

THE LIFE AND WORK OF THOMAS HAWELS

1734 - 1820

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PREFACE

Thomas Haweis has received scant notice from the historians of the eighteenth religious revival in England. His is a neglected name amongst the Evangelicals. There is, of course, an abundant literature surrounding the recognized leaders of the awakening - John and Charles Wesley, George Whitefield, Howell Harris, the Countess of Huntingdon. Full length biographies have also been accorded to many of the secondary figures, such as William Grimshaw, James Hervey, John Newton, William Romaine, Henry Venn, and Samuel Walker, to list only a few. But some there be that have no memorial. Their names have lapsed into unmerited oblivion. Thomas Haweis belongs to this group of forgotten men. He remains unhonoured and unsung. No worthy record of his life and labours has ever been produced. The longest memoir extends to a bare thirty-eight pages in John Morison's The Fathers and Founders of the London Missionary Society (I), and, in keeping with the object of that work, confines itself mainly to Haweis' endeavours to promote the cause of overseas missions. Of Thomas Haweis the Evangelical practically nothing has been written. An adequate account of his life and work is thus an obvious desideratum.

Fortunately a considerable amount of new material relating to Haweis has recently been made available. William Jay, the famous Independent preacher of Bath, lamented the fact that Haweis' diary could not be consulted after the death of its au-

thor, for it " would have thrown much light on the earlier periods and events of the revival of religion in our own country " (2). He himself wished to use it in preparing a biography of Haweis. Permission, however, was refused by Haweis' son, the Rev. J.O.W. Haweis, M.A., Rector of Slaugham, Sussex, and later a Canon of Chichester, who was somewhat ashamed of his father's Evangelical associations. Writing in 1840, John Campbell, in his Maritime Discovery and Christian Missions, expressed his view that " a debt of sacred justice " still remained to be discharged to the memory of Haweis, and added:

The responsibility of performing this duty is the more strongly felt from the circumstance that the memorials of his life are in the course of preparation by the pen of a Churchman; and from the experience we have had in the respective cases of Rowland Hill, William Wilberforce and Hannah More, there is ground to fear that a record will be issued which the Doctor himself would have felt to be, on points of great moment, a libel and a wrong, and have perused with indignation and tears ! (3).

This biography was never published, and the intended author remains unidentified. Possibly the veto of the incipient Canon effectively suppressed the project. Whatever the circumstances may have been, no life of Haweis was ever produced, nor did the manuscripts so jealously guarded by anti-Evangelical prejudice become available to a would-be biographer until 1947, when the bulk of them were purchased by the Mitchell Library, Sydney, New South Wales, where they are now housed. Amongst these invaluable documents is an unfinished Autobiography, begun in 1796 and finally revised in 1815, which covers the years 1734 to 1796. From 1796 until 1818 there are intermittent entries in a Diary, in-

tended as a supplement to the Autobiography. In addition, there are eighty-two autograph letters written by Haweis to such recipients as the Countess of Huntingdon, Lady Anne Erskine, Sir Charles Middleton (later Lord Barham), Sir James Wright, Lord Dundas, George Burder, William Alers Hankey, Joseph Hardcastle, George Hodgson, John Newton and Matthew Wilks; and seventy-two letters to Haweis from George Burder, John Eyre, Samuel Greatheed, Joseph Hardcastle, Christian Ignatius Latrobe, Samuel Marsden, William Romaine, Ambrose Serle, and others. Numerous papers and notes are also included in this fascinating collection, which has been microfilmed for the purposes of the present thesis.

Besides the Sydney manuscripts, the following letters represent further primary material: twenty-six letters from Haweis to Sir Joseph Banks, in the Sutro Library, San Francisco: twenty-three letters from John Newton to Haweis in the custody of Messrs. Maggs, Bros., Ltd., London: one letter of Haweis to Thomas Charles, one letter of Lady Huntingdon to Haweis and nineteen letters from Lady Anne Erskine to Haweis in the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth: twenty-four letters from Haweis to various correspondents, including J.T. Vanderkemp, and ten letters to Haweis from J.T. Vanderkemp, William Edwards and Sir Evan Nepean, in the Library of the London Missionary Society: two letters of Haweis to unspecified recipients in the Lamplough Collection: and one letter of Thomas Coke to Haweis in the possession of the Wesley Historical Society of America. It will

readily be seen that these manuscript sources, together with his thirty-six publications and the information about him that can be gleaned from contemporary books, pamphlets and periodicals, provide an ample basis for a comprehensive treatment of Thomas Haweis' life and work.

This study, however, does not claim to be an exhaustive biography. The available matter is too extensive to be compressed satisfactorily within the usual compass of an academic thesis. It is not possible to supply more than a rapid sketch of Haweis as an Evangelical and a missionary pioneer. The approach is primarily historical. An attempt is made to cover Haweis' life chronologically. It has been felt advisable to pay more attention to that part of his career which has been least publicized. Thomas Haweis the missionary agitator is not an altogether unknown quantity: the standard histories of the London Missionary Society by Ellis and Lovett have traversed this ground with reasonable adequacy, and the chief preoccupation of the chapters dealing with this period is with the new light shed upon it by the manuscript sources. On the other hand, Thomas Haweis the Evangelical is only a shadowy figure as yet. Particular notice has therefore been given to the years prior to his missionary endeavours. His training under Samuel Walker and George Conon, his indebtedness to Joseph Jane, his formation of a religious society at the University of Oxford, his Evangelical preaching at St. Mary Magdalene, Oxford, and his subsequent expulsion, his witness in the metropolis and his Chaplaincy of the Lock Hospital, his

Evangelical stand in his Aldwincle parish, his itinerancy for Lady Huntingdon, his position in her Connection, his friendships with John Newton, Henry Venn, William Romaine, Martin Madan, Thomas Wills, George Burnett, Joseph Townsend, James Stillingfleet, Matthew Powley, William Talbot, Legh Richmond - these are little known features of his life which afford fresh insight into the progress of Evangelicalism. It is one of the aims of this thesis to secure a sharper focus on the Evangelical party to which Haweis belonged, and care is taken, mainly by means of references, collected at the end of the work, to supply accurate information regarding the personalities of a segment of the Revival all too sparsely documented as yet.

Haweis' writings are not dealt with in great detail, although, of course, they must needs be noted in a study of this nature. Haweis was not a thinker of the first rank. His gifts were practical rather than theological or speculative. His life is more significant than his works, and his works are of greatest interest when related to his life. It is primarily from this aspect that they will be considered. Although nothing Haweis wrote is indispensable, some of his literary products retain a relevancy for the modern reader. His Biblical Commentary and New Testament translation have some hermeneutical value. His hymns and tunes still live on, and his sermons reflect the style and content of contemporary Evangelical preaching. His Church History, despite its many defects, is noteworthy for its unusual purpose, shared by Joseph Milner, of tracing the true, spiritual

and Evangelical Church amidst the manifold historical distortions of primitive Christianity. Haweis' defence of the Calvinistic interpretation of the Articles, Liturgy and Homilies against the attacks of Bishop Tomline reveals him as an able controversialist. His *Communion manual* affords additional evidence to support the growing realization that the Evangelicals were not so indifferent to worship and the Sacraments as has been supposed, and that G.W.E. Russell was justified in describing Evangelicalism as preparing the way for the Oxford Movement in a positive manner (4). These more important works of Haweis will be examined in their setting and some assessment of their merits essayed.

In expressing my deep and sincere appreciation of the invaluable assistance received from many quarters, I should like first to record my indebtedness to the present Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, the Right Reverend Hugh Watt, M.A., D.D., who, as Principal of New College, Dean of the Faculty of Divinity and Professor of Church History in the University of Edinburgh, suggested the life and work of Thomas Haweis as a subject of historical inquiry, and to my directors of study, the Reverend G.T. Thomson, M.A., D.D., Professor of Christian Dogmatics, and the Reverend John H.S. Burleigh, M.A., B.Litt., D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History, in the University of Edinburgh, who have given kindly counsel and encouragement at every stage of the investigation. My thanks are also due to my two attestors, the Reverend Howard Watkin-Jones, M.A.,

D.D., President-Designate of the Methodist Conference and Tutor in Church History and the History of Doctrine at Wesley College, Headingley, who first attracted me to Church History as a field of special study, and the Reverend Philip S. Watson, M.A., Tutor in Systematic Theology and the Philosophy of Religion at Handsworth College, Birmingham. The Reverend Leslie F. Church, B.A., Ph.D., F.R. Hist.S., with characteristic generosity placed his detailed knowledge of the eighteenth century revival at my disposal, the Reverend John Foster, M.A., D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Glasgow, gave his expert advice on the crucial missionary chapter, and the Reverend Frank Baker, B.A., B.D., Secretary of the Wesley Historical Society, supplied fruitful clues in the search for manuscript sources. The Reverend H. Miles Brown, B.D., B.Sc., Ph.D., Vicar of Torpoint, the Reverend G.C.B. Davies, M.A., B.D., Rector of North Tamerton, and Mr. Frank Michell, Secretary of the Redruth Old Cornwall Society; the Reverend John S. Reynolds, M.A., Rector of Easton-on-the-Hill, Lincolnshire, who has specialized knowledge of Oxford Evangelicalism, the Reverend J. Colin Stephenson, M.B.E., M.A., Vicar of St. Mary Magdalene, Oxford; the Reverend Canon John F. Winter, Rector of Aldwinckle; and the Reverend Griffith T. Roberts, M.A., B.D., this year's Wesley Historical Society lecturer, all willingly entered into sometimes lengthy correspondence on Haweis' connections with Cornwall, Oxford, Aldwinckle and Wales respectively.

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Bath, Edinburgh and Redruth.

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Methodist Manse,
Airdrie,
March, 1951.

A.S.W.

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INTRODUCTION

In the introductory chapter of his life of St. John Chrysostom, Dean Stephens emphasized the value of the scholarly biography as a contribution to historical learning. Nor is the usefulness of such an inquiry to be measured simply by the greatness of its subject. The lives of men who were not called upon to play the foremost parts in the drama of history nevertheless serve to illustrate the age in which they flourished.

They are to history (said Dr. Stephens) what those side or background figures in the pictures of great medieval painters are to the grand central subject of the piece: they do but help to fill up the canvas, yet the picture would not be complete without them.

To take out one of these side figures of history (continued the writer) and to make it the centre of a separate picture, grouping round it all the great events and characters among which it moved, is the work of a biographer. And by many it will be felt that nothing invests the general history of any period with such a living interest as viewing it through the light of some one human life (I).

It is humbly hoped that the ensuing survey of Thomas Haweis' life and work will make some small addition to the present knowledge of eighteenth century English Church History, and particularly of the emergence of Evangelicalism. But whilst it must always be the aim of the ecclesiastical biographer to illuminate the period by the man, it is essential also that the man should be envisaged in the light of the period. The men of the past lay upon posterity the duty of understanding not only themselves, but also their environment. Life and times cannot be separated. We may aspire to elucidate the times through the life, but first

we must set the life in the context of the times.

That is the purpose of this Introduction. Before embarking upon our study of Thomas Haweis we must consider the background against which his figure is outlined. We shall sketch the political, moral and social conditions of the England in which he grew up. An attempt will be made to assess the strength of the much-debated Hanoverian Church, and then the rise and progress of the Evangelical Revival will be briefly traced. Perhaps the most valuable light that a review of Haweis' career has to throw upon the eighteenth century scene in Church History concerns the complicated relationship between Methodism and Evangelicalism. It will be necessary to examine this problem in order to be in a position to evaluate the new evidence. Finally, since the second half of Haweis' busy life was almost entirely devoted to the cause of overseas missions, the close connection between the Evangelical Revival and the great missionary awakening must be indicated.

Probably no single era in the whole range of English history has been more extensively scrutinized than the eighteenth century. There is an abundance of literature on the subject, and only very recently has historical interest begun to veer towards the following century. It is, however, still extraordinarily difficult to obtain a clear and unprejudiced picture of the period. The very profusion of the bibliography proves an embarrassment. So many apparently contradictory accounts have appeared that the novice despairs of ever acquiring a firm grasp

of this enigmatic century. Adjectives tumble over one another when historians seek to describe it. John Stuart Mill called it "innovative, infidel, abstract, metaphysical, and prosaic" (2), and a similar spate of epithets flows from other and more recent pens than his. The eighteenth century has been variously denominated as the age of reason, enlightenment, serenity, benevolence, tolerance, common sense, respectability, artistry, classicism, formalism, deism, materialism, doubt, decadence, scandal, to select only a few. It is quite evident that no epoch can be reduced satisfactorily to a single compendious formula. The eighteenth century certainly cannot be thus epitomized. It is so spacious, so complex and so fluid that any one of the descriptions quoted above is, in a measure, accurate in relation to some aspect of the period, yet none of them is comprehensive enough to characterize the whole. Any attempt, then, at a facile simplification must be studiously eschewed.

W.H. Fitchett dubbed this "the Cinderella of the centuries" (3). He complained that nobody had a good word to say for it. That was largely true when he wrote in 1906. And even since that date too many studies in black and white have appeared. But the trend of the best historical scholarship in recent years has been to present a broader and more balanced view of the century. The extremes of eulogy and disparagement have been avoided, and a saner and more impartial picture is emerging. The sweeping generalizations of the past have been subjected to factual tests and, more often than not, have been proved to be

misleading, if not actually erroneous. It has also been rightly emphasized that the eighteenth century is too often set in a false perspective. We tend to compare it with the present, instead of with the past (4). It is quite unjust, however, to judge the eighteenth century by modern standards. It must be assessed as the eighteenth century, not as the twentieth. Only the experts have any real right to pass sentence on this era. A merely superficial acquaintance does not bestow the right to a categorical judgment. The recommendation of Professor A.S. Turberville should be weighed and acted upon.

Just as it is an impertinence to criticize a foreign country where one possesses as yet only a tourist's knowledge of it, before one has learned to know its people, to speak their language, or to become at home in their surroundings; so, we must in imagination become the friends and neighbours of our forefathers before we are entitled to dogmatize about them (5).

Bearing this admonition in mind, we shall beware of committing ourselves to any pontifical pronouncement. It will only be possible in this Introduction to touch and glance upon the condition of England at the time of Haweis' birth before proceeding to outline the origin, course and ramifications of the Evangelical Revival. If the eighteenth century had hardly opened " with all the promise of a summer dawn " (6), as Dr. Elliott Binns suggests, both for Church and people, at least it enjoyed a generous share. In 1702 Queen Anne ascended the throne to commence what, particularly to the conservative mind in both politics and religion, appeared to be one of the most auspicious reigns in the annals of England. In her first speech

to Parliament she declared her " heart to be entirely English " and throughout her sovereignty she earnestly sought the allegiance of her subjects. The strongest motive in her policy was devotion to the Church. She displayed a genuine, if partisan, interest in ecclesiastical affairs and determined to exercise her personal prerogatives in the appointment of dignitaries . Yet even before her death in 1714 this Tory and High Church paradise had begun to lose its lustre (?). The inauguration of the Hanoverian dynasty in the accession of George I heralded a significant change of royal attitude. After the expedient alliance between Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London (the virtual Primate) and Sir Robert Walpole (the actual Prime Minister) had been consummated, the King permitted the care of the Church to pass out of his hands. Henceforward, Walpole's principle of quieta non movere was to dominate both Church and State. Peace at any price was the motto of this leader of the Whig oligarchy; and peace, indeed, was secured, accompanied by a considerable outward prosperity. As so often before in history, this increasing national obesity had serious repercussions in the realm of morals.

A plague of insidious materialism swept over the country. It would be easy to exaggerate its extent, for no disease, whether physical or spiritual, is so deadly as to infect an entire population. There must have been many " sweet Auburns " untouched by this blight: many scenes of domestic contentment such as those depicted by Francis Wheatley: many a pure and up-

right character, unsullied by the spirit of the age. But that moral degeneracy found its victims in every stratum of society and that an uninhibited hedonism was the prevailing philosophy of the times can hardly be denied. Walpole himself led the way by his openly immoral life. Houghton, his country seat, was the scene of scandalous debauchery. Virtue was the constant butt of his mordant wit (8). Court life under the first two Georges was as replete with vices as in the days of Charles II, without the accompanying virtues of sparkling repartee and nonchalance. It is not surprising that this degrading example in high places influenced the nation as a whole in the direction of moral laxity. Not only was the sanctity of marriage widely ignored: other symptoms of decadence began to rear their ugly heads. Drunkenness held the nation in its grip, from the gentry to the poorest of the poor. Gambling had swelled into an obsession of such proportions that it may fairly be questioned whether the craze ever wielded such absolute sway in any country of the world (9). Amusements were often cruel and brutal. Cock-fighting, bull-baiting and bear-baiting were amongst the most popular contemporary sports, if such they may properly be called. Happily, other and more manly pastimes were beginning to gain the ascendancy. According to Lecky (10), the English stage was far inferior to that of France in decorum, modesty and morality, and, despite the commendable efforts of Garrick, continued to be so even to the closing decades of the century (11). Crime was rampant, and the unequal criminal law, with its barbarous punishments,

only made criminals more desperate. Such consequences were inevitable in an age which professed indifference to moral sanctions. When Lady Mary Wortley Montagu could cynically suggest that the "not" should be removed from the Commandments and inserted in the Creed, it is remarkable that virtue survived at all.

Meanwhile, the beginnings of social upheaval were bringing additional responsibilities in their train. The population was increasing: it rose from about five and a half millions in 1702 to nine millions in 1801 (12). Houses, wages and food had to be provided for this growing community. The agricultural revolution, which preceded its industrial counterpart, created problems as well as solved them. The Enclosure Movement, whereby the common field farming, which had prevailed since the beginning of the Saxon occupation, was converted into the modern holding system, undoubtedly paved the way for future agricultural prosperity, just as the industrial revolution laid the firm foundations of commercial and economic expansion. But, like the industrial revolution, this agricultural reform involved social disruption and some of its immediate effects were less beneficial. To quote Professor G.M. Trevelyan:

The social price paid for economic gain was a decline in the number of independent cultivators and a rise in the number of landless labourers. To a large extent this was a necessary evil, and there would have been less harm in it if the increased dividend of the agricultural world had been fairly distributed. But while the landlord's rent, the parson's tithe, and the profits of farmer and middleman all rose apace, the field-labourer, deprived of his little rights in land and his family's by employments in industry, received no proper compensation in high wages, and in the Southern

Counties too often sank into a position of dependence and pauperism (I3).

As C.S. Orwin observes (I4), it is impossible to assign a precise date to the beginning of the Enclosure Movement, but the tendency which first became pronounced in the sixteenth century was by the early eighteenth century starting to produce some of the effects mentioned above. This was the major social problem confronting the nation at the birth of the Evangelical Revival. The consequences of the industrial revolution were not felt until a much later date. It is particularly difficult to assess the real condition of the poor in this period (I5). We cannot overlook the increasing Government expenditure on poor relief, which inspired de Tocqueville's remark that in France it was the nobles, in England the poor who escaped the great burden of taxation. Nor must it be forgotten that in 1722 an important Poor Law Act had been passed (I6). On the other hand, it cannot be denied that there were grave defects in a system which placed the onus of responsibility upon ill-equipped local authorities, and of these the treatment of parish children was perhaps the most glaring instance. Thus, though the picture was probably not as sombre as some have sought to paint it, the social condition of England in the age of Walpole was sufficiently serious to have touched all tender philanthropic, still more, religious, consciences. The sad fact was, however, that the prevalent creed of materialism had largely sealed the springs of human sympathy. The rich man in his castle was too engrossed in his variegated pleasures to observe the poor man at his gate

At the very time when its teaching and reviving influence was sorely needed, religion in England was under a cloud. Christianity had ceased to be a vital force in the land. The religious life of the people had largely been smothered by the dense atmosphere of materialism. Not that religion was altogether dead. Such a claim is unjustified (I7). But a spiritual paralysis had crept over the nation which prevented Christianity from exercising its native potency. On the eve of the Revival three prominent ecclesiastics recorded their fears for the future. In 1736 Joseph Butler, then Prebendary of Rochester, made this melancholy complaint in the preface to his Analogy of Religion:

It is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted, by many persons, that Christianity is not so much a subject of inquiry; but that it is, now at length, discovered to be fictitious. And accordingly they treat it as if, in the present age, this were an agreed point among all people of discernment; and nothing remained, but to set it up as a principal subject of mirth and ridicule, as it were by way of reprisals, for its having so long interrupted the pleasures of the world (I8).

In 1738 George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, in his Discourse Addressed to Magistrates and Men in Authority, declared that morality and religion in Britain had collapsed " to a degree that has never been known in any Christian country. " " Our prospect, " he continued, " is very terrible and the symptoms grow worse from day to day. " The accumulating torrent of evil " which threatens a general inundation and destruction of these realms " Berkeley attributed chiefly to " the irreligion and bad example of those styled the better sort " (I9). In the same year Thomas Secker, then Bishop of Oxford, in an episcopal charge, averred:

In this we cannot be mistaken, that an open and professed disregard of religion is become, through a variety of unhappy causes, the distinguishing character of the age. Such are the dissoluteness and contempt of principle in the highest part of the world, and the profligacy, intemperance, and fearlessness of committing crimes in the lower part, as must, if the torrent of impiety stop not, become absolutely fatal. Christianity is ridiculed and railed at with very little reserve: and the teachers of it without any at all (20).

This telling contemporary evidence has been substantially confirmed by later historians, representing widely divergent schools of thought.

To what extent is the Church to be held responsible for this ominous decline in religion? The student of ecclesiastical history is aware that there have been seasons of moral and spiritual degeneration which the Church of Christ, preserving its integrity and exerting its utmost energy, has been unable to check. Is this one of those periods? Did the torrents of evil and impiety, of which both Berkeley and Secker speak, burst through all the zealous restraints of a thoroughly consecrated ecclesia? Or were there weaknesses in the breakwater itself? The latter was unhappily the case. The Church of England in the early eighteenth century was not stout enough to stem the rising tide of irreligion. It would be a mistake to condemn it out of hand as uniformly corrupt and culpably inept. In less trying times its virtues might have found room to flourish. But it was inadequately equipped to face a crisis. In attempting to depict the condition of the Established Church immediately prior to the Revival we must beware of unbalanced and partisan distortions. There is a real danger that the enthusiastic champion of Evangel-

icalism should succumb to the temptation of either deliberately or unconsciously deepening the darkness before his cherished dawn. Such a subtle manifestation of pietas may result in an inequitable assessment of the Hanoverian Church. Nor are Evangelicals the only offenders. The disciples of the Oxford Movement are equally prone to this error, to which they invariably add that of depreciating the Evangelical Revival, so that they are led, as Dr. Yngve Brilioth pungently observes, " under the influence of inferior spirits " to the production of " a vulgate in High Anglican writing of history as regards the representation of the time before 1833 " (21). Since too many ecclesiastical historians have a polemical axe to grind, a truly impartial treatment of this period is something of a rarity. The invaluable work of Charles J. Abbey and Canon John H. Overton stands out from the rest in this respect: it is not without significance that their chapter on Church abuses is prefaced by this passage:

Look at the Church of the eighteenth century in prospect, and a bright scene of uninterrupted triumph might be anticipated. Look at it in retrospect, as it is pictured by many writers of every school of thought, and a dark scene of melancholy failure presents itself. Not that this latter view is altogether a correct one. Many as were the shortcomings of the English Church of this period, her condition was not so bad as has been represented (22).

