

TRANSACTIONS

CONGREGATIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOL. XIX. No. 5. SEPTEMBER 1963

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EDITOR JOHN H. TAYLOR, B.D.

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CONTENTS

Editorial	209
The Lord's Supper in the Teaching of the Separatists by <i>Stephen H. Mayor, M.A., B.D., Ph.D.</i>	212
The Fundamental Principle of the London Missionary Society (Part III) by <i>Irene M. Fletcher</i>	222
Histories of Congregational Churches, 1961-63	229
The Turvey and Ongar Congregational Academy (Part II) by <i>H. G. Tibbutt, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.</i>	230
Notes on the Holy Communion, 1842 by <i>John H. Taylor</i>	237
Reviews	238

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Dr. L. H. Carlson

Present at the Annual Meeting was Dr. L. H. Carlson, the most distinguished scholar to join our Society this year. The quantity of Separatist writings which Dr. Carlson has discovered and published, apart from the quality of his work, is astounding. Dr. G. F. Nuttall reviews volumes III and IV of Elizabethan Nonconformist Texts on pages 238-42 of this issue, whilst Dr. Stephen Mayor, it will be observed, relies a great deal upon Dr. Carlson's texts in his excellent article. Perhaps this may be taken as a small tribute to this American Hercules.

Too Many Visible Saints?

To our astonishment a book reached us this Spring with the familiar title *Visible Saints*; but its cover, contents and author betrayed that it was not that familiar and oft-quoted work by Dr. Nuttall, but a related theme from the pen of Professor Edmund Sears Morgan of Yale University.¹ In his Preface he does offer an apology to Dr. Nuttall 'for adopting a title similar to that of his excellent book on English Congregationalism'. Nevertheless, it is a pity that some other suitable title could not be found.

The two books are very different in most respects. Whereas Dr. Nuttall surveyed the whole range of churchmanship amongst early Congregationalists, Dr. Morgan's interest is in tracing the rise of the practice of requiring candidates for church membership to produce evidence of the work of grace upon their souls. He recounts the insuperable problems which it raised, especially in a land where membership of a Congregational church and full civil rights went together, and how it fell, only to be revived in a different way under the influence of Jonathan Edwards in the eighteenth century.

Morgan's point is that the New Englanders were the first Puritans to restrict membership to persons who could give convincing accounts of their religious experience to their fellows. The early Separatists, he says, were content merely to exclude the wicked. But as Puritan divines concentrated so much attention upon the doctrine of assurance, it was natural that in the end congregations would apply it to the criterion of membership.

In the American colonies, more than in England, circumstances led to the weaknesses of this standard of membership being exposed. It led to the expedient known as the Halfway Covenant, after a generation or so, whereby the adult, baptised children of church members kept their juvenile status in the church, being neither outside and excommunicated, nor fully inside, communicants, with a voice in church affairs. The crux of the problem was that the younger generation was not repeating the religious experience of the older; and as Jonathan Mitchel said in 1662.

The Lord hath not set up Churches onely that *a few old Christians* may keep one another warm while they live, and then carry away the Church into the cold grave with them when they dye.²

It makes one wonder whether similar issues would have faced

¹*New York University Press; 1963; \$4.50.*

²p.138.

Congregationalists in England had not the Commonwealth collapsed and a new set of problems of a different kind occupied attention. It is well-known that Dissenters lamented the drop in spiritual temperature in the second half of the seventeenth century.

Dr. Nuttall's book makes it clear that early Congregationalists on this side of the ocean required 'experience' of their candidates for membership (pp. 112-15) and it looks as though the practice grew up on both sides of the Atlantic at about the same time and must have had the same origin, deep in what Dr. Morgan terms the puritan morphology of conversion.

As there is some danger of American books, because of their high price, getting overlooked by British students, we thought it right to draw special attention to this piece of research.

Correspondence

It would be interesting to receive opinions on subjects such as the above, or Dr. Mayor's. Our remarks about education in the early Victorian period prompted a note from the Research Secretary telling us that in the *Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire*, vol. lxvi (1962), is an article on 'The Evangelical Revival and Education in Nottingham' by S. D. Chapman, which devotes considerable space to the Free Church contribution.

We have also been told of the formation of the Strict Baptist Historical Society (Secretary: Mr. Colin L. Mann, 60 Ealing Park Gardens, London, W.4) which we welcome among our contemporaries.

Sometimes correspondents write to us to point out errors and omissions. These letters often bring us grief and gratitude at the same time. For example, in our last issue we had a short description of the *James Forbes Library*, but we did not say where it was! Two members have pointed this out. The address is The City Library, Brunswick Road, Gloucester.

G. A. Johnson of Wellingborough writes to tell us of a pilgrimage made by members of the Society in that area to Rothwell (pronounced 'Rowell') Congregational Church on 25 May. They visited the tombs of Thomas Browning, ejected from Desborough in 1662, and Richard Davis, early ministers of the church, who lie in the parish church; Jesus Hospital, almshouses dating from 1585; and were treated to the history of the Congregational church by G. T. Streather. Mr. Johnson's interesting account of the day and the story of the church makes us wonder how many other parties have been making pilgrimages this year. We should like to know about them.

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THE LORD'S SUPPER IN THE TEACHING OF THE SEPARATISTS

Historians of Congregationalism have not in general had much to say on the views of the Separatists concerning the Lord's Supper. Dale, for example, says that Browne held Calvinistic views on this topic, which does not tell us much,¹ while Dr. Horton Davies complains of the lack of evidence on this subject.² Yet even earlier than Browne, the Sacraments played an important part in providing one of the motives for the primordial separation of Richard Fitz : 'To haue the Sacraments mynystred purely, onely and all together accordinge to the institution and good worde of the Lorde Iesus, without any tradicion of inuention of man'.³

Browne and Harrison each gave a definition of the word 'Sacrament'. Harrison, in *Three Formes of Catechismes*, included the following :

Quest. What is a Sacrament ?

An. It is an outwarde visible signe by the confirmation of the worde, applied therto, representinge spirituall graces vnto vs, for the tesifying [sic] of Gods goodnes towardes vs, and confirming our faith.⁴

This appears to follow Calvin's description of the Sacrament as a seal, giving confirmation of God's promises in His Word, though with leanings in a Zwinglian direction. When Harrison turns to the Lord's Supper he sounds more like Bucer, with his idea of a double feeding, outward on the elements and inward on the body and blood of Christ.

Quest. What doo the Sacrament of the Lords Supper signifie vnto vs ?

An. Euen as by Baptisme wee are receuyed into Gods house, to be nourished as his deare children : so the Lords Supper which we are often to receyue, represent[s] vnto vs the foode wherewith our soules are nourished. Namelie the bread signie

¹R. W. Dale, *History of English Congregationalism*, (1907), 126. Cf. *Transactions*, xix, No. 2, 97f.

²Horton Davies, *The Worship of the English Puritans*, (1948), 88.

³Champlin Burrage, *Early English Dissenters*, (1912), ii, 13, quoting *State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth I, Addenda*, xx, 107. II.

⁴*Three Formes of Catechismes* (1583) in *The Writings of Robert Harrison and Robert Browne*, edited by Albert Peel and Leland H. Carlson, (1953), 139.

[sic] the bodie of Christ the liuing Manna, which giueth neuer to hunger more : And the wine doo signifie the bloude of Christ the water of life, whiche giueth neuer to thirst more. And as in our bodies we doo taste these elementes, so in our soules by faith wee doo feede on our Sauour Christ.⁵

Robert Browne gives the following definition :

The Lords supper is a Sacrament or marke of the apparent Church, sealing vnto vs by the breaking and eating of breade and drinking the Cuppe in one holie communion, and by the worde accordinglie preached, that we are happilie redeemed by the breaking of the bodie and shedding of the bloud of Christ Iesus, and we thereby growe into one bodie, and church, in one communion of graces, whereof Christ is the heade, to keepe and seake agreement vnder one lawe and gouernement in all thankfulness & holy obedience.⁶

The precise significance of this definition depends upon how far Browne followed Calvin in the meaning he attached to the word 'seal'; but in any case the most striking feature is the degree to which Browne saw the Lord's Supper as the Sacrament of the unity of Christians. Like everything in his works his view of the Sacraments is dominated by his conception of the Church. This exemplifies the fact that Separatism, and later Congregationalism, represent a conception of Churchmanship, not a doctrinal eccentricity. As Barrow put it : ' . . . In the holy symbole of the Lorde's Supper, the communicantes be made one bodie with Christ's, and one another's members in the same bodie'.⁷

The best-known description of the Lord's Supper among the Separatists relates not to Barrow or Browne, but to the Church of Francis Johnson, in the account given by Daniel Bucke :

Beinge further demaunded the manner of the lordes supper administred amongst them, he saith that fyve whight loves or more were sett vppon the table and that the Pastor did breake the bread and then deliuered yt vnto some of them, and the deacons deliuered to the rest some of the said congregacion sittinge and some standinge aboute the table and that the Pastor deliuered the Cupp vnto one and he to an other, and soe from one to an other till they had all dronken vsinge the

⁵Ibid., 140.

⁶*A Booke which sheweth the life and manners of all true Christians*, (1582), in *ibid.*, pp. 279 and 280.

⁷*A brief Discoverie of the False Church*, in *The Writings of Henry Barrow 1587-1590*, edited by Leland H. Carlson, (1962), 313.

words at the deliuerye therof accordinge as it is sett downe in the eleventh of the Corinthes the xxiiith verse'.⁸

This is the beginning of a tradition of Holy Communion destined to become part of historic Dissent. As one would expect, Browne himself gave perfectly clear instructions how the Lord's Supper was to be administered :

The preacher must take breade and blesse and geue thanks, and then must he breake it and pronounce it to be the body of Christ, which was broken for them, that by fayth they might feede thereon spirituallie & growe into one spiritual bodie of Christ, and so he eating thereof himselfe, must bidd them take and eate it among them, & feede on Christ in their consciences.

Likewise also must he take the cuppe and blesse and geue thanks, and so pronounce it to be the bloud of Christ in the newe Testament, which was shedd for remission of sinnes, that by fayth we might drinke it spirituallie, and so be nourished in one spirituall bodie of Christ, all sinne being clensed away, and then he drinking thereof himselfe must bydd them drinke thereof likewise and diuide it among them, and feede on Christe in their consciences.

Then must they all giue thanks praying for their further profiting in godlines & vowing their obedience.⁹

This is clearer than Bucke's account ; for example, in that it indicates that the celebrant was to partake first.

