Basingbon, preached in the publick at Crovdon²¹ and then was turned out their and then hee preached at Great Eavesdon publickly and their they toock him and woolld leet him preach no longer, but hafing others ingaiged for his apearance thee next day befoar Sir Thomas Chichely. he had his liberty that night and had a wonderfull season an preasance of God, and the next day he went befoar the magestrat and he sent him to prison, and soonne after mister Stoarie cam with his solgors and toock mistor Oddi at Melldrid whill he was preaching and caried him away to prison allso. and thus the churchis afficton begun upon her, but the moar she was afficted the moar she gru.

and after this they took mistor Corbin to prison and lickwis mistor Waits but he maid his escap from them into another counti, and mistor Bard liekwis fell under sum surcomstance that he leaft the church too and this was a great greef to God's servants whoos harts was ficksed for crist and his peopells intrust and was redi to lay down their lifes lick good sheapords for the sheep, and now the church was leaft in great straits but the lord was mightely with his servants in the prisins and they maid greatly their besiness to right too and exort the church to be steedfast in the faith, and the lord was greatly with his popell in that day and openid their mouths in a way of exortation.

¹⁹Great Eversden, Cambs. ²⁰Samuel Corbyn. see Calamy Revised. ²¹Croydon cum Clopton, Cambs.

and then they met with another trioll and that was the presbeterian party hoo blamed them for not conforming soo far as to goo to the publick on part of the day and meet togither on the other part, but the lord was greatly with his popell in that day and hellpid them to bar a testemoni against their conforming, and openid the mouths of seaverell of the breatheren in that day by way of exortation, namly at Chisell brother Bacor and brother Hagor and at Melborn brother Clofer and at Meldrid brother Astin, and soo the meetings was ceept up in the absence of God's servants, and the worck of God went forward in confershon of soolls and the church was edefied

and god's servant being zealos for God and the woorck of his hows maid seaverall scaps out of prison in the night to ceep church meetings with his breatheren, wheirin was a mighti preasonce of God, and mani was adid to the church in thoas days of tryols, and God's servan[t], being as a good shepord zealos for God and ready to lay down his life for the sheep, was in great disstreas abowght mister Waits and mister Bards leafing the church in its affickhon, and seant seaveroll admonishons to them to retorn to the church, wheirof they returned not and the church proceedid against them for theire not ansoering their call and some other crims that was against them, and they was coot of from the church, but som was dissatisfied.

and after this Bedford church²² toock mistor Waits into their sosieti and Oni²³ church mister Bard without their reconsileation to their breatherin and this maid such a breach of communion betwen thease churchis that to this day is not maid up nor rightly reconsiled for they woolld not acknolig their sin in so dooing nor coolld they shoo a rulle for it.

and after this their was liberty grantid and God's servants cam out of prison and their was a meeting hous bwelt at Cambrig but that libirty did not last long but the scollors maid great disterboance in the meetings and at length cam whith their drums into the meeting place so that they coold not hear what was preached and woolld not sufer God's severant to preach the gospell their, and soonne after God's servant was put in prison againe and great percicution was upon the church for a long time.

²²i.e. John Bunyan's Bedford church.

God's servant was in prison about twealfe years only som litell enterfolls betwen; somtimes tride for his life, sumtimes upon banishment; other times hee might hafe had his liborty if hee woolld hafe leaft his pepell, bu[t] he hafing learonid of his lord, licke a good shepard choos rather to lay down his life for the sheep but the lord dilivered him from all his ennmis that was ingagid against him.

on thing eminently was to be tackin notis of was on judg that cam the surkit was so inragid against the church and God'[s] servant that he gaf it out in his charge that he ought to be prockutid against as a fealon or to that purpos, and their happened amongst the reast to be on good wooman that heard his charge that was much conserned at it built that woord fell with waight upon hur sperits 'the Egiptions which ve see today ve shall hencfoarth see no moar for ever', wheirupon shee went away and testified that shee did beleefe that hee shoolld niver com to gife his charg any moar their or to that efect, but after a time he came the sam surkit again and was coming apaic to Cambridg which when the wooman did hear of it maid hur mus upon it becos shee had so afarmid it and liftd in the faith of it, but whiles shee was musing on theas things woord cam to Cambridg that the judg was tacken sick whilest he was giften his charg at Bedford and was carid doun from the bench and was dead, which casid hur again to tryumf in the lord that had maid this known to hur.

but the church had mani inemis namly captin Stori who prockuti[d] the laws then in force which was twelfe pence a weeck and twenti pounds a month for absenting from their church and if they weir tacken at a meting twas twenti pounds the preacher and twenti pounds the hows and twelf pence apeces the hearers and if they was poar they myt charg so far as six pounds upon an ofendor.

