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TRANSACTIONS

CONGREGATIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOL. XIX. No. 3. OCTOBER 1962

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TRANSACTIONS

THE CONGREGATIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

EDITOR JOHN H. TAYLOR, B.D.

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Editorial

The Annual Meeting: Our Records

The 63rd Annual Meeting of the Society, held at Westminster Chapel on 16 May, 1962, was of an unusual character. As Dr. Ernest A. Payne had delivered to the Assembly an excellent paper commemorating 1662 on the Tuesday evening, we had no paper read to us. Instead we enjoyed a less formal but highly instructive and interesting talk by Mr. H. G. Tibbutt, our Research Secretary, on church records. The attendance was about the usual number and some were heard to remark upon leaving that they intended searching out the records of their churches upon their return home. Mr. Tibbutt widened our understanding of what constituted records; he impressed upon us the need to preserve them properly, if possible putting them into the care of the local Record Office; and he showed us an example of a dilapidated church book which the Bedford Record Office had restored. This piece of work truly amazed everyone.

A. J. Grieve Prize Essay Competition

Dr. W. Gordon Robinson, our President, who took the Chair at the Annual Meeting, announced that the first prize in the competition had been won by Dr. Stephen H. Mayor with an essay on *1662 to 1962: Has Nonconformity Justified Itself?* Dr. Mayor stood to receive the warm applause of the audience. The second prize went to Dr. A. F. Simpson of Edinburgh and the third to Mr. P. H. Linsey of Cardiff. Dr. Robinson was thanked for adjudicating.

Our Contributors

We always like introducing new contributors to our pages, and in this issue we have the unusual pleasure of presenting some recent work by an American. Dr. John von Rohr, who writes on Henry Jacob, is Professor of Historical Theology and the History of Christianity at the Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, California. Not only does he write in this issue for us but he has promised to help to keep us more in touch with the thought and work of those interested in Congregational History in the United States by sending us regular reports of their activities.

Mr. R. N. Currey of Colchester, who sends us a short description of Thomas Phipson, has had some books of verse published by the Oxford University Press, and is hoping to publish a book on Phipson. The Rev. W. J. Brown of Northampton is another new contributor. Miss Irene Fletcher is not a new contributor. In this issue she reveals some of the little known Continental connections of the London Missionary Society in its early days. Those interested in the social history of the churches will enjoy Mr. Cozens-Hardy's letters between Samuel Say and his wife.

We should like to make it plain to members of the Society that we welcome their contributions, although we cannot promise to publish what is sent. This depends entirely upon its merits. But we do not receive those short notes and queries which some of our contemporaries publish regularly, and the Research Secretary and Editor would particularly welcome such contributions.

We should also like to thank those members who readily review books for us when requested. We try to have reviews which attempt some judgment on the books and not merely a few lines describing the contents, although in a few cases we are obliged to limit ourselves to short notices.

THE CONGREGATIONALISM OF HENRY JACOB

Perhaps no figure in Congregational history has experienced such a conversion in interpretation as has Henry Jacob. Pictured for almost two centuries as a Separatist influenced in that direction by John Robinson, ever since Neal introduced this portrayal in his *History of the Puritans* (1733), Jacob's converted 'new life' as a non-separatist who actually led Robinson himself to milder views began with the monumental researches of Champlin Burrage and the publication of his *Early English Dissenters* (1912). But even then, as is probably the case in all conversions, the old Adam was not completely and immediately overcome—witness Haller's continuing association of Jacob with Separatism in his *Rise of Puritanism* (1938). But the work of Burrage rests on solid foundation, supported particularly by Perry Miller in his *Orthodoxy in Massachusetts* (1933), and clearly points the way to Jacob's true relation to both the Established and the Separatist churches of his day. And yet though the ultimate success of the conversion may seem assured, the explication of the subject of that conversion is by no means complete. Hence the purpose of this paper is to examine some of the detailed character of Jacob's Congregationalism.

Born in 1563, educated at Oxford, Jacob received Anglican Orders and probably served a parish in Kent prior to his development of Congregational non-conformity. The latter, however, clearly came to the fore by 1604 when he published his *Reasons . . . Proving A Necessitie of Reforming our Churches in England*, a volume which resulted in his imprisonment in the Clink prior to his exile in Holland in 1605 or 1606. Upon his return to England in 1616 Jacob founded the church in Southwark which claims to be the first continuing Congregational Church on English soil—and thus earned from his son the title, whether proper or not, of England's 'first Independent'.¹

An initial inquiry regarding Jacob's Congregationalism may concern the time of its origin in his development. Biographical data is essentially lacking for the period prior to 1604, but 1599 witnessed the publication of his *Defence of the Churches and Ministry of Englande*, a record of several years' controversy in which he had been engaged with Francis Johnson and other

¹Anthony A. Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (London, 1815). II, 307

Separatists. Is a Congregationalism, non-separatist in character, present even in those earliest discussions, or is he contesting separation then simply as a spokesman for the English Church? A comparison of this publication of 1599 with those of his 'clearly Congregational' period shows some striking differences on matters pertaining to Church Order. But interestingly, these deal more with 'procedural' questions: with the importance and sources of Church Order than with the 'substantive' question of the nature of Church Order itself.

Jacob argued with the Separatists at that time that Church government was not as important an issue as they held it to be: 'Now this sinne of outward church orders is not the most heynous, nor extreamest disobedience'.² Describing without real criticism the view of the English 'churches and state', he identified the 'Hyerarchie' as 'an indifferent thing in it selfe'.³ Indeed, improper polity may be simply like 'a wodden legge, an eye of glasse' or a 'nose deformed', and so the Church that suffered under it is still a true Church even as the man who possesses these things is still a true man.⁴ Later he was not to take such a tolerant view of ecclesiological defections. In 1604 he could describe 'externall things Ecclesiasticall' as 'matters of Doctrine, of Faith'⁵ and further say, 'though *Circumstances* be indifferent and may be chaunged by men, yet *Formes of Churches* are not so; nor the *Church Ministeries*, nor . . . any *Traditions Ecclesiasticall*'.⁶ And at a still later time he could insist that actually this was 'the first and waightiest matter in Religion . . . viz. to be assured that we are in a true Visible and Ministeriall Church of Christ: for out of a true Visible Church ordinarily there is no salvation'.⁷ This contrast with regard to the importance of right Church government is strikingly summarized in his differing judgments concerning the ultimate destinies of Cranmer, Ridley, and Hooper (whom even the most rigid Separatist would not consign to hell!). In 1599 Jacob could be assured of their salvation because their ecclesiological sins, though 'not utterly ignorant', were in 'no way *fundamentall*'.⁸ By 1604 these sins of polity had become 'very great', but the famous martyrs were now held to be saved—by their ignorance.⁹

²DCM, 88 (For explanation of abbreviations see the note at the conclusion of the article)

³DCM, 41

⁴DCM, 24

⁵RTO, 17

⁶RTO, 11

⁷PCE, D6

⁸DCM, 88

⁹RTO, 55

Likewise Jacob's early anti-separatist publication shows a view of the sources of Church Order different from that of his clearly Congregational years. In later life, as a seventeenth-century Congregational apologist, he found, of course, the Church's organization and polity prescribed in the Bible: '... in trueth and in verie deed Christ hath ordeined for us only one kinde of a Visible Church in his worde. And this only ought to be allowed and believed to be a true Church by all Christians'.¹⁰ This is to take seriously Christ's Prophetic and Kingly offices in addition to his Priestly role, for a part of his teaching was ecclesiological, and if his will is not carried out in Church government, he cannot truly be said to rule.¹¹ Similarly, as there can be sin of omission in these matters, there can also be sin of commission, for 'every Church Ministry made and devised by the pollicy of men and not instituted of God, is against . . . (the) 2nd Commandment'.¹² But 1599 witnessed for Henry Jacob greater leniency here as well. Though it is not fully clear in his writing of that year just how much he personally accepted the English Church's view which he there described, he could still set forth without serious criticism the position that Christ's written ordinances apply only to matters of faith and not outward order and that indeed these prescriptions of Church government can be left to 'the arbitrarie appointment of the Church and Magistrate'.¹³ So his controversy with the Separatists in the years culminating in *A Defence of the Churches and Ministry of Englande* reveals his possession of some views on Church Order closer to the Church of England itself than to his later Congregationalism.

But it must be remembered that these are 'procedural' rather than 'substantive' issues. When one turns to the latter, the picture is somewhat different. A negative clue is perhaps seen throughout the treatise in Jacob's ready reference to those indifferent matters of Church polity as actually being 'erroneous' while practiced in the Church of England which he is defending: 'I call them *errors*. I onely iustifie . . . that these corruptions abolish us not from Christ'.¹⁴ Ministerial Ordination, for example, is indeed 'wrong ordination from the Prelacie',¹⁵ and Jacob's argument is one defending the Church of England despite its deviation from a more acceptable way. It is, however, in a little tract of the same year, which Jacob wrote and appended to the larger defence, that a more positive statement is to be found and the more acceptable

¹⁰RTO, 4f
¹³DCM, 12

¹¹RTO, 53f and DBI, B2
¹⁴DCM, 21

¹²PCE, D8
¹⁵DCM, 10

way inferred. Entitled *A Short Treatise Concerning the trueness of a pastorall calling in pastors made by prelates . . .*, this tract presented the argument that actually the real basis for the validity of the ministerial office lies in the free acceptance of a man as minister by the congregation, but that such a man, episcopally ordained, can still be looked upon as a true minister because such ordination really does not do any harm! Using the metaphor which the Separatists had actually introduced into the discussion, Jacob said, 'The taking of orders from a Prelate, after consent given to a Minister by a people, is not like adultery in mariage . . . Therefore that disannulleth not, as adultery doth . . .'.¹⁶ But the significant point is the emphasis upon free consent. Jacob claimed further in those pages that many ministers in the English Church were really brought into office in that way, 'first chosen by the people . . . and . . . after instituted and inducted by the Prælat'.¹⁷ But apart from any actual realization of this practice, a point that the Separatists continued to dispute, his theory stands clear: 'We affirme, that they (*i.e.*, the *prelates*) make not the Pastor at all . . . but only *supposedly*. It is the Churches consent that maketh him *truly*'.¹⁸

Lying behind such a view of the ministry in this little tract, there was also a corresponding view of the nature of the church itself: a congregation of believers joined together in free acceptance of the Gospel. Again Jacob claimed that this was the actual situation in at least 'many famous Congregations in the Land', which had achieved this character at the time of the Reformation under Queen Elizabeth. His argument was somewhat strained in insisting that though the methods of gathering churches by the Gospel 'in those hard and doubtfull times and hazardous beginnings, were not so perfect nor so exact, as should have bene', still there was sufficient instruction of the people to enable churches of confessing believers truly to emerge out of the 'Popery' of Mary's days.¹⁹ But once more, apart from the question of actual historical realization which here, likewise, the Separatists continued to contest, the conviction was made plain: the church which made a minister by free consent to his person was itself created by free consent to the Gospel. Thus it seems possible to conclude that the roots of Jacob's Congregationalism go back into the years of his defence of the Church of England against the Separatists culminating in the publications of 1599. By 1604 his Congregationalism

¹⁶DCM, 91¹⁸DCM, 89¹⁷DCM, 89¹⁹DCM, 86f

was clear cut and courageous. In 1599 it was still somewhat circumspect and cautious. But even in that early year it held conviction.

When one turns to an analysis of the Congregationalism of the two decades of Jacob's active nonconformist life, from 1604 to his death in 1624, one finds that the early emphasis on free consent continued to be a central motif. His major treatise on the subject of Church Order, published in 1613, actually bore the title, *An Attestation . . . iustifying this doctrine, viz. That the Church-governement ought to bee alwayes with the peoples free consent*. In it he insisted that no question was of greater importance in discussion with the prelacy and in the attempts to achieve still further reformation in the English Church. Indeed, the very success gained heretofore in overthrowing Roman Catholicism rested, in his judgment, more upon this exercise of free consent by Protestant people than upon all the theological conquest of papal doctrine.²⁰ The latter may define the true Church, but only the former can bring it into being. And so the way prescribed in Christ's ordinances is also the effective way of reform. But apart from any such practical necessity or accomplishment, the factor of free consent is a central ingredient of the true church itself as divinely ordained. And so in 1610 Jacob could provide this definition :

A true Visible and Ministerial Church of Christ is a number of faithfull people joyned by their willing consent in a spirituall outward society or body politike, ordinarily comming together into one place, instituted by Christ in his New Testament, and having the power to exercise Ecclesiasticall government and all Gods other spirituall ordinances (the meanes of salvation) in and for it selfe immediately from Christ.²¹

There are, moreover, at least two other features of that definition of the true Church to which we might give added attention. First, the church, he had said, was a society 'ordinarily comming together in one place'. Here is the localism that joins hands with voluntarism in Congregational polity, and thus Jacob could write,

Christ in the New Testament hath instituted and the Apostles have constituted a particular ordinary Congregation of Christians to be an intire Visible Church, and none other but such a society only.²²

In fact, this principle of localism, though resting fundamentally on New Testament grounding, was actually derived at one point by

²⁰AML, 159ff

²¹DBI, A

²²PCE, E5

Jacob from the earlier principle of voluntarism, therefore indicating again the great importance in his thinking of the matter of free consent. The argument was that Christ desires the exercise of free consent 'to be orderly, and conveniently taken and practised'; but this can occur only in a local congregation, for any attempts to exercise it at, say, diocesan or provincial levels would lead to tumult and disorder.²³ The conjunction was perhaps more felicitously expressed in a later tract where these two principles are identified with the form and matter of the Church: 'Visible Christians is the matter, viz. one ordinarie Congregation of them. And "Free" expresseth the proper essential Forme in the same'.²⁴ Hence, though one can also speak properly of the 'Universall Invisible Church'²⁵ or even of the 'Church Invisible Militant and Universall'²⁶ consisting of true Christians throughout the entire earth, the gathering of such Christians into visible Church Order must take place in a local 'body politike'.

It is strange, in this connection, that nowhere in his writings did Jacob mention the church covenant as the basis for this gathering of local Christians into Church Order. His own church at Southwark was founded in 1616 by that means, however, for it is on record that those initiating this enterprise 'joyned . . . hands . . . and stood in a Ringwise: . . . made some confession or Profession of their Faith & Repentance, . . . then . . . Covenanted together to walk in all Gods Ways as he had revealed or should make known to them'.²⁷

Jacob's view of synods is in full accord with this belief in the independency of each congregation. Synods, most assuredly, are to be used for the purposes of deliberation and counsel, and when employed constructively in this fashion, they can be 'profitable and most wholesom', 'make singularlie for Unitie', and even be agencies through which 'each Churches ordinarie government may be much holpen and amended'.²⁸ But this ought never to be by way of coerced subordination, for there must exist no 'subjection of the congregations under any higher spirituall authoritie absolute, save onely Christs, and the holy Scriptures'.²⁹ The New Testament Jerusalem Council cannot be cited, Jacob felt, as precedent for coercive synodical action, but it is interesting to note how he shifted ground in setting forth support for this claim. In 1604

²³AML, 84f²⁴CSM, A2, A3²⁵RTO, 18²⁶DBI, 8²⁷Jessey Memoranda. Quoted in Champlin Burrage, *Early English Dissenters* (Cambridge, 1912), II, 294²⁸RTO, 32f²⁹CPF, B2

he held this gathering to be 'extraordinaire' in character because of the presence of the apostles and thus not a model for subsequent non-apostolic synods in its imposition of decisions upon the churches, some of which were not even represented in its deliberations.³⁰ However, by 1613 he concluded that the council of *Acts xv* did provide a New Testament model for subsequent synodical gatherings, but that its decisions were actually only of a recommendatory character.³¹ So though the exegesis came to differ, the polity remained the same! The only chink in the armour of the polity is to be found in his discussions of civil power: 'We grant that Civill Magistrates may and sometime ought to impose good things on a true Church against their willes, if they stifly erre as sometime they may'.³²

Secondly, the correlate of this fundamental local freedom, however, was the responsibility to use that liberty 'to exercise Ecclesiasticall government and all Gods other spirituall ordinances', and therein the congregation has 'power . . . immediately from Christ'. The freedom of the local congregation is not simply the freedom of self-determination. Rather it stands under the requirements of the Word, obedience to which entails the privilege of spiritual power. This power is 'to dispense the word of life, the holy Signes or Sacraments, to appoint meet Ministers for their uses, and to depose the unmeet, and also to receive into and cast forth the soules of men out of the Kingdom of heaven'.³³ Thus the utilization of God's means for proclaiming the Gospel, the creation of a clergy to administer those means, and the guarding of the gates of the church in which all this takes place—these are the responsibilities to be freely accepted by the local communities of believers. And then, Jacob knew, 'where each ordinary Congregation giveth their free consent in their own governement' there is granted 'power immediately under, and from Christ'.³⁴

The fact that all this power of ecclesiastical action is really lodged in the congregation itself is brought out particularly in Jacob's comments on the ministry. He attacked vigorously, of course, the 'Lord Bishops' of the Anglican Church as possessors of improper authority. In fact, in one very interesting passage he not only deplored any one man's arbitrary episcopal power 'over a great many Congregations', but also defined a 'Lord Bishop' as one 'who exerciseth sole authoritie Spirituall, or sole governement Ecclesiasticall, yea though over but one Congregation'.³⁵ Even local

³⁰RTO, 32³¹AML, 116f³²AML, 316. Also see AML, 115³³DBI, B³⁴DPO, 13³⁵AML, 118

Congregational churches could have their 'Lord Bishops' if the true nature of ecclesiastical authority were confused. Ministers may have the responsibility for 'the spirituall governing and ordering of their owne flock', a task for which they are 'bound to answer before God'³⁶ and in the pursuit of which they are to be 'Ecclesiasticall Guides'³⁷ exerting real powers of leadership. But in the last analysis they are still dependent upon the churches which raise them to office :

Touching their power and authority in Church government, we believe . . . they have . . . nothing more, then what the Congregation doth commit unto them, and which they may . . . againe take away from them.³⁸

The very act of Ordination itself is an act of the congregation. It may be that already existing officers in a church are the most proper agents for the performing of this task, but this is only because 'they are the fittest instruments for that purpose which the Church can assigne'.³⁹ Still they are instruments and no more, for the church can actually ordain through the agency of any of its 'fittest' members, and 'though Imposition of hands to Ordination may be said to be a *kinde of Sacrament*, yet the people have the power of it'.⁴⁰ One might well describe Jacob's views as pro-clerical but anti-hierarchical. A ministry outwardly called and constituted is an essential aspect in God's plan for his Church and his scheme of redemption. Yet in its calling and constitution, as well as in its continuance, it has no independent ruling power, but is dependent upon the congregation. This bondage of the minister to his local people led Jacob even to deny the possibility of a clergyman serving more than one parish at any given time. His position was taken, of course, against the background of a practice of pluralism in the English Church which also led to the further practice of non-residency, and the abuses resulting therefrom were fresh in all nonconformist minds. But God's law for his ministry was that 'one proper Paster should have only one proper Visible Church'. And a humbling question was added : 'For indeed who is sufficient for that one ?'⁴¹

But despite the intensity of all these views and the seeming disregard of them in the English Church, Jacob refused to join the Separatists, remaining in partial communion instead with the Anglican Establishment. Thus we come to his 'non-separatism', so recently rediscovered after the long history of misinterpretation.