The very essence of Separatist teaching on the Sacraments was that there could be no such thing except in the true Church, that the Church of England failed to come within the scope of this definition, and that its alleged Sacraments were therefore invalid. The earliest surviving Separatist writing, Harrison's *Treatise of the Church* [?1580] sets the pattern by claiming that the Church of England is not a true Church because Christ does not reign in it, and that therefore it cannot have the Sacraments, which are seals of the promise made to the Church.¹⁰ Browne argues that the Anglican Sacraments are invalid—or rather 'vnclene and

⁸Burrage, op. cit., ii, 37. Burrage also quotes this passage in his first volume, page 143, where he accidentally passes from one occurrence of the word 'deliuered' to another, thereby omitting the words 'deliuered yt vnto some of them, and the deacons . . .'. In this error he eliminates simultaneously the deacons and intelligibility.

⁹*A Booke which sheweth*, in *Writings* (Ed. Peel and Carlson), 284 and 285.

¹⁰*A Treatise of the Church and the Kingdome of Christ*, in *Writings* (Ed. Peel and Carlson), 39.

accused'—because of that Church's false constitution.¹¹ Barrow asserts: 'A false church cannot have trewe sacraments, nether iz there trewe substance or promise of blessinge to false sacraments.¹² And again: 'I thinke that the sacramentes as they are ministred in these publike assemblies are not true sacramentes: and seale not the favour and blessing of God unto them'.¹³ Greenwood, under examination, was asked his judgment on the same subject:

Question: What say yow to the sacramentes then, are they true sacramentes?

Answer: No, they are neither rightly administred according to Christe's institution, neither have promise of grace, because yow keep not the covenant.

Question: Speak plainly, are they true sacramentes or no?

Answer: No, if yow have no true church, yow can have no true sacramentes.¹⁴

A work produced jointly by Barrow and Greenwood was emphatic: There neither being lawfull ministry to administer, nor faithfull holye free people, orderly gathered unto the true outward profession of Christ as we have before shewed, and consequently no covenant of grace, the sacraments in these assemblies of baptisme and the Lord's Supper, gyve unto atheists, papists, whoremasters, drunkerds and their seede, delyvered also after a superstitious maner according to their liturgye, and not according to the institution and rules of Christ's Testament, are no true sacraments, nor seales with promise.¹⁵

After the execution of Barrow and Greenwood we find Francis Johnson still asking the old questions, to which he implied very clearly his own answers:

Whether the Sacraments [being seales of righteousness which is by faith] may be administred to any other then the faithfull and their seed, or in any other Ministry and maner then is

¹¹*A Treatise vpon the 23. of Mattheu* [1582], in *Writings*, (Ed. Peel and Carlson), 212f.

¹²*Reply to Dr. Some's A Godly Treatise*, in *Writings* (Ed. Peel and Carlson), 157.

¹³*5th Examination*, in *Writings* (Ed. Carlson), 196.

¹⁴*Examination* (1588/9), in *The Writings of John Greenwood 1587-1590. Together with the Joint Writings of Henry Barrow and John Greenwood 1587-1590*, edited by Leland H. Carlson, (1962), 26.

¹⁵*A Collection of Certaine Sclaunderous Articles Gyven out by the Bishshops*, in *ibid.*, 124.

prescribed by Iesus Christ the Apostle and high Priest of our profession? And whether they be not otherwise administred in the Cathedrall and parishionall assemblies of England at this day?¹⁶

The primary offence of the Church of England, especially in the eyes of Barrow, was that it admitted a promiscuous multitude into the most sacred worship of the Church. Barrow was stirred to wrath at the Puritans' idea that while it was necessary oneself to be a true believer of worthy life no pollution ensued from taking Communion with the wicked. For 'open impenitent offenders' to be tolerated 'iz directlye contrarye to the whole course of Scriptures'.¹⁷ The Anglicans were absurd in thinking 'that it is lawfull to receve all into the bozom and bodie of the church, to delyver the most holly and pretious things of God to all, evене the sacraments'.¹⁸

It was a possible deduction from Calvin's views on the importance of the Word and Sacraments as the marks of the true Church, coupled with his confidence that the faithful observance of these ordinances could not fail to bear fruit, that the administration of Communion even to the wicked might be justified as a converting or sanctifying rite. Barrow had no time for this line of reasoning:

It hath bene above shewed to be great sinne, sham[e]ful negligence, high contempt, unsufferable profanation and sacriledg in the whole church to admit, administer unto, or communicate with such; neither can the holines of the sacramentes any way excuse, but rather greatly augment their sinne and judgment, which deliver such holy things to such known unworthy receivers which discerne not the Lorde's bodie, neither can the holines of the sacramentes sanctifie the receivers, especially the unworthy receivers; whose filthines defileth the sacrament, even as leven the lump. The sacramentes confer not so much, as seale God's grace unto us, they give not faith to any so much, as confirme the faith of all the worthy receivers. But where they are thus prostituted and sacrilegiously profaned, they bring no such joy, they seale no such comfort, but rather God's assured wrath for the abuse of his ordinances, the people, sacramentes and all, being hereby uncleane and polluted in Gode's sight. Neither preserve they unto the church hereby her unitie and power, but rather take away al communion, and so corrupt and

¹⁶Burrage, *op. cit.*, ii, 139.

¹⁷*Reply to Dr. Somers' A Godly Treatise*, in *Writings* (Ed. Carlson), 157.

¹⁸*Four Causes of Separation*, in *ibid.*, 56.

poison it, that now their fellowship is not in the faith, but in sacriledg and sinne. And for the power of the church, it is not given them to receave and admit, but to drive away and keep out the profane and open unworthy, from the table of the Lord.¹⁹

The conception of the Lord's Supper as a 'converting ordinance' had no place in Separatist thought.

Neither had the idea, prominent in nineteenth and twentieth century Nonconformity, that the validity of a service might be sufficiently evidenced by subjective feelings about it. Barrow is particularly hostile to those Puritans who justify taking Communion despite doubts about the soundness of the Baptism they received in the Anglican or Roman Churches, and rejects out of hand the plea that they find comfort in it.²⁰ Baptism

remaineth for ever a sacred and inviolable law, of special use to them that have receaved it, of necessity to al such as wil enter into the established church of Christ, without which they cannot be permitted to enter, much lesse admitted to the table of the Lord.²¹

The admission of unworthy communicants was one of the two prime errors of the Church of England in Separatist eyes. The other was the inadequacy of the celebrants, in that they failed to preach the Gospel. Penry spoke for all when he claimed that the 'Lord himselfe will denie' that the Sacraments had been rightly administered in Wales. There were plenty of Christians there, but 'a reading minister cannot deliuer the Lords holie seales vnto the people without great sacriledge, nor the people receue at the hands of such, without dreadfull sins'.²² Harrison criticised the Puritans for believing that one might receive the Sacraments from 'blinde guides and dumbe dogges' in the absence of a preacher.²³ Browne summed up his rules for administration with the injunction: 'The worde must be duellie preached'.²⁴ Barrow would agree: 'A lawful minister iz of necessitye required to a trewe sacrament, nether can there be anye trewe comforte from suche pretended sacraments: but boeth such ignorant be[lie]vers, and receivers, are guiltye of the bodye and blood of Christe . . .'.²⁵

¹⁹*Brief Discoverie*, in *Writings*, (Ed. Carlson), 292.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 450.

²¹*Ibid.*, 451.

²²*An exhortation vnto the gouernours and people of Hir Maiesties countrie of Wales*, in John Penry, *Three Treatises Concerning Wales*, (1960), 67.

²³*A Treatise of the Church*, in *Writings* (Ed. Peel and Carlson), 61f.

²⁴*A Booke which sheweth*, in *ibid.*, 281 and 282.

²⁵*Reply to Dr. Some's A Godly Treatise*, in *Writings* (Ed. Carlson), 155f.

The Separatist conception of the Lord's Supper as a mark of belonging to the Church meant that no one inside the Church should be excluded from Communion. Barrow therefore attacks the ecclesiastical penalty of 'suspension', that is, exclusion from Communion, regarded as a lesser penalty than excommunication.²⁶ It is this apparently unpromising theme which leads Barrow to his clearest exposition of his own attitude to the Lord's Supper :

Heere we see this table or supper of the Lord, a livelie and most comfortable symbole of our communion with Christ, as also ech with other in Christ ; excellently shewing unto us the meanes and maner of our redemption, to stir us up into thankfulness, to rejoyce in our God and praise his name therfore, to the generall strengthening of all our faithes, and to the mutuall binding us together in all holie duties and love, etc. Here we see the table of the Lord to be publike, free, open and alike common to all saints, ech one having a like interest, necessity, use, comfort therof, the least as wel and asmuch as the greatest, Christ having alike died and paid one and the same ransome for them all, that they all might have a like interest in him, feed and feast through one and the same spirit, faith, hope, joy in him.²⁷

Barrow is emphatic that no one recognised as a Church member is to be barred from the table :

Further, seing this table is called 'the communion of the body and blood of Christ', as also the communion of the whole church, who can keepe back any such member as still remaineth in the body of Christ, in his church, without depriving him of this communion of Christ and of the church, and so of life : for 'except they eate the flesh of the Sonne of man and drinke his blood, they have no life in them'. But these men keepe them from the body and blood of Christ, from the communion of Christ and of the church, therfore also from life it self ; and so in seeming to correct him lightly, they kill him out right, for more than this can they not do by this orderly excommunication which they hold so rigorous.

Such as shall cavil at these words, 'except ye shall eate the flesh of the Sonne of man, etc.', saing that I popishly abuse the place, let them cavil : though I acknowledg that many thowsands that never attained the symbole of the

²⁶*Brief Discoverie*, in *ibid.*, 627f.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 629.