[s]oo God's servant being in prison their was a strangor that hapened to the inn about to mills of the meeting and inquiering if their was no meeting their abouts and wass sent to the meeting and preached their but the informors went for captin Story and toock the meeting that day and the man readely toolld him his name and whear he lifed in the siti and desiered that the meeting shoolld not be chargid upon his acount. but soone after the warant cam out and they fecht away catell from mister Stacy of Melldrid and soolld them for what they coolld git, for their wass som that was forward to by them, and hafing not maid so much moni as was laid upon the meeting, capting Stoary still in his rage breathing out threatning against the church, being at London, that when hee cam doun into the contry a how he woolld pluck Jack Stacies fethors or to that effect, and whillest he wass at diner he died with a pees of a rabit in his mouth as wee heard, and his retorn back into the contry wass in a sheet of lead.

and after this their arous another percqutor on mistor Martin, and he cam with the solgers and disturbed the metings for a tim but it pleased the lord soone to lay him aside faling under cloud surcomstantis as to the world. and after that their arose capting Duckit and hee toock God's servant, mistor Holldcroft upon the wai when he was acoming to my hous to preach the gospell and carid him away to prison to Cambridg and from thence wass removed to the Fleet in London and their lay all the frosti winter, which was thought to be a great damig to his bodi for their would com to him so mani into the prison that they woolld mack it lick a stoo, that hee woold strip himsellf into his wescoat to preach to them in that coolld season as it was comonly repoarted, and for want of that care of him as was met he toock to much damig as was thought he niver recovered it.

but ass for capting Duckit he was brought under shuch surcomstance that his heat of perciqution was soone stopid, and having a great consern at law, when he cam to his tryall their was sumbodi that had made the judg aquantid with his tacking of mister Hoolldcroft in the wai, which hee tolld him of when he cam befor him and askid him by what law he did it and he loosing his tryall sonsaited and rwit [*sic*] into the cuntori that he had lost his tryall upon the acount of the tacking of Hoolldcroft in the way. and thus the lord brought doune the percequters of his church in thoase days and mani moar mit be tacken notis of, informors and perciqutors, which the lord cut of in thoas days, sum by notable deaths as roting as they say, others with gillt upon their conshonc.²⁴

H. G. TIBBUTT

²⁴This account of Holcroft is on pages loosely inserted in the First Church Book of the Great Gransden, Hunts. church (now Strict Baptist) which was originally the associate of the Croydon cum Clopton, Cambs. Independent church, and later its supplanter.

THE WARDEN PAPERS

I. The Parental Academy, Calcutta.

The story of this short-lived institution, illustrating the antipathy of the Church of England towards Dissent as it showed itself in Calcutta, is recorded in some personal correspondence of the Rev. Joseph Bradley Warden and his wife Mary, that has lately been added to the L.M.S., records of the Congregational Council for World Mission, by the courtesy of a descendant.

Warden was one of a party of three friends who, with their wives, arrived at Calcutta on 5 March 1882. He was born on 25 December 1800, according to his great grandson (the L.M.S. Register gives the year as 1779) and, as a member of Carr's Lane Church, Birmingham, under J. Angell James, he offered himself to the London Missionary Society in 1816. He was sent to John Chalmers of Stafford on probation and then went on for a full theological and missionary course under Dr. Bogue, at Gosport, along with James Hill of Stafford, who had been educated in Chalmer's school. The third member of the party was Micaiah Hill, also of Carr's Lane church, who later left Calcutta for Berhampur.

At this time the Charter Renewal Act, 1813, allowed missionaries to work in India, but they continued until 1833 to need a licence and were liable to deportation if they were considered to be in any way inciting to rebellion or in any way offending the East India Company. This meant treading warily as regards preaching the Gospel, so that they were largely limited to preparing the way by educational work. This was done by native schools, schools for poor Eurasians, and by the printed word. The number of missionaries was few. The L.M.S. sent two men to Calcutta in 1816 and several others followed, but the number remained small owing to the many deaths. The work of the C.M.S. was carried on by a local Corresponding Committee, started in 1807. and money was then sent out for the translation of the Scriptures and the employment of readers. These readers were Indian converts anywhere in North India where the Company's chaplain was a thinly-disguised missionary. The secretary, responsible to London, was the Calcutta chaplain, the Rev. T. Thomason, a C.M.S. man and an evangelical. The Baptist missionaries with their headquarters in Danishgoverned Serampore had no licences of residence in British India and were tolerated according to the pleasure of the Governorgeneral. The See of Calcutta, taking in the whole of the British East Indies was formed in 1814. T. F. Middleton being consecrated privately at Lambeth Palace in May of that year. This first Bishop of Calcutta was an S.P.G. man with no use for the newer C.M.S. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, however, did nothing about Calcutta until 1818 when there was 'security derived from proper Diocesan control '1 and then they made a contribution of £5.000 towards Bishop's College at Middleton's suggestion. The foundation stone of this college was laid on 15 December 1820. and two professors went out from England to teach there. Bishop Middleton died on 8 July 1823, and was replaced in October that same year by Bishop Heber, an evangelical. On 6 March 1824, the first two students were admitted to Bishop's College.

