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TRANSACTIONS

CONGREGATIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOL. XIX. No. 6. MAY 1964

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TRANSACTIONS

THE CONGREGATIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

EDITOR JOHN H. TAYLOR, B.D.

VOL. XIX. NO. 6. MAY 1964

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Editorial

The Covenant Idea Yesterday and Today

We live at a time when the covenant idea has been resurrected. At the turn of the century it was almost forgotten. A glance at one or another of the popular manuals on Congregationalism will prove it. Apart from speaking of the covenant idea in the sacraments, Dale does not use it in his *Manual of Congregational Principles*; and William Pierce and C. Silvester Horne are equally shy of it in their *Primer of Church Fellowship* and instead employ the 'The Mutual Pledge' to describe the relationship and responsibility of church members in the church. All this is now changed.

Therefore it is with much gratitude that we find in *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (Vol. XIV, No. 1) a substantial article on 'The Beginnings of Puritan Covenant Theology'. It is the more remarkable as it comes from a young Dane, Jens G. Møller, whose facility in English and familiarity with Puritanism as well as continental movements earn him warm congratulation.

Jens Møller traces the threads of covenant theology through the sixteenth century, from Zwingli and Bullinger, through Tyndale, and from Calvin to the Genevan Bible, and on to William Perkins, ending with an ordinary Puritan, Richard Rogers. He shows how

‘ the idea of covenant from Tyndale onwards grows in importance till it becomes the foundation of Richard Rogers’ Christian life ’.

He sets out to correct an interpretation of the covenant idea which has been common in recent times and which has been too sociological ; and here he takes the distinguished historian Perry Miller to task. The latter’s fault it seems has been to see the covenant idea too much in the seventeenth century scene, failing to realise its place in the previous century. Møller shows that it goes far back beyond Perkins and always was of the main stream of Calvinism. This is not to say, of course, that the idea did not have its political significance in Puritanism ; indeed, when Puritanism was in decline, the concept continued, culminating in the doctrine of ‘ the social contract ’.

The article points out a pattern. The Zurich tradition, which Tyndale followed in the main, is concerned more with the manward side of covenanting than the Godward, with man’s responsibilities, and in the end this leads to the Puritan’s life filled with general and particular covenants. Rogers writes, ‘ Another covenant I made if I might be free from the Bish(op) as I have these 4 years ’. (p. 66) Such particular covenants were very like medieval vows, as Knappen has observed, and so Møller concludes that ‘ in working on Tyndale’s lines the Puritans, through the irony of history, came nearer to medieval Catholicism than they knew themselves ’. (p. 67) The Genevan tradition, on the other hand, lays the stress upon God’s side of covenanting, upon His initiative, His grace. It is this tradition which has inspired modern reformed theology of the sacraments and church.

Is it an error to let one’s thinking about God be dominated by a single and earthly concept ? Was it not a mistake to let the word covenant determine the nature of God’s saving work instead of the saving work dictating the nature of the covenant ? Calvinists knew the covenant of God was one of grace but many did not understand that this covenant was unlike as well as like human, legal agreements. In a day when different church traditions seek to grow together it is very important that metaphors are taken for what they are, no more and no less, be they of one kind or another, embodied in covenant or sacramental theologies.

No. 2 of the same volume of *J.E.H.*, contains a masterly survey of dissenting churches in Kent before 1700 by Dr. Geoffrey F. Nuttall. Evidence comes to light of the vigour of the General Baptists ; and it is interesting to be reminded that churches sprang up primarily because people wanted nonconformist worship.

The Samuel Say Papers—Another 1688 Broadsheet

The Rev. Roger Thomas, the Librarian of Dr. Williams's Library, tells us with much pleasure of the arrival there of the Samuel Say papers. Mr. Bernard Cozens-Hardy contributed a number of letters from the collection to *Transactions* some time ago, and said at the time that he was hoping to deposit the papers at Dr. Williams's Library, a decision which we all appreciate.

Mr. Thomas was fascinated to find an otherwise unknown broadsheet amongst the papers which relates to the petition which the seven bishops presented to James II on 18 May, 1688. The king had ordered that his Declaration for Liberty of Conscience should be read in all the churches of London on the last two Sundays in May and in the rest of the country on the first two Sundays in June. Mr. Thomas has drawn up a full and interesting account of the events which took place that May in *J.E.H.* (Vol. XII, No. 1).

The same night that the king heard the bishops, says Mr. Thomas, Roger Morrice reported that copies of the petition were 'bawled and roared through the streets by the hawkers that people rose out of their beds to buy it'. This scoop turned out to be not the actual petition but an earlier draft passed round amongst the clergy. On pp. 64-5 Mr. Thomas sets out the two documents side by side.

The broadsheet subsequently found amongst the Say papers treats the reader to 'A Paraphrase on the Clergies Address'. Apart from a small grammatical change the text of the Address is the same as the early draft, 'The Comprehensive Sense', passed amongst the clergy; but the Paraphrase bites sharply. It begins: 'We, who without any Bowels of tenderness, have hitherto exercised many inhuman Cruelties upon Dissenters, observing the favorable regard that the Government has now toward them' and continues, 'we suppose the King's Declaration . . . to be founded upon that Arbitrary Power which we have vigorously endeavoured to advance above all Law, when it could be strained to the Oppression of Dissenters, and to the Establishment of our Greatness . . . We are desirous . . . that those Laws for Persecution, by which our Ecclesiastical Empire has been maintained should retain their Force' And the mystery: who inspired this sally?

THE CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY FOR SPREADING THE GOSPEL IN ENGLAND: 1797 - 1809

The effects of the Evangelical Revival were varied and widespread. All the churches, and the Congregationalists not least, were enriched and strengthened by it. Within half a century from 1760 a revolution had happened. Profound changes took place in the life and worship of the churches and in the preaching and attitudes of the ministers. In particular a new evangelical concern gave birth to a progeny of organisations large and small to extend the mission of the churches both overseas and at home.

The challenge of the unevangelised at home was realised with agonised intensity. 'It is very painful to reflect on the deplorable ignorance, infidelity, atheism, impiety, and wickedness which still prevail in many parts of our dear native country, and in most of its villages. Whose eyes must not weep? Whose heart does not bleed over the miseries of our fellow Immortals, whilst we feel a most ardent desire of rescuing them from the error of their ways, and saving their souls from death?'¹

Sunday Schools were organised so that the children not only of members but those outside the churches might learn to read the Scriptures. The popular productions of the newly-formed Religious Tract Society were widely used. Particular enthusiasm was shown, however, for the promotion of village preaching. Ministers took upon themselves the responsibility of preaching the Gospel in villages adjacent to their own places of worship. Societies were formed to encourage and support this work.

As a century earlier the Congregational Fund Board has been born of the particular concern of London ministers for a similar purpose, so in the year 1797 a Society was formed in London with the title of the *Congregational Society for Spreading the Gospel in England*. 'In a cheerful dependence upon the divine blessing, a Society has been formed, with a view to introduce the Gospel into those villages near London, and other parts of the Kingdom, where it is feared that the people are sitting in the shadow of death.'

An appeal was made to 'Friends of the Gospel in general and to Congregational churches in particular' asking for 'not only the prayers, but also the pecuniary aid of all, who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity'. A Committee was formed with the Rev.

¹*Appeal*, C.S.S.G.E.

Joseph Brooksbank of Newington-Green as Secretary, Mr. Ebenezer Maitland as Treasurer, six lay members and six ministers. The ministers were Dr. Daniel Fisher, Dr. John Stafford, Joseph Barber, John Clayton, John Humphreys and William Wall².

The Minute Book of this Society has been found and placed in the Congregational Library. It records meetings of the Committee which were held in Dr. Stafford's vestry, until his death in February 1800, and then in the vestry at Broad Street. The first meeting was held on 23 May, 1797. It records the receipt of subscriptions received to a total of £37 16s. Od., and efforts made to publicise the Society. It also records a decision to send a circular letter 'to Ministers in the Country, exciting them to itinerate in their neighbourhoods and informing them of the purpose of this Society to defray any expenses which such labours may occasion'.

At the second meeting in June 1797, a letter was read from a Mr. W. Marshall of Tottenham, the only surviving trustee of a freehold meeting house in Barnet which 'had not been made use of for some years. If it should be thought an object for this Society I would immediately make an assignment to a new Trust and a present of £10. 0. Od towards repairing the same. I have had several Methodists applied for it which I did not approve'. This offer was accepted, despite the fact that the building was found to be 'in a very ruined state'. Repairs were effected by means of a private subscription and the meeting house was solemnly opened on 4 October. Mr. Clayton preached in the morning, Dr. Stafford in the afternoon. The minister members of the committee formed a rota of preachers for the following Sundays.

By the end of the year approval had been given to the efforts of more than a dozen ministers to take the Gospel into villages adjacent to their churches. Three-monthly statements of expenses

²*Joseph Brooksbank*, minister of Haberdashers' Hall, Staining Lane, Wood Street, London 1785-1825. Died, 1825.

Daniel Fisher (DD, New Jersey, 1772), tutor at Homerton Academy from 1771 to 1803. Died, 1807.

John Stafford (DD ?), co-pastor and pastor of New Broad Street, London from 1758 till his death in 1800.

Joseph Barber, minister of Little St. Helens, London from 1760. In 1797 his congregation united with Aldermanbury Postern in a dual pastorate with Thomas Towle. Died, 1810.