³⁶RTO, 80f³⁷RTO, 28³⁸CPF, B7³⁹AML, 300⁴⁰AML, 300⁴¹RTO, 35

Like Luther, Jacob was loath to 'rend the seamless robe' and at times almost tortuously sought to justify a measure of continuing communion. To be fully clear, it must be stressed that this involved not simply a recognition that salvation was possible within the English Church. Even the Separatists would admit that, though some felt that it was putting a rather heavy burden on God's mercy. Rather it meant the fostering of actual connection at points with the English Church's life: participation in its worship and recognition of its ecclesiastical validity before God. In 1609 while in exile in Holland, Jacob sent a petition for toleration to King James in which he denied disclaiming, like the Separatists, 'communion with such Churches amongst us, as in the opinion of Ecclesiasticall regiment differ from us'.⁴² And following his return to England and his founding of the Congregational Church in Southwark in 1616 he wrote explicitly: 'we refuse not on occasion to communicate with the publique ordinary Congregations assembled for the exercise of religion in England'.⁴³

To explain this position as Jacob maintained it, two further things need to be said. First, the communion, though genuine, was limited. That is, it was possible only when it could be carried on 'without personall and voluntarie participation in sinne',⁴⁴ more explicitly, 'where neyther our assent, nor silent presence is given to any meere humane tradition'.⁴⁵ So the communion must be discriminating and qualified. But secondly, any such participation in English worship as might pass this test of conscience could be deemed possible on ecclesiological grounds because the ministries of England were true ministries and the congregations constituted true churches. Though this affirmation also appeared in his earlier writings in Holland,⁴⁶ Jacob's most complete discussion of it is to be found in his last work, *A Confession and protestation of the faith of certaine Christians in England . . .*, published after his return from exile in 1616. In this he continued his vigorous criticism of the errors in Church government in the Anglican way; no abatement was to be found of his nonconformity; moreover the church that he had just established was Congregational. But beneath all the errors of arbitrary authority in diocesan churches and prelacy, there was yet sufficient free consent, he insisted, to create true churches and true ministries before God. In each parish there is a 'company of true visible Christians associated together in one place . . . united by their owne consent to serve God', and

⁴²TRH, 20⁴³CPF, A2⁴⁴TRH, 20⁴⁵CPF, A3⁴⁶See especially CMO, 38f

as such, each is a true visible church with 'free power of spirituall outward government . . . though they professedly practise it not'.⁴⁷ They are indeed true churches only 'in some respect and degree', for severe domination by the Lord Bishops continues, and thus there is the loss of many privileges of church life. But even this bondage is insufficient to disannul the true character of such parish assemblies as genuine churches. Similarly, the element of free consent operates in the English congregations' acceptance of their ministers: 'This consent of the godly there (howsoever it be mingled otherwise with errour) is not wholly voyd'.⁴⁸ And with a consistency preserved over the years the word is added that Ordination by the prelates 'maketh not a nullitie of the Ministerie' which had by this free consent been obtained. So the congregations of England are true churches and the ministers are true ministers: in effect, churches Congregationally organized and ministers Congregationally ordained.

But such non-separatist argumentation is by no means to be construed as a justification of Anglicanism or a reason for remaining in a Church whose validity was more accidental than deliberate. The Lord asked that his churches be purged from all error, and, even more, that men come out from congregations labouring under corruption and join in the explicit and visible practice of that Church government which he had prescribed in his Word. So though Jacob refused to be 'of so rigid and severe an opinion' as to hold that those outside of right and visible church order were damned,⁴⁹ he remained convinced that 'by a true Visible Church (and not otherwise ordinarily) we come to learne the way of life'.⁵⁰ Thus 'to observe and keep Christs substantial Ordinances for his visible politicall Church' was, in Jacob's final judgment, 'necessary both for the glory of Christ, and for the assurance of our owne soules'.⁵¹

JOHN VON ROHR

⁴⁷CPF, B3

⁴⁸CPF, B6

⁴⁹CPF, B

⁵⁰PCE, D6

⁵¹CPF, A2

ABBREVIATIONS

AML—*An Attestation of many Learned, Godly, and famous Divines, Lightes of Religion, and pillars of the Gospell, iustifying this doctrine, viz. That the Church-governement ought to bee alwayes with the peoples free consent* (1613)

CMO—*A Christian and Modest Offer of a Most Indifferent Conference, or Disputation, about the maine and principall Controversies betwixt the Prelats, and the late silenced and deprived Ministers in England* (1606)

CPF—*A Confession and protestation of the faith of certaine Christians in England, holding it necessary to observe, and keepe all Christes true substantiall Ordinances for his Church visible and Politicall (that is, indued with power of outward spirituall Government) under the Gospel; though the same doe differ from the common order of the Land (1616)*

CSM—*A Collection of Sundry matters; Tending to prove it necessary for all persons, actually to walke in the use and practise of the Substantiall ordinances in the Gospell, appointed by God for his visible Church spirituallly politicall (1616). The Jessey Memoranda suggest that a "Mr. Wring" shared in the authorship of this tract.*

DBI—*The Divine Beginning and Institution of Christes true visible or Ministeriall church. Also the unchangeableness of the same by men; viz. in the forme and essentiall constitution thereof (1610)*

DCM—*A Defence of the Churches and Ministry of Englande. Written in two Treatises, against the Reasons and Obiections of Maister Francis Johnson, and others of the separation commonly called Brownists (1599)*

DPO—*A Declaration & plainer opening of certaine pointes, with a sound Confirmation of some others, contained in a treatise intituled, The Divine Beginning and institution of Christes true visible and Ministeriall Church (1611)*

PCE—*A plaine and cleere Exposition of the Second Commandement (1610)*

RTO—*Reasons Taken out of Gods Word and the Best Humane Testimonies Proving A Necessitie of Reforming our Churches in England (1604)*

TRH—*To the right High and mightie Prince, IAMES by the grace of God, King of great Britannie, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc. An humble Supplication for Toleration and libertie to enjoy and observe the ordinances of Christ IESUS in th' administration of his Churches in lieu of humane constitutions (1609)*

Other writings of Henry Jacob :

A Treatise of the Sufferings and Victory of Christ, in the work of our redemption: Declaring by the Scriptures these two questions: That Christ suffered for us the wrath of God, which we may well terme the paynes of Hell, or Hellish sorrowes. That Christ after his death on the crosse, went not into Hell in his Soule. Contrary to certaine errors in these points publiklie preached in London: Anno 1597. (1598)

A Defence of A Treatise touching the Sufferings and Victorie of Christ in the Worke of our Redemption . . . (1600)

Papers (1603-1605). These are printed in Champlin Burrage, Early English Dissenters, II, pp. 146-166.

Selections from the Fathers

2. Henry Jacob

A Warning to Separatists

We desire you not to blesse us in our evil, but we warne you, not to curse us in our good. . . . Blessed is he that iudgeth wisely (that is without affection and partialitie) even of him that is despised. Better it is and more Christianlike, even to offende in too much compassion and patience (especially towardses so many hundredre thousands, by whom we know nought save good in this point) then to offend in too much rigor, and severitie, and uniust anger. *DCM*, 88.¹ (*Note: This was written to the Separatists from within the English Church.*)

Supplication to King James I

We your High. faithful servants the silenced and disgraced Ministers of the Gospel, together with sundrie others concurring in opinion and persuasion of religion with us, do in all humilitie presume to make tender unto your Ma. of an humble motion, such as concerneth the glorie of Christs Kingdome . . . / . . . wee have the rather imboldened our selves . . . (presuming) that it shalbe lawfull for each loyall and religious subiect without preiudice to his life or libertie, not only to sigh at home in the case of publike and private grievances, but (so farre as it may be done with all dew regarde and reverence) to crye also by way of Supplication in the eare of his Prince. . . . / *We plead* . . . That . . . your Ma. would bee pleased that wee the saide Ministers and others may . . . have allowed unto us by way of / *Toleration*. *First*, the libertie of enjoyng and practising the holy ordinances enacted and left by the Lord for the perpetual direction and guiding of his Churches. *Secondly*, an entier exemption from the iurisdiction of said Prelates and their officers. And *lastly*, this happines to live by the commaund and charge of any your subordinate civill Magistrats, and so to be for our actions and cariage in the ministerie accomptable unto them, and likewise liable unto all such duties and taxations, as are by the law and custome of this lande in any sort chargeable upon your subiectes of our calling and condition. *TRH*, 5-8.

¹For explanation of abbreviations see the note at the conclusion of the previous article.

The Authority of the State

. . . our Adversaries will object, that by these Assertions and defences we detract from the Kings authoritie and power . . . / Our reply. . . . 1. We most gladly do *give unto Caesar the things that are Caesars, but to God the things that are Gods.* 2. *We honor the King as a man next unto God, and inferior to God only.* 3. We gladly acknowledge that the King is, and ought to be Supreme governor even in all causes and over all persons Ecclesiastical. Howbeit alwayes . . . Civilly, not Spiritually or Ecclesiastically. 4. The King is . . . the Keeper and Maintainer (by compulsive power) of the whole state of Religion. But he is not Author or *Minister* of any Ecclesiasticall thing or Constitution whatsoever. *RTO*, 56, 57.

The Invisible Church and the Visible Churches

. . . it is false which is held (*i.e.*, by *Richard Hooker*) that there is a Universall Visible Church like the Sea ; which being but one properly, is distinguished and called by divers names according to the Countries and places by which it cometh The Universall Invisible Church was and is indeed one in number : but I have shewed there were many in number of the true and proper Visible Churches. *RTO*, 18.

In all Gods word . . . there never was, nor is, any more then only two kindes of a lawful Visible and Ministeriall Church. The first is a Catholike or universall Church, the second a particular ordinary Congregation only. A Nationall, Provinciall, or Diocesan Visible Church is not heard of in any parte of Gods word whatsoever For touching the Visible Church of the Iewes before Christs Ascension, it was after a sorte Catholik . . . but . . . changed by/ Christ . . . and his Apostles into . . . the second kinde . . . a particular ordinary Congregation, which in number are many and distinct, howsoever in nature they are all one and the same. *PCE*, D7f.

Christ, Lord of the Visible Church

Christ is the only Author, institutor, and framer of his Visible or Ministeriall Church (touching the Constitution, Essence, Nature, and Forme thereof) every where and for ever. And in this respect we likewise affirme that he is the only Lord, and King, and Law-giver of the same. *DBI*, A.

Visible Church but one congregation

I professe that Christes true Ministeriall or Visible Church is but one ordinarie Congregation only, or consisteth of people belonging to no moe ordinarie Congregations but one only : and therefore that Christs true Ministerial or Visible Church is not any Diocesan or Provinciaall Church. *DPO*, 10.

. . . all authentike Greeke authors do shew that *Ecclesia* with them signified that which in Latin is *Concio populi* : that is, one particular assembly of people, and in respect as they are assembled together in one place : but never in those times did it signifie a multitude dispersedly coming together in many distinct ordinarie meetings, and in farre remote places, as Provinciaall and Diocesan Churches do. Now the Apostles spake as all authentike Grecians spake *DPO*, 32.

Purity in the Visible Church

Wee believe concerning mixtures of the open prophane with some manifest godly Christians, in a visible Church, though at once it doth not destroy essentially, nor make void the holiness of that whole Assembly, yet truely it putteth that whole Assembly into a most dangerous and desperate estate . . . / for who can carry fire in his bosome, and his clothes not be burnt ? . . . And who can escape, but (in a while) a litle Leaven, will leaven the whole lump, much more will it so come to passe, where there is a great quantitie of Leaven for a little Dowe, as now with us it is, wherefore in such an inevitable present danger of our soules, doubtlesse we ought to leave the worse societie, and to enjoy one that is and may be sincere. For by no meanes may we dare to be of no visible Ministeriall Church ; if but 2. or 3. where we live, can be gotten to consent and joyne together in the name of Christ, and in the freedome of Gods word. *CPF*, B8f.

The Nature of Church Government

We cleerly see . . . that it is the peoples consent in the affaires of their owne spirituall (that is, Church) government which maketh the matter, and putteth the difference in deed betweene the Ecclesiasticall Reformation which in all dutifulness wee seeke, and that Church-government which the L. Bishops in Engl. do exercise. I say, this concerning the peoples right heerein is it, which toucheth the life of our controversie. Where understand, that I meane only such people as are not ignorant in religion, nor scandalous in their life. For only of such Christes Visible Church ought to consist. *AML*, 17.

These kindes of government, viz. Democratie, Aristocratie, and Monarchie, do differ formally and Essentially the one from the other. Now the Christian Churches true and right government (in this regarde that the whole / company of the people do give their free consent therein) is a certain Democratie Where let not any be offended, that the Churches true and right government is said to be a Democratie or Popular government ; as if this were hurtfull to Civill power. It hath ben shewed heeretofore, that such a popular government as this is, which now we treat of, being limited within the bounds of one particular Congregation, neither is, nor ever hath ben, nor can be in the least sort dangerous to any Civill state whatsoever Beside, this government is to be informed, directed, / and guided by the Pastor chiefly, and also by the grave assistant Elders. And therefore indeed this government is not simply and plainly Democraticall, but partly Aristocraticall, and partly Monarchicall. And so it is that mixt government which the learned do judge to be the best government of all. *DBI*, A2, A3.

The Pastor alone ought not to exercise Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction over his Church, but others ought to be joyned in Commision with him by the assignement of the same Church ; neither ought he and they to performe any maine and materiall Ecclesiasticall act, without the free consent of the Congregation. *CMO*, 2.

We denie not but in the ordinarie, and peaceable, / and right state of the Church when all things are caried well, the chief direction and sway of the whole government belongeth to the Bishop or Pastor ; the people beeing on their part to hearken to their Teacher and to follow their Guide obediently and dutiefully. Their power to iudge and to provide otherwise for themselves being, when they see their Guides to faile. *AML*, 82f.

Ordination

The power of Ordination and iurisdiction is in the body of the Congregation Substantially, Essentially, and Fundamentally after Christ ; and the Congregation may bee truly said in such respect, to do and performe those actions : the Bishops and Guides do these actions Instrumentally and Ministerially, and no otherwise then in the Congregations name, and by their authoritie. *AML*, 80.

The imposing of handes is but a Ceremonie of putting the Minister (before made) into possession of his right, and a commending of him to the blessing of God Imposition of handes (the Ceremonie) may possibly be wanting in a true Minister, and sufficient Ordination may be without it. Yea, true Ministers have

ben without it. Howbeit, I suppose Christs Church offendeth in omitting it : for though it be but a ceremonie, yet it is Apostolike. *AML*, 299.

Voluntary Offerings

Wee believe that there is a holy Communion of the whole Church in communicating of their substance together by gifts, and offerings They are not meere almes, but (first) evident signes of true love to God ; then, they are necessary meanes and duties required by God for the supportation, maintenance, and upholding of the sayd Church, and of the sincere worship of God therein. These gifts and offering . . . are reall sacrifices to God, and partes of his holy worship and service. *CPF*, C6.

The Authority of Synods

A greater Ecclesiasticall government then the Churches wee know none. There is nothing without the Church above it : viz. Ecclesiasticallie and spirituallie. Seeing each Church hath her power and government . . . immediately from Christ. Yet it is true (beside the Magistrates honorable / assistance) verie oft there is great, and singular, yea sometimes in a sorte necessarie helpe to bee had by Synodes. Which are meetings of choyse men out of many Churches : and these are lesser or greater as the occasion requireth. Whose counsailes, advises, and determinations are most expedient and wholesome alwayes. But touching any certaine Government by Synodes, or necessarie imposing of their Synodall Conclusions, Decrees, or Canons uppon Churches without their particular free consentes, this seemeth to be a meere Humane ordinance. *RTO*, 30, 31.

This being admitted that the Church government ought to be alwayes with the peoples free consent, it followeth that such Synodes or Presbyteries can not be approved which rule imperiously over the Congregations, and impose on them (whether they will or no) their actes and Canons under some spirituall penaltie, as Excommunication, Suspension, Deprivation, Degradation from the Ministerie, etc. *AML*, 100.