Since Abbey and Overton wrote, however, new and important sources of information, both printed and in manuscript, have been made available, many of which confirm the view that the Church of the Georges was not as utterly decayed as some would have us believe. Amongst more recent scholars who have sought to redress the balance in the interests of strict accuracy and justice, Professor

Norman Sykes must be named as the chief. His Birkbeck Lectures on Church and State in England in the Eighteenth Century - the scope of which, as the title suggests, was wider than that of the usual ecclesiastical history - set a new standard in thoroughness and impartiality and have already amply fulfilled the author's hope that

the volume may contribute somewhat to a juster and more equitable verdict upon the English Church and state in the eighteenth century, and may provide a foundation upon which other and wiser heads may build a comprehensive survey of all aspects of the history of that epoch (23).

With the foregoing cautions fully in mind, and relying primarily upon the two authorities already mentioned, we may attempt a brief review of the Hanoverian Church. The major clue to a proper understanding of the Church in this period lies in the fact that it was both reformed and unreformed. The English Reformation, which had reshaped its doctrine and liturgy, had effected comparatively few changes in its internal administration. This anomalous situation is best illustrated in the episcopate. The punctilious attendance of Hanoverian Bishops at Court and in the House of Lords is often made the target of unsympathetic historians, and, sometimes unfairly, a contrast is drawn between this assiduity and their tepid zeal for diocesan work (24). But it must be remembered that traditionally the English Bishop was a royal counsellor in matters of state no less than a prelate of the Church. This association can be traced back to the very origins of the English Church, when the Roman missionaries who sought the conversion of Anglo-Saxon England received their first

establishment as royal Chaplains of the several ruling princes. It was not unknown, even in the eighteenth century, for a prelate to hold an important office of state. In 1711 John Robinson, Bishop of Bristol, was appointed Lord Privy Seal and was later accredited as plenipotentiary, with the Earl of Stafford, at the Peace of Utrecht. The elevation of a divine to secular office was no doubt exceptional at this late date, but, as Dr. Sykes remarks, " the political influence of prelates had suffered a change of form rather than of principle since the Reformation " (25). This had its repercussions in the method of recruitment, which has provoked much criticism then and since. Samuel Johnson's complaint has often been quoted: " No man, for instance, can now be made a Bishop for his learning and piety; his only chance for promotion is his being connected with somebody who has parliamentary interest " (26). It would be wrong, however, to assume that learning and piety were therefore altogether unrepresented on the episcopal bench. This was plainly not so (27). But the growth of parliamentary influence following upon the settlement of 1688, together with the rise of the two party system, had important consequences for the episcopate. The establishment of party Administrations resulted in the virtual appropriation of ecclesiastical patronage by the political leaders. It was only natural that the Administration in office, whether Whig or Tory, should appoint to the episcopal bench men of their own allegiance. Thus, in this period, the Bishops became less the counsellors of the ruling prince than the allies of the party

in power. The twenty-six episcopal votes were of inestimable value to any Administration in the small House of Lords before Pitt's additions to the peerage. This was precisely the state of affairs during the Whig ascendancy under Walpole, and reached its climax in 1737 when, in two vital divisions in the Upper House on May 24 and June 1, a Government defeat was averted by the fact that out of the twenty-six Bishops, twenty-five were present or voted by proxy, of which twenty-four were for the court. Party political bias was thus undoubtedly responsible for some of the criticism directed against the Church of this period (28). This alliance between the Bishops and the ministers of state was further cemented by the marked inequalities in wealth between the sees. Canterbury was worth seven thousand pounds a year, Durham six thousand, Winchester five thousand, whilst at the other end of the scale Bristol was worth only four hundred and fifty and Oxford and Llandaff five hundred each. Two consequences followed upon this disparity in revenue. The poorer Bishops sought to ingratiate themselves still further with their patrons so that they might gain preferment to more lucrative sees: they also contrived to augment their income by holding prebendaries and deaneries in commendam. Regrettable as may have been some of the results of this political involvement of the episcopate, the only apparent solution of the problem, namely, to deprive the Bishops of their seats in Parliament, appeared so drastic that even such a rabid critic as Johnson repudiated it (29).

But, apart from his parliamentary commitments, with their accompanying problems, how did the eighteenth century Bishop fulfil his ecclesiastical functions? Professor Sykes devotes a lengthy chapter in Church and State in England in the Eighteenth Century to this very question and supplies a needed corrective to the more extreme indictments issued by previous writers on this particular score (30). He points out the peculiar circumstances which governed the life of a Hanoverian prelate. The Bishop was compelled to reside in London for the greater part of the year if he was to discharge his parliamentary duties and maintain an interest in public affairs. Travel was so slow and roads so bad that frequent journeys between capital and diocese were impracticable. It was the custom for Bishops to visit their sees only during the summer recess of Parliament, except in cases of emergency. Even the most zealous reformers did not quarrel with this division of labour. Again, it must be remembered that since the Reformation only five new dioceses had been established and the statute of 26 Henry VIII cap. 14 for the consecration of suffragan^a Bishops had never been consistently acted upon. In face of these difficulties, concludes Dr. Sykes, "it is perhaps a matter of surprise and gratification that the prelates of Georgian England achieved so considerable an approximation to the ideal of the office and work of a Bishop" (31). He then proceeds to supply valuable evidence that in each of the three essential branches of the episcopal office - ordination, visitation of the clergy and confirmation of the laity - the Bishops of the early

eighteenth century, despite the adverse conditions under which they laboured, proved more faithful and efficient than they have usually been given credit for. It is not denied that, as in all ages of Church History, there were varying standards of fidelity, and no doubt some Bishops were, as we shall see, unduly lax in the administration of their diocesan affairs and unscrupulous in their antagonisms. But others have suffered from misrepresentation, as Dr. Sykes demonstrates in the cases, for example, of White Kennett and Zachary Pearce (32). Nor were the Bishops themselves blind to the shortcomings of the system to which they were fettered. They were often painfully aware of the inadequacy of the Church to meet the situation, even if suspicious of reform movements not emanating from official sources, but this candour is not always counted unto them for righteousness by later writers. Professor Sykes concludes:

In their endeavours to grapple with the many obstacles to pastoral oversight and to discharge the spiritual administration of their office, the eighteenth century episcopate merit a juster measure of appreciation than has been their lot at the hands of subsequent historians. The Georgian bench indeed has been pilloried as a byword of sloth, inefficiency, and neglect..... For the appreciation of its achievement regard must be had to the difficulties of its situation, and comparison be made with previous centuries without regard to differences of high and low Church. In face of the many obstacles of unwieldy dioceses, limited means of travel, pressure of other avocations, and the infirmities of body incident to mortal flesh, the Bishops of Hanoverian England and Wales strove with diligence and not without due measure of success to discharge the spiritual administration attached to their office (33).

We have noticed that the financial inequality between the episcopal sees compelled the less fortunate Bishops to supplement their inadequate incomes by commendams. This factor has its place

in the vicious circle which produced the notorious pluralism of the eighteenth century. Since the Bishops themselves were implicated in the scandal, they were prevented from taking a really firm stand against it. The legal position, moreover, was far from clear cut. The statute of 21 Henry VIII cap. 13, entitled "Spiritual Persons abridged from having Pluralities of Livings," was still in force. The Act laid down the general rule that no incumbent with a benefice cum cura animarum of the value of eight pounds or above should be permitted to hold any other benefice with cure. But it then proceeded to list a long catalogue of exceptions, including Chaplains to the peerage, cathedral dignitaries, and the like. Furthermore, plurality was no new problem. It was an inheritance from the Middle Ages and had been prevalent even in the much-lauded Caroline Church. It must be freely admitted, however, that pluralism, with its accompanying evil of non-residence, was the most serious hindrance to spiritual progress in the Church of the Georges. Of the widespread nature of this practice there can be no manner of doubt. The visitation returns of Archbishop Herring of York in 1743 reveal that out of the eight hundred and thirty-six parishes which made reply, three hundred and ninety-three had non-resident incumbents. Of the seven hundred and eleven clergy, no less than three hundred and thirty-five were pluralists (34). This state of affairs may be taken as fairly representative.

One of the collateral evils of pluralism was clerical poverty. In respect of emolument the gap between the different

classes of the clergy was unjustifiably wide. Addison divided the clergy into generals, field officers and subalterns (35). Whilst the first two categories enjoyed an abundant emolument, in the main, and took their rank with the higher orders of society, the innumerable army of subalterns considered themselves 'passing rich with forty pounds a year' and hardly rose above the standing of a small farmer. Widespread non-residence greatly increased the number of Curates, many of whom had little hope of preferment. And, indeed, so many benefices were so poorly endowed that the transition from the status of unbeneficed to that of beneficed cleric brought scant financial advantage. A further consequence of pluralism was neglect of parish duty. The Church of England depends for its basic welfare upon the diligent and orderly working of the parochial system. Non-residence played havoc with that sheet-anchor of Anglicanism. A Vicar holding two livings inadequately endowed to enable him to maintain a Curate, or a Curate striving to serve the parishes of an absentee incumbent, could not in the nature of things meet the needs of each of his cures. In such cases, Divine Service was conducted only once a Sunday in each Church. In the Churches represented in Herring's returns, only three hundred and eighty-three held two services all the year round (36). Celebrations of Holy Communion were correspondingly infrequent. The York returns indicate that only seventy-two parishes in the diocese had monthly celebrations. One hundred and ninety-three varied between four and six a year, three hundred and sixty-three had quarterly Sacraments,

whilst two hundred and eight had less than that (37). This infrequency of celebration must not be taken to indicate a paucity of communicants. One of the outstanding features revealed by contemporary statistics is the remarkably large proportion of adult parishioners who communicated at Easter. And in London conditions were very different from the provinces (38). It was not only worship, however, that suffered from the effects of non-residence: catechetical instruction and pastoral visitation were also hindered. We shall encounter evidence which will, in the main, substantiate this general impression of neglect. But it must not be supposed that every parish was in similar case. The diaries of Thomas Brockbank, William Cole and James Woodforde combine to testify that throughout the eighteenth century there did exist parishes - outside Evangelicalism - where duty was faithfully discharged and souls were shepherded with loving care. Canon S.L. Ollard passed this verdict upon the York Visitation returns:

On the whole the strong impression left by the returns is that of a body of conscientious and dutiful men, trying to do their work according to the standard of their day. Over the grave of one of them, the Rector of Bainton, William Territ, was written when he died in 1783, this tribute.. ' a very learned and sound divine, cheerful and peaceable, constantly resident and attentive to the duties of a minister. ' With the possible exception of the words ' very learned '.... close examination of these returns suggests that a like description would apply to many others of those who made them (39).

This is all the more remarkable when it is remembered that the Church had lost some of its most devout families, from which a future generation of saintly priests might have sprung, in the

anti-Puritan purge of 1661 to 1665 and the expulsion of the Non-Jurors in 1689 and 1690. The blame for the decay of religion in the eighteenth century cannot too lightly be placed upon the clergy of the day (40). Admittedly they might have done more than they did to stem the torrent of iniquity. They were not sufficiently militant to meet the demands of the age. But, as Canon Overton remarked, it is doubtful whether, even if they had been more energetic and spiritually minded, they could have effected a reformation. Bishop Butler, in his charge to the clergy of Durham in 1751 complained with some justice:

It is cruel usage we often meet with, in being censured for not doing what we cannot do, without, what we cannot have, the concurrence of our censors. Doubtless very much reproach which now lights upon the clergy would be bound to fall elsewhere if due allowance were made for things of this kind (41).

We turn from the life of the Hanoverian Church to its doctrine. Here the problem is a different one. As Professor Sykes observes, the survival of obsolete medieval constitutional machinery may explain many of the anomalies which hampered the efficient discharge of episcopal and parochial duty, but in order to account for the dominant belief we must have recourse to the intellectual temper of the age (42). The Church of the early eighteenth century was Latitudinarian in its theological orientation. An understandable reaction from the doctrinal disputes of the seventeenth century had bred an aversion to controversial topics. A dread of extremism was the hall-mark of this period. The Hanoverian Church sought to steer a safe and central course between the Scylla of High Churchism and the Charybdis of Purit-

anism. The Deistic controversy only served to strengthen the case for Latitudinarianism. Although the Christian apologists had emerged triumphant from the conflict, there was little exuberance in the victory celebrations. The Church was tired of intellectual sword-play and was determined at all cost to keep out of further trouble. Walpole's political maxim, " Let sleeping dogs lie, " was heartily adopted in ecclesiastical affairs, and particularly in relation to theological differences. The new scientific movement, with its recognition of law in the visible universe, which had fostered Deism, also affected the apologetics of the Church. It is noticeable that the weapons with which Berkeley and Butler and Warburton fought and defeated their Deist opponents were rational rather than revelational. Creeds and confessions were set aside as things indifferent and the case for Christianity was built up on the arguments of natural religion, fortified by the testimony of the prophecies and the miracles of Christ. " The main effort of orthodox apologetics was therefore directed towards demonstrating that Revelation was a necessary adjunct to natural religion, or, at the lowest, not inconsistent with it " (43), comments Professor Basil Willey. The effect of this outlook upon the contemporary pulpit may be measured by a perusal of the sermons of Archbishop Tillotson, the most popular preacher of the day. Throughout his works he constantly appealed to the tribunal of reason. He strove to prove that Christianity was " the best and the holiest, the wisest and the most reasonable religion in the world " (44) and that " all the precepts of

it are reasonable and wise, requiring such duties of us as are suitable to the light of nature, and do approve themselves to the best reason of mankind " (45). He invited men to test their faith by reason at all points. He discouraged the appetite for the mysterious and taught that in the pure light of reason all darkness would speedily disappear. This gospel of reasonableness was the theme of the Latitudinarian preacher. The spirit of Tillotson lingered in the English pulpit long after his body had found an honoured resting-place in Westminster Abbey. The men of latitude boasted that they " let alone the mysterious points of religion, and preached to the people only good, plain, practical morality " (46). The consequence was that all the charm and vitality was taken from the Christian faith, and cold, unattractive reason was left in its stead. It was these considerations which prompted G.R. Balleine to stigmatize this as the glacial epoch in English Church History ! (47).

Dissent was as inadequately equipped to meet the challenge of the hour as the Establishment. This was a period of spiritual declension among the free Churches. Indulgence had sapped their stamina more effectively than persecution. The worship of the Dissenters was, for the most part, formal and lifeless. The Arian blight had fallen upon much of their preaching. The spirit of compromise, so prevalent in the State and the State Church, had begun to undermine their moral integrity. On the other hand, the pamphlets of Isaac Watts and others like him who were alive to the decay of Dissent, and the rejoinders

they provoked, indicate that the indifference to vital religion in the free Churches was by no means universal. Nevertheless the fact remains that the Dissenters were unprepared to lead a revival and when it came were slow to realize its significance and to lend it their support.

The foregoing survey will have sufficiently demonstrated the need for revival. The more balanced estimate of eighteenth century conditions, particularly within the Church, does not in any way suggest that the Evangelical awakening was unnecessary. The shadows on the canvas at times have been unduly underlined, but of the moral decay of Hanoverian England and the impotence of the organized Church to meet the crisis there can be no possible doubt. Materialism had eaten deep into national life: new and pressing social problems were being thrown up by the Enclosure Movement, soon to be followed by those of the industrial revolution. The Church, fettered by its medieval constitution and deprived of warmth and vitality by Latitudinarian indoctrination, was unequal to its task. Dissent was in no better case. Nothing less than a revival could effectively deal with the situation.

The word ' revival ' needs to be sharply etched and the nature of this spiritual phenomenon clearly understood. The term itself is Scriptural. " Wilt Thou not revive us again, that Thy people may rejoice in Thee ? " pleads the Psalmist. As Dr. John S. Simon points out, that is a fair description of a revival of religion - new life bringing a new joy, and, of

course, a new access of power. " The experiences of the day of Pentecost repeat themselves, and the weary Church, finding its lost youth, walks in the morning light of Apostolic days " (48). Church historians claim to observe a certain rhythm of revival running through the Christian centuries. But these outbursts of blessing cannot be confined within any prescribed limits: they are to be traced ultimately to the mysterious operation of the Holy Spirit, blowing where He listeth.

It looks as though there were seasons in the course of history (wrote Rufus M. Jones) which are like vernal equinoxes of the Spirit when fresh initiations into more life occur, when new installations of life seem to break in and enlarge the empire of man's divine estate (49).

These manifestations of the Spirit's energy are not controlled by any human time-table: they have their origin in the inscrutable will of God. Just such a visitation of the Spirit broke out in the third decade of the eighteenth century in Britain, and spread throughout the land during the remainder of the Hanoverian era. The first symptom of an approaching change, according to Overton and Relton (50), was to be found in the interest taken in the two practical works of William Law, A Practical Treatise upon Christian Perfection (1726) and A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life (1728). Although he himself stood aloof, Law was destined to exercise a profound influence upon almost all the pioneers of the awakening. There is scarcely one of them who does not express his indebtedness to one or both of these treatises, and Dr. Eric W. Baker rightly describes Law as " a herald of the Evangelical Revival " (51). In 1729 the Holy Club was

formed at Oxford, when Charles Wesley invited two or three friends to join him in the serious study of Greek: the classics on week-days and the New Testament on Sundays. The scope of this student group widened when John Wesley joined it a few weeks after its inception and, characteristically, began to mould it according to his own notions, so that it virtually became his club rather than his brother's. The original and semi-educational purpose soon gave way to that of concentrated spiritual improvement. Biblical and theological studies replaced the classics. Prayer and self-examination followed. Weekly Communion at Christ Church was the rule. Prisons and workhouses were visited, with the prior approval of the Bishop and the parish incumbent. Here was not indeed the inauguration of the Revival itself, but the beginning of what Dr. A.W. Harrison has aptly called " the quest " (52). The part played by the Holy Club in paving the way for the awakening and the continued usefulness of the religious society as it proceeded represents a significant link with the groups formed in London during the Restoration era, under Horneck, Smythies and Beveridge, which had since grown considerably, so that in 1710 they numbered no less than forty-two (53).

As in the nineteenth century, the Revival proper first began in America. The earliest name in this spiritual saga is not Wesley or Whitefield or Jones, but Jonathan Edwards. Although the relationship between the American awakening and that in Britain was not so obvious as in the following century, the

influence of Edwards upon the Evangelical movement in this country must not be underestimated. His classic work on the Freedom of the Will was the text-book of the Calvinistic section of the Revival in England, Wales, and, of course, Scotland. Under his preaching in Northampton, Massachusetts, the Revival broke out in the year 1734. By the end of 1735 more than three hundred converts had been harvested and the movement was spreading through the Connecticut Valley (54). In 1740 a second wave even penetrated into the conventional life of Episcopalian Virginia, and the bonds between what was now happening simultaneously in America and Britain became strikingly apparent when George Whitefield contributed his stirring eloquence to this further outbreak.

In Britain, the first sparks of revival were kindled in Wales. In the summer of 1735 the signs appeared almost at the same time in Talgarth, Brecknock, and Llangeitho, Cardiganshire. Already, in 1730, Griffith Jones, Rector of Llandowror, Carmarthenshire, had inaugurated a literacy campaign with his Circulating Charity Schools. For twelve years prior to this date he had been preaching the evangelical message. He well deserves his proud title of "the morning star of the Methodist Revival." But it was not in Jones' parish that the fire was to kindled, although he was, in fact, the human medium of the awakening both in Talgarth and Llangeitho. Howell Harris, schoolmaster at Talgarth, had been deeply influenced by reading religious books published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, with which Griffith Jones was prominently connected. Harris' conversion on

Whit Sunday, 1735, at a Communion service in the Parish Church, led him to speak to his friends and neighbours about his new-found experience, and, although unordained, he began to preach in the district. Immediate results ensued in the salvation of many hearers, whom he gathered into societies. Daniel Rowlands, Curate of Llangeitho and Llandewi Brefi, had been converted under a sermon by Griffith Jones, and the evangelical earnestness and unction of his own preaching started a revival in his own parish. In 1737 Harris and Rowlands met and from that date laboured together for the spiritual welfare of South Wales (55).

In the year of the Welsh Revival, 1735, George Whitefield was converted. The exact date is not recorded: it was " about seven weeks after Easter " (56). He was ordained deacon in Gloucester Cathedral on June 20, 1736, and a week later preached the first of his eighteen thousand sermons. In point of time, Whitefield was the pioneer of the Evangelical Revival in England. His converts in London and Bristol in 1737 were the first-fruits of the great ingathering. When John Wesley was returning from Georgia a sadder and a wiser man, and writing on his ocean journey, " I went to America to convert the Indians, but, oh, who shall convert me ? " (57) and brother Charles had begun his twenty-seventh year " in a murmuring, discontented spirit: reading over and over the third of Job " (58), Whitefield was sounding the first clear trumpet call of the Evangelical Revival. Whitefield was to be the orator of the movement. His preaching was to cast its inexplicable spell over a multitu-

ude of hearers. He was to be instrumental, under God, in the conversion of thousands. He was to appeal alike to the grimy Kingswood colliers and the scented nobility of Lady Huntingdon's drawing-room. The importance of Whitefield as the preacher par excellence of the Revival must not be too lightly esteemed. Nor must he be dismissed as just a preacher and nothing more (59). As Monsignor Ronald A. Knox has reminded us in his recently published study of Enthusiasm, it was Whitefield who started field preaching, who first enlisted the aid of lay preachers, who held the first Methodist Conference, and, most important of all, who really set the movement going in the American colonies (60). Southey, however, went too far when he claimed: " It is apparent that though the Wesleys should never have existed, Whitefield would have given birth to Methodism " (61). He might have engendered some form of revivalism, but certainly not the highly organized society known as Methodism. For Whitefield was not an organizer. He could win souls, but he had no clear plan for keeping them. It was well for him and for the Revival as a whole that by the time he had returned from his first trip to America, John Wesley had appeared on the scene, ready to produce an organization specifically devised for that latter purpose. Nevertheless, the conversion of Whitefield, with its consequent fruits, must be reckoned as the starting-point of the Evangelical Revival in England. It was also largely through Whitefield's influence that the Revival spread to Scotland in 1741 and 1742.

But the really crucial occurrence was the strange warming

of John Wesley's heart on May 24, 1738. Here, unquestionably, the movement received its vital stimulus. The initial flames ignited by Whitefield were now blown into a blaze. Any account of the eighteenth century awakening which circumvents Aldersgate Street fails to represent the true facts (62). It is at this point that we must take cognizance of the Moravian contribution to the Revival, since it was Peter Böhler who led John Wesley to a saving interest in Christ and it was on his advice that the rules for the Fetter Lane Society were drawn up. It is not without significance that when Wesley wished to withdraw into the silence of Arabia immediately after his revolutionary spiritual experience, it was to Herrnhuth, the headquarters of the Unitas Fratrum, that he went. On his return, Wesley embarked upon the apostolic labours which were to occupy the rest of his long life. He commenced that course of itinerant evangelism which was to produce such remarkable and widespread effects. The Revival had found its real genius. The name of John Wesley towers above the rest, though not, indeed, as " a solitary peak, but the summit of a range " (63).

Two others must be mentioned. Charles Wesley, converted on Whit Sunday, 1738, was the sweet singer of the movement, whose hymns touched the hearts of countless thousands. Canon Overton no doubt exaggerated when he claimed that Charles Wesley's contribution was far more effective and permanent than Whitefield's, but the part played by Charles, not only as a hymn-writer, but also as a preacher and an intermediary between John and George,

was more considerable than has often been supposed (64). The other name to be recorded with honour is that of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon - the St. Teresa of the Methodists, as Horace Walpole christened her (65). As we shall have cause to bemoan, Lady Huntingdon has been unfortunate in her biographers, and a worthy life of this mother in Israel has yet to be written. Lady Huntingdon was the patroness of the Revival. It was she who opened the door for the entrance of the Gospel into the world of society. It was she who gave protection and opportunities of service to Evangelical clergymen unable to secure benefices. As the rift between Wesleyans and Whitefieldites widened, she was increasingly recognized as the leader of the Evangelical group within the Church of England, until the licensing of her Chapels under the Toleration Act in 1781. Monsignor Knox shows his discernment in acknowledging the Countess as the focal personality of left wing Evangelicalism, and not only the benefactor, but also the oracle of those who willingly worked under her direction (66).

