

## Religion and the Liberal Party

Roger Ottewill examines the reasons why Nonconformists were drawn to the Liberal Party, through a case study of Hampshire Congregationalists in the Edwardian period.

# Religion and Politics in The Experiences of Hampshire

ON COMMENCING HIS pastorate in 1904 at the historic Above Bar Congregational Church in Southampton, Rev. George Saunders stressed that his preaching would have an authentic 'Evangelical note', including the proclamation that Jesus Christ 'saves man from sin, through the power of His Cross.' At the same time, he stressed the point that:

It is by the application of the teaching of Jesus to the manifold life of today that we shall find the solution of all the problems which are pressing so heavily upon us. Hence you will not expect me to be silent in reference to the great social, *political* and national questions which affect for good or ill the welfare of our town and country [emphasis added].<sup>1</sup>

In so doing, he was highlighting what, at the time, many Congregationalists considered to be a symbiotic relationship between religion and politics, which for the vast majority meant support for the Liberal Party.

In this article, following a section in which the religious and political contexts are outlined, three key questions are considered. What motivated Congregationalists to participate in politics? Which issues on the political agenda were of particular concern to them? How constrained were they in their pursuit of political objectives? In suggesting possible answers to these questions, primary source material is drawn mainly from doctoral research undertaken to reveal the preoccupations and associated discourses of the Congregationalists of Edwardian Hampshire and subsequent investigations.<sup>2</sup> By focusing on the local level, specifically mainland Hampshire as constituted at the beginning of the twentieth century,<sup>3</sup> it is intended to enrich the broader narratives developed in secondary sources, such as the works of Stephen Koss,<sup>4</sup> Ian Packer<sup>5</sup> and Michael Watts,<sup>6</sup>



# in the Edwardian Era Hampshire Congregationalists



and provide a basis for making future comparisons with other parts of the country.

## Context

In seeking to capture the essence of their denomination and to rally the faithful, many Edwardian Congregationalists drew heavily on historical antecedents. For example, at the 1908 spring gathering of the Hampshire Congregational Union (HCU), held in Fareham, the chairman, Henry March Gilbert, in an address entitled 'Our Past and Present', reminded his audience that 'they had entered into a glorious heritage' and, in overly dramatic terms, that if their forefathers had been there they would have said: 'We too with great sums of fines, persecutions, imprisonments, tortures, and even with giving up life itself obtained for you this freedom which is yours today'.<sup>7</sup> This was a reference to the inspiration and legitimacy that Congregationalism derived from the Great Ejection of 1662 when as Timothy Larsen explains, '... some 2,000 ministers were ejected from their livings because they could not swear their "unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained and prescribed" in the new Prayer Book, or meet some of the other requirements of the new Act of Uniformity'.<sup>8</sup> Many of those ejected attracted groups of followers who formed the nuclei of independent congregations, which by the Edwardian era had evolved into self-sustaining Congregational churches. By this stage, however, collegiality, as symbolised by the HCU, was as much a feature of Congregationalism as independency.

John Gay, in his study of the geography of religion, identifies Hampshire as one of the counties 'with a long-established tradition of independency' and an above-average concentration of Congregationalists.<sup>9</sup> As such, it was the leading Nonconformist/Free Church denomination in the county. By 1901, Congregationalists had multiple places of worship in the three largest

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Overleaf: Rev. James Learmount (1860–1934), Minister of Christchurch Congregational Church from 1900 to 1906 (Christchurch History Society)

towns of Portsmouth, Southampton and Bournemouth and a church in most other urban centres of population. Moreover, the process of church extension, a key feature of the Victorian era and facilitated by the HCU, had seen new churches and chapels being established in many rural parts of the county as well as the expanding suburbs of Bournemouth and Southampton. Thus, a particular strength of Congregationalism in Edwardian Hampshire was its extensive network of churches covering most parts of the county.

At the time a key feature of Congregationalism was its close identification with what is known as 'political Nonconformity'. As Koss indicates, of the Nonconformist denominations, Congregationalists – along with Baptists, Presbyterians and some branches of Methodism – were the most likely to be 'organised to intervene in electoral and parliamentary affairs.'<sup>10</sup> While Packer stresses how the ideologies of Nonconformity and Liberalism, with their emphasis on freedom of worship and of speech and a dislike of hierarchies, 'meshed'. This dated back to the Victorian era when, in the words of Argent, 'the common interests of the Free Churches and of political Liberalism had been manifest in the Nonconformist struggle for religious and civil liberties.'<sup>11</sup> Thus, 'Liberalism and Nonconformity often appealed to people for much the same reasons and were seen by their followers as naturally complementary.'<sup>12</sup>

It is important to recognise, however, that this was as much a local as a national phenomenon, for, as David Bebbington points out, by the end of the nineteenth century and into the Edwardian era '... leading men in the chapels were commonly leading men in the affairs of the localities too as school board members, as councillors, as mayors, and they often ran the constituency Liberal organisations'.<sup>13</sup> In Basingstoke, for example, the contribution of Congregationalists to civic life was clearly underscored by editorial comment in the *Hants and Berks Gazette* when Henry Jackson replaced Thomas Edney on the aldermanic bench of the borough council:

The election of Mr H. Jackson, J.P., to the honoured position of an alderman ... is well deserved ... The new alderman and the one whose place he fills [i.e. Thomas Edney] have been old colleagues in many capacities. Both are staunch Liberals. Both are deacons of the Congregational Church. Both are teetotallers and for many long years have been ardent advocates of total abstinence. Both have taken a considerable share of public life; and both are held in high esteem by their fellow townsmen.<sup>14</sup>

Similarly, Thomas Fryer, a deacon and 'an old and esteemed member' of the Abbey Congregational Church in Romsey, was also closely 'associated with the public life of the town ... being a member of the Corporation ... and ... in politics ... a staunch Liberal'.<sup>15</sup> His son George Fryer, who was

also a deacon and a leading figure in Congregational church life during the Edwardian era, was at the time of his father's death chairman of the Romsey Liberal and Radical Club thereby personifying the close relationship between the religious and the political. Likewise, three of the deacons of the new and high-status Avenue Congregational Church in Southampton, Edward Bance, James Hamilton and Edward Turner Sims, were very active local politicians in the Liberal cause. Bance was a Liberal councillor from 1874 to 1889 and then served on the aldermanic bench until 1913. He was also mayor in 1890, 1904 and 1910.<sup>16</sup> Hamilton was a Liberal councillor from 1889 to 1893 and from 1904 to 1910, when he lost his seat by ten votes. During his second period of service on the council, he was chair of the Libraries Committee from 1906 until 1910, and held the office of sheriff from 1909 until his defeat. Hamilton was also a member of Southampton School Board until its demise in 1903. Sims was president of the Southampton and South Hants Liberal Association and, as such, had a high-profile role in the general elections of 1906 and 1910. Such examples could be replicated from every part of Hampshire.