J. V R.

J. H. T.

AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY YOUNG CONGREGATIONALIST

It is 9 May, 1779, the Sabbath. A girl of eighteen is writing her first entry in a paper-covered note-book, headed *A Diary*. 'Found much enlargement in secret prayer this evening, particularly in thanksgiving for my birth and religious education, for which I desire always to be thankful. Lord, give me grace to improve the privileges I enjoy.' In the same moment of illumination she has written similar words in the prologue: 'By the kind providence and blessing of God, I have had the happiness of a religious education. May I be enabled through grace ever to make a right improvement of it.' The prologue adds: 'My godly parents early gave me up to a covenant God in Christ, in the solemn ordinance of baptism, which laid me under an obligation to be the Lord's; I have since been enabled through grace to take up the bonds of the covenant, and give myself up to Christ and his Church, before many witnesses. I can therefore adopt the language of Dr. Watts, where he says:

To thee, dear Lord, my flesh and soul
I joyfully resign;
Bless'd Jesus, take me for thy own,
For I am doubly thine.'

The diary continues for 72 small pages, the end being lost. Reading on, it becomes clear that Sarah Rogers (the name on the cover) was a London Congregational minister's daughter, with a brother who shared the father's work. Wilson's *Dissenting Churches of London* (1814) IV, pp. 325-8, tells us that her father was John Rogers, born at Poole in 1716, and minister, from 1745 until his death in 1790, at Collier's Rents Independent Church, Southwark. *The Story of Congregationalism in Surrey* by Cleal and Crippen (1908) pp. 59-63, tells us more. Collier's Rents (renamed Tennis Street in 1951) was an alley behind St. George's Church, running off High Street, Borough. In 1726 a wooden meeting house was erected there for a mixed congregation of Independents and Baptists who signed a covenant in that year. John Rogers was the fourth pastor. He found the church in a very depressed condition, and revived it. He is said to have been descended from the martyr of that name. The church received the Dorset Endowment in 1762, half being assigned to the minister. In 1776, the Bridge House Company having renewed the lease, the wooden meeting house was

replaced with one of brick. The lease lasted until 1856, when the building was sold to St. George's Church, but in 1893 the London Congregational Union bought it as a community centre. After 1856 the congregation moved several times, ending up in 1894 in the Murphy Memorial Hall, Gurney Street, New Kent Road. The diary, found recently among her papers by a Congregationalist in Northampton, will go now to the Cuming Museum at the Southwark Central Library.

Apart from sermons by her father and brother, Sarah says little in this devotional diary about her family. John Rogers was married three times, and Sarah does not mention her mother. There are the following entries. 22 Oct 1780: 'In great distress of mind this evening on account of some trouble in the family; was enabled to pour out my heart to God in prayer.' 28 Jan 1781: 'Was much distressed in mind this evening on account of family disturbances, which frequently happens among us.' 1 Apr 1781: 'Was much hindered from secret duty in the evening by being providently called to visit a dear friend and relative in affliction.' 1 July 1781: 'Sat down at the table of the Lord this day, but found not my heart so warm and lively as sometimes I have done, owing I believe in some measure to a drowsiness of spirit I could no ways help, occasioned by sitting up the whole night before at my cousin's, who was delivered of her first child at one o'clock that morning.' 15 July 1781: 'Was much distressed in mind on account of some particular sins too much indulged, found in one of the family, from whom better things might be expected.' 30 Dec 1781: 'Was much dejected in mind this evening, on account of family trials, of which I had been discoursing with my father about.' 13 Jan 1782: 'Found my heart drawn out this evening in resignation and submission to the divine will, in an affair of importance concerning my brother.'

Reticence throws its veil over external events in Sarah's own life. The following entry is exceptional.

9 Aug 1780. Wednesday. How wonderful has the providence of God appeared in my behalf this day, when in such imminent danger. I record it as a great deliverance. Went with my Aunt etc. to George's Fields, to see six poor creatures hanged up as monuments of justice, for being concerned in the late riots; when not being able to see standing on the ground, was persuaded, though against my inclination, to get upon a coach, when being seated, all on a sudden, just as the poor creatures were going to be turned off, the next coach to that whereon I

was, broke down, when the horses came driving up with such fury, that had it not been for a kind providence, that might have been over-turned too; then what would have been the consequence God only knows. Through mercy, nobody received any hurt, as ever I heard of.

The 'late riots' were signs of the times. In each of the three Februaries covered by the diary, 1780-82, a week-day (in Lent?) was 'appointed and kept by public authority for a general fast and humiliation before God for the sins of this nation.' The first year she said: 'Alas, if we consider the nation through, how few have we reason to suppose kept it as they ought, though there was never more reason for it than now.' The next year she said: 'Sure there was never more reason for it than now. Blessed be the name of the Lord, I trust he did pour out a spirit of grace and supplication upon those of our brethren that were engaged in that exercise in public.' Her patriotism appeared again in two later entries. 12 Aug 1781: 'Found some liberty in secret prayer this evening, particularly for this nation, in which things appear very dark and gloomy, and unless the Lord appear for us, in all probability our enemies will gain the victory over us, which may the Lord in mercy prevent.' 9 Sep 1781: 'Oh, that the Lord would be pleased to appear for us as a nation and reform us, for vice and profaneness of all kinds is come to a most dreadful height indeed, and unless the Lord does appear for us, we may well expect to be swallowed up quickly.'

The diary reveals an unmistakable devotion to the church. She calls it 'the church to which I have the honour to belong'. 11 Nov 1781: 'Had the pleasure this afternoon to see a dear little one devoted and given up in the ordinance of baptism. The Lord grant that it may be taken into covenant with himself.' 26 Aug 1781: 'Stayed this evening at the Meeting to see the funeral of Mr. King, one of our Hearers.' 10 Mar 1782: 'My father preached a funeral sermon this afternoon, occasioned by the death of our amiable and worthy deacon, Mr. Sweet. The Lord has been pleased to remove by death two of our number within this month. Oh, that he would add more to us of such as shall be saved, that our deaths may not be more than our births.' 1 Jan 1781. Monday. 'Attending the church-meeting, had the pleasure to see a young man received into our communion, one whom we have reason to hope Christ has received. May it be a token that many more will be added this year unto us of such, and such only, as shall be saved.'

There are pulpit exchanges, and Sarah goes along when her brother preaches at the White Row lecture hall ('my heart could go along with him in every word he said') and again at the Revd. Mr. Dunn's church, and when her father preaches at the Baptist church in Shakespear's Walk, and when the Revd. Mr. Robinson preaches at Mr. Trotman's. She goes with her Aunt to Mr. Addington's. The Revd. Mr. Medley preaches at Collier's Rents; so does the Revd. Dr. Andrew Gifford, minister from 1735 until his death in 1784 at the Baptist church in Eagle Street; and so does the Revd. Mr. Ashburner, from Poole where John Rogers was born; and the Revd. Mr. Woodgate. It is seldom a sermon, usually a discourse: often a sweet discourse.

Communion is on the first Sunday of every month: generally in the morning, sometimes in the afternoon. Christmas, Easter and Whitsun are ignored, in the sermons and the diary alike. But the diary pays due attention to old year and new year days, and birthdays. 30 Aug 1779. Her nineteenth birthday. 'O Lord, grant me the witnessing of thy spirit that I am born again. I would on this day renew the solemn obligations I am under to be the Lord's and look back with shame and confusion of face, that so little time has been spent in the service of God.' On her twentieth birthday she varies the thought. 'Whether my life may be prolonged to see the next return I know not. Oh, if I have but a good hope through grace that I am born again, then no matter how soon the summons come. For what is there in this world to court our stay?' Nevertheless, she is still writing in her diary on 30 Aug 1781:

The Lord in his kind providence has brought me to see the return of another birthday. One and twenty years of my life is now expired. May I be fitted for all the changes in life I may be called to pass through, if my life should be spared long. I have this day devoted and dedicated myself afresh to the Lord as his servant.

The expectation of life was then short, and death, sometimes personified, is never far from mind. Sarah ends the prologue to the diary with the words: 'Lord, give me to see my interest clear in Jesus, then let Death come sooner or later, I shall be ready and willing to depart and be with Christ which is far better.' Within a week she has 'heard of the death of a dear young friend, who went off triumphant. Oh, may my deathbed be like hers.' A whole week later she goes 'to the funeral of my young friend, who was cut off in the flower of her days; I know not how soon it may be my case. Oh, may I be ready and willing when Death comes, and take

him by the cold hand as a welcome messenger, to conduct me to the Realms of Bliss.' The following Sunday morning she hears 'a funeral sermon occasioned by the death of that young person; was much affected with the consideration and hope of meeting her again shortly in the world above, never to part more.' Later she is saying: 'We see young and old dying around us. Lord, may I be prepared for that solemn period.' 31 Dec 1780: 'I am spared to the end of another year, while many of my friends and acquaintance have been removed.' 7 Apr 1782: 'Was called in the evening to visit a sister of the church that seemed to be in the near views of Death: may the Lord prepare her for her dissolution, and sanctify the providence to her partner in life.'

The language of Sarah's diary was not her own, but the common currency of the piety of her day. She is but a mirror, in which we catch a glimpse of the mixture of objective and subjective religion, which was Calvinism under the influence of the Wesleyan revival. She is eloquent on sin. 16 May 1779: 'Found my heart much broken under a sense of sin, and fearing lest I should be found a mere professor.' 20 Feb 1780: 'Lord, thou knowest tis my earnest desire to be led more and more to see the plague of my heart, the corruption and depravity of my nature.' 12 Mar 1780: 'Found much humiliation of heart this evening for sin original and actual; was enabled to plead for the blood of Jesus.' 9 Apr 1780: 'Was much affected this evening with a deep sense of sin, and enabled earnestly to plead with God for regeneration. Oh, that I may have some comfortable assurance of it.' 11 Mar 1781: 'Was led to see something of my own emptiness and wretchedness, and was enabled to cast my perishing soul upon Jesus, the all-sufficient saviour of lost sinners.'

One month she 'sat down at the table of the Lord with much darkness and deadness and wanderings of heart. Lord, pardon and forgive my lukewarmness, and suffer me never to backslide from thee.' The next month she 'sat down at the table of the Lord with some degree of pleasure; found it a pleasant opportunity.' She is eloquent on grace. 25 July 1779: 'Found much life and liberty in secret this evening: was enabled to find Christ precious to my soul; he does at some times give me some little foretaste of his love to my soul.' 24 Oct 1779: 'Experienced some views of my interest in Christ. Oh, for more of such seasons'. 26 Mar 1780: 'Experienced some comfortable hope of my interest in Jesus. Oh, what a happiness to have a good hope through grace.' She is aware that grace means submission. 26 Dec 1779: 'Was

much distressed in mind this day on account of a trying providence. He orders and disposes all things according to his will and pleasure.' Still she has learned to be content, 18 June 1780 : ' Was led to admire and adore Distinguishing Grace, and the infinite patience of a holy God, towards such an ill and Hell deserving sinner.'

Her own words in the prologue make a fit ending. ' I have thought it might be useful to keep something of a diary, respecting the frame of mind, particularly of a Lord's day evening ; it may, by the blessing of God, be made of use to some, when I am dead and gone.'

WILLIAM J. BROWN

OUR CONTEMPORARIES

The Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society of England, Vol. xii, No. 2 (May 1961) carries an interesting article by J. M. Ross on 'Four Centuries of Scottish Worship'. Inventing a typical small town he seeks to illustrate how worship was conducted in the years 1560, 1660, 1760 and 1960. S. J. Knox has a paper on 'A Sixteenth Century Book of Discipline' (prepared by Walter Travers, and found only in MS. form).

The Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society, Vol. xii, No. 3 (October 1961) includes a valuable article by a practising archivist, J. H. Hodson, on 'The Manuscript Sources of Presbyterian History'. Congregational and Baptist researchers would find guidance here.

The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society, Vol. 49 : a large part of Nos. 4 and 5 (Spring and Autumn, 1961) is taken up by an account by Richard E. Stagg on 'Friends' Queries and General Advices' (1682-1860 and 1860-1928). No. 5 includes the index to Vol. 49 (1959-1961).

The Baptist Quarterly, Vol. xix : In No. 2 (April 1961) the seemingly never-ending dispute between Baptists and others on the subject of Infant Baptism is shown in a late seventeenth century dress in 'The Portsmouth Disputation of 1699' by D. C. Sparkes. No. 3 (July 1961) has an article on 'Carey and Serampore—Then and Now' by Brynmor F. Price ; while No. 4 (October 1961) includes an account by A. de M. Chesterman on 'The Journals of David Brainerd and of William Carey'. No. 5 (January 1962) has two substantial historical studies, Hugh Martin give a careful account of 'The Baptist Contribution to Early English Hymnody'. W. Klaassen writes perceptively about two outstanding figures associated with the radical wing of the Continental Reformation in 'Hans Hut and Thomas Muntzer'.

Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, Vol. xxxiii : Part 2 (June 1961) includes a brief article by Frank Baker on 'The Early Experience of Fletcher of Madeley. Part 5 (March 1962) features several appreciations of the former editor (Wesley F. Swift). In addition there is an article, by D. Dunn Wilson, on 'Hanoverian Government and Methodist Persecution'. *The Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*. The 1955 volume contains an article by A. J. Hanna, Ph.D., on 'The Rôle of the London Missionary Society in the Opening Up of East Central Africa' (pp. 41-59).

W. W. BIGGS

LETTERS INCIDENTAL TO SAMUEL SAY'S CALL TO WESTMINSTER, 1734

Contributed by Basil Cozens-Hardy

Part II

London May 28th 1739

My Dearest,

I think I never longd more to be with you and recd. you letter last night with a great deal of pleasure. They are a very good sort of people where I lodge both parents & children, & Miss promiseth her self abundance of satisfaction in the acquaintance of my daughter. She is about 11. They are very rich but plain people. Mr Carleton & Mr Boler walkd about with me yesterday in the morning to look for a house. I find if we will quitt a garden, we may have very noble habitations under 20£ per annum in beautiful courts, one particularly in Manchester Court, so near the Thames as to have from the garret a fine prospect of the country on the other side of the river. The lower rooms & chambers are wainscotted. But no cellars, only the kitchen & other conveniences half under ground. The ground raised to prevent water & damp, and much nearer the Meeting than we are at Ipswich There is a like house much nearer & looking into part of the Park where they ask 28, but own that a good tenant would reconcile them to a less sum.

But there is a meaner house tho with a handsome front in Petty France¹ & among reputable neighbours the situation of which pleaseth me much better, having all the Park behind it, & a garden the breadth about of the house, but running a greater length towards the Park than our own with other gardens on each side, very airy, with a back door into the Park, thro which you walk almost all the way to ye Meeting, & the rest over free stone pavements, if I forgett not Only Mr Boler observed that if we washed, which I perceive few families do (where they can wash abroad as cheap, as they pretend) we must wash in the kitchen for the cellar being low pitched he thought the steam wd be offensive in washing & brewing I should be glad to have your sense of it I ate ripe currants out of the garden Unless any thing new offers do not expect a letter next post but let me hear by the return of the post how you do. Give my maiden a kiss for me & believe me

Yours affectionately

S[AM] SAY

¹New York St., Westminster.

Ipswich May 30th 1734

My Dearest,

I am sure I long for your company & rejoyce to hear of your health. I bless God we are well. On Tuesday here came a letter for you from Mr Manning of Yarmouth who says 'I saw Mr Finch last week at Norwich who says he can come to you either of ye weeks you mentioned viz: ye last or last but one in June but had rather it should be the former on acct of their sacrament. He writes a pretty deal about ye election for the county. Mr Emens voted against him My Dearest as to what you write about a House, I must live it to you & other friends to judge for me. I must owne yt aire & a garden would be very agreeable to me & I should be glad to be near ye Meeting, but if ye walk be pleasant it will take of from ye length & make it seem ye shorter, but when you have seen yt other house with a garden you should be ye better able to judg. I think a house without a cellar might be very inconvenient. I hope you doe not forget to enquire about ye bugs. Yt house yt you think ye most likely to doe I thinke it would not be amis to get some woman friend to looke upon it, but I live it to you I was at ye meeting last night, Mr Baxter repeated, all give service.

I am yours affectionately

S[ARAH] SAY

Ipswich June th : 4 1734

My Dearest,

I was glad to hear you had so good a stomack but am afraid you are out of order, because you did not say you were well. I beg of you to take care of your health & not hurry yourself so much. Mine & your daughters service to your good family where you are, with thanks for their sivilytis to you & am glad they are so agreeable to you. I bless God I am well. Ye maiden was a lettel out of order on Saturday but took some Hirea on Lord day night & is pretty well today.

As to what you write about ye Rooms being one foot lower than ours here, though to be sure I should like it better if they were as high, but I cannot think yt a sufficient objection against a house whose situation is so airy & pleasant as you describe yt in Petty France & I believe it to be so. We cannot expect to meet with a house in everything just as we could wish. What I meant by a woman freind to looke upon it was, because I thought yt they might take notice if some lettel matters to be done yt you might not



SAMUEL SAY

Plate by kind permission of Dr. Williams's Library.

take notice of, I say all this yt you may see I have no objection against it. But when it will be proper for you to hire a house I leve yt & all other affairs wholly to you who to be sure are ye best judg. The doctor was here yesterday, he gives his service & tould me he saw in ye Publick Prints yt Sr. R. & his Lady were going to take a tour in France

I am, Yours affectionately

S[ARAH] SAY

Miles Lane June 4th 1734 m[orning] 6

My Dearest,

The pleasure it gives me to receive a letter from you every post is a sensible argument how much I ought to be concerned to give you the same satisfaction

I have seen no more houses. Yesterday was spent in company with Dr. Harris & Mr. Calamy. We dind together at the house of one of my hearers, whom I have reason to oblige. I was very uneasie all the last week & found how little we ought to depend on general reports or personal assurances. I find now how wrong it was to unhinge my self from Ipswich or bind my self to another congregation before I had more acquaintance with them & their circumstances, or they with me & with mine. They endeavoured indeed to make me easie as far as words could do it, but I was so little satisfied with the performance of ye Lords Day before & their neglect of setting their subscriptions till the People should know me better, that I almost wishd that I had never imbarkd in this affair, & still think my good friend Dr Harris ought to have informd himself more exactly before he urgd my acceptance of their Call.

