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JD Jones, Lloyd-Jones and 1662

Congregational Studies
Conference 1999



JD Jones, Lloyd-Jones and 1662

**Peter Williams, John Legg
and Mervyn Neal**

**Congregational Studies Conference
Papers 1999**

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For information on EFCC and previous Congregational Studies Conference
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The papers are printed in the order in which they were given at the Conference; as usual each contributor is entirely responsible for the views expressed in his paper.

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Foreword

Someone once wrote, ‘History teaches us the mistakes we are going to make’. This is another way of saying that we learn from history that we do not learn from history, but go on making the mistakes of our predecessors.

Peter Williams drew a picture of the larger-than-life JD Jones of Bournemouth, preacher and ecclesiastical statesman.

John Legg opened up for us Dr Lloyd-Jones’ teaching on assurance. His thorough treatment will surely drive many of us to look afresh at what “the Doctor” had to say.

Mervyn Neal looked at the Great Ejection of 1662, underlining ‘the significant effect that it had in strengthening the Non-Conformist and Congregational causes’, p. 41.

It was a profitable and enjoyable conference and we look forward to meeting again, DV, next year at Westminster Chapel on 11 March 2000.

Derek Swann

Cardiff



*JD Jones (photograph courtesy of
Peter Williams)*

*Richmond Hill
Congregational Church,
Bournemouth (now URC)
(photograph courtesy of
Peter Williams)*



JD Jones, Bournemouth (1865–1942)

and his contribution to Congregationalism

Peter Williams

Early Years

Rev. Dr John Daniel Jones, known throughout the English-speaking world as JD Jones, Bournemouth, but more familiarly to his friends simply as JD, was born on 13 April 1865 in the little town of Ruthin in North Wales. He came from a Christian background, his paternal grandfather being a zealous Wesleyan Methodist lay preacher who would tramp up to twenty miles on a Sunday to preach the gospel. His father Joseph David Jones and his mother Catherine were also staunch believers, and with their four sons, Owen, Haydn, JD and Lincoln, attended the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Chapel in Towyn. JD was able to converse in Welsh but he never mastered the language sufficiently well to feel confident enough to preach in Welsh. They were a devout family attending both Sunday morning and evening services, Sunday School in the afternoon and the Thursday evening Society Meeting where the children had to repeat Bible verses and reproduce the headings of the sermons preached on the previous Sunday. Even in retirement JD kept the exercise books in which as a child he wrote the notes of the sermons he had heard.

There were other Christian influences that helped to shape JD's early life. His home provided hospitality for the visiting preachers to the chapel, and, since it was the custom in those days for Calvinistic ministers to itinerate in the denomination three Sundays in four, it meant that he came into contact with a great number of preachers in his own home. Often the visiting ministers would also preach on Sunday afternoons at the little country chapel some four miles from Towyn and JD would sometimes accompany them. Some of these preachers were the great pulpit figures of the day, men like Owen Thomas and John Hughes of Liverpool, DC Davies of Trevecca, Roger Edwards of Mold, William Rees the one-eyed preacher, Michael Jones the Principal of Bala College and the great Dr Herbert Evans who was a household name in Wales. It may well have been that hearing these men preach the Word of God from the pulpit and listening to them talk about preaching and preachers in the close proximity of his own home, had some influence upon the young JD in leading him to the decision later in life to enter the ministry. As a boy of about eight he began playing the harmonium for the chapel services and when he left Towyn at the age of twelve he was presented with a

copy of Thomas Charles' Welsh Bible Dictionary. What is remarkable is that he had had no musical training and the explanation for his harmonium playing must be that he was naturally gifted in this direction and had inherited such a gift from his father who was passionately fond of music. Joseph David Jones was a teacher at the British School in Towyn and later ran his own Academy for the sons of prosperous farmers and business men, since at that time there was no system of secondary education in Wales. His musical gift was put to good use when he produced a small hymn book of his own compositions which became the first of its kind among the Welsh Congregationalists. *Gwalchmai* (245 in *Christian Hymns*) was one of his tunes.¹

JD says that he enjoyed a happy home when growing up and that the things of the Spirit were well to the fore-front of family life. The day always began with family prayers and after the early death of his father at the age of forty-two his mother continued this practice with the children having to repeat Bible verses and then being committed to God in prayer for the remainder of the day.²

In 1887 an event took place which changed the direction of JD's life—his mother married for the second time. Her new husband was the Rev. David Morgan Bynner, the minister of the Congregational church at Chorley. It was a happy marriage and JD held his step-father in high regard. He says of him:

My stepfather never acquired any great fame as a preacher. The highest honour that came to his lot was his election to the chair of the Hampshire Congregational Union, after years of faithful ministry at Sandown [Isle of Wight]. ... He was a real book worm, but I think a certain timidity and nervousness hindered him from gaining the influence his gifts deserved. One thing that militated against his effectiveness as a preacher was his pulpit voice. He had a perfectly pleasant speaking voice, but it became artificial in the pulpit. He was Welsh by descent and he cultivated something like the Welsh *hwyl*, which was not natural and introduced an element of sing-song into his delivery and detracted from the effectiveness of his preaching. Yet, when all is said and done, he was a good minister of Jesus Christ and I owe much to his teaching, influence and example.³

During his time at Chorley, JD became a member of his father's church (St George's Street) and says of that event 'I experienced no sudden conversion. I had been brought up in the faith ... and joining the church was for me the public profession that I had taken Christ as my own Lord and Saviour'. He was

1 JD Jones, *Three Score Years and Ten* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1940), p. 12.

2 *Ibid.* pp. 11–16.

3 *Ibid.* pp. 24–25.

involved in Sunday School work and also played the organ for the services. He attended the local Grammar School at Chorley and later Owen's College at Manchester on the strength of a scholarship. At Owen's he took his BA degree with second class honours.⁴ In 1886, when he was a little over twenty-one his church commended him to the Lancashire Congregational College to train for the ministry.⁵ In those days the BD degree course was not open to Free Church students so the Free Church authorities introduced their own academic course equivalent to the BD called the ATS diploma (Associate of the Theological Senate). JD came second in the honours division and on the strength of that was allowed to sit for the St Andrews University BD, and was the first person to take that degree who was not a St Andrews student.⁶ In 1914, when he was an established figure in Congregationalism, St Andrews conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity.⁷ He also received at a later date honorary DDs from the University of Wales and from the University of Manchester. In 1906 he was invited to become Principal of the Yorkshire Congregational College but turned it down. In 1912 he was asked to become General Secretary of the LMS but refused, and in the same year was invited to become the Principal of the Lancashire Congregational College but did not accept that either.

Ministry and Preaching

I now want to say something about JD's ministry and preaching. There is no doubt that JD was one of the most popular preachers of his day and was known all over the English speaking world. He would undertake preaching tours in America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, and wherever he preached in this country, crowds would flock to hear him. He was always being asked to preach at the 'big' occasions such as the International Congregational Council, which he addressed several times, and the Free Church Federal Council, of which he later became chairman, as well as being the first Free Church minister to preach at Canterbury Cathedral. On different occasions he also preached at Hereford, Liverpool and Worcester Cathedrals, and, by way of contrast to that, DL Moody the famous American evangelist had him to preach on three occasions at his Northfield Bible Conference. I must confess that I am puzzled as to why he was in such demand as a preacher because we frequently find him described as a well-known preacher and a

4 Ibid. pp. 28-30.

5 Ibid. p. 27.

6 Ibid. p. 33.

7 Ibid. p. 34.

popular preacher but never as a 'great' preacher in the mould of Dr Joseph Parker or JE Jowett, both of whom he knew extremely well. If I might add a personal reference here, when I was minister at Richmond Hill, I had several older members who had been under JD's ministry and whilst they spoke highly of his preaching, of the vast crowds who attended the services and of his commanding presence in the pulpit (for he was a big man physically) they never once, as I remember, spoke of fiery eloquence or great powers of oratory. In fairness to JD, he himself says in one of his writings, 'I never have been a fluent extempore speaker. Words come much more freely to my pen than they do to my lips'. Here are a couple of illustrations of that.

He preached his first sermon when he was about eighteen at the village of White Coppice, about four miles from Chorley. A certain Alfred Eccles owned the local mill, where he would hold services on Sunday afternoons, and he invited JD to speak. He agreed, and when the day came he nervously made his way to the meeting, comforting himself with the thought that he had in his pocket his sermon manuscript carefully written out word for word. Because the day was fine and warm it was decided to hold the meeting outside. JD felt himself beginning to panic but calmed down when a desk was provided on which he could place his manuscript. After reading a couple of pages, a sudden breeze blew the rest of the papers away across the field in a dozen different directions. He really did panic this time and after struggling to carry on for a few minutes he was forced to bring his message to a disastrous close.⁸ A similar thing happened when he filled his first preaching supply as a theological student at the English Congregational Church in Bangor, North Wales. He preached the only two sermons he possessed, but a fortnight later the Principal told him that the Bangor church had asked for him again on the following Sunday. JD explained that he had no more sermons, but the Principal told him to write two others. In the four days left, he struggled to write one sermon and for the other he borrowed a sermon manuscript belonging to his step-father. However, when he came to preach it he found the spidery handwriting so hard to decipher that he got stuck in the middle of a quotation and felt so helpless that he had to bring his message to an end. It was a calamitous experience and he was never invited to preach there again, but he says he learned two things from the experience. Firstly, he would never be an extempore preacher, or even able to preach from skeleton notes and, secondly, never again would he preach another man's sermon.⁹

And here is a third embarrassing incident which confirmed once and for all

8 Ibid. pp. 26–27.

9 Ibid. p. 32.

that he would always be totally dependent on a full sermon manuscript. He had been in the habit of reading his sermons from an exercise book and turning over the pages. His college principal advised him to use loose leaves written on one side so that the fact that he was reading would not be so conspicuous. Just a few weeks after entering his first ministry at Lincoln, where the congregation would be a thousand or more, his sleeve sent the loose sheets fluttering down on to the members of the choir, sitting immediately beneath the pulpit. He then had the mortifying experience of waiting for one of the choir members to collect them, hand them back to him in the pulpit, where he shuffled them into their correct order and continued from where he had left off. During the whole of the time, the congregation waited in deathly silence. That settled it. He never again tried to hide from the congregation the fact that he read his sermons.¹⁰ However, it must be said, and I have had this confirmed by members of Richmond Hill, that he had cultivated the art of reading his sermon in such a way that the vast majority of his hearers never knew that he *was* reading.

In spite of all that has been said about his dependence upon a full manuscript, JD was a preacher of peculiar power. His first church on leaving college is an evidence of that. It was Newland Congregational Church, Lincoln. He was only twenty-four years old and this was one of the leading churches in the denomination with three mission stations attached to it, and JD was very conscious of his lack of experience. It was an imposing building seating 1,200, with a congregation that filled the downstairs in the morning, with a fair sprinkling in the gallery, and which was filled to capacity in the evening. JD never wore clerical dress in the pulpit, apart from the white tie which Free Church ministers wore in those days.¹¹ Whilst at Newland he married Emily Cunliffe and had two children, a boy Gwilym and a daughter Myfanwy. He remained there for nine and a half years and made friendships among many of the leading figures in Congregationalism including Dr Joseph Parker of the City Temple, Dr Fairbairn—Principal of Mansfield Congregational College, Oxford, Guinness Rogers, JH Jowett, PT Forsyth, Alexander Hanney, RW Dale, Sylvester Horne and Charles Berry.

In 1898 JD accepted a call to Richmond Hill Congregational Church, Bournemouth, where he had already preached on two previous occasions and where he was to remain for the next forty years. We all know that there are arguments for and against long-term ministries, but in his case such a long

¹⁰ Ibid. pp. 48–49.

¹¹ Ibid. pp. 36–37.

period more than justified itself. At the end of forty years the influence of his ministry had not diminished and the vast crowd who attended the services remained the same. Richmond Hill was already a leading church in the country under the powerful preaching of Ossian Davies, another Welshman, when JD went there, but during his time it became known as the Cathedral of Nonconformity and drew worshippers from all the denominations. The building itself is very impressive in a semi-gothic style, seating 1,460, but capable of taking an extra two or three hundred, as often happened in JD's day since Bournemouth itself was becoming a leading seaside resort. During the holiday season the stewards were faced with an impossible task of seating everyone and many would be turned away.

You must forgive me if I speak again from my own experience as a past minister of Richmond Hill but I had members there who had themselves actually queued outside the church on a Sunday to be certain of getting a seat. One of those members, a Miss Pollard, had been JD's housekeeper and she would talk of him not only as a great public figure and preacher of a famous church but as a true and kindly pastor. Even with a membership running into more than a thousand he knew his people by name and his geniality and kindness made him easy to talk to. He was also, in spite of all the honours heaped on him during his ministry, a very modest man. He says this about his acceptance of the call to Richmond Hill at the age of thirty-four:

Succeeding such a man as Ossian Davies was no small undertaking. To begin with, I was conscious that my style of preaching was vastly different from his. I had none of the rushing eloquence which Ossian possessed in such full degree. I never perorated. I was just "a plain man who spoke straight on". At first I wondered how the congregation would fare on the simple food they would get from me, after being used to the rich diet Ossian provided for them Sunday by Sunday.¹²

I would like to add something else to that. After I had been at Richmond Hill about a month or so I was invited to a dinner at the Queen's Hotel in Bournemouth to be followed by an address by the late Dr Martyn Lloyd-Jones. I was put to sit next to him at the meal and about the first thing he said to me was, "So you are the new minister of Richmond Hill. Well, you are following a great tradition. I knew JD; he was a very fine preacher and I preached at Richmond Hill a couple of times." He then asked me how old I was and I told him forty. He said that was about the age he was on becoming Assistant to Campbell Morgan at Westminster Chapel and JD had helped him make that decision. (In fact ML-J was thirty-nine). I then asked him to give me some

12 Ibid. pp. 70–71.

advice on how to conduct my ministry. He said I should do what JD did, preach the Word.

I have often been asked the question “Was JD an Evangelical?” I can answer that best by allowing him to speak for himself as he looks back to the 1930s period:

It is curious, with my present-day reputation for Evangelical orthodoxy, to remember that once I was considered a rather dangerous modernist.

I have, throughout my ministry, taken for granted the critical conception of the Bible as the record of God’s revelation of himself until that Revelation culminated in Jesus Christ. For me this conception of the Bible did not create difficulties, it removed them. ... The Social Gospel became the popular Gospel. ... Better wages, better hours, better housing, better conditions generally—they were all desirable things and on the platform, I was always ready to plead for them. But the real mischief was more deeply seated. Perhaps it was my knowledge of my own heart and my own sense of need, that made me feel the truth of our Lord’s great word, “Except a man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God”. So all through my ministry I have been an Evangelical preacher. I have made it my business to proclaim to men the redeeming grace of God in Christ. ... I have no doubt an examination of my sermons over the fifty years would reveal changes of emphasis. But in the central thing I have not changed. I have preached Christ crucified as the wisdom of God and the saving power of God.¹³

One lovely story told by JD in connection with Richmond Hill concerns Dr Joseph Parker. The week of JD’s induction to the pastorate Joseph Parker was to preach at Richmond Hill and during a moment when the two were alone in the vestry Dr Parker said: “You are just about to begin your ministry in this church; will you take an old man’s blessing?” He then laid his hands on JD’s head and commended him to Almighty God. JD says that he was no believer in supernatural grace through the laying on of episcopal hands, but to have the blessing of such a great preacher at the outset of his ministry was tremendous encouragement to him.¹⁴

Just a couple of other things about his Richmond Hill days before we move on. During his time there he received an invitation to become the minister of the famous Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York, which he turned down. As an interesting aside to that, and to give you some idea of how things have changed in the ministry, here are the terms he was offered. A stipend of \$10,000 (this in 1910), an adequate residence, a private secretary, \$6,000 for pastoral assistance, a substantial hospitality allowance and three months

13 Ibid. pp. 71,311–313.

vacation a year.¹⁵ The following year, 1911, he was asked to succeed JH Jowett, who had left Carrs Lane, Birmingham, for Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, but again he felt led to refuse this call as well. He was also asked at this time to stand for Parliament by the secretary of the Liberal Party and he was told he could have his own choice of constituencies. This, too, he turned down, quoting in his letter of refusal the words of Nehemiah: “I am doing a great work so that I cannot come down”. Interested as he was in politics, it would have been for him a “come down” to leave the pulpit for the political arena.¹⁶ In 1938, the town council of Bournemouth conferred on him the Freedom of the County Borough for his contribution to its civic and religious life.¹⁷ His greatest contribution I feel was his deep interest in church extension work. During his ministry he established eight Congregational churches in the Bournemouth area, each of which was funded in turn by Richmond Hill until it was able to become independent and call its own minister. In the field of education he founded the Wentworth Milton Mount private school for the daughters of Congregational ministers, with generous bursaries for those who could not afford the fees.