Supper, yet do feed of that body and blood of Christ by faith unto eternall life ; yet this I say, that such as by censure are put backe from the table of the Lord, are cut from the communion of Christ and of his church, and so from life. For if he have not communion with Christ and his church, he can have no life : he cannot be both thus separte from their communion, and have it together. They that pluck away the seale, cancell the deed ; but they pluck away the seale of the covenant, in that for his sin they debarre him from this comfortable communion, which is yet more than the seale, in that it bringeth such present effect and comfort.²⁸

Since the Separatists were on the whole clearer on what they disliked than on what they approved, it was not surprising that their attacks on Anglican celebrations led to the allegation that they aimed to draw people away from the Sacraments, and Harrison found it necessary to deny this and to claim that 'we embrace them dulle mynistred, & the true vse of them . . .'.²⁹ But Clement Gamble, under examination in March 1589, said that he attended Barrow's Church regularly for eighteen months but never saw the Lord's Supper celebrated and did not know where it was held. Burrage notes some evidence that Gamble was not a Church member, but also considers the possibility that Communion was suspended until the arrival of Francis Johnson as pastor in 1592.³⁰ Perhaps the answer is contained in the testimony of another witness, Arthur Billett, that he had received Communion 'at Barnes house', i.e. at the home of John Barnes, tailor.³¹ Thomas Settell gave similar evidence.³² Evidently Gamble saw no celebration of the Lord's Supper because he was not regarded as a fully-committed member, and was perhaps not trusted. Penry was reconciled to the omission of the Sacraments until further reformation was achieved.³³ He would say that his attitude indicated a proper respect for them, while his critics were shocked at the suggestion that the Church could exist for years without them. This was a problem which would recur in the next generation. For the moment the Separatists were subjected to two contradictory criticisms : that they thought the Sacraments unimportant ; and that they held that all who did not receive the Lord's Supper

²⁸Ibid., 629f.

²⁹*A Treatise of the Church*, in *Writings* (Ed. Peel and Carlson), 59.

³⁰Burrage, *op. cit.*, i, 127.

³¹Ibid., ii, 42.

³²Ibid., ii, 44f.

³³*A Supplication to the High Court of Parliament*, in *Three Treatises*, 155f.

precisely as they laid down were condemned to perdition. This latter was one of the fifteen articles alleged against the Brownists which Penry denied shortly before his death: 'It doth not follow that yf any receyue the Supper of the Lord not rightly that he shalbe condemned, for yt is a synne which God pardoneth as other the synnes of his Children'.³⁴ Paul warned the Corinthians that improper celebration of the Lord's Supper brought punishment upon them, including illness and even death, but not damnation: 'No Lutheran which holdeth consubstantiation can in that error receyue this Sacrament aright according to Christ his institution, yet we doubt not but many of them which erre herein, are the elect of God and saued by his grace'.³⁵

In 1593 the Separatist Church led by Francis Johnson migrated to Amsterdam. In its Confession of Faith (1596) it stated:

... All of the Church that are of yeeeres, and able to examine themselves, doo communicate also in the Lords Supper both men and women, and in both kindes bread and wyne . . . they are in the ordinance of God signes and seales of Gods euer-lasting couenant, representing and offring to all the receiuers, but exhibiting only to the true beleeuers the Lord Iesus Christ and all his benefits vnto righteousnes, sanctification, and eternall lyfe, through faith in his name to the glorie and prayse of God.³⁶

The rather subtle difference between 'representing and offring' Christ to all receivers while 'exhibiting' Him only to believers is a reproduction of Calvin's teaching that in the Lord's Supper the body and blood of Christ are offered to all but received only by the faithful, though in language at first sight rather ambiguous.

Summary and Critique

In weighing the significance of Separatist views on the Lord's Supper one must estimate the meaning of silences, of what these writers omit to say. They have little to say about what the rite accomplishes, or of the mode of whatever presence of Christ there may be in it, and perhaps one may deduce from such comments as they do make that they take for granted what Calvin said on these matters. But to do this is to depart widely from the attitude of Calvin: for there was never a theologian less inclined to take anything at all for granted.

³⁴Burrage, *op. cit.*, ii, 71f.

³⁵*Ibid.*

³⁶*A True Confession of the Faith* (1596), in Williston Walker, *The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism*, (1893), 70.

One thing which is very markedly lacking is any sort of Eucharistic devotion. None of these authors except perhaps Barrow betrays much *feeling* for the Lord's Supper. Browne is of course notoriously a schematic writer, expressing himself in 'definitions' and 'divisions', while Harrison and Greenwood did not leave enough writing for us to make much of a judgment of them. Barrow speaks of the 'comfort' of the Sacrament, but his emphasis is on its character as an 'ordinance', and therefore on the strict and precise observance of all that Christ and the Holy Spirit have laid down in Scripture. When he warms to the Sacrament, it is in its character as the symbol of the unity and fellowship of the saints rather than of the living presence of Christ. The Separatist position is therefore unstable, and something of this instability is characteristic of much later Congregational history: on the one hand it inclines towards the Calvinistic tradition, with its solemnity, objectivity, and sense of the sovereign authority of God; on the other towards a subjectivity and emphasis on fellowship in the Spirit which derives from a more radical form of Protestantism.

The Separatists would not recognise the Lord's Supper in present-day Nonconformity as a valid Sacrament. In certain respects this is because they shared beliefs of the Continental Reformers and the historic Catholic Church which we have abandoned. They regarded a valid Eucharist—where it could be obtained—as essential to salvation. They would be horrified at the admission of non-members. Nor would they understand modern subjectivity and individualism. The Lord's Supper was the rite of a corporate body, the Church.

But in other respects the Separatists themselves made a marked deviation from Catholic tradition. They sought a form of worship without a liturgical shape, which has been found to be impracticable, if not a contradiction. Unintentionally they began a drift from Sacramental religion into a 'spiritualism' which laid stress on verbal rather than on visual symbolism, and a 'pneumatic' idea of the Church and worship which failed to see the meaning of institutions and history. They practised a kind of worship which was expressed almost wholly in words spoken or thought, and not in the simple and natural gathering of the Lord's people at His table to break bread together. In this respect the group failed in its prime idea of returning to the Apostolic form of Christianity. In the beginnings of the recovery of this historic attitude to the Lord's Supper contemporary Nonconformity is more truly Catholic than were the Separatists.

STEPHEN MAYOR

THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY

Part III

It is recorded that 'on the memorable 4th of November, 1794, the first concerted meeting with a view to this Society took place.'¹ There were seven ministers present, including Dr. Bogue. One noted in his diary that they 'united in prayer and deliberation on behalf of millions of their race suffering from sin, and debased by idolatry.'²

The Missionary Society, launched in September of the following year as a result of this concerted meeting, surprised even the founders :

We could not keep silence, if we did the stones would immediately cry out. The evident loving kindness of our Lord, and his gracious acceptance of our feeble endeavours, are so loud a call to ourselves, as well as to the holy brethren in all lands, that we cannot but waken up our own souls, and theirs . . . we are amazed at the . . . complete success of our enterprise.³

The drawing together of these men of varying traditions within the terms Methodist and Presbyterian, already well known to one another, which made the broad basis of the Missionary Society possible, will now be traced. The consolidation of the home base will be noticed, as well as later doubts as to the value of the Fundamental Principle, ending with the considered opinion of Bogue himself thirty years after he had been used of God to provide the immediate stimulus to definite commitment which made the London Missionary Society a fact.

The Revs. John Eyre, George Burder, and John Love were the three men appointed on 28 September 1795, 'to draw up a Narrative of the Transactions which have introduced the formation of the Society',⁴ and it was they who called the Baker's Coffee House meeting of 4 November 1794, the 'first concerted meeting'. They placed this at the end of 'various private conversations' which were occasioned as the result of an 'Address to Professors of the Gospel, by the Rev. Mr. Bogue of Gosport, published in

¹*Memorials and Sermons*, 1795, p.VI.

²Ellis, *History of the L.M.S.*, 1844, p.17.

³L.M.S. Letters—Home Extra I. Draft of letter to G. Murray, Sweden, 2 May, 1799.

⁴L.M.S. Board Minutes. 28 Sept., 1795.

the *Evangelical Magazine* for September 1794.⁵ They thus made Bogue the central figure, possibly because of the need to focus attention on one man of outstanding personality. Eyre, Burder, and Love were all three, however, in the picture before Bogue, and Burder's influence on the course of events leading to the founding of the Society was at least as great, if not greater, than Bogue's, though his personality did not lend itself to the rôle in which they set Bogue.

The following account will show how persons and events were interwoven, one influencing another, as the leading figures were drawn into ever closer contact.

George Burder took charge of the Congregational church at Coventry in 1783, and a few years later set about organising the local Independent ministers into an effective County Association. At their first formal meeting at Warwick, on 27 June 1793, they discussed the proposition, 'What is the duty of Christians with respect to the spread of the Gospel?' The conclusion they reached was entered in their Minutes :

It appears to us that it is the duty of all Christians to employ every means in their power to spread the knowledge of the Gospel, both at home and abroad.⁶

Dr. Edward Williams, then of Birmingham, was asked to prepare a circular letter on the subject of spreading the Gospel, for use in their churches, by the next meeting. The ministers then collected five guineas amongst themselves as a nucleus of financial backing to whatever practical steps they took to implement their resolution.

Two months later, on 6 August, they met again, this time at Nuneaton, where some of them were taking part in an ordination. Dr. Williams' paper was discussed at length, and it was born in on the meeting that they had a document before them that ought to be circulated throughout the country, not merely within their own county of Warwickshire. Another paper was then added, probably by Burder, enlarging on the Circular Letter at length. This was headed *A Postscript* and addressed to the Independent Associations of Ministers in all the Counties of England and Wales. Between them the Warwickshire Ministers would have known all the key people to whom to address the resulting booklet, which became known as the Warwickshire Letter, and this must have been read all over the country at least by the end of 1793.

⁵*Memorials and Sermons*, 1795, p.iii.

⁶Warwickshire Letter—ADVERTISEMENT.

The three main points of the Circular were : (1) the need of the revival of true religion in all the Churches ; (2) the introduction of true godliness within the county in a prudent and inoffensive manner ; and (3) their great desire to be able to send someone to preach the Gospel to the heathen. The *Postscript* laid out a plan for County Associations, and then enlarged on the above points, and (in section 5), referred to sending missionaries to the heathen on the basis of county support, mentioning that ' we are sensible that this is an expensive work '.

On the subject of giving, the following guidance is offered : If it be asked, Why application should not be made to all denominations without distinction ? We reply ; that our design is not to reject *any contributions* that may occasionally be made, but rather would be thankful for the least ; and in some cases it may be prudent to solicit them ; but we wish the churches in our own immediate connexion, to act without the least dependence on supplies of so precarious a nature. Though a *union* of different denominations, in promoting any charitable end, appears in some respects desirable, yet it must be granted by all who consider attentively human nature, that an effect greatly superior may be expected from each denomination exerting itself separately And when this mode of procedure originates not in a bigoted partiality, but in the purest benevolence ; when one denomination *rejoices* in the success of another, while the same object is in view, it gives exercise to many Christian virtues at once.⁷

While this argument had immediate reference to evangelising within the county, its wider application must have been in the writer's mind, as it will be seen later that, as secretary of the Missionary Society, Burder was active in promoting County Auxiliaries for the support of the ' expensive work ' of evangelising the world.