On the 25 September 1823, Joseph Warden wrote a long report, on behalf of the Calcutta brethren, a copy of which in his own handwriting is amongst the Warden papers. The copy in the L.M.S., archives is in another hand. This document contains a version of the affair of the Parental Academy, as follows :---

We must now advert to an event the particulars of which we cannot communicate without mingled emotions. Impressed by the frequent admonitions which we received when in England from gentlemen of your own body and respectable ministers in the country we arrived in India with the conviction that we ought by every lawful method to seek to relieve your funds, and this consideration had considerable weight with us in our recent measures of appointing a pastor to Union Chapel.² In conformity with these motives two of our brethren were induced to accept of a situation the nature and issue of which it is our duty fully to state to you. In this city a large proportion of the inhabitants consists of Countryborn. a term with which we suppose you are familiar. These persons from political considerations the validity of which it is not our province to discuss have hitherto been low in public estimation and have been greatly restricted in their civil privileges. Lately however their body has been much augmented both in number and wealth, and they have begun vigorously to exert themselves for their mental improvement.

¹C. F. Pascoe, Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G., 1701-1900 (1901)., p. 474.

²An account of this is in the same report, 25.ix.1823.

In pursuing this laudable object an institution was formed by them which they denominated "The Parental Academical Institution", the design of which was to furnish on a liberal basis a school and collegiate education adapted to every state and profession. This Institution was vested in the hands of a Committee which was composed almost exclusively of Churchmen, yet they did Mr. Warden first, and afterwards Mr. M. Hill, the honour of offering the situation of head master, because as they said they could procure no others so well qualified to fill that office, but upon the condition that an acceptance of it would be followed by an abandoning of every other pursuit. As an inducement to accede to their proposal it was stated that a place of worship would be annexed to the establishment and that the brethren might mould the Society to their own views and wishes.

Such an offer was instantly rejected, and for obvious reasons. However, as we were unanimously of opinion that if the brethren could aid so important an undertaking by devoting to it a portion of their time in a way similar to that in which Dr. Carey attends the College of Fort William, and at the same time ease the funds of the Missionary Society it was their imperative duty to do so. In consequence of this recommendation they offered their services for about two hours per day on the average, which arrangement was accepted by the Committee, and Mr. Hill was awarded three hundred rupees per month for his services and Mr. Warden, with board and lodging as residing on the premises, two hundred, the former under the appellation of Professor of Arts and Sciences, and the latter under the appellation of Professor of Classics and Moral Philosophy. Thus without greatly interfering with their legitimate work they would have been comfortably supported and that in a way in strict accordance with its nature.

But in this country, as Mr. Townley can too well corroborate, the jealous eye with which the growing prosperity of Dissenters is regarded by Churchmen is too quick not to detect any method by which their influence can be checked. Party spirit is not here what it is in our own country, a contemptible worm of the earth crawling from its holes only when it is concealed by its congenital darkness and preying upon the green of the church, but a lurking serpent entwined around its branches darting upon every passing traveller and mangling what it cannot devour.

No sooner had the connexion between brethren and Academy been established than some of the clergy (from what motive it requires no great sagacity to conjecture) intruded an offer on the Committee to unite the interest with the Bishop's College and further to induce them to do so promised everything which is dazzling in money, attractive in patronage, or commanding in authority. Violent altercations were by these means naturally excited in the Committee and as the Churchmen in it were the more numerous party it was finally resolved to embrace the proposals which had been so insidiously and disgracefully held out to supplant Dissenters. This led to a separation between the brethren and the Committee. But the minority who were shocked at the nature of these proceedings entered their solemn protest against them and convened a meeting of the friends by whom the Institution had been established for the purpose of ascertaining their sentiments on the conduct of the majority. By this meeting, which it was said amounted to nearly a hundred and fifty, their measures were condemned and rescinded, a new Committee was formed and Messrs. Hill and Warden were respectfully invited to resume their stations in the Institution, which however they declined doing as nothing could be more hostile to their wishes than to be in any shape concerned in broils of this description.

To vindicate the conduct of the minority and develope the flagrant injustice and usurpation of the triumphant party, a pamphlet has been printed in which we explicitly avow that we have no concern whatever, and that it has received from one or two interested friends that remonstrance which it deserves. We are thus minute because we think it possible that some malignant breath may perhaps be employed in misrepresentation and calumny, though we have the satisfaction of assuring you that not a member in the first Committee has omitted to express his unqualified approbation of the brethren's deportment, his conviction of their fitness for the office which they filled and his solemn assurance that he was opposed to their continuance in it from only prudential considerations.

We communicate the history of this affair with the fullest confidence in your sympathy and regret.

On 1 October 1823, Joseph Warden gave his mother, in Birmingham, this account of the affair :

I am exceedingly grieved that the unexpected revolutions of the Parental Academy have so soon deprived me of the gratification which I fully relied on of supplying you with fifty pounds a year, which I would have done with the utmost ease had not the harpy talons of certain beings which infest this place torn from us a rightful possession only to defile it with their filthy ordure and then abandon it with disgust. However it is some satisfaction to us that throughout the whole transaction we were enabled to acquit ourselves in a way which was unimpeachable. Before I left my iuvenile charge I addressed them affectionately, told them that I was separated from them purely because I insisted on the privilege of attending to their religious instruction and begged as the best expression of their attachment to me that they would be doubly anxious in the pursuit of that salvation, for enforcing the importance of which I was about to leave them-their little hearts were too full for utterance and amidst mutual sobs we separated. But verily there is a God which judgeth in the earth. In a short time after we had left the pupils became so averse to the man who had been appointed our successor and had been employed as a mere spy to detect Mr. Hill or myself to inculcating religious instruction on them, that they formed a regular conspiracy against him and, with knotted ropes fell upon him in bed and beat him out of doors. The Committee was immediately convened on the occasion and the boys were individually examined on the cause of their hostile confederacy when it was found that their adversion to their master was so inveterate that he was dismissed from his situation. And the clergyman with whom the scandalous acts of the Committee had originated has lately been suspended from his functions for endeavouring in a clandestine way to procure from the newly appointed bishop the office of archdeacon of Calcutta and is about. I understand, to return to England covered with shame and disappointment.