Ecclesiastical Statesman

I want to say something now about JD’s contribution to Congregationalism. There is no doubt that he was a born ecclesiastical statesman and was as much at home on the platform as in the pulpit. Indeed he was sometimes spoken of as the Bishop of Congregationalism and, if he didn’t like that term, it was certainly true that he was the dominant leader and spokesman in the denomination and his contribution to the well-being of Congregationalism cannot be overestimated. His first appearance on the Congregational Assembly platform (May meetings as we used to call them) was in 1891 when he led the devotions at the opening meeting. Thereafter, for almost forty years, he was the principal figure at the Assembly. He was elected chairman of the Union in 1909 and again in 1925. He and Dr Joseph Parker were the only two men to receive that double honour. One of the first things he did was to set up a committee to look at the whole question of ministerial support. At that time the average stipend was around £80 per year, a paltry sum even in those days. JD set himself the task of establishing a minimum basic stipend of £120 for all Congregational ministers. This was a truly Herculean task since it involved raising a capital sum of a quarter of a million pounds. That was in 1909. In

14 Ibid. p. 65.

15 Ibid. pp. 142–149.

16 Ibid. p. 311.

17 Ibid. pp. 271–272.

today's money values it would be millions. For the next three years, JD worked unceasingly and travelled all over the country speaking at church meetings in an effort to raise money. It seems incredible to us now, but he had many obstacles to overcome. There were those churches who opposed the scheme because they thought of it as an "endowment", others because they felt £120 a year would lead to a measure of pride; but the biggest obstacle of all was the ingrained independency of the churches which resisted the idea of having a denominational burden placed upon them. JD won through in the end and the Fund was finally established at a great meeting held in the Albert Hall in May 1913.¹⁸ It is my own opinion that only JD could have done it and that for two reasons. First, he had numerous influential and wealthy contacts throughout the denomination. Second, he had a natural genius for getting people to part with their money. Lloyd-George, the Prime Minister and a personal friend of his, once said, "If JD was a politician instead of a minister he would get people to pay income tax without them knowing they were paying it".¹⁹

Let me give you an example of this particular genius of his. The very first week he set the scheme in operation he touched the pocket of WH Brown, a banker, and received a gift of £10,000. The same week he travelled around Lancashire calling on certain friends, the first being WW Pilkington the glass manufacturer and asked him for £5,000 and got it. The same day he dined with Jesse Haworth another friend at Southport and after making his plea he saw Haworth signalling to his wife at the other end of the table by raising three fingers. JD guessed what he was saying and without a word raised five fingers and walked out from there with another five thousand pounds. That went on for the rest of the week and when he arrived back in Bournemouth on the Friday he had £22,250. What made this scheme so important was the fact that it was something entirely new in Congregationalism. It overcame that rigid sense of Independency whereby the churches in the Union each lived its own detached, isolated life, and it gave meaningfulness and content to the concept of Union by giving them a sense of responsibility for each other. In short it was an exercise in Fellowship.²⁰

His next great accomplishment in Congregationalism was the establishing of the Moderatorial system. At that time Congregationalism was simply a loose connection of independent churches, and the principle of Independency of which they were so fiercely proud was also one of their greatest dangers because it laid them open to all kinds of quarrels and difficulties. There was, for

18 Ibid. pp. 96–105.

19 Alexander Gammie, *Preachers I have Heard* (London: Pickering & Inglis, nd), p. 167.

20 JD Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 97–105.

example, no system of settlements and removals for ministers and the churches were exposed to the attentions of all kinds of undesirable men as candidates for the pulpit. If there was a dispute in a local church there was no one to whom they could turn for an objective and impartial point of view. JD's answer to all this was the division of the country into nine provinces each with its own elected Moderator, who would be the link between the county unions. He would also act as a representative of the Central Union to the churches and advise in matters of county administration, help in the settlement and removal of ministers and, in general, give counsel to both the churches and ministers in the province. The strong streak of Independency was again in evidence with many of the churches opposing the scheme because to them it smacked of the introduction of the principle of Episcopacy into Congregationalism. JD on the other hand argued that, whilst in the NT churches were congregational and independent in government, they also had a strong measure of Apostolic oversight and it was this mission element of oversight that would keep Congregationalism alive and effective. He eventually won the day and the Moderatorial system was in operation in 1919 with the provision that the Moderators should be appointed for five years and if, at the end of that time, the experiment had failed, it was to be scrapped. However, in spite of continued opposition in some quarters, the scheme was finally confirmed at the Assembly of 1924.²¹

JD's third big denominational effort came in 1922. He was deeply concerned about the plight of retired pastors and pastors' widows. There were funds in existence for both these causes but they provided a mere pittance—£30 a year for retired ministers and even less than that for the widows. JD proposed to the Council that they should double these amounts and then went further and said they should be really bold and launch what he called the Forward Movement, to raise half a million pounds to put the denominational house in order and underpin the Retirement Fund, the Widow's fund, the cost of the Union's administration and the expenses of the moderatorial system. He launched the appeal to a packed meeting in the City Temple and one of the first things he did was to arrange a dinner to which he invited about sixty of his most influential contacts, including three Prime Ministers, Asquith, Lloyd-George and Baldwin. Baldwin was in office and JD asked him to speak on "The Christian Use of Money". Baldwin was dubious and said he didn't feel he could do it, since there was no precedent for that kind of thing. JD reminded him that Asquith had done a similar thing for him in 1913 for one of his other schemes and Baldwin replied: "Well, if Asquith did it, I

21 Ibid. 106–115.

can do it". He did, and spoke for twenty minutes on "The Christian Use of Money" and at the end of the evening JD had promised of £22,366. He had set himself a target of three years to collect the half million and at the end of that time he had actually gathered £501,476. When he announced this at the May Assembly of 1925 there was a great cheer and the vast congregation rose and sang the Doxology.²²

On the wider ecclesiastical scene, JD was spokesman for the whole cause of nonconformity in the country.²³ He was involved in the politics of his day and stood for what was generally called the nonconformist conscience. He was a Liberal in his political sympathies but he never became involved in party politics. He says this:

I never flung myself into the rough and tumble of politics, and I scrupulously avoided anything like party politics in the pulpit. The pulpit was sacred to the proclamation of the Gospel of Grace and the exposition of the will of Christ.²⁴

His first foray on the political front on behalf of the Free Churches concerned the Balfour Education Act of 1902.²⁵ He would often discuss the issue with Lloyd George and speak alongside him on the platform. This friendship continued all through his Richmond Hill ministry, with Lloyd George spending short stays at Bournemouth discussing Education, Home Rule, control of the drink trade, Health Insurance, Old Age Pensions and other political issues of the day as they played golf together.²⁶

In 1927, JD's contribution to the religious and civic life of the nation was recognised by being included in the Birthday Honours list by Stanley Baldwin and his appointment to the Order of Companion of Honour.²⁷

Personalia

I want to close by saying something about some of JD's contemporaries in the ministry and what he had to say about them.

He had a tremendous regard for Dr Joseph Parker of City Temple and thought him one of the greatest preachers of the day. He reigned like a king at the City Temple and was a law unto himself. The collection would be handed to him by the stewards and he would pay all the expenses without publishing any accounts.²⁸ JD says that Parker had his eccentricities and he never made a

22 Ibid. pp. 116–122.

23 Ibid. pp. 224–250.

24 Ibid. p. 225.

25 Ibid. pp. 136–137, 225.

26 Ibid. pp. 230, 239.

27 Ibid. p. 243.

28 Alexander Gammie, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

speech without saying something that was better left unsaid. At the age of twenty one he heard Parker for the first time and listened spellbound to preaching that was vivid, flashing, full of passion and power. He was a massive figure of a man with a great leonine head and shaggy locks.²⁹ JD tells many stories about Parker but I particularly like this one. Parker told the congregation at his mid-day Thursday service that he was filled with trepidation at the thought of preaching the following Sunday because he had received a letter from a gentleman saying that he was coming along in order to make a philosophical analysis of his sermon. He then paused and said, “I may add that my trepidation is somewhat mitigated by the fact that the gentleman spells philosophical with an ‘f’.”³⁰

Sir William Robertson Nicoll, minister of the Free Church of Scotland and founder of the *British Weekly* newspaper, was another man he admired. He did not regard him as a great preacher but says his sermons were always profound and full of deep content. He was something of a mystic, said JD, but like many other gifted men he was absent-minded. He was a pipe-smoker and a great conversationalist. He would take a puff and start talking but by the time he went to take another puff the pipe would have gone out and he would have to relight it. JD said that in this way he got through more matches than tobacco. On one occasion he had been preaching at Richmond Hill and JD took him to the station. Just before the train came in, he started feeling in his pockets and said: “I haven’t any matches”. JD went to the machine and bought a box. “Have you got your pipe?” he asked. “Yes I’ve got my pipe” he answered. When JD got back to the manse he found the pipe on the mantelpiece. He thought “Perhaps he won’t miss it very much—he’s got matches to strike”. On another occasion, JD was with him at a dinner. When coffee came Nicoll didn’t want any. JD was making a speech and suddenly his eye caught Nicoll absent-mindedly taking the half-empty cup of the minister sitting next to him and finishing it off.³¹

Dr Andrew M Fairbairn, Founder and Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford, was a man of massive scholarship. JD said of his preaching “It was very deep, very high and, above all, very long”. He heard him preach on one occasion at the LMS and when he had lunch with him afterwards Fairbairn could only speak in a whisper because his sermon had lasted an hour and twenty minutes.³² On another occasion, Fairbairn had to speak at the second International Congregational Council in Boston, America. The building seated 2,500. Fairbairn gave a lecture on Christian Theology and Other Religions. After forty minutes of speaking, Fairbairn

29 JD Jones, op. cit., pp. 66–67.

30 Alexander Gammie, op.cit., p. 39.

31 JD Jones, op. cit., pp. 236–237.

32 Ibid. p. 278.

said: "And now firstly, I want to say" ... JD said that something like a thousand people got up and walked out but Fairbairn was not a bit perturbed and went on a further hour.³³ Once he preached for seventy minutes at an anniversary in north east Scotland and, when giving out the last hymn, apologised that lack of time prevented adequate treatment of his subject, at which an elderly woman said, loud enough for all to hear: "Guid God, he's nae gaun to begin again?"³⁴

Speaking of PT Forsyth, JD said he had one peculiarity. He was a cold mortal. He used to wear a great astrakhan overcoat and would keep it on to the last minute before preaching. JD said that when a guest at his home, PT would sit on one side of the study fire talking, still with his overcoat on.³⁵ (Those of us who knew him will remember that the late Dr Lloyd-Jones had a similar peculiarity).

JD retired to Brynbanon near the little town of Bala, but continued writing, preaching and taking an interest in denominational affairs, until his death in April 1942 in his seventy seventh year. On his tombstone are the simple words: "Preacher of the Gospel".³⁶

33 Ibid. p. 131.

34 Alexander Gammie, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

35 JD Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

36 Alexander Gammie, *op. cit.*, p. 169.



Dr and Mrs Lloyd-Jones at Westminster Chapel in 1960 (photograph supplied by John Legg).

God's Own Testimony¹

Dr Martyn Lloyd-Jones' doctrine of assurance

John Legg

With the centenary of the Doctor's birth on 20 December 1899 rapidly approaching, it is appropriate that this year's conference should include a consideration of some aspect of his teaching. It would be good to have a brief overall assessment of his place in the history of the 20th century church—but this is not it. For such a treatment of ML-J's significance we should turn in the first place to Iain Murray's fine two-volume biography. May I, for my part, simply place on record, not merely my own immense personal debt to him, especially while I was a member of the congregation of Westminster Chapel from 1955–1960, but also my conviction that he was God's finest gift to the church in the United Kingdom in this century.

Mainly, he affected that church, not by his public teaching—he never claimed to be a theologian, but rather an evangelist—but by his direct influence upon individuals and organisations, even whole denominations and inter-denominational bodies, such as the IVF/UCCF and the BEC. Little in his ministry was original, apart, of course, from the power from on high which characterised his preaching; chiefly he directed his hearers back to the Reformers, the Puritans and the great men of the 18th century. That, however, is not to say that he just repeated the past, still less that he ignored the Scriptures. In detailed exposition of the Word of God, and also in relevant application to his own times, he excelled; he was quite definitely his own man. I believe his greatest positive contribution to Biblical teaching was his exposition of Romans 6, in which he surpassed even Professor John Murray, although arguing in broadly the same way.

In the present state of evangelicalism, the aspect of his teaching, which demands our consideration, and which was in fact original as far as most of his actual hearers were concerned, is the topic that has been assigned to me: his doctrine of assurance. He, himself, regarded this as very important—I'm sure he must at some point have stated that “this was undoubtedly the most relevant doctrine for our day and generation”; he believed that certain aspects had been neglected for many years and that he was recalling the church to her roots. It certainly provoked much interest, more than anything else, except

¹ John Calvin, quoted in *Sifted Silver*, compiled by John Blanchard (Darlington: Evangelical Press, 1995), p. 9.

perhaps his teaching on ecclesiastical separation, culminating in the notorious confrontation with John Stott in 1966.² It has influenced many, both those who understood, and those who did not grasp what he was really saying and so mis-used his name and influence.

It is not my task or right, still less my ability or intention, to sit in judgement on him, but some assessment is both inevitable and healthy. In particular, it is important to see where his teaching has been wrongly interpreted, and so misused, to support ideas and practices that he would undoubtedly have rejected. It is also important, in the light of a tendency to concentrate on the more controversial elements in his ministry, to redress the balance by reminding ourselves of his basic doctrinal foundations, in modern parlance, of “where he was coming from”. With this we shall begin.

I. The Reformed Doctrine of Assurance

This topic occupied a large part of his pulpit ministry, as well as his pastoral dealings with individuals. There is a mountain of data available on this subject, so I must be especially selective.

Final Perseverance

We have to begin with the doctrine of final perseverance, since it is the only safe basis for real assurance. To say, with John Wesley, that we may and must be sure we are Christians and saved, and then to add that we may lose that salvation tomorrow, is utterly worthless. Thus ML-J’s volume on Romans 5 is entitled *Assurance*, not so much because he deals with the subjective conviction, as because he expounds the certainty of the triumph of grace.

In this volume he argues very strongly, against most other expositors, that the theme of Romans chapters 5–8 is not sanctification, but final perseverance:

My suggestion is that the Apostle is concerned primarily from this point [5: 1] onwards to show us the absolute character, the fulness and the finality of the salvation which comes to us in the way he has already described, namely, as a result of justification by faith ... our salvation is absolute, complete and final, and ... nothing can ever rob us of it.³

He does, of course, recognise that chapters 6 and 7 dealing with objections to the doctrine of justification by faith are vital for our sanctification, but that is not the theme of the section. In fact, he argues, especially from the jump “straight from justification to glorification” in Romans 8:30, that “if you are in this place and scheme of salvation at all, the whole is guaranteed to you. Once

² See the account in Iain H Murray, *D Martyn Lloyd-Jones, The Fight of Faith* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1990), p. 522f.

³ DM Lloyd-Jones, *Assurance* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1971), p. 3.

you are in this, you are in it until you are glorified".⁴ Later in the volume he writes, "Thank God for the power of the reign of grace. This is the ground of assurance. It is because of this that we can be certain He will never let us go."⁵

The same conviction governs his approach to chapter 8:5–17. At the very beginning, where he describes the character of true believers, he states again that, "The Apostle's purpose is to show the absolute certainty and finality of the full and complete salvation of those who are 'in Christ Jesus' ... They are the only people for whom there is no condemnation and to whom, therefore, this certainty of final and complete salvation applies".⁶ In the next volume, which he entitled *The Final Perseverance of the Saints*, he states at the outset that, "The purpose of the whole of the 8th chapter ... is to show Christian people the way to a full assurance of their salvation".⁷ In part this refers to the doctrine of the witness of the Spirit, to which we shall have to return, but the basis is still the doctrine of perseverance.