David Bogue in 1794, the year following the circulation of the Warwickshire Letter, took the opportunity of freedom from teaching in the Gosport Academy provided by the summer vacation, to go on a preaching tour. His mind, already exercised as were many others by the need to obey the command ' Go ye into all the world . . . ' must have been encouraged by reading the Warwickshire Letter before he set off on his journey. At Bristol he joined the Rev. James Steven from Crown Court Chapel, London, for a spell of duty at Whitefields Tabernacle there. It was

⁷Warwickshire Letter, p.33.

here that the two men are alleged to have seen one of William Carey's letters, which called forth the remark from Bogue about 'Why can't we have a Missionary Society too?'⁸ Bogue's biographer, James Bennett, does not mention this incident, saying only of this visit to Bristol :

Mr. Hey, who was at that time pastor of the independent congregation at Castle Green joined with Mr. Bogue and Mr. Steven to attempt to rouse the public mind to their neglected duty.

without specifying the particular nature of the duty they were urging.

An earlier incident in which Bogue figures was given to Bennett by Matthew Wilks. This account, filled out from a letter written by Dr. Haweis, helps to complete the picture of the great coming together of those whom God had prepared for the concerted action that followed the 'concerted meeting' of 4 November, 1794.

John Eyre was at the Dissenters' Library in Red Cross Street, London, one day in 1794, probably in May, certainly well before Bogue's summer vacation. He met at least three of the Scottish ministers, Waugh, Love, and Steven, who was later with Bogue at Bristol. They started discussing a new book, *Letters on Missions*, by Melville Horne, an evangelical clergyman who had been for a short time acting as chaplain to the new Sierre Leone Colony at the instigation of the Clapham Sect. The men got excited over this challenging book with its scathing attack on the indifference of all branches of the Church to the needs of the heathen. On his way home Eyre called on his friend Matthew Wilks, who was at first sceptical of Horne's genuineness, as he had left Africa without doing anything himself. In the end, however, Wilks agreed to follow the matter up with Eyre and the Scottish ministers, who had planned to meet again and bring a friend with them. This developed into a fortnightly meeting at the Castle and Falcon for prayer and reading the Scriptures on the subject. After several meetings :

we resolved to give it publicity, and to write to certain leading men in the country, some at our meeting objected to Mr. B(ogue) as an high and overbearing man, but that was over-ruled, and he was addressed.⁹

⁸see G. H. Wicks, *Bristol Missionary Society, 1812-1912*, pp.3/4 for an authentic account of the occasion.

⁹L.M.S.—Raffles Collection, Fathers and Founders Autographs—Wilks to Bennett, 22 Aug., 1827.

In the meantime Eyre had asked Haweis, a fellow evangelical clergyman, to take Horne's book, and to review it for the *Evangelical Magazine* :

I was then going to Brighton for the summer, he begged me to take with me Melville Horne's treatise on Missions to review for them. This kindled afresh the missionary flame in my heart.¹⁰

The review appeared in the issue for November, 1794, the last paragraph of which reads :

Could such a society be formed upon Mr. Horne's large scale, below which little or no good can be expected, we have the pleasure to inform the Public, that one gentleman has pledged himself for an hundred pounds, and that we have five hundred pounds, from another respectable minister, for the equipment of the first six persons who shall be willing to devote themselves, and be approved by such Society for a mission to the South Sea Islands.¹¹

Also in November, Bogue came to London on unspecified business, and went to the usual gathering of London ministers at Baker's Coffee House, Old Change Alley. This was on 4 November, the occasion which became the 'first concerted meeting with a view to this Society'.¹² The seven ministers then present were : Bogue, Brooksbank, Eyre, Love, Reynolds, Steven, Wilks and Townsend. The next afternoon, Wednesday 5 November, Wilks called on Reynolds, to ask him to meet some ministers at Baker's Coffee House that day. This he did, noting their names in his diary as being all those who were at the previous day's meeting except Brooksbank and Townsend, with the addition of three others : Jerment of Bow Lane, Mends of Plymouth, and a stranger from Scotland. Adding that :

The object of the meeting was to form a Society for the preaching of the Gospel among heathen nations. To qualify and appoint missionaries for that important end, etc. etc. Agreed nem con.¹³

This group of varying composition, now committed to concerted action, grew in numbers, and at the beginning of 1795 started a Minute Book as the provisional committee to launch the new

¹⁰Maggs Cat. 616, 1935. A letter written by T. Haweis. Original now in Mitchell Library, Sydney.

¹¹*Evan. Mag.* 1794, p.478.

¹²See 1.

¹³John Reynolds' Diary, typescript extracts covering founding of L.M.S.

Missionary Society. The form of association with which the book starts has thirty-four signatures and reads as follows :

We whose names are here subscribed, declare our earnest desire to exert ourselves for promoting the great work of introducing the Gospel, and its ordinances, to heathen and other unenlightened countries, and unite together, purposing to use our best endeavours that we may bring forward the formation of an extensive and regularly organized Society, to consist of Evangelical Ministers, and Lay Brethren of all denominations, the object of which Society shall be to concert, and pursue, the most effectual measures for accomplishing this important and glorious design.¹⁴

This Minute Book goes on without a break into the record of the launching of the Society in September of the same year, constituting its earliest official manuscript record.

A City merchant, C. C. Sundius, not in the inner circle of the Missionary Society at its founding, gave his opinion on its purpose as later expressed in the Fundamental Principle, in a letter commending the Society to Swedish Christians, in 1797 :

I am convinced that I may declare it as a fact, that the honourable and upright principle of the Society is to set aside all party prejudice and to proceed on the aforesaid noble plan of simple Bible Christianity and it is on this account that I believe the Society will in the hand of Providence . . . produce a certain and good foundation for establishing unanimity and good will among Christians.¹⁵

Considerable funds were raised in the early days of the Missionary Society, and it was expected that, as one part was evangelised, so money would be released for new work and that interest on investments along with some special collections would be sufficient for the purpose. Local support from converts and others, however, was not forthcoming and missionaries themselves were an increasingly expensive item as their families grew, so that the regular giving of ordinary people became necessary. A drive to form Auxiliaries, mostly on a County basis, 'in which the contributions of the poor may be combined'¹⁶ was made in 1812, with the active participation of George Burder. Having been on tour with Bogue and Waugh, visiting Birmingham, Liverpool, and

¹⁴L.M.S. Board Minutes.

¹⁵L.M.S. Letters : Home A51—April 1798. Sundius, covering letter for Address to Sweden.

¹⁶Printed Circular. Address to the Friends of the Missionary Society—7 April 1812.

Newcastle, and returning via Yorkshire, he wrote :

The object of our journey answered, the missionary flame extended, and new auxiliaries of great extent, especially for the West Riding of Yorkshire, formed.¹⁷

An annual collection was received from the Church of England up to 1848, gathered at the May Meetings' sermon, one of four, which was preached by a clergyman in an Anglican Church. This was not officially noticed by the Bishop of London until, in 1849, he forbade the practice, and permission was not sought again.

In that same year, 1849, a country Director, Rev. J. G. Miall of Bradford, brought a motion of censure on the Secretaries of the Society, described by the Home Secretary, Rev. E. Prout, in a personal letter, as 'Mr. Miall's notice of motion for a committee to make the Society mend some of its bad ways'.¹⁸ One heading may be mentioned here, which demanded :

The careful investigation whether it would be, in a large consideration, an advantage, or a disadvantage to the Society to maintain its Fundamental law.¹⁹

'After protracted deliberation' the committee appointed to deal with Mr. Miall's motion of censure resolved that 'such a change would be inexpedient and injurious and ought not therefore to be made'.²⁰

Perhaps on account of this unrest, the Rev. J. Angell James, who had been one of Bogue's students, preaching the May Meeting sermon at Surry Chapel that same year, gave his sermon the title : 'A Tribute of Affectionate Respect in memory of the Fathers and Founders of the Missionary Society'. During a lengthy discourse he stated that 'the principles on which these worthies acted survive They founded the Society on the basis of the word of God'²¹ and affirmed that :

The Church, as such, has not yet done, and is not even now doing, her duty. She has devolved too much of the work of converting the world upon whomsoever would undertake it She must take it up afresh, as peculiarly her work We want a better church to make a better world We want more religion for ourselves ; we need more to keep what we have ; we need more for the wonderful age in which we

¹⁷Burder, *Life*, p.254.

¹⁸L.M.S. Letters, AFRICA Odds 3, Freeman Papers D 3 1, Prout to Freeman, 15 May, 1849.

¹⁹L.M.S. Board Minutes, 17 April, 1849.

²⁰L.M.S. Board Minutes, 24 Oct. 1849.

²¹Printed Sermon.

live, to fit us for our duty to that; we need more for the great missionary work to which we are called.²²

The name of David Bogue will always be remembered in connection with 'the first publication which stood in immediate connection with the rise of this Society'²³ and with the 'first concerted meeting'²⁴ that led to its founding. For thirty years he gave the Missionary Society active, if not always popular service, and at the May Meetings of 1825, the last year of his life, looking backwards, and looking forwards, he said of the Fundamental Principle:

Thus, an important fact has been established, that Christians, who differ as to forms of Church government, can continue to act together in sending the pure gospel of Christ to the heathen. It is comparatively of small moment, that external forms and modes of worship should be the same in each congregation; if Jesus Christ be at the head, that is enough. Let there be communion among Ministers preaching for each other, and communion of Christians at the Lord's Table.²⁵

IRENE M. FLETCHER

²²Printed Sermon.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 1795, p.vi.

²³*Memorials and Sermons*, 1795, p.iii. ²⁵*Evan. Mag.*, 1825, June, p.257.

HISTORIES OF CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES

(The following list supplements and continues the list on pp. 207-8 of the last number of *Transactions*)

Ayres, W. F. The Highbury story: Highbury Chapel, Bristol. The first fifty years. (1963).

Bradford. Lidget Green Congregational Church 1912-1962. (1962).

Brockway, K. N. A brief history of Rother Street Congregational Church, Stratford-upon-Avon. (1962).