John Clayton, minister of King's Weigh House, London 1778 to 1826. Died, 1843.

John Humphrys (later LLD, King's Aberdeen), minister of Deadman's Place, Southwark (later in Union Street) from 1784 to 1819, when he became headmaster of Mill Hill School for six years. Died, 1837.

William Wall, minister of Pavement Chapel, Moorfields (later New North Road) from 1794 to 1845. Died, 1852.

were asked for with a promise that these would be met. In one case £3 was voted 'to register and rent a house for public worship' in a village. Mention was made at a meeting of 'the destitute situation at Eltham', but enquiries showed that 'the Gospel is preached there in simplicity and sincerity'.

Soon the Society was supporting village preaching in the counties of Buckinghamshire, Devon, Dorset, Durham, Essex, Hertfordshire, Kent, Lancashire, Norfolk, Oxfordshire, Somerset, Suffolk, Surrey, Wiltshire and Yorkshire. By 1799 it was reported in the *Evangelical Magazine* (p. 347) as assisting 19 ministers 'by whose exertions the Gospel is disseminated through 53 villages in their respective neighbourhoods'.

It soon became necessary to limit severely the support given to a strict interpretation of 'the design' of the Society. Grants were, therefore, refused for the erection of church buildings, for the renting of buildings, for lay preachers, for evangelists other than Congregational. Payments were given only in respect of detailed accounts—and primarily for horse hire (not keep) and candles—and no annual fixed grants were made. The Society refused to be drawn into a law-suit when a minister found himself threatened by the local Clergyman because of his preaching out of doors. Later the Society was to deny grants asked for associations which were beginning to arise in the counties (e.g. Kent, Surrey, Hampshire) to promote village preaching in their own areas.

Meanwhile the cause at Barnet had prospered. Students and friends of the committee had maintained the preaching and by early 1798, 46 persons had promised financial support. 'A considerable number of the respectable inhabitants of the town come out every Lord's Day in the afternoon and evening'. Apparently the enthusiasm of the young people there was such that 'they intended to have various passages of Scripture written upon the pulpit and walls of the Meeting'. The secretary of the Society was instructed 'to express the disapprobation of the Committee and prevent the execution of this design'.

Two years later the committee decided that the time had come to move firmly towards a regular ministry. A Mr. Vidler had served most acceptably for a period. It was now agreed that he should be sustained for a further experimental period of a year, at a charge to the Society of £70. Unexpectedly, but for reasons not given, Mr. Vidler declined. He must have continued to serve the church, however, for a report to the committee in mid-1801 says that the number of hearers had declined under the ministry of Mr. Vidler.

Yet the prospects were such that the Society was urged by the reporter 'to continue its efforts'—though it is not plain what these now were. Evidence from a letter attached to the minutes suggests that payments were being made of about £40 a year at that time. By the middle of 1802, however, the people of Barnet were reported as wishful of 'a settled minister rather than a constant change of ministers'. They said that they could themselves provide no more than £30 a year.³

By the middle of the year 1800 it was apparent that requests for help were diminishing and probably support also. The minutes do not include statements of account beyond the first year. Then income had been received to a total of £294 12s. 8d. and grants had been made totalling £74 0s. 5d. The only other reference to income is a bequest from a Miss Hillier of £300 in 3% Consols in 1799. In that year the *Evangelical Magazine* (p. 347) recorded an expenditure of £172. Meetings of the committee had been held almost weekly in 1797. But there were no meetings at all between 19 August, 1800 and 13 January, 1801, and thereafter the intervals varied between a week and four months.

At a meeting in October, 1802, the members of the committee seem to have become shamefully aware of laxity and 'pledge themselves to attend periodically as often as possible to consult the best means of promoting the designs of this Society'. Soon afterwards they appointed a Collector. But the enthusiasm lasted for little more than six months. In a minute of 22 February, 1804 the following explanation is given: 'The Members present desire to leave upon record—that the reason why the meetings have been discontinued has been the peculiar circumstances of the times—giving such new and additional occupation to every member of the community—and it not appearing by any demand from the country since circulating the address that the meetings need a closer attendance'.

No other meeting was held apparently until January, 1808, when the vice-treasurer asked for the disposal of cash in his hands. A last meeting was held on 20 February, 1809, when it was resolved

³The records of Barnet Congregational Church do not help us to fill in greater detail about this period in its life. One book dated 1747/8 contains a Covenant and a few accounts up to the year 1761. In the following year only one member remained and the Church was closed. The next record book begins in 1804 when the church had been re-opened as a Congregational body. It contains a completely new styled Covenant—'a rather solemn, broody Calvinistic document', to quote the present minister the Rev. Terence Perry. In 1804 a new minister, the Rev. John Morison, was called to the pastorate.

that the cash balance in hand of £42 0s. 6d. be paid to Mr. Ebenezer Maitland, faithful treasurer from the beginning, towards a sum due to him of £160 14s. 5d. On this disappointing note of bankruptcy the Congregational Society for Spreading the Gospel in England came to an end.

It is natural to speculate why this endeavour faded out so quickly. There would seem to be two reasons. One is evident in the minutes—the members of the committee appear quite early to have lost enthusiasm for the responsibility which they had shouldered. They themselves admit that they had largely transferred their interests to new and more pressing concerns. But it is probably also true that the Society found itself seeking to meet a need which the rising county associations were tackling with greater enthusiasm and more efficiency. These associations could more readily raise the resource and supervise the work within a limited geographical area than the Society could with its countrywide concern. Decentralisation, to use a modern term, proved more effective, and the County Union system was to precede the Society with headquarters in London.

RALPH F. G. CALDER

ODDMENTS FROM A PUBLISHER'S LIST—1849

- Bakewell—*Friendly Hints to Female Servants* on the best means of promoting their own and the Employer's Happiness. Eight Thousand, in cloth, 8d.
- Hanbury—*The Christian Merchant*. A Practical way to make 'the Best of Both Worlds'; exhibited in the life of Joseph Williams of Kidderminster. By Benjamin Hanbury. Third Edition. Handsomely bound, cloth lettered, with Portrait, 6s.; or in morocco elegant, 10s. 6d.
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—*Jewish Herald*.
- Pyer—*Songs of Freedom, for the School and Playground*. Adapted to Popular Airs, and designed to inspire our Rising Youth with a Love of Civil and Religious Liberty. Square 16mo, sewed, 1s.
- Sargeant—*Mamma's Lessons on the History and Geography of Palestine* and other places mentioned in the Bible. In Simple and Familiar Conversation. By Anne Maria Sargeant. Square foolscap 8vo, cloth, with Map and Illustrations, 2s. 6d.
- Spence—*The Tractarian Heresy*; a voice from Oxford. Tradition
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- Stoughton—*Spiritual Heroes*; or, Sketches of the Puritans, their Character and Times. By Rev. J. Stoughton, Second and Cheap Edition, with important Additions. Foolscap 8vo, price 4s. 6d.
- Virtues of the Poor*; with Numerous Illustrative Cases. 18mo, cloth lettered, 2s.

(J. Snow, Paternoster-Row)

CALAMY'S VISIT TO SCOTLAND IN 1717

At the suggestion of the Rev. Roger Thomas, and thanks to the courtesy of the National Library for Scotland, the writer has begun to examine the Wodrow Letters.¹ It is evident that some of the letters addressed to Wodrow by English Nonconformists are of more than passing interest, particularly those which were written at the height of the Arian controversy. There is an interesting series of letters from John Evans, a young Presbyterian minister of Deal in Kent, and another example is the evidence afforded of a hitherto unrecorded visit to Scotland in 1717 by Calamy.

Calamy himself did not mention such a visit in the *Autobiography*, but there were other journeys away from London which he omitted to mention.² The letter in question was addressed to Wodrow at his home in Eastwood, Glasgow :

Edin(burgh)
18 June 1717.

Revd. Sir,

I got your kind letter last week. You complain I put you on the hopes of seeing Mr. Calamy but he was not like to come. I can now tell you he designs to trouble you wt. a visit. He sets off wt. Mr. Henry & some other Company to convoy him, on Wednesday the 26th. in the morning. He hopes to see Kinross, & Faulkland, & Lesley, & Scoon, & lye all night at Perth. On Thursd. Sherriff-muir, Dumblain, Alloa, and if possible Arthur's Aven, & lye all night at Stirling. If he cannot reach Arthur's Aven at Thursd. on Friday, he will & so to Glasgow all Night. Saturd : he leaves his Horses at Glasgow & goes by water to Dumbarton, & returns to Gl : yt. same night. Sabb : he hears Sermons at Glasgow, Monday early morning sees Mr. Wodrow, dines at Glasgow, & goes to Hamilton sees the Palace & Gardens and Barncluith & may it be possible the Petrifying Spring. Lyes at Hamilton all night. Tuesday, Sets off for Moffat & so to Carlisle. I believe if ye Bp was yn, he would see him. I think too he would be glad of your Company to Hamilton. I hear the Professor Hamilton & 2 lads will convoy them to Carlisle —.³

D. E.⁴

¹Robert Wodrow (1679-1734) *vide D.N.B.* There are some 4,000 letters, etc., in the collection, 1694-1733.

²The Rev. Roger Thomas refers to Calamy's omission of mention of his journeys to the West Country in 1713 and 1719.