The Doctrines of Grace

So he takes time to explain and stress all the doctrines of grace, the so-called five points of Calvinism, because they are relevant to this great theme. He deals with passages such as Hebrews 6 and 10 in this context, even quoting Dr John Gill on particular redemption and 2 Peter 2:1, because "it is very sad that there should be anyone who does not enjoy the assurance which is given by this sublime doctrine", i.e. final perseverance, adding, "I am concerned only with those people who are genuinely perplexed".⁸ More positively, he argues as follows, from God's gift of his own Son in 8:32: "If God has already done the greatest thing of all for our salvation, then it is quite unthinkable that He should fail to continue His work in us until he has brought us to the final goal of ultimate perfection and glorification." Arguing, typically, that doctrine matters, he says that "the comfort and the assurance the Apostle gives us is based directly on doctrine. If you desire to have real assurance of your salvation, the firmer your grasp upon Christian doctrine is the greater your assurance will be".⁹

In this context it is clear that his doctrine is not an unbalanced "eternal security", but the historic Reformed doctrine of the final perseverance of the saints; there are no half measures about it. I make this point, because it has

4 Ibid. p. 7.

5 Ibid. p. 354.

6 DM Lloyd-Jones, *The Sons of God* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1974), p. 1.

7 DM Lloyd-Jones, *The Final Perseverance of the Saints* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1975), p. 1.

8 Ibid. p. 264.

9 Ibid. p. 381.

sometimes been thought, and even publicly asserted, that the Doctor was not really “Reformed” at all—and this, not by the hyper-calvinist fringe, but by some who have a very narrow view of what it means to be Reformed, ie that you must mention the doctrines of grace, particularly limited atonement, at every opportunity. His view of the majesty and sovereignty of God, leading to great awe and fear of the Lord, was expressed not only in sermons but in every service that he conducted, showing what it really means to be Reformed, in a way that Calvin himself would recognise as genuine! However, even in the narrow sense of believing and preaching certain doctrines, he passed the test—the only qualification being, that he never introduced the sovereignty of God gratuitously, but only where it arose directly from the text, or, as in Romans 8, where it was absolutely necessary in order to defend or apply his exposition. On the subject of assurance it was necessary, so he expounded the whole scheme.

False Assurance of Salvation

ML-J was very well-read indeed in church history and much of his teaching was moulded by his awareness of what had gone before—not, of course to detract from the authority of Scripture, but to make his teaching relevant. He was, therefore, aware that the Reformers taught—or were alleged to have taught—that assurance was in some sense “of the essence of faith”. More recently it has been argued that Calvin, for instance, was defining what faith ought to be, not what it was, and that he does allow for weak but genuine believers.¹⁰ In any case, the Doctor would have none of this. His pastoral heart, as well as his biblical awareness, revolted against the idea. He knew and taught that one can be a true Christian and yet lack assurance.

He followed the Westminster divines, who drew a distinction, he says, “in the Confession (chapter xviii) between being saved, and knowing that you are saved. They say that a person can be saved and yet lack assurance, and that assurance is not essential to salvation.”¹¹ He accepted that there could be a basic assurance by a Christian’s consciousness that he believed the promises of Scripture. However, he knew that there are times for most of us when we doubt our salvation. We fall into sin, or are intimidated by false teachers, which seems to be what had happened to John’s readers, like many today, who are made to feel inferior by some who claim that God has spoken to them directly, and so their hearts condemn them, 1 John 3:21. What is the value of

¹⁰ See Paul Helm, *Calvin and the Calvinists* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1982), p. 23f.

¹¹ DM Lloyd-Jones, *Sons of God*, p. 247.

being sure that the gospel is true, if we are not sure that it applies to us, if we are not sure of our conversion? "Does it really apply to me?" we may ask.

It is in such cases that the Doctor—and I use the title advisedly—that the Doctor excelled. In the volume on the whole armour of God in Ephesians 6, there are three sermons devoted to the proper response to this problem.¹² He asserts, first of all, that, "All Christian people are meant to have assurance of salvation ... The Christian is not meant to remain in doubt and uncertainty."¹³ He denounces the Roman Catholic way of keeping people in uncertainty to ensure their dependence on the priesthood. In contrast he recommends the book by his great hero, Jonathan Edwards, *A Treatise concerning the Religious Affections*,¹⁴ and other works by the Puritans, Richard Sibbes and Thomas Brooks. (We should, perhaps, note that he was not so keen on some other Puritans, such as Thomas Shepard!) The sermons contained in *Spiritual Depression—its causes and cure*¹⁵ show another approach to the same issue.

However, his next concern is that too many have a false assurance. The following quotation is typical of his attitude and is a good explanation of one reason why he refused to participate in or support mass evangelism of the Billy Graham type and also criticised the Evangelism Explosion method:

What is the cause of the condition in which a Christian believer [I think he means a nominal believer], a professor of the Christian faith, is of the opinion that all is well, and seems to have a great and wonderful assurance? One of the chief causes is that somehow or other he has been ushered into the Christian life too precipitately. This condition is commonest in people whose conversion has been forced. It is often the result of a mere intellectual assent to the truth without the knowledge of the power of the truth. There is a type of evangelism which urges people to say, "Here it is, this is what Scripture says. Are you prepared to say you agree to it?" "Yes!" "Very good, you are a Christian, all is well".¹⁶

He then describes and analyses the condition, before giving the remedy.

This "diagnosis and treatment", so typical of his medical training, marked him out as a true physician of souls. His searching questions at the end of a sermon were of the same kind and led many nominal Christians to faith. He was probably the more conscious of this danger since he was himself in that

¹² DM Lloyd-Jones, *The Christian Warfare* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1976), pp. 221–262.

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 221.

¹⁴ Jonathan Edwards, *A Treatise Concerning the Religious Affections*, The Select Works of Jonathan Edwards Volume III (London, The Banner of Truth Trust, 1961).

¹⁵ DM Lloyd-Jones, *Spiritual Depression* (London, Pickering and Inglis, 1965).

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 225.

position at one time. In *Preaching and Preachers*, he describes his own experience:

For many years I thought I was a Christian when in fact I was not. It was only later that I came to see that I had never been a Christian and became one. But I was a member of a church and attended my church and its services regularly.¹⁷

Not only that, Mrs Lloyd-Jones was not converted until after she had married him and the ministry in Wales had begun. She had “always believed that she was a Christian” because she had “attended church and prayer-meetings from childhood” ... “I was for two years under his ministry before I really understood what the gospel was.”¹⁸

According to Iain Murray, “ML-J believed that a shallow experience of conviction was the main reason why contemporary evangelicalism has rested in superficial views of assurance.”¹⁹ It was also the reason, he believed, why many had false assurance. This insistence on a thorough work of conviction of sin has led some to accuse him of preparationism—the false idea that we can prepare ourselves to approach God, and, especially, that having such conviction is the warrant of faith—our justification for trusting Christ.²⁰ This teaching, typical of the hyper-calvinist—which ML-J certainly was not!—leads to introspection and even despair, as the sinner examines himself to see whether he is convicted enough to be allowed to trust in Christ. ML-J had no truck with this and, indeed, criticised some of the Puritans for tending in this direction. It is God who prepares the sinner by convicting of sin, but that is his method, not our duty—quite a different matter.

Three Levels of Assurance

In his work on *Authority*, the Doctor outlined three types of assurance:

It is the Holy Spirit alone who finally can give us an unshakable assurance of salvation ... There are three main ways in which assurance comes to us, but often in these days, unfortunately, only the first one is stressed. The first is that which is to be obtained by believing and applying to ourselves the bare word of the Scripture as the authoritative word of God. It tells us that “he that believeth on him is not condemned”. There is God’s word, we believe it, and rest upon it. Yet that is only the first way assurance may come to us. Indeed, that alone can sometimes be dangerous. It can be a kind of “believism”. A man can say that for

¹⁷ DM Lloyd-Jones, *Preaching and Preachers* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1971), p. 146.

¹⁸ Iain H Murray, *D. Martyn Lloyd-Jones, The First Forty Years* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1982), p. 166.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 490 (footnote).

²⁰ See Michael A Eaton, *Baptism with the Spirit* (Leicester: IVP, 1989), p. 204f.

his own peace of mind and for his own purposes. We accept that, but alone it is not enough. We need something further, which is the second ground of assurance. The First Epistle of John provides us with certain criteria. John says that there are certain tests of spiritual life ... If we find these things, we can be assured that we are born again. Life must always manifest itself. The life in the tree produces the apples or pears or peaches. Life is bound to show itself and if you find any signs or evidences of life, that is the guarantee that there is the presence of life. That is a much safer form of assurance than the first, which was almost entirely objective. This is subjective also.²¹

These two forms we have already considered, but ML-J goes on:

There is yet, however, a further form of assurance. It is the highest and most certain of all. The apostle Paul expresses it in Romans viii: 15–17.²²

To this third form we must now turn.

II. The Highest Form of Assurance

In many ways this is the most distinctive aspect of Dr Lloyd-Jones' teaching. It is certainly the most complicated and controversial, including, as it does, not only the doctrine of assurance as such, but also the issues of the sealing, the baptism and the inner witness of the Spirit, not to mention all the inferences, both valid and invalid, that have been drawn from it by those eager to claim his support for their own particular views.

Development

According to Dr Jim Packer,²³ the Doctor gave a lecture on “the Puritan doctrine of direct assurance” at the first ever Puritan Conference in 1950. From that time on, at least, he became gradually more open in his teaching on “the inner witness of the Spirit”. Much, too much, has been made of an apparent change of mind after the publication of his booklet, *Christ our Sanctification* in 1948.²⁴ (It actually dated from a conference in 1939). In this, in the course of rejecting any form of Keswick type Second Blessing teaching, he denied the relevance of Acts 19:2 to this topic, asserting that the Revised Version translation—“Did you receive the Holy Ghost when you believed”—settled the issue of whether this was a second experience after conversion. However, we must be clear that he was here not talking about assurance, but sanctification and on this his views never changed. He later indicated that he

²¹ DM Lloyd-Jones, *Authority* (London: Inter-Varsity Fellowship, 1958), p. 76f.

²² *Ibid.* p. 77.

²³ In Christopher Catherwood (ed.), *Martyn Lloyd-Jones, Chosen by God* (Crowborough: Highland Books, 1986), p. 54.

²⁴ DM Lloyd-Jones, *Christ our Sanctification* (London: Inter-Varsity Fellowship, 1948), p. 13.

had changed his mind about the experience described in Acts 19. “I confess that at one time I myself fell into error on the matter ... that there is no time interval between the believing and the sealing. I confess my former error. Actually I fell into it because I was concerned to show that sanctification is not an experience which is to be received after justification. This I still assert. But I was mistaken at that time with regard to sealing.”²⁵ He still accepted the RV translation, but no longer believed that this ruled out a gap between conversion and “the baptism of the Spirit”.

The debate over this mere technicality illustrates the fact that this teaching was regarded in some quarters as a dangerous novelty and explains in measure his great caution in expressing and publishing his exposition beyond the walls of Westminster Chapel. Even though he had already expounded his views quite fully when preaching on Ephesians 1:13–14 in the Chapel, he was still unwilling a couple of years later for them to be recorded, as distinct from heard in the flesh. He spoke of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit at the Swanwick IVF Conference in 1956 and before the third lecture, on the extraordinary work of the Spirit, he personally made sure that the tape-recorder was switched off!

Sealing and Gifts

He was also anxious to make it clear that he was not teaching a form of Pentecostalism; this experience had nothing necessarily to do with miraculous gifts. In his Ephesians exposition he writes,

Unfortunately many have become confused over this question of sealing because of their confusion about the whole question of gifts. Many are afraid even to consider it merely because they know people who claim to have had this sealing with the Spirit, but who insist upon some particular gift as evidence. But Scripture itself, as we have seen, does not give us the right to postulate any particular gifts in connection with the sealing of the Spirit. There may be gifts, there may not be gifts. There is generally some gift, but the vital element is the assurance—immediate and direct—that we are the children of God.²⁶

Earlier references on the same page to “the experiences of great men” of the past, show that by “some gift” he was not thinking of miraculous gifts:

Not one of them ever “spoke with tongues”; but they had other striking gifts. Some had the gift of understanding, others the gift of teaching. Wesley had this amazing gift of “administration”, and organization. But none of them seems to have had the gift of miracles. But they clearly had the sealing with the Spirit.

²⁵ DM Lloyd-Jones, *God's Ultimate Purpose* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1978), p. 252. (See also DM Lloyd-Jones, *Letters 1919–1981* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1994), p. 132.)

²⁶ *Ibid.* p. 281f. (See also the letter to Dr Douglas Johnson about events at Chard, DM Lloyd-Jones, *Letters*, p. 204.)

More recent claims that he supported the charismatic movement show that his fears were justified.

Sealing and Sanctification

At this stage he was more concerned about the “second blessing” teaching linked with the Keswick Convention and other movements. He writes, “We can say that sealing with the Spirit promotes sanctification, but it does not necessarily guarantee it. It is not the same thing. It thus follows that it is possible for a man who has had this amazing experience of sealing with the Spirit to become a backslider. It has often happened.”²⁷

From this time on he became more and more open, teaching that there is a direct form of assurance, the highest form, variously called the sealing of the Spirit, the baptism of the Spirit or the inner witness of the Spirit, depending on which Scripture he was starting from. His position was made abundantly plain, even if not always quite consistent, in the various volumes of *Ephesians* and *Romans*, plus *Joy Unspeakable*. With hindsight, it might have been wiser for him to have left the tape-recorder on and to have explained himself more clearly before the wrong ideas became current.

Sealing, Baptism and the Inner Witness of the Spirit

Dr Lloyd-Jones asserted that there is an assurance, which is not just a matter of deduction, either from the Scriptures or from the evidence of our life, but a direct work of the Holy Spirit. He argued strongly against all who believed and taught that, because the Spirit was received at conversion, terms such as sealing, baptism and the witness of the Spirit, were not experimental, applied to every Christian and that experiences of the Holy Spirit were not to be expected at a later date.

He denied that the baptism of the Spirit is the same as regeneration. He distinguished sharply between Acts 1:5 and 1 Corinthians 12:13:

There are many different particular usages with regard to this word “baptism”, and the statement in 1 Corinthians 12:13 is but one of them. We are all placed into the realm of Christ by the Holy Spirit and into His body which is the Church. But it does not follow that that is the only possible meaning of the expression “baptised with the Holy Spirit”.²⁸

He regarded it as an outpouring of the Spirit, resulting in deep and glorious experiences of joy and assurance.

He taught that the sealing by the Spirit, Ephesians 1:13–14, is not a once-for-all event at conversion, but a later experience—“something subsequent to

²⁷ Ibid. p. 285; see also p. 261.

²⁸ Ibid. p.268.

believing, something additional to believing”²⁹—in which the Holy Spirit authenticates to us “by intelligible signs that we are indeed the children of God, heirs of God, and joint-heirs with our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.” He constantly equated the baptism with the Spirit and the sealing with the Spirit and answered the question, “Why use two different words then?” in terms of the different context and aim. “Baptism” refers to the giving of the Spirit, the fulfilling of God’s promise; “sealing”, on the other hand, is more appropriate when dealing with the subject of our inheritance. “We are dealing with two different ways of looking at the same phenomenon and describing it in an appropriate manner in each particular setting.”³⁰

In fact, he regularly came back to the description of this experience as the inner witness of the Spirit, on which he elaborated in his Romans volume, *The Sons of God*. This witness, in Romans 8:16, is to be distinguished from our own spirit’s cry of “Abba, Father”, in 8:15. These verses are a source of much debate, but many share his exegesis at this point:

But the Apostle does not say in verse 16 that “the Spirit of God produces in our spirits the assurance that we are children of God”, for he has said that most definitely in verse 15. He is not repeating himself, but asserting that, in addition, “the Spirit himself also”—in addition to this witness which we have in our own spirits—“bears his witness to our relationship with God”.³¹

We should note that the word “also”, which he stresses, is not to be found in the original, but clearly expresses his point.

Thus ML-J taught that all three terms refer to the same experience. By these experiences the Christian is given a direct assurance of salvation and especially that he is the beloved child of God. He was not always quite consistent. Sometimes he said the sealing of the Spirit is the first occasion when the witness is experienced. Certainly he believed that the Spirit’s work in baptising was not limited to one occasion, but could be enjoyed many times; he used the experience of Peter in Acts in support of this. In another place he said that the possession of the Spirit of adoption is “a preliminary part” of the baptism of the Spirit.³²

The Nature of the Experience

However, his main point is that all these doctrines are experimental or experiential. Of course, all Reformed teachers agree that they are experimental, in distinction from the objective and forensic character of justification.

²⁹ Ibid. p.250.

³⁰ Ibid. p. 265.

³¹ DM Lloyd-Jones, *Sons of God*, p. 294.

³² Ibid. p. 300.

However, the Doctor meant more than that; he meant that they were consciously experienced—subjective in a double sense. He spoke rather sadly of those who think,

this is not something that happens in the realm of consciousness or in the realm of experience ... Therefore they are not to seek it. And the result of not seeking it is that they do not experience it; and the result of that is that they live in a state of believe-ism, saying to themselves that they must have had it, and therefore do have it. Thus they continue to live without ever experiencing what was experienced by New Testament Christians and also by many other Christians in the subsequent history of the Christian Church.³³

Those who were given these experiences knew it had happened. He rather scathingly referred doubters to the shaking of the walls in Acts 4:31!