Political engagement also extended to ministers. As Kenneth Brown has shown, a sizeable minority took part in political and philanthropic activities at this time, with Congregationalists along with Baptists being in the vanguard. Political activity embraced 'membership of political parties and of overtly political pressure groups' and philanthropic activity included writing about and participating 'in welfare movements – temperance, hospitals, libraries ...'.<sup>17</sup> Examples of Congregational ministers from Edwardian Hampshire who were willing 'to nail their colours' to a party political mast included: Rev. William Miles, minister of Buckland Congregational Church in Portsmouth from 1903 to 1921, 'a staunch Liberal, ... [who] championed on public platforms the policy of Free Trade when that policy and Tariff Reform were the question of the day';<sup>18</sup> Rev. William Moncrieff, minister of East Cliff Congregational Church from 1901 to 1907, who was 'an ardent Radical and an eager student of the work of social reformers, ... [and] took his full share in the political and civic affairs of Bournemouth';<sup>19</sup> Rev. Enoch Hunt, minister of Fordingbridge Congregational Church from 1886 to 1902, who was 'a keen Liberal ... [and] suffered as a passive resister' in the campaign against the Education Act 1902;<sup>20</sup> and Rev. Nicholas Richards, minister of Winchester Congregational Church from 1907 to 1910, who commented at his farewell gathering that 'Liberalism was in his very blood' and that he left the city 'as much of a Nonconformist as when he came (applause), and a stronger Liberal than when he came (applause)'.<sup>21</sup> These examples confirm Argent's observation that: 'The temper of many Congregational ministers ... was ... Liberal in politics and ... [compassionate] in ... [their] attitudes to social need.'<sup>22</sup>

Nevertheless, notwithstanding these examples, in electoral terms Edwardian Hampshire was hardly promising territory for the Liberal Party since at parliamentary level the county was predominantly Conservative. Only Portsmouth and Southampton, each with two MPs, could be described as marginal. Here, between 1885 and 1914, the honours tended to be evenly divided between, on the one hand, the Conservatives and their allies, the Liberal Unionists, and, on the other, the Liberals. Of the remaining six constituencies, the only exceptions to Conservative hegemony were Christchurch, which included Bournemouth, and the New Forest, both of which returned Liberals in their landslide election victory of 1906.<sup>23</sup> Indeed, in commenting on the 1906 election results, the *Hampshire Independent* observed that ‘never before ... [had] there been such a political upheaval in the county, as every constituency was contested, and the victories which have been won were gained only after the most strenuous fighting...’<sup>24</sup> However, apart from Southampton, all the 1906 gains were lost at the January 1910 general election, with the Liberal-supporting *Southampton Times* commenting that Southampton remained a ‘bright beam in the murky darkness of Tory Hampshire.’<sup>25</sup> By contrast, from a religious perspective, Congregationalism was, as previously indicated, a prominent feature of the ecclesiastical landscape of Edwardian Hampshire.

### Motivation

Congregational engagement in politics was essentially a response to two variants of the Christian gospel, the ‘social’ and the ‘civic’. The ‘social gospel’ can be seen, in part, as a reaction against the pietism and individualism inherent in the ‘personal gospel’. Reduced to its bare bones, it was, as Bebbington puts it: ‘an attempt to change human beings by transforming their environment rather than touching their hearts.’<sup>26</sup> That said, those who subscribed to the social gospel believed that faith alone was sterile and should be a precursor to collective action intended to right societal wrongs. As Michael Watts points out, although evangelical Nonconformists had traditionally argued that the solution to society’s problems ‘lay in the repentance of sin and surrender to the will of God ... to a growing body of opinion in the later nineteenth century, the fundamental cause of many individual and social problems lay not so much with personal failings as with the environmental conditions which so often rendered the individual powerless ... [thus] their solution lay not in personal redemption but in reformation by local authorities or by the state.’<sup>27</sup>

Thus, many argued that merely ameliorating the symptoms of these problems through altruistically inspired ‘good works’ was an insufficient response and steps had to be taken to tackle the underlying causes, which inevitably implied

political action. As it was put by Romsey’s Congregational minister from 1909 to 1914, Rev. Albert Bage, ‘the problem that confronted them was whether they were going to deal with the causes of social distress or the results. It was a matter of whether they should clothe the naked, and help the homeless or fight the causes from which those evils originated.’<sup>28</sup> For Neal Blewett: ‘The social gospel had much in common with, indeed was often the inspiration of, the “new Liberalism” which sought, in the words of one writer “a via media between Collectivism, Conservative or Socialist, and the decaying individualism of the Benthamite and Cobdenite epoch ...”’<sup>29</sup>

Turning to the civic gospel, its genesis is particularly associated with Rev. George Dawson, a Baptist minister. However, a key role in its subsequent development was played by Rev. Robert Dale, minister of the prestigious Carrs Lane Congregational Church in Birmingham from 1854 until his death in 1895.<sup>30</sup> As Catherine Hall observes, ‘Dale unlike Dawson, held to the faith of the evangelicals and his particular contribution in later years to the civic gospel was his articulation of municipalism with a living faith.’<sup>31</sup> Quoting Dale, Ann Rodrick points out that in the mid-1880s he assured his readers and listeners that ‘civil authority is ... a divine institution. The man who holds municipal or political office is a “minister of God”. One man may, therefore, have just as real a Divine vocation to become a town councillor or a Member of Parliament, as another to become a missionary to the heathen.’<sup>32</sup> Although the ‘civic gospel’, as such, appears to have been little discussed in Edwardian Hampshire, by serving on local public bodies some Congregational deacons and ministers demonstrated, at the very least, a tacit commitment to it – they practised what Dale preached. Like him they ‘believed in the dignity as well as ... the duty of municipal life.’<sup>33</sup> Thus, Rev. Capes Tarbolton, minister of London Street Congregational Church in Basingstoke from 1887 to 1907 and one of Dale’s Hampshire disciples, in praising ‘... [the] robust type of ... Christian piety’, observed that it meant not abstention from, but engagement with, civic life.<sup>34</sup> Likewise, one of his successors, Rev. Roccliffe Mackintosh, commented at the mayor’s banquet in November 1912, that:

The clergy were especially interested in the condition of the people, and Councils had a great deal to do with the conditions in which people lived; so in that way the clergy and public men might be workers together for the betterment of the people and for the extension of the power of religion. They should encourage the best men in connection with their churches to enter public life and to do what they could to raise its ideals, for while our public life stood high in comparison with that of other countries, there was still a great deal that might be changed for the better (applause).<sup>35</sup>

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A particular interest of Mackintosh was education and the mayor referred to his involvement in the establishment of a high school for girls, which had provided him with an early opportunity 'of connecting himself with the civic life of the town'.<sup>36</sup>

For Hampshire Congregationalists the fact that many of their leaders were active in public service was a source of pride. Hence James Thomas in his presidential address to the HCU in 1906 asserted that:

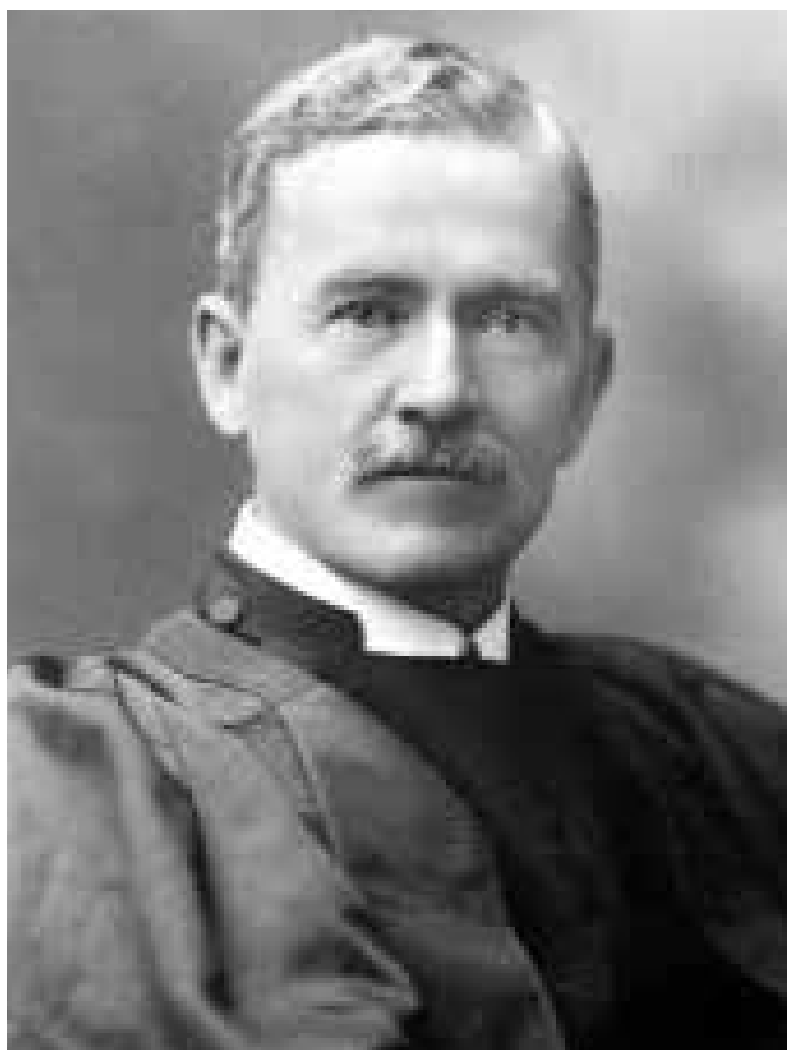
As Congregationalists they could congratulate themselves on the number of citizens they had trained for public positions; he thought that there was no body of men that had more impressed upon its members the duties and responsibilities of civic life than Congregational ministers (applause).<sup>37</sup>

Similarly, at the laying of the foundation stone for a new church in the Southbourne district of Bournemouth, Rev. John Daniel Jones, the well known minister of the town's leading Congregational Church, Richmond Hill, commented that: 'Pro rata to population Congregationalists had produced more men who took a prominent part in the public affairs of the land than perhaps any other Christian Church'.<sup>38</sup>

Underpinning both the social and civic gospels was the 'Nonconformist conscience' which embraced 'the conviction that there ... [was] no strict boundary between religion and politics; an insistence that politicians should be men of the highest character; and a belief that the state should promote the moral welfare of its citizens'.<sup>39</sup> In this regard, many Hampshire Congregationalists were influenced by the views of the eminent Baptist minister and evangelist, Rev. Frederick Meyer. His ideal was, as Randall points out, social action to promote 'human dignity, equality and freedom of conscience'.<sup>40</sup> Meyer spoke in Hampshire on a number of occasions. Addressing the Romsey and District Free Church Council in 1903 he argued, somewhat apocalyptically, that:

The one hope for England ... was that ... godly men and women should exert themselves as they had never done before, to bring the Kingdom of God amongst men by their own vote and personal influence in everything which concerned the social redemption of mankind ... If England did not mend her ways ... [it would] go the way of all great nations of the past and drive a wreck upon the shores of history.<sup>41</sup>

In other words, if those who had accepted Christ as their personal saviour did not act to bring about a change in the moral climate and address various issues that called into question the extent to which Christian principles prevailed within society, disaster would surely follow.

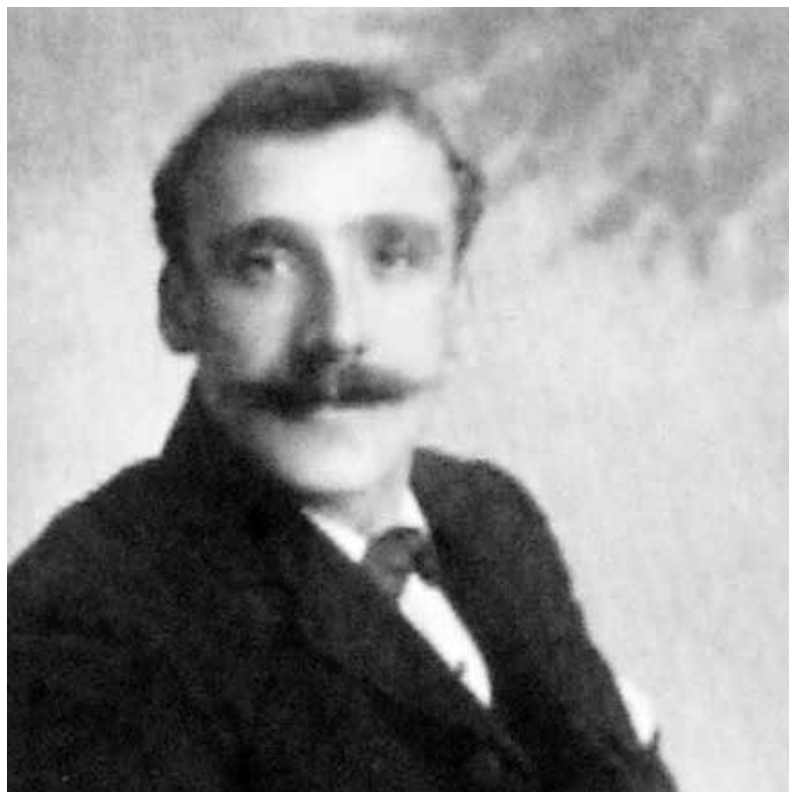


### Issues

What then were the matters that particularly taxed Edwardian Congregationalists? Essentially there were two kinds of issue on the political agenda that stood out as being of special concern. One consisted of anything which they saw as being a threat to their standing and their cherished belief in civil and religious liberty and the other was what they regarded as challenges of a moral welfare nature.