³Dr. William Hamilton was Professor of Divinity, Edinburgh, from 1709. *i.e.* David Erskine, son of Wodrow's great friend, Colonel Erskine.

Wodrow's own letters do not appear to include any dealing with Calamy's visit but there can be little doubt that Calamy was already at Edinburgh when David Erskine wrote to Wodrow on 18 June. The itinerary suggests that Calamy was enjoying a holiday in Scotland even if he also had talks with leaders of the Church of Scotland while he was there; his route to Perth took in several noted places of interest and would have given him a good day's riding.

It is not clear from the Letters whether Wodrow had become personally acquainted with Calamy before this visit in 1717. In a letter to his wife, written from the General Assembly in 1709, Wodrow mentioned Calamy's visit to Edinburgh at that time :

Mr. Calamy is come down from London to see the Assembly. He is one of the Non-Conformist ministers of the Presbyterian persuasion. . . .⁵

But it would hardly have been surprising that Wodrow should show a strong interest in Calamy given his attempt to record the sufferings of the Church of Scotland following Calamy's *Account*. In 1717, Wodrow was far advanced with his *History* and he evidently had considerable respect for Calamy's historical work. In 1719, Wodrow heard with evident pleasure that Calamy had told his good friend Colonel Erskine that he was prepared to read Wodrow's MS. and on 20 March he wrote to Calamy :

Rev. and Dear Sir,

The small acquaintance I had the honour to have of you, when in Scotland some years ago, could not have emboldened me to give you the trouble of any papers of mine, if you had not been pleased to desire me, by my friend, Colonel Erskine & Mr. Colin Drummond, to send you them, & kindly to offer to look them over, for which I humbly thank you Your help to make this as palatable as may be will be extremely obliging; & your remarks, amendments, and additions, in references to the pages, shall be carefully considered and insert by me. I have no apology to make for this trouble I give you. Your concern for every thing of a public nature relative to this Church makes me hope that you will not grudge the reading over of this⁶

Unhappily, Calamy does not appear to have been at all prompt in reading Wodrow's MS. for, in January 1720 we find Wodrow

⁵*The Correspondence of Rev. Robert Wodrow* : ed. T. M'Crie (1842), Letter III, vol. 1.

⁶*ibid.* Letter CXXXV, vol. 11.

writing to Colonel Erskine that he had been 'every post expecting to hear from you what Dr. Calamy has done'. On 31 March 1720 Wodrow referred again to Calamy's dilatoriness in sending his detailed comments :

. . . When I was acquainted by you, Mr. Drummond, and Mr. Chalmers, of the Doctor's offer to look over the manuscript, I signified my apprehensions that the Doctor's multiplicity of affairs would not permit him to do any thing to purpose in this matter. However, I frankly went in, and sent up the first five years, and now twelve more years are come up, so that nothing has been wanting upon my part. I have not yet had one scrape from the Doctor, though I have writt to him more than once. . . .⁷

From this same letter, it seems as if Calamy had made to Colonel Erskine some sweeping criticism of Wodrow's method and presentation :

. . . Besides, though I can make no judgment of the reasons for the entire alteration the Doctor seems to think necessary, not having yet heard them, I must say to you only, that the alterations some would incline to have, to make it suit the taste of England, would perhaps go so far as to lose the design, in some measure as to Scotland ; and though I would go all the lengths I possible can to make it palatable to England, yet I do not incline that it should fall short of its usefulness in Scotland. You'll believe I am not so much in liking with our neighbours as to be willing either to drop our principles or facts that may, perhaps, not answer their gust. . . .

Wodrow evidently went ahead with his own design and published his *History* in 1721.

N. CAPLAN

⁷*ibid.* Letter CLXXVII, vol. 11.

BLOMFIELD STREET

Mission House and Congregational Library

Blomfield Street and the Mission House (from an account in Moffat's Farewell Services by John Campbell, 1843, pp. 133-51).

That our distant and especially our juvenile readers may more fully enter into the spirit of a valedictory service at the Board of the London Missionary Society, we shall state a few facts respecting the locality and the interior of the Mission House, the very name of which millions, both at home and abroad, pronounce with a respect amounting to reverence.

It is situated in Blomfield Street, which is at no great distance from the Bank and the Royal Exchange. While this street is both short and retired, it supplies to the thoughtful mind materials for much solemn meditation. Entering from the north-east end of it, the first building on your right is the Ophthalmic Hospital, to which multitudes are repairing at the periods appointed, in search of one of the greatest earthly mercies—healthful vision.

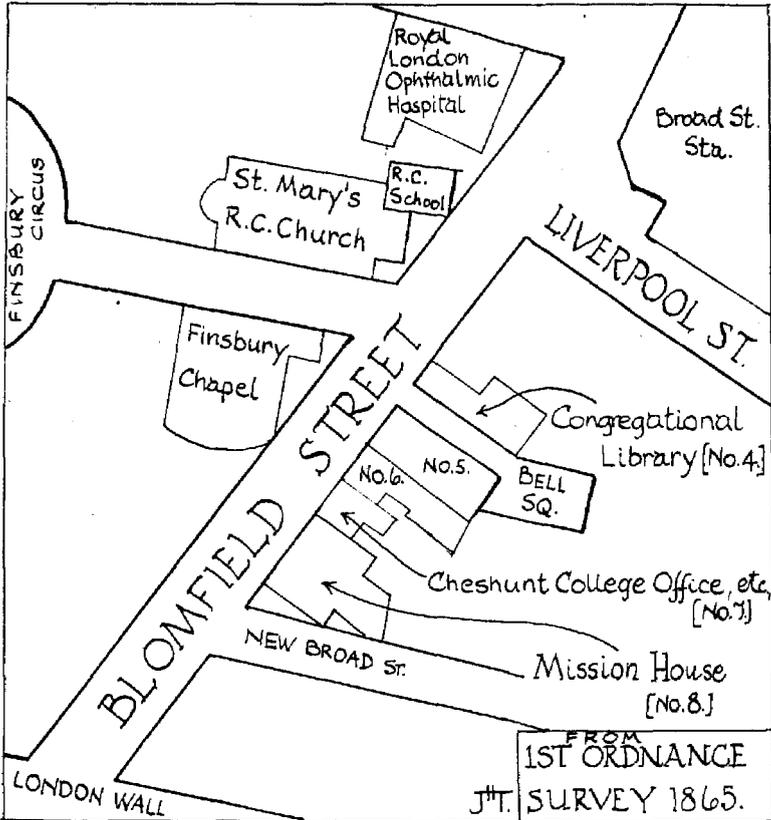
In melancholy contrast with this most important philanthropic institution, and immediately beyond it, stands the Roman Catholic Chapel, which has long been counted one of the chief strongholds of metropolitan Popery. Thither, too, you will see multitudes of all classes, but especially the poor, pressing with eagerness to wait upon the services of those whose business it is to fix and keep them in a state of spiritual blindness.

The third building on the right, is the splendid edifice known as Finsbury Chapel, where a large number of the May meetings are held ; and in which, for so long a period, the true Gospel has been dispensed in the powerful and popular ministrations of Alexander Fletcher.

On the left, and directly opposite, stands the building designated the Congregational Library, in which the business of Highbury College and of the Congregational Union is transacted, as well as that of the Home and Colonial Missionary Societies and other Institutions.

Next, on the left, stand the offices of Cheshunt College, and of the Irish Evangelical Society ; and, adjoining these, is the Mission House, a spacious, commodious, substantial, plain building.

On entering the hallowed edifice, you find yourself in a large hall ; on your left is the messenger's room, through which is a door that leads into the warehouse ; the little room, on your right, is the waiting-room, and the door on the left of its fire-place opens into



the office of the Home Secretary, the Rev. John Arundel, which is in front of the building, while the room behind his forms the accountants' office. That double glass door you see at the further end of the hall, admits you to the Missionary Museum, an awful yet glorious place! There is not such another, connected with Protestant Missions, in England, in Europe, or in the world. The numerous idols and articles of heathenism which you behold, were supplied chiefly by the missionaries of the London Missionary Society; a few other interesting objects are donations from benevolent travellers, or friendly officers of mercantile vessels.

Let us now glance at these horrid idols . . . (3 pages of description follow.)

You may now go upstairs. You will perceive the back and front rooms are divided by a lobby. Of these back rooms, that on

the left of the stair-landing is set apart for the Directors' coats, hats . . . ; that on the right of the stair-landing is occupied by the Rev. John Joseph (*sic*) Freeman, one of the foreign secretaries ; and the room behind is the clerks' office. You will perceive the front divided into three apartments ; that on the west is devoted to committees, and that on the east to the other foreign secretary, the Rev. Arthur Tidman. In this latter room you will find a library, of considerable magnitude and greater value, which belonged to the Mission College, during the period of its operations at Hoxton. The middle apartment is the board room, which is separated by folding doors from the committee room on the west, which are opened or shut according to circumstances, and a source of much convenience. This spacious chamber is admirably adapted to business. A table, covered with green cloth, runs along the middle, from the one end to the other. At the east end of this table is placed the seat of the Chairman ; on his left hand, and before him, at the table, sits the home secretary ; on his right, the foreign secretaries, each of the three having a desk before him. There are three benches running along both sides of the table, the one rising above the other, and rounded off at the end, presenting the aspect of a gallery, the chairman sitting in the centre of the circular part.