But tho' I did not think myself altogether in proper cue the last Lords Day, yet resolving to chuse a discourse that should please my self & not merely a few of my hearers, as far as I can judge I was agreeable to 'em all. And the gentleman with whom I dind yesterday & who will be very much displeasd if they do not enable me to live honourably as well as barely to live excusd himself after the Sacrament that he came in to the Vestry no sooner to thank me, because he was stopt by the Good women who could [not] forbear telling him Now we ARE fixt. Others have told me they believd I prepard my sermon for them. And even where I differd from the Doctor in some little circumstances in the celebration of ye Sacrament, they express their hopes that I shall go on in the same method hereafter.

They are to meet this evening to begin their subscriptions. And as this gentleman desired me to deal freely with him, I let him know how much concerned I was, & what injustice it would be to me to draw me hither under the expectation of being able to maintain a Pastor & assistant, if they should not give their Pastor alone a comfortable subsistence. He tells me he has already concerted measures with some of the richest & most generous to set a good example, & to prevent the vain expectation they may have from a number of subscribers who will do little. I am also to dine today with a Banker in Lombard Street, who has even desired me not to trouble my self about Sir. R. for that they thank God they were not in circumstances to depend on one person. He is an agreeable young gentleman, & who will do all he can to serve me. I shall beg 'em to finish their principal subscriptions before I leave the Town & for this reason shall think it my interest to remain here another Lords Day

I am now off to Stepny. Service & Love as due. Accept of a reconciling kiss from my maiden in the room of

Yrs affectionately

S[AMUEL] S[AY]

My Dearest,

Westminster June 6th 1734

I am just returned from reviewing the House in Petty France in company with Mr. & Mrs. Carleton. Those who lived in the house before did both brew & wash in the fore-cellar, which is much larger than ours The parlour looks into the garden. Beyond the parlour is a pretty little room into the garden with a chimney. But according to the custom of London they think the room for receiving guests or what is call'd the Dining Room ought to be the fore-chamber over the kitchen There are two garrets, one of which must be the servants bed chamber, and the other my study The garden is above a 100 foot long, but only 15 or 20 broad At the side of it the house of convenience which in most houses is in dark cellars. This though light is a little too far from the house for bad weather. In the garrets there is a prospect over the houses into the country. All the back chambers look into the Park. But the house has nothing else to commend it, but its spacious cellars, the garden, and the delightful and airy situation. However I shall do nothing about it till I have seen you, nor till I know what their subscriptions will amount to, the thought of which kept me waking a good part of last night. Notwithstanding which I ate a hearty dinner today of Windsor beans and bacon.

I am glad to hear that my daughter was better after taking the Hiera etc., it must be often repeated

Interest is made by more than one worthy person to succeed me at Ipswich. One recommended by Mr. Calamy, a grave person towards 40. The other a man of substance, for some reasons willing to leave the Place where he is, and to take whatever they are able to give him for the present, recommended by Dr Harris. He seems to me to be near 50.

A kiss to maiden from

Yours affectionately

SAM SAY

To Rev. S. Say

St James's. 2nd July 1734

Revr'd & Dear Sr,

I had ye favour of yours on ye 19th ult, which found me in a better humour than when wee parted, for on Friday following I attempted to execute a scheme I had been forming to mend ye Subscription we began the week before . . . We have been employed ever since some of us to forward the Subscription & in order thereunto to meet every Munday at ye vestry to settle not only yt affair, but likewise ye pews. When we parted last night our Subscription could not be finished, several being absent that should have brought in ye names that they had gathered, nor have wee been able to come at several, they not meeting us as yett. So we resolved last night at the breaking up to continue our attendance every Monday till finished, or as far as we can goe without you, but keep yt to yourself & indeed ye whole letter. I think wee are secure of above £150 exclusive of Sr. Rich: Ellis, Lady Russell, Scotch Nobility, Mrs. Ellis, Lady Wheat, Mr. & Mrs. Burton &c on which wee have made noe attempts. Had writ sooner but waited the event of last night. Dear Sr. your presence is very much wanted by all of us Commend me in ye best manner to good Mrs Say & ye young lady. Excuse hast ye post going off & believe me, Dear Sr.

Your affectionate friend & most humble servant

NAT. SEDDON.

Miles Lane July 4th 1734

My Dearest,

By the goodness of God I came hither in Health & Safety between 8 & 9 this evening, having met with nothing uncomfortable but the heat and dust of the afternoon. The many oaths & curses which 3 of my companions pour'd out in the morning were heard

no more after we came to like each other & endeavoured mutually to render our selves agreeable to one another. One was the Rake that courts Miss Cross, as they say; the other a Templar & his Brother from Copenhagen, both men of Learning & Ingenuity. The fourth was Mr Westal. My head aked a little till a Supper of Prawns removd it Excuse me that I add no more to night. A kiss to my maiden. I wishd her some of my Prawns & hope you will get her some lobsters. Let me hear how she does.

Yrs affectionately

S. SAY

Miles Lane July 6th 1734 M.7

My dearest,

As you desired a letter from me by this post because the distance of the next, I set down this morning to write the bulk of my letter, having a good part of the discourse I intend for tomorrow to be composed after I have broken my fast & seen my cousin Rolfe whom I am expecting in less than an hour I went yesterday with Mr Seddon before our Meeting to look at a house very convenient & very near the Park & the Meeting-place, but where we must stand at between 30 & 40£ per ann. charges, close surrounded with houses, without the least spot of a garden, only a little stone yard into which the kitchin looks . . . under the street a coal hole & Room for a few barrels of beer, all in utter darkness. . . . The rooms are smaller than those in Petty France, but all handsomely fitted up & just new painted. The street is called de la Hay Noon. 7. I have been sermonising all this day. My brother John came about 5 to see me. He begins to groan under the burden of Sammé Cook who is there now

I am, my dearest

Thine affectionately

S[AMUEL] SAY

Miles Lane July 9th 1734

My Dearest,

I thank you for yrs of the 6th instant & I wish I could hear a better acct of my maiden's health. . . . I bless God I am in very good health myself, but a little chagrin'd that the house in Petty France was gone before I came up. . . . We wandered about & could not find a cheap house with a garden till we came to James

Street² near Buckingham House at the end of the Park, where they have a key into it, but must first cross a lane, which I fear is dirty in the winter, far from the Meeting, the Market & the City, but which is a prettier Habitation than that in Petty France, very much commended by the tenant—the lower and second floor handsomely wainscotted. . . . with two good garrets and a prospect into the Park & country All Market things they pretend even Butchers meet may be bought as cheap & as good of the Higlers as at Market & butter, fowles pork cheaper. You must often have been coached from Petty France, but if we take this House the difference in the Rent will more than pay constant coach hire. But it is one 3rd of ye way farther than the other & as far again as you have at Ipswich. I fear we must at last quitt a Garden & look again into the cheap houses in the Courts near the River, but shall be glad to hear your opinion This affair very much perplexeth me.

Thine affectionately

S[AMUE]L SAY

Ipswich July the 13 1734

My Dearest

I am glad to hear you are well & I bless God we are so. I wish yt the house in Petty France had not been gone, but such things will happen. As to what you write about ye house in James street, as to the house itself I like it very well, but its standing so far from every thing, to be sure, will be an ill convenience, but how great they will be & what there is to way against them you are best able to judg. Does it not stand dangerous for theifs—so at the end of all, But that you and your freinds can tel better then I. I should be loth to quit a garden, but we must doe as we can & not always as we would. I should desire to have a kitchen so placed as not to endanger ye servants health There was only Mr Williams & Mr Notcut with Mr Baxter on Wednesday evening. They each of them prayed, Mr B. begune just at 5 & Mr Notcut concluded, they had done about 7. I thought to have been there before they had begun to have desired Mr B, to have remembered us, but Mr Notcut coming to see me, he had begun before I got there. Mr

² This house in James Street, near the present Buckingham Palace became the manse, not St. James Street as stated on p. 81.

Notcut over took me in ye meeting house yard & I spoke to him & he prayed very affectionately & heartily for us Your daughter joyn with me in duty & respects to all ffreinds & relations.

I am my dearest,
Yours affectionately
S[ARAH] SAY

Let me know whether my sister Porter bui you any shirts. If she does not I will bui you 2 of Mr P. such as you have at London with you

New St Ct Gn July 16th 1734

My dearest,

Yours of the 13th was exceedingly acceptable The night after I returned from Deptford from whence I took a most delightful walk of many miles into the country beyond it, I slept as I sleep not often for months together and eate with answerable appetite the two following days at my sisters. Nor have I any thoughts that ought to disturb my sleep, the People here not abating, but still increasing in the expression of their esteem & affection to me. Some of the chief of 'em take many steps to seek out a proper habitation for us I had the equal thanks of the two extreams among 'em for what they call'd the two excellent discourses of last Lords Day, which were made on a subject chosen for me by Mrs Cheesman.

The narrow part among 'em have given such a representation of me that I was invited yesterday to Mrs Ellys, sister of Sr Richrd, whom I had heard by a minister in the City to be more difficult to please than Sr. R. himself. I pray'd with her for she also is affected with the gout exceedingly, as she is a woman of sense, she drew me into conversation which appeared to be agreeable to her I make no question if ever there should be occasion she will speak advantageously of me to her brother. She wished you would come up and look out a house for your self, and I must own that I could almost wish it myself for two reasons, one because I fear I shall not be able to see you till after the 12th of next month which is a day annually observed by Mr Seddon. The other reason is that unless upon seeing of it you should find sufficient cause to object against the house in James Street I am afraid I shall not be able handsomely to refuse it, for they have been to see it, several of 'em, & are charmed with it & tell me it must be the house. Mr Horseley in this joins with Mr Seddon, Mr Boler & my good landlord, my

new old acquaintance, who wonders I should not remember him when a youth.

Mr Horseley's wife is a very bad walker & is taking a new habitation, because of the dampness of his present abode, a common distemper in Westminster. There is another house empty & larger in the same street. I told him if he would come and be my neighbour & join forces for coach hire I imagined it would be an equal convenience as well as ease to both. The Landlord undertakes the present tenant shall go out whenever we please in September.

I think I wrote you word that it was far from any market as well as the Meeting, but they think the higglers & neighbouring butchers may as well supply us in a great road into the City.

I forgot to tell you that when Mr Higham & I were returning from Mrs Ellys we were seiz'd by a person, whose name I do not remember at the call & who has lately left the Church of England & I perceive intends to join with us. He returns 2000 pr annum in leather breeches & would needs take measure of me. These breeches are such as our Nobles wear of his make & Mr H. supposes will be worth 25s and last me 10 years

Yor Affectionate

SAMUEL SAY

New Street C.G. Aug 1st 1734

My Dearest,

. . . . Yesterday Mr Carleton and myself walked 3 miles to dinner with one in communion with us, as I think, who is a Page of the Back Stairs,³ in a very retired place near Kensington. He will not allow that it is in the power of the Ministry to divert the King from business by perpetual scenes of pleasure. He assures us He is a person of very great application, that looks into the minutest affairs, that writes all his own letters abroad, & those very many, and thinks there is not a petty scrivener in the City that drudges at it for a livelihood, that writes more than the King. He was the first up that very morning of all his Court, & called on his Gentleman at five to raise those whom he wanted

Respects to Mrs. Sherwood & a kiss to maiden

Yours affectionately

SAMUEL SAY

(These letters to be deposited at Dr. Williams's Library, London)

³i.e. to George II.

THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY

I. As its Broad Basis

As the union of Christians of various denominations in carrying on this great work is a most desirable object, so, to prevent if possible, any cause of future dissension, it is declared to be a Fundamental Principle of the Missionary Society, that our design is not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy, or any other form of Church Order and Government, (about which there may be difference of opinion among serious persons) but the Glorious Gospel of the blessed God, and that it shall be left (as it ought to be left) to the minds of the persons whom God may call into the fellowship of His Son to assume for themselves such form of Church Government as to them shall appear most agreeable to the Word of God.¹

This Fundamental Principle is a form of words designed to express briefly the broad basis on which the Missionary Society was founded in 1795. This was in the minds of the founders themselves, but the necessity of an explicit statement was made obvious when misunderstanding arose within twenty years of its foundation.

To them the Gospel was not Luther's, Calvin's, or anyone else's, but the Gospel of Jesus Christ the Son of God. The founding fathers, men of evangelical faith, a variety of tradition, and a backing mainly within the Independent Churches, believed firmly that the call to preach the Gospel to all the world could only be fully obeyed when the limitations of denomination and sect were discarded. Their concern that all Christians should share in this obedience foreshadowed the movement which led to the 1910 Edinburgh Conference, the International Missionary Council, and New Delhi, 1961.

The first Directors of the Missionary Society, at their meeting on September 29, 1795, decided that all London Ministers, and Ministers of Foreign Protestant Churches in London (Evangelical Clergy in London being added at a later meeting) should be visited by a three-man team of Directors, two ministers and a layman. Their object was to get the interest of those who took no part in the

¹L.M.S. Archives : Board Minutes, May 9, 1796 ; also printed in Annual Reports from 1814.

founding, with the plea that the 'grand object' of the Society be recommended to the purses of their congregations. A letter was also to be sent to the Foreign Protestant Churches informing them of the Plan, Progress and Object of the Society. Its title was : 'An Address to our Evangelical Brethren from the Missionary Society'. A footnote indicated that the full story was recorded in a volume entitled *Memorials and Sermons*.

The Evangelical Magazine, begun in 1793, was the vehicle used to reach the Christian public, and it carried in August, 1796, a long letter from Baron August von Shirnding, sent in by the Rev. Dr. T. Haweis, one of the founders. It appeared on the first pages of the issue because, as the editor wrote :

The following papers are of a nature so peculiarly pleasing and interesting, especially at the present juncture, when so many persons, in different parts of the world, seem to be actuated by the same spirit.

Baron August von Shirnding was Ranger of the Electoral Parks and the letter was dated from Dobrylugk, Saxony, 1796. He had himself, he wrote, been considering for a long time the possibilities of forming a missionary society. Then,

one brought me the Hamburg Gazette, wherein was contained the remarkable and delightful intelligence, that more than two hundred preachers of the Gospel in England, deputed by their several congregations, have established a Society for sending the word of God . . . to the heathen.

His friends wanted him 'to seek an union with you in the work'. but on consideration he was against this,

Admitting no other difficulties occurred than might be removed, I am rather inclined to suppose, that many missions to different places, though the commencements might be small, would probably more conduce to the desired effect, than if the whole were concentrated in one great work and attempt, — Small things grow into large ones and missions at selected places would spread and link into a whole :

This, however, at least is our duty, that as brethren, acknowledging one God, one faith, one baptism, one Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour, we assist each other, and unite our aid and counsel, so as to obtain most effectually the object we have in view.

This letter appears to have been opened first by the Rev. John Eyre, and a copy only sent to Dr. Haweis. On the back of the copy, Eyre wrote a covering letter which contains the following :

My dear friend will rejoice in reading this letter and plan of the Baron ; not that I think his plan the best as to the *places* he wishes for missionary points ; but because it indicates his lively zeal, and discovers a mind *altogether devoted*. In short, he appears the Lady Huntingdon of Saxony. His views of missionaries are like our own. He is, bona fide, a *Methodist*. Should we not look forward to the period when we can meet on the continent and devise a GRAND UNION between all the Churches. Our brethren in the Establishment who shun us, will be the only sectaries.²

Who was this baron, besides being the Elector of Saxony's park ranger ? 'It is said', that he, 'together with his spouse, received the first impressions of grace at the card table.'³ This brief remark, scored through in a document edited for publication, may give a clue to the kind of man he had been before he was able to say that 'two years since I sent thirty awakened men tract distributing as itinerant preachers'.⁴ That was at the end of 1798, and he went on in the same letter to explain that they were the people who would make good missionaries. It was this same Baron von Shirnding who, a year or two later, sought out Dr. Jaenicke of Berlin and asked him to train some men for the ministry with special regard to their becoming missionaries. He himself provided the money needed for this venture until it grew too big for his means alone.

Another link in the chain of contacts being made with Europe was the Basle Society. This was a Corresponding Society for the promotion and encouragement of evangelical Christianity, founded in 1781,

consisting of several thousand members and affectionate friends, dispersed in Switzerland, Germany, Holland, Prussia, Denmark and Sweden . . . we carry on an uninterrupted mutual correspondence, and communicate in letters as well as in written or printed treatises and remarks, memoirs of Christians, examples, anecdotes and accounts of the progress of the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and other subjects as are of an edifying nature and suitable to the necessities of our present times. This is done from month to month.⁵

²Maggs Bros, Catalogue 616, 1935 : Report of Correspondence of the Rev. T. Haweis. (Original now in Mitchell Library, Sydney.)

³L.M.S. Archives : Europe Letters A 4 2, Dec. 12, 1798—C. F. Steinkopf.

⁴*Evan. Mag.* 1799 : Letter from Baron von Shirnding, Dec. 12, 1798.

⁵L.M.S. Archives : Europe Letters A 4 2, Feb. 7, 1798—C. F. Steinkopf.

It was towards the end of 1797 that the secretary of the Basle Society, the Rev. C. F. Steinkopf, received a copy of the German translation of the *Memorials and Sermons* of the founding of the Missionary Society in 1795. This Society's first, and indeed all its communications with London, came through the minister of the German Church at the Savoy, who was at first Dr. J. G. Burckhardt, and when he died late in 1800 or early 1801, they came through Steinkopf himself, who succeeded Burckhardt in London. This correspondence was carried on in German, and the German minister acted as translator. The names of the committee over whose signatures this first letter of 7 February 1798, was written, make imposing reading : seventy-year-old Dr. Hertzog, Professor of Divinity, at whose house the committee met ; three Masters of Arts ; a merchant who later acted as secretary for a short time when Steinkopf came to London ; and two names with no specific qualifications.