This attempt to trace the origin and early growth of the Evangelical Revival leads us to the most intricate problem of all, namely, that of the precise relationship between Methodism and Evangelicalism, and the true source of the Anglican Evangelical party. This task, however, is germane to our purpose, since Thomas Haweis was himself an Anglican Evangelical and illustrates in his own person the complexities of the issue under consideration. We have employed the term "Revival" generically to des-

cribe the eighteenth century Evangelical awakening in its entirety, both in America and Great Britain, both within the Established Church and without. This obviates the difficulty of referring to two, or even more, revivals (67). But whilst it is convenient, and indeed fundamentally accurate, to regard the Revival as one, it is equally evident that it had several branches. Those branches, moreover, are curiously interlaced, and at times it is almost impossible to separate them. That is especially true of Methodism and Evangelicalism in the English section of the Revival. Dr. J. Edwin Orr, in a recent and stimulating book, has sought to reveal the underlying unity of the several revival movements of the nineteenth century (68). Precisely the opposite task confronts the student of the eighteenth century Revival: namely, that of distinguishing the different elements in the essential oneness of the awakening.

The first requisite is a definition of the terms Methodist and Evangelical. Numerous theories have been advanced to explain the origin of the word Methodist. But whether it was first applied to a set of Roman physicians in the time of Nero, or to a school of French Calvinists in the seventeenth century, or to the "methodical" members of the Oxford Holy Club, matters little. The name, in its strict connotation, is used of the adherents of John Wesley who eventually evolved into a separate denomination. It may be extended to cover the followers of Whitefield and Lady Huntingdon who owned no permanent allegiance to the Church of England. But, to confuse the issue, the name

was employed indiscriminately by the eighteenth century world to denote all sympathizers with the Revival. Thomas Scott wrote in 1778:

Methodist as a stigma of reproach was first applied to Mr. Wesley, Mr. Whitefield and their followers; and to those who, professing an attachment to our Established Church, and disclaiming the name of Dissenters, were not conformists in point of parochial order, but had separate seasons, places and assemblies for worship. The term has since been extended by many to all persons, whether clergy or laity, who preach or profess the doctrines of the Reformation, as expressed in the Articles and Liturgy of our Church (69).

Sidney Smith, as late as 1808, lumped together " Arminian and Calvinistic Methodists and the Evangelical clergymen of the Church of England, " and added, with some sarcasm,

We shall use the general term of Methodism to designate those three classes of fanatics, not troubling ourselves to point out the finer shades and nicer discriminations of lunacy, but treating them all as in one general conspiracy against common sense and rational orthodoxy (70).

Thus, all Evangelicals, whether they liked it or not, were called Methodists. On the other hand, all Methodists considered themselves evangelical. The word " evangelical " already had a long history behind it. It had been applied to Wyclif and his followers, as well as to the Reformers. When it was first given to those clergy who preached the doctrines of the Revival is still uncertain. Haweis himself, as soon as 1759, wrote to Samuel Walker of Truro concerning the Vicar of Kington: " Talbot took his living with a view to doing good, before he could be at all said to be evangelical " (71). This may well be the earliest usage of the term with reference to the eighteenth century Revival, within the Establishment. It was in this sense that every Meth-

odist would claim to be evangelical. And it is in this sense, too, that we speak comprehensively of the Evangelical Revival. But later " Evangelical " came to denote a member of a growing party within the Church of England, distinct from those Methodists, whether Wesleyan, Whitefieldite, or what, who eventually seceded from the Establishment. By the nineteenth century the line of demarcation was clearly drawn. The question of adherence to or separation from the Establishment constituted the determinative principle. It will be of assistance in sorting out the tangled skein of relationship between the Methodist and Evangelical strands of the Revival if this nineteenth century distinction be made retrospective.

Can this differentiation be brought into sharper focus ? Is it possible to clarify the connection between Methodism and Evangelicalism ? It is quite evident that on many important points the parties were agreed. That is why it is fundamentally sound to speak of the Revival homogeneously. The popular identification of the two branches is quite understandable. Methodists and Evangelicals were one in their evangelical fervour, in their concern for a revival of spiritual religion and in their desire, in John Wesley's favourite phrase, to " offer Christ " to the people. They agreed in emphasizing the doctrines of grace: the fall of man; the consequent depravity of his nature; the vicarious atonement of Christ as the only means of his salvation; the application of the Saviour's merits by an immediate agency of the Holy Spirit. Doctrinal disagreements there were,

as we shall see, but on the basic affirmations of evangelical preaching there was no real dispute. In their rigid observance of the Lord's Day and in their hostility towards certain forms of amusement, particularly the theatre and dancing, Methodists and Evangelicals combined to revive the Puritan attitude. But they differed from the Puritans and from contemporary Dissenters and agreed with one another in either taking no part in politics or in loyally supporting the throne. Despite these and other external similarities, however, it would be a great mistake to confound the parties. Even though at times it is hard to disentangle them in practice, the distinguishing principle is sufficiently clear when, as has been suggested, the problem is viewed in terms of later developments.

The cleavage was not primarily doctrinal. There is no doubt, of course, that the disagreement culminating in the Calvinistic controversy of 1770 led to what Knox has called "the parting of friends" (72). But it involved a disruption within Methodism as well as a sharpening of the lines between Methodism and Evangelicalism. There were now two schools within Methodism: Arminian, after Wesley, and Calvinistic, after Whitefield. It is true that the doctrinal influence of Whitefield was also marked in Anglican Evangelicalism and that the majority of that party embraced the tenets of Calvin, though most of them preferred to be described as moderate Calvinists, but, as we shall see, there were Arminians, too, amongst their number. It is thus an oversimplification to define Evangelicalism as simply the Calvinist

wing of the Revival.

The crucial issue was not, in fact, theological. As Canon Charles Smyth has so effectively demonstrated, " the fundamental divergence between Evangelicals and Methodists came over the problem of Church order " (73). The Evangelical Revival brought to a head in the eighteenth century a question which crops up with tantalizing consistency throughout the whole range of ecclesiastical history. It is to an examination of this very phenomenon that Monsignor Knox has devoted his magnum opus.

There is, he believes,

a recurring situation in Church history - using the word ' church ' in the widest sense - where an excess of charity threatens unity. You have a clique, an élite, of Christian men and (more importantly) women, who are trying to live a less wordly life than their neighbours; to be more attentive to the guidance (directly felt, they would tell you) of the Holy Spirit. More and more, by a kind of fatality, you see them draw apart from their co-religionists, a hive ready to swarm. There is provocation on both sides; on the one part, cheap jokes at the expense of over-godliness, acts of stupid repression by unsympathetic authorities; on the other, contempt for the half-Christian, ominous references to old wine and new bottles, to the kernel and the husk. Then, while you hold your breath and turn away your eyes in fear, the break comes; condemnation or secession, what difference does it make ? A fresh name has been added to the list of Christianities (74).

Now that is exactly the problem raised by the Evangelical Revival, and it is significant that Knox devotes no less than four chapters to it in his history of enthusiasm. The Latitudinarian hierarchy, afraid of further controversies, set itself against the new awakening, employing the cheap jokes and stupid repression that, as Knox observes, appear in each successive manifestation of this situation. The Revival had not progressed far be-

fore the hive was ready to swarm, although certain restraining influences delayed the departure until the end of the century. In the outcome, the Methodists swarmed, whilst the Evangelicals remained within the hive and strove to carry on the Revival from inside. And the crux of the matter was precisely as Knox describes it - the threatening of unity through excess of charity. Or, to quote William Jones of Nayland, " we have the character of Methodism complete: it is Christian godliness without Christian order " (75). The strange paradox is, of course, that Methodism, having cast off the restraints of traditional Church order, proceeded, under the genius of John Wesley, to evolve a highly developed and rigorous discipline of its own. Although the actual split did not become generally apparent until the last two decades of the century (the licensing of Lady Huntingdon's Chapels in 1781 and of Wesley's in 1787 as Dissenting meeting places are the operative dates), it is clear that quite early in the Revival the really vital issue was recognized. On March 20, 1761, John Wesley wrote to James Rouquet: " The grand breach is now between the irregular and the regular clergy " (76). It was this breach that was to widen until it finally formed a great gulf fixed between the Methodists and the Evangelicals.

It may now be possible for us to limn the features of the regular clergyman of the Revival, or what we might describe as the pure Evangelical. He was essentially a Churchman. His passionate attachment to the Revival did not dim his vision of

the Established Church as the framework within which evangelism could be most effectively prosecuted. He clung to the traditional standards of the Church, doctrinal, liturgical and homiletical - the Articles, Prayer Book, and Homilies. He recognized that the parochial system was basic to the whole constitution of Anglicanism and that subordination to episcopal authority and jurisdiction was the lynch-pin of the Church's discipline. He therefore disapproved of itinerant preaching. He avoided what has been described as " the organized intrusion of Wesley into other parishes " (77). To him, an itinerant ministry, however justifiable it might appear in the exigencies of the times, involved an act of ecclesiastical insubordination. Whereas the Methodist made the world his parish, the Evangelical tended to make the parish his world. The Evangelical proper could not countenance the employment of lay preachers or the erection of preaching houses: he saw in these innovations a dangerous opening for schism. Although he was prepared to experiment within the bounds of his own particular parish, often forming his converts into societies bearing some resemblance to the Methodist classes (78), he desired no connectional organization other than that already provided by the Church.

Having thus sketched the characteristics of a pure Evangelical, we must hasten to add that in the eighteenth century he was rara avis. As we have observed, Methodism and Evangelicalism were so closely interwoven that in particular cases it is often impossible to categorize. One significant example, however, was

Samuel Walker, Curate of Truro from 1746 until his death in 1761. John Wesley recognized in Walker the solitary exception to his somewhat arbitrary rule that the regular clergyman could not exercise a fruitful ministry (79). The foregoing profile of a pure Evangelical might be a pen picture of Walker himself. That Wesley acknowledged him as the leader of the regular clergy in 1761 is evident from the letter quoted above, with its reference to " the grand breach." It continued:

The latter (i.e. the regular clergy) say: Stand by yourselves; we are better than you ! And a good man is continually exhorting them so to do, whose steady advice is so very civil to the Methodists. But we have nothing to do with them. And this man of war is a dying man - it is poor, honest Mr. Walker (80).

Wesley's correspondence with Walker bears out the contention that before the latter's death the distinction had been drawn which finally resulted in the emergence of Methodism as a separate denomination (81). Another pure Evangelical was Thomas Adam of Winteringham. He was an able coadjutor of Walker in his disagreement with Wesley on the question of order, as Wesley's letters show (82). For fifty-eight years he laboured faithfully in his Lincolnshire parish and lived to be the doyen of the Evangelical party. Other names of this strictest sect of the Evangelicals might be cited now and will be noticed later, for the number increased as the century wore on, but these two pioneers stand out in the earlier years of the Revival. They are of primary importance to the present study, since it was under Walker that Thomas Haweis was converted and in consultation with Adam that his course of preparation for the ministry was drawn up.

But in the vast majority of cases the line of demarcation is not nearly so clear. There were varying degrees of Evangelicalism. On one or other of the points enumerated above compromises were made, although it is noticeable that as the movement advanced there was an increasing trend towards fidelity to Evangelicalism proper. Men like William Romaine were prepared to itinerate for Lady Huntingdon, on the supposition that, as a peeress of the realm, she had a legal right to employ her Chaplains in her own Chapels. When the Spa Fields judgment of 1779 settled the issue in her disfavour and she afterwards licensed her Chapels under the Toleration Act, Romaine, with others, quitted her service. This action places Romaine clearly on the Evangelical side of the Revival fence. William Grimshaw embarked upon a limited itinerancy in the Haworth district, in 1743. He also co-operated with William Darney, a Scottish lay preacher, so that the news went round that "mad Grimshaw is become Scotch Will's clerk" (83). Both Grimshaw and Henry Venn were instrumental in the erection of preaching places within their parishes, as a safeguard against the day, so much dreaded by the early Evangelicals, when an incumbent unsympathetic to the Revival might be instituted to the living. These irregularities make it impossible to classify Grimshaw and Venn as pure Evangelicals, although in his later years Venn came to realize the need for order, and dissociated himself from Lady Huntingdon's itinerancy. But they were both plainly more Evangelical than Methodist. These are only a few examples amongst many which illustrate the difficulty

of drawing a hard and fast line between Evangelicals and Methodists. However, in the light of the nineteenth century development of the Evangelical party, and the invaluable work of Charles Simeon in canalizing the tremendous potential of the Revival within the recognized limits of existing Church order, we are at least justified in regarding regularity as the touchstone and accounting as Evangelicals, even if not always as thoroughbred specimens, those whose sympathies inclined to the parochial rather than to the itinerant ministry. Haweis himself, as we shall discover, though undoubtedly an Evangelical (he emphatically denied that he was ever a Methodist), and despite the influence of Walker and Adam, combined the care of a parish with itinerancy for Lady Huntingdon (and that even after her secession from the Established Church), and co-operated with Dissenters, particularly in the cause of overseas missions, and even preached in their meeting places. Thomas Haweis thus embodied in his own personality the complexity of the relationship between Evangelicalism and Methodism, and a study of his life and work may shed some additional light upon this intricate problem.

One final point must be noted before this inquiry into the proliferations of the Revival is concluded. It is too often and too easily assumed that Evangelicalism was an offshoot of Methodism (84). This was plainly not so. Two nations were struggling to be born in the womb of the Revival. That Evangelicalism was separate in its origins can be illustrated from the lives of those whom we have denominated as pure Evangelicals of

the first generation. Although he was at Exeter College, Oxford, from 1732 to 1736, there is no evidence that Samuel Walker was in any way influenced by Methodism. His conversion, in 1746, was independent of any Methodist instrumentality, his spiritual guide being George Conon, the local schoolmaster, himself a devout Anglican. In 1748 Thomas Adam was converted through the reading of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans in the seclusion of his Lincolnshire Rectory. Haweis' own experience was similarly unaffected by Methodist influence. So was that of others of the Evangelical fathers. George Thomson was probably the predecessor of them all, in England, for he was working on Evangelical lines in St. Gennys, Cornwall, as early as 1732 (85). Not only did these conversions take place quite apart from any contact with the Methodist movement, but the work grew and prospered under the normal parochial system. It even extended beyond the bounds of the original parish to the surrounding district in many cases. The outbreak of revivalism in Truro spread to the whole of West Cornwall and by 1750 we find a Clerical Club established in Truro, comprising Evangelical incumbents from the neighbouring parishes of St. Gluvias, Veryan, St. Agnes, Gwennap, Llanlivery, Cubert and St. Endellion (86). This pattern was followed elsewhere in the development of Evangelicalism. There was no concerted action on a national scale. There was no attempt to organize an influence. Here and there, as in Cornwall, clusters of Evangelical parishes were to be found. Yorkshire became a stronghold. The East Midlands gradually grew in Evangelical

power, so that during the latter part of his Northamptonshire ministry Haweis was able to enjoy the fellowship of an annual Clerical Conference. The Bristol area, Wiltshire, North Lincolnshire represented other nuclei. In London progress was slow. Madan, Romaine, Venn and Jones are the honoured names of early Evangelicalism in the metropolis, and here Haweis was to labour for a brief period. The Universities were also centres of Evangelical influence. Prior to the St. Edmund Hall expulsions, Oxford was the most powerful, despite continuous opposition, and Haweis played no small part in making it so. By the close of the eighteenth century Cambridge had become the recognized home of the Evangelicals: Haweis had his contacts with this University too. Thus the growth of Evangelicalism can be distinguished from that of Methodism with reasonable clarity when considered geographically, rather than in terms of personalities. Unlike Methodism, Evangelicalism had no organization of its own. The leaders knew and at times met one another. But there was no constitutional cohesion about the movement as such. It lacked the genius of a John Wesley. Lady Huntingdon provided a rallying point for what might be termed the left wing of Evangelicalism, but her secession virtually ended her influence within the Establishment. It was, however, to this left wing that Thomas Haweis belonged, and her name will loom large in the story of his life.

A word must be said about the relationship between the Evangelical Revival and the missionary awakening at the close

of the eighteenth century, for Haweis the Evangelical was also Haweis the promoter of missions. The significance of the birth of modern missions can hardly be overestimated. As Archbishop Temple averred, the world fellowship of Christianity is " the great new fact of our era " (87). We now live in the Oecumenical Age of Church History. This new phenomenon of Christian unity on a world scale affords the one hope for lasting peace, for, as Dr. Arnold Toynbee has rightly said, " there can be no international ethos without a religious basis " (88). The world Church of today stems directly from the missionary awakening of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and the pulsating heart of that awakening was in Britain. And the Britain which produced such an amazing outflow of missionary enthusiasm and endeavour was a Britain roused to its wider evangelical responsibilities by the Revival. The links between the missionary movement and the Evangelical Revival are remarkably close. Admittedly, other factors were also operative, but the Revival largely supplied the men, the motive and the message. Each of the missionary societies was indebted to it. William Carey, founder of the Baptist Society in 1792, had come under the influence of Thomas Scott, John Newton and John Fawcett (a disciple of William Grimshaw). Carey's coadjutors, John Ryland and Andrew Fuller, had similar contacts, whilst John Sutcliff derived his inspiration from reading of the Revival in America. As we shall learn, the London Missionary Society was the direct child of the Revival, and Haweis was destined to play a promin-

ent part himself in its formation. The Church Missionary Society was the creation of Evangelicalism of the second generation and it was equally obvious, of course, that the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society was a product of the Revival. The manifold missionary labours of Haweis, which occupy the last four chapters of this thesis, will serve to illustrate this intimate relationship between the Evangelical Revival and the missionary awakening.

This, then, was the era to which Haweis belonged. This was the stage on to which he stepped. He was born in the very year that the Revival broke out in America and he was to play a not inconspicuous role in its furtherance in England. He incorporated in his own person the complicated interrelation of Methodism and Evangelicalism. He was a living link between the Evangelical Revival and the great missionary awakening. We have sought to delineate the age in which he lived and to define the party to which he belonged. Now let us unfold his story.

CHAPTER ONE

CORNWALL 1734-1755

The quaint old Cornish town of Redruth was beginning to expand in the third decade of the eighteenth century. According to the historian, Thomas Tonkin (1), the tin and copper mines in the neighbourhood had attracted newcomers at this period, and the market was the largest in the west, especially for corn (2). Despite this growth, Redruth was nevertheless not as extensive as it is today: it consisted of little more than one main street, about half a mile in length. In Redruth Thomas Haweis was born on January 1, 1734 (3). He was baptized in the Parish Church, dedicated to St. Uny, on February 20, presumably by the Rector, Hugh Ley (4). The Church, situated as it then was at the western extremity of the parish, a quarter of a mile out of the town, was much smaller than it is now, and had to be rebuilt in 1768 to accommodate the worshippers. The present tower dates from the reign of Henry VII, when this earlier structure was erected (5). Haweis received the single Christian name of Thomas, as did his fathers before him as far back as the early seventeenth century. Polwhele (6) supplies him with a gratuitous 'Reginald' which is not substantiated by the Parish Registers.

Haweis himself set little store by ancestry. In his life of William Romaine he wrote:

It can be of little importance to enquire whether a man be sprung from John of Gaunt, or the parish beadle: whether we trace up our ancestry to William the Conqueror, or find it difficult to make out our pedigree beyond our grandfather William, an aged labourer in an obscure village; we shall all at last meet in one common stock, as children of Adam (7).

Cardinal Newman (8) might indulge in mild raillery at the attention paid by A.C.H. Seymour, the biographer of Lady Huntingdon, to Haweis' highly respectable connections, but Haweis personally cared for none of these things, as he confessed in his Autobiography (9). Some account of the Haweis family must needs be given, however.

The name was diversely spelled in the early records. Hawis, Hawise, Hawys, Hawse, Haus, Haws all appeared as variants (10). The pronunciation was monosyllabic. In a letter written in half-humorous verse describing his first visit to Aldwinckle, Haweis rhymed his name with 'pause,' and the poetic epitaph in Bath Abbey confirms this clue.

The Haweis family were reputed to have originated from Suffolk (11). Three branches settled in Cornwall. One of these became by marriage the owners of Killiow, in Kea (12). Another branch lived at Treworgy, one of the six original treves, or clans, of Redruth, and at one time owned the greater part of Trefula manor (another of the treves) (13). These two lines failed in Haweis' youth (14). A third branch was associated with Chincoose, and to this Thomas Haweis belonged. The estate of Chincoose in the parish of Kenwyn, near Truro, became the family seat in 1669. The name, which was subsequently corrupted

to St. Coose or St. Koos (I5), originally meant ' wood house,' indicating that the mansion was formerly surrounded by woods (I6). The property had been greatly reduced, however. Three brothers, David, Thomas and Nicholas, had all espoused the Royalist cause in the Civil War and were imprisoned together in Pendennis Castle. On their release they were severely mulcted (I7). After this misfortune, the descendants of the Chincoose line appear to have resided in Redruth. Thomas Haweis' grandfather was described as of Redruth, Chincoose and Golla, and was born, baptized and buried in Redruth (I8). " By a series of improvidences " the remainder of the family fortune was squandered, and Haweis sadly related how his father, a solicitor, by his intemperance and imprudence " gave the finishing stroke to the last remnant, and added my mother's fortune to the ruin of his own " (I9). But he saw the hand of God in this inheritance of impoverishment and believed that it weaned him from the world and its allurements. He referred to " the sensible but blind possessor of Killiow estate " who repeatedly assured him as a youth that it should not pass out of the family and that it would be secured to him (20). This was no doubt John Haweis, in whom the Killiow branch failed, as noted above. Haweis bore no ill-will to his wealthy relative for this neglect of his promise: he early learned in whatsoever state he was therewith to be content.

Thomas Haweis' mother was Bridgeman Willyams, daughter of John Willyams, of Carnanton, in the parish of Mawgan in

Pydar (21). John Willyams was a Justice of the Peace for the county of Cornwall. He was a staunch Jacobite and was deprived of his magistracy in the reign of William and Mary because of this attachment. His commission was not restored until shortly after the accession of Queen Anne. When the old family mansion at Carnanton was dismantled, in mid-eighteenth century, a fine picture of James II was found concealed in the roof (22).

Haweis' mother is incorrectly described by Seymour, followed by Morison and others, as " the only daughter of John Willyams by the youngest daughter and co-heir of Colonel Humphrey Noye " (23). John Willyams was twice married. His first wife was Bridgeman Noye (registered Bridget), who died without issue in 1699, bequeathing Carnanton estate to her husband. He later married Dorothy Day, daughter of Peter Day, of Resuggam, St. Columb, by whom he had four children, of whom Haweis' mother was the third, being baptized in July, 1707 (24). Haweis' connection, on his mother's side, with the last Baron Sandys of the Vine, upon which Seymour, with his predilection for ancient houses and noble blood, dilates so reverently, thus falls completely to the ground (25).