In the early years of the Edwardian era the dominant issue of the first type was education. Most Congregationalists, along with many other Nonconformists, were outraged by the provisions of the Education Act 1902 which they saw as unfairly privileging mainly Church of England schools at the expense of the non-denominational board schools which they favoured.<sup>42</sup> In Hampshire, for various reasons, such as the conciliatory leadership of the chairman of the county council and its education committee, the Earl of Northbrook, and the Bishop of Winchester, Rt. Rev. Randall Davidson, and a politico-religious culture characterised by a spirit of accord across denominational boundaries, the opposition was relatively muted by comparison with some other parts of country.<sup>43</sup> Nonetheless, within the county Congregationalists were often at the forefront of the passive resistance campaign which the legislation triggered and were often outspoken in what the *Southampton Times* labelled 'The Education War'.<sup>44</sup> While in its annual reports the HCU used strong language to condemn what it deemed 'to be a gross violation of the principle of religious freedom and equality' and 'an act of flagrant injustice to Nonconformists'.<sup>45</sup> It also contrasted what it characterised as the 'spiritual democracy' of Congregational churches with the fact that as a result of the legislation 'the democratic principle seen alike in religious and civil affairs had been unblushingly assailed'.<sup>46</sup>

In a similar vein, in 1905 at the sixth annual meeting of the Petersfield and District Free Church Council, Rev. Ernest Thompson, the town's Congregational minister between 1903 and 1910 and passive resister, argued that: 'They wanted not favour, but justice and liberty of conscience. It was the children's battle; it was the Church's battle; it was the Lord's battle.'<sup>47</sup> Given that these remarks were made during the year before the Liberal's landslide victory, it is not surprising that much of what he had to say related to the hoped for repeal of the 1902 Act and its replacement with legislation incorporating principles that Nonconformists considered to be far more just and equitable. Similarly, during the 1906 general election campaign in Southampton, at a public meeting convened by the Southampton Evangelical Free Church Council, 'when the primary matter considered was the Education Act and the duty of Free Churchmen at the polling booths', the following resolution, moved and seconded by the previously mentioned Rev. George



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Saunders and James Hamilton, respectively, was carried unanimously:

That this meeting re-affirms its intense conviction that no settlement of the education question will be satisfactory which does not ensure popular control of schools financed by the people and abolition of all religious tests; and urges all Free Churchmen to support candidates who are pledged to this end.<sup>48</sup>

As elsewhere, in Hampshire, Nonconformist ministers were conspicuous by their presence on the platform at Liberal election meetings and 'threw themselves into the campaign with unabated vigour'.<sup>49</sup> Moreover, the evidence from Hampshire tends to confirm the view that, in the words of Watts: 'The strength of Nonconformist feeling in opposition to the 1902 Education Act was a major factor in the Liberal victory.'<sup>50</sup>

In the event, due to resistance from the Church of England and its allies in the House of Lords, the Liberal government was unable to honour its commitment to reform the education system contributing, in due course, to a sense of frustration on the part of many Congregationalists. Thus, at the annual meeting of the Petersfield and District Free Church Council in 1909, during the course of what was described as 'an impressive address', Rev. Ernest Thompson lamented that they had failed to secure a just solution to the educational issue, which would 'put a stop to all those deplorable squabbles and quarrels about doctrine and dogma which were so prejudicial to the education of this country'.<sup>51</sup> However, a slightly more positive note was struck in the *Above Bar Congregational Church* magazine, for while 'all who are interested in the truest well-being of the Nation will truly regret the rude shattering of their hopes ... [with respect to educational reform] there is no need for despair'.<sup>52</sup>

A further issue of this type concerned the status of the Church of England. Many Congregationalists supported the cause of disestablishment and to this end were in favour of the Liberal government's moves to disestablish the Anglican Church in Wales. In 1912, at their spring gathering, Hampshire Congregationalists unanimously passed the following resolution:

That we, the members of the Hants Congregational Union note with satisfaction the provisions of the Bill introduced into Parliament for the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church in Wales and express the earnest hope that the Government will, with unswerving determination carry the same into law.<sup>53</sup>

Thus, the HCU was again prepared to adopt an overtly partisan stance. Many, of course, saw Welsh disestablishment, which was enacted in 1914, as the first step towards achieving the same outcome for the Church of England as a whole.<sup>54</sup>

Turning to moral welfare issues and adapting a phrase that was to be popularised nearly a century later, the stance of Congregationalists was to be 'tough on sin and tough on the causes of sin'. They sought through political action to remove, in the words of Bebbington, 'obstacles to the gospel', 'substitutes for the gospel' and 'infringements of the gospel code of living',<sup>55</sup> and had in their sights the evils of alcohol, gambling, prostitution and anything that they perceived as contributing to the desecration of Sunday. While poverty, malnutrition and inadequate housing were also of concern, the causes which loomed largest were temperance and Sunday observance. Here the goal was to create, in the words of Packer, 'a more godly society'.<sup>56</sup>

Among Hampshire Congregational ministers strongly committed to the cause of temperance were Rev. Reginald Thompson, Basingstoke's Congregational minister between 1907 and 1911, for whom it was one of his 'two great "external" enthusiasms';<sup>57</sup> Rev. William Bennett, Warsash's Congregational minister between 1898 and 1903, who was 'a great worker in the cause of Temperance';<sup>58</sup> and Rev. Henry Perkins, minister of Albion Congregational Church in Southampton between 1895 and 1903, who 'warmly supported the Temperance movement and Band of Hope'.<sup>59</sup> For these and others engaged in the temperance crusade, the objectives were to secure more restrictive legislation and to ensure that existing provisions for controlling public houses were rigorously applied. In their pursuit, Congregationalists were prepared to undertake united action with members of other denominations. In Basingstoke, for example, a cross-denominational committee was established in early 1903 to campaign for the Sunday closing of public houses. Members, who included not only the Congregational minister, Rev. Capes Tarbolton, but also the vicar and one of his curates, approved the following resolution:

... as the Sunday Closing of Public Houses has been unquestioningly fraught with much good to the people of Scotland, of Ireland, of Wales and of the Colonies, this meeting deplores the prolonged delay in extending similar beneficent legislation to England. It believes that the present time is particularly opportune for pressing the claims of Sunday Closing upon legislators, and therefore earnestly calls for combined and vigorous action on the part of Church of England, Nonconformist, Temperance and other philanthropic organisations, and appeals to reformers and politicians of all political parties to unite in a great effort to obtain from Parliament this great boon for the people.<sup>60</sup>

They also signed a memorial to the town magistrates 'in favour of a reduction in the number of licensed [public] houses in the borough'.<sup>61</sup> As Rev. Tarbolton pointed out, the signatories:

Overleaf (page 10):

Rev. John Philip Rogers (?–1971), Minister of East Cliff Congregational Church, Bournemouth, from 1908 to 1915 (East Cliff URC Archive)

Rev. George Saunders (1866–1949), Minister of Above Bar Congregation Church, Southampton, from 1904 to 1920 (Avenue St Andrew's URC, Southampton, Archive)

Overleaf (page 11):

Dr Robert William Dale (1829–95), Minister of Carr's Lane Chapel, Birmingham

Rev. Ernest Thompson (1875–1973), Minister of Petersfield Congregational Church from 1903 to 1910 (Petersfield Museum)

... represented not one party alone politically: Conservatives and Liberals united in it. They represented not one section of the religious community alone: the Established Church and the Free Churches united in it. They represented no particular section of society: working men and employees of labour united in it. They represented not merely the teetotal element of the population by any means.<sup>62</sup>

Such unanimity confirms Bebbington's assertion that temperance 'was the political question on which there was most cooperation between Church and chapel.'<sup>63</sup> That said, Nonconformists tended to be more militant in their opposition to measures which were seen as favouring the interests of brewers. Thus, in its annual report for 1904, the HCU heavily criticised changes in legislation at national level:

Deeply concerned as we are by the sobriety of the nation, we must repudiate Mr Balfour's claim that his Licensing Act is a great measure of temperance legislation, the more the Act is understood and its power to lessen licenses duly appreciated the more it is evident that it is a Brewer's Endowment Act, and not a powerful weapon of wholesome reform.<sup>64</sup>

For most Nonconformists, alcohol was the very embodiment of evil to a degree that was not replicated on the part of most Anglicans.