The question was often asked, though rarely directly, whether he had himself ever had the experience of being baptised in the Spirit. Tony Sargent cites a passage from Iain Murray's account of his struggle over his call to the ministry in 1926:

I must say that in that little study at our home in Regency Street, and in my research room at Bart's, I had some remarkable experiences. It was entirely God's doing. I have known what it is to be really filled with joy unspeakable and full of glory.

Sargent linked this with ML-J's later use of the expression from 1 Peter 1:8 (cf. the title given to his book *Joy Unspeakable*) and asked, "Cannot this be interpreted as the Lord's seal and anointing on him for what was to lie ahead?"³⁴

More definite, since he himself mentioned it, is an experience recorded in Iain Murray's biography.³⁵ In the summer of 1949 the Doctor went through a time of great personal struggle, which he regarded as an attack of the devil. One morning he woke:

in a complete agony of soul ... Then, as he started dressing, and at the very moment when his eye caught just a word in a sermon of Pink's which lay open beside his bed—the word "glory"—instantly, "like a blaze of light", he felt the very glory of God surround him. Every doubt and fear was silenced. The love of God was "shed abroad" in his heart. The nearness of heaven and his own title to it became overwhelming certainties and, at once, he was brought into a state of ecstasy and joy, which remained with him for several days. Dr Lloyd-Jones never wrote of this experience, and he was very reticent to speak of it. He believed that

³³ DM Lloyd-Jones, *God's Ultimate Purpose*, p. 249f.

³⁴ Tony Sargent, *The Sacred Anointing* (Sevenoaks: Hodder and Stoughton, 1994), p. 42, cf. Iain H Murray, *The First Forty Years*, p. 101.

³⁵ Iain H Murray, *The Fight of Faith*, p. 207f.

the experience was the work of the Holy Spirit testifying to his sonship (Romans 8:16).³⁶

The Puritans and Others

In all his advocacy of this experience, he believed that he was merely reviving the traditional doctrine, the teaching of the Puritans and many others. Indeed, he could quote Thomas Goodwin, Richard Sibbes and Thomas Brooks in support of his interpretation, although not all Puritans agreed. There was a memorable occasion at an early Puritan Conference at which Dr Packer gave a paper on the Puritan doctrine of the inner witness of the Spirit.³⁷ Having dealt with Goodwin, Brooks and Sibbes, to the Doctor's evident delight, he felt he had to refer to the great John Owen. In his early days Owen held the same opinion as the rest, but later changed his mind in some respects, especially in asserting that the Holy Spirit is the seal, given at conversion, not the sealer, who did his sealing work later, as the others were teaching. The Doctor was angry—"incensed" might be the appropriate word—and said, "Well, after giving them such an excellent exposition, you then stab them in the back at the end!"

As well as citing interpreters from the past, he also quoted the experiences of many godly men, such as John Wesley, John Flavel, Jonathan Edwards, DL Moody, Christmas Evans and George Whitefield.³⁸ Not all his selections were felicitous; the name of Thomas Aquinas, for one, sounded strangely in Protestant ears. He also ignored the fact that others, like Jonathan Edwards, never identified their experiences as the baptism of the Spirit. Nevertheless, he showed an amazing knowledge of the past, introducing his hearers and readers to many notable men, whose lives and experiences were most inspiring.

Obtaining the Blessing

He taught most clearly that the baptism of the Spirit is a sovereign work of God, so he was rather ill-advised to quote in his support the evangelist, RA Torrey, whose doctrine was very different. It cannot be procured by certain steps of obedience, as Torrey taught, followed by many strands of the charismatic movement. The most we can do is to pray—to "sue him" for it, as he urged in terms borrowed from the Puritans:

So I say again, seek it. Be satisfied with nothing less. Has God ever told you that you are his child? Has he spoken to you, not with an audible voice, but, in a sense, in a more real way? Have you known this illumination, this melting

³⁶ Ibid. p. 208.

³⁷ JI Packer, "The Witness of the Spirit: the Puritan Teaching" in *The Wisdom of our Fathers*, 1956 Puritan Papers (Stoke-on-Trent, Tentmaker Publications reprint, n.d.), p. 11f.

³⁸ See DM Lloyd-Jones, *God's Ultimate Purpose*, p. 275f.

quality? Have you known what it is to be lifted up above and beyond yourself? If not, seek it; cry out to Him, saying, "Speak, I pray Thee, gentle Jesus", and "Sue him for it", and keep on until He speaks to you.³⁹

For him, it was, above all, a glorious privilege, the source of great joy. He took it so seriously and was, accordingly, upset by opposition or even disagreement, because he regarded what had become the traditional teaching, the non-experimental view, as a modern corruption of the old way, as depriving Christians of much blessing and leading to a denial of the reality of revival. He wrote, "there is nothing that so quenches the Spirit as the teaching which identifies the baptism of the Holy Ghost with regeneration".⁴⁰

Assessment

It cannot be said that Dr Lloyd-Jones' views met with universal agreement. Aside from those false inferences which claimed, favourably or unfavourably, that he had become a Pentecostal or, later, a charismatic, there were more valid criticisms, ie of his exegesis.

His insistence that, although the translation of the AV in Acts 19:2 and Ephesians 1:13 was not literally correct, it expounded the truth, was met with strong denials. The aorist participle, it was affirmed, must be translated, according to New Testament parallels, "on believing", not "after believing" or even "having believed"; it does not demand or, perhaps, even permit a gap between the two elements. It was also pointed out that all the Ephesians are said to have been "sealed", see also 4:30, and his answer that the New Testament believers lived in days of revival was not considered to be adequate.

Dr Lloyd-Jones actually used the Acts 19 passage to demonstrate that the reception of the Holy Spirit was conscious; ie they would have known whether they had received him or not. This, however, brings up a different question, that of the function and significance of the Acts passages that deal with "receiving the Spirit" as a proof of the reception of various groups into the church. Iain Murray suggests that introducing these into the argument actually weakened the Doctor's position.

Perhaps even more seriously, exception was taken to his speaking of the Holy Spirit as doing the baptising and sealing. (Even the judicious Murray can write of "the Spirit's baptising work".)⁴¹ The Greek has to be understood of God or Christ doing the sealing or baptising, cf. 2 Corinthians 1:21-22; we are sealed or baptised "with", not "by" the Spirit. It would be just as inaccurate to

³⁹ Ibid. p. 300.

⁴⁰ DM Lloyd-Jones, *The Christian Warfare* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1976), p. 280.

⁴¹ DM Lloyd-Jones, *Letters*, p. 203 (footnote).

talk of the water baptising the convert! This is not a quibble. This was Owen's point. Quoted by Packer:

It is not said that the Holy Spirit seals us, but that we are sealed with him. He is God's seal to us ... God's sealing of believers ... is his gracious communication of the Holy Ghost to them ... evidencing them to be accepted with him ... and asserting their preservation unto eternal salvation.

Dr Packer adds,

Assurance may come with the gift, but it is not to be equated with it. The seal is not any particular operation of the Spirit, but the gift of the Spirit himself.⁴²

The giving of the Spirit himself to dwell within us, is that which seals us for the day of redemption and baptises us into Christ and into his body. This, ML-J agreed, happened at conversion. Thus, the gift of the Spirit guarantees our security from that time by his very presence, rather than merely giving us an assurance of the security later on. The doctrine is part of the doctrine of salvation, not of our experience.

Although the Doctor, unlike some of his predecessors, never dismissed the two other forms of assurance, in practice, apart from the area of evangelising nominal Christians, he regarded them as insufficient, largely, I think, because of the link in his mind with revival. It was sad to me, as one who was at Westminster during the early part of the controversy, to hear people talk as if they had nothing, if they had not had "the baptism". There seemed to be no idea, for them, of degrees of assurance, of growing in the knowledge and experience of God, of becoming more and more aware of the love of Christ, or of gaining a deeper and deeper confidence of being a child of God. It was "all" or nothing—and usually it was nothing, as all their spiritual energy was spent on seeking *the* blessing. What a tragedy!

The Central Issue

Many have thought that it would have been better, if the Doctor had not linked the experiences he described and commended so exclusively with sealing and assurance. The use of "baptism of the Spirit", in particular, has led many off at a tangent in a charismatic direction, allegedly with his support, which was not the case. In fact, many of the examples he quoted from church history were thought by those who enjoyed them to be instances of deeper communion with God, greater realisations of his love and mercy, Romans 5:5, deeper and more wonderful joy, 1 Peter 1:8. I say "it would have been better" because, whatever the arguments over the exegesis and the labels, whether sealing, baptism or whatever, there ought to be no doubt that here, as so often,

⁴² JI Packer, *The Wisdom of Our Fathers*, p. 19.

ML-J had pinpointed a weakness in contemporary evangelicalism and was pointing us in the right direction.

He was absolutely right to remind us that Christianity is not just belief and practice; it includes feeling as well. It needed his earnestness, as well as his reputation, to change the whole ethos of evangelical and Reformed circles. There are certainly many who would stress the emotional content of the faith, but usually they are sadly lacking in doctrinal awareness and biblical practice, or in objective and forthright evangelism. Those, who claim to be biblically aware in these areas, however, do need to be influenced back towards an older and fuller evangelicalism, to the Puritans, Jonathan Edwards, the great men of the 18th century Awakening and their successors. It is significant that, although John Owen differed from his colleagues over the exegesis terminology, he was unwilling to be too firm and discouraging, for he, too, believed strongly in the reality of conscious and experimental communion with God.

Thus Dr Packer concluded his Puritan Conference paper:

The doctrine of the Spirit's witness through the awakening of joy in the light of the knowledge of God's love has a much broader Scriptural basis than a particular exegesis of the "seal" texts. Owen recognised the reality of this witness by sovereign gift of supernatural joy, though he would not identify it with the "seal" ... none of [the Puritans] doubted that such things happened, and that it was desirable for every Christian that such things should happen to him. This is the central fact to fasten on in our assessment of the Puritan teaching on this whole subject.⁴³

It is to this common ground that we also need to hold, whatever we believe about the more narrow issues.

III. Preaching in Much Assurance

As I have indicated already, the Doctor felt that this issue was important in relation to revival. He said that these experiences were common during revivals and felt that to deny their reality and validity quenched the Spirit and hindered revival. There was another aspect to assurance that he also linked with revival, with which we must now deal.

ML-J once defined revival as many people being sealed or baptised with the Spirit at the same time. This was not all he believed about revival, but for our purposes it shows the clear connection in his mind. It was particularly for preachers that he made this connection, although all witnesses were involved. He argued that the power of ministries of men like Whitefield, Edwards,

⁴³ *Ibid.*

Howell Harris, Daniel Rowlands, Christmas Evans and many more came from their experience of this work of God on their souls, giving them great assurance and power in preaching. This element he defined as unction; they were “anointed” with the Holy Spirit’s power for proclaiming the gospel. This unction or anointing is not the same as that mentioned in 1 John 2:20,27 or in 2 Corinthians 1:20; he linked it with Isaiah 61:1 and Luke 4:18. He believed that the uses of “filled with the Spirit” in Acts 2:4 and 4:31 referred to this phenomenon, as a result of which they preached with great power (see also Luke 4:14). This was one important reason why he believed that denying the reality of these experiences tended against revival.

The Baptism and Witness

He taught that by being assured of our salvation, we become better able to declare the truth. Among the results of “the baptism” he included

a desire to witness to Him, accompanied by the power and ability to do so ... The Apostles did so with great boldness and power; and their hearers were affected and convinced by it ... They could not witness until they were absolutely certain of their position, until they were given this tremendous certainty. This is what happened on the day of Pentecost ... This is what always happens when one receives the baptism of the Spirit.⁴⁴

This is not restricted to apostles and other preachers. “Without this baptism of the Spirit”, he said, “this baptism of power, no one can witness to him, neither a preacher in his pulpit nor an individual living day by day or talking to men and women about the world and its state and condition and affairs ... The baptism of the Spirit is always associated primarily and specifically with witness and testimony and service ... He makes us witnesses because of our assurance.”⁴⁵

He frequently distinguished between an advocate and a witness. Merely expounding the Scriptures, the Doctor said, was the work of an advocate; it is second-hand. It is only by the personal experience involved in the baptism of the Spirit, that we can become witnesses instead of mere advocates. “In our preaching we must have this or we fail. We may preach as advocates, but not necessarily as witnesses.”⁴⁶ The witness can proclaim with power, because he has experienced the things of which he speaks and is, therefore, certain of them.

The Doctor’s real proof text was 1 Thessalonians 1:5: “For our gospel came not unto you in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in

⁴⁴ *Sons of God*, p. 304f

⁴⁵ From various sermons on John 1:33, quoted in Eaton, *Baptism of the Spirit*, p. 182.

⁴⁶ DM Lloyd-Jones, *Joy Unspeakable* (Eastbourne: Kingsway, 1984), p. 90.

much assurance.” He said that the assurance here is that of the preacher—his supreme conviction of the truth of what he is proclaiming, the assurance of the witness, not the objectivity of the advocate. He represented the Apostle here as saying,

I knew the Spirit was using me. I knew that I had got the power of the Holy Ghost. I knew that he had clothed himself upon me. I knew that I was nothing but the vehicle, the channel, the instrument. I knew that I was being used. I was preaching with much assurance. I knew something was happening. I knew that he was working in you.⁴⁷

Assessment

Once again, the Doctor’s terminology has been criticised. The mass of New Testament usage of “anointing” concerns the enlightenment that is given to all believers; as priests of God, we are all anointed with the Spirit, as in the references above. It is not said that Christ was anointed time and again, but that by his anointing he was set apart for and empowered for his ministry as Messiah. That he already possessed the Spirit without measure is not a proof that we ought to have a separate, second anointing for service, since he was always pure and never had to be regenerated.

Further, ML-J’s exegesis of 1 Thessalonians 1:5 cannot be sustained, for in context Paul is saying that he knew that the Thessalonians were elect, because of this assurance. If the proof of their election was the preacher’s assurance, we would have to say that *all* who heard him were elect, which is manifestly not the case. The power of the Spirit here, as in 1 Corinthians 2:4–5, must be that of the Spirit working in the hearers, to convince them of the truth of the gospel and the reality of their sin, thus giving them, not the preacher, deep assurance and conviction. This is most certainly an effect which we see too rarely, but which is common in times of revival—and which we want to see more often.

Once again, therefore, we are in the realm of debate over terminology, but that does not mean the issue is merely theoretical. The consequence of misusing the terminology can be that the stress is not in the proper place. The question becomes whether the preacher is anointed? Is he preaching powerfully? Is he enjoying liberty? And too often the answer is given in the affirmative, when all that has happened is that he has a large and attentive congregation, or that he gets worked up and shouts a lot, and people are impressed. Even a more legitimate assessment, such as ML-J himself would have made, fails to account for examples like Jonathan Edwards reading from

⁴⁷ Sermon on 1 Thessalonians 1:5, quoted in Sargent, *The Sacred Anointing*.

his script by candle-light, or for instances where the preacher himself is convinced that his preaching was hopeless—completely lacking in assurance—but God in his sovereignty saved sinners. In other words, this misuse of the idea of assurance puts the stress in the wrong place—a place where the Doctor would be horrified to find it—on the preacher, instead of on the Lord. This was certainly not his intention, but has sometimes been the result.

What we need is more and more earnest prayer for the work of the Spirit to empower preachers and convert sinners and to bring them to a certainty of the truth of the gospel. How this is done, by a quiet manner or a loud one, by the Doctor at the beginning of his sermon or the Doctor at the end, is in God's hands. I am anxious that we should not, in our concern for the extraordinary and the exceptional, ignore the ordinary—in preaching, as well as in experience.

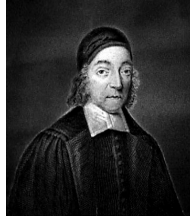
Nevertheless, once again, and most importantly, we must reiterate his essential point: the need for the Spirit, enabling preachers to declare the whole counsel of God and also to demonstrate the truth of the gospel to an unbelieving world. All our learning, our accuracy of terminology, our soundness of doctrine, can be “in word only”. What we need still is the power of the Spirit, for both preacher and hearer. Many can testify to the enabling of the Spirit in their preparation and in the pulpit. Few, however, have known that power converting sinners, as Paul did at Thessalonica and as the Doctor did, both at Sandfields and at Westminster Chapel.