Little is known of Thomas Haweis' boyhood. He gave only a few passing glimpses of this period in his Autobiography, but these were sufficient to suggest that the child was father to the man. His mother often assured him that he read the Bible readily at the age of three: a feat which seems not so impossible when it is recalled that at the same age John Stuart

Mill began to learn Greek (26). Haweis himself remembered the pleasure he derived from reading stories of giants and fairies. When not more than four or five he was put to school to learn Latin: where Haweis did not say (27).

One incident was recorded which may have influenced Haweis' destiny, as he himself believed (28). As a small boy he was taken to Falmouth one day by his cousin, Anne Willyams, who was scarcely six years older than he was (29). As they were walking along Arnwinnock Grove, which was then the Mall of Falmouth, they met the well known naval Captain, Lord Aubrey Beauclerk (30), then commanding the Prince Frederick, which, with five others, was lying in Falmouth harbour prior to sailing for the West Indies. Haweis did not remember how he first gained the attention of Lord Aubrey and his fellow officers, but they were evidently attracted by the boy and took him to walk with them. When they were returning to their inn they begged the favour of his cousin to let him go with them, promising to bring him back to his mother in the evening. The boy so impressed Lord Aubrey that he offered to take him under his care and train him for the Navy. As Haweis was too young as yet to go to sea, the Captain was prepared to educate him suitably and take him when he next came to these shores. Despite this flattering proposal, maternal affection triumphed: Haweis was the only son of a widowed mother, and she felt that she could not part with him. Thomas Haweis recognized the workings of providence in this refusal. Had the offer been accepted, he

he might never have entered the Christian ministry.

Mrs. Haweis has been described above as a widow. It seems evident from the Autobiography that Haweis' father died when he himself was quite a small child, though no date is given. G.C. Boase, in his invaluable Collectanea Cornubiensia, states that Thomas Haweis senior was buried at Redruth on October 16, 1753 (31). But Haweis spoke of spending his "earliest years" at Carnanton, whither his mother resorted after her husband's death, to keep house for her brother John, who was a widower (32). Haweis and his cousin John Oliver Willyams (33) (after whom he subsequently named his own son) were brought up, he asserted, as children in the same family. This could hardly have been had Haweis' father not died until he himself was nineteen years of age. It therefore appears reasonable to question Boase's date, for which he supplies no authority, and, in the absence of any entry in the Redruth Parish Registers, the mystery must remain unsolved. In any case, the story of Lord Aubrey Beauclerk's generous suggestion apparently presupposes the death of Haweis' father, who was not mentioned as being consulted in any way. Haweis said that his father died of a paralytic stroke, brought on by his intemperate habits, and ending in hemiplegia. The Autobiography hints at some sort of death bed repentance, for Haweis entertained the hope that before his passing his father had become a convert to the Gospel (34).

E.F. Hatfield alludes to Haweis' "abundant educat-

ional advantages " (35) and even the prejudiced Polwhele cannot deny the excellence of his classical training (36). Haweis was fortunate enough to be a pupil at Truro Grammar School during the mastership of George Conon (37). This is of the utmost significance, not only for his mental advancement but also for his spiritual welfare. Conon was at once a scholar and a saint. In him young Haweis first met the influence of the Evangelical revival. Conon was a Scotsman, a son of Aberdeen, where he was born in 1701 (38). He was a graduate of Aberdeen University (39). He was appointed to Truro Grammar School in 1729 (40). Nicholas Carlisle describes him as " a sound grammarian " and " a Christian both in faith and practice " (41). It was Conon who led Samuel Walker, Curate of St. Mary's, Truro, to his evangelical conversion (42). Under his tuition Haweis made rapid progress and distinguished himself in both Latin and Greek, thus laying sound foundations for his future scholarship. Haweis also showed early evidence of his unusual oratorical gifts. When about sixteen he was twice appointed to speak in public the Latin orations. The first occasion was at the annual reunion of former pupils, and the other before the Bishop of Exeter at a visitation and confirmation, " which was then, " Haweis added, " a circumstance of no common occurrence " (43). He often used to read the daily school prayers, and heard the lower classes repeat their lessons. It was when acting as usher to the younger boys that he first met his lifelong friend and fellow labourer in the Gospel, Thomas Wills (44).

Seymour, who is not always the most reliable of authorities, as has already been demonstrated, would have us believe that Samuel Foote, the celebrated actor and playwright, was a schoolboy contemporary and companion of Haweis (45). In this he is followed slavishly, as elsewhere, by Dr. Morison (46), who throws upon the youthful Haweis the onus of choosing Foote as his particular friend. This is not only temperamentally unlikely, but chronologically impossible, since Haweis had attained the precise age of three and a half when Foote matriculated from Worcester College, Oxford (47).

Haweis could not fail to benefit from the religious instruction of so earnest an Evangelical as Conon. " To his honour I wish to record it, " Haweis wrote of him, " that his diligence to make us scholars was equalled by his zeal to make us Christians " (48). The fullest attention was paid to morals and Christian education. This was especially so on the Lord's Day, when Divine worship was held twice, and the evening given over to learning the most useful catechisms. Conon was in the habit of making his own comments and asking his own questions. But though Haweis was thus well grounded in the theory of evangelical truth, he admitted sadly:

Yet I must acknowledge to my shame and grief that though none answered more pertinently to his interrogations than myself, I was a grievous stranger to any Divine conviction of the truths which he enforced, or their influence, and continued so for a considerable time after I left school (49).

The good seed was not, however, sown in vain, and the harvest was reaped in later years. Haweis remained for ever grateful

to Conon: " for the clear and unchanging views of Divine truth which I have been favoured with ever since, I acknowledge myself much indebted to the instructions of my excellent master " (50). In letters written up to as late as 1774 to Thomas Biddulph, Vicar of Padstow, and his wife, Haweis sent his " best regards " or " respectful remembrances " to Conon, who retired to Padstow in 1771 (51).

" On leaving school, " continues Dr. Morison in his memoir, " young Haweis was, by his own choice, apprenticed to a gentleman in the medical profession residing at Truro, in Cornwall, with whom he resided till the period when his articles closed " (52). This may have been Haweis' own choice, as Morison suggests, but it was a choice dictated by necessity. He would normally have proceeded to the University to complete his education, but since the family finances had been seriously depleted by his father's irresponsibility, so that only a small part even of his mother's fortune remained, and he was almost entirely dependent upon his uncle's generosity, he was compelled to abandon any such academic aspirations and seek a less expensive training in medicine. As his schoolboy character and abilities were well known, he was taken on with a very moderate premium by a surgeon and apothecary in considerable practice in Truro (53). Despite the natural disappointment he must have experienced in this frustration of his scholastic ambitions, Haweis tackled his new task manfully and determined to distinguish himself in the profession into which circumstances had

driven him. He resolved to continue his study of Greek and Latin. He read the Aphorisms of Hippocrates, with the famous opening sentence, " Life is short, art is long " (54), and compiled his own comments. When a smallpox epidemic raged in the town, he attended many of the victims and afterwards wrote a Latin treatise on the treatment of this scourge. He criticized contemporary methods in the severest terms and declared that " hot close rooms, strong stimulants, dread of suppressing the eruption and desire of filling the pustules produced effects the most hideous and fatal " (55). When Edward Jenner introduced vaccination at the end of the century, Haweis hailed it as a singular blessing (56). It is an indication of Haweis' acumen that he should so early seek to lay the medical bogey of the era.

Haweis was now between nineteen and twenty, " full of spirits, careless and indifferent about everything holy and heavenly " (57). By this time the impact of Samuel Walker's evangelical labours was being strongly felt in Truro. His earnest preaching of the unadulterated Gospel, combined with the striking alteration of his own habits, began to affect the whole town. Those who did not hear him in the pulpit feared him out of it. On the Lord's Day the loiterers and Church shirkers would slink away at his approach, saying: " Let us go; here comes Walker. " Such absentees grew fewer and fewer, however, until it was said " you might fire a cannon down every street in Truro in Church time, without a chance of

killing a single human being " (58). The frivolity and moral looseness of former days disappeared. The playhouse and the cockpit were compelled to close their doors for lack of patrons. Writing to his friend Thomas Adam, the Evangelical Rector of Winteringham, Lincolnshire, on November 23, 1754, he said " the number of those who have made particular application to me inquiring what they must do to be saved cannot have been less than eight hundred " (59). As Balleine points out, this, in a town of sixteen hundred, meant very nearly the whole adult population (60). It was indeed a notable work that Walker wrought in Truro, and John Wesley singled him out as " the one exception in England " (61) to the rather insecurely grounded rule that the regular parochial clergy either did not preach the genuine Gospel at all, or preached it to no effect.

It was under Samuel Walker that Haweis was destined to be converted and called to the ministry. The first reactions of the young medical student were not particularly propitious, however. Haweis was disposed to sneer at this new religion, as it was termed.

I then joined in the scoff of the scorner and employed what little wit I was possessed of in turning the people who became remarkably serious into ridicule, and branding them with a name of opprobrium. I confess, I have since received just retaliation (62).

The " name of opprobrium " was not ' Methodist,' as might have been suspected, but ' Walkerite.' Haweis later explained that " the name Methodist was not yet given to those called under his (Walker's) ministry, he being perfectly regular and

totally unconnected with those of Mr. Wesley's followers who in that country bore that name " (63).

Haweis gave this account of his pre-conversion life:

When I left school and commenced my first career of youth, I lived as most other young persons do, without God in the world: eager to enjoy all the pleasures which my circumstances and situation would admit, restrained from no evil for the fear of the consequences resulting from sin as sin.

Where the restraints of God's grace are not, the history of youth must bear a great resemblance. We walk as other Gentiles walk in the vanity of our minds. From one sin, however, I was always mercifully preserved, the sin of drunkenness, the dire effects of which having seen, and so terribly felt at home, it had begotten a kind of natural abhorrence to the vice. And whilst I disliked not, nor avoided the company of those who indulged their appetites freely and without restraint, I preserved perfect sobriety, and was sometimes laughed at for my squeamishness; in fact, it arose from no sense of the evil, but a dislike of the act.

In this common course of carelessness and dissipation I lived. I never prayed, nor remember feeling any compunction or fear in the prospect of appearing before God in my sins, and seemed as perfectly insensible of any danger as if my existence were ready to terminate with the dissolution of my body. I believe I had never a serious thought about that, surrounded as I necessarily was in my profession, with so many providential warnings and constantly visiting the wounded in the mines, and the dying. Those around me seemed all like myself, and in the house of my abode I had neither example nor exhortation (64).

But God works in a mysterious way, and it was by a strange path that Thomas Haweis was led to his Saviour. About this time, he confessed in the Autobiography, he began to feel a tender attachment to a young lady about his own age who was the daughter of a clergyman in the parish where his relations resided (65). He had only just commenced his courtship when she was suddenly snatched away by the smallpox. Although this bereavement had no deep spiritual effect upon him, he was constrained shortly afterwards to attend St. Mary's Church one

afternoon. He was not a regular worshipper: he made his professional duties an easy excuse for absence. That visit proved the turning point in his spiritual pilgrimage. Walker was preaching as usual - he was Curate to an absentee Rector (66) - and the arrow sped to its mark in Haweis' unregenerate heart. His own testimony provided the only account we possess of his conversion.

My time was now come. Mr. Walker was led that day to speak in a very affecting manner on death and its consequences, and the discourse for the first time found such a congeniality in my feelings that though I should probably have heard him as forcibly urge the same truth before, for the first moment of my life, that I can reflect upon, I felt an impression on my conscience which never since has been, and I hope never will be, obliterated.

I now knew myself mortal; not that I had doubted it before, but the sense of death never came so near my heart as to affect me with any apprehension of its consequences. I was convinced that I was in a state very unfit to appear in the presence of God, Who is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity without just retribution. My convictions were not indeed, as was then the case with many others, terrifying and deeply distressing, but they were attended with a clearness of evidence respecting my state before God that led me to fly for refuge from the danger I apprehended, and that very day I spoke to another young gentleman, Mr. Tippett, who sat with me at Church, and I knew frequented Mr. Walker's house, to introduce me to him, which with the greatest of pleasure he undertook to do. Mr. Walker embraced me tenderly, spoke to me with the affection of a father and the fidelity of a pastor, and from that day commenced that tender friendship, shall I call it, or rather paternal and filial regard, that was interrupted only by his departure to glory (67).

Haweis' conversion evidently caused some stir in the town. Immediately he was faced with the same sort of ridicule which he had so freely dispensed himself. The "name of opprobrium" was now flung at him and he was dubbed a Walkerite. His relatives and friends were greatly offended by this evidence of enthusiasm, and he had to endure sarcastic comment in

the house where he lodged. This was but a mild anticipation of the abuse he was to receive in later years.

Haweis supplied no firm date for his conversion, but from the hint in the Autobiography, already noted, that he was " about nineteen or twenty " not long before the work of grace was begun in his heart, and from other more circumstantial evidence, we conclude that it probably took place early in 1754 (68).

After his conversion, Haweis not only associated frequently with Walker, but also sought to renew acquaintance with his old schoolmaster, George Conon - a friendship that he had allowed to fall into disrepair. Conon invited Haweis to visit him at his house on those evenings when duty permitted, and in his fireside conversations recalled to the convert's mind many of the valuable lessons which he had learned at school and since forgotten. " Yet I well remember more than once, " Haweis admitted, " when I have been going down to him I have felt a wish I might not find him at the school, such strange contradictions pass in the human mind: yet a secret power drew me on and our intimacy increased " (69). There is something about that frank confession which finds an echo in the experience of most Christians. Haweis was obviously fully conscious that he was simul peccator et iustus (70).

It was at Conon's house that Haweis first met George Burnett (71), his closest companion for several years to come. Burnett was a Scotsman. He hailed from Aberdeen, and was

brought to Cornwall by Conon, who was his godfather, to be Assistant at the Grammar School (72). Burnett was almost the same age as Haweis and a close friendship sprang up between them. They were the chief pride and joy of Conon and Walker at this period. Conon saw in Burnett his son and heir, and Walker watched over Haweis with fatherly affection.

On his conversion, Haweis was entered as a member of Walker's religious society. This was divided into two sections: one composed entirely of single men, and the other of married men, their wives, and unmarried women. The rules stated that " the sole design of this society is to promote real holiness in the heart and life of all who belong to it, in a dependence on the Divine power and the conduct of the Holy Spirit, through our Lord Jesus Christ, to advance and perfect all good in us " (73). The societies met once a week for prayer, instruction and fellowship, under the sole directorship of Walker, who alone had power to admit or remove. Walker conducted the devotional exercises himself, for which purpose he drew up a special office (74). He began with six appropriate Scripture sentences, and three collects. A portion of the Bible was then read, followed by the General Confession from the Communion Service and the Lord's Prayer. An extempore prayer was offered by Walker, a psalm was sung, and some edifying treatise read. The meeting closed with an exhortation to humility, prepared for the purpose, the Communion Preface and the Benediction. Walker attributed the success of his societies to his insistence

that he alone should officiate. Replying to an inquiry from Thomas Adam, he wrote:

It hath been our singular blessing that we have had no disputes amongst us, which, under God, we ascribe to the nature of our constitution, which is that noone is to be talking there but myself. That private persons should be speaking in a large company we have observed from the Methodists to be so great a temptation to conceit (and the next step to that is always envy, strife in the heart and contention) that we dared not venture upon it. Our way is to take advantage of one passage and another of Scripture, to give and impress some piece of advice suited to a society: which office I ever take upon myself. Conversation they have enough elsewhere (75).

The members of the society were, however, permitted to gather in small numbers (never more than eight) to share their Christian experience. These more informal groups met sometimes on Sunday mornings before Matins, or between services, and on week-day evenings. For the guidance of such classes Walker compiled his Regulations and Helps for Promoting Religious Conversation among Christians (76). In such a spiritual environment Haweis was reared as a young convert. We are not surprised that his growth in grace was rapid.

Having now for the first time learned the use of his knees, as he quaintly put it (77), Haweis began the practice of private prayer, which he never afterwards neglected for one day throughout his long life. He started to search the Scriptures and to read helpful books recommended by Walker. Amongst these he listed Boston's Human Nature in its Fourfold State, Doddridge's The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul, Baxter's works, the sermons of Ralph and Ebenezer Erskine and Law's A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life and A Practical Treatise

on Christian Perfection. On the last two Haweis commented with discernment: " though far from opening the glories of Gospel grace, (they) act with the most powerful tendency to convince of the vanity of everything here below, and to awaken the conscience to a sense of its native misery and real dignity " (78).

We may therefore picture Thomas Haweis in the year 1754 as a deeply earnest young man, acutely conscious that he had

' A never-dying soul to save,
And fit it for the sky ' (79).

But he was also concerned about the never-dying souls of those around him. It was not for nothing that he had read in Walker's Regulations and Helps that we must pray " for our neighbours who are prejudiced against us; that God would be pleased to awaken their souls, and grant them repentance unto life; that He would turn their hearts to us, and ours effectually towards them " (80). Early evidence of this passion for souls was provided by Haweis' first extant letter. It was written from Truro in August, 1754, to an unspecified recipient - evidently an apostate Methodist. It is worthy of quotation at some length, not only for its historical interest, but for the insight it gives into the spiritual condition of the writer. His own experience was obviously a vivid reality, and that another should forsake the Saviour he himself had newly found seemed a crime well-nigh unpardonable.

Sir,

To trouble a stranger with advice unasked may perhaps be thought to deserve a harsher appellation than impertinence, but should it be so, to bear the cross is the badge

of my profession, and however I may be thought of, if aught that I can say may in the least contribute to the salvation of if but one soul (I) shall gladly bargain for the loss of reputation, esteem or character. My Lord has commanded me to leave all to follow Him, and I trust His grace will enable me to be content to do so.

You may imagine I have some knowledge of, though no personal acquaintance with you, and as I desire its increase, it may not be amiss to inform you of your unknown correspondent. I am by profession a brother bred a surgeon. Under a Gospel minister of the Established Church I was awakened to a concern for my soul, which the Spirit of God opened my eyes to see in a most ruinous condition, drowned in pleasure. I had forgotten God, serving the creature more than the Creator, having my eyes blinded by its delusions, and bound in chains of passion stronger than links of iron, my mind utterly alienated from Him Who was still showering upon me His mercies so plenteously, and driving furiously the mad round of pleasure and indulgence, hastening down the ways that led to the chambers of death and hell. In this undone estate, taught by the same Spirit to look to Jesus, mighty to save, I was, I trust, enabled to make and still to continue (though too imperfectly) my application to Him for that wisdom, righteousness and strength my soul stood in need of, and (to His name be the glory and praise for ever given !) He withheld my feet from the paths of iniquity and the broad way of eternal misery and ruin, which I then walked in, and out of His Word instructed me to seek the renovation of my nature and the restoration of my Saviour's likeness, which sin had so utterly defaced in my soul; the which, as it is in nothing more manifested than in the natural enmity of all our hearts from God, therefore has He made it the distinguishing mark of His disciples to love, first Himself and then each other, without respect to party, name or any denomination that may have made a separation between themselves, and therefore it is that He hath called on me (though no Methodist myself, nor ever an attendant on them) as one who hath found mercy of the Lord, to beseech you, or any man whom anything I could say might have the least influence over, to be reconciled to God through Jesus the Redeemer Lord; and especially to be importunate with those who after having tasted something of the gift of God and the powers of the world to come have turned aside from the ways of godliness, and made shipwreck of the faith, loving the pleasures of sin which are but for a season, that they, they of all others, would return unto the Lord, seeking Him whilst He may be found, before He shut up His tender mercies, forgetting to be gracious, and seal up such under darkness, giving them over to a reprobate mind, to work iniquity with greediness, till vengeance more distinguished and terrible overtake them and dying in their impenitence and sin their ruin be much more aggravated and their damn-

ation more just and fearful. The thought of such an end pains me while I write it: yet knowing the terrors of the Lord, I would fain persuade men, and 'tis the danger you stand in by your departing from the truth, that impels me to write to you, and disagreeable as the truth may be, I must charge you as the man, guilty before God. Would to God you might feel the importance and truth of the charge, for sure I am conscience cries and amidst all its stiflings will not rest satisfied. It cries: hearken to it, my dear Sir. It lays a heavy charge against you - rebellion, apostacy, dishonour irreparable done to Christ, such cause given to the adversary to blaspheme, such a stumbling-block in the way of the brethren..... It pleads the consequences of such a change - death, the wages of sin; Hell the portion for the wicked in general, but its hottest furnace for the apostates, for them the King's command is exceeding urgent. Sad estate ! 'Tis terrible to think of, to describe !

But has sin expunged all ingenuity ? Can terrors only drive ? Has love lost its constraining power ? Does not mercy plead more powerful persuasion ? If these have lost their force, I scarcely can hope by terrors to prevail on you. If you have found the way to forget your want of the precious blood of a dying Saviour and to set light by His painful wounds and stripes and scourgings, if you have ceased to see the loveliness of His character and dignity of His person, no wonder among the first you hail Him King and mock the royalty you despise, neither value His threats nor dread His anger.....

I could earnestly wish you would set aside one solemn hour to stand before the Lord, the great Jehovah, in His presence to look back upon your past and present circumstances, let conscience speak, and oh that you might guilty, that you might yet escape the sentence that, though delayed, is gone forth against you and needs only to be pronounced and executed. Yet the thing is not inexorable. His ways are not as our ways, nor His thoughts as our thoughts. Vengeance is His strange work. He delights in mercy, forgiving iniquity, transgression and sin; His calls to you, to all, are Turn ye, turn ye, why will you die ? As I live, saith the Lord, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked. And these His calls, oh that you might obey, His mercy lay hold of !

I have spoken, Sir, with all freedom and hope you will excuse what woe is me if I had withheld from you. Faithfulness to your soul has obliged me (what I am sure my natural heart is very averse to) to risk that esteem which I am not, I assure you, fond of losing. Would to God that what I fear to lose I might find; that this might open your eyes to the grace of God to see and shun your danger; and whilst else I could not hope for the right hand of fellowship, I might then receive from you the salutation of brother in the Lord.

I am, dear Sir,

Sincerely yours,

T. HAWEIS.

(81).

It causes little surprise to learn that Haweis' mind was at this period turned towards the ministry. In the Autobiography he revealed that he earnestly wished that God would open a way for the accomplishment of this desired object (82). But he saw apparently insurmountable difficulties barring his path. There would undoubtedly be objections from his family. His relations had taken offence at what they called his "religious turn" (83). They would not be disposed to view this further step with any sort of approbation. As we have seen, Haweis was almost entirely dependent upon his uncle, John Wilyams. Having already financed Haweis' training as a doctor, Wilyams could hardly be expected to pay for a University education in preparation for quite a different course of which he did not even approve. Besides, Haweis had some reasonable hope of success in the medical profession, whereas, in view of his Evangelical attachment, his prospects in the Church, from a material standpoint, would not be regarded as promising. So for a time he attempted to smother the rising flame. But he could not rid his mind of the insistent call, and the desire increased rather than decreased. Finally he determined to confide in Walker.

Haweis left no detailed description of what must have been to him a momentous interview. The outcome was that, after Conon had been consulted, Haweis was wisely advised to remain in his profession until his apprenticeship expired. Meanwhile, Walker and Conon undertook to direct and assist him in his

studies for the ministry and to take what steps they could to facilitate his admission into orders. They both assured him that if the call was indeed of God, some door would be opened for its fulfilment. But they agreed that Haweis should inform his family of his desire to enter the ministry, and solicit their consent, or at least their acquiescence, if it were possible (84). This final injunction filled Haweis with pardonable apprehension. His uncle had been far from sympathetic towards his association with Walker. Of his intentions respecting the ministry no word had as yet been breathed. After fervent prayer, but nevertheless with feeble hopes, Haweis set out for Carnanton, having obtained leave of absence for two or three days (85). He broached the matter to his uncle on the morning after his arrival, briefly outlining his changed plans. He left an account of this critical interview in the Autobiography: it was the second of its sort within a few days.