Carpenter, F. Winchester Congregational Church 1662-1962. (1962).

Cooke, B. O. The story of Clifton Down Congregational Church, Bristol. (1962).

Gilmour, E. A short history of Congregationalism in Congleton, Cheshire. (1962).

Green, P. Paddington Chapel, London, 1813-1963. (1963).

Pauli, J. R. W. One of the Two Thousand. A history of Lyme Regis Congregational Church 1661-1962. (1962).

Reason, J. A fellowship of churches, 1662-1962. A short history of the witness of the Guildford and district Congregational Churches. (1962).

Scragg, R. S. Three hundred years of Congregationalism in Dorking. (1962).

Thompson, F. G. Cliftonville Congregational Church, Hove, 1863-1963. (1963).

Walsall. Broadway Congregational Church. The Church covenant and constitution, with a short history of Congregationalism in Walsall. (1961).

H. G. TIBBUTT

THE TURVEY AND ONGAR CONGREGATIONAL ACADEMY

Part II

A general account of the Academy appeared in vol. xix. no. 3 (Oct. 1963), *Transactions*. The following biographical list of the students is based primarily on a personal examination of the Minutes of the Examination Committee of the London Missionary Society. *Congregational Year Books* from 1846-1910 were also consulted as well as the printed *Register of L.M.S. Missionaries*. The Rev. C. E. Surman's *Biographical Card Index of Congregational Ministers* subsequently made it possible to fill some missing gaps in the list.

The information in this biographical list shows the surname and Christian names; the year (or years) at Turvey or Ongar; any previous or subsequent study at college; the period of service with the L.M.S.; pastorates or other later activities; year of death; details of obituary notice; and the entry number in the L.M.S. printed *Register*. The following abbreviations are used:

C.Y.B.	<i>Congregational Year Book</i> .
D.N.B.	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> .
E.C.	Minutes of the Examination Committee of London Missionary Society.
Obit.	Obituary Notice.
L.M.S. No.	Entry number in the printed <i>Register</i> of L.M.S. Missionaries.

ABBS, John. Turvey 1834. Cheshunt College 1834-37. L.M.S. India 1837-61. Kirby Moorside, Yks. 1861-77. Died 1888 aged 78. Obit. C.Y.B. 1889. L.M.S. No. 356.

BARFF, John, Turvey 1838. L.M.S. South Seas 1839-60. Died 1860 aged 40 years. Obit. C.Y.B. 1861. L.M.S. No. 437.

BARNDEN, George. Turvey 1834-35. L.M.S. South Seas 1836-38. Drowned in South Seas 1838 aged 27. L.M.S. No. 327.

BARNES, Othniel. Turvey and Ongar 1837-39. Cecil reported unfavourably.

BARRETT, William Garland. Turvey 1834. L.M.S. Jamaica 1834-48. John Street, Royston, Herts. 1848-55. Died 1865 aged 53. L.M.S. No. 314.

BIRT, Richard. Turvey 1836-37. L.M.S. Sth. Africa 1838-92. Died 1892 aged 82. Obit. C.Y.B. 1893. L.M.S. No. 383.

BLACK, Davidson, of Gretna. Turvey 1837. Left Turvey because of 'his despairing views of acquiring Latin and Greek'.

BOWREY, James. Turvey 1836 but reported by Cecil as unsatisfactory and his offer of service declined. Whitechurch, Hants. 1837-44. L.M.S. Berbice 1844-55. Ebenezer Chapel, Shadwell, London, 1856. Died 1877 aged 61. Obit. C.Y.B. 1878. L.M.S. No. 470.

BROWN, George, of Carluke. Accepted for Ongar 1840 but found difficulty in disposing of his school and did not go. Re-interviewed 1844 but not accepted for training.

BROWN, Hugh. Turvey 1834-35. Cecil reported him as dull and slow of understanding but very religious (25.5.1835). Further education at Bow Rd., School, London. L.M.S. Jamaica 1835-37. Died 1837. L.M.S. No. 336.

BUDDEN, John Henry. Turvey 1837 then Western College. L.M.S. India 1841-87. Died 1890 aged 77. Obit. C.Y.B. 1891. L.M.S. No. 441.

BULLEN, Thomas. Turvey 1834. Cecil reported unfavourably and Bullen's offer of service was declined. Subsequently at Hackney College 1835-40. L.M.S. South Seas 1841-48. Died in South Seas 1848 aged 35. L.M.S. No. 422.

CALDWELL, Robert. E.C. agreed 13.10.1834 that Caldwell should go to Glasgow University in November but should go to Cecil at Turvey for a few weeks on the way. Later B.A., LL.D. and D.D. L.M.S. India 1838-41. Joined S.P.G. and C. of E. in 1841. Bishop of Tinneveli, India 1877-91. Died 1891. L.M.S. No. 353. D.N.B. See *Reminiscences of Bishop Caldwell* ed. by his son-in-law, Rev. J. L. Wyatt. Madras, 1894. pp. 195. Portraits in S.P.G. archives, London.¹

CHARTER, George. Turvey 1836 then to Barnet, L.M.S. South Seas 1838-53. Wollongong, New South Wales 1855-85. Died at Croydon, N.S.W. 1898 aged 87. Obit. C.Y.B. 1900. L.M.S. No. 373.

COLES, Joseph Benjamin. Turvey and Ongar 1837-38 then to Spring Hill College. L.M.S. India 1844-91. Died in India 1891 aged 72. Obit. C.Y.B. 1892. L.M.S. No. 458.

COOK, James Smith. Ongar 1838-39. Cecil reported unfavourably.

DALGLEISH, John. Ongar 1841. L.M.S. West Indies and British Guiana 1842-84. Died in British Guiana 1884 aged 72. Obit. C.Y.B. 1885. L.M.S. No. 445.

DICKIE, Andrew, of Glasgow. Turvey and Ongar 1838. Cecil reported unfavourably.

DICKSON, Henry. Turvey and Ongar 1837-39. Died at Sydney 4.2.1840 en route for South Seas. L.M.S. No. 410.

DRUMMOND, George. Turvey and Ongar 1837-38. Glasgow Theological Academy previously. L.M.S. South Seas 1839-72. Died in London 1893 aged 85. Obit. C.Y.B. 1895 with portrait. L.M.S. No. 407.

ELLIS, James. Accepted for Turvey 18.12.1837. Cecil reported unfavourably 26.3.1838. Congregational pastorates at Ivybridge, Tamworth, Swanscombe and Bracknell in period 1839-76. Died 1900 aged 85. Obit. C.Y.B. 1901.

ENGLAND, Samuel Simpson. Turvey 1832-33. Cecil reported unfavourably. Homerton College 1833-38. John Street, Royston, Herts, 1838-46. Principal and Chaplain Mill Hill School 1846-52. Marsh St., Walthamstow 1854-60. Old Meeting, Halstead 1863-65. Cliftonville 1867-72. Retd. 1872. Died 1886 aged 75. Obit. C.Y.B. 1887.

FAIRBROTHER, William. Ongar 1838-39 then Spring Hill College. L.M.S. China 1844-46. London Road, Derby 1846-50. Maidenhead 1850-55. L.M.S. appointments 1855-65. Died 1882 aged 65. L.M.S. No. 469.

FLOWER, William. Turvey 1836 then Western Academy. L.M.S. India 1839-46. Died 1847 aged 35. L.M.S. No. 404.

FROST, John. Turvey?—1832. Cotton End, Beds. 1832-78. Died 1878 aged 70. Obit. C.Y.B. 1879. Conducted the Cotton End Congregational Academy 1840-74. Frost's first wife, Ann, was with him during the latter part of his student period at Turvey. (Turvey Church Book 3, 2, 1832): as his second wife Frost married Caroline, daughter of Rev. Richard Cecil. Frost conducted funeral services at Turvey of Cecil's daughter Harriet (5.7.1855) and of Cecil himself (6.2.1863).

¹I am grateful to Miss Holland and Miss Merrion of the S.P.G. Headquarters in London who let me consult a copy of the *Reminiscences* and showed me portraits of Caldwell.

- GARDNER, Andrew. Turvey 1837. Cecil reported unfavourably.
- GIBBS, James. Turvey 1838. Cecil reported unfavourably.
- GILL, William. Turvey 1835-37. L.M.S. South Seas 1839-56. Ebenezer Chapel, William St., Woolwich 1856-59. Rectory Place 1859-68. Robert St., Grosvenor Sq., London 1870-74. Died 1878 aged 64. Obit. C.Y.B. 1879. L.M.S. No. 368.
- GLEN, James, of St. Andrews. Turvey 1835 then Homerton College. Left Homerton 1838 on unsatisfactory report but moral character not in question.
- GLEN, William. Turvey 1836 then to Glasgow Theological Academy. M.R.C.S. L.M.S. India 1840-54. L.M.S. No. 418.
- GOLDIE, Hugh, of Kilwinnie. Turvey 1837. On 27.2.1837 Cecil reported that Goldie's 'temper and behaviour . . . had been so unsuitable that the persons with whom he lodged were disgusted with him and were unwilling to retain him in their lodgings'.
- HAM, James Panton. Ongar 1840 then Cheshunt College 1841-45. Recommended for China April 1843 but withdrew his offer of service with L.M.S. when he found that he could not take his wife with him. Maidenhead (Countess of Huntingdon) 1845-47. Lodge St., Bristol 1847-49. Secession to Coopers' Hall, Bristol where he formed a Unitarian Church 1849-54. Cross St., Manchester 1855-59. Essex St., London 1859-83. Kentish Town, Middx. 1884-88. Died in Belfast 1902. Obit. in *Unitarian Handbook* 1903.²
- HARDIE, Charles. Turvey 1832-33 then Homerton College. L.M.S. South Seas 1835-55. Brill, Bucks. 1859-61. Thame, Oxon. 1861-66. Removed to Australia but no settled charge there. Died in Sydney 1880 aged 77. Obit. C.Y.B. 1881. L.M.S. No. 332.
- HARRISON, Caleb William. Turvey 1836-37. Cecil reported unfavourably. Later Yeovil Seminary. Ordained Romsey, Hants., Aug. 1839. Assistant for four village churches in Romsey area 1839-44. Died at Romsey 1844 aged 30. *Memoir* (1845) by his brother Joshua.
- HAY, John. Previously at Aberdeen University. M.A. D.D. Turvey and Ongar 1836-39. L.M.S. India 1839-69 and 1872-82. Died in India 1891 aged 79. As first wife married Lucy, daughter of Richard Cecil. L.M.S. No. 413.
- HENDERSON, Thomas. Turvey 1836-37 then to Barnet. L.M.S. British Guiana 1838-70. Died at New Amsterdam 1870 aged 58. Obit. C.Y.B. 1871. L.M.S. No. 365.
- HOLLAND, Edward. Ongar 1840. L.M.S. Jamaica 1842-51. L.M.S. No. 428.
- HOWELL, James. Turvey 1834-35. L.M.S. Jamaica 1836-40. Brill, Bucks. 1840-54. Sailed for New York Dec. 1854. Sharon, Michigan 1855-57. Guelph, Ontario 1857-60. Liverpool, Nova Scotia 1860-66. St. John's Newfoundland 1866-67. Granby, Quebec 1867-? 72. Coldsprings, Ontario 1876. Died at Toronto 1881 aged 70. Obit. C.Y.B. 1883. L.M.S. No. 335.
- INGLIS, Walter. Ongar 1838-39. Cecil reported his health unsatisfactory. Glasgow Theological Academy 1839-42. L.M.S. South Africa 1843-54. Returned to Great Britain and joined United Presbyterian Church of Scotland; to Canada for that Church 1855. Riversdale, Bruce County 1855 then Kincardine and Pine Woods. Stanley St. Ayr, Canada 1869-84 (death).