Conclusion

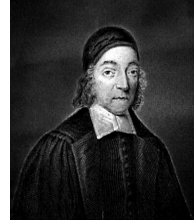
We need to be reminded of the certainty of our salvation by the grace of God. We all need to go on to enjoy more and more of the Spirit's revelation of the Son of God in our hearts. And we all need to pray more urgently and earnestly for the outpouring of God's Spirit on the church today, and especially on preachers. If we do this, then I believe the Doctor would be pleased with us, even if we do not agree with him always. I believe the best way to honour him is to do what he himself taught us to do: to test and try what he taught by the Scriptures, to follow after the Lord with all our hearts and to press on in Christ's service to the glory of God—and in this we have no better example than the Doctor.



Edmund Calamy



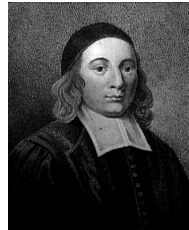
Philip Henry



John Owen



Richard Baxter



John Flavel



Thomas Manton



Thomas Watson



Thomas Goodwin



William Jenkyn

Some of the ministers ejected in 1662

The Great Ejection of 1662

Mervyn Neal

This paper will look at the Ejection and the significant effect that it had in strengthening the Non-Conformist and Congregational causes. Firstly we will give a brief history of the Reformation of the Church of England and look at the religious climate of the time. It has been said that

In so far as it made those Congregationalists who held places within the State system relinquish them, and rejoin those other and truer Congregationalists who sustained the Congregational witness by voluntary ways, no Congregationalist can complain of the result which the Act brought about. From this point of view the Act drove back those Congregationalists who needed to be driven back upon a better realisation of some of their own principles.¹

As we seem to be entering an age of similar intolerance towards the Evangelical faith from the “established church”, we will seek to draw some conclusions from the Ejection for our own day.

The Protestant Reformation of the Church of England took place in the reign of Henry VIII. But as soon as reform was under way, certain men began to say that it had not gone far enough. They became known as the Puritans. By looking at what they believed and stood for we can start to see the significance of the Ejection. Puritanism has been described as

a purification, an effort to rid the Christianity of England from all adhesions foreign to its nature, or obstructive to its power; an endeavour to remove anything in doctrine, discipline, or ceremonial which during the Middle Ages has been added to the Gospel of Christ.²

The Puritans wanted to complete the Reformation of the Church of England. The Thirty Nine Articles showed that there had been a true reformation, but they argued that church practice regarding worship and everything else should also be conformed to Scripture:

The mainspring of Puritanism ... was the desire for a pure church, pure in practice as well doctrine, pure in life as well as in belief.³

If we look at the words of John Hooper we can see something of what these

1 Henry W Clark, “Congregationalists and the Ejectment of 1662” in *The Ejectment of 1662 and the Free Churches* (London: National Council of Evangelical Free Churches, 1912), p. 69.

2 DM Lloyd-Jones, *1662–1962: Puritanism to Non-Conformity*, Evangelical Library Annual Lecture (London, The Evangelical Library, 1962), p. 11.

3 Ibid.

men were against. Regarding Henry being head of the Church, he said that the Scriptures ... are the Law of God; none may set aside their commands nor add to their injunctions. Christ's kingdom is a spiritual one. In this neither pope nor king may govern. Christ alone is the Governor of His Church and the only Lawgiver.⁴

Later on in his life, we hear him preaching to King Edward VI regarding the Book of Common Prayer:

Yet I do much marvel that in the same book it is appointed that he that will be admitted to the Ministry of God's work or His sacraments must come in white vestments which seemeth to repugn plainly with the former doctrine that confessed the only Word of God to be sufficient; and sure I am they have not in the Word of God that thus a minister should be apparelled ... Let all the movements and tokens of idolatry and superstition be removed, and the true religion of God be set in their place.⁵

Speaking of such impure articles and practices, he says,

For if they be kept in the church as things indifferent, at length they will be maintained as things necessary.⁶

When Mary came to the throne of England, many of the Reformers were killed or fled to the continent, where they came into contact with the continental Reformers, such as Calvin, Zwingli and Bullinger. By the time Elizabeth came to the throne in 1558, most of the leading men in the Church had been deeply influenced by the continental Reformers and wanted to see the English Church modelled on the Reformed churches of Europe. Bishops like Hooper, Ridley, Jewell, Grindall and Parker, who were by no means on the extreme of the Protestant party, wanted to see the reforms carried further. According to Lord Macauley,⁷ Bishop Parker prayed that the Church of England should model herself on the Church of Zurich. The Reformers in Europe and Scotland had put into practice their belief that Scripture alone was to be adhered to in the doctrine and practice of the Church. The European Reformed churches had rejected the Romish rituals and thus the English Puritans thought it reasonable that the same should be expected of the English Church. But the Puritans were not the only body of godly men within the Church. Others maintained that the indifferent things that were neither

4 Ibid. p. 12.

5 Ibid. p. 11, 12.

6 Ibid. 12.

7 Lord Macauley, quoted in DM Lloyd-Jones, *1662–1962: Puritanism to Non-Conformity*, p. 15.

contrary to Scripture, nor forbidden by it, may be imposed by the authority of the Church or by some lawful power.

Queen Elizabeth had her own way and opposed the Puritans, seeing that her power base would be eroded if she were no longer head of the Church and able to govern it. She overruled the advice of her bishops and caused an Act of Uniformity to be passed in 1559, which made it obligatory for a minister to assent to the Book of Common Prayer and its teaching. Its description of Non-Conformists is quite remarkable and remains on the statute books!

A great number of people in divers parts of this realm, following their own sensuality and living without knowledge and due fear of God, do wilfully and schismatically abstain and refuse to come to their Parish churches, and other publick places where Common Prayer, Administration of the Sacraments and Preaching of the Word of God is used upon Sundays and other days ordained and appointed to be kept as Holy Days.⁸

This act was not rigidly enforced in most places, so the Puritans felt that they could stay within the Church quite honestly and without fear of hurting their consciences. They felt that they could bide their time and that the inevitable consequences of their teaching would produce further reform.

During Elizabeth's reign the Puritans started to divide into three camps. Firstly, there were those who were conscientiously Anglican and believed in its system of church government and were happy with the Prayer Book. Secondly, there were the Presbyterians under Thomas Cartwright, who were in line with Scotland and Switzerland and believed in a Presbyterian church government and who did not hold with bishops or the Book of Common Prayer. Thirdly, there were the Separatists or "Brownists", named after Robert Browne. They believed in "Reformation without tarrying for any"⁹ and wanted an immediate withdrawal from the Church of England.

As Elizabeth's reign went on, the Act of Uniformity began to be pursued with greater vigour, especially against the separatists, probably because they were seen as representing the greatest threat to her power base.

With her death in 1603, James I came to the throne. This gave the Puritans great cause for hope as he was a Calvinist by doctrine and came from the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. The Puritans presented him with the "Millenary Petition" at Hampton Court. They asked not to be forced to use the Prayer Book, that tender consciences be respected, Popish ceremonies be

8 Great Britain, Laws, Statutes, etc., *Act of Uniformity 1559*.

9 Hywel Roberts, "Reformation Without Tarrying for Any" in *Divisions and Dissensions*, 1987 Westminster Conference Papers (Thornton Heath: The Westminster Conference, 1988), p. 21.

got rid of and that the King and government make sure that there was a good and regular ministry in the churches.

As a result the King called the Hampton Court Conference, but without inviting many of the Puritans. Instead, the leaders of the Anglican party were invited. They were becoming increasingly Arminian in their doctrine and under Bishop Laud were utterly opposed to the Puritans and their teaching. James became concerned with his power base and used the phrase, “no bishop, no King”.¹⁰ This led many godly men to leave the Church of England, as many as 300 by 1605, with many of them going to Holland and then onto New England to start a new life of religious freedom in 1620.

The Puritans who remained were, on the whole, discouraged and disappointed. When Charles I came to the throne in 1625, Archbishop Laud gained power within the Church of England. He enforced Elizabeth’s Act of Uniformity vigorously and the notorious *Book of Sports* was to be compulsorily read from the pulpit on a Sunday, with refusal leading to punishment of the minister.

In Neal’s *History of the Puritans*,¹¹ he lists 77 ordained ministers of the Church of England who left to become pastors in America before 1640, together with some 4,000 Puritan adherents who left to become planters in the new territories. Others fled to Holland, men like Jeremiah Burroughs among them. William Greenhill, William Bridge and John Philip were suspended by Bishop Wren of Norwich for such offences as: “using conceived prayers before and after sermons and not reading the second service at the Communion table set facing the altar.” It was some of these men who later formed part of the “Dissenting Brethren” within the Westminster Assembly.

Things changed when Charles I came increasingly into conflict with Parliament and when he and Laud tried to impose bishops and the liturgy upon the Scottish Church. With the advent of the English Civil War the Parliamentary forces applied to Scotland for support and the Solemn League and Covenant was drawn up. This led to the issuing of an ordinance “for speedily dividing and settling the whole counties of this kingdom into Classical Presbyteries and Congregational Elderships”.¹² The civil war brought chaos to the Church and so the Westminster Assembly was called and given the task of producing a religious settlement. Anglicans, Scottish and English Presbyterians took part together with six Independents, lead by Philip Nye and including Burroughs. The work output of the Assembly was massive, producing the

10 DM Lloyd-Jones, *1662–1962: Puritanism to Non-Conformity*, p. 18.

11 Daniel Neal, *The History of the Puritans*, 3 volumes (London: Thomas Tegg & Son, 1837), 1:537.

12 PJ Beale, “1662 and the Foundations of Nonconformity” in *Division and Dissensions*, p. 58.

Westminster Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms and the Directory of Public Worship. If we look at the introduction to the Directory we get a clear view of what these men thought of the Liturgy of the Church of England. It speaks of how their forerunners reformed much of what was wrong with the church, giving much cause for rejoicing over the Book of Common Prayer as it was then, because things like the Mass and the Latin service had been removed and the people could hear the Scriptures in their own tongue. It goes on to say that the Liturgy has proved an offence both to godly people at home and abroad. It contained unprofitable and burdensome ceremonies that disquieted the consciences of many godly ministers and people, thus depriving them of the ordinances of God, “which they might enjoy without conforming or subscribing to them.”¹³ It speaks of how faithful ministers had been debarred from their ministry because of this, to the spoiling of their livelihood and the undoing of them and their families; of how the Prelates and their faction had laboured to raise the estimation of the liturgy to such an extent that there could be no other form of worship of God. This had the effect of greatly reducing the value of preaching even to the “justling of it out as unnecessary, or, at best, making it far inferior to the reading of common prayer, which was made no better than an idol of many ignorant and superstitious people.”¹⁴

They conclude by saying that they were sure that the Reformers, if they were still alive, would join them in the further reformation of the Church. So they “resolved to lay aside the former liturgy with the many rites and ceremonies formerly used in the worship of God”.¹⁵ This thinking led to many rapid changes. By 1644 the episcopacy and other various offices had been abolished, the Prayer Book was prohibited and the Directory for Public Worship had been brought in. Many of the Church of England’s greatest supporters thought that she was defunct. As many as 2,000 ministers were turned out of their livings because they were inefficient and ungodly. Archbishop Ussher and Bishops Hall and Chillingworth were ejected for being royalists. The sale of church lands and properties was used to provide them all with a fifth of their livings so as not to make them destitute.

However, under Cromwell

there was more religious liberty in England than had been previously known at that time in any other country.¹⁶

13 The Westminster Assembly’s *Directory of Public Worship*, Introduction.

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid.

16 EJ Poole-Connor, *Evangelicalism in England* (Worthing: Henry E Walter, 1951), p. 107.

Cromwell's government had stated that,

such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ (though differing in judgement from the doctrine, worship and discipline publickly held forth) shall not be restrained from, but protected in ... the exercise of their religion ... so as they abuse not this liberty ... provided that this liberty be not extended to Popery and Prelacy, nor to such as under the profession of Christ ... practice licentiousness.¹⁷

Poole-Connor says that:

Provided they taught evangelical doctrine, had some evidence of grace in their hearts and lived in accordance with their profession, it mattered little whether they were conforming Anglicans, Presbyterians, Independents or Baptists, each group was able to conduct worship according to its own convictions, to enjoy the use of cathedrals and churches for the purpose and to be supported from the public treasury.¹⁸

Indeed every attempt to elaborate a doctrinal basis for the Church beyond the simple requirement of "faith in God by Jesus Christ"¹⁹ was opposed by Cromwell. However Cromwell's position was far from easy because of his desire to keep some form of national church, even within such a policy of toleration and accommodation. The Welsh Baptist Vavasour Powell denounced Cromwell publicly as the "Protector of slavery and Popery".²⁰ On the other hand, because he tolerated the "crazy patchwork of the Commonwealth Church at parish level",²¹ both the Anglicans and Presbyterians also found this intolerable. With regard to who held the power within the Commonwealth Church, the picture is a little confused. Roughly from 1645–53 the Presbyterians were in charge because they had been in the majority in Parliament and at the Westminster Assembly. But from 1653 the Independents gained control of Parliament and thus the Church. Cromwell himself was an Independent. Speaking about the Presbyterians' intransigence and insistence upon a state Presbyterian church, he said that the "new presbyter was as dangerous as the old priest".²² But as we have seen, even Cromwell upheld the notion of a state church, even if it was somewhat confusingly Congregational in nature. Though the church was Congregational in nature, the minister was paid a stipend by the State, as with men such as Robert Brown and William

17 Ibid. p. 106.

18 Ibid.

19 PJ Beale, "1662 and the Foundations of Nonconformity" in *Divisions and Dissensions*, p. 57.

20 Gordon Murray, "Oliver Cromwell—The Father of Toleration" in *Divisions and Dissensions*, p. 46.

21 DM Lloyd-Jones, "Puritan Perplexities—Some Lessons from 1640–1662" in *The Puritans: Their Origins and Successors* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1987), p. 64.

22 Ibid. p. 63.

Cocenhill at Stepney, Joseph Caryl at St Mary Magnus, Philip Nye at St Bartholomew's and Thomas Brookes at St Margaret's. Other Independents remained outside even the Cromwellian church, the Baptists and Quakers in particular. By the end of the Commonwealth there was the peculiar situation within the English Church of some ministers being Presbyterian, some Independents and some Episcopalians.

To get an idea of what the Independents were thinking at the time we can look at the Savoy Declaration of Faith. They met in September and October 1658, shortly before Cromwell's death. Their purpose was, as Thomas Goodwin said,

to clear ourselves of that scandal, which not only some persons at home, but of foreign parts, have fixed upon us, viz. that Independentism (as they call it) is the sink of all heresies and schisms.²³

While the statement of faith was identical with the Westminster Confession on many points and showed them to be of the same Reformed faith as Scotland, Germany, Switzerland and New England, at the same time it showed that their doctrine of the Church was different from that of Presbyterianism.

With Cromwell's death in 1658 and the resignation of his godly son Richard a year later, there was great confusion. The Presbyterian party gained power in Parliament and the Scottish Presbyterian, General Monck, brought his army down to London and made it possible for the monarchy to be re-established and Charles II to return.

From this point in time the three differing opinions on church government were on a collision course. Many of the Anglicans had surrounded Charles in exile, and now joined with those who had remained within the church biding their time; now they saw their opportunity for exerting themselves. At the same time the Presbyterians felt very hopeful. The likes of Baxter, Manton, and Reynolds went to see Charles at Breda and obtained a declaration from him in April 1660 promising

a liberty to tender consciences and that no man shall be disquieted or called into question for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom.²⁴

They had hoped to get him to promise that he would not use the Book of Common Prayer in his private chapel, but he refused. However, the impression that he gave was that the Puritans would have nothing to fear by his return. Though they were not satisfied with the result, they left for England with the

23 R Tudor Jones, *Congregationalism in England 1662–1962* (London: Independent Press, 1962) p. 37.

24 PJ Beale, in *Divisions and Dissensions*, p. 67.

hope that Charles would be more open to their arguments when he returned to the country. But Baxter notes that in April 1660, when pressed to help in the restoration of the king:

I thought with myself that this would involve setting up those prelates who will silence me and many a hundred more ... but I am for restoring the king, that when we are silenced and our ministry at an end and some of us lye in prisons, we may there and in that condition have peace of conscience.²⁵

Baxter argued that the Presbyterians would be happy with some form of modified Episcopacy as suggested by Ussher in his “reduction of Episcopacy”.²⁶ Some Episcopalians were also sympathetic to Ussher’s scheme. Baxter said,

moderate conformists that were of the old Episcopacy were involved in the association movement which aimed to unite parish ministers in the practice of so much of the discipline as the Episcopal, Presbyterians and Independents are agreed in and crosseth none of their principles.²⁷

However, the dominant feeling among the Episcopalians was far from moderate. They were high churchmen like Archbishop Laud, who despised the Presbyterians as schismatics and destroyers of the Church. Bancroft said that the Puritans had destroyed the most glorious Church upon earth. The Bishop of Salisbury classed Presbyterians along with Jesuits as being dangerous to the Church saying,

But if there be any difference, I shall absolutely cast it on the Presbyterians, whose business it hath been from the beginning of the troubles (to destroy us), and (who) will never cease till they have perfected it.²⁸

The Independents remained aloof and their desire was only for continued toleration. Charles’ declaration seemed to promise this. But Milton the poet, an Independent, wrote:

Woe be to you Presbyterians especially, if ever any of Charles’ race recover the sceptre, believe me, you shall pay the reckoning.²⁹

The king returned to England and all seemed well for the Puritans, The Presbyterians were in power in Parliament and the king seemed to be very conciliatory. Baxter and others saw Charles and put to him a plea for tolerance. They asked for three things, 1. “the king would require only, first, to make

25 Richard Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae* (1696) p. 71.

26 *Ibid.*

27 *Ibid.*

28 Robert S Boscher, *The Making of the Restoration Settlement* (London: Dacre Press, 1951), p. 47.

29 John Milton, *Defence of the English People* (1651).

things necessary the terms of union," 2. "to enforce discipline against sin," 3. "to abstain from casting out faithful ministers and obtruding unworthy men upon the people."³⁰ Charles refused to commit himself and instead called a conference at which would be Baxter and the Presbyterians and the Episcopalian bishops. The Presbyterians said that they were happy with Archbishop Ussher's proposal for modified episcopacy, with liturgical forms of worship agreeable to the Word of God (as long as not rigorously imposed) and did not exclude extempore prayer. Regarding ceremonies, they believed the worship of God perfect without them and they should not be insisted upon (kneeling at the sacrament and observance of man-made festivals). They wanted the surplice abolished together with the sign of the cross at baptism and bowing at the name of Jesus. They were prepared to recognise the king as supreme governor over all persons and in all things and all causes, as well as ecclesiastical and civil. Something neither Calvin or Knox would have done.