I shall never forget the scene. My uncle was naturally a hasty and passionate man, and his lip by then quivered very much, and had he burst upon me, as I feared, I was prepared for it. But he heard me without the least violent emotion and, looking kindly on me, 'Tom,' says he, 'you know the expense we have already been at in your education for the profession you are in. Such a sum (naming it) we have reserved for you completing it in the hospital. This you shall have, if you think it sufficient for the purpose, and though I cannot approve your present request, I will not oppose it.' This was the substance, perhaps not the very words. I thanked him very earnestly, and retired: went up to my chamber and poured out my heart to God in such a burst of thankfulness and with a delight and joy the vivid impression of which has long remained (86).

Haweis' mother displayed a greater reluctance, but on hearing his ardent pleas, she finally relented. He hastened back to his

friends in Truro to acquaint them with this unexpected good news. He was encouraged to see in this seeming miracle the hand of God confirming the call he had received. With renewed application he began to address himself to the classical studies he had never altogether relinquished since leaving school, but which would now prove essential to admit him to orders.

Haweis found another staunch supporter in Risdon Darracott, an Independent minister at Wellington, Somerset, whom George Whitefield christened "the star of the west" (87). Walker was proud to be counted amongst Darracott's friends and correspondents, and spoke of him as a "living epistle" of the saintly Doddridge, whose pupil he had been (88). Later, in 1757, Walker travelled to Wellington to see the good work carried on there, and was delighted with what he found (89). Probably it was through Walker that Haweis became acquainted with Darracott. The only remaining evidence of this friendship (which Haweis did not mention in his Autobiography) is a letter written from Haweis to Darracott on January 28, 1755, congratulating the latter on his recovery from illness. Once again, a window was opened in the soul of the young convert and candidate for orders as he wrote:

Your reviving, cheering and spurring exhortation, accompanied with your prayers, shall not, I trust, through the assistance of the Spirit of God, fail to have its intended use: it is what, amidst all the blessed means I enjoy, and kindness of the Lord I experience, I abundantly need. For, Sir, I have a sad heart, loath to leave the present glitter, to dig for hidden gold; and frequently leaning, with perverse attachment, to earth and its transitory trifles, which, with all the vanity I discover in them, too often would impose on my affections, and, like objects seen

through a wrong medium, appear what they are not.

You describe a glorious hope, and my heart cannot but bound with the expectation. Yes, Sir, I trust these eyes shall see the salvation of the Lord, with all the imperfection and unprofitableness I find in myself. I dare not, would not for a thousand worlds, cast away the hope of my confidence, nor, having so often tasted that the Lord is gracious, ungratefully distrust His kindness, or suspect His love; whilst, with fear and trembling I fain would work out my own salvation, casting myself entirely on Him that worketh in me to will and to do. I hope, I desire to wait for the blessedness of the man that trusteth in the Lord, and am persuaded that He hath not forgotten to be gracious (90).

It was in such a spirit of humble dependence upon God, in the full consciousness of his own shortcomings, that Thomas Haweis entered upon his preparation for the sacred ministry. How very different were the motives that urged him from those attributed to him by the partial Polwhele ! " What occasioned his preference of divinity to medicine, I cannot exactly say, " admitted the Cornish historian, " - perhaps the consciousness of his great proficiency in the Greek language, and of his powers in oratory " (91).

Walker and Conon now began to consider what further steps should be taken towards the realisation of Haweis' call to the ministry. They were not at first inclined to recommend a University career, not through any deficiency in Haweis' intellectual capacities, but because they were painfully aware of the strong anti-Evangelical bias of the authorities, and were afraid that the spirit of their protégé might suffer more than any acquisition of knowledge could compensate. The financial situation was also taken into account, and it was evidently deemed wiser to husband Haweis' limited resources. So they

turned their thoughts to the possibility of private education (92). The advice of Thomas Adam was sought, and a plan was decided upon that after further tuition at Truro, Haweis should study at Winteringham under Adam's supervision. It was hoped that ordination might be obtained for Haweis, on the basis of such a course of instruction, through Adam's friend and neighbour, Archdeacon Bassett (93).

Meanwhile, George Burnett had received a call to the ministry, too. The two friends, therefore, studied together under the guidance of Walker and Conon. They applied themselves sedulously to Latin, and mastered a section of Marks' Medulla each week. At the same time they sought to attain proficiency in preaching (94). They were put through an intensive course of homiletics. Serious attention was paid to the important but often neglected craft of sermon construction. Each week they were given a text of Scripture to divide into suitable heads, together with the inference and application. Sometimes these outlines were to be filled in at length, sometimes they were left as skeletons. Always they were carefully reviewed by Walker and Conon, and improvements suggested. Walker bitterly regretted that in his early training he had not acquired the art of extemporaneous speech, and he therefore determined to exercise his two pupils in this particular from the start. Not only were they set to study rhetoric, but encouraged in the actual practice of extempore preaching. One afternoon each week they were called upon to make the attempt before a small con-

gregation consisting of the members of Walker's household. Naturally endowed with oratorical powers above the average, Haweis was by this means equipped to become one of the most effective extemporaneous preachers of the Evangelical movement.

We are told that Walker was in the habit of recommending Logic to young ministers who consulted him about their studies, and we may be sure that the importance of this discipline was impressed upon Haweis and Burnett. Walker regarded it as a necessary equipment for preachers, and cautioned them to beware of quoting scraps of Scripture, isolated from their setting, and on them founding arguments which the context did not authorize. He advised them to consider each passage with reference to what went before and what came after, and also in relation to the whole analogia Scripturae (95). Haweis' published sermons, to be examined later, revealed that he had thoroughly appropriated these sound evangelical principles of interpretation.

The time was drawing near for Haweis' proposed journey to Adam of Winteringham. A happy circumstance now arose, however, which caused that visit to be cancelled, and opened up a very different prospect for Haweis. Joseph Jane, the son of Conon's predecessor as master of Truro Grammar School (96), returned to his native town for a vacation in the summer of 1755. A former student of Christ Church, Oxford, a Master of Arts and a Bachelor of Divinity, he had held curacies in the diocese of Oxford before becoming Vicar of the Church of St. Mary Magdalene, Oxford, in 1748 (97). Jane was a convinced

Evangelical, and his Church was already known in the city of Oxford as a centre of Evangelical influence. He was a loyal friend of Walker: he rejoiced in his labours and defended him against reproach. On this particular visit to Truro, Jane met Haweis and seems to have taken to him immediately. He quickly expressed his warm affection for Haweis and his keenest interest in Haweis' purpose of entering the ministry. When informed of the plan for Haweis' preparation, he disagreed with it. He believed that Haweis would do well at a University, and that any opposition he might meet would serve to strengthen his fidelity to Evangelicalism. He therefore dissuaded Walker and Conon from sending Haweis to Adam and strongly advocated a course at Oxford (98).

The financial aspect of the matter was then explained to Jane, and, although he was a perfect stranger to Haweis, and had never even spoken to him prior to this occasion, " he offered with a warmth and cordiality which could not but engage confidence, " Haweis recorded with gratitude, " that if I would follow his advice and come to College, I need not give myself a moment's thought about a provision, as he would undertake to supply all deficiencies. Mr. Walker regarded this as an offer so providential that I ought to accept it " (99). It was therefore resolved that Haweis should go to Oxford, and that Burnett should accompany him to the same College " as a means of mutual comfort and safety " (100). Haweis recognized that an unseen hand was shaping his future, and throughout his life he never

ceased to glorify God for this signal interposition of His providence. " Thus in a most unexpected manner " - so he concluded the third chapter of his Autobiography - " a new path was struck out for me. The Lord was leading me by a way I knew not, but which for purposes of His own glory I trust was directed and pursued " (IOI).

CHAPTER TWO

OXFORD 1755-1762

Thomas Haweis matriculated from Christ Church, Oxford, on December 1, 1755 (1). George Burnett entered the University at the same time (2). Christ Church at this period was, from the academic standpoint, the show College of the University (3). Christ Church men were noted by the mid-eighteenth century for their classical scholarship, and the Oxford Magazine already spoke of "Christ Church pedants" (4). Here Haweis embarked upon his first term as a pupil and commoner. The temptations to indolence and indulgence in contemporary Oxford were indeed acute, but Haweis was determined to be no "Idler among academic bowers" (5). He was placed under the tuition of William Holwell (6), and earnestly bent his mind to serious study from the start (7).

Joseph Jane received young Haweis with the greatest affection, and made him his regular companion, despite the disparity of their ages. After Haweis' own peculium was exhausted, Jane supplied his wants with a liberality that always gave him the appearance of reasonable affluence. But for this generous patronage, Haweis could never have enjoyed even the minor amenities of College life (8).

It gave Samuel Walker singular delight to report to his friend, William Rawlings (9), on the progress of his protégés:

We have continually letters from T. and G. which give us a good deal of content. They are in a barren land, and will need your prayers. Poor young men, it is well for them that they are together, and especially for your favourite that George is with him. Nothing (can be) more providential; he is so suited (to him). I know no other so fit for him. They are lovely youths. I have the greatest hopes for them. If they stand their ground, they will be both diligent and useful. They have both their temptations, and both their excellencies. Tom will be in danger of over rashness, and George of over caution. George will make the greater figure, and Tom will be the most liked. Should they be associates in a cure, nothing would seem more desirable. Well, you never forget them. Their well doing is a matter of great importance to the world, for I am either so fond or so foolish as to think they have not many equals (10).

Walker's prophecy was hardly fulfilled. Haweis made much the greater figure, but was far from being universally popular, as subsequent events were to prove.

When Haweis first arrived at Oxford, Jane introduced him to a group of Hutchinsonians, who then appeared to be the most devout men in the University, and were regarded with some suspicion on that account. For a time Haweis associated with them, without sharing all their views. This, no doubt, is the reason why Charles Wesley referred to Haweis as a Hutchinsonian (11). But it is abundantly clear that Haweis was no such thing. Not only did he reject the Hutchinsonian system, with its strange interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures, but also strongly disagreed with the High Church opinions which so often accompanied it. An extract from the Autobiography will serve to illustrate the latter antipathy.

Though I was a Churchman by education and in sentiment Episcopalian, I would not anathematize every non-conformist. I had received much instruction from the writings of Dr. Doddridge and Dr. Guyse (12), and from the latter had received particular civilities in London, having visited him at

Mr. Walker's desire, with whom he corresponded. I could not think of the Sacraments as they did, that only when received from the hand of a priest, whatever was his character, a blessing was necessarily annexed to them. I had been taught and was convinced that a name in a parish register did not constitute the characteristic of a Christian: that religion must begin in the heart and that the form and the power of godliness were very different things; that the Spirit of God alone can convert the soul; and that a man must be begotten of the Spirit, else if sprinkled with all the water in the font, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God; that the Lord bestows in the Sacrament no blessing on any who have not discerning of the Lord's Body, and also who live not every day by faith in His sacrifice (I3).

The result was that before long Haweis' Hutchinsonian friends grew very distant towards him, and when one of their number came to him for spiritual advice, they were highly offended and forbade the culprit to visit him again (I4). During his subsequent ministry in Oxford Haweis encountered no more bitter enemies than these Hutchinsonians (I5). They are probably to be identified with the associates of George Horne, who was at this time a Fellow of Magdalen (I6).

Haweis and Burnett remained at Oxford until the spring of 1756. They then returned to Cornwall, and Haweis boarded in Truro to be near his instructors, Walker and Conon. The two undergraduates spent ten months there in pursuit of their studies. They were initiated into the intricacies of Hebrew by Conon, and made satisfactory progress (I7). Walker informed Adam:

Mr. Haweis, the young gentleman I formerly spoke of, and his friend Mr. Burnett, are returned to us from Oxford. Their fortunes, nor indeed opportunities of improvement, would not admit of their long continuance there. They purpose studying with me and my friend and father, Mr. Conon, the schoolmaster, till next spring, by which time, we doubt not, they will be well qualified. They are both good schol-

ars, and have a tolerable foundation in Hebrew. I have no doubt of their heart qualifications for the work. In truth they are lovely and promising young men (I8).

The favourable reputation that Haweis had gained in Evangelical circles, suggested by the above quotation, must have reached the ears of George Whitefield. On May 20, 1756, he despatched the following letter to Haweis, from Bristol.

My very dear Sir,

For so I must address myself, having had you in a peculiar manner upon my heart, ever since I saw and read a letter that came from you some months ago. It bespoke the language of a heart devoted to the ever living, ever lovely Jesus. Mrs. Bevan (I9) confirmed me in this opinion yesterday, and withal told me she believed you would be glad of a line from me, who am indeed less than the least of all saints, but willing, if I know anything of my own heart, to spend and be spent for the good of souls. They are redeemed by the blood of Jesus, Whose cross, blessed be His name, hath been made delightful to me for some years. I thank God that I am cast out for my Master's sake. Indeed, my very dear Sir, it is preferable to all other preferment whatsoever. It is the way to the crown. Glory be to God that there are some young champions coming forth; methinks I would now sing my Nunc Dimittis with triumph and joy. Though I decrease, may you, my very dear Sir, increase! O that you may be kept from conferring with flesh and blood! O that you may be owned and blessed of God! I believe you will, and never more so than when you are reviled and despised by man. It is a fatal mistake to think we must keep our characters in order to be good; this is called prudence - in most, I fear, it is trimming. Honesty I find always to be the best policy. Them who honour Jesus He will honour. Even in this world, if we confess to Him, His truth, and His people, we shall receive an hundred-fold. To lose all in this respect is to find all. But whither am I going? Excuse, my very dear Sir, the overflowing of a heart that loves you dearly for the glorious Redeemer's sake. I am here preaching His cross, and expect to stay over Sunday. Next week I have thoughts of being at Bath and Westbury. I lead a pilgrim life - you will pray that I may have a pilgrim heart. Ere long, I hope, my heavenly Father will take me home. I am ambitious; I want to sit upon a throne. Jesus hath purchased and provided a home in heaven for me. That you may have an exalted place at His right hand is, and shall be, the earnest prayer of, reverend and very dear Sir,

Yours most affectionately in our common Lord,

GEORGE WHITEFIELD (20).

The title 'reverend' was, of course, premature, but the matter of procuring orders for both Haweis and Burnett was exercising the minds of Walker and Conon (21). The candidates were branded from the outset with the mark of Methodism. The diocese of Exeter, in which Truro then stood (22), was particularly unsuitable for this purpose, as the prejudices of the Bishop, the formidable Lavington, were only too well known. In the letter already cited (23), Walker asked Adam once again to use his influence with Archdeacon Bassett to secure ordination from the Bishop of Lincoln. Nothing appears to have materialized from this appeal. There was some doubt as to whether Haweis should resume his College course, or wait where he was until an opportunity offered to enter the ministry. Eventually Joseph Jane came on another visit to Truro, and persuaded him, with the concurrence of Walker and Conon, to return to Oxford and proceed to ordination in the more usual manner. Haweis evidently took up residence again early in the year 1757 (24).

Burnett had stayed in Cornwall (25). Haweis soon felt the need for spiritual companionship. He acted upon John Wesley's principle that those who lack fellowship should create it. He began to converse with those of his fellow students who, like himself, were preparing for the ministry of the Church, and to impress upon them the evangelical truths which he had received. He then invited a small group of them to his rooms. They met regularly to read the Greek Testament, discuss theology, share their Christian experience and join in prayer. This was the

beginning of what Luke Tyerman does not hesitate to term a second Holy Club, similar to that founded by the Wesleys in 1729 (26). This is a significant link with the first Methodists. Methodism found no permanent footing in the University after the members of the Holy Club had dispersed. The history of Methodism in Oxford between the disbanding of the Holy Club and the St. Edmund Hall expulsions in 1768 (27) is largely a tantalizing blank. Haweis' little company of evangelically minded candidates for holy orders provides almost the only evidence of continuity (28).

We have an eye-witness glimpse of this fellowship from the pen of Thomas Wills, of whom mention has already been made (29). He came up to Magdalen Hall in March, 1757 (30), and was immediately introduced to the club by Haweis. The first time he ever knelt in a religious society was in the cloisters of Christ Church (31). He was greatly struck with the prayer, and still more by the fact that he could perceive no book in use. The impression of what he saw and heard remained with him, and he became a regular attender (32).

News of this spiritual venture and its effects reached both George Whitefield and the Countess of Huntingdon. Whitefield wrote: " Many in Oxford are awakened to the knowledge of the truth, " and: " Many students at Oxford are earnestly learning Christ " (33). Lady Huntingdon mentioned prayer meetings as common amongst the students, and added: " I am really rejoiced that so many at the Universities are determined to be

on the Lord's side. May they be kept faithful and steady ! "

(34). Walker was naturally delighted at Haweis' endeavours, and reported to Adam:

Tom Haweis is at Christ Church, and doing some service among a few of the young gentlemen there. He tells me today he is remarked as a dangerous fellow; and adds that Romaine has been again in the University pulpit, where he preached imputed righteousness, but it is said will be allowed to preach no more there (35).

Though Haweis made no reference to the fact in his Autobiography, it is probable that he first met William Romaine (36) when the latter visited Oxford in 1757. In his biography of Romaine Haweis states that their friendship began in Oxford (37), and it is known that Romaine preached in St. Mary's and St. Peter's on March 20, 1757 (38). Haweis could not fail to be stirred by these utterances, for, as Davis remarks, they " were anything but typical Oxford sermons " (39). Indeed, not since the voice of John Wesley had been silenced by " a mortifying neglect " (40) after his discourse on Scriptural Christianity (41) had St. Mary's heard anything quite like it. Haweis must have been enheartened in his own Evangelical witness by Romaine's fearless proclamation of an unadulterated Gospel, which gave great offence to the authorities and resulted in his being debarred from the University pulpit in future (42). Romaine was somewhat attracted towards Hutchinsonianism at this period, and Haweis claims that he encouraged his friend's separation from that school - doubtless in the light of his personal experience (43).

Whilst a student at Oxford Haweis met James Hervey (44)

for one day. Hervey's name was a household word in Evangelical quarters, and young Haweis would be especially drawn to him as a member of the Wesleyan Holy Club. Knowing that Hervey was a sick man and anxious to see him before his departure to glory, Haweis rode over one Sunday to Weston Favel, a distance of some fifty miles (45). He found Hervey much emaciated and obviously not long for this world. The famous "literary parish priest," as Tyerman calls him (46), received Haweis kindly and talked with him in the interval between services. His preaching rather disappointed Haweis. Many years later Haweis wrote of Hervey:

The elegance and florid style of his writings, which I had read with delight made me expect a voice as musical and delivery as polished as his dialogues, but though his language was good, and his subject purely evangelical, his manner had nothing commanding, and the intonation uncommonly whining, and what would be called canting and unoratorical, and I thought it would be counted offensive (47).

It is interesting to set this estimate beside those of John Ryland and Sir James Stonehouse, which were inclined to be more favourable (48).

Meanwhile Haweis did not neglect his studies. His chief difficulty was to secure adequate tuition. His entries in the Autobiography confirm the generally accepted account of eighteenth century University education (49). Holwell he described as very civil, though a tutor more in name than reality. "Very little attention was paid to the undergraduate pupil," Haweis complained, "and the lectures (were) very carelessly attended, and at last wholly discontinued" (50). When one class was abandoned as hopeless, Holwell excused himself by saying,

" Mr. Haweis, you see these young men will do nothing, and it is vain to go on. " He offered to give Haweis private lessons in the vacation, but after inviting him for a day's fishing at Islip he made no further move to fulfil his promise. Haweis' academic standard must have been above the average, for Holwell suggested that he should act as private tutor in mathematics to two brothers named Fulford (51). He declined this opportunity, preferring to concentrate on his preparation for orders. He was, however, in the habit of assisting in their College exercises a number of those who came to him for spiritual guidance - a revelation which might tempt the cynic to cast doubt upon the genuineness of the religious perplexities professed by some. Haweis had already gained an Exhibition and there was a reasonable expectation that he would be awarded a Studentship, so Jane assured him (52). So far his Evangelical propensities had evoked no official displeasure, though it was whispered that he was Methodistically disposed. His character was irreproachable. He never frequented the taverns or even the coffee houses. He proved himself exceptional by paying ready money to all and never incurring a single debt. Amidst " a generation of triflers " (53) he was diligent in study and regular in his attendance at both public and private lectures. He only once missed prayers during his entire residence at Christ Church, " and that on a just occasion, " he hastened to add (54). This strict devotion is all the more remarkable when it is remembered that students were in the habit of evading their academic and relig-

ious duties by the payment of paltry fines (55). His spiritual earnestness and sincere humility were reflected in the two letters he wrote to William Rawlings at this time. He was well aware of the temptations which beset him on all sides. He was surrounded by " snares..... suited to the vanity " of his " pleasure loving heart. " But:

hitherto hath God helped me, blessed be His name, yet not without much cause for humiliation on my part, who have not improved in any wise as I ought the grace bestowed upon me, for the edifying of others or the carrying on the work of sanctification in my own soul (56).

In 1757 Jane advised Haweis to seek deacon's orders earlier than was usual, because he was above the normal age, and offered to give him a title for his own Church of St. Mary Magdalene, together with the whole emolument (57). This renewed generosity was a measure of Jane's regard for Haweis. Haweis therefore set about obtaining the necessary testimonials to present to the Bishop of Oxford, Thomas Secker (58), from whom he would require to crave ordination. These testimonials had to be procured both from the College and from Cornwall, since part of the three preceding years had been spent in Truro. Haweis now began to experience his first real difficulties in the College. The Dean, David Gregory (59), was absent, and the Subdean, Edward Bentham (60), refused to sign. A Cornish friend of his had told him of Haweis' connection with Samuel Walker, and, being already averse to Evangelicalism, he determined to place every possible obstacle in the candidate's way. Jane eventually succeeded in securing signatures from

two of the Canons, Fanshawe (61) and Hunt (62), and from the two Censors, which he deemed sufficient. The testimonial from Cornwall was signed by Samuel Walker, John Penrose (63) and Thomas Michell (64). Concerning this trio Haweis justly inquired, " Could there be three more godly men ? " (65). But events were to prove that godliness was no recommendation in eighteenth century ecclesiastical circles if it was accompanied by the stigma of Evangelicalism. When these testimonial signatures were submitted to Bishop Lavington of Exeter, he countersigned them and sent them on to Haweis. But the unscrupulous prelate, in his bitterness against what he regarded as enthusiasm, purposely omitted to add, as was customary, " I believe them worthy of credit in this matter, " thus rendering his signature valueless (66). Haweis, being unversed in such legal procedure, was unaware of the trick that had been played upon him, and duly presented his testimonials. He was examined by the Bishop's Chaplain, Thomas Burton (67), and was highly commended. To his great surprise, on the morning when he was to go to the Cathedral to be ordained, he received a note from Bishop Secker to inform him that, since his county testimonial was not properly authenticated respecting the credibility of the signatories, he could not be ordained.