Mary Warden, in her letter of 1 November 1823 to her uncle, James Crump, a Birmingham solicitor, has very little to add to the tale of the Parental Academy other than:

... my dear Partner and myself they were anxious should live upon the spot, we did so for a short time when the Church

party took it up in a most violent manner and offered to the Committee to unite the Institution to the Bishop's College and as the Committee chiefly consists in Churchmen it was at length agreed to unite it with the Church party and we were compelled to leave the Institution a few days after my confinement, thus my dear Uncle you see the envy and bigotry of the Established Church, their behaviour almost broke my dear Mr. Warden's heart.

The 'Churchmen' seem to have gone on to try other tactics, as Mary Warden tells her mother-in-law on 4 December 1823: my dear Love has had some very handsome offers made him, I mean in a pecuniary way, if he would become Editor to a Newspaper, as his talents I assure you are held in very high esteem, but he refused the offer of course, for it is his wish to spend and be spent for Christ.

Joseph himself was under no illusions as to the purpose of such an offer. In his letter to his mother of April 6, 1824, he said :

they have in this country one of the most effectual methods of correcting errors that modern times can furnish. For a word uttered at which a person in power should please to feel himself displeased would probably insure for its author an order to embark on the first ship that was about to sail for England. This circumstance is a considerable barrier to the progress of Dissent.

It was in this context, and in the same letter, that Joseph Warden remarked: "What a thing it is to be a half-starved snivelling dissenter ! and yet I assure you I never gloried so much in the name as I do at this moment."

II. Union Chapel, Calcutta.

The long report of the Calcutta Mission of the London Missionary Society prepared for the Directors by Joseph Warden in 1823 contains, besides the official account of the Parental Academy episode, an important statement regarding Union Chapel which, as the report was signed by all the members of the Mission, can be accepted as their common mind. These signatories were: Samuel Trawin, of South Molton, Devon, who reached Calcutta on February 8, 1819; Micaiah Hill, and James Hill, who both went out with Joseph Warden in 1822; Edward Ray, assistant, recruited in Calcutta in 1820; and George Gogerly, a Londoner who reached Calcutta on 13 September 1819 having responded to Henry Townley's appeal for a printer. The statement is as follows:

Your missionaries have been the means of forming a church professedly on Congregational principals and that church supports its own pastor : Does it then in reality possess the privileges of an Independent church or has it only been mocked with a shadow? Has it a right to choose or reject its own ministers, as some of the members already maintain that it has, or is it compelled to listen to whomsoever you send it? Can it control its own finances or are they a part of your own as the chapel is undoubtedly yours? If not-if the church must receive whatever ministers you send and must consider its funds as a part of your own is it not most essentially a Methodist establishment instead of that which it is denominated? We seem in circumstances very similar to those in which Mr. Wesley was placed at the commencement of his career. and it becomes therefore an enquiry of great importance whether we shall leave our future steps to be directed by evolving circumstances as he did, and thus like him be driven to measures which neither ourselves not posterity will approve. or by anticipating evils prevent them. We are assured that your own knowledge of the miseries which are now reigning in many of the churches in our own country will form an abundant excuse for our expressing ourselves thus strongly on a subject of this magnitude.³

He goes on to throw a part of the responsibility for this question arising on to the London Missionary Society and its supporters:

Impressed by the frequent admonitions which we received when in England from gentlemen of your own body and respectable ministers in the country, we arrived in India with the full conviction that we ought by every lawful method to seek to relieve your funds and this consideration had considerable weight with us in our present measure of appointing a pastor to Union Chapel.⁴

The official copy of this report bears a remark worthy of a government department: 'Question postponed respecting Congregationalism'. The Directors can hardly have reckoned with the implications of sending three missionaries imbued with the teaching of their minister, J. A. James of Birmingham, out together; neither had they envisaged the formation of an English church in Calcutta.

³J. B. Warden Personal Papers, and L.M.S., Bengal Letters E.4.1, 25.ix. 1823. ⁴Ibid.

There being no evidence that this subject was *ever* considered it may be worthwhile to follow the history of the church and see if the question resolved itself and if so, in what way.