You have only to conceive then, of this room being filled on the evening of the 23rd of January, with Directors, visitors, and friends ; the Rev. Thomas Binney seated about the middle of the second bench, on the chairman's left hand ; and Mr. Moffat, with his party, occupying the corresponding bench on the right, when the service proceeded as follows : The editor of this volume having offered prayer, the Home Secretary gave out the following hymn :

Ye messengers of Christ,
His sovereign voice obey ;
Arise and follow where he leads,
And peace attend your way.
The Master whom you serve
Will needful grace bestow ;
Depending on his promised aid,
With sacred courage go.
Mountains shall sink to plains,
And hell in vain oppose ;
The cause is God's, and must prevail,
In spite of all his foes.

Go, spread the Saviour's fame ;
 And tell his matchless grace
 To the most guilty and depraved
 Of Adam's num'rous race.

We wish you, in his name,
 The most divine success ;
 Assured that he who sends you forth
 Will your endeavours bless.

REV. THOMAS BINNEY'S ADDRESS TO THE
 REV. ROBERT MOFFAT (*approx. 1,500 words*)

At the close of this address, the Rev. Thomas Lewis, Chairman of the Examination Committee, commended Mr. Moffat and his companions to God in special prayer, after which was sung : —

Obedient to thy great command,
 Constrained thy love to tell,
 Great Lord, thy servants leave their land,
 And bid their friends, FAREWELL !

Yes, friends, however dear and kind,
 Whose very looks dispel
 The gloomy sorrows of the mind,
 We now must say, FAREWELL !

Ye fellow sojourners, with whom,
 In heaven we hope to dwell ;
 We meet again beyond the tomb,
 But now we say, FAREWELL !

Though called awhile the cross to bear,
 Though sighs the bosom swell,
 Jesus will soon remove the tear,
 In heaven there's no FAREWELL !

We soon, for nobler joys divine,
 Shall quit earth's lonely cell,
 With all the chosen tribes to join ;
 And no more say, FAREWELL !

With strength proportioned to our day,
 May we each fear repel ;
 'Tis Jesus calls, we must obey :
 Farewell, dear friends, FAREWELL !

REV. ROBERT MOFFAT'S REPLY

(a little longer than Binney)

The Rev. Joseph Wilberforce Richardson having concluded by prayer, the Chairman and other Directors shook hands with Mr. Moffat and the missionary party, who, with the visitors, then withdrew.

The Congregational Library (from John Stoughton's Reminiscences of Congregationalism Fifty Years Ago, 1881.)

That Congregational Library, a poor place compared with the Memorial Hall, was something to be proud of when I was young. It had offices which, if not spacious, served their purpose for a while; and at the top of the house was a large room where I sometimes took part in conferences touching the affairs of the denomination. But the library—rather ostentatiously described as fifty feet long, twenty-five feet wide, and nineteen in height—was after all but an humble affair. There we used to assemble, and found in it at first ample space for our tiny numbers. What a contrast to the Free Trade Hall of Manchester and the Autumn Assembly of 1881! There was a small music gallery at the end near the door; opposite to it, at the upper part, hung Mr. Wilson's portrait, and on the right hand was a large picture of Lord Holland and Lord John Russell, the great political heroes specially honoured by Nonconformists. There were forms on each side, with rows in the middle; when empty, not very picturesque, when filled, not very convenient. But there our fathers did some good work.

The early meetings of the Union were small; that which was held in 1833 not amounting to more than 149, inclusive of students who were present. The Congregational Library then afforded sufficient accommodation, and I think I can see the long table at the upper end; the chairman seated on an elevation just beneath Thomas Wilson's portrait, the leaders of the denomination occupying chairs close by; . . . the whole space pretty well filled at the commencement of the meeting; later on in the day, a good many vacancies which one brother after another dropping in again or coming in late did but scantily occupy. It was a quiet, calm, homely gathering. No elaborate address from the chair, no series of disquisitional papers, no eloquent speeches, no crowd of spectators. . . . The younger brethren sat with great reverence listening to what their elders had to say, and rarely joining in the Conference as participants in the debates. For debates did arise, and points of difference were canvassed, though agreement was always sought, and I do not remember any instances of division. Everything was

done sedately; but there were occasional touches of humour, especially on the part of Burnet, Hamilton, and Parsons; and I think that occasionally some refreshments were brought in, for once a delegate gravely asked 'whether any news had been heard from the Sandwich Islands?'

Notes on Blomfield Street

Campbell's description of the street might lead one to think that the Congregational Library, Cheshunt College Offices, and the Mission House stood side by side. This was not so. By examining the *Post Office Directories* between 1842 and 1865 together with the Ordnance Survey map of 1865 we can locate the Library (no. 4) to one side of the entrance to Bell Square and Cheshunt College Offices and the L.M.S., (nos. 7 and 8) on the other side, with a dancing academy (no. 5) and an architect's offices (no. 6) between them and the Library.

The Library must have been a fairly new building when the Union began to use it. It had been the City Concert Rooms before Wilson took it over (*Ev. Mag.* 1831, p. 300), but Horwood's map in 1819 reveals that the place was not then erected. Indeed the only building described by Campbell which existed in 1819 was the Roman Catholic Church, which then had no school attached. Even Blomfield Street itself was not so called; it was Little Moorfields at the bottom end and Broker Row from New Broad Street upwards. Finsbury Circus was being constructed, but the east side of Broker Row merely had a row of small cottages. To-day none of the buildings on the sketch-map exist, although the sites of the old buildings can be judged from present ones in many cases. The Library was vacated in 1866; the lease being up; the Mission House moved in 1903; Finsbury Chapel was dissolved in 1890. The eye hospital mentioned is, of course, the one popularly called Moorfield's, which moved to its City Road site at the end of the century.

Finsbury Chapel had a short life; it was opened in 1826. The L.C.C. Records Office at County Hall has two handsome prints of it, engraved by John Woods in 1843, one showing the exterior and one the interior during a service. It shows a light, spacious building, with two galleries; Andrew Mearns' *Guide* (1882) puts the seating at 2,000. An unusual feature of the building is that the pulpit stands between the two entrances against the straight wall; the curved wall is behind the galleries. Fletcher is seen preaching from his pulpit, a small Nelson's column, about 15 feet high.

Below the pulpit, facing the people, stands a man we suppose to be the precentor, his music stand before him, placed on the enormous table. Nothing else stands on this table, the communion table, save a man's top-hat, which we suggest was not unconsciously drawn there by the artist. The congregation looks affluent enough, though the ground floor is not half full, whilst the top gallery is crowded with men-servants and maid-servants. This is a solemn contrast to Campbell's admission that 'especially the poor' went to St. Mary's across the street. The little school which the Roman Catholics built fits into the picture Marjorie Cruickshank draws in *Church and State in English Education* (1963) of their schools catering for the poorest children in a way which no other churches did (see pp. 8f).

The Evangelical Magazine for 1831 provides us with further information about the founding of the Library. Founders had to give at least fifty guineas, members twenty-five, and subscribers ten plus one guinea annually. They had to be Congregationalists who subscribed to the Assembly's Shorter Catechism. It is interesting to note that five ministers—one was Pye Smith—became founders, and twelve members, during 1831. Is this a clue to the comfort of the big men like H. F. Burder, A. Reed, J. Blackburn, J. Leifchild, T. Raffles and Angell James? Twenty-five guineas entitled one to nominate someone to use the Library; fifty guineas meant that one could nominate two; but provincial subscribers who could not reach the Library might also nominate someone in the London area to go to it.

One wonders whether Algernon Wells scowled or not as the music of the waltz floated across the alley from Professor Samuel and Mrs. Mariana Turner's dancing academy.

IRENE M. FLETCHER AND JOHN H. TAYLOR

SOME RECENT ARTICLES

The Research Secretary points out some articles which have appeared lately which members might like to know about: K. S. Inglis, 'English Nonconformity and Social Reform' in *Past and Present*, April, 1958; C. B. Jewson, 'Return of Conventicles in Norwich Diocese 1669', *Norfolk Archaeology*. Vol. XXXIII. Pt. 1. (1962) pp. 6-34; I. A. Sellers, 'Nonconformist Attitudes in Later Nineteenth Century Liverpool', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vol. 114 (1963) pp. 215-239.

A LEGACY TO THE CHURCH AT LAUNCESTON

One of the greatest difficulties which faced any nonconformist congregation after the Toleration Act was the successful preservation of its endowments. Embezzlement and misappropriation were the common fate of most small and some large charities during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but there was far less protection for dissenters' endowments than for any nominally Anglican charity. The ordinary charity had the benefit of a special procedure in the court of Chancery—the issue of a commission to investigate—which, if not always successful, was more effective than an ordinary lawsuit for the recovery of endowments. Despite the Toleration Act there was some doubt in the minds of lawyers that the endowments of meeting houses could be described as charitable. Until 1736 it was very difficult to secure the meeting house to a congregation of dissenters, as the law made no provision for nonconformity and the trustees were able to alienate the property with little difficulty. Even when an Act (9 Geo. II, c. 36) permitted the enrolment of trust deeds in Chancery, not all congregations were willing or able to take advantage of it. The members of the Old Tabernacle in Plymouth were ejected from their building by the founder's son in 1795 and in 1813 an Independent chapel near Dudley in Staffordshire was nearly seized by the Anglican minister.¹ During the course of the eighteenth century conveyancing lawyers evolved a model trust deed which finally gave the congregation control over the trustees' activities, but it was a long and difficult task.