The bishops rejected all the proposals, saying that the Liturgy was perfect and that the ceremonies of the Church were perfect in their eyes. In the face of such arguments, Charles issued the Worcester House Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs in October 1660. In it he acknowledged the Presbyterians' loyalty and zeal for peace in state and church. Ceremonies would not be insisted upon, episcopacy would be maintained, but moderated, with ordination and discipline taking place with the advice and assistance of Presbyters. An equal number of Anglican and Presbyterian divines were to review and revise the Book of Common Prayer and no minister was to be removed from his charge, under Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity, on the basis of not accepting the episcopal form of church government, as long as they read and declared their assent to the articles of religion which only concerned the confession of the true faith and the doctrine of the sacraments comprised in the Book of Articles. This sounded very acceptable, but Parliament refused to give its assent to the declaration. The new Convention Parliament was now dominated by royalists who were Anglican in persuasion. They brought back bishops who were then able to exert power via the House of Lords; Laudian men were appointed to key bishoprics, most notably Sheldon to London. In September a bill for "Confirming and Restoring of Ministers" was put before Parliament. Its main provision was the restoring of sequestered and ejected ministers to their livings by 5 December 1660, provided they had not defended the death of Charles I or adopted Baptist principles. Present incumbents were to be confirmed in their office, provided their predecessor had died or resigned

30 PJ Beale, in *Divisions and Dissensions*, p. 64.

and had not been ejected. This meant that Baxter was required to leave his ministry at Kidderminster!

In January 1661, the Fifth Monarchy Men's insurrection, led by Thomas Venner, gave the Anglican establishment an opportunity to strike out at "Anabaptists, Quakers, Fifth Monarchy Men or some such Appellation." A proclamation prohibiting "all unlawful and seditious meetings and conventicles under pretence of religious worship" was made, "declaring that any meetings allegedly for worship and not taking place either in parish churches or private houses would be regarded as riotous and unlawful assemblies."³¹ Any that were arrested were to be required to swear an oath of allegiance to the King as supreme in matters ecclesiastical as well as civil, or else be imprisoned, something they knew Baptists and Quakers could not in good conscience do!

April 1661 saw the Savoy Conference meet to consider objections to the Prayer Book on behalf of the Puritans. There were twelve representatives from either side. The Independents were not invited and there was not much point in them being present in discussions about liturgical uniformity, as they pointed out that neither Christ, nor his Apostles, nor the early church used them or sanctioned them. Rather than work out a compromise, the Anglicans were resolute. Sheldon pointed out that the Puritans were in the wrong. The Anglicans stated that the Prayer Book was perfect in their eyes. They said that the Puritans had the right to object to matters and that the bishops would state what points, if any, they would concede. The bishops had the sympathy of the Court and popular feeling was growing stronger against the Puritans every day. Any delay would have meant victory for the Prelates; silence or withdrawal would have been interpreted as obstinacy on the part of the Presbyterians. On 4 May 1661, they presented their list of objections to the Book of Common Prayer. In general, they asked that nothing doubtful or questioned by orthodox persons should be retained, and whereas the first Reformers had retained in the book all they could to win over Romanists, so now the winning over of all Protestants should be the aim. Baxter even prepared an alternative prayer book. The bishops replied with a long criticism of the suggestions, with a few concessions that they knew would not be acceptable. They would not change the term Sunday to Lord's Day and would not remove a sentence of the Apocrypha; in fact they added more!

There was deadlock, and the four months allotted for the conference elapsed. The work then passed into the hands of Convocation in November 1661. The result was even more objectionable to the Puritans. More Apocryphal material was added, the word minister was changed to priest and

31 Ibid. pp. 67–68.

things that had been left out of the second Book of Prayer of Edward VI were deliberately reintroduced. Bishop Burnet said,

Care was taken that nothing should be altered so as it had been moved by the Presbyterians, for it was resolved to gratify them in nothing ... And now, all the concern that seemed to employ the bishops' thoughts was not only to make no alteration on their account, but to make the terms of conformity stricter than they had been before the war.³²

They made over 600 alterations to the liturgy and not one in favour of the Puritans!

In May 1661, the Cavalier Parliament opened and Edward Hyde, Lord Chancellor Clarendon, a staunch Anglican, found the Parliament just the instrument that he wanted for carrying out his church policy. The MPs were predominantly royalist and Anglican and were hot for revenge because of the things they had suffered under the Commonwealth. Clarendon's words sum up their attitude:

There are a sort of patients that I must recommend to your utmost vigilance, utmost severity, and to no part of your lenity or indulgence.... These seditious preachers ... who by repeating the very expressions and teaching the very doctrine they set of foot in the year 1640, sufficiently declare that they have no mind that twenty years should put an end to the miseries we have undergone. What good Christian can think without horror of these ministers, who by their function should be messengers of peace and are in practice the only trumpets of war? ... If you do not provide for the thorough quenching of these firebrands, King, Lords and Commons shall be their meanest subjects and the whole kingdom kindled into one general flame.³³

With such an attitude prevailing in Parliament the Puritan cause was lost.

First was passed the Corporation Act of 1661. It was aimed at the remaining power base of the Puritans. It required that all officials and employees of Municipal Corporations take the Oath of Supremacy, swear that it was not legal on any pretext to carry arms against the King, repudiate *The Solemn League and Covenant*, and receive the Lord's Supper according to the use of the Church of England within one year of taking office. This barred all who were not prepared to conform to the Church of England, including MPs who were returned by corporations. Then in June 1661 came the Bill "for the Uniformity of Public Prayers and Administration of Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies; and for establishing the form of making, ordaining and consecrating Bishops, Priests and Deacons in the Church of England." It

32 DM Lloyd-Jones, *From Puritanism to Nonconformity*, p. 33.

33 Robert S Boscher, *The Making of the Restoration Settlement*, p. 219.

received Royal Assent on 14 January 1662 and was to come into force on St Bartholomew's Day, 24 August 1662. This was aimed at depriving those who did not conform of a year's tithes due to be received on Michaelmas day and already earned! It aimed at absolute uniformity in the religious worship of the nation, making it a criminal offence to worship God by any other form than in the Book of Common Prayer. Ministers had to declare unfeigned assent and consent, on penalty of ejection, to every word it contained:

That every person failing therein shall lose such parsonage, vicarage or benefice, curate's place or lecturer's place respectively, and shall be utterly disabled ipso facto deprived of the same, and that the said parsonage, vicarage, or benefice, curate's place or lecturer's place shall be void as if he was naturally dead.³⁴

The Solemn League and Covenant was to be repudiated and episcopal ordination was made a condition of exercising any ministry. Any ordinand from Deacon upwards was to swear unfeigned assent to the King's right as the only supreme governor of the realm in all things civil and ecclesiastical and spiritual.

The Bill was so harsh and extreme in its demands that even the House of Lords, which included the bishops, and Charles tried to moderate its terms and conditions. They wanted any ejected men to be given a fifth of their livings, as they themselves had been. But the Commons would not listen and the Bill was passed. This was a terrible blow to the Puritans. It seemed to catch so many from differing strands of Puritanism. Some refused because they thought it a sin to be re-ordained, though they held with the liturgy. Others refused for the fundamental reasons that Baxter had asserted at the Savoy Conference. Baxter thought that the imposition of men's forms of worship on the consciences of others, whether or not he shared their scruples, was abhorrent. In his autobiography he says,

I thought it a cause that I could comfortably suffer for and should as willingly be a martyr for Charity as Faith.³⁵

The Independents and Congregationalists, like John Owen, were opposed to the imposition of liturgical worship on doctrinal grounds. In all, roughly 1,909 were ejected or left in the light of what was happening between 1660 and 1662. This included ministers, university fellows, heads of colleges and Eton schoolmasters. The Bishops were amazed that so many others could assent to a Book of Prayer that they could not yet have seen. Calamy states that of the 7,000 ministers who conformed, few outside of London could possibly have

³⁴ Great Britain, Laws, Statutes, etc., *Act of Uniformity, 1662*.

³⁵ Richard Baxter, *The Autobiography of Richard Baxter*, ed. NH Keeble (London: Dent, 1974), p. 170.

seen it before the deadline! Bishop Sheldon said that if they had known that so many would have conformed they would have made the Acts stricter!

Legislation did not stop there! It became obvious that the government and Anglican bishops were determined to crush Non-conformity, as it now became. The Conventicle Act of 1664 banned assemblies of five or more for the exercise of religion in any other manner than is allowed by the Liturgy. This aimed to break up congregations secretly gathered around ejected ministers. Fines, imprisonment and transportation (but not to New England) were the penalties and if your goods did not cover the cost of passage when you were transported, you would be enslaved to the ship-owner for up to 5 years! The Act expired in 1667, but in 1670 a new Conventicle Act was passed.

In 1665, London and the countryside was struck down by the plague, deaths rising from 1,000 in July to 10,000 in September. Many of the new incumbents fled to the countryside or even to Europe, but the Non-conformists stayed, taking possession of the vacant pulpits and visiting the sick, whose own ministers had deserted them. But while the Non-conformist ministers were risking their lives, Parliament met in Oxford because of the plague and discussed a further act to harass the Non-conformists. In 1665 the Five Mile Act was passed, forbidding Non-conformist ministers who refused to take an oath to

endeavour any alteration of Government, either in Church or State, to come within five miles of any place where they had formerly ministered or conducted any Non-conformist service.³⁶

This aimed to drive Non-conformist ministers away from former parishes and neighbourhoods where friends lived, to keep them perpetually on the road and thus cut them and their families off from any means of living. This was not used as propaganda; the laws were vigorously enforced, with a few brief respites, until the revolution of 1688 and religious toleration. Many godly men and their families died under terrible circumstances, often in disease-ridden jails. Often, men who had come through previous persecutions and ejections under Charles I and Laud, finally succumbed to the cruelty of these laws, one writer estimating that nearly 8,000 died in prison during Charles II's reign and that nearly £2,000,000 was taken by the Treasury in fines and confiscations. Another writer gives a list of 60,000 people who suffered for religious dissent during the reigns of Charles II and James II, 5,000 of whom died in prison. How accurate these figures are is uncertain; however they give an indication of the severity of the suffering.

36 Great Britain, Laws, Statutes, etc., *The Five Mile Act, 1665*.

In 1666, a large part of London was destroyed by the Great Fire of London. Again, many of the clergy deserted their people and the Non-conformist brethren took their place. Buildings that remained were converted for public worship or temporary wooden buildings were built to house the congregations. Men like: Jacob, Annesley, Vincent, Owen, Goodwin, Nye and Caryl preached to large congregations.

What is the significance of the Ejection? It is hardly surprising that we see the Church of England in the state it is in today. The year 1662 marks the final defeat of the Puritans' efforts to reform the Anglican church in both doctrine and practice. Boscher comments that,

The ecclesiastical settlement which thus took effect has been rightly regarded as a major landmark in English Church history and remains a permanent achievement of the Laudian party. The Church of England would continue to be a meeting place of divers traditions, but broadly speaking its essential position and the limits of its comprehensiveness were finally established by the decision made in 1662.³⁷

He goes on to say that 1662 was an English version of the Counter Reformation! We can say that 1662 marks the final refusal of the Anglican Church to come to terms fully with the Continental Reformation. As Dr Lloyd-Jones said, "The *Ecclesia Anglicana* was of another spirit than Geneva." RW Dale stated that,

the English ejection was the salvation of the religious life of the nation and of its religious and civil liberties.³⁸

He argued that if the Presbyterians had stayed within the Church of England and used the Prayer Book with the slight modifications which they had demanded, their evangelical theology would gradually have been modified by the sacramentalism and sacerdotalism of the services. Thus the free growth of their evangelical faith would have been hampered and restrained. When they were ejected, the true spirit and genius of their theology was liberated and their congregations grew, even under the persecutions. Could it be that our evangelical brethren in liberal denominations, even our charismatic brethren, are in danger of becoming increasingly compromised theologically and in practice, as they remain in such rigid, unbiblical structures?

When Charles was considering his Declaration of Indulgence in 1671/72, because he feared that the Dutch war would provoke discontent in England, he suspended the penal laws against the Non-conformists saying that,

³⁷ Robert S Boscher, *The Making of the Restoration Settlement.*, p. 282.

³⁸ RW Dale, *History of English Congregationalism* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1907), p. 420.

all manner of penal laws, in matters ecclesiastical, against whatsoever sort of Nonconformists or Recusants, be immediately suspended from time to time to allow a sufficient number of places as shall be desired in all parts of this our kingdom, for the use of such as do not conform to the Church of England to meet and assemble in order to their publick worship and devotion.³⁹

The Presbyterians did not want this; they feared that they might become Independents if they set up isolated congregations. The Independents had no such worries and within ten months had applied for 3,500 licences. Clearly, the laws had not worked and Jesus was still building His Church. Parliament said that Charles could not revoke their laws and the licences were repealed in February 1673.

If the Independents, Baptists and Quakers had been left to go it alone, they might never have won the day. The tactics of Divide and Rule would probably have triumphed. But with all the evangelicals being thrown together by the ejection, they achieved a great spiritual unity, something they could not manage to do themselves! A lesson for us in this is that the “churchmen” are past masters at church politics and will probably always win at such “games”. Evangelicals should leave them to it and fight the battle that really counts, the spiritual battle. It would be to our shame that it might take a forced ejection of Evangelicals from increasingly liberal denominations to bring about such evangelical unity again!

Of great significance must be that the Ejection and its ensuing suffering showed that pure Christianity in doctrine and practice was worth fighting and suffering for. The witness of these ejected men and how they suffered without malice and so humbly must have been a powerful witness for Christ. Had they conformed then people would have thought that Christianity was only for the pulpit and not a way of life. But by giving up their livings and exposing themselves and their families to unknown evils ahead, rather than hurting their consciences by assenting to things they preached against, they showed that Christianity is vital and real.

Henry Clark, in the book *The Ejection of 1662 and the Free Churches*,⁴⁰ said that at least the Ejection had the result of driving Congregationalist ministers out of the Church of England and into Independency, which is where they should have been in the first place. No doubt men like Owen and the Baptists and Quakers would have concurred with this modern author's view, if not with the means it was achieved by. Thus the Ejection had the effect

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Henry W Clark, “Congregationalists and the Ejection of 1662” in *The Ejection of 1662 and the Free Churches*, p. 69.

of practically killing off the notion of a State Church within Puritan circles in this country. Is this a case of what God could not achieve through his Word, He achieved through His providence and use of ungodly men?

Many of the ejected men wrote works that they perhaps might not have had time to write if still incumbents—works of men like John Owen, John Flavel, Thomas Brooks, Thomas Goodwin, William Baxter and Joseph Alleine to name but a few. There is a far smaller amount of literature from those who did conform.

Declaration of King Charles II from Breda

Charles R.