The first two men who went to Bengal were neither of them able to reside in Calcutta. Nathaniel Forsyth,⁵ though reckoned an L.M.S. missionary, was actually the only member of the Haldane Brothers' abortive project to start a college somewhere in British-held territory, who actually went to India. Forsyth sailed in a friend's ship, and was in and out of Calcutta preaching here and there. His main service was in the Dutch settlement at Chinsurah, thirty miles up the Hoogly river. Here he died on 11 February 1816, five years after the arrival of Robert May,⁶ who was denied a residence permit in Calcutta, and joined him at Chinsurah where educational work was being built up. May and his wife were among the foundation members of the Union Chapel fellowship, though he died on 12 August, 1818, well before there was a building. J. B. Warden gives a glimpse of the Calcutta of those days:

Calcutta is indeed a splendid place: every house is a palace. Picture to yourself a street as wide as that in which Mr. James lives, having on each side houses adorned with fine verandahs, which are supported by double rows of pillars twenty-five feet high, displaying the finest specimens of every order of architecture ; and each house surrounded with grounds bordered with plants and trees. Here and there a beautiful square adjoining the road, in the midst of which is a spacious tank to which natives are constantly coming for water . . . and you have seen only one of the streets here. But the public buildings would overwhelm you to behold them. The governor's house is I think without exaggeration as large as St. Mary's Square in Birmingham, though it has no verandahs and is rather plain in structure, and it stands on a flat piece of ground which has not a single tree in it; the fence is about three feet high, and round this fence is the famous course or airing place frequented every evening by the grandees here. The churches are few, and not remarkable for their magnificence; the cathedral is quite a paltry building. But

⁵W. H. Carey, Oriental Christian Biography . . . of Distinguished Christians who lived and died in the East, 1850-52 (Bapt. Mission Press, Calcutta), I. p. 173. ⁶Ibid., III. p. 294.

the appearance of Calcutta is strangely marred by the huts of the natives, which are interspersed with the large houses. You cannot conceive of any sight more odd than that which is presented by having the filthy straw huts of the Bengalese, plastered with cow-dung, joined indiscriminately with the splendid mansions of the foreigners.⁷

Henry Townley, 'a gentleman by birth, manners and education, a pious and devout Christian, and a man of an amiable disposition and withal possessed of wealth so as to be independent of the support of the Society ',⁸ engaged for five years, and Joseph Keith, a Scot, arrived in Calcutta on 7 September 1816. Their first service of public worship was held in the hall of Townley's house six weeks later, on 3 November, with fourteen people present. There were twice as many the next Sunday, and, the increase continuing, a few weeks later they accepted the hospitality of the Freemasons' Hall. Again they moved, this time to the larger Old College Hall, then being used by the Scotch Church while their own building was going up. This was by gracious permission of the Kirk Session —at a price. Being too expensive they were soon obliged to go back to the Freemasons' Hall and seriously consider a building of their own.⁹

The fellowship was formed while services were being held at the Old College Hall, with a congregation fluctuating between 50 and 250.

On Saturday 8th March, 1817, we formed ourselves into a Church—brother Pearson had arrived just in time to be present and aid. The Members consisted of Brother and Sister May, Brother and Sister Keith, Brother and Sister Lindeman, Brothers Harle and Pearson, besides our two selves, making ten in number. Brother Keith and myself were chosen and appointed pastors, and bro. Lindeman, Deacon.

So wrote Townley on 30 August 1817. J. D. Pearson went on to Chinsurah to succeed May, and Harle, a local appointment, was his assistant; and Warden described Lindeman who had met his party on their arrival and entertained them, as 'a man of great property as well as true piety'. He was certainly well known by the London directors of the L.M.S. During the first year eleven new members were added to the church and the growth in membership continued.

⁷Warden Papers, Letter 4, 29.iv.1822.

*Elizabeth Boaz, The Mission Pastor: Memorials of the Rev. Thomas Boaz, LL.D., 24 years missionary in Calcutta (1862), p. 94. *Ibid., p. 83.

It was only nine months before church and congregation took over the job of backing up the L.M.S., missionaries by forming the Bengal Auxiliary Missionary Society, accepting the Fundamental Principle of the L.M.S. as their own, adopting the work of the L.M.S., as their service, at a 'meeting held in the room adjoining the Free Mason's Lodge where they were again worshipping, on Friday the 19th December, 1817, for the purpose of forming a Society in aid of the Missionary Society established in London in the year 1795' There were to be two committees : one General, for fund raising ; the other Management, mainly to appropriate and use the funds. This Bengal Auxiliary Missionary Society took charge of the money raised for and the building of Union Chapel, as a side line. The giving for these good works was far beyond the actual fellowship, and much was gathered by special collections at which many other than regular worshippers attended specifically for giving to a good cause. The missionaries' report of 1 April 1820 states, of the English work:

Whilst we do not recognise this as a direct branch of Missionary labour, yet on account of its connection with the prosperity of our Auxiliary Society, and the spiritual welfare of the British inhabitants of the Presidency we deem it of considerable importance to the Mission, and as having a material ultimate tendency toward the spread of the Gospel among the Heathen.