Considerably perturbed, and only too painfully aware of the suspicion that such a delay would arouse, Haweis " looked to God for submission and to any friend for advice " (68). The most helpful of the latter category proved to be George Berkeley

(69), son of the famous Bishop of Cloyne, who was on terms of intimacy with Secker and was at that very time to be ordained deacon. From Berkeley Haweis learned that Lavington had written personally to Secker expressing his utter dislike of Walker, Penrose and Michell, and explaining that for this reason he had refused to testify to their credibility. Whether the letter contained any accusations against Haweis himself Berkeley did not know, but he was able to speak so well of him to Secker from personal acquaintance, that the Bishop promised to ordain Haweis if he could find three county signatories to whom Lavington could raise no objection. There was shortly to be a private ordination at Cuddesdon for Berkeley and his two friends, Samuel Glasse (70) and Charles Poyntz (71), and Secker offered to ordain Haweis then.

Haweis thereupon obtained six suitable signatures from clerical neighbours of his uncle, John Willyams, and presented them to Lavington in person at the episcopal palace at Wells, where he was staying with his brother Bishop, Edward Willes (72). Haweis carried with him a letter of approbation from his tutor, William Holwell, who was known to Lavington. " Nothing could have been more providential for me, " Haweis declared, " and I have always regarded this as the turning of the scale, and without the concurrence of such unexpected circumstances, I must have been rejected " (73). When Lavington had read Holwell's letter, his brow unbent and he looked with more favour upon the apprehensive visitor. He nevertheless observed that

he understood Haweis was a ringleader of the new sect at Truro, and supposed that, like his teacher, Walker, he would preach faith without works. Haweis assured him that nothing could be further from his intention, nor had he learned such antinomian doctrine from his master. After expressing the strongest disapproval of Walker and his work, with misrepresentations that Haweis could not interrupt to correct, his brother Bishop joining in the chorus of defamation, Lavington told Haweis that if Secker was prepared to ordain him, he himself would not refuse to authenticate reputable signatures.

The fresh testimonial was duly attested and Haweis returned to Oxford. He was courteously received by Secker, who talked with him for over two hours and then invited him to dine. They found a point in common in that Secker had studied medicine as a young man (74). After a new testimonial had been obtained within the College to cover the extra period, Haweis was accepted for ordination without further examination (75). He was admitted to deacon's orders, at Cuddesdon, on October 9, 1757 (76). The Bishop appointed him to read the Gospel, which he took as a mark of favour. Thus, after much discouragement and opposition, Thomas Haweis entered the sacred ministry of the Church. Such episcopal prejudice as he encountered in Lavington was by no means unusual. Haweis was not the only Evangelical to find difficulty in securing approval. John Newton received from the Archbishop of York a flat refusal "with no further reason assigned" (77). Moses Browne, Newton's Vicar at Olney,

was rejected by Bishop Hoadly despite Lady Huntingdon's letter on his behalf (78). Cradock Glascott was only instituted after swearing that he would never preach out of his own parish (79). Rowland Hill was turned down by no less than six Bishops (80). Haweis was indeed the forerunner of a goodly company.

Shortly after his ordination he paid a visit to Adam of Winteringham, along with Walker, Jane and Burnett (81). There must have been general thankfulness that he had finally achieved his object. The case of Burnett gave less cause for rejoicing: he still awaited episcopal blessing and was soon to be refused in quick succession by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Worcester (82).

The Church of St. Mary Magdalene, of which Haweis now became Curate, was situated beyond the North Gate of the city, near Balliol College. It was of considerable antiquity. Said to have been "built in old time by the permission and leave of the Canons of St. Frideswyde's" (83), it was owned at the Conquest by Robert Doilly the elder (84), who repaired it and handed it over to the secular Canons of the Collegiate Church of St. George in the year 1074. After fifty-five years, College and Church were transferred to Osney Abbey, and a dispute arose with the Priory of St. Frideswyde, who claimed both, since the Church had been built by their leave (85). A lengthy controversy terminated in favour of Osney, but when Anthony Wood wrote in 1661-1666 the Church was owned by the successors of St. Frideswyde's, the Prebendaries and Canons of Christ Church. The



Church remained in the gift of the College, and it was thus that Joseph Jane, a tutor of Christ Church (86), was presented to the living. The present building, which is indebted to the extensive restorations of 1840-1842, recalls nothing beyond the fourteenth century, but nevertheless displays a number of interesting features - two fine west windows, in the early flamboyant style; a beautiful south aisle; and a statuette of the Magdalene on the west face of the tower (87).

Here Thomas Haweis first preached in the autumn of 1757. He began as he meant to continue. He boldly declared his Evangelical allegiance. His initial discourse contained an "open, clear and decided avowal of his determination to know nothing among them save Jesus Christ and Him crucified" (88). He was faced with opposition from the start. "The very first moment I began to open my lips in public the cry went forth against me" (89). The circumstances attending his postponed ordination, his known association with Walker, the Methodist complexion of the religious club - all these combined to focus unwelcome attention upon him. And when he sounded the Evangelical trumpet so certainly in his opening sermon, he inevitably became a marked man. But, as Whitefield later told Rowland Hill: "We never prospered so much at Oxford, as when we were hissed at and reproached as we walked along the street, as being counted the dung and offscouring of all things" (90). That was true of the first Oxford Methodists. It was equally true in the time of Haweis. As he and his companions went through the city they

were called after by the name of ' Methodist ' and ' Whitefield-ite ' (91). Haweis was frequently insulted on his way to Church. " There goes the savor of souls, " the irresponsible gownsmen would cry. Even whilst he preached, stones would be hurled through the windows. When he returned home he would be surrounded by unruly undergraduates, who molested and abused him. Often his hat was plucked from his head and taken away. The doors of the Church were chalked over with such inscriptions as, " This is the back way to Hell, " and similar enormities. When Haweis complained to the Proctors, they either took no action at all, or imposed such trifling penalties as to encourage this outrageous behaviour.

But the effect of this persecution, inflicted by the student mob and countenanced, if not directly incited, by the University authorities, was to draw more attention than ever to Haweis and his Church. The undergraduates began to flock thither out of curiosity, and many who came to scoff remained to pray. The Proctors who had refused to defend Haweis now placed the Church out of bounds, and visited it to eject the disobedient. Nor was this duty performed in any seemly manner. Richard Hill protested to Dr. Nowell, " the reverend Proctors have frequently come during the time of Divine service and irreverently drawn out from before them all the young gownsmen " (92). All this, however, fell out rather unto the furtherance of the Gospel, and the spice of illegality proved an added attraction to attendance at St. Mary Magdalene.

Haweis insisted that the scandalum magnatum in the eyes of his detractors was his preaching. What, then, was so objectionable about it? That it did appear reprehensible there can be little doubt. Here is the diarist, James Woodforde, recording his verdict: "Went this evening to Haw's (a famous Methodist) Lecture in St. Giles' Church..... very stupid, low and bad stuff " (93). Here is the opinion of a contributor to the Gentleman's Magazine:

When I was an undergraduate at Oxford, Dr. Haweis was a member of Magdalen Hall. He was at that time an Evangelical preacher in one of the parish Churches where, though I am not one of the elect, curiosity led me. And I am sorry to recollect that his Evening Lectures too often gave occasion - not to Christian love (94).

Over against these unfavourable estimates must be set the report of Charles Wesley, in a letter to his wife: " One Mr. Haweis, an Hutchinsonian, preaches in a Church in Oxford, Christ crucified with amazing success; both townsmen and gownsmen flocking in crowds to hear him " (95). Amidst these conflicting accounts, what conclusion are we to reach as to Haweis' preaching?

Fortunately, first hand evidence is available. Fifteen of the sermons Haweis preached in St. Mary Magdalene have been preserved. Fourteen of them were published in 1762 under the title of Evangelical Principles and Practice, and an extra one was added in a later edition (96). That Haweis intended these sermons to be regarded as representative is apparent from the Preface.

The following discourses are sent into the world to

obviate the manifold misconceptions which the author of them has lain under. As they contain all the grand points of Christianity, and are a faithful epitome of all the author's preaching, they will best serve to declare what those doctrines are which, as a minister of the Gospel, he has thought it his duty to inculcate (97).

He affirmed his loyalty to " the only authentic standard of doctrine " in the Church of England, namely, the Articles and Homilies, which he subscribed in their literal and grammatical sense (which for him meant in their Calvinistic interpretation). In the Preface he presented a convenient précis of his message, which enables us to assess the worth of its content.

The Divinity of the Son and Spirit, co-eternal and co-equal with the Father, not the idol monster of inferior divinity, is here maintained, in full opposition to Arian and Semi-Arian; whose blasphemy, though more specious, is not less real than the more avowed and open blasphemy of the Socinian (98).

The maintainers of the doctrine of the rectitude of human nature, and the freedom of man's choice to good as to evil, will find these proud imaginations attacked, he hopes laid low to the ground, even in the dust, by the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God. The strong evidences of a fallen and corrupted nature, with its dire effects, are procured and confirmed; and the inability of man in his fallen state to anything but evil clearly, he trusts, made manifest.

The extent, purity and spirituality of God's Law are laid open, that the conscience may discover and feel its transgressions against it. The eternal obligation of this Law is shown; its awful sanctions declared; the impossibility of obeying it as a covenant of life evinced; and consequently the conviction of our state, as a state of helpless guilt, evidenced.

The one, great, glorious and all-sufficient oblation of the Son of God for the sins of the world, as a real and true sacrifice, atonement and propitiation, is pleaded for; its necessity and influence proved; and the various blessings for sinners thereby set forth.

Faith, as the only means of justification and acceptance with God, is urged, from considerations demonstrating the impossibility of righteousness before God any other way. And as works of any sort are not admitted as the condition of our pardon and acceptance with God, the position that we are justified by faith only is maintained and vindicated.

The works of piety and virtue which become men professing

godliness are at large opened, and the necessity of them enforced, from the only true principle of faith which worketh by love. The Antinomian blasphemy is rebuked and censured.

Finally, the means of grace are strongly urged, and the diligent use of them shown to be the only method of obtaining advancement in the divine life.

The blessedness of the religion of Jesus concludes the whole, as the natural result of the principles and practice above recommended.

These are the grand outlines of the following sermons; and as they are the most essential matters which relate to salvation, they deserve a serious and attentive perusal (99).

The sermons themselves substantiated the claims of this Preface. They were admirable examples of genuine evangelical preaching. Their literary style betrayed the accent of the age, but their substance was the eternal Gospel. Like all true preaching, Haweis' message moved within the twin orbits of sin and grace. That man has sinned, but Christ has died - that was the sum of his evangel. As he re-read these early sermons in later years, Haweis recognized that their whole tendency was " that the Lord Jesus alone should be exalted in the work of His coming redemption; that the sinner should be humbled to the dust "(100). This double note of Christ's gracious exaltation and man's sinful humiliation recurred throughout his preaching. In the second of his published sermons he affirmed the corruption of human nature on the testimony of Scripture and universal experience (101). He believed that from the former evidence " it will incontestably appear that man is at present a fallen, corrupted creature, wholly defiled in his nature, and in consequence loathsome and hateful in the eyes of Divine purity " (102). He laid stress on the quam longissime in the original Latin of the Ninth Article - "quia fit ut ab originali iustitia quam longissime distet " -

and asserted that what Scripture declared, experience abundantly confirmed (I03). The same theme was pursued in the three following sermons on "The Deceitfulness and Corruption of the Heart," where Haweis' indebtedness to Walker's A Familiar Introduction to the Knowledge of Ourselves was evident and admitted (I04). He specified "the grand characteristics of a fallen spirit" (I05). They spring from unbelief and were catalogued thus: self-will, disobedience, impatience, wrath, envy, hatred, malice and revenge. Haweis then proceeded to expose man's earthly mindedness - his covetousness, his self-indulgence, his impurity. He held the mirror of the Word up to man's corrupt nature and appealed to him as

a poor lunatic that struts a king in his iron-fenced cell, with his crown of straw and tattered robes of fancied majesty. Know thyself, vain man ! thou mass of corruption; thou polluted in both flesh and spirit; thou abomination of the most Holy; know thyself and be confounded (I06).

Yet this insistence on total depravity was never isolated from the good news of salvation in Christ Jesus. Haweis never tired of extolling the all-sufficiency of the Redeemer. This was his most delightful theme (I07). He rehearsed "the innumerable benefits which by His precious blood-shedding He hath obtained to us" (I08) - the pardon of sins, peace with God, the promises of the Spirit, eternal life (I09). Christ has become the sinner's surety. He has stood trial in our name and nature. What we could never do He has done for us (I10). Haweis' preaching was always Christocentric, and thus the doctrines of human guilt and corruption never point in the direction of despair.

Sin and grace, fallen man and the Saviour Christ were brought into characteristically evangelical apposition: " We all corruption, Christ all perfection; we all guilt, He all pardon; we all weakness, He all power; we wholly lost in sin, He ' able to save to the uttermost ' " (III).

One of the notable features of Haweis' preaching was his recognition, with the Reformers, of the differentiation between Law and Gospel (II2). One of his most discerning sermons dealt with " The Spirituality of God's Law. " He established at once the absolute and inescapable nature of the Law's demand and the impossibility of man's compliance with it. " Imperfection is transgression. If the least measure of love be wanting, obedience under the Law is not absolutely perfect. God will have an entire service or none " (II3). The function of the Law is to convince of sin, and this is a necessary preparation for the Gospel, for " the cure is partly wrought when the disease is thoroughly known " (II4). The Law diagnoses the malady, the Gospel provides the remedy. Both have their part to play in the drama of redemption.

Equally pronounced is the emphasis laid in this volume on holiness of heart and life. The title is itself instructive: Evangelical Principles and Practice. No less than four sermons were solely devoted to this theme, and a strong ethical strain is apparent throughout. " On the Nature of True Holiness," " The Fruits of the Spirit, " " The Necessity of Personal Holiness," " The Means of Holiness, " - these are titles which

witness to the stress which Haweis placed upon the doctrine of sanctification. In line with Evangelical tradition he realized that justification and sanctification are not an aut - aut, nor even an et - et, but a cum - tum. No preacher could more forcibly demonstrate the necessity of sola fide and sola gratia, but for him faith always sweetly worked by love, and grace reigned through righteousness (II5). Haweis saw that sanctification is as much by faith and grace as justification. " In the second creation we are as much His workmanship as matter was in the first. He must give the life He commands " (II6). He closely linked sanctification with election.

It is one great design of God's eternal purpose and choice that we should be holy. There are innumerable disputes about the deep things of God's election and foreknowledge which, through the heat and bitterness wherewith they have been managed, seem to have afforded rather ' matter for questions, than to have ministered godly edifying. Secret things belong unto God. ' We had best leave these deep points in silence, and beginning with what is plainer, advance by degrees. When we come to heaven, the scheme of God's eternal counsels will be better known to us. But whatever predestination and election there be, or be not, this is certainly God's eternal decree, that the people of His grace should ' be holy as He is holy. ' ' For this He hath chosen us in Christ before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blame before Him in love. ' This at least is His predestination, that ' we should be conformed to the image of His Son. ' And ' whoever are elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, are so through sanctification of the Spirit unto obedience.' It is no essential requisite to salvation that a man believe any absolute irrespective decrees of God. It is no exclusion from it that he rejects, perhaps abhors the notion of them; but it is essentially necessary that he finds this decree of holiness fulfilled in him, and that whereunto he is appointed actually taking place. Without this, the decree of God is certainly against him, and he hath no part nor lot in the salvation that is in Jesus (II7).

The work of the Holy Spirit was not overlooked. It was given

due prominence. The Catechism taught the peculiar office of the Spirit to be " sanctifying the elect people of God. " This He does by representing, in the Word, the obligations we lie under to obey, and by communicating the power of obedience (II8). The Gospel becomes effectual, not by moral suasion, but by Divine operation. The Spirit alone can " direct our hearts into the love of God " (II9).

This, then, was the substance of Haweis' preaching. These are specimens of the " stupid, low and bad stuff " at which Parson Woodforde sneered. These were the doctrines which caused such a commotion in the city of Oxford. We are disposed to conclude that if Haweis suffered, he suffered for his fidelity to the Gospel, for his sermons are surely evangelically orthodox to the core. In their grasp of the full range of Protestant theology they are remarkable productions for a young man in his middle twenties. They may be regarded as typical of the best elements in Evangelicalism. This was the very preaching which had made the Evangelical Revival possible. According to Dr. Stoughton,

the style of preaching which worked the spiritual revival both within the Establishment and outside of it has been often misapprehended. Earnest appeals no doubt were made to the sinner's conscience, the holiness and justice of God were placed before the minds of the people, the obligations of the moral law were enforced, and the consequences of disobedience and unbelief depicted in terrible forms; but the mighty charm which gathered crowds and moved their hearts was found in what St. Paul calls the preaching of ' Christ crucified.' The love of God in sending His Son into the world, the self-sacrifice of that Son in life and death, the offering He made for human guilt upon the Cross of Calvary, His patience and tenderness, His mediation and intercession, - these were the themes which laid hold on the moral nature of Englishmen

by thousands and thousands and made them what the New Testament calls ' new creatures in Christ Jesus. ' It was the substance of the sermons more than the form and delivery which produced the effect (I20).

The supreme object of all truly evangelical preaching is to offer Christ. This is of the very esse of each recorded sermon of Haweis.

Exception would no doubt be taken to the manner of Haweis' preaching as well as to the matter. As has been seen, he was trained under Walker to dispense with the paper, and extemporaneity was suspect in the eighteenth century. Horace Walpole's criticism of a sermon by John Wesley was typical. " There were parts and eloquence in it, " he admitted, " but, towards the end he exalted his voice and acted very ugly enthusiasm " (I21). Enthusiasm was anathema to the refined taste of an unrefined age. The kind of preaching then in vogue was the calm and dispassionate discussion of some nice metaphysical point, or the inculcation of conveniently abstract moral principles. The model commended to young divines was Tillotson, who had purveyed Latitudinarian doctrine in what William Jay would have classified as " a blank verse style of preaching " (I22). To hearers accustomed to soothing disquisitions of this sort, the urgency of the Evangelical message, expressed as it was with marked freedom and vigour, would inevitably appear unusual. But in his Oxford days Haweis was particularly careful to avoid the peculiar perils of extemporaneous preaching. He was anxious to utter nothing in the heat of discourse which in a more reflective mood he might regret. For a time he schooled himself



by writing out his sermons in extenso. Always he prepared a very full and lucid outline. He never preached at random, "wandering from Dan to Beersheba" (I23). He treated his text methodically in a few principal divisions. He scrupulously shunned any fanciful interpretations. He had no use for mystical extravagance in the pulpit (I24). He was capable of rising to heights of genuine eloquence, and his poetic talent imparted a lyrical quality to his prose. Tribute to his exceptional powers of extempore speech was paid by two Fellows of Exeter College, James Fortescue and William Tonkin (I25), who were not otherwise sympathetic towards him. Haweis, then, was no mere ranter. Though his style was forceful and spontaneous, it was allied not only to soundly evangelical matter, but also to clear and expressive language.

He was anxious that his words should not fall on uncomprehending ears. It was for this reason that he regularly catechized the younger members of his congregation. Before the afternoon service he would examine them carefully on their grasp of the Lecture he had delivered on the previous Sunday evening. He later made public the fruits of his experience in this kind of training when he published A Familiar and Practical Improvement of the Church Catechism for the use of ministers, schoolmasters and parents (I26). He was also in the habit of delivering a short address to his catechumens on some aspect of Christian faith and practice. We can form some idea of these catechetical lectures, as he called them, from a sample of them

contained in The Communicant's Spiritual Companion, published in 1763 (I27). This is one of his best known works and ran to no less than thirty-two editions, the last being in 1854. It will be worth while to review its contents in order to gain further insight into the nature and scope of Haweis' ministry at St. Mary Magdalene.

This treatise on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, he explained in the Preface (I28), was drawn up at Oxford and formed part of his Sunday afternoon catechetical instruction. He had three aims in view:

First, To open the conscience to a discovery of its guilt and misery; its great need of Jesus; and the salvation that is in Him. This is the leading point in our most holy religion; a soul unawakened to a sense of sin, and unaffected with the views of his own inbred corruption, and departure from God, can have no more business at the Lord's Table than a man in health hath for a physician.

Secondly, To explain the true nature of the Lord's Supper, the intention of it, and the privileges therein conferred on the faithful. And here Jesus must needs be the Alpha and Omega. The institution is His, the things signified are His Body and Blood, the blessings conferred are all purchased by Him, and freely bestowed on His covenant people. In short, Christ is here peculiarly all in all.

Thirdly, To enforce that universal surrender of heart to the Redeemer which His love to us so justly demands; that as we declare solemnly this is our intention, to devote to Him our bodies, souls and spirits 'to be a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, which is our reasonable service,' so we may show the truth of our professions by such a conversation as becometh godliness; not content with the lukewarm negligence of careless professors, but showing the zealous diligence of active disciples; not resting on the ceremonious performance of an ordinance, but living every day in a course of communion with God (I29).

Haweis deplored the desuetude into which the Sacrament had fallen.

The decay of vital and spiritual religion is evident in nothing more than the general neglect of these holy myster-

ies; and a revival of it can never be hoped for till a serious concern about eternity awakens the soul to inquire about the nature of the Gospel salvation, and the means of grace which lead to it (I30).

One of the worst features of eighteenth century Church life was the laxity with which the Holy Communion was treated. It was celebrated with little frequency and often with as little solemnity. Not long before Haweis began his ministry, Bishop Secker had admonished the clergy in the diocese of Oxford on this very matter. He pointed out that they were legally bound to administer thrice in a year, and that there ought to be a celebration during the long interval between Whitsuntide and Christmas.

" And if, " he adds rather wistfully, " you can afterwards advance from a quarterly Communion to a monthly one, I make no doubt you will " (I31). It is recognized that one or two of the more conscientious Bishops, like Secker, were beginning to recall clergy and people to a truer evaluation of the Eucharist. It is not so generally realized that the Evangelicals were equally concerned to restore this Sacrament to its rightful place in the life of the Church (I32). John Wesley preached on " The Duty of Constant Communion " (I33). Romaine wrote The Scriptural Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper briefly stated (I34). Walker carefully explained the nature and purpose of the ordinance to his communicants at Truro (I35). Haweis therefore did not stand alone in his attempt to reinstate this central Christian rite. He was a representative Evangelical.

In The Communicant's Spiritual Companion Haweis began by explaining the significance of the word sacrament in terms of

the definition in the Catechism. He analysed the New Testament names for the Communion and commented on its design: " for the continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, and of the benefits which we receive thereby " (I36). He saw in that sacrifice an exposure of sin, a revelation of God's inexorable justice, a dramatic conquest, a pledge of the Parousia, but supremely a manifestation of love.

Love brought Him down from the throne of glory: love clothed Him with a body like our own: love urged Him on through all the painful steps of His afflicted life: the waters of trouble were never able to quench it, nor the floods of persecution to drown it. Love put the cup of trembling in His hand: love bade Him drink the last drop of all its dregs, ' for having loved His own, He loved them to the end. ' His love cried, ' It is finished ! ' when, having sealed with blood the sure and well ordered covenant, His soul was dismissed, and He went to begin His triumph over death, hell and the grave. And when He rose again, love was His first expression: ' Go to my brethren, and say, I ascend to My Father and to your Father. ' Love carried Him to the right hand of God, and there He is this moment, showing forth the unchangeableness of His affection by ' ever living to make intercession for us,' and pleading before the throne the marks of love so deeply engraven in His hands and in His side (I37).

A further chapter contained a solemn invitation to the Communion, stressing " the great danger of neglecting this ordinance " and " the great guilt of coming to it unworthily " (I38). With real penetration he linked the two dominical Sacraments of the Lord's Supper and Baptism.