To them, the news of the founding of the Missionary Society was as much 'good news' as it was to the Baron, and their wide ramification of communications sent the news speeding all over the Continent—to Berlin, to Breslau, to Bielefeld, to Leer, and many other places where their correspondents lived, as far apart as Austria, and Frankfurt, and Saxony where they had links already with Baron von Shirnding.

We have learned with the liveliest joy and gratitude towards God, that the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ in many respects is in a flourishing state in England and Scotland where there are so many hundred Evangelical ministers and so many thousand faithful followers of Jesus This indeed, independently of any other consideration has been a great comfort to us and to many thousand of our religious Brethren in Switzerland and Germany. But it was not less delightful and encouraging to us to learn that there had arisen among the children of God belonging to different persuasions, a sweet brotherly harmony, which others justly may take as a pattern of imitation, and that you have made so fine a beginning, by setting aside all particular opinions, to make the promoting of the Kingdom of our adorable Lord and Saviour, a common cause ; Lastly, the account of a new Missionary Society established in the Metropolis of your country for the conversion of the heathen in the present eventful period of dismal occurrences in Church and State, has opened to us a happy

and heart relieving prospect, that the Kingdom of our great Lord will rise with new lustre in distant parts of the world.⁶

A quotation from a biography of the Rev. T. Blumhardt, who died in 1838, will show to what this zeal, aroused and encouraged by the founding and work of the Missionary Society, led the Basle Society.

It was at the termination of the war in 1815, that a few pious individuals, grateful for the remarkable preservation of the city of Basle from destruction by bombardment, resolved to rear some appropriate monument to the praise of the great Deliverer. A Missionary Seminary was in consequence projected and gradually established. To this Institution Mr. Blumhardt, from its commencement, devoted all his powers, in the training of candidates, in correspondence with the Continent and Missionary Stations, and in co-operation with the general labours of the German Missionary Society . . . this beloved and venerated Father in the missionary work.⁷

A copy of the Directors' *Address to our Evangelical Brethren from the Missionary Society*, given to Dr. Vanderkemp at Dordrecht in Holland by a Moravian minister led him, in April 1797 to offer himself as a missionary. When the Directors had found out independently from the Rev. Mr. Verster of Rotterdam who this applicant was, he was invited to London to meet the Examination Committee on 18 October, 1797. The record says :

A conversation was held with Dr. Vanderkemp relative to measures to be adopted for exciting the attention of religious people in Holland to missionary objects, for the formation of a Missionary Society in that country, for procuring missionaries there, and respecting the manner of his being personally employed in the missionary work.⁸

It continues with the first resolution of the Committee :

that an Address be drawn up to the serious people in Holland for the exciting a missionary ardour among them.

Then, when this was done and printed in English, Vanderkemp was to take it and use it as he saw fit, which included his translating it into Dutch. His Autobiography continues the story :

After the London Society had composed a Letter of Exhortation to the people of God in Holland, to take a part in the

⁶L.M.S. Archives : Europe Letters A 4 2, Feb. 7, 1798—C. F. Steinkopf.

⁷Church Missionary Society Register, 1839, pp. 35-36.

⁸L.M.S. Archives : South Africa Letters B 1 1 , Oct. 18, 1797, being Minutes of the Examination Cttee.

conversion of the heathen I left London with a view to bring this letter over to the Netherlands, and if it pleased the Lord, to be serviceable in erecting a Missionary Society in that country . . . got at last to Kissingen . . . I set off for Middleburg where I consulted my worthy friend Professor Krow, and some other ministers, about the erecting of a Missionary Society in the Netherlands, and continued the measures sought to be adopted to effect the plan . . . to call a particular meeting of a small number of pious persons . . . not only ministers but laymen of different places of the Netherlands and leave it to their decision, if it would be advisable to change their assembly into a standing Society, or to part as they were come together. That no other plan would be laid before the meeting to approve or disapprove than what was given in Matthew 28 : 18-20.⁹

He himself went from place to place gathering interested people together, so that by the time a little company met at Mr. Verster's house there was little doubt about the outcome of the meeting. They did change their 'assembly into a standing Society', and the Netherlands Missionary Society became a fact.

The Directors were by now fully aware of the response on the Continent to the founding and activities of the Missionary Society, whether the news had spread through the 'public papers' which were the source of information from which Mr. Kielborg, a Gothenberg merchant, had learned the story as well as Baron von Shirnding; the letter from the Missionary Society to the Foreign Protestant Churches; or the German translation of the *Memorials and Sermons* of 1795. Both of the two last were circulated largely by the Moravians and the Basle Society.

The success of the *Address to the people of Holland* prompted the Directors to have a German edition circulated as well. This translation was seen through the press by a lay Director, C. C. Sundius, a Swedish merchant of Fen Court, Fenchurch Street, who was then asked to make a Swedish translation. Sundius sent this with a long covering letter of his own to the Rev. Gustaf Murray, president of the Swedish Society, Pro Fide et Christianismo. Some of the correspondence following this letter has survived, and in a reply to one letter of appreciation from Sweden, the Rev. John Eyre and Joseph Hardcastle asked the writer, the Rev. L. C. Petzius, for details of the state of religion in Sweden and Denmark,

⁹L.M.S. Archives : Africa Odds 8, Vanderkemp Papers.

and 'in Russia so far as you have the opportunity of collecting information'.¹⁰ In the draft reply, of 2 May 1799, to Murray's letter of grateful acknowledgment, probably from Dr. Haweis' pen, one sees the work carried a step further :

. . . we are amazed at the practicability, facility and complete success of our enterprise, which we had almost despaired of ourselves, and many had treated as a visionary scheme. Every mouth is stopped We communicate to you with pleasure the happy effects which our Missionary Union has produced in spreading the Gospel among ourselves. Our congregations have felt the impression May we, respected brethren, venture to invite you to join us, throughout this land, to meet our brethren at Basle, in Holland, those who are passing through the paths of the sea, and those who are already labouring among the heathen, at a throne of grace. The stated hour of prayer is seven o'clock the first Monday in every month Such a concert of prayer is a mighty engine¹¹

It was not until 1835 that Sweden was able to form a Missionary Society of her own.

This *Address*, prepared originally for Vanderkemp's use in Holland, then sent in translation to both Germany and Sweden, was such a success that an English edition also was printed for the use of the Directors. There is no record of the way this was used. The German translation however drew forth a lengthy plan for a 'New German Missionary Society in East Friesland', a document dated 11 March 1799, bearing two Calvinist and twenty-one Lutheran signatures. It came from the Rev. G. S. Stracke of Hatshusen, secretary of the Society for promoting true Doctrine and pure Piety, who wrote again, on March 6, 1801, detailing the progress still going on in Germany. As soon as the *Address* was known ministers and laymen together pledged themselves :

to unite with you to the utmost of their power in casting the gospel net among the idolaters. The — oh heavenly sight ! pious Christians of every denomination, Lutherans and Calvinists, were seen stretching out their hands with sincere affection and mutually embracing each other. Smaller societies of the same kind, as you have been appraised, were established at Elberfeld, and Frankfurt.¹²

¹⁰L.M.S. Archives : Home Extra Letters 1—draft letter.

¹¹L.M.S. Archives : Home Extra Letters 1—draft letter.

¹²*Evan Mag.* 1801, May—pp. 209-12.

He told how the Berlin Academy, under Dr. John Jaemicke, was training missionaries, of the placing of two students, and

six candidates therefore remain, which are under the patronage of the Societies in East Friesland, with the other countries of Westphalia ; and those of Elberfeld, Frankfort, and Basle in Switzerland, united with the Baron and other of the Saxon brethren. These, beloved brethren, I am able to offer to you.

Four of these six were sent out by the London Missionary Society after further training, and two went as the first missionaries of the Society for Missions in Africa and the East, later known as the Church Missionary Society. Mr. Stracke confessed concern that they were not able to pay expenses, but would send 'whatever money God shall give us, and love bestow'.

In 1829, Dr. Philip, returning to Africa, took out the first party of missionaries sent by the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, having visited Paris to advise in the matter. The Rhenish Society, established at Elberfeld and Barmen, in 1830 sent out 'two more missionaries to South Africa'. They took a letter, signed by the London Missionary Society's treasurer, W. A. Hankey, father of the London bankers, addressed to the Governor of Cape Colony, asking permission for their entry,

as Christian missionaries They will be placed under the direction of the Rev. Dr. John Philip of Cape Town, the Superintendent of the London Missionary Society's Missions in Africa.¹³

In 1833 a letter from the Gossner Society in Berlin, formed four years previously, told that,

We are about to send out five . . . to assist our Brethren of the Wuppertal and to join the missionaries that have been sent out by your own Society . . . and we should be very glad if we could profit by your experience.¹⁴

So the pattern of the Modern Missionary Movement was set as far as Europe was concerned, on the broad basis of the unity in Christ as Head of the Church, which is epitomized in the Fundamental Principle of the London Missionary Society. That this was deliberately done, and included every possible avenue of co-operation, is shewn in one of the Directors' Minutes of 21 January, 1799, which reads :

¹³L.M.S. Archives : Europe Letters B 2 2. Draft of letter, May 25, 1831 ; on same sheet as May 17, 1831, J. Kielman.

¹⁴L.M.S. Archives : Europe Letters C 2 2 , L. E. Kuntze, Berlin.

The necessity of a Committee of Foreign Correspondence, who would consecrate a great portion of their time to the affairs of the Society, by seeking occasions and opportunities of extending and promoting the Missionary impulse in every quarter, and endeavouring to maintain a constant correspondence with the religious societies and pious individuals in every part of the world, giving them information of the transactions of our institution, and receiving intelligence of their operations also ; having been duly considered, it was : Resolved, that Mr. Hardcastle, Dr. Haweis, Mr. Greathead, Mr. Cowie and Mr. Eyre, be appointed a Committee for that purpose.¹⁵

(To be continued)

IRENE FLETCHER

¹⁵L.M.S. Archives : Board Minutes.

WORK IN PROGRESS

The Research Secretary in particular is glad to hear of work being done by our members, and he passes the information on to the committee. John Duncan of Bury St. Edmunds continues his long series of transcripts and histories of Suffolk Nonconformist causes. Several members are writing histories of their churches. The Rev. A. McLellan of Shenstone Training College, Kidderminster, is working on 'Congregationalism and the Education of the People from 1800-1900'. Dr. C. E. Allan Turner, Surbiton, whose Ph.D. thesis was on 'The Puritan Contribution to Scientific Education in the Seventeenth Century' has had published a paper on 'Puritan Origins in Science' and has recently completed for the Victoria Institute a paper on 'Puritan and the Royal Society'.

BRANCHES OF THE SOCIETY

The committee of the Society was encouraged to learn that Bradford had begun a branch of the C.H.S. (Secretary : Mr. D. P. Raine, 27 Lynton Drive, Shipley.) The programme shows an interesting variety of lectures, visits and a ramble. London, inspired by this news it seems, held its inaugural meeting on 16 June at New College, London.

To Mr. Hatchman, 20
June 3
1802.
G. S. Stracke

Hatchman 20
June 1802.

Dear beloved
Brethren in Christ!

Receive my hearty thanks, in my own
and in my Brethren's name, that you
moved by real brotherly love and affection,
so generously have contributed, to bring
us in a friendly and useful relation
to the other Miss. Society of the Established
Church. May our Lord and Saviour,
whose mercy endureth for ever, hasten
the blessed period, where but one
fold shall be and one Shepherd, and
where the whole body of all his precious
Believers shall be united in perfect love
and enjoy a complete happiness. But in
the mean time let us be content with
what God already has done. It is his
grace, which alone must work. Without
him we can do nothing. There may
really subsist a spiritual union among
Christians of various Denominations, although
they differ in many matters of less im-
portance. On this lower world all is
imperfect; we know in part; but, when
that which is perfect, is come, then that, which
is in part, shall be done away. May

Part of a letter from G. S. Stracke (see page 144), reproduced by kind permission of the London Missionary Society.



RICHARD CECIL

(Reproduced by kind permission of Ongar Congregational Church and of the Bedfordshire Magazine)

THE TURVEY AND ONGAR CONGREGATIONAL ACADEMY

I

In 1829 Richard Cecil went to Bedfordshire to become pastor of the Congregational Church opened at Turvey in the previous year.¹ He had studied for the ministry at Rotherham Academy and had held pastorates at Whitehaven, Harpenden and Nottingham. He remained at Turvey until June 1838 when he became pastor of the Congregational Church at Chipping Ongar in Essex. He remained at Ongar until October 1847 when he returned to Turvey for a second pastorate which lasted until his death on 30 January 1863. He was buried in the diminutive burying-ground behind Turvey Congregational Church and his tomb is still to be seen as is a memorial tablet in the church.²

During his first pastorate at Turvey and for the early part of the time he was at Ongar Cecil kept an academy which was designed chiefly for training men for the London Missionary Society. The London Missionary Society's standards for the acceptance of students were higher than those required by its contemporary the Home Missionary Society and it was by no means easy to pass the tests of the Examination Committee.³ Applications by would-be missionaries were carefully scrutinised as were testimonials and references and the questionnaires which the Society required to be completed. The candidate was interviewed in London and was then sent away for a few days to write an essay before his second and decisive interview. There were a number of subjects for these essays but the following are representative :

What are the Scriptural evidences of personal religion ?

What considerations will sustain a missionary amidst the labours and discouragements of his work ?

The Nature and Evidences of Regeneration.

What are the best means of preserving the life and fervency of religion in the Soul ?

¹For the circumstances attending the formation of the Turvey Congregational Church see *Evangelical Magazine* 1829. pp. 26, 158 and 374.

²See obituary notices in *Evangelical Magazine* 1863. p. 299 and *Congregational Year Book* 1864.

³See H. G. Tibbutt. *The Cotton End Congregational Academy* 1840-74. 'Transactions of Congregational Historical Society' 1958 and 1959.

Saving Faith and its immediate Fruits.

What are the most approved Scriptural principles of Missionary operation ?

The Divinity of the Holy Spirit and his operations in the human heart. (David Livingstone's essay subject.)⁴

Even if he satisfied the Examination Committee, was accepted as a candidate and was found to be medically fit, the would-be missionary had still to complete successfully his three months' probationary course at Turvey, Ongar or elsewhere. Cecil was a hard taskmaster and the wastage rate among the students at Turvey and Ongar was high. Out of 90 students who are known to have been at either Turvey or Ongar or at both, 20 failed to complete their probation period satisfactorily and their offers of service were declined—a wastage rate of 22%. Four others did not continue because of illhealth and one for domestic reasons, while Muncaster, a promising youth, was drowned in the River Ouse while a student at Turvey.⁵

In the printed *Register* of the London Missionary Society⁶ only 19 men are shown as having studied at Turvey or Ongar but from a detailed study of the manuscript records of the Society's Examination Committee⁷ it appears that at least 75 students went either for their probationary course, or a longer course, to Turvey (some went on to Ongar when Cecil moved in 1838) and at least 15 were sent by the London Missionary Society to Cecil while he was at Ongar—among the 15 was David Livingstone. In all no less than 58 of the Turvey and Ongar students became missionaries for the London Missionary Society.

One of the first students at Turvey was John Frost, later the Congregational minister at Cotton End, Beds., from 1832-78 and Principal of the Congregational Academy there from 1840-74.⁸ The first two missionary students, Ross and Morrison, arrived at Turvey during February 1831 and in the following May the Examination Committee considered a letter from Cecil regarding the satisfactory

⁴Subjects taken at random from L.M.S. Examination Committee Minutes (at Livingstone House) 1835-45.

⁵For an account of Muncaster see *Evangelical Magazine* 1832. pp. 501-03.

⁶James Sibree. *L.M.S. A Register of Missionaries, Deputations, Etc.* 4th edn. 1923. The Rev. C. E. Surman's *Biographical Card Index of Congregational Ministers* (at Dr. Williams's Library, London) has now been brought up to date by identification of all the students who trained at Turvey or Ongar.

⁷At Livingstone House, London.

⁸See H. G. Tibbutt *op. cit.*

progress of these two students and 'stating that he was quite satisfied with the Allowance of £40, provided washing were not included'. The Examination Committee resolved 'that it be recommended to the Board to allow Rev. Richard Cecil after the rate of Forty Pounds (£40) per annum for the board, education (exclusive of washing) of Missionary candidates to be placed under his care.'⁹ The cost of living was rising however, and in March 1832 the Examination Committee approved a gratuity of £20 towards the cost of the board and education of the pupils and agreed that with effect from 1 January 1832 the allowance for each pupil sent to Turvey should be £45 per annum.¹⁰

Most, if not all of the students at Turvey, were boarded out in the village. When Cecil moved to Ongar in the Summer of 1838 he wished to have the students under his continual and close surveillance. This is clear from two entries in the records of the Examination Committee :

21 May 1838. Read letters from the Revd. Richard Cecil communicating to the Board his intention of leaving Turvey to reside at Ongar, having received a call from the church at the latter place to take the pastorate there. At Ongar he was desirous of having the students domiciled with him and there was a house of £100 per annum rent which would afford those accommodations, but which he dared not engage without some assistance, and asked if the Board would think it right to grant him £50 per annum towards meeting this prospective expense and greater efficiency : if not, he must continue the plan of lodging the students in different cottages as at Turvey.

RESOLVED. To recommend to the Board that in consideration of the additional comfort and convenience secured to the missionary students by being domiciled with the Rev. Richard Cecil and their facility for improvement in being thus under his constant superintendence, the sum of £50 per annum be allowed to him for each student instead of £45 per annum now paid.