²Ham was a trustee of Dr. Williams's Trust and a portrait of him is in Dr. Williams's Library, London. Another portrait is in Essex Church (Unitarian), London.

L.M.S. No. 457. See Rev. Wm. Cochrane *Memoirs and Remains of the Reverend Walter Inglis, African Missionary and Canadian Pastor*. Toronto. 1887. pp. 325 (with portrait).³

JACKSON, G. M. In 1840 went to Ongar as a private pupil for one year, his friends paying the costs of his tuition.

KETTLEY, John, of Kidderminster. Turvey 1836. Cecil reported unfavourably.

LEITCH, Alexander. Studied at Aberdeen first. M.A. Turvey 1838 then Homerton College. L.M.S. India 1840-47. Returned to U.K. in June 1849. Received by the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church 1851 and inducted and ordained at Wigton, Cumb. 12.4.1852. DD. of Edinburgh 1871. Died 1885 after several years in retirement. L.M.S. No. 412. In 1850 gained prize of £100 from London Tract Society for an essay on Popery.⁴

LESSEL, Thomas L. Turvey 1836 then Glasgow Theological Academy and Aberdeen University. L.M.S. India 1837-52 and 1861-68. Bootle 1853-61. Puddletown, Dorset 1871-76. Died 1884 aged 77. Obit. C.Y.B. 1885. L.M.S. No. 352.

LETHEM, William, of Glasgow. Turvey 1836 then to Glasgow Theological Academy, where he died as a student.

LIVINGSTONE, David. Ongar 1838. L.M.S.: Africa 1841-73. Died in Africa 1873. L.M.S. No. 432. D.N.B.⁵

LUMB, John. Turvey 1835-36 then Homerton College. L.M.S. India 1838-39. Hope, Weymouth 1842-44. Long periods of illness. Ross, Herefords. 1870-71. Died 1884 aged 75. Obit. C.Y.B. 1885. L.M.S. No. 385.

³In the *Memoirs* the reference to Cecil is not entirely complimentary : it reads 'In the early months of the year 1838 . . . Mr. Inglis offered his services as a missionary, to the directors of the London Missionary Society and in due course was accepted. He left for London in the early summer and was sent to Ongar near London to study under a gentleman of the name of Cecil who then took charge of the education of some of the Society's students. Of his experience there we know but little. It is to be feared that the somewhat flat aspect of the district and the not very congenial character of his instructor, exercised a rather depressing influence upon his mind and heart. Be that as it may, certain it is that he fell after a while into a state of deep spiritual depression and that at last he was told that unless this could be shaken off his engagement with the Society would have to be cancelled. The doctors recommended change and he returned to the old moorland farm, as he thought a broken down and disappointed man'. This part of the *Memoirs* was supplied by Inglis' brother the Rev. William Inglis of Toronto. A copy of the *Memoirs* is in Livingstone House, London.

⁴I am grateful to Mr. Saunders of the Headquarters, Presbyterian Church of England (in London) for information about the later years of Leitch's life.

⁵Livingstone's period at Ongar and his unfortunate attempt to preach at Stanford Rivers were featured in a strip life of the great explorer and missionary which appeared in the children's weekly paper *Eagle* from April to September 1957.

LYON, William Denman. Turvey 1834 then Glasgow Theological Academy and University. B.A. L.M.S. India 1837-40. Albany Church, Regent's Park, London 1841-46. Stowmarket 1846-749. Tunbridge Wells 1850-61. Died 1877 aged 65. Obit. C.Y.B. 1879. L.M.S. No. 351. Possibly his second Christian name was Penman.

MACDONALD, Alexander. Turvey 1834-35 then Newport Pagnell Academy. L.M.S. South Seas 1836-50. Auckland, New Zealand 1850-70. Died at Auckland 1888 aged 63. L.M.S. No. 329.

McKELLAR, Alexander, formerly of Elgin. Completed preparatory course at Oberlin Collegiate Institution, Ohio, U.S.A. Ongar 1841. L.M.S. British Guiana 1842-45. Died in Berbice 1845 aged 34. L.M.S. No. 453.

MARTIN, Samuel. Turvey 1836 then Western College. E.C. agreed 17.12.1838 that he should go to India but he was subsequently found to be unfit. Cheltenham 1839-42. Westminster Chapel, London 1842-78. Died 1878 aged 61. Obit. C.Y.B. 1879. Chairman of Cong. Union 1862. D.N.B.

MAYNE, Frederick William. Turvey 1833. Cecil reported unfavourably. Went to Mr. Stewart's Academy at Barnet for 12 months. Accepted for L.M.S. 9.3.1835 but further education at Bow Road School. On 18.1.1836 withdrew as missionary candidate and proposed to return to his father's house in Jamaica.

MILLER, Charles. Turvey 1832-33 then Homerton College for three months to study Tamil. L.M.S. India 1833-41. Died in India 1841 aged 36. L.M.S. No. 297.

MILLS, William. Turvey 1833 then to Glasgow Theological Academy. L.M.S. South Seas 1836-56. Then to Sydney where he was a chemist. Died at Sydney 1876 aged 65. Obit. C.Y.B. 1877. L.M.S. No. 331.

MILNE, Robert George, of Aberdeen. M.A.(Aberdeen). Turvey 1834-35 then to Homerton College or Cheshunt College. On 9.5.1836 found to be medically unfit for missionary service. Whitehaven 1841-44. Tintwistle, Cheshire 1844-68. Died 1882 aged 67. Obit. C.Y.B. 1883.

MILNE, William. Turvey and Ongar 1838 then Aberdeen University. M.A. L.M.S. Jamaica 1839-49. Baldock 1850-53. Inspector of Schools for British and Foreign School Society 1853-?. Kept school at Braintree 1868-74. Died 1874 aged 60. Obit. C.Y.B. 1875. L.M.S. No. 400.

MILNE, William Charles. Aberdeen University. M.A. Turvey 1834-35 then Homerton College. L.M.S. China 1839-54. Later a Chinese interpreter for the British Government in China and Assistant Chinese Secretary to the Peking Legation. Died in China 1863 aged 49. Obit. C.Y.B. 1864. L.M.S. No. 402. D.N.B.

MOORE, Joseph. Ongar 1838-39 then Cheshunt College. L.M.S. South Seas 1843-45. Congleton, Cheshire 1848-88. Died 1893 aged 82. Obit. C.Y.B. 1894. L.M.S. No. 451.

MORRISON, William. Turvey 1831-32. Cecil reported progress unsatisfactory.

MUNCASTER, John. Turvey 1831-32. Drowned at Turvey in River Ouse. Obit. in *Evangelical Magazine* 1832. pp. 501-03.

MURKLAND, Sidney Smith. Turvey 1835 then Bow Road School, London. L.M.S. British Guiana 1836-46. Resigned from L.M.S. and went to U.S.A. L.M.S. No. 338.

MURRAY, Archibald Wright. Turvey 1834 then Homerton College. L.M.S. South Seas 1836-74. Died at Sydney 1892 aged 80. L.M.S. No. 328.

NISBET, Henry. Turvey 1836 then Glasgow University, Relief Divinity Hall, Paisley and Cheshunt College. M.A. and LL.D. L.M.S. South Seas 1841-76. Died in South Seas 1876 aged 59. Obit. C.Y.B. 1877. L.M.S. No. 424.

NUGENT, James, of Ashby-de-la-Zouch. Turvey 1836. Found medically unfit for missionary service. Probably the man of the same name who was at Rotherham College 1838-43 and subsequently held pastorates in Lancs., Derbyshire, Shrops. and Warwickshire and died in 1882 aged 70. Obit. C.Y.B. 1884.

OKELL, William. Turvey 1836-37 then to Barnet. L.M.S. Jamaica 1838-40. L.M.S. No. 364.

PARKER, James Laurie. Ongar 1841. L.M.S. British Guiana 1842-43. L.M.S. No. 446.

PARKER, John Henry. Ongar 1838-39 then Homerton College. L.M.S. India 1844-58. Died in India 1858 aged 41. L.M.S. No. 460.

PHILIP, William Enowy. Turvey 1836 then Glasgow Theological Academy. L.M.S. South Africa 1840-45. Drowned in South Africa 1845 aged 31. L.M.S. No. 426.

PHIPPS, Samuel, of Devizes. Turvey 1835-36. Cecil reported unfavourably.

PRATT, George. Turvey 1837-38. L.M.S. South Seas 1839-87. Died at Sydney 1894 aged 76. L.M.S. No. 391.

ROGERSON (or RODGERSON), John. Turvey 1831-32. L.M.S. South Seas 1834-47. Died in South Seas 1847. Obit. C.Y.B. 1848. L.M.S. No. 304.

ROSS, Angus. Application for L.M.S. declined on 10.8.1840. On 7.9.1840 E.C. agreed that he could go to Ongar for a year or more, his uncle paying the costs.

ROSS, John. Turvey 1831-32 then Homerton College. L.M.S. British Guiana 1834-35. Woodbridge 1839-55. Resigned to propagate Free Will Offering System. Died 1875 aged 67. Obit. C.Y.B. 1876. L.M.S. No. 306.