Equally contentious was what Congregationalists considered to be the erosion of the special status of Sunday, which was seen by many as a proxy for a decline in moral standards more generally. During his address to the HCU's autumn gathering in 1907, a visiting speaker from Bromley, Rev. William Justin Evans, after amusing delegates with some examples of the extremes to which Puritans had gone to maintain the solemnity of 'The Lord's Day', argued that the pendulum had swung too far the other way:

... Sunday was being made a day of pleasure and work. The leisured and idle classes were making it a day for golfing and motoring, and the working classes ... for gardening, loafing, and drinking. The holy day was becoming a holiday; it could not remain a holiday unless it was a holy day ... The Sunday desecrators were amongst the worst enemies of the country today ... it was more than ever necessary that there should be one day for worship.<sup>65</sup>

Although, as John Wigley points out, the 'Edwardian Sunday had more in common with that of the 1850s' than that of the late twentieth century and 'impressed children and foreign visitors alike as one of the peculiarities of English life', it was under threat on many fronts.<sup>66</sup> Indeed, in the words of Hugh McLeod:

even ... Christians who had somewhat more relaxed ideas about Sunday were likely to agree that religious activity should have first priority, and that the kind of Sunday that was becoming increasingly popular, which was simply a day of relaxation, was part of a worrying trend towards a frivolous and hedonistic way of life.<sup>67</sup>

It was the perceived link between attitudes to Sunday and an increasing preoccupation with pleasure and excitement that drove many leading Congregationalists to resist every move to liberalise rules relating to the Sabbath. However, as Packer observes, although Sabbatarianism 'was widespread among Nonconformists ... it was difficult to make it into a political issue at national level.'<sup>68</sup> Consequently, much of the campaigning was undertaken locally.

One part of Hampshire where this issue was particularly to the fore was Bournemouth.<sup>69</sup> Here, for Congregationalists and their co-religionists in other denominations, the principle of a 'quiet Sunday' was sacrosanct. Indeed, such a policy was vigorously applied by leading lay Nonconformists and churchmen who served on the borough council. One of the most distinguished was John Elmes Beale, a deacon of the previously mentioned Richmond Hill Congregational Church and a prominent local businessman, who founded what continues to be a well-known chain of department stores. He served as a Bournemouth councillor and alderman for many years and held the office of mayor from 1902 to 1905 thereby epitomising the tenets of the civic gospel. As guest speaker at Lymington Congregational Church's 201<sup>st</sup> anniversary celebrations in 1901, he made his position on Sunday observance clear when he 'spoke of the battle of Nonconformity and the need for more united action amongst the Free Churches, and especially in regard to the insidious attacks being made upon the Sabbath day, and particularly in regard to sport.'<sup>70</sup> A year later, at celebrations to mark the eleventh anniversary of the opening of Richmond Hill's new premises, Beale expressed his belief that:

... the ambition of every member of the Town Council was to make Bournemouth more beautiful, both physically and morally. He was glad also to be present as deacon of that church, because as Christian people its members were doing all they could to make Bournemouth spiritually beautiful, their lofty ideal being to win Bournemouth for Jesus Christ (applause).<sup>71</sup>

Thus, he clearly saw a close relationship between the spiritual and the civic.

While they held a council majority, Beale and those who thought like him were able to ensure that their view of what Sundays should be like shaped council policy-making. Some idea of what this meant in practice is evident in the following extract from an article in a series on the



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British Sunday that the *Daily Telegraph* published in 1905:

With regard to the present aspect of Sunday at Bournemouth, it might be stated that numerous churches are filled to overflowing most Sundays, and the erection of new churches speedily secure crowded congregations. Visitors and townspeople alike very largely regard Sunday as a day set apart exclusively for religious observance, and public amusement is in almost every form discouraged. The corporation allow their piers to be open on Sundays for promenading, but have religiously refused to allow their fine municipal orchestra to play Sunday music. The steam-boat companies do not run their boats on Sunday and several years ago, when an outside company endeavoured to carry out pleasure sea excursions on Sundays, ... pier tolls [were promptly raised] to the maximum sum of 4d for each passenger embarking or disembarking from the pier. This had the effect of quickly stopping the new venture ... The corporation golf links are also closed on Sunday, and no attempt has been made to alter this state of things ... Altogether, Bournemouth at present is one of the quietest towns on Sunday in the country, but there is a distinct feeling manifesting itself that a little more relaxation might be beneficial in some respects. Any innovation, however, is likely to meet with strong opposition from the great majority of the Anglican and Nonconformist communities.<sup>72</sup>

Likewise, in the words of a publication entitled *Beautiful Bournemouth*:

Bournemouth's Quiet Sunday most visitors appreciate, although there may be some who vote it 'deadly dull'. In these busy, bustling days it is a reputation difficult to maintain, but so far the council have resolutely declined to run Sunday trams, or provide Sunday music. This policy may not be approved by the restless pleasure seekers who hanker after a Continental Sunday which, except for extra religious services, differeth not from a week-day, but it is a policy, steadily pursued, which has contributed to making Bournemouth unique among watering places.<sup>73</sup>

There was perhaps a touch a poetic licence attached to the last of these remarks. What can be said is that with respect to Sunday observance, Bournemouth had more in common with resorts such as Torquay, which was described as 'a very churchy town',<sup>74</sup> than, say, Brighton, which had 'adopted the forward movement in regard to treating Sunday as a day, not only for religious observance, but for reasonable recreation.'<sup>75</sup> The defenders of Bournemouth's 'quiet Sunday' claimed that it had contributed to the 'remarkable growth and prosperity' of the area and that any change in policy might cause 'incalculable damage.'<sup>76</sup> By contrast, opponents argued that 'Bournemouth's 'dull and

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dismal Sunday' ... [was] doing harm to the town.'<sup>77</sup> In other words, those who favoured a 'quiet Sunday' felt that it contributed to the distinctiveness of Bournemouth, while the advocates of change saw it as making the town more competitive vis-à-vis other seaside resorts.