When we were infants, the charitable act done for us in Baptism, and the conditional engagement then entered into, can profit us nothing unless we are putting in our own claim to the blessings then promised; and, by partaking in the other Sacrament, when we are come to years of discretion, declare we thankfully embrace the covenant of grace, and receive the signs and seals thereof, in token both of our dependence upon Christ, and our renewed dedication to Him. Where this is not done, we deny in fact our baptismal engagements, break the covenant we have entered into, and declare our dis-

avowal of all the promises then made for us (I39).

Haweis expressed strong views on the subject of communication as a formal guarantee of orthodoxy. " To prostitute this ordinance as a test has long appeared to me among the deepest of our national crimes " (I40). He was equally trenchant in his exposure of those who made occasional Communion a substitute for regular devotion. A week's perfunctory preparation would avail nothing if the whole disposition of the soul was not habitually inclined Godwards. Such externalism was

the strangest farce of devotion that can be conceived, and can neither be pleasing in the eyes of an heart-searching God, nor at all an answer to the end designed of preparing us for a suitable approach to the Lord's Table. The work to be done is heart work, not of the lip and knee; and the preparation is the inward trimming of our graces, not the outward form of a round of extraordinary duties or devotions. None are meet to approach the Lord's Table who are not every day maintaining spiritual communion with Christ, and always ready for His Table whenever a call invites them thither. There must be a daily sacramental vowing fidelity to Him, and an exercise of faith in His death, and the benefits of it, wherever Christ hath real communion with the soul (I41).

A whole section was devoted to the necessity of self-examination before approaching the holy Table. The four principal points of inquiry were supplied by the Catechism. We should prayerfully consider whether we " repent truly of our former sins, stedfastly purposing to lead a new life: " whether we " have a lively faith in God's mercy through Christ: " whether we " have a thankful remembrance of His death: " whether we " are in charity with all men " (I42). Hints were then given as to the proper devotional attitude during the celebration of the Sacrament. Whilst we should be imbued with a deep sense of per-

sonal unworthiness,

to come with slavish trembling and confusion to a feast of love is utterly unseemly, and shows either that we are unacquainted with the nature of the ordinance, or have not that faith which embraces the promises, and realizes the sign. We must remember we are approaching a Table which love, eternal love, hath spread for sinners: that we have such a powerful Advocate for us entered into the heavens that we may come boldly to the throne of grace, and not fear a disappointment; and that therefore in the strength of all this, we may without presumption, if we really are children of God, ' draw near with a true heart in full assurance of faith ' (I43).

At the moment of communication a solemn surrender of the whole self to God should be made deliberately, humbly, cheerfully and sincerely (I44). On returning from the Table, gratitude, adoration and resolve should be the prevailing moods of the soul.

We should depart with fresh courage to fight the Lord's battles against the world, the flesh and the devil. It was said of the primitive Christians, when they met for these holy purposes, that they went in as lambs, but came out as lions. So should it be said of us (I45).

The treatise concluded with directions for conduct and prayer. The importance of practice as well as of profession was heavily underlined.

Our conversation after this ordinance should be more heavenly. What hath a Christian any longer to do among the tombs of this world, who is come from remembering a living, dying, risen and ascended Saviour ?..... Such should be our conversation after every sacramental occasion, that all who see us may take knowledge of us that we have been with Jesus; and behold from our walk, the brightness of the grace communicated to us, making us shine as lights in the world, like Moses' face when he came down from the mount of vision (I46).

No Catholic mystic could have insisted more emphatically on the primacy of prayer than this Evangelical. Prayer he defined as " the desire of the soul after God, arising from a sense of want, and expressing a dependence on His promises for a supply, accor-

ding to our necessities " (I47); and again as " the breath of the Divine nature, of the new creation begun in us " (I48). Neglect of prayer is the surest sign of spiritual decay. The Christian knows that " all his soul depends upon it..... he shall quickly grow careless the moment he becomes prayerless " (I49). Prayer is supremely an affair of the heart. " It is evident that the heart must be engaged, or there can be no prayer. " " The most natural method of prayer is the artless language of the soul, dictated by want, and warmed with desire " (I50). Haweis commended extempore prayer from his own experience and that of others, but he was fully aware of its dangers and limitations, especially in public. He might not have subscribed to all the minutiae of Robert South's notorious tirade " Against Long Extempore Prayers " (I51), but he recognized that the gift of utterance is not granted to all, and that to hear a man before others praying absurdly, improperly and incoherently, is as offensive to man as it must be displeasing to God (I52). Prayer is improved only by exercise. The practice of prayer alone leads to perfection. That is why men ought always to pray, and not to faint. The Christian should pray without ceasing. Haweis did not neglect the art of meditation.

Nothing serves more to spiritualize and enliven the soul than the consideration of some of the great and precious promises that in Jesus Christ are made to us; or of those blessed portions of Scripture that more immediately speak of Him Whom our soul loveth (I53).

He appended some useful examples.

It may be appropriate to close this brief review of

The Communicant's Spiritual Companion with one of the prayers composed by Haweis for personal use before communication:

Anointed Jesus, save me from every sin; set up within my soul Thy kingdom of righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost; reign over a willing subject, and let Thy service be ever the happy freedom of my soul. O what bondage, Lord, like the bondage of corruption? what liberty so sweet as that which they enjoy who take up Thy light burden, Thy easy yoke? Thou askest nothing from me which is not my happiness to renounce; Thou commandest nothing wherein it is not my happiness to obey Thee. O then let me count nothing grievous which Thou dost enjoin; anew would I make my surrender unto Thee; again would I solemnly seal my soul for Thine own; enable me to approve myself more faithful to the vows which are upon me, and live more devoted to Thee Who hast died for me (I54).

This, then, was the kind of Christian instruction that Thomas Haweis was imparting in his afternoon catechetical lectures at St. Mary Magdalene. These were the "pernicious doctrines" (I55) he inculcated. This was the dangerous enthusiasm, calculated to divert young men from their academic pursuits, to which the University authorities took exception.

That Haweis keenly felt the isolation of his position in Oxford was indicated by a letter he wrote to the Tregenna sisters (I56) not long after he had begun his work as Curate of Jane's parish. He viewed the gathering storm clouds with no little apprehension, yet courageously determined to stick to his post.

By the reception the Gospel meets with elsewhere you may judge what it is likely to meet with here, when the professed design of many is to go and hear this strange, stupid fellow, (to hear) and make remarks on him. Such abominable lies and strange misrepresentations as must proceed, and do, from such hearing, will be, and are, what I expect and find. My own deceitful heart too trembles; indeed, I should faint, but that I think on the Lord, and what time I am afraid, desire to trust on Him. I have no soul with me to help or

advise me at present, Mr. Jane being gone with Mr. Wills; they are both in London, from whence, after a visit to Lord D. (I57), they will probably again return here. Necessity, or something equivalent to it, hath induced me to change my abode, as Polly (I58) may have told you. Here I am; whilst I can, here I shall stay, and if they persecute us in one city, we must flee unto another. Take no notice of this letter, for though I tell you what opposition I meet with, it would not be proper for anyone else to know of it, for which reason I desire not a syllable of it may be mentioned or transcribed. Pray for me that I may never be ashamed (I59).

The change of residence mentioned in this letter was a step advised by Haweis' firm friend, George Berkeley. Dean Gregory had expressed his dissatisfaction with Haweis' Evangelical witness and was contemplating action. Berkeley (through whom this information had been conveyed) recommended Haweis' removal to Magdalen Hall as a gentleman commoner, which would entitle him to wear a Law gown and thus appear more respectable in the eyes of the authorities (I60). Jane agreed that this was sound counsel, and, having obtained the necessary certificate for passing from one College to another, Haweis transferred to Magdalen Hall. The Principal was William Dennison (I61), who had recently followed his father in this position. Haweis alluded to him as " a man of very inferior parts " (I62). The care of the society was committed to the Vice-Principal, John Allen (I63), commonly nicknamed ' Bull.' He was a man of portly figure and violent temper, a High Churchman, an intimate of the Hutchinsonians, an avowed enemy of Methodism (I64) and, in his own esteem, a staunch champion of orthodoxy. Allen received Haweis amicably enough at first, and indicated that he expected no attendance at classes as long as the requisite fees were

paid. It was not long, however, before Allen began to vent his anti-Evangelical spleen upon Haweis and make Magdalen Hall as uncomfortable for him as ever Christ Church had been (I65).

Meanwhile Haweis lived in considerable uncertainty as to whether he would succeed in obtaining priest's orders. He was faced with the prospect of passing through life, like Rowland Hill, "wearing only one ecclesiastical boot" (I66). When the Lent ordination of 1758 approached, Haweis resolved to ask Jane's consent to make application, although he had only been a deacon for six months. He secured his Vicar's approval and the Bishop's permission. The Examining Chaplain, Dr. Burton, told him that a further test was unnecessary in view of the success of the previous one. He was thus dismissed without a single question, and on the next day, February 19, 1758 (I67), he was ordained priest in the Cathedral. He asked for a licence from Bishop Secker, but was told that it was a formality that could be dispensed with. Haweis thanked the Bishop for what he regarded as a favour, saving him the expense of a fee to the secretary (I68).

He was much encouraged, amidst all the opposition which he encountered, by the kindness and loyalty of his flock. They seem to have stood by him through every evil report. They gave practical expression to their affection by trebling the collections, thus considerably augmenting his stipend, which depended upon voluntary contributions, surplice fees and Easter oblations (I69). In all his vicissitudes Jane approved and vindicated his

conduct. Jane admitted that he himself had served the parish for many years without seeing a proportionate harvest of souls. He genuinely rejoiced in the success of his young colleague. Not that Jane agreed with Haweis on all points. Doctrinally the pair differed widely, and seldom discussed theology without a dispute

- though never an angry one, Haweis was careful to add (I70). Jane was an Arminian and Haweis, of course, an unrepentant and uncompromising Calvinist. Haweis attributed the fruitfulness of his ministry to the preaching of Calvinism. Jane preferred to say that the people liked young Haweis better than old Jane (I71).

The religious club had now moved its headquarters to Magdalen Hall. Its strength and influence was growing. The number of inquirers was increasing. Walker was able to inform Adam: " Tom Haweis has good speed at Oxford. There are pretty many already coming to him in private, and he hopes very well of some of them " (I72). This society was a real source of comfort to Haweis in his trials.

My chief encouragement came from the number of young students to whom my conversation had been made useful and who attached themselves to me with the most affectionate regard. They frequented my rooms, and, deeply impressed with the necessity of seeking redemption in the Son of God, they began to pray and search the Scriptures, and whenever we met at my rooms, reading the Greek Testament and profitable converse was always concluded with prayer: sing we dared not (I73).

They also endeavoured to improve themselves in general literature and religious knowledge. One of the charges against Haweis was that he depreciated human learning. He vigorously rebutted that false accusation. Although he was homo unius libri in the sense that he preferred the Bible to all other books, he read science

and literature with as much avidity as most students. So far from discouraging academic studies, he claimed that there was not a man who came to him who did not attain a greater proficiency than before (I74).

Amongst those who were thus attracted to the fellowship was Thomas Biddulph (I75). He was the son of Francis Biddulph, a gentleman of some fortune, who resided at Madresfield, Worcestershire. Thomas Biddulph was spiritually awakened by the preaching of Whitefield, and was encouraged towards the ministry by the great Evangelical leader and Thomas Jones, of St. Saviour's, Southwark (I76). Biddulph matriculated from Magdalen Hall on March 24, 1759 (I77). He became Curate of Colwall, in Herefordshire, in 1760, and married Martha Tregenna in the following year. From 1770 to 1790 he was Vicar of Padstow, although he was unable to fulfil all his duties with regularity because of indifferent health. He died on August 30, 1790, at Bath (I78). Haweis kept up the friendship begun at Oxford, and in 1780 supplied for Biddulph at Padstow whilst the invalid was taken to consult a specialist (I79). Thomas Biddulph's son by his first marriage was Thomas Tregenna Biddulph (I80), later a prominent Evangelical. His second wife was a daughter of Chauncy Townsend, and by this union he became a brother-in-law of Haweis (I81).

Another member of the club was Matthew Powley (I82). He hailed from Westmoreland, and was educated at Appleby Grammar School. He came to Queen's College, Oxford, in September, 1760 (I83). Shortly afterwards he was converted under Haweis and

joined the religious society. Powley was no mean scholar and had every expectation of gaining a Fellowship. His association with Haweis, however, laid him open to the charge of Methodism and enthusiasm (I84). His tutor, Thomas Fothergill (I85), was highly incensed, and at the time of the Fellowship election solemnly warned Powley that unless he disconnected himself from Haweis his chances of academic preferment would be seriously jeopardized. Powley refused to comply with this condition, and as a consequence forfeited his Fellowship (I86). He was ordained in I764 and settled close to Haweis (who was by then at Aldwinckle) as Curate to Brooke Bridges of Wadenhoe (I87). He married Susanna Unwin, and became an intimate friend of John Newton (I88). In I767 he was nominated by Henry Venn to the perpetual curacy of Slaithwaite, in Yorkshire, and was from I777 to I806 the Vicar of Dewsbury (I89). He remained loyal to his Evangelical convictions to the last.

Powley was not the only member of the club to suffer for his faith. John Pugh (I90), a Welshman from Dolgelly, was a student of Hertford College. The Vice-Principal, William Newcome (I9I), later Primate of All Ireland, entertained a strong prejudice against Haweis, although he had never met or heard him. When Newcome learned that Pugh was visiting Haweis' rooms, he threatened to expel him from the College unless he broke off the association. Pugh was given a day in which to decide. He sought Haweis' advice and eventually promised not to go to his rooms, though he refused to disown him (I92). Pugh afterwards became

Rector of Newport, Pembrokeshire (I93).

All were not as steadfast under trial as Powley and Pugh. John Pickering (I94), of New College, was another member of the club. For a long time he bore all sorts of banter and abuse with patience. Eventually, however, the strain proved too great for him. He was apparently not unlike Thackeray's Pendennis who " of all things in the world feared ridicule most " (I95). He resolved and re-resolved, but at last he gave way. " My dear friend, " he wrote in the letter by which he took his leave of Haweis, " yet pray for me that I may not always resist the Holy Ghost, as I am now doing " (I96).

Another convert of Haweis in Oxford was Thomas Bliss, son of a future Astronomer Royal (I97). Here is his own account of his experience.

When I was about sixteen years of age I heard Mr. Romaine preach a sermon in the city of Oxford in which he advanced, with great earnestness, most of the principal Gospel doctrines. I was so extremely exasperated at this mode of preaching, that I could have found it in my heart to have torn him to pieces. About ten days after, under a sermon delivered by Dr. Haweis, my views of divine things, my sensations, the objects of my love and hatred, were all totally changed; and I cordially embraced and relished those very doctrines which I before detested and abhorred (I98).

Bliss joined the growing band of Evangelical clergymen and, after assisting William Grimshaw at Haworth, became perpetual Curate of Broadwoodwidgen and then, in 1770, Vicar of Ashford and Yarnscombe, all in Devonshire (I99). Toplady (200) had the highest opinion of Bliss, who helped him at Lady Huntingdon's Chapel at Brighton. Thanking the Countess for sending Bliss, he wrote:

Your Ladyship has done me an inestimable benefit by ass-

ociating me with the amiable, the excellent, the zealous, the heavenly minded Mr. Bliss, a pattern for believers, and particularly ministers of Jesus (201).

One other member of the club is mentioned in Haweis' Autobiography - a " Mr. Powell from Carnanton " (202). This was no doubt Edmund Powell, son of Thomas Powell of Kenwyn, Cornwall, who matriculated from Magdalen Hall on March 27, 1759, aged twenty, and took his Bachelor of Arts degree in 1764 (203). Although Haweis made no reference to the fact, it is likely that Cradock Glascott (204) also belonged to the society. He came up from Cardiff to Jesus College in March, 1760 (205). Later, after a period as Curate at Chevely, in Berkshire, he became one of Lady Huntingdon's Chaplains and itinerated regularly throughout her Connection. From 1781 until his death in 1831 (206) he was Vicar of Hatherleigh in Devon, to which living he was presented by James Ireland, of Brislington (207). Haweis always spoke of Glascott as a friend of long standing, and since he was known as an Evangelical even in his Oxford days, it appears probable that he belonged to Haweis' group. It is also possible that William Jesse (208) was of the company. He matriculated from Trinity College on March 26, 1757. He later became perpetual Curate and Lecturer of West Bromwich and one of Lady Huntingdon's preachers (209). As has already been noticed, the name of James Stillingfleet appears in connection with a gathering which was in all likelihood a continuation of Haweis' club (210). Whether he actually attended the society whilst Haweis was its leader is not apparent. He had been a Fellow of Merton since 1752, and it was

he who occupied Haweis' pulpit pro tempore when he left Oxford (211), which seems to indicate the intrinsic possibility of his membership of the club. But factual proof is lacking.

These were laborious days for Haweis. He and leisure had parted company. With modest understatement he told Martha Tregenna, " I think I can in some measure say in truth that as yet Oxford hath not taught me to be idle " (212). He did, nevertheless, take occasional holidays. He returned to Cornwall, where he was received with much affection, and preached in the vicinity of Truro (213). He also paid a visit to Henry Venn at Clapham and served for him in those London Churches where he held Lectureships (214). Venn had reached a critical stage in his religious development. The conversations of Thomas Broughton (215), Secretary of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and one of the original Oxford Methodists, together with the study of William Law's A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life and The Spirit of Prayer, had inclined his mind towards evangelical truth. Haweis was destined to exercise a considerable influence over him. Venn was disposed towards Arminianism, and at first could not swallow Haweis' thoroughgoing Calvinism. " Allow me, my dear Haweis, " he cried in the midst of one lengthy discussion, " to be something more than a stone. " But Haweis so ably substantiated his arguments from Scripture that Venn was eventually prepared to accept a moderate Calvinism. " He very shortly after, however, " commented Haweis, " learned that it was of stones God raised up children unto Abra-

ham, and that it is His grace alone which takes away the heart of stone and gives a heart of flesh " (216). Haweis and Venn corresponded until the latter's death in 1797 (217). Whilst in London Haweis also preached at the Lock Chapel, with which he was later to be associated, and first met Martin Madan, the Chaplain (218). He was privileged to meet the grand triumvirate of the Evangelical Revival - John and Charles Wesley and George Whitefield. They welcomed him " with particular affection " and rejoiced in his labours (219). John Wesley afterwards visited him at Oxford. William Romaine and Thomas Jones were also included within his circle of friendship, and preached for him at St. Mary Magdalene, as did Venn and Madan. Haweis was cordially entertained by prominent Dissenters, amongst whom were Dr. John Guyse and Dr. Andrew Gifford (220).

Haweis travelled to London again in June, 1761, to watch by the death-bed of his father in God, Samuel Walker. Late in 1760 Walker, being in poor health, had accepted the invitation of Lord Dartmouth to stay with him at Blackheath (221). In the spring of 1761 it became obvious that the likelihood of recovery was remote, and a number of Walker's friends were called to his side, including Jane and Burnett, as well as Haweis (222). On June 30 Haweis acted as Walker's secretary in the following letter to Thomas Adam.

Reverend Sir,

Mr. Walker, who seems drawing near the verge of eternity, desires me to present to you his best regards, with thanks for all the light he hath received from you, and the edification you have through grace been the means of communicating. He tells me his outward man perisheth, but that his inward

man is renewed day by day. Much lower he cannot be till he breathes no more. He professes entire satisfiedness in the Blood of the Covenant, and though without the least measure of sensible delight, enjoying a serenity and peace in believing, which everlasting promises received by faith into the heart minister. This probably will be, dear Sir, to you his last farewell. May you stand fast, and be partaker with those who through faith and patience inherit the promises. This is his ardent wish, nor less, believe me, dear Sir, that of his amanuensis,

Your brother in the Gospel,

T. HAWEIS (223).

There followed a postscript concerning " the treatise on the Sacrament sent you for correction " - presumably the manuscript of Haweis' The Communicant's Spiritual Companion, - and then three lines were scrawled in Walker's shaky hand:

" I would say much of my hope. Blessed be God we shall be soon in heaven. Then we shall see all the loving-kindness of the Lord. Adieu. Adieu. S. WALKER. "

Walker died on Sunday, July 19, 1761, and apparently Haweis had by this time returned to Oxford, as no mention is made of his presence at the last. A letter from Lord Dartmouth to William Rawlings, on July 3, implied that Haweis had left Blackheath by then, and, incidentally, bore spontaneous testimony to his Christian character.

I have lately had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Haweis, who has been here to take a last leave of his dear friend and father in Christ. I trust he is well suited to his situation; he appears to grow in grace, and while he does so, he shall want no manner of thing, whether spiritual or temporal, that is needful for him (224).

A further letter confirmed this spiritual pen picture of Haweis.

I think everything of Mr. Haweis that you can wish; he seems, to me, to grow in humility, which, as in all, so I take it more particularly in him, is to be looked upon as the only foundation of all other graces. His zeal is lively,

and I hope prudent, and his senses, thank God, proportionable (225).

Haweis exchanged visits with a Mr. Brandt, the Moravian minister in charge of the congregation gathered by John Gambold (226) at Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire. Brandt resided in Oxford, and often attended St. Mary Magdalene (227). Through Brandt Haweis was introduced to Benjamin Latrobe (228), who became his close friend.

We also read in the Autobiography of visits paid by Haweis to the home of Richard and Rowland Hill, at Hawkstone, and to Thomas Powys, of Berwick, near Shrewsbury (229). Nearer at hand was William Talbot (230), then Vicar of Kineton in Warwickshire, whose house was always open to Haweis, who denominates him as " my excellent friend " (231). Talbot was at this time beginning to espouse the Evangelical cause and earnestly pressed Haweis to converse with him as often as he could. He would frequently send a servant and his horses to convey Haweis to spend a few days with him, preaching in his Church and lecturing in his vicarage. Mrs. Talbot was converted under Haweis (232).

Talbot was to prove himself a brother born for adversity in the events that were to ensue. So far, despite the outcry that was raised against Haweis, and the harsh treatment meted out to his followers, there was no question of ejecting him from his curacy. Walker had written to Adam in 1759:

You will be very glad to hear that Mr. Haweis is very successful at Oxford, in his parish, and with some of the younger members of the University. Our friend Jane stands heartily by him, but is miserably low in body. The great ones there are growing jealous; but things are so managed,

that it will not be easy for them to rid their hands of those who turn the world upside down (233).

Complaints had previously been made to Bishop Secker, who counselled Haweis to be more careful and avoid offending the University heads. Charges of Calvinism were brought against him, but at his ordination Haweis had made it clear that he interpreted the Articles in that sense. Secker always dealt candidly with him and continued to protect him. Although he enjoined him to greater prudence, there was no suggestion of any serious accusation against him.

But by the year 1762 the situation had grown much more ominous. Secker had been promoted to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, and John Hume had succeeded him in the see of Oxford in 1758 (234). To him the University authorities applied with more profit. Joseph Browne (235), the Vice-Chancellor, complained especially about his nephew (236), whom Haweis was supposed to have perverted. Haweis was informed that steps were being taken to expel him from his Church. He could not believe " that without a charge authenticated, an inquiry instituted or a crime insinuated he could find in any Bishop an oppressor " (237). He went to the visitation as usual and was refused entrance. He was amazed to find his name omitted from the roll. He was given to understand that he was no longer a cleric of the diocese, and that all further admission to his Church was interdicted. A Churchwarden of notoriously immoral character and an avowed unbeliever had put this decision into execution, whilst Jane's own Churchwarden, a respectable tradesman of many years' stand-

ing in the parish, had been seized by the constable and imprisoned in Bocardo (238) on the pretended charge of desertion from the Army.