Union Chapel was opened for worship on 18 April 1821 with due ceremony. It seated between 350 and 400 people and was

a plain but graceful structure, with a verandah and large portico in front, supported by massive Doric pillars, and enclosed by a handsome iron railing. Approached by a buggy, or carriage, or other vehicle (for Europeans seldom walk to church in India) by the east gate . . . The interior is oblong, the lofty roof supported by two rows of massive pillars. No galleries—the pulpit stands at the farther end opposite the organ loft. The walls are white, plain, and unadorned, relieved by large green painted Venetian windows rising from basement to roof. Pews are open trellis work containing six to ten large arm chairs. Several punkahs with pendant cotton or silk frills stretch across the ceiling lengthwise. Sable attendants pull these gigantic fans slowly from side to side. The gentlemen are dressed all in white, as are the ladies, who are bareheaded or lightly veiled. Worshippers are from various parts of Europe, some from America, many are Eurasians.

Missionary reinforcements came from time to time, but the climate soon took its toll of these young men and women. Townley, having completed his five year agreement and needing a change, went to live at Chinsurah for a time before returning to England, and Micaiah Hill moved out to Berhampur, leaving the care of Union Chapel on the shoulders of Trawin, James Hill and Warden, who lived anything between two and five miles away. Between them all, the church was not getting the pastoral care it needed ; and, while the preaching was divided among them, their real missionary work in Bengali, in which they were now well able to communicate, was not getting anything like the time it needed. In addition, Warden had, by the removal of Micaiah Hill, been left to attend to all literary work and letter writing. It was this strain that Warden voiced to Townley one evening after his return from a visit to Kidderpore :

Another great step which we have lately taken originated with myself as the agent under God in a circumstance which marks in a signal manner the minuteness of providence. Dear Mary and myself had been spending a few days with a fellow missionary (Trawin) at Kidderpore, a short distance from Calcutta where I was robbed in an unknown manner of a small portmanteau . . . containing almost every paper which I had, besides every farthing of my money which amounted to about £10. As we came to Calcutta . . . we called on Mr. Townley who had come to Calcutta to attend the funeral of Mr. Keith. In the course of conversation I told him the difficulties which occurred to my own mind in having my attention divided between English preaching and what is purely missionary work and urged the importance of devoting one of our number exclusively to the office of pastor over the English church and congregation, naming Mr. James Hill as more adapted for such an employment than any other (of us). Mr. T. seemed to catch the flame immediately. The subject was maturely discussed, days of prayer to seek God's direction and blessing were appointed and the result was that Mr. James Hill was unanimously recommended to be, and received as, pastor. In consequence of which arrangement some of the seats in the chapel have been rented and he is now supported independently of the Society.10

The call of James Hill to the pastorate of Union Chapel is more formally expressed in the Fifth Report of the Bengal Auxiliary Missionary Society, read on 22 January, 1823. This follows a paragraph recording the death of Keith, and the removal of Townley to Chinsurah:

Your Committee would now call your attention to the arrangements, which, owing to these events, have been made in the concerns of Union Chapel.

The locality of residence which the office of pastor necessarily requires, has been found greatly to impede Missionary exertions . . . To obviate these difficulties, and throw a greater quantity of labour into the immediate sphere of the Society's operations, the brethren have selected from their number, one who should take the oversight of the flock, and perform all the duties of pastor ; whilst they, with the exception of conducting alternately the Sabbath morning service, will give themselves unreservedly to the work of God amongst the heathen.

Mr. J. Hill has been chosen for the office of pastor; which he has accepted, subject to two conditions: 1st That it remain for decision to the Deputation of the London Missionary Society,¹¹ under whose patronage he was sent out. 2nd That if, when the Deputation arrive, his own mind be not perfectly satisfied that the measure which he has adopted be the path of duty, he shall be at liberty to resign his charge.

Agreeable to the declaration of Scripture, which enjoins that he who preaches the Gospel shall live by the Gospel, many of the members, both of Church and Congregation, voluntarily came forward, and proposed that they should support their own pastor; and thereby alleviate the Society in England and leave its funds unimpaired for direct Missionary expenditure.

To the adoption of this line of conduct one of the Society's latest regulations strongly urges . . . That the Missionaries in general be reminded that they are not to consider their salaries as a permanent establishment, but are to endeavour, in conformity with their first instructions, to derive as soon as possible a part of their support, at least, from the people amongst whom they labour.

¹¹This refers to the L.M.S., Deputation, no. 3, 1821-29, of Messrs. D. Tyerman and G. Bennet. They reached Calcutta 16 April 1825, visited as far as Benares, and left on 19 December 1826.

THE WARDEN PAPERS

This uniting of Church and Mission is noticed by Warden in his 1823 report which brought the Directors of the L.M.S. a question they were not prepared to discuss, also contains a specific instance of the oneness of Church and Mission:—