11 February 1839. Read letter from the Revd. Richard Cecil stating the impracticability of obtaining a house in Ongar large enough to accommodate his own family and the students, in consequence he should waive the additional allowance kindly proposed by the Board under date 21 May 1838 : he had obtained three cottages directly across the street from his own

⁹L.M.S. Examination Committee Minutes 23 May 1831.

¹⁰*Ibid.* 26 March 1832.

house whence the students came to him at seven o' clock in the morning and remained till 10 o' clock at night, in which he could continue most efficiently to domicile the students at the usual charge : inviting also a deputation from the Society to visit Ongar for the purpose of inspecting the premises, and investigating the whole system of domestic and educational economy adopted by himself

RESOLVED. To recommend to the Board that a deputation be appointed to visit Ongar for the purposes specified in Mr. Cecil's letter.

Two extracts from the Church Book of Turvey Congregational Church show that Cecil thought that Ongar would be a better location for the Academy than Turvey was :

1838. March 13th. A special meeting. The Pastor communicated to the Church the fact that he had entertained some thought of leaving them ; that he had paid two visits to the town of Ongar in Essex and was about to visit that place a third time with some view to a removal . . . He further stated that his reason for taking this step was not dissatisfaction with the conduct of the people towards him, as he had nothing personally to complain of, but great cause for thankfulness on account of the harmony and kindness which prevailed ; but his circumstances as the father of a numerous family, the income being very small, and the place unfavourable to his employment as the Tutor of a number of Students, Necessity, as well as the desire of usefulness, impelled him to follow this employment, and the situation of Turvey, so far from London and out of the high road, was adverse to it . . . At the same time the small measure of success which had appeared to attend his labours made him less reluctant to think of a change than he would have been had it been evident that the work of God in this place was prospering in his hands.

1838. May 4th. Mr. Cecil stated to the church that he had come to the determination, under a sense of duty, to dissolve his connexion with this place, And to remove to Ongar, and that it was his intention to leave early in the next month.¹¹

Apparently the members of the L.M.S.' Board were not happy about the early activities of Cecil at Ongar and he addressed the following letter to the Rev. J. Arundel at the Mission House :

¹¹Oldest Church Book of Turvey Congregational Church examined and quoted from by kind permission of the present minister the Rev. R. Doughty Lindup.

Ongar June 15 1839

My dear Sir,

I conclude from the resolution of the Board which you have forwarded to me that my employment under the auspices of the Society is nearly at an end. You had given me previous intimation that all the Students now with me would leave me at Midsummer and I understand, though the resolution does not clearly express it, that no more are likely to be sent. The Directors appear also to admit the propriety of granting me some compensation for the expences recently incurred, and into which I was (most reluctantly) led, not only by repeated and urgent representations relative to the importance of my lodging the young men in a house of my own, but by the explicit offer and promise of an advance in the terms if I should procure a suitable house.

I can scarcely tell whether I ought to say anything more definite on the Subject of compensation, but as I only wish for what is reasonable and just to both parties, perhaps it may be well to state that besides the usual unavoidable loss on goods when resold, I shall be under a peculiar disadvantage because the articles I have purchased are too good for the poor and inappropriate for the middle class. When I add to this a variety of expenses connected with my removal from Turvey and the rent and fitting up of houses in this place, for which there can of course be *no* return, I am sure I am correct in saying that I should barely be indemnified by a grant of a hundred and fifty pounds. Far from expecting to be a gainer by the whole affair if that amount were allowed I would thankfully forego it to be situated, as far as money is concerned, as I was twelve months ago.

Allow me to add that if in any case my services should be desired hereafter, and I should be in circumstances that will admit of my receiving a student, it will give me pleasure to be employed for the Society. To relinquish a work which I have thought useful, and which had become, by habit and experience, more easy and agreeable, in some respects, than at any former period and to lose it at a time when I fully thought it was more likely to increase is a painful trial.

But I do not complain. We know not what is best.

May God abundantly prosper the Society, supplying it more and more richly with suitable labourers and meanwhile may

he make such use of each of us as will be most for his own glory, till we arrive at the long home !

I am, my dear Sir, Yours affectionately,
Richard Cecil.

To Revd. J. Arundel, Mission House, Blomfield street, Finsbury, London.

Fortunately Cecil's fears were not realised and students continued to arrive at Ongar for several years.

Some further light on Cecil's connection with Ongar is to be found in the short history of the church published in 1937 : 'Mr. Cecil received into his home a number of young men who desired to be educated for missionary work and these proved themselves very useful in the conduct of services in the town and surrounding district. One of these, who came in the year 1838 and remained 6 months, was Dr. David Livingstone, the great African missionary explorer. His bedroom can still be seen, being part of the premises of the Church Caretaker. The "Livingstone Room", as it is described, forms part of a property owned by the Church, consisting of six cottages, and presented by Mr. Josiah Gilbert, a faithful friend of the cause and a grandson of the Rev. Isaac Taylor'.¹²

II

William Gill, one of the students at Turvey, in his *Autobiography* has left a valuable account of his months in the Bedfordshire village :

On November 19th 1835 I left London for Turvey. The Rev. R. and Mrs Cecil received me most kindly and so did all the students. Among the students at Turvey at this time, and those who afterwards came, were Mr. Lumb, Mr. Stevens, Mr. Hay, Mr. Wilkinson, Mr. Samuel Martin, Mr. Gleg, Mr. Kettle, Mr. Ross and others. Generally eighteen students were there, and most who were accepted remained two or three years. In the usual course of study and in the intimate personal and family intercourse I had much delight. Soon, too, I had much exercise in village preaching and occasionally supplying the pulpit of Mr. Cecil. Under these congenial and favourable circumstances I was permitted to close the year 1835.

Among my useful engagements at Turvey was preaching at the villages and sometimes at the towns near. In the morning

¹²Harold T. Pinchback. *Ongar Congregational Church, Essex. A Short History*. 1937. (Copy in Dr. Williams's Library, London).

we usually heard Mr. Cecil. His devotion, his tenderness, his learning, his language, were so valuable to us that every service, apart from its worship, was a blessing to the heart and a stimulus to the mind.

We generally went to the villages in the afternoon, usually by twos, for both services. During my two years residence at Turvey I preached sixty-five sermons—at Bedford, Olney, St. Neots, Newport Pagnell and at the villages of Stoke Goldington, Harrold, Stagsden, Ashwood [Astwood], Newton [Blossomville] and Turvey.

While at Turvey we were frequently favoured with visits of good and useful men, friends of Mr. Cecil, to whom we were introduced and with whom we had free and profitable intercourse—Dr. Bennett, Henry Dunn, Messrs. Bull, John Frost and Alliott of Bedford often came.¹³

In the *Reminiscences* of Bishop Robert Caldwell who was at Turvey for a few weeks late in 1834 is the following sentence : ‘ I have a pleasant remembrance of Mr. Cecil’s pure and elevated, though somewhat mystical tone of mind, to be brought into contact with which was in itself no unimportant advantage to a young man.’¹⁴

During the early months of 1832 the Baptist Church at Stevington, Beds., and the Union Church at Cotton End, Beds., were without pastors and the Turvey students conducted services in those villages. The Cotton End Church Book records ‘ 1832. During the greater part of this year the church and congregation were supplied with preaching by students from Turvey where the Rev. R. Cecil holds a small classical and theological Academy.’¹⁵

Cecil had severe domestic troubles while at Ongar. In 1843 his second daughter, Salome, died after a long illness and in June 1844 his wife died at the age of 48 years. Two months later another

¹³*Selections from the Autobiography of Rev. Wm. Gill being chiefly a Record of His Life as a Missionary in the Sth. Sea Islands.* Printed for private circulation, London. 1880. (Copy at Livingstone House, London.) Among the records of Turvey Congregational Church is a loose paper which is obviously the fly leaf of a book : the leaf is inscribed as follows : ‘ To Mr. Paine. With the grateful acknowledgments of William Gill, Richard Birt, John Hay, J. H. Budden, George Wilkinson’. It would appear that the book of which this is the fly leaf, was presented to Mr. Paine, a prominent member of the Turvey church, by the five students.

¹⁴*Reminiscences of Bishop Caldwell* ed. by his son-in-law, Rev. J. L. Wyatt, Madras. 1894.

¹⁵Cotton End Church Book examined and quoted from by kind permission of the present minister the Rev. G. H. Relfe.

daughter, Lucy, wife of John Hay a former Turvey student, died in India. It seems likely that these events were the cause of the discontinuance of the Ongar Academy. Apparently the London Missionary Society ceased to send students to Ongar after the death of Cecil's wife in 1844 and as far as is known he took no students during his second pastorate at Turvey.

III

The studies at Turvey and Ongar were very comprehensive as evidenced by the various books asked for by, and supplied to, Cecil by the London Missionary Society.

Hurwitz. *Hebrew Grammar* (2 copies).

Gessincus. *Hebrew Lexicon*. (2 copies).

Greenfield. *Genesis*. (in Hebrew with translation). (2 copies).

Schrievlius. *Greek Lexicon*.

Stuart. *Hebrew Grammar*. (Oxford edition).¹⁶

Conversations on Chemistry.

Herschel. *Astronomy*.

Drummond. *First Steps to Botany*.

Vegetable Physiology.

Animal Physiology.

Arnott. *Physics*. (vol. 1 and vol. 2. Pt. 1.).¹⁷

Tytler. *Elements of General History*.

Taylor. *Elements of Thought*.¹⁸

Among the more famous of the students were Samuel Martin (minister at Westminster Chapel, London and a pioneer in slum-clearance): Alexander Macdonald (a L.M.S. missionary in the South Seas and from 1850 Congregational minister at Auckland, New Zealand, at a time when there were only five other Congregational ministers in that country): John Ross (pioneer of the idea of the Free-will Offering System decades before it became generally popular): David Livingstone: William Slatyer (Chairman of the Congregational Union of New South Wales 1867-68 and 1876-77): Robert Caldwell (who became an Anglican in 1841 and was bishop of Tinneveli in India from 1877-91): William Charles Milne (who after a period of missionary service in China became a Chinese interpreter for the British Government in China and later Assistant Chinese Secretary to the Peking Legation) and James Panton Ham who became a Unitarian in 1849 and was minister of

¹⁶Items in L.M.S. Examination Committee Minutes 26 May 1834.

¹⁷*Ibid.* 13 October 1834.

¹⁸*Ibid.* 17 October 1836.

the influential Essex Street Unitarian Church, London from 1859-83).

Several of the Turvey and Ongar students found unsatisfactory by Cecil subsequently became L.M.S. missionaries or Congregational ministers (Bowrey, Bullen, Ellis, England, Harrison and Spencer). Some students later went to Australia (Charter, Hardie, Mills, Murray, Pratt, Slatyer (William), Stevens and Watt), to Canada (Howell and Inglis), to New Zealand (Macdonald) and to the U.S.A. (Murkland and Stronach). Four students ended their careers as ministers in other churches: Caldwell (Church of England), Ham (Unitarian), Inglis (United Presbyterian Church of Scotland) and Leitch (Presbyterian Church of England). Almost half of the students attended other colleges, etc., either before or after their period with Cecil and a number obtained degrees.¹⁹

(To be concluded)

H. G. TIBBUTT

¹⁹A short account of the Turvey Congregational Academy by the present author appeared in the *Bedfordshire Magazine*, vol. 5, pp. 321-23: vol. 6. By kind permission of Ongar Congregational Church and of the *Bedfordshire Magazine* the Ongar portrait of Cecil is reproduced in this number of *Transactions*. The *Evangelical Magazine* for 1838 (p. 177) contains a note of 'Faith and Purity. Two charges addressed to Missionaries proceeding to the South Seas, To which is added a Letter relative to the Preservation of Health'. By the Rev. Richard Cecil (1838). The first discourse in this work was 'Faith, the Support of the Christian Ministry' was delivered at Brighton to the Rev. A. W. Murray, Missionary to the navigators. The second discourse was 'The Missionary exhorted to Purity of Doctrine and of Life', to the Rev. William Gill who accompanies Mr. Williams in the ship, as a missionary to the Hervey Islands. In the L.M.S. archives are various original letters of Cecil from both Turvey and Ongar and letters from Turvey from three of the students: Hay, Henderson and Russell.

NON-PAROCHIAL REGISTERS

The Research Secretary writes:

Now that non-parochial registers (pre-1840 period) have been transferred from Somerset House to the Public Record Office, it is a simple matter for churches to get microfilms made of their registers. The cost of such microfilms is reasonable and the Public Record Office (Chancery Lane, London, W.C.) will always give an estimate of the cost if this is asked for before the order is placed. I am willing to tell enquirers whether or not the Public Record Office holds the registers of particular churches.

THOMAS PHIPSON - AN INDEPENDENT SETTLER IN NATAL, 1849

‘Kaffirs are men of reason, and not creatures of ferocious instinct alone. No powerfully impelling motive can now be reasonably argued why (they) should attack the European population of Natal.’

Thomas Phipson wrote these words in January 1851 at a moment of panic, when the colonists were in daily expectation of a Zulu attack. He had recently brought his wife and small children to the colony, and had everything to lose if his faith should happen to be misplaced. He goes on :

The hint you drop about (the) ‘innate depravity’ (of the African) appears to me to betray a theological error . . . in all cases a just and equitable course of conduct, a cheerful confidence and a peaceable attitude have proved a more rational and effective means of defence than fleets and armies.

Twenty-five years later, within a year of his death, he was still arguing the cause of the African.

Among the many devices for squeezing the Kaffirs into ‘civilization’, that is, unskilled labour for the whites, the latest and most ingenious is . . . to compress them into a location too small for them And : When I see black women ill-treated I am sensible of a queer twitching at my fingers’ ends I wonder how the wives of some of our big white chiefs would look, just for once, similarly employed.

Phipson, who was Sheriff of Natal from 1852-61, made a many-sided contribution to the young colony. He was unusually well-read, with some knowledge of law, languages, education and astronomy, the author of a translation of Lamartine’s *Voyage en Orient* (describing a journey to the Holy Land), and the contributor of many outspoken and witty articles to David Dale Buchanan’s *Natal Witness* and other newspapers. His two series of *An Emigrant’s Letters Home* in 1849 and 1851 had a wide influence ; and throughout his life he attacked illiberal African policies and corruption wherever he saw it. His letter attacking the judiciary under the title *The Natalian Trimurti* was long remembered.

He was born in London in 1815, and died in Pietermaritzburg in 1876. He came of a leading Midland family, manufacturers in the reign of George III. At one point he was training for the Congregational Ministry at Cotton End, but withdrew in 1841 because of doctrinal differences with the principal. He married Mary Hester

Colborne, whose family gave the site of the present Congregational Chapel at Brentwood, Essex ; for a while ran a boarding school there ; then worked as a clerk at the London Missionary Society. Here he became interested in missionary work, but believed that this was of little value without the example of the Christian colonist. ' In vain does the Missionary study barbarous tongues ', he wrote, ' and occupy his isolated position among rude tribes, if at the same time his fellow-countrymen are allowed to retrograde from their Christian standing '. His pious hope was that his own family might provide such an example.

In the early months of 1849, with his wife and three small children and several of his wife's brothers and sisters, he travelled by sailing-ship to Natal. Within five months of his arrival, on 3 October 1849, the meeting establishing the first Congregational Church in Natal was held in his house. An advertisement in the *Witness*, signed by James Brickhill and Thomas Phipson, reads : ' As we have determined to take upon ourselves the whole pecuniary responsibility, there will be no pew-rents and no collections for the support of public worship, since we seek not yours but you '. A year or so later he and James Rock were deputed to go to Durban and help organize a church there. They walked the sixty miles across country, ' performed their duty with success, and returned '.

He was witty and sociable and a good raconteur, but he was incapable of compromise. He held that a pastor should not be paid as such, but should support himself by another occupation. He set the Natal authorities by the ears by saying that he disowned and repudiated ' not merely diocesan prelates but all clergymen of every rank and what denomination soever, yet I am acquainted with several intelligent and upright gentlemen in these offices '. (He was, in fact, a friend of the controversial Bishop Colenso.) His most violent remarks were reserved for ' Free ' churchmen who accepted any kind of government help.

He and his wife had nine children, and there have been several hundred descendants, many of them members of Nonconformist churches ; eighty-odd descendants of one of his sons had a reunion in Maritzburg recently.

His life ended in tragedy, the frustration of an intellectual idealist in a materially expanding country, but right up to the last clouded months he maintained a liberal and independent attack on the policies from the results of which we are suffering now.

Congregational Church Records

Held in Public Custody (List 3)

(Lists 1 and 2 : Vol. xix, Nos. 1 and 2, pp. 26 and 80)

Hammersmith Public Library.

Broadway Cong. Friendly Soc. : minutes, 1905-38 ; accounts, 1905-7 ; reports, etc., 1910-33.

Plymouth Public Library, Archives Dept.

Laira Ch. : plans for Sunday School, 1934.

New Tabernacle, Plymouth : minutes, 1797-1859 ; register of members, 1833-59 ; accounts, 1797-1858.

Old Tabernacle, Plymouth : baptisms, 1763-1817.

Sherwell Ch, Plymouth : minutes, 1858-1931 ; register of members, 1860-1917 ; accounts, 1859-1902.

Devon Auxiliary Missionary Soc. : minutes, 1812-35.

District Cong. Council : minutes, 1915-35.

Wales, National Library, Aberystwyth.

Aberaeron, Peniel Ch. : register of members, 1816-58.

Abergavenny, Castle St. Ch. : deeds and papers, 1744-1886.

Birmingham, Wheeler St. Ch. : minutes and accounts, 1881-95.

Borth (Cards.) : registers of members and accounts, 1869-1919.