In the controversy surrounding the principle of a 'quiet Sunday', a particular bone of contention was the fact that the council-run tramway system was closed on Sundays. Seeking to reverse this policy was the Sunday Trams Association. In response, those in favour established the Sunday Defence League. Both campaigned vigorously in 1906 when a local poll on the issue was held. This resulted in a clear victory for those opposed to change. Of the 9,753 eligible to vote, 6,309 or 64.7 per cent did so, with 57.2 per cent voting against any alteration to the existing policy.<sup>78</sup>

Six years later the issue was back on the local political agenda and members of the Sunday Defence League again organised 'its forces for a strenuous campaign to maintain the quiet Sunday for which Bournemouth is renowned, and which we still believe, notwithstanding all that has been stated to the contrary, is one of its greatest assets'.<sup>79</sup> During the contest for the 1912 municipal elections, readers of East Cliff Congregational Church's magazine were exhorted 'to VOTE, irrespective of creed or politics, on November 1st, FOR CANDIDATES who are opposed to SUNDAY TRAMS and all that would follow in their train [emphasis in the original]'.<sup>80</sup> The minister Rev. Phillip Rogers, saw 'the Sunday introduction of trams as an attempt to secularise the Sunday in Bournemouth, and God save Bournemouth from a Sunday like that at Brighton'. Using a powerful metaphor, he argued that: 'Just as the dykes of Holland kept back the floods of the ocean, so a sanctified Sunday would act as a bulwark which kept back the floods of wickedness.'<sup>81</sup>

The outcome of the municipal elections was inconclusive as far as the trams issue was concerned, but the borough council subsequently decided to hold a second poll in January 1913. This time, despite the efforts of the Sunday Defence League, a majority voted for a change in policy. On this occasion the turnout was 70.1 per cent, with 52.5 per cent voting in favour of the running of trams on Sundays.<sup>82</sup> The outcome clearly indicated a shift in public opinion towards a more liberal view of Sunday observance and the increasing strength of the secular 'other'. Indeed, it was seen by many as the 'end of that 'Sunday quiet' which ... [had] been a distinctive feature of the town and a great attraction to many visitors and residents.'<sup>83</sup> It also indicated a waning of the influence of Congregationalists and other committed Christians in shaping public policy and played a part in constraining their political ambitions.

### Constraints

Notwithstanding the potency of the social and civic gospels and the commitment of

Congregationalists to certain political causes, unlike political parties and even secular pressure groups, they were not in a position to pursue these single-mindedly. Put a little differently, they were constrained by various factors emanating from both within the denomination and without.

Internal constraints arose, in the main, from the opposition of those Congregationalists who viewed politics with suspicion, not least because in their eyes it distracted the Church from its primary mission of saving souls. They were concerned about the corrosive effect of political activity and sympathetic towards the views of the anonymous author of *Nonconformity and Politics*, in which it was claimed that an 'over-concentration on politics' was partly responsible for the fact that 'by 1909 secularisation had ... made deep and unnecessary inroads into the life of the chapels'.<sup>84</sup> What was seen as 'party passion' was withering 'the passion for Christ'.<sup>85</sup> As he put it, the kingdom of God does not lie in the material realm but 'in righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost' and it is the latter that should preoccupy the churches.<sup>86</sup> Put simply, there were many Nonconformists 'who feared that the soul was neglected in the social gospel ...'.<sup>87</sup>

Although the evidence from Edwardian Hampshire is not clear-cut, something of a modification of his views on politics can be seen in the stance of Rev. John Daniel Jones. In a sermon on 'Christianity and Politics', preached in 1906, he went as far as to suggest that engagement in political activities was 'as religious as leading a prayer-meeting ... [and] teaching in the Sunday School'.<sup>88</sup> In 1909, however, as Bebbington records, he 'devoted two sermons to endorsing the ... argument' of *Nonconformity and Politics*.<sup>89</sup> Moreover, in early 1910 he defended himself against the charge that he had preached a political sermon during the first general election campaign of that year:

I claim as a citizen the right to take part in national affairs. I claim the right of *speaking* with my fellow citizens about national affairs. That right I have exercised during the recent election, and shall exercise again whenever occasion calls for it. But as a minister and a preacher I regard the realm of party politics as entirely barred against me. I detest and abhor political sermons, and have never preached one ... in God's house men of varied and conflicting opinion ought to feel equally at home ... [emphasis in the original]<sup>90</sup>

That said, as Koss points out, Rev. J. D. Jones was a close friend and colleague of the leading Congregationalist Rev. Silvester Horne and together both were heavily involved in campaigning during the general elections of 1906 and 1910.<sup>91</sup>

A further example of what might be regarded as a reassessment of priorities comes, ironically, from an address of the 'staunch Liberal' Rev.

William Miles, in his capacity as chairman of the HCU for the year 1913. He argued, in the context of observations concerning the functions of the Christian Church, that:

The work of the Church was first, not politics. He felt that the less the Church had to do with politics the better it would be for the Church and the better for politics, too. Mr. Balfour had said a wise thing when he remarked that the Christian Church had never interfered in politics without losing more for herself than she had gained for politics. It would be a great advantage ... if every Christian minister would assume such an attitude towards politics that men of all political parties could feel at home among them.<sup>92</sup>

Possibly, like others, by this stage he had become somewhat disenchanted with the Liberal government, since it would seem that by politics Miles meant party politics. Indeed, he later acknowledged that it was not 'possible for a man to stand in the pulpit and proclaim all the doctrines of the Word of God without coming into contact, now and again, with political prejudice and vested interest'. Alongside the drink trade and Sabbath breakers, this included 'every political institution which ground the face of the poor and enriched the few at the expense of the many'.<sup>93</sup> That said, although there was some ambiguity as to what exactly was meant by 'politics', there is evidence to suggest that during the Edwardian era there was a reaction amongst Congregationalists regarding the extent to which churches, as institutions, should be involved in anything that might be deemed 'political'. At the same time, they reserved the right as citizens to support political parties and campaign on particular issues.

A particularly potent external constraint was public hostility towards the perceived misuse of the pulpit to promote political causes, as the comments of Rev. John Daniel Jones quoted earlier indicate. One further example from Edwardian Hampshire occurred during the febrile atmosphere of the 1906 general election campaign, when Rev. James Learmount, Christchurch's Congregational minister from 1900 to 1906, preached a sermon on the relationship between Christianity and politics based on the text: 'Whatsoever ye do, do all to the Glory of God'.<sup>94</sup> Reported verbatim in the sympathetic *Christchurch Times*, he argued that:

To escape from hell and get to heaven is not the great business of life. The great business of every Christian is to do what Christ would do today ... with our freedom and ... our circumstances around Him ... good people who take ... no part in politics are wrong ... It is the duty of religious people to ... lay down great Christian principles for the guidance of government and well-being of the nation ... to cry aloud when the leaders of the State make grave moral mistakes,

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seek to set up class distinctions, and to raise barriers which prevent all men from realising the solidarity of mankind growing out of the fact of the Fatherhood of God.<sup>95</sup>

Reference was also made to specific issues, including free trade, which 'should not merely be a means ... of getting more wealth; it should be a measure of social justice', and, temperance, which 'ought not to be a matter of opinion; ... [but] a question affecting the people's life, a question of heaven or hell for them.' Publicans and brewers were portrayed as purveyors of evil. In his peroration, he referred to politics as 'applied religion' while acknowledging that 'bitter politics' were 'of the devil'.<sup>96</sup>

The Rev. Learmount was subsequently taken to task by the Conservative-supporting *Observer and Chronicle*, which described his sermon as an 'illustration of how certain pulpits are used for party politics at election time'.<sup>97</sup> He defended himself in a letter published a week later in the *Christchurch Times* by maintaining that the thrust of his argument was not party politics but righteousness. However, with Congregational ministers being far more likely to support the Liberal than the Conservative Party, there can have been few in the congregation who would not have interpreted his remarks in this light.