If it was difficult to safeguard real property in the eighteenth century then the preservation of other endowments, usually in the form of rent charges on land, or stocks, was almost impossible. One of the objects of the 1772 enquiry into nonconformist congregations was the preservation of the endowments of moribund and defunct churches. We read there of an attempt (apparently successful) by the trustees of the Presbyterian church at Lincoln to misappropriate the endowments by preventing the appointment of a minister and of the enquiry into the endowment of the South-

¹R. N. Worth, *History of Plymouth* (1890), p. 257. *Trans. Cong. Hist. Soc.*, vol. IV, p. 24.

ampton Baptist church after it had ceased to exist.² Recently there has been discovered a small bundle of papers which cast considerable light on the fate of an endowment of the Presbyterian church at Launceston in Cornwall. This was a cause which almost disappeared in the eighteenth century, was revived and united with the Baptist church and has recently become extinct once more. The papers were found amongst the Bayly archives when they were deposited in the Plymouth Archives Department in 1961. The Bayly family were prosperous tradesmen in Plymouth at the beginning of the nineteenth century and one of their number was a barrister frequently consulted in local matters. Most of the family were nonconformists and attended the two Presbyterian meeting houses in Batter Street and Treville Street. When the first of these congregations became Independent and the second Unitarian, the family also split and members are found as trustees and deacons in both churches. There is no reason why the family should be in possession of a group of papers of Thomas Windeat, a clothier of Tavistock in the first half of the eighteenth century, unless they had been given to the barrister for some legal purpose. Unfortunately the bundle had been disarranged before the archives were deposited and so it is impossible to say to which member of the family it belonged. Nevertheless the story which they tell is of great interest.

The Vicar of Launceston, William Oliver, was ejected in 1662 for nonconformity and in 1672 he took out a licence as a Presbyterian minister at Launceston under Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence, but he does not seem to have had a congregation in the town and he is said to have died a 'lay conformist'.³ The nonconformists living in the district probably relied on itinerant ministers to provide occasional services in private houses. Two baptisms by 'a dissenting minister' are recorded in the registers of St. Thomas, Launceston and Nicholas Sherwell of Plymouth is known to have travelled extensively in this area.⁴ Deliverance Larkham, the grandson of the ejected minister of Tavistock, seems to have served the Presbyterians of Launceston as their minister for a few years, but it was not until the Rev. Michael Martin settled there that a congregation of 130 hearers was built up. In 1712 a meeting house was erected in Castle Street with the aid of

²Dr. Williams's Library, Thompson MSS., A State of the Dissenting Interest 1772, ff. 19 & 46.

³A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised* (1934), p. 373. *Baptist Quarterly*, vol. XIII, p. 121.

⁴*Bap. Qu.*, vol. XIII, p. 122. Public Record Office, R.G. 4/4091.

a legacy from William Bennett of Hexworthy who died in 1704.⁵ For a short time Martin removed to Lymptstone near Exeter, but in 1728 he returned to Launceston and ministered there until his death in 1745.

Although the church had flourished under Martin's ministry,⁶ it was not capable of supporting a settled ministry. The town was not large enough and the congregation was drawn from the surrounding district. In this area on the borders of Devon and Cornwall nonconformity seems to have declined seriously in the first half of the eighteenth century, so it is hardly surprising that Martin was not replaced. Rev. George Castle of Hatherleigh occasionally preached at Launceston after Martin's death,⁷ but support soon fell away and the meeting house was eventually sold. But the small endowments which belonged to the congregation still existed. What became of Martin's own legacy of £50 'for the Use and Benefit and towards the support of the Presbyterian Meeting house and Minister that shall preach to the People that usually Assemble to Worship at the Meeting House at Launceston' is not known, but the Windeatt papers have a great deal of information about a legacy from Oliver Bickle.

Oliver Bickle, a yeoman of Lifton, left £80 by his will made on 29 September 1739 'for the Use and Benefit of the Presbyterian Minister that should *statedly* preach to the People that usually assemble to worship God at the Meeting-house at Lauceston *for ever*'.⁸ His executrix was to buy a piece of land approved of by the minister with the £80 within one year of his death. However before he died he ordered another £20 to be added to the gift.

On 1 March 1742/3, soon after Bickle's death, his executrix, Grace Facey of Werrington, widow, conveyed £100 to James Hillow of Tavistock, mercer, Thomas Windeatt of Tavistock, fellmonger, Gabriel Edgcombe of Milton Abbot, yeoman, Matthew Cudlipp of Tavistock, clothier, and John Cowan of Launceston, chapman. With the consent of Rev. Michael Martin they were to be trustees for the congregation. It is an interesting comment on the congregation that only one trustee lived in Launceston and most of them were engaged in the local cloth trade.⁹ Nonconformists

⁵A. F. Robbins, *Launceston Past and Present* (1884), p. 241.

⁶Dr. Williams's Library, Evans' List of Congregations, p. 16. The congregation is there given as 130 hearers, including 7 gentlemen, 20 tradesmen, 6 yeomen and 30 labourers.

⁷Robbins *op. cit.*, p. 271.

⁸Plymouth Archives Dept., Acc. 242, A8, from which most of the details of the dispute are taken.

⁹Plymouth Archives Dept., Acc. 242, A4. Windeatt later sold cloth to Spain.

were usually tradesmen and minor industrialists at this period. The trustees were given the power to elect others 'to the End that there might be a perpetual succession of Trustees and the Trust might not sink or be defeated for Want of a sufficient Number'. This provision was of course quite common in nonconformist trust deeds, but the other provision in this deed was rather unusual. It was established that if the congregation ceased to exist or there was no preaching in Launceston for more than twelve months then the interest on the money was to revert to Grace Facey and her descendants until such time as the congregation was re-established. In other trust deeds when such a possibility was taken into account it was more usual to order the money to be paid to the nearest minister of the same persuasion or to the poor of the district.

Although Grace Facey and her trustees had bound themselves to invest the money in land it was not actually paid over and was held as a loan at interest by her son John Facey on the security of certain tenements called Raddon which he owned. It could therefore hardly be described as invested in land. Michael Martin died on 10 August 1745 leaving £50 to James Hillowe and Thomas Windeat for the Launceston meeting and £10 to two Hatherleigh men for 'the Presbyterian Meeting House and Minister' there.¹⁰ The Launceston meeting struggled on after his death as the following account shows :

Received upon Account of the Meeting at Launceston	
from Exon Funds	£8 0 0
from Launceston People	£2 2s 6d.
from Mrs Facey	£3 15s 0

Laid out since the beginning of August 1746	
To Mr Castle	£1 15s 0
To Mr Clarke	0 15s 0
To Mr Wreyfords for 4 times	£3 10s 0
To Mr Watters at Christmas	£2 0 0
To Mr Edgcombe for [<i>illegible</i>]	0 18s 0
To repairing the Meeting	0 5s 10d ¹¹

The £8 received from the Exeter Assembly was probably a grant from the Presbyterian Fund allocated by the Assembly as Michael Martin had been receiving £6 a year from the Fund in 1718.¹²

¹⁰Plymouth Archives Dept., Acc. 242, A5.

¹¹Plymouth Archives Dept., Acc. 242, A6.

¹²Dr. Williams's Library, Evans' List of Congregations, p. 16. In February 1750/1 the Presbyterian Fund discontinued its payment of £6 to Launceston (Fund minutes, microfilm at Dr. Williams's Library).

The money from Mrs. Facey was of course the interest on Bickle's legacy. Since the congregation could only raise £2 2s. 6d. out of a total income of £13 17s. 6d. it is not surprising that they could not obtain a minister to settle with them. However the trustees claimed in 1757 that 'several Times in a year, as occasional Assistance cou'd be had, there has been the Worship of God in the said Meeting-House, and so as that there has been no failure of Preaching for 12 Calendar Months successively without such assistants more or less, and to whom the said Interests and Profits have been duly paid'.¹³

In 1752, after the death of James Hillow and Gabriel Edgcombe, the trustees met and elected S. Merivale and W. Shellabear in their places. On 5 October 1753 the trustees and Grace Facey executed a new trust deed which recited the mortgage given by her son on his property. In this way the trustees hoped to safeguard the legacy even though the actual mortgage deeds were not in their possession. John Facey had originally given these deeds to Gabriel Edgcombe, who was Facey's brother-in-law, but on Edgcombe's death they could not be found and Facey was believed to have taken them. No further action was taken about this by the trustees until John Facey began to default on the payment of the interest. All the trustees (except Grace Facey who now lived with her son) met and urged him to pay. After six months' discussion he finally agreed to meet the trustees and pay up. This would have been some time in 1756.

The rest of the story can best be told in the words of the original statement by the trustees :

4 of the Trustees went to the House of John Facey at the Time appointed, where the Mother now resides. A neighbouring Gentleman came in soon after, and dined with them there. After Dinner a Paper of Money was produced on the Table, as ready for Payment, and the Trustees took out the Mortgage Deed and Bond, and laid them down on the Table also. The Question was then proposed who the Money shou'd be paid to ; it was answered, To the Person appointed by the Majority of the Trustees to receive it. No, replied John Facey, I'll pay it to my Mother as Principal Trustee. Whilst this Matter was debating, he drew the Deed towards himself ; but as the Trustees did not expect any foul Play, little Notice was taken of it, till he had it in his Possession, and to their Surprize, they saw him throw it into the Fire. The Bond escaped his

¹³Plymouth Archives Dept., Acc. 242, A8.