Bow Street (Cards.) : register of members, 1906-10 ; new ch. subscription list, 1903-5.

Caernarvon, Pendref Ch. : minutes, 1899-1917.

Capel Isaac (Carms.) : register of members, 1844-73.

Capel Iwan (Carms.) : trust deed, 1724.

Carmarthen, Heol Awst (Lammas St.) Ch. : accounts, 1735-94, 1845-1910 ; minutes, 1824, 1865-74 ; baptisms, 1792-1802 ; burials, 1792-5 ; pew registers, 1835-62 ; trust deed, 1725.

Clarach (Cards.), Hephzibah Ch. : registers of members and accounts, 1845-83.

Coedgruffydd (Cards.), Salem Ch. : accounts, 1897-1935 ; pew rents, 1880-1903.

Conway, Seion Ch. : register of members and accounts, 1808-82 ;

S. S. reg., 1888-9 ; Llandudno Junc. ch. foundation, 1889.

Craig Bargoed (Glam.) : baptisms, 1831-38.

Cysegr (Flints.) : baptisms, 1832-73.

Dinas Mawddwy (Mer.), Hermon Ch. : S. S. register, 1854-64.

Dyffryn Paith (Cards.), Beulah Ch. : pew rents, 1842-66.

Esgairdawe (Carms.) : registers of members, 1827-1906.

Esgairdawe and Ffaldybrenin (Carms.) : baptisms and burials, 1859-1913.

- Glandwr (Pembs.) : baptisms and register of members, 1746-94 ; accounts, 1825-31.
- Holywell, Chapel St. Ch. : baptisms, 1788-1837.
- Lampeter, Soar Ch. : baptisms, 1872-87.
- Liverpool, Tabernacle Ch. : register of members, 1830-56.
- Llanbadarnfawr, Clarach and Dyffryn Paith : baptisms, 1815-50.
- Llanbrynmair : baptisms, 1762-1876 ; marriages, 1838-48 ; burials, 1843-48 ; covenant, 1798.
- Llandilo (Carms.), Mynyddbach Ch. : church register, 1715-94.
- Llandudno, St. Tudno St. Ch. : ch. building subscriptions, 1858.
- Llanfaircaereinion (Monts.), Ebenezer Ch. : baptisms, 1818-47 ; accounts, 1864-1914 ; Sunday School minutes, 1855-1942.
- Llangwm (Denbs.), Capel-y-Groes Ch. : accounts, 1863-75.
- Llangyfelach (Glam.), Mynydd Bach Ch. : ch. register, 1688-1784 ; new ch. subscriptions, 1761-92.
- Llanharan (Glam.), Bethlehem Ch. : baptisms, 1849-81.
- Llanuwchllyn (Mer.), Yr Hen Ch. : registers of members, 1842-47 ; subscription, 1855.
- Llwyncelyn (Cards.) : registers of members, 1855-1909.
- Main (Mont.) : baptisms, 1821-37.
- Manchester, Booth St. Ch. : mins., 1904-43 ; accts., 1929-52.
- Manchester, Chorlton Rd. Ch. : minutes, 1925-54 ; accounts, 1878-1959 ; registers of members, 1881-1958 ; Band of Hope, 1911 ; Sunday School, 1923-56 ; Young People's Soc., 1944-56.
- Mold, Bethel Ch. : baptisms, 1813-63 ; building accounts, n.d.
- Neuaddlwyd (Cards.) : register of members, 1780-1850.
- Penycae (Cards.) : register of members, 1841-72 ; baptisms, 1841-74 ; marriages, 1854-64 ; burials, 1839-69.
- Pen-y-Groes (Pembs.) : register of members, 1844-1940.
- Rhyader : register of members, 1782-93.
- Rhymney, Moriah Ch. : register of members, 1851-58.
- Shrewsbury, Tabernacle Ch. : minutes, 1858-64 ; register of members, 1878-82 ; accounts, 1845-82 ; Sunday School minutes, 1879-96 ; new ch. subscriptions, 1860-61.
- Swansea, Ebenezer Ch. : accounts, 1841-76 ; register of members, 1803-45 ; baptisms, 1804-74.
- Talybont (Cards.), Bethel Ch. : baptisms, 1805-63.
- Towyn, Bethesda Ch. : baptisms, 1809-1904 ; marriages, 1840-1902 ; accounts, 1878-1915 ; new ch., 1891-1914 ; manse accounts, 1900-15 ; Sunday School, 1901-14.
- Troedrhiwdalar (Brecks.) : register of members, 1781-1848.

(Received from C. E. Welch)

LYON TURNER'S *ORIGINAL RECORDS*

Notes and Identifications V

In the fourth list of identifications of the Nonconformist lay conventiclers of 1669 and 1672, published in *Transactions* in Vol. XV (1945), pp. 42-47, I promised a fuller analysis of Dr. W. T. Whitley's *Baptist Bibliography*. This promise is redeemed in the present fifth list of seventy additional names, for which the index to Whitley's work is the most frequent source. The number of conventiclers even of one denomination found to be authors prompts the thought that a thorough collation of their names with those in Donald's Wing's *Short-Title Catalogue . . . 1641-1700* would probably identify many more conventiclers.

The list appears this year as a minute contribution to our commemoration of the tercentenary of 1662. Taken cumulatively with the earlier lists, it provides striking evidence of the continuity of Nonconformity in the period of the Clarendon Code with the religious life for which Cromwell had been a Protector in the previous decade. 'What above all Puritanism owed to Cromwell was time to spread its roots deeply and widely so that the Clarendon Code could not eradicate them' (Godfrey Davies, *The Restoration of Charles II*, 1955, p. 363). The Act of Uniformity of 1662 and the penal legislation which followed caused immeasurable dislocation and distress; but it neither inaugurated nor even, at the deeper levels, seriously affected the ways of worship and life which these men prized, it only made them illegal. This is well illustrated by analysis of a church book such as that of Bury St. Edmunds, for extracts from which I am indebted to Mr. J. Duncan, of Bury.

While it is likely that the majority of those who took out licences in 1672 would be of the older generation, some among them were still young. Their names link the period of persecution not with the freedom of the Commonwealth and Protectorate but with the toleration to come after 1689. I have accordingly added a few identifications of conventiclers with those known as ministers or lay leaders at this later period.

The number in parentheses following each name and address is, as before, of the page in *Original Records*, Vol. II.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Brockett : Allen Brockett, *Nonconformity in Exeter 1650-1875*, 1962.
 Browne, C. C. W. : John Browne, *Congregational Church at Wrentham*, 1854.
 Gordon, F. A. E. : Alexander Gordon, *Freedom after Ejection*, 1917.
 Heywood : Oliver Heywood, *Autobiography*, ed. J. H. Turner, 4 vols., 1882-5.
 Matthews, W. R. : A. G. Matthews, *Walker Revised*, 1948.
Northowram Reg. : *Nonconformist Register*, ed. J. H. Turner, 1881.
 Whitley, B. B. : *Baptist Bibliography*, ed. W. T. Whitley, 1916.

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- ANGEARES, Wm., Glastonbury, Som. (1122); signed Confession of Faith 1656 for Baptist church, Somerton (*Confessions of Faith*, ed. E. B. Underhill, 1854, p. 73).
- BAKER, Samuel, Wattisfield, Suffolk (903, 915); local squire (see my art. on him in *Transactions*, xvii, pp. 117-122).
- BALSTER, John, Uffculme, Devon (1151); 1640-1714 : min. at Okehampton (Gordon, *F.a.E.*, p. 205).
- BARROW, Richard, Guston, Kent (1003); author in controversy with Praisegod Barbon over baptism in 1640's : m. widow of regicide Thos. Harrison (Whitley, *B. B.*).
- BATT, Robert, Chard, Som. (1115); deacon of Axminster Congreg. ch. (*Axminster Ecclesiastica*, p. 34 *et alibi*).
- BOTHAMLEY, Nath., Cawthorne, Yorks. (655); mentioned by Heywood, i. 232; ii. 130.
- BOWRING, John, Chulmleigh, Devon (1173); wool merchant, ancestor of Sir John Bowring (*D.N.B.*).
- BOYLAND, John, Exeter (1159); bailiff of Exeter 1677 (Brockett, p. 45 *et alibi*).
- BREWSTER, Fran., Wrentham, Suffolk (i. 269); foundation member of Wrentham Congreg. ch., 1650 (Browne, *C.C.W.*, p. 11).
- BRIGHT, (W.), Goudhurst, Kent (995); 'a broken Shop Keeper, then a Dissenting Preacher in London' (Walker : cf. Matthews, *W.R.*, p. 215).
- BROMLEY, (Thomas), Bradfield, Berks. (949); chief follower of John Pordage, q.v. (G. F. Nuttall, *James Nayler* (1954), pp. 3ff).
- BUSWELL, Roger, Husband's Bosworth, Northants. (768); ancestor of prominent Clipston Nonconformist family.
- BUTTERWORTH, John, Halifax, Yorks. (652); mentioned by Heywood, i. 268.
- BUXTON, John, Wirksworth, Derbys. (702); Henry Buxton elder of Wirksworth Classis in 1650's (*Transactions*, xvi. 39).
- CLERKE, William, Winfrith Newburgh, Dorset (1132); 1649-1722 : min. at Wareham, 1670-1722 (Gordon, *F.a.E.*, p. 238).
- COLLIER, John, Cheddar, Som. (1122); edited Som. Baptist *Short Confession*, 1691 (Whitley, *B.B.*).
- CONSTABLE, John, Beeston, Notts. (719); elder in Nottingham classis, 1660 (Chetham Soc., xli, app. I).
- COOK, Mary, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk (917); member of Bury Congreg. ch., transferred from Norwich 1649 : d. 1675 (Bury ch. book, *per* Mr. J. Duncan).

- CRISPE, Wm., Wrentham, Suffolk (i. 269); foundation member of Wrentham Congreg. ch., 1650 (Browne, *C.C.W.*, p. 11).
- CRISPIN, Thos., Exeter (1159); foundation member of Exeter Presbyterian Committee of Thirteen, 1687 (Brockett, pp. 22, 57 *et alibi*).
- CUDMORE, Daniel, Loxbear, Devon (1152); Rector of Stockleigh Pomeroy, 1659-60 (cf. Matthews, *W.R.*, p. 109).
- DAVIS, Wm., Trumpington, Cambs. (872); signed Baptist manifesto against Matthew Caffyn, 1679 (Whitley, *B.B.*).
- DEEKES (DYKES), Edward, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk (922); disowned by Bury Congreg. ch. 1656 on turning Quaker (Bury ch. book, *per* Mr. J. Duncan).
- DICON, James, Wakefield, Yorks. (654); visited by Heywood 1678 (Heywood, ii. 59).
- ELLISON, Samuel, Bramley, Yorks. (651); Heywood preached at his house 1667 (Heywood, i. 236; iv. 264).
- FACY, Wm., Tiverton, Devon (1184); signed Baptist circular letter, 1656 (*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xi. 215).
- FAWNE, Roger, Lincoln (731); signed Lincs. Baptists' Address to Charles II, 1660 (Whitley, *B.B.*).
- FOX, Wm., Devizes, Wilts. (1072); in controversy with Quaker Richard Abell, 1659 (Whitley, *B.B.*).
- FREEMAN, John, Ramsbury, Wilts. (1059); nominated elder in Wilts. classis, 1648 (Bodleian Library Pamphlet C.106 (33)).
- FREEME, Thomas, Devizes, Wilts. (1069); nominated elder in Wilts. classis, 1648 (Bodleian Library Pamphlet C.106 (33)).
- GARGRAVE, Michael, Bradford, Yorks. (649); bur. 11 Nov. 1700, 'a pious man, aged 75' (*Northwram Reg.*, p. 103).
- GIBBS, John, Rede, Suffolk (905); member of Bury St. Edmunds Congreg. church, 1659 (Bury ch. book, *per* Mr. J. Duncan).
- GILHAM, Walter, Smarden, Kent (1005); of family which sold ground for present strict Baptist ch., Smarden (R. F. Chambers, *Strict Baptist Chapels of England*, iii, 6).
- HAMOND, George, Cranbrook, Kent (1006); should be in light type, not ej. min. of this name; for correct identification, see Whitley, *B.B.*).
- HANCOX, Giles, Stratton, near Cirencester, Glos. (799; *not* Stretton-on-the-Fosse, Warws.); signed letter *pr.* in T(homas) T(hache), *The Gainsayer Convinced* (1649).
- HART, Wm., Collingham, Notts. (723); signed Lincs. Baptists' Address to Charles II, 1661 (Whitley, *B.B.*).
- HOLLEDGE, John, Kimbolton, Hunts. (848); lay witness of this name against Richard Davis at Kettering, 1692 (N. Glass, *Early Hist. of the Independent Church of Rothwell* (1871), p. 52).
- HOLMES, Jonas, Topsham, Devon (1178); intruded Rector of Stockleigh Pomeroy and Curate of Cruwys Morchard, according to Walker (Matthews, *W.R.*, pp. 109, 112).
- HOWE, Wm., Oving, Bucks. (839); signed Baptist manifesto against Matthew Caffyn, 1679 (Whitley, *B.B.*).
- HUNT, Clement, Dinton, Bucks. (840); signed Baptist manifesto against Matthew Caffyn, 1679 (Whitley, *B.B.*).

- KINGFORD, Thomas, Canterbury, Kent (1001); deacon of Canterbury Congreg. ch., 1689 (*Transactions*, vii, 188).
- KNIGHT, Robert, Headcorn, Kent (1005); min. of Staplehurst Baptist ch., 1697 (R. F. Chambers, *Strict Baptist Chapels of England*, iii, 6).
- LEDGARD, Thomas, Calverley, Yorks. (649); mentioned by Heywood, i. 268, 273.
- LEE, Zachary, Canterbury, Kent (1000); foundation member of Canterbury Congreg. ch., 1645 (*Transactions*, vii, 184).
- LEGATE, Thomas, Wrentham, Suffolk (i.269); foundation member of Wrentham Congreg. ch., 1650 (Browne, *C.C.W.*, p. 11).
- LLOYD, Mary, Cynfal, Merioneth (1202); mother of Morgan Llwyd (*D.N.B.*).
- LUPTON, Thomas, Nottingham (717); 'my first Acquaintance, a holy Christian' (Gervase Disney, *Some Remarkable Passages* (1692), p. 57).
- MORSE, Francis, Wrentham, Suffolk (i.269); foundation member of Wrentham Congreg. ch., 1650 (Browne, *C.C.W.*, p. 11).
- MORTON, Charles, St. Ives, Cornwall (1193); should be in heavy type, as ejected minister (*D.N.B.*: Matthews, *Calamy Revised*).
- OATES, John, Cirencester, Glos. (825); signed letter pr. in T(homas) T(hache), *The Gainsayer Convinced* (1649).
- OLD, Michael, Sheriffhales, Salop (737); at Shrewsbury with Richard Baxter, 1635-6 (Baxter, *Catholic Communion Defended* (1684), p. 28).
- PAINE, John, Hawkhurst, Kent (1007); soldier, author of *Truth will never shame its master*, 1654 (Whitley, *B.B.*).
- PEARSE, Nowell, Exeter (1159); fined for refusing election as Steward of Exeter, 1678 (Brockett, p. 44 *et alibi*).
- PETTIT, Eliz., Cambridge (867); perhaps widow of S. Pettit, Rector of Girton, Cambs., 1656 (cf. Matthews, *W.R.*, p. 83).
- PORDAGE, John, Bradfield & Reading, Berks. (949); astrologer and mystic (*D.N.B.*; Matthews, *Calamy Revised* and *W.R.*, pp. 67, 71).
- PRICK, Robert, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk (922); Quaker by 1658, when a child of his bur. at St. Mary's (par. reg., *per* Mr. J. Duncan).
- PYM, John, Exeter (1159); Treasurer of Exeter Presbyterian Committee of Thirteen, 1714 (Brockett, pp. 57, 69).
- REYNOLDS, John, Horne, Surrey (1017); signed Baptist manifesto against Matthew Caffyn, 1679 (Whitley, *B.B.*).
- ROBERTS, Daniel, Reading, Berks. (951); signed Reading Baptist ch.'s letter to a member turned Quaker 1674 (Whitley, *B.B.*).
- SCANDRETT, Stephen, Thaxted, Essex (923, Scanbridge misinterpreted as house-name); lecturer ej. from Haverhill, Essex (Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, q.v. for identification).
- SCOT, (John.) St. Albans, Herts. (882); present at Baptist General Assembly, London, 1689 (Whitley, *B.B.*).
- SNELL, (Anthony.) Stickford, Lincs. (728); signed *Faith & Practice of Thirty Congregations*, 1651 (Whitley, *B.B.*).
- SPINAGE, Anthony, Cheshunt, Herts. (883); assoc. with Col. John Rede of Porton Baptist ch., Wilts. (Whitley, *B.B.*).
- STACKHOUSE, (John.) Greenwich, Kent (1002); 1649-1707, min. of Old Meeting, Norwich 1691-1707 (Gordon, *F.a.E.*, p. 358).

- SYER(S), John, Buxhall, Suffolk (918); d. 1689, aged 79, 'a Believer & Disciple of Ct many years' (Bury Congreg. ch. book, *per* Mr. J. Duncan).
- WALKER, Joshua, Bingley, Yorks. (649); of Marley Hall or Rushworth Hall (Heywood, i.248, 286, 294-7).
- WARREN, Edward, Colchester, Essex (928); the name should be Edmund (see Matthews, *Calamy Revised*).
- WATSON, Tobias, Knipton & Waltham-in-the-Wolds, Leics. (768 f.); author of paper replied to by Immanuel Bourne (*D.N.B.*), *Defence and Justification of Ministers Maintenance by Tythes* (1659).
- WORDEN, Thomas, Chipping Campden, Glos. (820); should be in light type (for full particulars, see Gordon, *F.a.E.*, p. 389).
- WRIGHT, George, Colton, Staffs. (752); signed Baptist *Brief Confession*, 1660 (Whitley, *B.B.*).