Mr. James Hill discharged his pastoral duties with some success . . . we mention with peculiar pleasure one circumstance connected with Union Chapel as illustrative of the remote as well as the immediate good which my be expected to flow from our English engagements. By his attendance at our preaching during a short stay in Calcutta an indigo planter became, we trust, truly converted to God, and was lately united to us in church fellowship. On his return home he remitted for the use of the chapel the very considerable sum of a thousand rupees. Since that period he has exhibited a great desire to promote to his utmost philanthropic institutions. Aware that one of the most ostensible distinctions between a Christian and a man of the world is a scrupulous regard to the sanctity of the Sabbath, he has been anxious to introduce among his numerous servants a regard to this holy day, and has succeeded to a most pleasing degree. To some of his people who performed their work by contract he has offered remuneration for any loss which they might incur by abstaining from their ordinary avocation on the Sabbath. He has also been furnished with an ample supply of Tracts which he is distributing with apparent advantage. Lately Mr. Trawin. accompanied by two native enquirers concerning whom our hopes are sanguine, visited Mr. Black's residence which is about a hundred miles up the river for the purpose of aiding him in the organization of a school which he had commenced in his own grounds, preaching the Gospel and observing the avenues to usefulness which the district affords. An account of this interesting journey you will perceive in our Missionary Chronicle for August and September. Thus the work of the Lord seems to be sounding forth from this place to the regions round about and we cannot help regarding our English interest as the handful of corn on the top of the mountain the shaking of which shall let fall a grain here and a grain there which shall spring up a great harvest and spread till the valleys be covered with corn and the little hills rejoice on every side.

James Hill's pastorate of Union Chapel, which included a period of fashionable churchgoing, lasted until 1833, when failing health necessitated a return to England. He died in 1870, and is best known for his twenty-one years' pastorate at Grafton Square, Clapham. A new missionary arrival in 1833, R. C. Mather, was asked to take charge of Union Chapel-after all he didn't vet know Bengali and he *could* only preach in English at first. After a year he left for the station to which he had properly been appointed, and the next recruit was similarly caught, but with a different result. Thomas Boaz arrived in Calcutta in December, 1834, 'He was at once appointed to the pastorate of the church by the unanimous vote of the people, and with the concurrence of his brethren in the mission. He was the right man in the right place.¹² On accepting the call he addressed the 'Members of the Church of Christ assembling at Union Chapel, Calcutta' in a long letter which included the following: - 'You are placed in peculiar circumstances-in circumstances which the churches in Britain would rejoice to realize. You are a Christian church in a heathen land . . . Remember our illustrious Lord will require of us how we have fulfilled our stewardship to the millions of the heathen." In the Bengal Auxiliary Missionary Society's report, presented in October 1838. Boaz takes up the same theme: 'There is still cause to lament over the want of an enlarged missionary spirit amongst the people ; they do not generally feel, and act, in this respect either so warmly, or zealously, as could be desired in a heathen land: would that they were a Mission Church in a Mission land . . . Yet upon the whole, compared with former years, we have no cause to complain.'13

Though the directors of the L.M.S. did not take up the challenge of 1823, the position must have in some way been sorted out, as evidenced in the following extract from the statement on Union Chapel given in the Appendix to the 1842 report of the Bengal Auxiliary Missionary Society:

The minister of the Union Chapel according to the deed of trust, must be a Missionary of the London Society, chosen by the people with the approbation of his brethren. The buildings are the property of the London Society, held in trust and made over annually to the church rent-free, on the stipulation that they be kept in repair and that the pastor be supported by the people. This hitherto through the mercy of the Lord has been

¹²Boaz, Op.cit., p. 97. ¹³Ibid., p. 113. effected. The constitution of the church is not sectarian, but as its name denotes, a church in which all true Christians can unite in the worship of a common Saviour without the sacrifice of their principle in the minor points of religion. The peculiarities of any section of the true church have never been set forth or reprobated by its pastors in their ministrations during a period of twenty years; and we trust it will continue ever so to be. The form of worship is that generally adopted by the Congregational or Presbyterian churches. Its affairs are managed by a body of Elders and committee of managers, the former attend to the religious, the latter to the temporal concerns of the church and congregation . . . Of the Union Chapel and its congregation it can be truly said:

> There names and sects and parties fall, And Jesus Christ is all in all.

Nor is it less encouraging amidst the conflicting interests of the differing sections of the church, to find that a church based on such principles not only exists, but exists in happiness, unity, peace and prosperity.

'A new era' started for Union Chapel in 1870, when the minister ceased, of necessity, to be an L.M.S. missionary. The Rev. J. Ross of Stirling 'had been invited by a committee in England appointed by the church to act on its behalf and the cost of his passage. etc. has been defraved by the congregation."⁴ Later on the church found itself unable to support a minister and the Colonial Missionary Society agreed to send the Rev. E. F. Knight, of Perth. W. Australia, for five years from 1912. This help actually continued until 1922. In 1933 the deacons were troubled over their tenure of the property. They were afraid they were not furthering the 'interests' of the L.M.S. but were reassured by the Rev. G. E. Phillips who arrived in Calcutta on deputation in 1933, with the answer to the problem. The word was not 'interests,' but 'objects.' 'At the suggestion of the deacons I gave them, as Foreign Secretary, a letter certifying that in my opinion the Church as now carried on is furthering the objects of the L.M.S. by preaching to all and sundry the glorious Gospel of the blessed God.¹⁵ In the 1950's Union Chapel came into the United Church of North India. and today their minister must be approved by the Bengal Church Council. Tomorrow-the Church of North India will come into being.

¹⁴Bengal Auxiliary Missionary Society Report, 1870.

¹⁵G. E. Phillips, Deputation Report, L.M.S., no. 54, India, 1933-34, p. 82.