ROSS, John, of Aberdeen. Turvey and Ongar 1838. Cecil reported unfavourably.

ROWLAND, Owen Jones, of Calvinistic Methodist Church, Bodeden, Anglesey. Turvey 1835. Cecil reported unfavourably on his slow progress and lack of vigour or activity.

RUSSELL, Henry. Turvey 1835. L.M.S. Jamaica 1835-39. Died in Jamaica 1839. L.M.S. No. 333.

SIMPSON, W. G. Previously at Spring Hill College. Probably at Ongar in 1840 but on 2.11.1840 E.C. heard that for domestic reasons he had withdrawn his application to become a missionary.

SLATYER, Thomas. Turvey 1837-38 then Western College. L.M.S. South Seas 1840-46. Teignmouth 1849-50. Paignton 1853-54. Died 1854 aged 37. Obit. C.Y.B. 1855. L.M.S. No. 408.

SLATYER, William. Turvey 1834. L.M.S. Jamaica 1834-50. Surrey Hills, Sydney, Australia 1853-60. Redfern, Sydney 1860-81. Died at Redfern 1884 aged 75. Obit. C.Y.B. 1885. L.M.S. No. 315. Chairman of Cong. Union of New South Wales 1867-68 and 1876-77.

SMITH, Hugh, of Irvine. Turvey 1834-35. On 25.5.1835 E.C. heard that a medical report said that his health was doubtful: his offer of service was declined. Possibly the Hugh Smith of Kilmarnock who was at Glasgow Theological Hall 1838-41 and then held pastorates at Brechin, Falkland and Glasgow.

SOUTHWORTH, William, of Bolton. Turvey 1837-38. Cecil reported unfavourably.

SPENCER, Joseph. Turvey 1836. Cecil's report unfavourable. Student at Rotherham College 1838-42. Bakewell 1842. Manchester (Tipping St.) 1853. Chinley 1856. Died 1860 aged 45. Obit. C.Y.B. 1861.

STEVENS, Charles Green. Turvey 1834-35 then Homerton College. L.M.S. South Seas 1839-41. Resigned and subsequently went to Melbourne. L.M.S. No. 369. His son, Sir Charles Cecil Stevens, was Acting Governor of Bengal 1897-98.

STRONACH, John. Turvey 1836 then Edinburgh University and Glasgow Theological Academy. L.M.S. Straits Settlements and China 1838-76. Died in Philadelphia, U.S.A. 1888. L.M.S. No. 350.

THOMPSON, William. Turvey 1833 then Homerton College. L.M.S. India 1836-49. Union Chapel, Capetown 1850-81. Died at Capetown 1889 aged 77. Obit. C.Y.B. 1890. L.M.S. No. 341.

THOMSON, Robert. Turvey 1837. L.M.S. South Seas 1839-51. Died in South Seas 1851. L.M.S. No. 372.

TRIGG, Henry, of Chelmsford. Ongar 1840. On 9.8.1841 E.C. recommended that he should go to Cheshunt College, his friends having offered to pay his expenses. Therfield, Herts. 1846-51. Wisbech 1851-56. Okehampton 1858-79. Died 1879 aged 58. Obit. C.Y.B. 1880.

TURNER, George. Turvey 1836 then to Glasgow University, Relief Divinity Hall, Paisley and Cheshunt College. LL.D. L.M.S. South Seas 1841-82. Died in London 1891 aged 73. L.M.S. No. 423.

WAINWRIGHT, William. Turvey 1831. Cecil reported unfavourably.

WATT, Charles Davidson. Turvey 1832-33. L.M.S. British Guiana 1834-44. Then Australian pastorates at Hindmarsh, Coromandel and Alberton, South Australia. Point Sturt, South Australia 1862-71. Died at Adelaide 1875 aged 65. Obit. C.Y.B. 1876. L.M.S. No. 307.

WHITEHOUSE, John Owen. Turvey and Ongar 1838 and then Cheshunt College. L.M.S. India 1842-57. Much engaged in L.M.S. work subsequently and a director of the Society. Died at Barnet 1901 aged 85. Obit. C.Y.B. 1902. L.M.S. No. 448.

WILKINSON, George. Turvey 1836-37 then to Cheshunt College. L.M.S. Jamaica 1840-48. Enfield. 1848-55. Chelmsford (London Road) 1855-89. Died 1903 aged 85. Obit. C.Y.B. 1904 with portrait. L.M.S. No. 420.

WOLFE, Samuel. Turvey 1832 then to Homerton College. L.M.S. Singapore 1835-37. Died in Mindanao 1837 aged 27. L.M.S. No. 322.

H. G. TIBBUTT

NOTES ON THE HOLY COMMUNION, 1842

'Church Fellowship Promoted' is the title of one of the Congregational Union Tracts, that series prompted by the success of the tracts of Newman, Pusey, Keble, Froude and others. The Union series began to appear seven years after the latter; they were of small calibre, and soon sank into obscurity. They provide, however, glimpses of Independent churches and their life at the time. This particular tract is about the practice of Holy Communion. It is far too shallow theologically to pass an Assembly in 1963 but it passed that of 10 May 1842.

The document, which is in the form of an annual letter, tells us that the position in many churches is that

When, as is the usage of many of our churches, the public service is concluded, and the Lord's supper is about to be celebrated, the great majority take their departure, and turn away from the table of the Lord.

These people are not in truth all unconverted. If they were to apply for membership many of them would be received with a cordial welcome. There follows a page of possible causes for this state of affairs, though it is remarkable that the Union, in the theological turmoil of the times, could lay such slight emphasis upon the doctrinal significance of the Sacrament. It is thought that those who refuse the Sacrament undervalue it and fail to realize its obligatory nature. Later on in the document a great deal is said about administering the supper impressively and making adequate arrangements for it, but it never crosses the mind to question whether ministers and members themselves rightly understand and esteem the Sacrament, and as for the covenant idea which has recently been revived, this receives not a mention.

Why is it people do not become members? The requirements are so formidable. Most churches still expect 'a written declaration of sentiments and experience', which the document declares to be 'a usurpation of authority, objectionable in itself, and injurious in its effects'. It goes on further to question the practice of deacons, or others, interviewing candidates, and then quotes Dr. Vaughan, condemning those church meetings which insist upon applicants appearing before them when their names come up for approval.

It was the dying day of the old order but the new would not live so long.

JOHN H. TAYLOR

REVIEWS

The Writings of Henry Barrow 1587-1590. Edited by L. H. Carlson. Elizabethan Nonconformist Texts, vol. III. pp. xiv and 680. Allen & Unwin, 1962. 84s.

The Writings of John Greenwood 1587-1590 : together with the joint writings of Henry Barrow and John Greenwood. Edited by L. H. Carlson. Elizabethan Nonconformist Texts, vol. IV. pp. 344. Allen & Unwin, 1962. 63s.

There is something almost majestic about the slow but determined appearance of these Elizabethan Nonconformist Texts. Volume I, *Cartwrightiana*, was published in 1951. The death of its editor, Dr. Albert Peel, in 1949, might have ended all hopes of the ambitious series planned by him, but Dr. L. H. Carlson not only saw this volume through the press but undertook to carry the work forward, and in 1953 *The Writings of Robert Harrison and Robert Browne* appeared. Dr. Carlson was already working on Barrow and Greenwood at that time and hoped that their writings would see the light anew in 1957 as volumes III and IV. That these were in fact not published till 1962 is in no way surprising. Not only has Dr. Carlson had to contend with the diversion of administration as President of Rockford College, Illinois; the writings of Barrow and Greenwood have been found to require four volumes instead of two. The volumes under review together run to over a thousand pages, but contain the two men's writings only for the four years 1587-90. Those for the three years left to them before their execution are held over for volumes V and VI. John Penry's writings are now to form volume VII (instead of volume V, as stated earlier). This leaves us the more grateful for the recent publication of three of Penry's tracts by the University of Wales. By way of complementing *The Seconde Parte of a Register*, which in calendar form Dr. Peel published from a MS. in Dr. Williams' Library as long ago as 1915, a final volume is still envisaged for *A Parte of a Register*.

The two volumes under review have appeared together and are to be treated as an entity. An introduction to volume IV is indicated in its table of contents, but by oversight: there is none in this volume. The single introduction to both volumes is in volume III, and though useful is strictly limited, being confined to brief summaries of the writings which follow (pp. 1-38 refer to those in volume III, pp. 38-46 to those in volume IV).

The writings in each volume are arranged chronologically, by years, and in volume IV the series is duplicated, first the writings of Greenwood being presented and then those of Barrow and Greenwood jointly. This triple division, while convenient for the editor while at work, is confusingly zigzag for the reader, who, apart from a chronological summary provided as Appendix D to volume IV, receives no aid in unravelling the inter-relation of the various pieces published at or about the same time by one man or the other or by both. On the other hand, it is fair to say that the arrangement adopted itself offers guidance concerning the development of the men's thought, since the order is that of the (sometimes assumed) chronology of their writing these pieces, not that of the dates of publication when what they wrote was published. Their manuscript writings are interspersed among published pieces.

In the first volume of this series the source of each item, MS. or printed, with the library in which it is located, was indicated in the table of contents; and in the second a list of MSS. and locations was printed, together with a select bibliography. The reviewer hopes that in later volumes Professor Carlson will include something of this nature. In these volumes the reader who desires to know the nature of a particular item is left to plunge as best he may. Something is said by way of foreword to each, but the information on sources is not always where one expects it: e.g. one does not find a full description of the MS. from which the first, second and sixth items in volume III and the first item in volume IV are taken until one reaches the foreword to the sixth item in volume III (p. 106).

This particular MS. is of special interest to our Society, since all the four pieces from it now republished were first printed, in 1906 and 1908, in these *Transactions*. It is a MS. presented by Joshua Wilson¹ to the Congregational Library and is known as the Wiggenton MS. because the greater part of it is believed to be in the hand of Giles Wiggenton (or, as in *D.N.B.*, Wigginton), the Elizabethan vicar of Sedbergh who was suspended and gathered a Separatist congregation there. Other MSS. used by Dr. Carlson include the Lansdowne and Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, the Cecil MSS. at Hatfield House and the Ellesmere MSS. in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino. The reader will

¹The Librarian of the Society of Friends informs me that he knows of no evidence for the statement that Dawson Turner (1775-1858), the earliest owner of this MS. who has been traced, was a member of the Society.

appreciate the labour and inconvenience involved in working on sources so widely dispersed, and the value of their now being brought together for the first time. Dr. Carlson has himself discovered Barrow's MS. notes in reply to *A Godly Treatise* (1588) by the Master of Peterhouse, Robert Some. These are in an *interleaved* copy of Some's book in the library of Lambeth Palace; unfortunately they go no further than its twelfth page. Another copy of Some's book, with earlier notes written by Barrow in the *margin*, was produced at an examination of Barrow by Some and others, but this Dr. Carlson has so far failed to trace.