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL

REVIEWS

Congregationalism in England 1662-1962 by R. Tudur Jones
(Independent Press Ltd., 1962, 63s.)

The price of this volume is high, but so is its value. We are glad to know that subvention will bring it within the range of some ministerial pockets, and we hope no student will be without it. In bulk and scope as well as in scholarship it is a *magnum opus* on which Dr. Jones is to be congratulated and for which future as well as current Congregationalists will undoubtedly give thanks. Yet despite its size and detail it was perhaps over-ambitious to attempt coverage of three hundred years in one authoritative volume.

Students probably turn first to an Index and here we have a full one running to 26 pp., to which generous and expanded footnotes add many sources and dates (although the notes are not as fully indexed as p. 479 implies). Dr. Jones has been at pains to identify and date a large number of the inevitable names so often left tantalisingly imprecise for later readers in works of this order.

The author's mastery of facts, movements and personalities is comprehensive, but he has woven his encyclopædic knowledge into a most readable narrative with insight and perspective. The recapitulation of our pre-history and early centuries is judicious without the dullness that often goes with a tale many times told, and we are given an appraisal in which the reader can see both the wood and the trees.

Special interest will inevitably be focused on the record of more recent times. There is a discerning study of the 18th century, too often dismissed by writers as barren and uninteresting, and indicating that it was not as sterile as is sometimes implied. The 19th century survey is more than a recapitulation of R. W. Dale, his predecessors and successors. But from Dale to the present time obviously presented the most formidable part of the work, bearing in mind the vast expansion of denominational activity and organisation and the innumerable tentacles stretching out from the developing central body to link our churches with the religious, social, political, ethical, theological and ecclesiastical movements of the latest half-century. In selection, compression and inclusiveness we judge Dr. Jones to have succeeded so far as 'official' history is concerned. In his quarrying of the rich seams buried in

Year Books, reports, ephemeral publications and specialised contemporary literature, there seem to be few developments, controversies, advances or retreats that have escaped his analysis.

The march of events is clearly mapped and the route, with some diversions, is enlivened by many quips, quotes and epigrams. 'Metropolitan' Congregationalism inevitably preponderates, although many Provincial movements are noted, usually when policies or protagonists reached national levels. The history of the dispersed work and witness of our churches doubtless belongs more positively to the County Unions than to the over-all pattern, but it would be a pity if it were felt to be no more than sporadic and incidental. There is no specific reference to the influential growth of the County Unions after 1832, we think (pp. 174, 243), or to the much controverted problems of Trusts and Trusteeships, or to the Incorporation of the Union and Unions, significant of this period. Some other matters, seemingly overlooked, are found as one reads, or under comprehensive index headings such as *Congregational Union* or *Ecumenical Movement*. One whose training and early ministries were in Lancashire will perhaps not be alone in feeling that less than justice is done to 'T.T.' James by two fugitive references (pp. 394, 431), although A. J. Viner has his meed of praise, and mention is made of earlier Mancunian and Liverpoolian notabilities. Gerard N. Ford and Ephraim Hindle too, enriched the denomination as well as the North West, and from the other side of the Pennines and from the Midlands one misses a number of influential names additional to those cited. But in a generous meal it is captious to complain that there is no room on the board for tit-bits to personal taste.

More seriously we wonder if the canvas is quite broad enough or its 20th century share proportionate. We stand too close to the last thirty years for projects and influences to be evaluated, but unless our life and work are as insular and introspective as critics often imply, we find it difficult to survey 20th century Congregationalism in a context which (apparently) has never heard of the impact on our cultural pattern and on our churches of Broadcasting. Radio, Wireless, Television are seemingly unknown words. So are National Insurance (Health Services, Hospitals and their chaplaincies, Pensions, National Assistance), Hire Purchase, Housing, Movement in Industry and Commuters, Communications and Transport and the developed week-end and car-outing habits and their impact on Sabbatarianism (not mentioned after 1890). Trade Unionism and Industrial Disputes have moved far more intimately

into Church life than the references at pp. 342 and 346 suggest. Materialism, scientific or crude, Communism, National Service, Old Age and its care, Mental Treatment (not adequately dealt with by a reference to Spiritual Healing, p. 461), Town and Country Planning and their effects upon old and new churches, Slum Clearance, the inflated cost of church building and maintenance—these and kindred concerns surely belong to 'our' history in this century and not merely to social studies? The problem of Divorce is dismissed in three lines about opinion regarding re-marriage (pp. 424 f.), and that of the changing pattern of family life is not faced by a reference to 'Family Church', p. 406. The place of Social Service and Marriage Guidance Councils and the churches' inadequate co-operation and supplementation of their work: the War Damage Compensation provisions, significant in forcing our churches to act denominationally: the Charity Commissioners and their dead hand, with recent freedom from them in some matters—these have escaped. What is drawn for us is an official, scholarly, theological, ecclesiastical, quasi-political world of Congregationalism, but hardly the world of our churches and their ordinary members. We doubt if the history of that complementary hemisphere can yet—or ever—be written, but it must not be overlooked as existing. Here it is that our churches, their ministers and members, mainly live and witness, not in assemblies and on committees.

All this is far from underestimating the worth of Dr. Jones's work. A first savouring can do little more than reveal a vintage bouquet, and two re-readings make analytical comment other than the foregoing unwise without more detailed testing. While the book is not burdened with statistics it gives essential ones, and there are extremely useful nominal lists of those involved in various movements. Many more names appear in *D.N.B.*, than are referred to it, especially post-1900, which is a loss even when full-length biographies (often not immediately accessible) are quoted.

The typography is excellent: clear body-type is enhanced by footnotes in an easily legible fount, with pleasing margins. Independent Press deserves commendation on the format and general production. We hope the spines will stand up to the weight of the volume under hard wear, for this is a book to be referred to constantly, and its bulk in a good but soft antique-wove paper will test the sewing of the sections.

The consideration of *Historians and Historical Study* (pp. 310, 368, 372ff., 457f., etc.) will specially interest our members, and the

reference to our Society's formation (pp. 372f.), though its later work is inferential.

Sir Thomas Abney, 'fish-merchant' (p. 120) is perhaps better recalled as one of the original promoters and directors of the Bank of England (*D.N.B.*). We wonder if T. T. Lynch was really responsible for the banishment of the *lute* (14th-17th century, *O.E.D.*) from our worship and not more accurately of the fiddle, viola and bass-viol. F. H. Blanchford (p. 358) despite 'his church would have none of it', was out of charge 1915-17 (*C.Y.B.* (1921), 103). The apocryphal stories of A. E. Garvie's love of committees (p. 365n) might be matched by the (equally apocryphal?) one concerning his advice to a student to discipline a national accent, adding 'By the grace of God and perseverance, I mastered mine!'—at best a slight under-statement. On our claim to John Milton (p. 465) we think some deference has to be given to Dr. W. T. Whitley's 'Was Milton a Congregationalist?' (*C.H.S.T.*, x. 46) and of course to Masson, though we should like to retain a cord or two. It pleased a former student to find casual mention of Dr. Robert Mackintosh (1858-1933)—*C.Y.B.* (1934). 269—in a footnote, p. 431. His scholarly saintliness was deeply influential.

We miss from the select Bibliography, pp. 469-470, mention of the Essex historians, Robert Burls and Thomas William Davids (*D.N.B.*). Has it been noticed, by the way, that despite its Congregational strength and vitality over the centuries, Essex has never provided one of the Chairmen of the Union? Perhaps the lustre of Dr. John Owen suffices.

Readers may like to make a few marginal notes:

Stuceley, pp. 48, 501, becomes Stuceley on 67(2): 73, 503, for *Wether Kellet* sc. *Nether*: 73, the *C.R.* ref. to Benson is 49: 136n, Loman = Lowman, 139 and *D.N.B.*: 214, Culling Eardley (*Eardly*), for whom *D.N.B.*, s.n.: 220, 254 = Robert Halley (1827-85), but indexed 489 s.v. father: 232f, 236, Henry Forster (*Foster*) Burder, and *D.N.B.*, s.n.: 219, 251, 308, 494, etc., the alternations of M'all and McAll seem unnecessary (cf. *D.N.B.*, s.n.): 230, lines 1 and 3 transposed: 309n, Dr. Daniel Fraser died 1902, aet. 82, not 1920, aet. 80—*C.Y.B.* (1903), 175 and Lucy A. Fraser, *Memorials*, 1905: 351, Charles Henry Vine (1865-1930) was of Ilford, not *Enfield*: 357, 503, Witham Essex (*Whitham*): 432n, Herbert William (A. W.) Lyde (d. 1957): 452, Fredk. Wm. Camfield (*W.F.*), as 482: 467, Congregational Historical Society's *Trans.*: 469, Cleal, E(dward) E(dney) for *E.A.*: 470, Elliot (*Elliott*), Ernest—his Preface is dated 1898: 471, Hanbury, *Memorials relating to* (of) . . . and so 310: 475, Rees & Thomas, *Hanes*, i-iv, Liverpool 1871-75, and J. Thomas (alone), v. Dolgellau, 1891.

499, to SCHOOLS, add Lewisham, Mill Hill, Silcoates, s.vv.; there is no apparent reference to Caterham (= Lewisham), Bishop's Stortford, Tettenthal, Eltham or Walthamstow Hall, significant in this connexion.

CHARLES E. SURMAN

JOHN BUNYAN: *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*, edited by Roger Sharrock (Oxford English Texts, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962, 35s.)

It is not easy to imagine what Bunyan would have thought, had he been able in his dreams to foresee that, three centuries after his years of imprisonment for Nonconformity, his book *Grace Abounding* would be edited by a convert to Roman Catholicism and issued from Oxford, in a series of Oxford English Texts.

Whatever he would have thought, *we* may rejoice, and be grateful both to the publishers and to Roger Sharrock, who now follows his splendid edition of *The Pilgrim's Progress* with an equally fine edition of Bunyan's spiritual autobiography, in which the wording of the first edition has been restored. In his introduction, he writes with understanding of 'The Bedford Separatist Church' and of 'Spiritual Autobiography'; and in his helpful notes he shows an enviable familiarity with both seventeenth-century sources and recent criticism, including articles in these *Transactions* by the editor and others. He also reprints Bunyan's *Relation* (1765) of his imprisonment, some extracts from the Church Book of Bunyan Meeting, Bedford, which relate to Bunyan, and the account (1692) attributed to George Cokayne in which Bunyan is described as 'somewhat of a Ruddy Face, with Sparkling Eyes, wearing his Hair on his upper lip after the Old British fashion'. The Quakers have a custom in their Yearly Meeting of reading 'testimonies to the grace of God in the life of' Friends recently deceased. In *Grace Abounding*, this is what Bunyan set out to do autobiographically, and by spiritual, as by any other, standards it is a remarkable achievement.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL

A Lifting Up for the Downcast by William Bridge (Banner of Truth Trust, 1961, paperback 5s.)

We are assured that our great-grandfathers in the ministry had the shelves of their studies lined with Puritan tomes. They were inclined to be critical of them, but they had them none the less. But today it is far from easy for the minister who is interested to get hold of Puritan works. Therefore this cheap edition of an illustrious Independent's preaching is particularly welcome. Here are thirteen sermons on *Ps.* xlii. 11, 'Why art thou cast down, O my soul? . . .' given in Stepney in 1648. These are not the scholastic kind of seventeenth-century preaching but homely, winsome discourses for those discouraged in their pilgrimage. Their style seems quaint to us yet has a fascination of its own. For example, opening one sermon, he says,

Oh, says one, I am a poor, feeble, and weak creature : some are strong in the Lord and in the power of His might, and do a great deal of service for God in their day : but as for me, I am a poor babe in Christ, if indeed a babe, and so am able to do little or nothing for God. Therefore I am thus discouraged and cast down.

Or, imagine a modern preacher uttering the following,

And if you look into your own experience, who has more kisses and embraces of love from God our Father, than the weak Christian has? The parent kisses the babe and little child, when the elder child is not kissed; for, says he, this is but a little child. And so, when the prodigal comes home, then the father falls upon his neck and kisses him: why? but because upon his first return, he is a babe in Christ. This is my little child, says the father, and therefore I will kiss him with the kisses of my mouth.

But there is nourishment for souls in these sermons. In the fifth sermon, from which the above quotations come, we find an exposition of true grace in contrast to 'common grace'. 'True grace loves examination. It loves to examine, and to be examined'; 'It is very inquisitive after the ways of God, and after further truths. As the man that climbs up into a tree first gets hold on the lower boughs, then on the higher, and so winds himself into the body of the tree till he comes to the top, so does the Christian act.' 'True grace is much engaged in the work of humiliation;' '. . . it works according to the proportion of its weakness; but the common, false grace does not so.' 'True grace is willing to learn of others.'

This is the kind of help which comes to us from 300 years ago. It challenges the shallowness of our own soul culture. Can the same truths be presented with fascination in modern idiom?

JOHN H. TAYLOR

Robert Moffat: Pioneer in Africa by Cecil Northcott (Lutterworth Press, 1961, 35s.)

It was Dr. Northcott who inspired a great service of Commemoration in Ormiston village on 13 October 1945 to celebrate the 150th anniversary of Robert Moffat's birth there. The same love of greatness surely inspired Dr. Northcott to write this fascinating biography. Moffat became an L.M.S. missionary at 21 years of age. With no formal education he mastered the Sechuana language. His gentle nature hid vast courage that conquered the savage outlaw Africaner and taught him Christian ways. His search for a good mission location nearly cost him his life. But the tough Scot pushed on to the Kuruman river. His offer of God's pardon to the dreaded despot Moselekatse of the Matabele is a classic Christian story. It was Moffat who turned Livingstone's eyes to Africa and kindled his passion for her redemption.

For over fifty years Moffat served at Kuruman in Bechuanaland as preacher, translator, farmer, builder and engineer. From 1817

onwards in South Africa he waged war against that Apartheid which then, as now, would shackle the African and debase the Gospel and contradict the Church's mission. His work lives on at Kuruman and elsewhere.

Dr Northcott has given us the first authoritative and comprehensive biography of Moffat. It will delight all who respond to a vision of greatness, it is also a scholarly work, being his thesis for a London Ph.D. Dr. Northcott is a well-known minister, journalist, broadcaster and traveller, and to write this important book he travelled over the Moffat routes in South Africa, Bechuanaland and Southern Rhodesia.

JAMES M. CALDER

The Liturgy in English edited by Bernard Wigan (Oxford University Press, 1962, 42s.)

Part I of this assembly of liturgical texts replaces Arnold's *Anglican Liturgies*, published in 1939, by compiling a greater number of earlier and later Anglican liturgies.

Part II displays liturgical compositions from other communions. Its inclusion of the Lord's Supper from the Directory of 1645, of the liturgies of the Book of Common Order and of the Church of South India, and of one from the Congregationalist Book of Public Worship (1948) illustrates the author's belief that the initiative in liturgical composition does not lie exclusively with the Anglicans, and that 'All Protestant eucharistic liturgies in English' is a better study than 'Anglican Liturgies' alone.

DAVID DEWS

Rooted in Faith, three centuries of Nonconformity 1662-1962 by H. G. Healey (Independent Press, 1961, 9s. 6d.)

Published for the Joint Commemoration Committee of the three major denominations stemming from seventeenth-century dissent and written with the knowledge that an important symposium of joint Anglican and Free Church authorship was also being prepared, this present book was designed to be more suitable for general reading and a more specifically Free Church contribution to 'the main theme of the commemoration'.

Until this present year many members of our churches have had little occasion to consider the importance or significance of the Great Ejection of 1662. The value of Mr. Healey's book is that he has taken great care, after a brief introductory chapter on the Reformation and some of its consequences in England, to show why the Act of Uniformity of 1662 became a point of no return for the Puritan element in the Church, and why the consequent Ejection was such a critical event. P. T. Forsyth's phrase,

'the creation of Nonconformity by the Act of Uniformity' is quoted with good effect to show how, to begin with, our Nonconformist tradition could be defined in terms of opposition to this one act. But it is made clear that this opposition was not something merely negative and restrictive; it involved high and important questions of authority in matters of doctrine: the relations of Church and State: the 'serious and sustained appeal to Scripture' weighed against tradition: and questions of ordination and liturgy. Mr. Healey states these issues clearly and helpfully. He also encourages further thought by giving the text of two important documents not otherwise easily available to the non-specialist; these are the text of the Act of Uniformity and the modern statement of faith of the Evangelical Free Churches which is the doctrinal basis of the Free Church Federal Council. But perhaps his most interesting point is that the Tercentenary can and will be celebrated by most Free Churchmen in a spirit very different from similar celebrations of the Ejection a hundred or even fifty years ago. This is partly due to social changes which have made meaningless some of the old jealous divisions of church and chapel, and it is partly due to a new appreciation of the real contribution of differing traditions. But it is even more important for us to realise through such a study as this present book that, even when the same phrases are used, Nonconformist convictions today are not in all respects the same as those which underlay the stand taken by the ejected ministers. Modern views of relations between Church and State are in fact quite different, and indeed (a lay reviewer may add) some other views held by the ejected ministers are now incomprehensible to a modern layman. We do not have to identify ourselves with all the views held by them when we honour the stand they took for those major convictions which have been consistently held for three hundred years and ought to be firmly held today with a fresh appraisal and perhaps a different emphasis.

This book will be an invaluable help to such a fresh appraisal and the first important question is prompted by its very title, for in making any true estimate of our heritage we must presumably begin by admitting that being 'rooted in faith' is not a state in any way peculiar to Nonconformity.

I. G. PHILIP

ALSO RECEIVED: Bulletin of the Congregational Library (The American Congregational Association) May, 1962.

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