Let Dr. Stursberg have the last word, from a note he wrote to Dr. Norman Goodall in 1943 when supplying information for the latter's History of the L.M.S. 1895-1945: 'There is no doubt at all then that Union Chapel was in every sense the ecclesiastical headquarters of the London Missionary Society in Bengal.'

IRENE M. FLETCHER

CONGREGATIONAL RECORDS

IN THE GREATER LONDON RECORD OFFICE

(LONDON SECTION): AN INTERIM REPORT

Since the article Congregational Records in the London County Record Office by Mr. C. A. McLaren, which appeared in the Transactions, Vol. XX, No. 1, May 1965, and List No. 5 of Records held in Public Custody, in the following issue, the London section of the Greater London Record Office, County Hall, S.E.1. has received further deposits of Congregational archives. They include records from individual churches, and of the London Congregational Union itself, and in date range from 1746/7 to the 20th century. With the exception of two deposits, on which work continues, all have now been listed.

The earliest volume, the minute book of subscribers, trustees and various committees of the Chapel in Lower Street, Islington¹, records that at the subscribers' first meeting on 8 March 1746/7 they resolved that

... it is incumbent in the worshippers, not so much to show that they differ from Others in modes, and forms, and ceremonies, as that they agree with all Good Christians in the substantial Duties of Religion; and that the strife is not for names and Parties, but for Piety and Purity, for meekness and Peace, and for Love to each other, and to all the humble followers of the blessed Jesus, who, tho' they take a different Path, have the same End in view.

A similar spirit of co-operation prevailed at the opening of Edmonton and Tottenham New Chapel (later Upper Edmonton Church) in 1788. After the opening service 'a genteel Company of Ladies and Gentlemen among which were Seventeen Ministers of different Denominations sat down to Dinner, the whole being conducted in a serious pleasant manner . . . the Ministers in a very kind an[d] generous way offer'd to give their assistance . . . for one year.'² That this co-operation continued is shown by the

¹N/C/10/35, 8 March 1746/7 ²N/C/64/3, 8 October 1788 minutes of the Sunday School teachers' meeting in 1831; the Minister of the Baptist Chapel, though unable to accept one invitation, was later able to attend the Sunday School Jubilee, and so was one of the Wesleyan teachers. On this occasion the children were presented with 'a Jubilee Offering and a Bunn'.³ Co-operation elsewhere in the early 20th century is illustrated by a map compiled by the Hornsey and Highgate Council of Evangelical Free Churches, c.1910, showing the parishes of the fourteen churches in the area.⁴

Upper Edmonton Church in the mid 19th century had as well as its Sunday Schools, a Christian Instruction Society, and a Temperance Society, and minutes of both survive.⁵ Towards the end of the century at Anerley, there was not only a Temperance Society, but a Guild that organised debating, choral and musical societies, tennis, swimming and cricket clubs, P.T., shorthand, cookery, sewing, and technical education classes.⁶ Another venture at Anerley was that of 'Saturday Nights for the People'. Concerts, variety, lectures and shows of 'dissolving views' were provided from 1888 to 1899 as 'good wholesome entertainments for the poor'.⁷

These multifarious activities reflect a lively church, that had overcome setbacks such as that experienced in Isleworth. Scarcely had the Church been formed on 14 June 1849, than it lost some of its best friends, Mr. Surgood, to whom 'the Infant Cause in this place mainly owes its origins' and his family.⁸ The Church Meeting of 3 October 1849 recorded its deep regret at their intended emigration to 'the distant shores of Australia'.⁹

The foundation and progress of other individual churches can be studied in their records, e.g., The Broadway, Hammersmith,¹⁰ King's Weigh House Chapel,¹¹ Beckenham¹² and Lower Edmonton.¹³ Light on the history of individual chapels and churches is also thrown by entries in a single volume of the London

³N/C/64/19, [14 September] 1831 ⁴N/LCU/8/1 ⁵N/C/64/23, N/C/64/24 ⁶N/C/66/3 ³N/C/66/2 ⁸N/C/60/1, 14 June 1849 ⁹N/C/60/1, 3 October 1849 ¹⁰N/C/61 ¹¹N/C/62 ¹²N/C/63 ¹²N/C/65

LONDON RECORDS

Congregational Chapel Building Society.¹⁴ This covers c.1849-1922 and summarises not only the history of each in general, but in particular that of the building and the finance, with precise detail of loans, special contributions, and subscriptions. Another single volume relates to the grants made from Williamson's Trust, 1883-1896, which had been set up in 1882 to help 'poor Dissenting Ministers or preachers in North or South Wales . . . who have done itinerant or mission work '.¹⁵ Entries relating to the circumstances of some of these ministers make grim reading. A happier story, and a deeply impressive one, is to be found in the reminiscences of the Rev. R. J. Evans, M.A., Secretary of the L.C.U. 1907-1941, and Moderator, 1935-1941.¹⁶

It is hoped that these brief notes may convey something of the richness of recent deposits in the Greater London Record Office, and indicate how much may be gained from them not only by historians of Nonconformity, but by social and local historians as well.

ALISON REEVE