To the writings published by Barrow and Greenwood themselves, with the posthumous *Examinations of Henry Barrowe, John Greenwood, and John Penrie . . . Penned by the Prisoners Themselves before their Deathes* (Dort? 1593-6), Dr. Carlson has added pieces preserved in George Gifford's reply to them, *A Short Treatise against the Donatists of England, Whome We Call Brownists* (1590). Barrow's published works are almost as rare as his MSS. Of his retort to Gifford, *A Plaine Refutation of M. G. Giffarde's Reprochful Booke* (1591), the entire edition of 1,500-3,000 copies was confiscated and burned. Only two copies are known to have escaped, and the one which Dr. Carlson has used, now in the Huntington Library, belonged to the Attorney-General, Thomas Egerton, the very man to whom Barrow and Greenwood addressed a plea for a public conference 'even after their death sentence, while awaiting execution'. The determination of these men to publish the truth, even at the cost of their lives, makes a heroic story. *A Briefe Discoverie of the False Church* (Dort, 1591), Barrow's first full-length and most important book, the appearance of which led directly to his execution, was written by him in prison and handed 'shete by shete' to a friend permitted by Archbishop Whitgift to visit him. The friend handed the manuscript to another man, and he in turn got it to the printer, whose identity remains a matter of conjecture. Of this work Dr. Carlson has examined copies in six libraries in this country and the United States. Its reprinting in full—it runs to more than four hundred pages—is an event of the first importance for the historiography of Separatism. There will now be no excuse for quotation via the tendentious and unreliable abridgment of 1707.

In a review-article in these pages of *The Writings of Robert Harrison and Robert Brownè* Dr. R. S. Paul pleaded for more annotation in future volumes in the series. This has been granted but not always happily. Glossarial notes—they prove to be needed

for Barrow more often than for Greenwood—are provided, sometimes in square brackets in the text and sometimes in footnotes. These are welcome when correct, but an apparent lack of familiarity with Scripture leads to some strange misapprehensions. A few examples may be given. In ‘but if yow offend me, yow ought to seek it (my forgiveness), while yow are in the way with me’ (III. 97), ‘in the way’ is not ‘a Pauline phrase, meaning the christian way of life’ with reference to *Acts* ix. 2 ; xix. 9, 23, but is drawn from *Matt.* v. 25 and is used literally. The explanation of ‘raygnes’ in the phrase ‘sercheth the raygnes’ (III. 110) as ‘raines—a kind of linen made at Rennes, Brittany. Feelings’ is ludicrous. Again, ‘renned’ in ‘renned in righteousness and holines’ (III. 301) is not the ‘past participle of run. To be active in, to be continued in’ but an obvious printer’s error, what Barrow wrote being ‘renued’, with reference to *Eph.* v. 24 ; and ‘stule’ in ‘leade captive many a stule’ (III. 342) is not ‘a variant of stool’, which yields no sense, but (with reference to *II Tim.* iii. 6) a misprint for ‘stale’, which elsewhere Dr. Carlson correctly glosses as ‘prostitute’.

These misprints are no doubt those of the original printer and are correctly reproduced here ; for, while he has sensibly abandoned the practice followed in the two earlier volumes of reproducing the documents *literatim*, superior letters and all, Dr. Carlson has rightly not altered spellings, including misspellings or misprints. For the care and accuracy maintained in the printing of these present volumes by the East Midland Printing Co. Ltd. no praise can be too high. To American spelling English printers may be allowed to be more tolerant than American printers are to English ; but may one hope that in future the editor may so far respect English usage as to drop from a series published in England the form ‘the King James Version’ ? Sincere gratitude is also owing to the Sir Halley Stewart Trustees for honouring their undertaking, given so many years ago, to underwrite the publication costs of this long series. But of course the deepest thanks must go to Dr. Carlson himself.

Any reassessment of the contribution and significance of Barrow and Greenwood must be left until the later volumes are published and the whole *corpus* of their writings is at last available. For the present it may suffice to express satisfaction at what is already generously given. The burden of these men is out of tune with the current emphasis on charity and understanding. A necessary, if neglected, part of the prolegomena to the serious handling of

inter-church relations would seem, nevertheless, to include a consideration of the question: what is the nature of superstition and false doctrine, and how are these things to be dealt with? Barrow's *Brief Discoverie of the False Church* is in a tradition which reaches at least from Zwingli's *De vera et falsa religione* (1525) to *A Brief Discovery of a threefold Estate of Antichrist in the World*:- *Viz. a Description of (1) The True and False Temple; (2) the False Ministry, and (3) the false Churches*, which was put out in 1653 by Thomas Aldam and other Quakers. Not that Barrow is fundamentally negative in tone. Men do not give their lives for a denial. Though fierce in their condemnation of read prayer as a form of idolatry, both Barrow and Greenwood are clear and emphatic in giving positive and theological grounds in defence of free prayer. In summarising Barrow's *True Description out of the Worde of God, of the Visible Church* Dr. Carlson says that his description of the true church is 'succinct, comprehensive, and christian', 'a masterpiece of brevity, beauty, and simplicity'. It will no longer be possible for the Separatists to be put blandly aside as unworthy of attention.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL

The Career of John Cotton by Larzer Ziff. (Princeton University Press, 1962. 48s.)

John Cotton was described by one of his contemporary Presbyterian opponents as 'if not the Author, yet the greatest promoter and Patron of Independency'. His influence in New England was indeed profound and extended long after the twenty years during which he was the acknowledged leader of the churches there. His influence also in England, where he was a Puritan minister of the Church of England for the twenty preceding years, was very great, both during that period and afterwards through his writings. It is strange, therefore, that there should have been in America no extended study of his life since that by his grandson, Cotton Mather, in 1702. And in England the judgment of Dr. Geoffrey Nuttall can be echoed that he has 'hardly received from historians of English Nonconformity the attention which is his due'.

As a biography this is an excellent study. It is with admiration rather than affection that one watches John Cotton as he cleverly and carefully picks his way through the 'tumultuating times' of his ministry in England and then establishes himself on the stony shores of New England. As his Calvinism makes him care more and more for orthodoxy than for people, and for order than for liberty, he becomes even less lovable even as he is the more

regarded. One is tempted to say that the more he became the accepted authority on Congregationalism the less he tended to express its vital spirit in preference for what was essentially Presbyterian.

This is, however, much more than a biography. It presents in the person of John Cotton a most helpful study of the relationship between Separatism and Puritanism in England, between Separatism and Independency in New England, between Congregationalism and Presbyterianism in America, and also between the Congregationalisms of the two countries.

Cotton while in Boston, Lincs., exemplified 'the belief that Puritanism should seek the reform of distasteful ordinances within the established church and should not attempt a radically new or separate policy'. 'But reform ideas had radical institutional consequences', and by 1633 it became necessary for him to flee to Boston, Mass. There he was to find that the distinction between Separatist and Independent, all important in England, had become one of profession rather than practice (so Ziff against Burrage and Perry Miller). It was in fact Presbyterian pressures which in America (as indeed also in another way in England) molded the two into Congregationalism. But it was in fact towards Presbyterianism that Cotton and American Congregationalism gradually moved, as the Cambridge Platform under his influence was to witness. Indeed Ziff concludes that 'John Cotton's influence was that of the primary mover of the antidemocratic provisions of Congregationalism'. How strange that it must be recorded at the same time that it was John Cotton who so deeply affected the Presbyterian John Owen in England to become Congregationalism's leading protagonist.

This is an important book for all who are concerned to understand the complex beginnings in both England and America of that churchmanship to which it was John Cotton who gave the name 'Congregational'.

RALPH F. G. CALDER

Puritan Protagonist: President Thomas Clap of Yale College by Louis Leonard Tucker. (North Carolina University Press and Oxford University Press, 1963. 48s.)

Thomas Clap is a name few people can have heard of on this side of the Atlantic. Indeed, this is the first biography of him that has been written. He lived from 1703 till 1767 and was first, minister of the Congregational church at Windham in what was then the back-country of Connecticut, and then, from 1740 till

1766, President of Yale. He was not a theologian, instead he spent much of his time on science, bestowing upon Yale a legacy of great proportions. Primarily he was an administrator of tremendous energy. He revolutionised Yale : its government, finances, curriculum, standards, buildings and library ; he raised it to prominence in New England and indeed it outstripped Harvard so far as numbers of students were concerned.

But Clap was not a lovable man. He had been chosen for his orthodoxy when the previous President had become an Anglican, and his orthodoxy was militant and intolerant. Much of his life seems to have been spent in controversies, and in the end it was his lack of understanding and warlike attitude towards his students which proved his undoing.

Chapter 10, entitled 'The Students "Skin Old Tom Clap's Hide"', begins as sheer comedy. We hope students do not see it or they will find too many ideas for college rags. But towards the end of his reign rags turned into revolts. 400 'squares' of glass were smashed, floor boards burnt in the courtyards, and bills left unpaid. 'The engine of discipline had come to a grinding halt' and Clap was beaten.

The account of Clap's reactions to the Great Awakening, his later switch from the Old Lights to the New, his rearguard action against rationalism and his vain attempts to keep the Anglicans from encroaching upon Congregational preserves, provide a well-documented picture of what was happening at the time.

JOHN H. TAYLOR

Also Received

Congregationalism in the Early Continental Reform by Glynmor John (International Congregational Council, 110 Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London, E.C.4.). *Dissenters' Meeting Houses in Plymouth to 1852* by Edwin Welch (Devonshire Association, Devonshire Press, Torquay, 1962, n.p.). *The Baptists of Leighton Buzzard* by H. G. Tibbutt (Hockliffe St. Bapt. Ch. Leighton Buzzard, 1963, n.p.). *Sussex Notes and Queries*, vol. xv, No. 10, containing an article by N. Caplan on 'Sussex Non-Parochial Registers' (Sussex Archeological Society, Barbican Ho., Lewes).

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