CHARLES, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the faith, & c. To all our loving subjects of what degree or quality soever, greeting. If the general distraction and confusion which is spread over the whole kingdom doth not awaken all men to a desire and longing that those wounds which have so many years together been kept bleeding may be bound up, all we can say will be to no purpose. However, after this long silence, we have thought it our duty to declare how much we desire to contribute therunto; and that, as we can never give over the hope in good time to obtain the possession of that right which God and nature hath made our due, so we do make it our daily suit to the divine Providence, that he will, in compassion to us and our subjects, after so long misery and sufferings, remit, and put us into a quiet and peaceable possession of that our right, with as little blood and damage to our people as is possible: nor do we desire more to enjoy what is ours, than that all our subjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a full and entire administration of justice throughout the land, and by extending our mercy where it is wanted and deserved.

And to the end that the fear of punishment may not engage any conscious to themselves of what is past to a perseverance in guilt for the future, by opposing the quiet and happiness of their country in the restoration both of king, peers, and people to their just, ancient, and fundamental rights, we do by these presents declare, that we do grant a free and general pardon, which we are ready upon demand, to pass under our great seal of England, to all our subjects, of what degree or quality soever, who within forty days after the publishing hereof shall lay hold upon this our grace and favour, and shall by any public act declare their doing so, and that they return to the loyalty and obedience of good subjects; excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by parliament. Those only excepted, let all our subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the word of a king, solemnly given by this present Declaration, that no crime whatsoever committed against us or our royal father, before the publication of this, shall ever rise in judgment, or be brought in question, against any of them, to the least endamage-

of them, either in their lives, liberties, or estates, or (as far as lies in our power) so much as to the prejudice of their reputations, by any reproach, or term of distinction from the rest of our best subjects; we desiring and ordaining, that henceforward all notes of discord, separation, and difference of parties, be utterly abolished among all our subjects; whom we invite and conjure to a perfect union among themselves, under our protection, for the resettlement of our just rights and theirs, in a free parliament; by which, upon the word of a king, we will be advised.

And because the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other; which, when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation, will be composed, or better understood; we do declare a liberty to tender consciences; and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of parliament, as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us, for the full granting that indulgence.

And because in the continued distractions of so many years, and so many and great revolutions, many grants and purchases of estates have been made to and by many officers, soldiers, and others, who are now possessed of the same, and who may be liable to actions of law, upon several titles; we are likewise willing that all such differences, and all things relating to such grants, sales, and purchases, shall be determined in parliament; which can best provide for the just satisfaction of all men who are concerned.

And we do farther declare, that we will be ready to consent to any act or acts of parliament to the purposes aforesaid, and for the full satisfaction of all arrears due to the officers and soldiers of the army under the command of General Monk; and that they shall be received into our service upon as good pay and conditions as they now enjoy.

Given under our sign manual, and privy signet, at our court at Breda, the 4/14th day of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.

The Act of Uniformity, 1662

An Act for the Uniformity of Public Prayers and Administration of Sacraments and Other Rites and Ceremonies: and for establishing the form of making, ordaining, and consecrating Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, in the Church of England.

WHEREAS, in the first year of the late Queen Elizabeth, there was one uniform order of common service and prayer, and of the administration of sacraments, rites, and ceremonies of the Church of England (agreeable to the Word of God, and usage of the primitive church) compiled by the reverend bishops and clergy, set forth in one book, entitled "The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England," and enjoined to be used by Act of Parliament, holden in the said first year of the said late queen, entitled An Act for Uniformity of Common Prayer and service in the Church, and administration of the sacraments, very comfortable to all good people desirous to live in Christian conversation, and most profitable to the estate of this realm, upon the which the mercy, favour, and blessing of Almighty God is in no wise so readily and plentifully poured as by common prayers, due using of the sacraments, and often preaching of the gospel, with devotion of the hearers. And yet this, notwithstanding, a great number of people in divers parts of this realm, following their own sensuality, and living without knowledge, and due fear of God, do wilfully and schismatically abstain and refuse to come to their parish churches, and other public places where common prayer, administration of the sacraments, and preaching of the Word of God is used upon the Sundays and other days ordained and appointed to be kept and observed as holy days: And whereas, by the great and scandalous neglect of the ministers in using the said order or liturgy so set forth and enjoined as aforesaid, great mischiefs and inconveniencies, during the time of the late unhappy troubles have arisen and grown, and many people have been led into factions and schisms, to the great decay and scandal of the reformed religion of the Church of England, and to the hazard of many souls. For prevention whereof in time to come, for settling the peace of the church, and for allaying the present distempers which the indisposition of the

time hath contracted, the king's majesty (according to his declaration of the five-and-twentieth of October, one thousand six hundred and sixty,) granted his commission, under the great seal of England, to several bishops and other divines, to review the Book of Common Prayer, and to prepare such alterations and additions as they thought fit to offer. And afterwards the convocations of both the provinces of Canterbury and York, being by his majesty called and assembled, (and now sitting) his majesty hath been pleased to authorise and require the presidents of the said convocation, and other the bishops and clergy of the same, to review the said Book of Common Prayer, and the book of the form and manner of the making and consecrating of bishops, priests, and deacons: and that, after mature consideration, they should make such additions and alterations in the said books respectively, as to them should seem meet and convenient; and should exhibit and present the same to his majesty in writing, for his further allowance or confirmation; since which time, upon full and mature deliberation, they the said presidents, bishops, and clergy of both provinces, have accordingly reviewed the said books, and have made some alterations which they think fit to be inserted to the same; and some additional prayers to the said Book of Common Prayer, to be used upon proper and emergent occasions; and have exhibited and presented the same unto his majesty in writing, in one book, entitled "The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England, together with the Psalter or Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in churches; and the form and manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of bishops, priests, and deacons." All which his majesty having duly considered, hath fully approved and allowed the same, and recommended to this present parliament, that the said Books of Common Prayer, and of the form of ordination and consecration of bishops, priests, and deacons, with the alterations and additions which have been so made and presented to his majesty by the said convocations, be the book which shall be appointed to be used by all that officiate in all cathedral and collegiate churches and chapels,

and in all chapels and colleges, and halls in both the Universities, and the colleges of Eton and Winchester, and in all parish churches and chapels within the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and by all that make or consecrate bishops, priests, or deacons, in any of the said places, under such sanctions and penalties as the Houses of Parliament shall think fit.

II. Now in regard that nothing conduceth more to the settling of the peace of this nation (which is desired of all good men) nor to the honour of our religion, and the propagation thereof, than a universal agreement in the public worship of Almighty God, and to the intent that every person within this realm, may certainly know the rule to which he is to conform in public worship, and administration of sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church of England, and the manner how, and by whom bishops, priests, and deacons are, and ought to be made, ordained, and consecrated. Be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by the advice and with the consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and of the commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that all and singular ministers in any cathedral, collegiate, or parish church or chapel, or other place of public worship within this realm of England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, shall be bound to say and use the morning prayer, evening prayer, celebration and administration of both the sacraments, and all other the public and common prayer, in such order and form as is mentioned in the said book annexed, and joined to this present Act, and entitled, *The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England, together with the Psalter or Psalms of David: pointed as they are to be sung or said in churches: and the form or manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of bishops, priests, and deacons:* and that the morning and evening prayers therein contained, shall, upon every Lord's day, and upon all other days and occasions, and at the times therein appointed, be openly and solemnly read by all and every minister or curate in every church, chapel, or other place of public worship, within this realm of England, and places aforesaid.

III. And to the end that uniformity in the public worship of God, (which is so much desired) may be speedily effected, Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every parson, vicar, or other minister whatsoever, who now hath and enjoyeth any ecclesiastical benefice or promotion within this realm of England, or places aforesaid, shall in the church, chapel, or place of public worship belonging to his said benefice or promotion, upon some Lord's day before the feast of St Bartholomew, which shall be in the year of our Lord God, one thousand six hundred and sixty two, openly, publicly, and solemnly read the morning and evening prayer appointed to be read by and according to the said Book of Common Prayer, at the times thereby appointed; and after such reading thereof, shall openly and publicly, before the congregation there assembled, declare his unfeigned assent and consent to the use of all things in the said book contained and prescribed in these words and no other.

IV. I, A.B., do here declare my unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained and prescribed in and by the book entitled, *The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England, together with the Psalter or Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in churches: and the form or manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of bishops, priests, and deacons.*

V. And that all and every such person who shall (without some lawful impediment, to be allowed and approved of by the ordinary of the place) neglect or refuse to do the same within the time aforesaid (or in case of such impediment, within one month after such impediment removed), shall, *ipso facto*, be deprived of all his spiritual promotions. And that from thenceforth it shall be lawful to, and for all patrons and donors of all and singular the said spiritual promotions, or of any of them, according to their respective rights and titles, to present or collate to the same, as though the person or persons so offending or neglecting were dead.

VI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every person who shall hereafter be presented or collated, or put into any ecclesiastical benefice or promotion within this realm of England, and places aforesaid, shall, in the church, chapel, or place of public worship

belonging to his said benefice or promotion, within two months next after that he shall be in the actual possession of the said ecclesiastical benefice or promotion, upon some Lord's day, openly, publicly, and solemnly, read the morning and evening prayers appointed to be read by and according to the said Book of Common Prayer, at the times thereby appointed, or to be appointed, and after such reading thereof, shall openly and publicly, before the congregation there assembled, declare his unfeigned assent and consent to the use of all things therein contained and prescribed, according to the form before appointed. And that all and every such person, who shall (without some lawful impediment, to be allowed and approved by the ordinary of the place) neglect or refuse to do the same within the time aforesaid, (or in the case of such impediment, within one month after such impediment removed,) shall, *ipso facto*, be deprived of all his said ecclesiastical benefices and promotions. And that from thenceforth it shall and may be lawful to and for all patrons and donors of all and singular the said ecclesiastical benefices and promotions, or any of them, according to their respective rights and titles, to present or collate to the same, as though the person or persons so offending or neglecting were dead.

VII. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that in all places where the proper incumbent of any parsonage, or vicarage, or benefice with cure, doth reside on his living and keep a curate, the incumbent himself in person (not having some lawful impediment, to be allowed by the ordinary of the place), shall once (at the least) in every month, openly and publicly, read the common prayers and service, in and by the said book prescribed, and (if there be occasion) administer each of the sacraments, and other rites of the church, in the parish church or chapel of, or belonging to the same parsonage, vicarage, or benefice, in such order, manner, and form, as in and by the said book is appointed; upon pain to forfeit the sum of five pounds to the use of the poor of the parish, for every offence, upon conviction by confession, or proof of two credible witnesses upon oath, before two justices of the peace of the county, city, or town corporate where the offence shall be committed (which oath the said justices are hereby empowered to administer), and in default of payment within ten days, to be levied by

distress and sale of the goods and chattels of the offender by the warrant of the said justices, by the churchwardens, or overseers of the poor of the said parish, rendering the surplussage to the party.

VIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every dean, canon, and prebendary, of every cathedral or collegiate church, and all masters, and other heads, fellows, chaplains, and tutors of or in any college, hall, house of learning, or hospital, and every public professor and reader in either of the universities, and in every college elsewhere, and every parson, vicar, curate, lecturer, and every other person in holy orders, and every schoolmaster keeping any public or private school, and every person instructing or teaching any youth in any house or private family as a tutor or schoolmaster, who upon the first day of May which shall be in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred and sixty-two, or at any time hereafter shall be incumbent or have possession of any deanery, canonry, prebend, mastership, parsonage, vicarage, or any other ecclesiastical dignity or promotion, or of any curate's place, lecture or school; or shall instruct or teach any youth as tutor or schoolmaster, shall before the feast day of St Bartholomew which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and sixty two, or at or before his or their respective admission to be incumbent or have possession aforesaid, subscribe the declaration or acknowledgment following:—*scilicet*.

IX. I. A.B., do declare, that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the king: and that I do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him: and that I will conform to the liturgy of the church of England as it is now by law established and I do declare, that I do hold there lies no obligation upon me, or any other person, from the oath commonly called, *The Solemn League and Covenant*, to endeavour any change or alteration of government either in church or state; and that the same was in itself an unlawful oath, and imposed upon the subjects of this realm against the known laws and liberties of this kingdom.

X. Which said declaration and acknowledgment shall be subscribed by every of the said masters, and other heads, fellows, chaplains, and tutors of, or in any college, hall, or

house of learning, and by every public professor and reader in either of the universities, before the vice-chancellor of the respective universities for the time being, or his deputy: and the said declaration or acknowledgment shall be subscribed before the respective archbishop, bishop, or ordinary of the diocese, by every other person hereby enjoined to subscribe the same; upon pain that all and every of the persons aforesaid failing in such subscription, shall lose and forfeit such respective deanery, canonry, prebend, mastership, headship, fellowship, professor's place, reader's place, parsonage, vicarage, ecclesiastical dignity or promotion, curate's place, lecture, and school, and shall be utterly disabled, and *ipso facto* deprived of the same: and that every such respective deanery, canonry, prebend, mastership, headship, fellowship, professor's place, reader's place, parsonage, vicarage, ecclesiastical dignity or promotion, curate's place, lecture and school, shall be void as if such person so failing were naturally dead.

XI. And if any schoolmaster or other person instructing or teaching youth in any private house or family as a tutor or schoolmaster shall instruct or teach any youth as a tutor or schoolmaster, before license obtained from his respective archbishop, bishop, or ordinary of the diocese, according to the laws and statutes of this realm, (for which he shall pay twelvenge only,) and before such subscription or acknowledgment made as aforesaid: then every such schoolmaster, and other instructing and teaching as aforesaid shall, for the first offence, suffer three months' imprisonment, without bail or mainprize; and for every second and other such offence shall suffer three months' imprisonment without bail or mainprize, and also forfeit to his majesty the sum of five pounds: and after such subscription made, every such parson, vicar, curate, and lecturer, shall procure a certificate, under the hand and seal of the respective archbishop, bishop, or ordinary of the diocese, (who are hereby enjoined and required upon demand to make and deliver the same) and shall publicly and openly read the same, together with the declaration or acknowledgment aforesaid, upon some Lord's day within three months then next following in his parish church where he is to officiate, in the presence of the congregation there assembled in the time of divine service; upon pain that every person failing therein shall

lose such parsonage, vicarage, or benefice, curate's place or lecturer's place respectively, and shall be utterly disabled and *ipso facto* deprived of the same; and that the said parsonage, vicarage, or benefice, curate's place or lecturer's place shall be void as if he was naturally dead.

XII. Provided always, that from and after the twenty-fifth day of March, which shall be in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred and eighty-two, there shall be omitted in the said declaration or acknowledgment to be subscribed and read, these words following:—

And I do declare, that I do hold there lies no obligation on me or any other person, from the oath commonly called *The Solemn League and Covenant*, to endeavour any change or alteration of government either in church or state, and that the same was in itself an unlawful oath, and imposed upon the subjects of this realm, against the known laws and liberties of this kingdom.

So as none of the persons aforesaid shall from thenceforth be at all obliged to subscribe or read that part of the said declaration or acknowledgment.

XIII. Provided always and be it enacted, that from and after the feast of St Bartholomew which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and sixty two, no person who now is incumbent and in possession of any parsonage, vicarage, or benefice, and who is not already in holy orders by episcopal ordination, or shall not before the said feast-day of St Bartholomew be ordained priest or deacon according to the form of episcopal ordination, shall have, hold, or enjoy the said parsonage, vicarage, benefice, with cure or other ecclesiastical promotion within this kingdom of England, or the dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, but shall be utterly disabled and *ipso facto* deprived of the same, and all his ecclesiastical promotions shall be void as if he was naturally dead.

XIV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no person whatsoever shall thenceforth be capable to be admitted to any parsonage, vicarage, benefice, or other ecclesiastical promotion or dignity whatsoever, nor shall presume to consecrate and administer the holy sacrament of the Lord's supper before such time as he shall be ordained priest according to the form and manner in and by the said book prescribed, unless he have formerly been made priest by episcopal ordination; upon pain to

forfeit for every offence the sum of one hundred pounds, one moiety thereof to the king's majesty, the other moiety thereof to be equally divided between the poor of the parish where the offence shall be committed; and such person or persons as shall sue for the same by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information in any of his majesty's courts of record, wherein no essoin, protection, or wager of law shall be allowed, and to be disabled from taking or being admitted into the order of priest by the space of one whole year then next following.

XV. Provided, that the penalties in this act shall not extend to the foreigners or aliens of the foreign reformed churches, allowed or to be allowed by the king's majesty, his heirs and successors, in England.

XVI. Provided always, that no title to confer or present by lapse, shall accrue by any avoidance or deprivation *ipso facto* by virtue of this statute, and after six months after notice of such avoidance or deprivation given by the ordinary to the patron, or such sentence of deprivation openly and publicly read in the parish church of the benefice, parsonage, or vicarage becoming void, or whereof the incumbent shall be deprived by virtue of this act.