### Conclusion

There is little doubt that, during the Edwardian era, many leading lay and clerical Hampshire Congregationalists, prompted in part by righteous indignation, felt that it was their Christian duty to engage in politics and, if necessary, party politics in the Liberal interest. As Rev. George Saunders, with whom this article began, commented during an interview for a series of newspaper profiles on Southampton's local religious leaders which was published in 1905:

I have spoken on Liberal platforms. I think a minister should be granted the liberty which any other individual enjoys. I do not believe in the introduction of party politics into the pulpit, but I think the pulpit should state very clearly great principles and should not be afraid to apply them to every department of national life.<sup>98</sup>

Indeed, many Congregationalists would have aligned themselves with the comments of Rev. E. R. Pullen, minister of Shirley Baptist Church in Southampton, at a 1906 election meeting. His response to those who argued that he should not get involved in politics was that 'the old testament prophets did and ... he was a citizen as well as a Christian minister'.<sup>99</sup>

While relations with the Liberal Party might have cooled somewhat during the later part of the Edwardian era, evidence from Hampshire indicates that they were by no means completely

fractured. Arguably, Koss' chapter title for the period 1908 to 1914, 'Decline and Disenchantment', overstates the disaffection.<sup>100</sup> As Packer comments, 'There was still probably more Nonconformist enthusiasm for the party in 1910 than there had been in, say, 1900. Liberalism and Nonconformity remained closely entwined and many aspects of Liberal thought and policy were influenced by Nonconformist views.'<sup>101</sup> For example, in what was described as a 'vigorous speech' at a mass meeting held during the January 1910 election campaign in Southampton, Rev. Ieuan Maldwyn Jones, minister of Albion Congregational Church, gave full expression to this relationship. Having made clear that 'he had never spoken in his pulpit on party politics, and never would', that night he was there 'as a citizen, as a patriot and as a Nonconformist' and in these capacities it was essential to realise that 'if the Lords gained the day' in the election they could say 'good-bye to their Liberalism ... to their ideals as men ... to their social reform and their temperance legislation.' Indeed, 'if there were any Nonconformists who did not intend to vote Liberal this time, then he would say 'I am ashamed of your Nonconformity' (hear, hear).'<sup>102</sup> Likewise at a public meeting in Petersfield about the Constitutional crisis engulfing the country, Rev. Ernest Thompson did not shy away from political partisanship: 'The duty of Free Churchmen at this time seemed to be perfectly clear, to return the Liberal party to power to smash the veto of the Lords.'<sup>103</sup>

Similarly in the second general election campaign of 1910, a resolution of the Southampton Evangelical Free Church Council called upon Nonconformists: 'at this serious crisis of our national affairs to put forth every effort to secure the return to Parliament of those gentlemen who will support the Government in this final effort which it is making to enforce the People's will, and thus secure fair treatment by the Lords for measures introduced for the removal of Nonconformist grievances in education, for licensing reform, and other measures for the social welfare of the people.'<sup>104</sup> This was passed unanimously by a mass meeting of Free Churchmen at which Rev. I. M. Jones was again one of the main speakers along with a Baptist and a United Methodist minister.

For many Congregationalists, there remained a distinctive Nonconformist political agenda, centred on temperance, disestablishment of the Church of England, Sunday observance and improvements in the living conditions of the disadvantaged. In the words of Rev. Will Reason, Social Service Secretary of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, when speaking to the Southampton Free Church Council in 1912: 'year by year ... the public conscience and certainly the Christian conscience, was becoming more and more sensitive of those facts of human life which they summed up in the phrase "social problem".'<sup>105</sup> Thus, although many Congregationalists might have become more ambivalent

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towards party politics, their political sensibilities, in the broadest sense of the term, remained intact as the Liberal government wrestled with industrial unrest, the Irish Home Rule Crisis of 1913–14 and the campaign for women’s suffrage. Echoing Packer, ‘the separation of religion and politics still had a long way to go in 1914.’<sup>106</sup>

However, there remained a keen awareness that the spiritual dimension of Congregationalism should neither be neglected nor undermined. Thus, in its annual report for 1913 the HCU quoted with approval a letter from Congregational Memorial Hall in London reminding recipients ‘that the chief business of the Church ... [was] the salvation of souls, using the word ‘salvation’ in the wide and far-reaching sense which is given to it in the New Testament.’ While at the same time, the Temperance and Social Service Committee of the HCU expressed the earnest hope ‘that all Preachers will give due attention to the question of Sunday observance and of Temperance in their pulpit ministrations.’<sup>107</sup> In this respect, political engagement was one manifestation of the challenge faced by Congregationalists of how to be *in* the world but not *of* it – quite a difficult balancing act.

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- 2 Roger Ottewill, ‘Faith and Good Works: Congregationalism in Edwardian Hampshire’ (PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2015).
- 3 That is including Bournemouth and Christchurch, which remained part of Hampshire until 1974, but excluding the Isle of Wight.
- 4 Stephen Koss, *Nonconformity in Modern British Politics* (London, 1975).
- 5 Ian Packer, *Liberal Government and Politics, 1905–1915* (Basingstoke, 2006).
- 6 Michael Watts, *The Dissenters*, vol. 3, *The crisis and conscience of nonconformity* (Oxford, 2015).
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- 8 Timothy Larsen, ‘Victorian Nonconformity and the Memory of the Ejected Ministers: The Impact of the Bicentennial Commemorations of 1862,’ in R. N. Swanson (ed.) *Studies in Church History 33: The Church Retrospective* (Woodbridge, 1997), p. 459. Since the ejection took

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- 9 John Gay, *The Geography of Religion in England* (London, 1971), p. 143.
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- 12 Packer, *Liberal Government and Politics*, p. 98.
- 13 David Bebbington, *The Nonconformist Conscience* (London, 1982), p. 153.
- 14 *Hants and Berks Gazette*, 20 Oct. 1906. For a fuller discussion of their involvement in the political life of Basingstoke see Roger Ottewill, ‘Blending the Sacred with the Secular: Congregationalism in Edwardian Basingstoke 1901–1914’, <https://www.academia.edu/8992806/>.
- 15 *Romsey Advertiser*, 24 Jul. 1903.
- 16 For further details of Bance’s career see Roger Ottewill, ‘The Avenue Quartet: Exemplars of Edwardian Congregationalism’, *Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society*, vol. 9, no. 4, 2014, pp. 227–47.
- 17 Kenneth Brown, *A Social History of the Nonconformist Ministry in England and Wales 1800–1930* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 202–5.
- 18 *Hampshire Telegraph*, 26 Aug. 1921.
- 19 *Congregational Year Book*, 1908, p. 188.
- 20 *Congregational Year Book*, 1947, p. 463.
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- 25 *Southampton Times and Hampshire Express*, 22 Jan. 1910. Having won both Portsmouth seats at the 1906 general election, the Liberals lost them at the January 1910 general election and failed to regain them at the December 1910 general election.
- 26 David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* (London, 1989), p. 211.
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- 29 William G. Addison, *Religious Equality in Modern England 1714–1914* (London, 1944), p. 166, quoted in Neal Blewett, *The Peers, the Parties and the People: The British General Elections of 1910* (London, 1972), p. 344.
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- 31 Catherine Hall, ‘From Greenland’s Icy Mountains ... to Africa’s Golden Sand’: Ethnicity, Race and Nation in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England,’ *Gender & History* 5, no. 2, 1993, p. 223.
- 32 Anne Rodrick, *Self-Help and Civic Culture: Citizenship in Victorian Birmingham* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 21–2. For a fuller discussion of the contribution of R. W. Dale to ideas concerning municipal government in Victorian Britain, see E. P. Hennock, *Fit and Proper Persons: Ideal and Reality in Nineteenth-Century Urban Government* (London, 1973), esp. ch. 6.
- 33 A. W. Dale, *The Life of R. W. Dale of Birmingham* (London, 1899), p. 406.