Hands, and one of the Trustees put it into his Pocket before John Facey could destroy it. The Trustees expostulated, and expressed their surprize at this Treatment, but they were told by the Gentleman present, that Facey had done no more than was right ; that Mrs Facey had named him (the said Gentleman) and 6 others as new Trustees, (which she was impowred by the Will to do) and he was pleased to add that Care shou'd be taken, when a stated Minister was settled at Launceston, that the Will of the Donor shou'd be performed. After this the Money was moved towards Mrs Facey, and spread abroad in order to be counted ; but as she was thought a very improper Person to be intrusted with it, the Trustees rose up and (3 of them) immediately left the House (without seeing the Money paid as they were told it afterwards was) and went home greatly displeas'd with the Treatment they had met with.¹⁴

The trustees consulted a London barrister, Mr. Jeffery, who gave his opinion on 7 February 1757. He held that Mrs. Facey had no power to appoint other trustees and that the charity still existed because occasional services were held at Launceston. John Facey could not be sued as he had paid the money to his mother (who was still a trustee by the old deed). The other trustees could only take action against Mrs. Facey and he advised filing an information against her to produce the money.

This is the end of the story in the Bayly MSS. We do not know whether the trustees sued Mrs. Facey. Even if they were temporarily successful, it was not for long, as all preaching ceased soon afterwards and the meeting house was sold to a local clothier. It was not until 1775 that there was a local revival, but in 1788 the congregation had grown large enough to buy back the original Castle Street meeting house for the use of the 'Launceston Independent Church'. When William Saltren was ordained their first minister on 9 June 1790 representatives of the Plymouth churches were present.¹⁵ Was the little bundle of Windeat's papers given to the Batter Street church representatives on this occasion to see if the Bickle legacy could be recovered now that there was once again preaching 'to the People that usually assemble to worship God at the Meeting-House at Lauceston'? If so the Batter Street church would undoubtedly have handed them to the barrister member of their congregation. This is only a speculation,

¹⁴Plymouth Archives Dept., Acc. 242, A8.

¹⁵*Bap. Qu.*, vol. XIII, p. 156.

but it is difficult to see any other reason why the little packet of papers should be found amongst the Bayly MSS. in 1961.

C. EDWIN WELCH

I wish to thank Mr. Stanley Griffin of Plymouth who, as always, was ready to supply me with information about West Country nonconformity. The first trust deed, which was the first item to be found, was mentioned in *Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries*, vol. XXVIII, p. 324.

A 1672 Licence — Southampton

Amongst a box of documents recently transferred from Southampton Public Library to the Southampton Record Office was the licence issued on 2 May, 1672 for a Congregational meeting in the house of Giles Say at Southampton. The details of this licence are of course well known from G. Lyon Turner's *Original Records of Nonconformity* (1911), while Giles Say's career is given in A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised* (1934), but original licences are comparatively scarce. When this licence was being repaired a small fragment of some contemporary accounts was found stuck on the back. Unfortunately it is too small to identify.

C.E.W.

SELECTIONS FROM THE FATHERS

Henry Barrow

(The passages below are taken from Elizabethan Nonconformist Texts III : The Writings of Henry Barrow 1587-1590, edited by Leland H. Carlson (Allen and Unwin, 1962) pp. 84f; 214-16; 287f; 306f. The publishers are thanked for their co-operation.)

" A Breefe Sum of Our Profession " (1587)

1. We seeke above all things the peace and protection of the most high, and the kingdome of Christ Jesus our Lord.
2. We seeke and fully purpose to worship God aright, as he hath commaunded in his holy worde.
3. We seeke the fellowship and communion of his faithfull and obedient servants, and together with them to enter covenant with the Lord. And by the direction of his holy spirite to proceed to a godly, free, and right choise of ministers and other officers by him ordained to the service of his church.
4. We seeke to establish and obey the ordinances and lawes of our saviour Christ, left by his last will and testament to the governing and guiding of his church, without altering, changing, innovating, wresting, or leaving out any of them, that the Lord shall give us sight of.
5. We purpose by the assistance of the Holy Ghost in this faith and order to leade our lives. And for this faith and order to leave our lives, if such be the good will and pleasure of our heavenly Father ; to whom be all glory and praise for ever. Amen.
6. And now that our forsaking and utter abandoning these disordered assemblies, as they generally stand in England, may not seeme strange or offensive to any man, that will judge or be judged by the worde of God : we alledge and affirme them hainously faultie, and wilfullye obstinate, in these foure principall transgressions.

1. They worship the true God after a false manner, their worship being made of the invention of man, even of that man of sinne, erronious, and imposed upon them.

2. Then for that the profane ungodly multitude without the exception of any one person, are with them received into, and retained in the bosome and body of their Church, etc.

3. Then for that they have a false and antichristian ministry imposed upon them, retained with them, and maintained by them.

4. Then for that their churches are ruled by, and remaine in subjection unto, an antichristian and ungodly government, cleane contrary to the institution of our Saviour Christ.

“ A True Description out of the Worde of God, of the Visible Church ” (1589)

As there is but one God¹ and father of all, one Lorde over all, and one spirit : so there is but one trueth,² one faith, one salvation, one church, called in one hope, joynd in one profession, guided by one rule,³ even the worde of the most high.

This church as it is universallie understood, conteyneth in it all the elect⁴ of God that have bin, are or shalbe. But being considered more particularlie, as it is seene in this present worlde, it consisteth of a companie and fellowship of faithful⁵ and holie⁶ people gathered (together) in the name of Christ Jesus, their only king,⁷ priest,⁸ and prophet,⁹ worshipping¹⁰ him aright, being peaceable¹¹ and quietlie¹² governed by his officers and lawes, keeping¹³ the unities of the faith in the bonde of peace and love¹⁴ unfained.

Most joyfull,¹⁵ excellent, and glorious things are everie where in the Scriptures spoken of this church. It is called the cite,¹⁶ house,¹⁷ temple,¹⁸ and mountaine¹⁹ of the eternall God : the chosen²⁰ generation, the holie nation, the peculiar people, the vineyarde,²¹ the garden²² enclosed, the spring shut up, the sealed fountaine, the orchyard of pomgranades with sweete fruites, the heritage,²³ the

¹Genesis 1 : 1. Exodus 20 : 3.

²I Timothy 2 : 4. Philippians 1 : 27 (2 : 25). Ephesians 2 : 18. John 8 : 41.

³Deuteronomy 6 : 25. Romans 10 : 8. II Timothy 3 : 15. John 8 : 51. I John 2 : 3, 4.

⁴Genesis 17. I Peter 1 : 2. Revelation 7 : 9. I Corinthians 10 : 3. John 17 : 20.

⁵Psalms 111 : 1 and 149 : 1. Isaiah 62 : 12. Ephesians 1 : 1. I Corinthians 1 : 2. Deuteronomy 14 : 2.

⁶Deuteronomy 12 : 5. John 6 : 37 and 3 : 14 and 12 : 32. Luke 17 : 3.

⁷Genesis 44 : 10. Psalms 45 : 6. Zechariah 9 : 9. Hebrews 1 : 8.

⁸Romans 8 : 34. John 17. Hebrews 5 : 9 and 8 : 1 and 4 : 14.

⁹Deuteronomy 18 : 15. Matthew 17 : 15. Hebrews 1 : 1. Genesis 14 : 18.

¹⁰Exodus 20 : 7, 8. Leviticus 10 : 5. John 4 : 23.

¹¹Matthew 11 : 29. I Corinthians 11 : 16. Mark 13 : 34. Revelation 22 : 9.

¹²Alison omits ‘and quietlie’.

¹³Ephesians 4 : 3. I Corinthians 1 : 13. Mark 9 : 50.

¹⁴John 13 : 34. I Corinthians 13 : 4. I Peter 1 : 22. I John 3 : 18.

¹⁵Psalms 87 : 2.

²⁰Zechariah 8 : 3. I Peter 2 : 9.

¹⁶*Ibid.*

²¹Isaiah 51 (5 : 1) and 27 : 2.

¹⁷I Timothy 3 : 15. Hebrews 3 : 6.

²²Canticles 4 : 12. Isaiah 51 : 3.

¹⁸I Corinthians 3 : 17.

²³Isaiah 9 : 25.

¹⁹Isaiah 2 : 2. Micah 4 : 1.

kingdome²¹ of Christ : yea his sister,²⁵ his love, his spouse, his queene,²⁶ and his bodie,²⁷ the joye of the whole earth. To this societie is the covenant²⁸ and all the promises made of peace,²⁹ of love, and of salvation,³⁰ of the presense³¹ of God, of his graces, of his power, and of his protection.³²

And surelie if this church be considered in hir partes, it shall appeare most beautifull, yea most wonderfull, and even³³ ravishing³⁴ the senses to conceave, much more to beholde, what then to enjoy so blessed a communion.³⁵ For behold(,) her king³⁶ and Lord is the king of peace, and Lorde him selfe of all glorie. She enjoyeth most holy and heavenly lawes,³⁷ most faithfull and vigilant pastours,³⁸ most syncere and pure teachers,³⁹ most carefull and upright governours,⁴⁰ most diligent and trustie deacons,⁴¹ most lovinge and sober releevers,⁴² and a most humble,⁴³ meeke, obedient, faithfull and loving people, everie stone⁴⁴ living, elect and precious, every stone hath his beautie, his burden,⁴⁵ and his order.⁴⁶ All bound to edifie⁴⁷ one another, exhort, reprove and comfort one another, lovinglie⁴⁸ as to their owne members, faithfully⁴⁹ as in the eyes of God.