XVII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no form or order of common prayers, administration of sacraments, rites or ceremonies, shall be openly used in any church, chapel, or other public place of, or in any college or hall in either of the universities, the colleges of Westminster, Winchester, or Eaton, or any of them, other than what is prescribed and appointed to be used in and by the said book; and that the present governor or head of every college and hall in the said universities, and of the same colleges of Westminster, Winchester, and Eaton, within one month after the feast of St Bartholomew which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and sixty two; and every governor or head of any of the said colleges or halls hereafter to be elected or appointed, within one month next after his election or collation and admission into the same government or headship, shall openly and publicly in the church, chapel, or other public place of the same college or hall, and in the presence of the fellows and scholars of the same, or the greater part of them then resident, subscribe unto the Nine-and-Thirty Articles of religion mentioned in the statute

made in the thirteenth year of the reign of the late Queen Elizabeth, and unto the said book, and declare his unfeigned assent and consent unto and approbation of the said articles, and of the same book, and to the use of all the prayers, rites, and ceremonies, forms and orders, in the said book prescribed and contained, according to the form aforesaid; and that all such governors or heads of the said colleges and halls, or any of them, as are, or shall be, in holy orders, shall once (at least) in every quarter of the year (not having a lawful impediment) openly and publicly read the morning prayer and service in and by the said book appointed to be read in the church, chapel, or other public place of the same college or hall; upon pain to lose and be suspended of and from all the benefits and profits belonging to the same government or headship, by the space of six months, by the visitor or visitors of the same college or hall; and if any governor or head of any college or hall, suspended for not subscribing unto the said articles and book, or for not reading of the morning prayer and service as aforesaid, shall not, at or before the end of six months next after such suspension, subscribe unto the said articles and book, and declare his consent thereunto as aforesaid, or read the morning prayer and service as aforesaid, then such government or headship shall be *ipso facto* void.

XVIII. Provided always, that it shall and may be lawful to use the morning and evening prayer, and all other prayers and service prescribed in and by the said book, in the chapels or other public places of the respective colleges and halls in both the universities, in the colleges of Westminster, Winchester, and Eton, and in the convocations of the clergies of either province, in Latin; anything in this Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

XIX. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that no person shall be, or be received as a lecturer, or permitted, suffered, or allowed to preach as a lecturer, or to preach or read any sermon, or lecture in any church, chapel, or other place of public worship, within this realm of England, or the dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, unless he be first approved, and thereunto licensed by the archbishop of the province, or bishop of the diocese, or (in case the see be void) by the guardian of the spiritualities, under his seal, and shall, in the presence of the same archbishop, or

bishop, or guardian, read the Nine-and-Thirty Articles of religion mentioned in the statute of the thirteenth year of the late queen Elizabeth, with declaration of his unfeigned assent to the same; and that every person or persons who now is, or hereafter shall be licensed, assigned, and appointed, or received as a lecturer, to preach upon any day of the week, in any church, chapel, or place of public worship within this realm of England, or places aforesaid, the first time he preacheth (before his sermon) shall openly, publicly, and solemnly read the common prayers and service in and by the said book appointed to be read for that time of the day, and then and there publicly and openly declare his assent unto and approbation of the said book, and to the use of all the prayers, rites and ceremonies, forms and orders therein contained and prescribed, according to the form before appointed in this Act; and also shall, upon the first lecture day of every month afterwards, so long as he continues lecturer or preacher there, at the place appointed for his said lecture or sermon, before his said lecture or sermon, openly, publicly, and solemnly read the common prayers and service in and by the said book appointed to be read for that time of the day at which the said lecture or sermon is to be preached, and after such reading thereof, shall, openly and publicly, before the congregation there assembled, declare his unfeigned assent and consent unto and approbation of the said book and to the use of all the prayers, rites and ceremonies, forms and orders, therein contained and prescribed, according to the form aforesaid; and that all and every such person and persons who shall neglect or refuse to do the same, shall from thenceforth be disabled to preach the said or any other lecture or sermon in the said or any other church, chapel, or place of public worship, until such time as he and they shall openly, publicly, and solemnly read the common prayers and service appointed by the said book, and conform in all points to the things therein appointed and prescribed, according to the purpose, true intent, and meaning of this Act.

XX. Provided always, that if the said sermon or lecture be to be preached or read in any cathedral or collegiate church or chapel, it shall be sufficient for the said lecturer, openly, at the time aforesaid, to declare his assent and consent to all things contained in the said book, according to the form aforesaid.

XXI. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that if any person who is by this Act disabled to preach any lecture or sermon, shall, during the time that he shall continue and remain so disabled, preach any sermon or lecture; that then, for every such offence, the person and persons so offending shall suffer three months' imprisonment in the common gaol, without bail or mainprize; and that any two justices of the peace of any county of this kingdom and places aforesaid, and the mayor or other chief magistrate of any city or town corporate within the same, upon certificate from the ordinary of the place made to him or them, of the offence committed, shall, and are hereby required to commit the person or persons so offending, to the gaol of the same county, city, or town corporate accordingly.

XXII. Provided always, and be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that at all and every time and times when any sermon or lecture is to be preached, the common prayers and service in and by the said book appointed to be read for that time of the day, shall be openly, publicly, and solemnly read by some priest or deacon, in the church, chapel, or place of public worship where the said sermon or lecture is to be preached, before such sermon or lecture be preached; and that the lecturer then to preach shall be present at the reading thereof.

XXIII. Provided nevertheless, that this Act shall not extend to the university churches in the universities of this realm, or either of them, when or at such times as any sermon or lecture is preached or read in the said churches, or any of them, for or as the public university sermon or lecture; but that the same sermons and lectures may be preached or read in such sort and manner as the same have been heretofore preached or read, this Act or anything herein contained to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

XXIV. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that the several good laws and statutes of this realm, which have been formerly made, and are now in force for the uniformity of prayer, and administration of the sacraments within this realm of England, and places aforesaid, shall stand in full force and strength to all intents and purposes whatsoever, for the establishing and confirming of the said book, entitled *The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites*

and Ceremonies of the Church according to the use of the Church of England, together with the Psalter or Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be said or sung in churches, and the form or manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of bishops, priests, and deacons, herein before mentioned, to be joined and annexed to this Act. And shall be applied, practised, and put in use for the punishing of all offences contrary to the said laws, with relation to the book aforesaid, and no other.

XXV. Provided always, and be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that in all those prayers, litanies, and collects, which do any way relate to the king, queen, or royal progeny, the names be altered and changed from time to time, and fitted to the present occasion according to the direction of lawful authority.

XXVI. Provided also, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that a true printed copy of the said book, entitled *The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England, together with the Psalter or Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in churches, and the form and manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of bishops, priests, and deacons* shall at the costs and charges of the parishioners of every parish church and chapel, cathedral, church, college, and hall, be attained and gotten before the feast day of St Bartholomew, in the year of our Lord, one thousand six hundred and sixty two, upon pain of forfeiture of three pounds, by the month, for so long time as they shall thereafter be unprovided thereof, by every parish or chapel, cathedral, church, college, and hall making default therein.

XXVII. Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the Bishops of Hereford, St David's, Asaph, Bangor, and Landaff, and their successors, shall take such order among themselves, for the souls' health of the flock committed to their charge, within Wales, that the book hereunto, annexed be truly and exactly translated into the British or Welsh tongue; and that the same so translated, and being by them, or any three of them at the least, viewed, perused, and allowed, be imprinted to such number at least, so that one of the said books, so translated and imprinted, may be had for every cathedral, collegiate and parish church, and chapel of ease, in the said respective dioceses

and places in Wales, where the Welsh is commonly spoken or used, before the first day of May, one thousand six hundred and sixty five: and that from and after the imprinting and publishing of the said book so translated, the whole divine service shall be used and said by the ministers and curates throughout all Wales, within the said dioceses where the Welsh tongue is commonly used, in the British or Welsh tongue, in such manner and form as is prescribed according to the book hereunto annexed to be used in the English tongue, differing nothing in any order or form from the said English book, for which book, so translated and printed, the churchwardens of every the said parishes shall pay out of the parish money in their hands for the use of the respective churches, and be allowed the same on their account; and that the said bishops and their successors, or any three of them at the least, shall set and appoint the price for which the said book shall be sold. And one other *Book of Common Prayer*, in the English tongue, shall be bought and had in every church throughout Wales, in which the *Book of Common Prayer* in Welsh is to be had by force of this Act, before the first day of May, one thousand six hundred and sixty four; and the same books to remain in such convenient places within the said churches, that such as understand them may resort at all convenient times to read and peruse the same; and also such as do not understand the said language, may, by conferring both tongues together, the sooner attain to the knowledge of the English tongue, anything in this Act to the contrary notwithstanding. And until printed copies of the said book so to be translated, may be had and provided, the form of Common Prayer established by parliament before the making of this Act, shall be used as formerly in such parts of Wales where the English tongue is not commonly understood.

XXVIII. And to the end that the true and perfect copies of this Act and the said book hereunto annexed may be safely kept and perpetually preserved, and for the avoiding of all disputes for the time to come, be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the respective deans and chapters of every cathedral or collegiate church within England and Wales shall at their proper costs and charges, before the twenty fifth day of December, one thousand six hundred and sixty two, obtain under the great seal of England, a true and perfect printed copy

of this Act, and of the said book annexed hereunto, to be by the said deans and chapters and their successors, kept and preserved in safety for ever, and to be also produced and showed forth in any court of record as often as they shall be thereunto lawfully required; and also there shall be delivered true and perfect copies of this Act, and of the same book into the respective courts at Westminster, and into the tower of London, to be kept and preserved for ever among the records of the said courts, and the records of the tower, to be also produced and showed forth in any court as need shall require; which said books, so to be exemplified under the great seal of England, shall be examined by such persons as the king's majesty shall appoint under the great seal of England for that purpose, and shall be compared with the original book hereunto annexed, and shall have power to correct and amend in writing any error committed by the printer in the printing of the same book, or of anything therein contained, and shall certify in writing, under their hands and seals, or the hands and seals of any three of them, at the end of the same book, that they have examined and compared the same book, and find it to be a true and perfect copy, which said books, and every one of them, so exemplified under the great seal of England, as aforesaid, shall be deemed, taken, adjudged, and expounded to be good and available in the law to all intents and purposes whatsoever, and shall be accounted as good records as this book itself hereunto annexed; any law or custom to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

XXIX. Provided also, that this Act, or anything therein contained, shall not be prejudicial or hurtful unto the king's professor of the law within the University of Oxford, for or concerning the prebend of Shipton, within the cathedral church of Sarum, united and annexed unto the place of the same king's professor for the time being by the late king James of blessed memory.

XXX. Provided always, that whereas the Six-and Thirtieth Article of the Nine-and-Thirty Articles, agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy in the convocation holden at London in the year of our Lord, one thousand five hundred and sixty two, for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and for establishing of consent

touching true religion, is in these words following, viz:

"That the book of consecration of archbishops and bishops, and ordaining of priests and deacons, lately set forth in the time of king Edward VI, and confirmed at the same time by authority of parliament, doth contain all things necessary to such consecration and ordaining. Neither hath it anything that of itself is superstitious and ungodly: and therefore whosoever are consecrated or ordered according to the rites of that book, since the second year of the afore named king Edward, unto this time or hereafter shall be consecrated or ordered according to the same rites. We decree all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered."

XXXI. It is enacted, and be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all subscriptions hereafter to be had or made unto the said Articles, by any deacon, priest, or ecclesiastical person, or other person whatsoever, who by this Act, or any other law now in force, is required to subscribe unto the said Articles, shall be construed and taken to extend and shall be applied (for and touching the said Six-and-Thirtieth Article) unto the book containing the form and manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of bishops, priests, and deacons in this Act mentioned, in such sort and manner as the same did heretofore extend unto the book set forth in the time of king Edward VI, mentioned in the said Six-and-Thirtieth Article, anything in the said Article, or in any statute, act, or canon heretofore had or made to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

XXXII. Provided also, that *The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England, together with the form and Manner of Ordaining and Consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons* heretofore in use, and respectively established by Act of Parliament, in the first and eighth years of queen Elizabeth shall be still used and observed in the church of England until the feast of St Bartholomew, which shall be in the year of our Lord God, one thousand six hundred sixty and two.

Past Conference Papers

1981

- Rev. A Tovey MA BD: Robert Browne: The Morning Star of Congregationalism
 Rev. DO Swann BA BD: The Church Meeting
 Rev. P Seccombe BD: John Angell James

1982

- Rev. J Legg BA BD: Children of the Covenant (available as a booklet)
 Rev. A Clifford BA MLitt PhD: The Christian Mind of Philip Doddridge
 Mr D Boorman BA MLitt: The Origins of the London Missionary Society

1983

- Rev. H Elias BA BD: PT Forsyth—Prophet of the 20th Century
 Mr M Boland: Oliver Cromwell
 Rev. N Rees BD: Prayer Life of the Local Church

1984

- Rev. GT Booth BD: The Hymn Writers of English Congregationalism
 Rev. ES Guest: John Robinson (1575–1625)
 Rev. G Fielder MA BD: RW Dale and the Non-Conformist Conscience.

1985

- Rev. Prof. T Jones DPhil DD: Walter Craddock (1606–1659)
 Rev. Prof. T Jones DPhil DD: John Penry (1563–1593)
 Rev. P Golding BTh MTh: Owen on the Mortification of Sin

1986

- Rev. PJ Beale MA: Jonathan Edwards and the Phenomena of Revival
 Rev. DO Swann BA BD: An Earnest Ministry
 Mr P Collins: Thomas Wilson

1987

- Rev. DL James MSc ARCS: John Cotton's Doctrine of the Church
 Rev. M Plant BA: Richard Davis and God's Day of Grace
 Rev. B Jones: Lionel Fletcher—Evangelist

1988

- Rev. G Evans: Richard Mather—The True Use of Synods
 Rev. A Tovey MA BD: That Proud Independency
 Rev. G Kirby MA: The Countess of Huntingdon

1989

- Rev. GT Booth BD: Josiah Conder—Hymn-writer and Compiler
 Rev. J Legg BA BD: The Use and Abuse of Church History
 Rev. G Hemming BA: Savoy, 1833 and All That

1990

- Rev. EJE Semper BA: David Bogue—A Man for All Seasons
 Rev. L James PhD: Griffith John—The Founder of the Hankow Mission
 Rev. I Rees BA: Jonathan Edwards on the Work of the Holy Spirit

1991

Mr A Kelly: What Makes Churches Grow

Rev. ES Guest: Joseph Parker—The Immortal Thor of Pulpitdom

Rev. P Secombe BD: RW Dale—Standing Firm or Drifting Dangerously

1992

Rev. Dr A Fraser PhD: When Evolutionary Thought and Congregational Thinkers Meet

Rev. D Saunders MA BEd: Living Stones—Our Heritage, Our Future

Mr J Little BD: John Cennick—Conflict and Conciliation in the Evangelical Awakening.

1993 Some Separatists

Rev. A Tovey MA, BD: A Reforming Pair—Henry Barrow and John Greenwood

Rev. Prof. T Jones DPhil DD: John Penry

1994 Perseverance and Assurance

Rev. I Densham: Sherwood, Selina and Salubrious Place

Rev. N Bonnett: John Eliot—Son of Nazeing

Mr G Davies: Thomas Goodwin and the Quest for Assurance

1995 Ministers and Missionaries

Rev. PJ Beale MA: The Rise and Development of the London Missionary Society

Rev. D Swann BA BD: Thomas Haweis 1734–1820

Rev. B Higham: David Jones—The Angel of Llangan

1996 Freedom and Faithfulness

Rev. ES Guest: From CERF to EFCC

Rev. Dr DL James, DMin, MSc, ARCS: Heroes and Villains—

The Controversy between John Cotton and Roger Williams

Rev. EJE Semper, BA: Edward Parsons—Influence from a Local Church

1997 From Shropshire to Madagascar via Bath

Rev. RGDW Pickles, BD, MPhil: The Rise and Fall of the Shropshire Congregational Union

Rev. Philip Swann: William Jay—Pastor and Preacher

Rev. Dr Noel Gibbard: Madagascar

1998 Eternal Light, Adoption and Livingstone

Rev. GT Booth, MM, BD: Thomas Binney, 1798–1874

Rev. G Cooke: The Doctrine of Adoption & the Preaching of Jeremiah Burroughs

Rev. A Fraser, PhD: David Livingstone

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Typeset by Quinta Press, Meadow View, Weston Rhyn, Oswestry, Shropshire, SY10 7RN

Tel: 01691 778659

E-mail: cscinfo@quintapress.com; Web-site: www.quintapress.com