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- 34 *Hants and Berks Gazette*, 2 Feb. 1907.
- 35 *Hants and Berks Gazette*, 16 Nov. 1912.
- 36 *Ibid.*
- 37 *Hampshire Chronicle*, 28 Apr. 1906.
- 38 *Bournemouth Guardian*, 16 Apr. 1910.
- 39 Bebbington, *Nonconformist Conscience*, p. 11.
- 40 Ian M Randall, 'The Social Gospel: A Case Study', in John Wolfe (ed.) *Evangelical Faith and Public Zeal* (London, 1995), p. 167.
- 41 *Romsey Advertiser*, 6 Nov. 1903.
- 42 For a detailed discussion of the issues involved see Roger Ottewill, 'Education, Education, Education: Researching the Education Act 1902', *The Local Historian*, vol. 37, no. 4, 2007, pp. 258–72 and Roger Ottewill, 'Cotton versus Ashmall: A Microcosmic View of the Education Act 1902', *History of Education Researcher*, no. 82, 2008, pp. 84–94.
- 43 For an elaboration of these points see Roger Ottewill, 'Discord and Concord: Education and Religion in Hampshire Communities c. 1900 to c. 1905' (MRes dissertation, University of Southampton, 2007).
- 44 *Southampton Times and Hampshire Express*, 9 May 1903. Passive resistance involved withholding that part of their rates which it was estimated would be used to fund church schools.
- 45 *HCU Annual Report*, 1901, pp. 18–9, Hampshire Record Office [HRO] 127M94/62/46.
- 46 *HCU Annual Report*, 1902, p. 16, HRO 127M94/62/47.
- 47 *Hants and Sussex News*, 5 Apr. 1905.
- 48 *Southampton Times and Hampshire Express*, 13 Jan. 1906
- 49 A. K. Russell, *Liberal Landslide: The General Election of 1906* (Newton Abbott, 1973), p. 110.
- 50 Watts, *Dissenters*, p. 362.
- 51 *Hants and Sussex News*, 17 Mar. 1909.
- 52 *Above Bar Free Churchman*, vol. IV, no. 37, Jan. 1909.
- 53 *Hampshire Post*, 26 Apr. 1912.
- 54 Due to the First World War the legislation was suspended and it was not until 1 June 1920 that the Welsh Church was finally disestablished.
- 55 Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, pp. 133–4.
- 56 Packer, *Liberal Government and Politics*, p. 111.
- 57 *Congregational Year Book*, 1954, p. 522. His other enthusiasm was overseas missions.
- 58 *Congregational Year Book*, 1936, p. 267.
- 59 *Congregational Year Book*, 1913, p. 182.
- 60 *Hants and Berks Gazette*, 24 Jan. 1903.
- 61 *Ibid.*
- 62 *Ibid.*
- 63 Bebbington, *Nonconformist Conscience*, p. 51.
- 64 *HCU Annual Report*, 1904, p. 16, HRO 127M94/62/49.
- 65 *Southampton Times and Hampshire Express*, 3 Nov. 1907.
- 66 John Wigley, *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Sunday* (Manchester, 1980), p. 159.
- 67 Hugh McLeod, *Religion and Society in England, 1850–1914* (Basingstoke, 1996), p. 176.
- 68 Packer, *Liberal Government and Politics*, p. 114.
- 69 As indicated in footnote 3, Bournemouth remained part of Hampshire until 1974, when it was transferred to Dorset.
- 70 *Lymington Chronicle*, 31 Oct. 1901.
- 71 *Bournemouth Visitors' Directory*, 29 Nov. 1902.
- 72 *Daily Telegraph*, 6 Oct. 1905.
- 73 *Beautiful Bournemouth: An illustrated guide to Bournemouth, The Evergreen Valley of the South* (c. 1905), not paginated.
- 74 *Daily Telegraph*, 9 Oct. 1905.
- 75 *Ibid.*
- 76 *Bournemouth Visitors' Directory*, 7 Sept. 1912.
- 77 *Ibid.*
- 78 *Bournemouth Visitors' Directory*, 5 Oct. 1906.
- 79 *East Cliff Congregational Magazine* 70, Oct 1912, p. iv. A motion opposing the introduction of Sunday trams was passed at a mass meeting attended by between 3,000 and 4,000 people at Westover Palace Skating Rink. *Bournemouth Visitors' Directory*, 19 Oct. 1912.
- 80 *East Cliff Congregational Magazine* 70, Oct 1912, p. iv.
- 81 *Bournemouth Guardian*, 14 Sep. 1912.
- 82 Sunday trams commenced running a couple of months later, although only in the afternoons and evenings. Sunday morning trams were not introduced until 1926.
- 83 *Bournemouth Visitors' Directory*, 8 Feb. 1913.
- 84 *British Weekly*, 25 Mar. 1909, p. 669, quoted in Bebbington, *Nonconformist Conscience*, p. 158. The author is thought to have been Rev. Henry William Clark, a Congregational minister who was teaching at a school in Harpenden.
- 85 *Above Bar Free Churchman*, vol IV, no 40, Apr. 1909.
- 86 *Nonconformity and Politics. By a Nonconformist Minister* (London, 1909), p. 191.
- 87 Blewett, *The Peers, the Parties and the People*, p. 348.
- 88 "Christianity and Politics", A Sermon Preached at Richmond Hill Congregational Church by the Pastor, Rev J. D. Jones, M.A., B.D., *Richmond Hill Magazine and Congregational Record*, New Series VII, no. 5, 1906, pp. 37–8.
- 89 Bebbington, *Nonconformist Conscience*, p. 158.
- 90 *Bournemouth Guardian*, 12 Feb. 1910.
- 91 Koss, *Nonconformity*, p. 71 (1906 election), p. 106 (1910 elections).
- 92 *Bournemouth Guardian*, 19 Apr. 1913.
- 93 *Ibid.*
- 94 1 Corinthians ch. 10 v. 21.
- 95 *Christchurch Times*, 6 Jan. 1906.
- 96 *Ibid.*
- 97 *Observer and Chronicle for Hants and Dorset*, 20 Jan. 1906.
- 98 *Hampshire Independent*, 11 Mar. 1905.
- 99 *Hampshire Independent*, 13 Jan. 1906.
- 100 Koss, *Nonconformity*, pp. 100–124.
- 101 Packer, *Liberal Government and Politics*, p. 119.
- 102 *Southampton Times and Hampshire Express*, 15 Jan. 1910.
- 103 *Hants and Sussex News*, 5 Jan. 1910.
- 104 *Southampton Times and Hampshire Express*, 3 Dec. 1910.
- 105 *Southampton Times and Hampshire Express*, 7 Dec. 1912.
- 106 Packer, *Liberal Government and Politics*, p. 120.
- 107 *HCU Annual Report*, 1913, pp. 23 and 38, HRO 127M94/62/58.

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