On John Calvin, the Church and Nation

Touching the person of the author alledged,⁵⁰ I gladly acknowledge him a painful and profitable instrument, in the thinges he saw, and times he served in, yet not without his manie errors and

²⁴Micah 3 : 2. John 3 : 3.

²⁵Canticles 5 : 2.

²⁶Psalms 45 : 9.

²⁷I Corinthians 12 : 27. Ephesians 1 : 23.

²⁸Galatians 4 : 28.

²⁹Psalms 147 : 14. II Thessalonians 3 : 16.

³⁰Isaiah 46 : 13. Zechariah 14 : 17.

³¹Isaiah 60. Ezekiel 47. Zechariah 4 : 12.

³²Ezekiel 48 : 35. Matthew 28 : 20. Isaiah 62.

³³Alison omits 'even'.

³⁴Canticles 6 : 4, 9.

³⁵Alison has a question mark here.

³⁶Isaiah 62 : 11. John 12 : 15. Hebrews 7 : 8.

³⁷Matthew 11 : 30. I John 5 : 3.

³⁸Acts 20.

⁴⁰Romans 12 : 8.

³⁹Romans 12 : 7.

⁴¹Acts 6.

⁴²Romans 12 : 8. John 13 : 17. Deuteronomy 13 : 17. Relievers were widows who gave assistance to families, nursed the sick, and served as 'social workers'.

⁴³Matthew 5 : 5. Deuteronomy 18 : 10. Ezekiel 36 : 38. Isaiah 60 : 8.

⁴⁴I Kings 7 : 9. Zechariah 14 : 21. I Peter 2 : 5.

⁴⁵Galatians 6 : 2.

⁴⁶I Corinthians 12. Romans 12 : 3. ⁴⁷Hebrews 10 : 24.

⁴⁸Leviticus 19 : 17 (15 : 17). I Thessalonians 4 : 9.

⁴⁹Colossians 3 : 23. I John 3 : 20.

⁵⁰i.e. John Calvin.

ignorances, especially touching the planting, government, and ordering of the church of Christ : and no mervaile, for being so newly escaped out of the smoky fornace of poperie, he could not so sodeinly see or attaine unto the perfect beawtie of Sion. . . .

Touching this doctrine, then, that a Christian prince which publisheth and maintaineth the gospell, doth forthwith make all that realme (which with open force resisteth not his proceedinges) to be held a church, to whome an holy ministerie and sacramentes belong, without further and more particular and personal trial, examination, confession, *etc.* This doctrine we find by the word of God to be most false, corrupt, uncleane, dangerous and pernicious doctrine, contrarie to the whole course, practise, and lawes both of the Old and Newe Testament ; breaking at once al christian order, corrupting and poisoning al christian communion and fellowship, and sacrilegiously profaning the holy thinges of God.⁵¹

Discipline an Essental Mark of the Church

(*Calvin says*) that where the word of God is sincerely taught, and the sacraments rightly administered, there undoubtedly is still the true church of Christ ;⁵² although otherwise there be never so many mischeifes abounding, all the wicked received and reteined, *etc.*, no use of the power of Christ among them, either to censure sinne, or cast out obstinate offenders. . . . I would know of these great learned men, how it is possible for the ministers of the church, either to preach the word sincerely, or administer the sacramentes rightly, where there is no regard had to the faithfull practise of the word, no care to redresse thinges amisse, no power to shut out or excommunicathe (*sic*) the unworthy : or how they can with all their learning, whiles they stand pastors or teachers to such an unbeleeving profane people, or unto such wicked ones as hate to be rebuked and reformed of their sinnes, preach the word, exercise praier, deliver the sacramentes, blesse and dismisse the profane wicked people in the peace and favour of God, without most high sacriedg, profanation of Gode's name, casting the pretious bodie, and blood of Christ to hoggs and doggs, blessing Gode's enemies, *etc.*⁵³

G.F.N.

⁵¹*A Brief Discoverie of the False Church* (1590).

⁵²*Calvin Institutes*, vol. II, book IV, chap. I, sects. 9-12.

⁵³*A Brief Discoverie of the False Church*.

REVIEWS

The Letter Books of Sir Samuel Luke edited by H. G. Tibbutt (H.M.S.O. 1963, £5 net)

Mr. H. G. Tibbutt is well known to our members for *The Life and Letters of Sir Lewis Dyve* (Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, 1946), for sundry Church Histories, and for a great deal of work in building up the Bedford Museum collection of foreign translations of *The Pilgrim's Progress* and other Bunyan material. He has now topped these achievements by editing, with an Introduction, *The Letter Books of Sir Samuel Luke*, a volume of 740 pages, published jointly by The Historical Manuscripts Commission and The Bedfordshire Historical Records Society.

Sir Samuel Luke, a Parliamentary Commander, was Governor of Newport Pagnell from late in 1643 till June 1645, when he laid down his command in accordance with the Self-Denying Ordinance. The Letter Books cover this period. Luke was a Presbyterian and so had a critical eye on the Independents and doubts about the, as yet untried, New Model Army :

There are two petitions gone up in behalf of Col. Cromwell to have him made Lt. General. I wish you had been here to have seen the new moulded army. . . . If your Independents keep their word with God as well as they do with men, they will be rare creatures in a short time.

Later he wrote :

I think these New Modellers knead all their dough with ale, for I never saw so many drunk in my life in so short a time. the men . . . are extraordinarily personable . . . but the officers you will hardly distinguish from common soldiers.

Many of the letters are to or from Parliamentary Commanders, especially the Earl of Essex, a close friend ; some are to the Eastern Association Committee and other County Committees ; some to Parliamentary Governors and Luke's own officers ; and a few to Royalist Commanders concerning the exchange of prisoners. The family letters—almost daily to his father, Sir Oliver Luke—are always about the war but contain also references to sport and game :

. . . if you come down I doubt not but to show you such sport with such pheasants and does as you have not seen

better. Your servant has killed 6 brace already since coming hither. You shall not fail weekly to receive your rabbits One of the letters to Oliver Cromwell relates to a siege : . . . I am sorry you have no better weather for your march, nor they for their siege at Crowland, that if this weather should hold, it would be impossible to unnestle those bloody rascals

The letters contain interesting details of military life : weapons, tools, equipment, food and ammunition ; and the whole book gives a lively picture of everyday events during the civil war. It is a pity the price of such an important source book is too high for some who would like to own a copy, but it should be available in any good library. We offer warm congratulations to Mr. Tibbutt.

B.M.

The Exeter Assembly 1691-1717 edited by Allan Brockett (Devon and Cornwall Record Society, New Series, Vol. 6, 1963, 45s.)

Mr. Brockett, assisted by the Rev. Roger Thomas, has edited the Minutes of the Assemblies of the United Brethren of Devon and Cornwall with skill and with a commendable restraint which interposes no unwieldy barrier of notes between the text and the reader. The *Minutes* cover a period of exceptional interest and they show something of the blossoming of the corporate life of Non-conformity after Toleration. Their publication in such readable form must be of considerable help to all who wish to obtain a clearer picture of the ministerial and congregational life of the times—of its many pains as well as of its rewards in Christian fellowship.

There is indeed a rich diversity of topics. Perhaps the most important is the care and concern given to the selection of candidates for the ministry, their training and ordination. It strikes a little strange to read in 1709 that : 'for the future particular inquiry be made into the prudence and conduct as well as the learning & piety of persons to be ordain'd'. (p. 75) The exchange of letters with an Anglican incumbent is of great interest in these days of the wide encouragement of Church Unity. (p. 99ff) The *Minutes* are full of fascinating glimpses of church life which would surely interest, and possibly benefit, many laymen today.

The one regrettable feature of the book is its price but the format and printing are exceptionally good.

Early Nonconformity in Leicestershire by C. E. Welch. (Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society, The Guildhall, Leicester, 1963, n.p. reprinted from *Transactions of the Society*, Vol. XXXVII)

Mr. Welch's varied work on the records of Nonconformity needs no introduction to members of the Congregational Historical Society. In this fifteen-page essay on the occasion of the Tercentenary of the Ejection, Mr. Welch has brought together many evidences of Puritan and Separatist activity in the county in an interesting manner. All who are keen to trace the course of religious dissent on a 'county' basis will be grateful for this paper which shows how much can often be done to fill some of those tantalizing gaps for the years between the turn of the sixteenth century and the Civil War. Some readers may not altogether agree with Mr. Welch's aside on page 39 about the connection between religion and politics even in 1630.

N.C.

Edward Williams, D.D. His Life, Thought and Influence by W. T. Owen (University of Wales Press, 1963, 18s.)

Those who lead their armies to victory receive abundant honours, but those who lead retreats usually get forgotten. Edward Williams, together with Andrew Fuller, led the retreat from full-blooded Calvinism to Moderate or liberalized Calvinism. As Moderate Calvinism had but a short life, being succeeded by theological liberalism, Williams and his system became old-fashioned and then forgotten by the end of the last century. Dale gave him one sentence; Peel omitted him from his lists of eminent Congregationalists; and not until we reach Tudur Jones' recent volume *Congregationalism in England* do we find Williams is given his due, and here a foot-note acknowledges indebtedness to Dr. Owen for the use of his then unpublished thesis.

About half the book is given over to Williams' busy life (1750-1813). A Christian of his age, he was involved in the new movements which the Evangelical Revival was producing, in education, evangelism and missions. It was Williams who sent a circular letter to the Congregational Churches of England and Wales a year before Bogue's Address which led directly to the formation of the London Missionary Society. Dr. Owen devotes a chapter to Williams' leading part in planning the first and ill-fated Congregational Union, and suggests that the outcome of this Union might

have been very different had it observed the warning Williams gave it about interfering in the matter of chapel cases. 'Congregational churches are too well-acquainted with their inalienable right', said he, for attempts to control their appeals to succeed.

Williams' vocation was not so much as a pastor, though he was for a spell at Carrs Lane, as a theological tutor. This work began in a simple way when he was minister at Oswestry where he kept a day school. It developed, and for just over ten years he trained theological students there. But his chief work was at Rotherham Independent Academy from 1794 till his death. Dr. Owen gives us a picture of life in the Academy and of Williams' many interests and particularly his preaching at this time.

The remainder of the book rightly deals with Williams as a theologian and here the author has one's sympathies. Williams' terminology, phraseology, and indeed method, is foreign to theological students of the present day. Dr. Owen wrestles with this problem and clarifies much for us. We would, however, have welcomed a fuller account of Williams' doctrine and its relationship to what went before and what came after. One also wondered about the relative parts played by Andrew Fuller and Edward Williams. Perhaps some of the large space devoted to demonstrating Williams' influence—and here Dr. Owen has the advantage of being a Welshman like Williams and uses Welsh sources freely—might have been transferred to the section on theology.

The original, full text of the thesis probably had much more on Williams' theology in relation to that of the age, and copies of this have been deposited in the University of London Library and in New College. The book, however, is well documented. At last an important and distinguished Congregationalist has been given his right place in the sun.

An Apologeticall Narration by Robert S. Paul (United Church Press and Independent Press, 1963, 15s.)

This book contains a facsimile edition of the 1643 document by the five Dissenting Brethren in protest against the Presbyterianism of the Westminster Assembly, together with an extensive introduction to the situation at the time, biographical notes upon Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye and company, textual notes and a discussion of the principal issue, 'And what further authority?' It is a great pleasure for students of early Congregationalism to be able to have a copy of this beautiful as well as important and useful pamphlet on their shelves at so reasonable a price. As Dr. Paul

points out, the *Apologetical Narration* is a good guide to the simple and elementary characteristics of the Congregational or Middle Way. The work is well presented and fully documented and we are indebted to Dr. Paul and our friends in the United States for this contribution to historical study.

Saints and Sectaries by Emery Battis (North Carolina University Press and Oxford University Press, £3)

Emery Battis, we understand, is associate professor of history in Rutgers University. The dust-cover adds an unusual description: 'and a sometime off-Broadway actor'. This brief remark helps us to appreciate the somewhat unorthodox nature of the book. The opening chapters are by the professor of history but when the scene is set, the characters are assembled, and the action gets under way, the dramatist takes over.

John Winthrop from his seat at the center of the long table, surveyed the crowded hall. At last the hour had come when his defense of the faith and his concern for the commonweal must bring fruition.

Down the aisle came neighbor Hutchinson, a woman of proud bearing, who had lived across the street from him these past three years. How unlike his gentle Margaret whose letter from 'Sad Boston' written with 'a trembling heart' had reached him. (p. 191)

Yet in the same book we have 56 pages of appendices. The settlers concerned in the Hutchinsonian affair are here examined from many angles; the labour of innumerable hours is set out in detailed tables. The bibliography and index occupy another twenty pages.

The conclusion reached may be briefly, though inadequately, expressed for the benefit of readers of *Transactions* who are not likely to see the book, and it is that the Hutchinsonians represented an ideological and social protest against the old, stern, puritan pattern, which officially ruled both the church and the bay. They were drawn from the 'upper status group', rather than the poor; and the author cannot find much evidence of their sharing Anne Hutchinson's mysticism: they were 'practical, hardheaded Puritans'.

John Wilson, the Pastor of the church, who eventually delivered the sentence of excommunication upon Mrs. Hutchinson, appears as 'a crusty and formidable individual of dogmatic stamp and magnificently irascible temper' while John Cotton, the Teacher,

is 'an introspective, almost timid man', who 'shrank from human contacts', who wished to save his erring disciple from the worst penalties but could not because of her stubborn stand.

Dr. Battis' sympathies side with Mrs. Hutchinson generally. He feels the frustration which a gifted, intelligent woman suffered in a society which afforded no opportunities for leadership. He reminds us from time to time of her compassionate work as a midwife; and in an appendix he seeks to explain her behaviour in terms of menopausal symptoms. J.H.T.

By an oversight we omitted to say that *The Career of John Cotton* by Larzer Ziff, reviewed by Ralph F. G. Calder in our last issue (p. 242), published in the United States by Princeton University Press, is published in this country by the Oxford University Press, 48s.

Also Received

Historical Review of Bognor Regis Congregational Church—Triple Jubilee 1813-1963 (1963 n.p.).

Cotton End Old Meeting by H. G. Tibbutt (Cotton End Baptist Church, 1963, n.p.).

OUR CONTEMPORARIES

The Society is grateful for the following Journals, etc., which have been sent on an exchange basis:

The Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society of England Vol. XII No. 4 (July 1963) includes an article by N. Caplan, one of our own members, on 'The Stedman Case'; and a useful short historical note on 'Dissenters or Nonconformists' by J. M. Ross.

Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society Vol. XIII No. 1 (October 1963) also carries an article by Mr. Caplan:—'The Numerical Strength of Nonconformity, 1669-76: Sussex'. Dr. Jeremy Goring writes on 'Some neglected aspects of the Great Ejection of 1662', stressing the importance of the Solemn League and Covenant, and the problem of Parochial Discipline.

The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society Vol. 50 No. 2 (Autumn 1962) includes a further note by Richard T. Vann on 'Diggers and Quakers' (cf Vol. 49 No. 1).

The Baptist Quarterly Vol. XX:

No. 1 (January 1963) has a useful article on 'The Reverend John Ash, LL.D. 1724-1779' by G. H. Taylor.

No. 2 (April 1963) includes an account by K. R. Short of 'Baptist Wriothsley Noel', the evangelical Anglican who left the Establishment in 1848.

No. 3 (July 1963) has the first of a series of articles on 'Andrew Fuller and Fullerism' by E. F. Clipsham (the second is in No. 4, October 1963). R. K. Orchard's address to the OSA of the Northern College is included—'How far must we still take '1662' into account in Ecumenical Relations today?'

Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, Vol. XXXIV Parts 1, 2 and 3 (March, June and September 1963). W.W.B.

A NOTE ON THE EJECTED MINISTERS (1660-2) IN WALES

One of the most original and useful contributions to the tercentenary of the Great Ejection of 1662 is hidden from English eyes in no. 31 (August 1962) of our contemporary, *Y Cofiadur* (the Transactions of the Welsh Independents' Historical Society). The whole of this number (93 pages) is devoted to an annotated list of the ministers known to have been ejected in Wales, which has been compiled by the editor of *Y Cofiadur*, Dr. R. Tudur Jones, and Mr. B. G. Owens, together with a brief historical and statistical preface. From this it appears that 130 ministers were ejected from livings in Wales, some from each of the thirteen counties (i.e. including Monmouth), by far the largest number (23) being ejected from Glamorgan and the smallest (1) from Merioneth; and that nearly three-quarters of them were ejected *before* the passing of the Act of Uniformity in May 1662. The names of sixteen Welsh ministers included by Calamy in error are also given in an appendix.

In *Calamy Revised* A. G. Matthews deliberately omitted 'the ejections in the four Welsh dioceses', leaving these over 'to a native of the Principality'. Of the 130 Welshmen only ten find a place in *Calamy Revised*.

This slim volume thus does at last for Wales what Matthews did for England and deserves a place on the shelf beside *Calamy Revised*. The editors point out that, if the 120 new names be added to Matthews' figures for England, the total rises slightly higher than the traditional but often queried figure of two thousand; and some there will be who have no memorial. Thirty-four ministers are known to have conformed later, while two became Quakers. Twenty-two, a much higher proportion than in England, are listed as Congregational.

The ministers' wills, which are in English, sometimes indicate what books they specially valued. Matthew Jenkins, for instance, the ejected vicar of Gresford, Denbighshire, mentions Eusebius, Aquinas, Marlorat, Musculus, Ames, Chillingworth and Twisse. Eight of the Congregational men were of sufficient note to find inclusion in the *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* (1959). A number of references to some of these Welsh ejected ministers will also be found in two of the 1962 Hibbert Lectures, *The Beginnings of Nonconformity 1660-1700* (Jas. Clarke, 1964).

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL

THE CONGREGATIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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