In this desperate predicament Haweis was nobly supported by Jane and Talbot. The latter went to the Bishop on Haweis' behalf and pointed out the effect of such a procedure on a young man at the outset of his ministry. The Bishop did not dispute that Haweis' morals were above reproach, but referred to the disturbances in his Church and to the unhealthy influence of his Evangelical doctrines upon the students who frequented his rooms. Talbot asked the Bishop to call Haweis to answer to these charges in the proper court. Hume then peremptorily declared that whether Haweis had done well or ill, whether he had acted imprudently or not, he had kindled such a flame in the University as must be suppressed. He could not protect Haweis in the city of Oxford without displeasing the respectable heads of the University and subjecting himself to eternal clamour. The Bishop then played his trump card. Haweis had no licence from Secker (the reason for which has been noted) and therefore Hume had every right to forbid his preaching (239). This, of course, was legally unanswerable. Hume added, however, that even if Haweis had possessed a licence, he would have been compelled to revoke it. The Bishop had, nevertheless, a proposition to make. If Haweis would seek a cure elsewhere in the diocese, Hume promised to license him to it, but he had undertaken to remove Haweis from the city, and he was determined to do it (240).

The affair was attracting attention far beyond the confines of Oxford. The Evangelicals regarded it, not without reason, as a test case. Lord Dartmouth took an interest in it, and expressed his opinion to Richard Hill.

I suppose you may have heard something of the arbitrary proceedings at Oxford; they are too long to relate here, besides which I should do it very imperfectly, though I have had the whole relation from Mr. Talbot. Nothing can be more unjust or cruel (241).

Talbot took a further step, as the same letter indicated.

The affair is by no means at an end, Mr. T. having given the Bishop a bone to pick, by desiring His Lordship to license him to Mr. Jones' curacy in the room of Mr. Haweis. His Lordship's answer is to be given today; and Mr. T., if he should be rejected, as is most probable, is determined to lay the whole matter before the public. Jones is gone to take possession of an inheritance that fadeth not away (242).

The Bishop's reply was reported in Lord Dartmouth's next communication to Richard Hill.

It seems very probable that the affair concerning our friend Haweis will make some noise in the world. You have heard, I suppose, that Mr. T. offered himself to the Bishop for a licence to succeed Mr. H.; it has been refused, and T. has been in London to consult his friends. What determination he has come to, I have not yet heard. I believe he intends to make the matter public. It is doubted by some whether the Bishop has not gone beyond his legal authority already, and whether a question of very extensive importance is not likely to arise upon it. Whatever be the issue, my greatest concern is that nothing be done on the part of our friends but with the most Christian meekness and patience and forbearance; and then I trust we shall not be ashamed to own their cause, and to support them with undaunted fortitude (243).

Edwin Sidney confessed that he had no information as to how this affair ended (244). Haweis recorded in his Autobiography that Talbot next advised him to go to London to appeal to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Secker. Secker had shown him-

self favourably disposed towards Haweis when Bishop of Oxford, and there did seem to be a case against Hume for dismissing Haweis without a charge. The question of the licence was a complication, but Secker himself had been responsible for waiving Haweis' application, ostensibly out of kindness. There appeared, therefore, to be some reasonable hope that the Primate might be persuaded to intervene (245). Haweis set off for the capital, leaving James Stillingfleet to supply his Church. Haweis' departure was misconstrued as a capitulation, and the Bishop's victory was joyfully announced through the city.

In London Haweis stayed with Martin Madan, and was surrounded by sympathizers amongst the Evangelical laity in the metropolis. He waited on the Primate and was civilly received. Secker listened to his story with patience and attention. Haweis asked that he might know the charges preferred against him, and have an opportunity of defending himself. He offered to produce three hundred sermons he had written and challenged the most searching examination of his life and labours. The Archbishop replied substantially as follows:

Mr. Haweis, during the time that I was your diocesan I always protected you, though I had many complaints against you. You have now another diocesan who would be more competent to judge of your conduct on that spot than I can be. You know how much the University is set against you. But whether you really gave the offence, or they take it, I cannot take upon myself to determine (246).

This application having failed, the question remained as to whether Haweis should return to Oxford and contest the matter with Bishop Hume, or stay in London and submit. The difficulties

and expense of a case in the ecclesiastical courts, combined with the influence of those against whom he was contending, led his friends to advise him to remain in London. He finally decided on this course, though with the greatest reluctance, being particularly distressed to leave his beloved flock. Hume was shortly afterwards translated to Salisbury (247), and Haweis heard later that the whole transaction relating to St. Mary Magdalene had pained him considerably. John Rogers (248), of Warminster, asked the Bishop one day at dinner, " Pray, my Lord, what was the real cause of all that noise made about Haweis at Oxford ? " The Bishop, with some embarrassment, replied, " Say nothing to me on that subject, it has given me the greatest uneasiness " (249).

Haweis often wondered later whether he had acted rightly in quitting his curacy. His Oxford congregation lay upon his heart, for when Jane left in 1763 to become Rector of Iron Acton, Gloucestershire, they were left as sheep without an Evangelical shepherd (250). As to the reason for his unjust expulsion he had no doubt. His sole crime was that he preached Evangelical doctrines.

They may charge me, and justly, with the attempt to infect the University with the dangerous doctrines of grace, and the necessity of being born again of the Spirit, of a life of holiness which men call preciseness, and the absurdity of that Christianity where every vital trait of that high character is wanting, of urging upon the conscience the purity of God's Law and our obligations, a deep conviction of man's guilt and danger, and the necessity of a real and not nominal recourse to the atoning blood and perfect righteousness of a Redeemer; many like charges may be brought, and the effects produced by them in the Colleges, and the city of Oxford, engaging a number of immortal souls to a

deep and serious concern about their own salvation, and the means of attaining it; to this charge I plead guilty (251).

We may conclude with John Gadsby that Haweis was " expelled because, for no other reason could ever be ascertained, he was a Calvinist and had large congregations " (252).

CHAPTER THREE

LONDON 1762-1764

When Thomas Haweis decided to settle in London, Martin Madan offered him the hospitality of his house in Knightsbridge and a post as his Assistant in the Chaplaincy of the Lock Hospital (1). A word must be said about the man who thus assumed Joseph Jane's role as Haweis' protector. Martin Madan was the eldest son of Colonel Martin Madan of the Guards, by his wife, Judith, a daughter of Judge Cowper, brother of the Lord Chancellor (2). He was a cousin of William Cowper, the poet, and his brother was Spencer Madan, later Bishop of Peterborough (3). Educated at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford, he was called to the Bar in 1748. His conversion was remarkable. One evening he was disporting himself with his gay companions at a coffee house, when they begged him to go and hear John Wesley preach nearby and then return to burlesque the sermon for their amusement. His powers of mimicry were well known. Just as he entered the Chapel, Wesley announced his text, "Prepare to meet thy God," with such a solemnity that Madan was moved to listen in all seriousness. He returned to the coffee room and was immediately asked "if he had taken off the old Methodist?" "No, gentlemen," he answered, "but he has taken me off" (4). From that time he dissociated himself from his former company and prepared himself for the ministry of the Church. He

experienced some difficulty in obtaining orders, but, through the interest and perseverance of Lady Huntingdon, and others, he was eventually successful. His legal training was an asset in his preaching. Tyerman describes him as " tall in stature, robust in constitution, his countenance open and majestic, his voice musical and strong, his delivery graceful and his language plain and nervous " (5). He was speedily nicknamed ' The Counsellor ' (6). He never held any benefice or accepted any emolument in the Church. For thirty years he acted as Chaplain to the Lock Hospital and itinerated for Lady Huntingdon. Haws said that he was " a man of the easiest and pleasantest temper to live with " (7) and treated his Assistant as one of his own family.

The Lock Hospital was instituted in 1746, and was originally designed for venereal patients only. The name is derived from ' Loke ' - a house for lepers (8). In the early eighteenth century sufferers from venereal diseases were excluded from most of the public charities. This hospital was founded to afford relief to the many unfortunates of the city. It was situated near Hyde Park Corner, in what is now Grosvenor Square (9). The administration of the Hospital was in the hands of a Committee of governors, and the doctors gave their services gratis (10). The Chaplain was chosen by the Committee. His duties included the conduct of Divine worship twice on Sundays, visitation in the wards, private interviews and mid-week addresses to the men and women separately. Madan's appointment was no doubt

due to the fact that several of the governors were devoted Evangelical laymen.

Services had to be held at first in the parlour, but plans were eventually set on foot to build a Chapel. Madan wrote on June 16, 1761: " The governors of the Lock Hospital have given leave for us to erect a Chapel in the garden; it is to cost £1,800, so we must boldly venture forth trusting in the Lord for a supply of our necessities " (11). The work was completed within a year, and the opening services were held on March 28, 1762, when William Romaine was the special preacher (12). David Hughson describes the building as " a neat Chapel which is constantly supplied by eminent public preachers " (13). The occupants of the pulpit were exclusively Evangelical, and the Lock became known as a stronghold of London Evangelicalism. As a semi-private proprietary Chapel it was protected from interference. Seatholders were admitted as well as patients. The latter were accommodated in a gallery, screened from the gaze of the fashionable congregation.

Haweis thus joined the tiny band of Evangelical preachers in the London area. He wrote in his biography of Romaine, referring to this period,

I was shortly after myself removed to the Lock Hospital, and there with Mr. Jones at St. Saviour's, put the lip to the trumpet at the extremities of the city. The centre was occupied by this Boanerges (14); the worthy Venn of Clapham began also in the city to add his voice to the testimony of Jesus. These at that time chiefly engaged the attention of the awakened people in the Church (15).

Actually Venn had left Clapham in 1759 (16), so that only Rom-

aine, Jones and Madan formed the Evangelical team when Haweis arrived in London.

We may concur with John White Middleton in assigning the primacy to Romaine (17). His evangelical conversion took place after he had come to London as " a very, very vain young man " (18), seeking honours in the Church. He had already attracted attention as a preacher in St. Paul's, and as the editor of Calasio's Hebrew Concordance and Lexicon. His only regular appointment was the Afternoon Lectureship of St. Dunstan's in the West, the famous old Church in Fleet Street where Tyndale had proclaimed the doctrines of the Reformation (19). Here he was unmolested until 1758, when the Vicar, William Gibson, died, and his successor, Alexander Jacob, disagreeing with Romaine's Evangelical outlook, combined with the Churchwardens to silence him (20). They went to the length of refusing to light or heat the Church, or even to open the doors a second before the hour of worship. Balleine's description is vivid and striking.

This was the only Evangelical service in any of the city Churches, and very solemn and impressive it must have been, the crowded congregation sitting or standing in perfect darkness, while Romaine preached by the light of a taper which he held in his hand (21).

Romaine held this Lectureship for forty-six years, and St. Dunstan's became the focal point of Evangelicalism in London. He was recognized as the leading preacher in the city: people came from the country " to see Garrick act and hear Romaine preach " (22). Despite the fact that preferment tarried, he could not be tempted to relinquish the Evangelical struggle. " Here my Master

fixed me, " he said, " and here I must stay. I am alone in London, and while He keeps me there, I dare not move " (23).

Whilst Romaine was the sole representative of Evangelicalism within the City of London itself, he had, in addition to Madan at the Lock, a valuable ally across the Thames. During the first part of Romaine's ministry, Thomas Jones - " the seraphic Mr. Jones " Haweis called him - was junior Chaplain of St. Saviour's, Southwark (24). Jones, a Cambridge graduate (25), was converted in 1751 (26). Appointed to St. Saviour's in 1753, he was for several years the only beneficed Evangelical in the London area. His health was indifferent, but his ministry was mighty. He met with the bitterest opposition. His teaching was denounced. His sermons were caricatured. His personal character was libelled. He inaugurated a weekly lecture in the Church, but the use of the pulpit for that purpose was denied him. He visited an almshouse to preach and pray, but its Chapel was closed to him. A stream of pamphlets attempted to blacken his name. But through it all he stood firm in the faith, until he died, at the early age of thirty-one, on June 6, 1762 (27). His funeral sermon was preached by Romaine (28).

Haweis belonged to this select company of Evangelical preachers in London - reduced to three shortly after his arrival by the death of Jones - from 1762 to 1764. He sought to declare the whole truth of the Gospel as faithfully as he had done in Oxford. He further identified himself with the Evangelical cause by publishing his Oxford sermons in 1762 and his cat-

echetical lectures in 1763. He also assisted Madan in a further task - the shaping of Evangelical hymnody. The proprietary Chapels and the Lectureships afforded an opportunity to introduce hymn singing into the services without having to encounter the opposition that was inevitable in the Parish Churches, with their traditions in favour of the Psalms (29). Some of the Evangelicals, like Romaine, for instance, had conscientious objections to the introduction of hymns. Romaine took up the extreme Calvinist position and preferred to adhere exclusively to the words of Scripture in the praise. He referred slightly to 'Watts' whims' and boldly asserted, "God does bless the singing of Psalms in the Church, and does not bless the singing of men's hymns" (30). But he was unable to stem the swelling tide of hymnody that was spilling over from the Methodists into all sections of the Revival. Madan was the sponsor of this new trend within Evangelicalism, and the Lock Chapel was the scene of the experiment. In 1760 Madan had prepared and published what became known as the Lock Collection, of hymns and Psalms (31). It contained one hundred and seventy hymns and became immediately popular. A second edition was called for in 1763, and a fourth in 1765. In 1769 Madan printed tunes to accompany his hymnal. This collection, which held the field unrivalled for six years, was the first of a series, leading through Berridge and Conyers, to Toplady, Cowper and Newton. The introduction of hymn singing to the services at the Lock Chapel is thus of considerable significance in the history of hymnody. Haweis had his share in

this innovation. He was no mean musician himself, and proved an able coadjutor to Madan in what turned out to be a fruitful experiment. He was later to make his own original contribution to the corpus of Evangelical hymns (32).

Haweis now began to form lasting friendships amongst the Evangelical laity in London. The contrast between his isolation at Oxford and the fellowship that sustained him at the Lock was indeed a striking one. There, as he put it, he lived in fire like a salamander (33): here he was so encircled with love that he might well have felt with Browning's Festus,

' it should seem

Impossible for me to fail, so watched

By gentle friends who made my cause their own ' (34).

The ill usage he had encountered at Oxford made his London congregation the more anxious to treat him kindly. Amongst those he mentioned were Lord and Lady Dartmouth, Sir Sidney Stafford Smythe and Lady Smythe (35), Lady Gertrude Hotham (36) and her son, Charles (37). These were all of Lady Huntingdon's circle, and it was at this time that Haweis began to serve her Chapels. She was by now the avowed patroness of Evangelicalism in London. Her house in Park Street was a regular preaching centre, and she had already started to erect her own Chapels (38). Haweis had come under her notice at Oxford, and when he was expelled from his Church he received from her expressions of sympathy and approval of his fidelity (39). Although there is no actual record of the meeting - the Autobiography was strangely silent on

this matter - it is most probable that Haweis was first introduced to the Countess during his term of service at the Lock. He evidently commenced to preach for her almost immediately, for in a letter dated January 8, 1764 (40), John Wesley referred to Haweis as one of the regular supplies at Brighton, along with Whitefield, Madan, Romaine and Berridge (41). Haweis also met the Countess' son, Lord Huntingdon (42), who promised to remember him if any living in his patronage became vacant.

Haweis found one of his firmest friends in William Bromfield (43), an eminent surgeon, whose house in Conduit Street was always open to him. Bromfield was one of the originators of the Lock Hospital, and continued to give his services to it. Haweis had by no means lost his interest in medicine, and he found in his contacts with Bromfield an opportunity of extending his knowledge. Bromfield would take Haweis into the theatre with him when he was performing a difficult operation. A series of lectures on anatomy and surgery, delivered by Bromfield in 1741, had attracted considerable attention. In 1761 he had been appointed medical adviser to the suite which attended the Princess Charlotte of Mecklenberg on her journey to England to marry King George III, and he afterwards became one of the King's doctors. One of his publications (in 1767) bore the title Thoughts concerning the Present Peculiar Method of Treating Persons Inoculated for the Smallpox. When it is recalled that Haweis had investigated this very subject many years before, one wonders whether his conversations with Brom-

field ever turned in that direction, and may perhaps have had some slight influence on the production of the treatise. Bromfield was nothing if not versatile. Besides being a surgeon of the first rank and a devout Christian, he displayed an interest in drama. In 1755 a play which he had adapted from a seventeenth century comedy (44) was staged at Drury Lane.

Haweis now made his first acquaintance with the Townsend family. Joseph Townsend (45) and his three sisters were all Evangelicals. They were the children of Alderman Chauncy Townsend, a merchant in Austin Friars (46). Joseph was at this period a student at Clare Hall, Cambridge, of which he was subsequently elected a Fellow (47). The sisters often attended the Lock Chapel, despite its distance from their home. Judith, the eldest, was a convert of Madan and partial to his ministry. He undertook her spiritual oversight, and a correspondence of fourteen letters between 1760 and 1766 bore testimony to its thoroughness (48). Judith was evidently worshipping at the Lock even before the Chapel was built (49). She met the Countess of Huntingdon in the summer of 1761, and Madan congratulated her upon her good fortune, for, he added, " she (i.e. the Countess) is a real Christian, and has the Redeemer's honour and interest at heart as much as any one I know " (50). Judith was instrumental in bringing her brother to the light. Madan counselled her to encourage him towards this end.

I think the more opportunities you take to write to your brother Joseph, the better. His answering your letters will be a means of drawing his thoughts towards serious subjects, as receiving them will, I trust, be a means of leading him

still further to a knowledge of himself (51).

Little did Haweis suspect when Madan introduced him to Judith, then married to John Wordsworth of Thanet (52), that she would one day become his wife.

Whilst in London Haweis exercised a considerable influence over John Newton, at a critical juncture in his life. The contact between the two men was chiefly by correspondence. They had met in Oxford, and Newton regarded that day as a turning-point in his spiritual pilgrimage. He referred to it repeatedly in his letters, and obviously considered it a privilege to correspond with Haweis. " I am desirous to keep the balance on my own side, " he confessed, " that I may always indulge the expectation of hearing from you " (53). Newton wrote from Liverpool as a lonely man.

I have no alter idem, no person on whose tenderness, experience and judgment I can so fully rely, as to open my whole heart and communicate all my doubts, exercises and difficulties with an unreserved confidence, and from whose superior discernment I might expect direction and comfort. Such a friend I should expect to find in you, if we were situated nearer, and as such I shall treat you, and endeavour to make the most of the little time we can have together (54).

And again:

I cannot avoid saying how much you are in my thoughts, how welcome your letters will always be, and how greatly I am interested in your health, your comforts, your success and your advice. After what has passed, you will not wonder if the spark you first kindled in my heart at Oxford has been blown into a flame (55).

When his beloved Mary was ill, Newton opened his innermost heart to Haweis.

I could not write this to every one, not even to every

one I call my friend; but I feel an unusual freedom when I write to you, that prompts me to unburden myself without reserve (56).

Enough has been quoted to demonstrate that this was a friendship of exceptional depth and intimacy. Newton was in need of spiritual guidance. He had been refused ordination in 1758 and again in 1759 (57). Since then he had continued his work as a tide surveyor at Liverpool and was somewhat impatiently awaiting a further opportunity to enter the ministry, either Anglican or Nonconformist. This season of uncertainty inevitably exerted a great strain on one of Newton's temperament, and he leaned heavily on Haweis' counsel in these trying months. Newton displayed a real interest in Haweis' affairs.

A friend informed me some months ago that you were silenced at Oxford by episcopal arrogance, as he expressed it. I should be glad (if it be proper) to know for what assigned cause you were so treated, and whether the Bishops can by their sic volo sic iubeo silence a clergyman who cannot be convicted of acting against the rubric or canons (58).

He was a warm admirer of Haweis' works.

I congratulate you, Sir, upon the contemptuous manner in which the reviewers treat your sermons ! I observe that though they are ready to testify their dislike of the Gospel, they seldom care to come to particulars, (if they) can expatiate on the defects of composition. If you had said the sa(me things) in bad English, they would have triumphed over you for pages together (59).

I am very glad to hear you have undertaken what was much wanted, an evangelical book on the Sacrament by a clergyman (60).

Newton had a high opinion of Haweis' capabilities and regarded the capital as his rightful sphere.

I hope you will not be necessitated to think of leaving London. I should imagine your call must be certainly there,

at least not in an obscure village. A rural retirement would be suitable for me, it would suit my disposition. I could sit under the shade of a great tree for half a day together, and listen to the rooks and the lambs, but, if I mistake not, the activity of your temper and the turn of your talents evidently bespeak you designed for places of public concourse (61).

Newton was particularly anxious to meet Haweis again, and several of the letters were concerned with proposed arrangements. Eventually it was settled that Haweis should travel to Wem in the autumn of 1763, after a visit to Thomas Powys at Berwick, and that he and Newton should spend a few days together at the home of a Mr. Swanwick. This appointment had to be cancelled, and it appears that Haweis and Newton did not actually meet during the years covered by this correspondence (62).

Partly under Haweis' surveillance, Newton undertook a course of study, in order to prepare himself for his high calling to the ministry. He gave himself assiduously to the study of the Greek New Testament, and began what he called his Critica - an exposition of the principal words of the New Testament (63). It was to be a work of no mean extent, for the letter alpha occupied about six hundred pages ! He also began to write a commentary on the Gospels (64). In his diary, under the date November 6, 1762 (65), he noted that he abandoned his exposition of the Gospels on learning that Thomas Adam was engaged on a similar project (66). He started on the Acts of the Apostles instead. He had only completed the introduction when a letter from Haweis informed him that the latter was preparing a commentary on the whole New Testament (67). With characteristic diff-

idence and generosity, he wrote:

I am glad to find that you are upon the New Testament, for my undertaking was only through ignorance of any better hands being engaged; and it will give me no pain, yea, it will give me pleasure, to see that I am not needed. Therefore, if you give me leave, I am ready to send you all my papers and collections - not that you should revise anything to appear in my name, but to sink my stock in yours - upon a supposition (which I am almost ashamed to make) that anything of mine might occur which, by altering and amending, you might think deserving a place in your own (68).

He enclosed the introduction to Acts and comments on the Fifth Chapter of Matthew (69). Haweis later sent some of his own notes for Newton to review (70).

Haweis now encouraged Newton towards another project - the writing of a Church History. In his diary for November 8, 1763, Newton referred to frequent correspondence with Haweis, and continued:

He has prevailed upon me to engage in an important and difficult work - an Ecclesiastical History, to trace the Gospel spirit, with its abuses and oppositions, through the several ages of the Church - a subject of my own pointing out; but I little expected to have it devolved on me, and I have desired to decline it, sensible how poorly I am furnished for the undertaking; but my friend will have it so, and the Lord can supply. I am collecting books for the purpose (71).

The proposition arose out of a discussion between Newton and Haweis on the practicability of producing an Evangelical Magazine, in which the doctrines and principles of the Evangelical party could be expounded and defended. It is remarkable that nearly thirty years before the appearance of the Evangelical Magazine these two pioneers should be considering its possibility. They were well aware that it would prove far from popular in some quarters, but there was a serious attempt to launch it in January

1764. The scheme did not materialize, for reasons not stated in the letters, but Haweis never quite lost sight of it, and was one of the promoters of the Evangelical Magazine in 1793.

The Church History was to form a series in the magazine. Newton had made the suggestion, as the diary indicates, probably in the hope that Haweis would undertake it himself.

You may be assured (he wrote) that such a publication will be opposed and scrutinized to the utmost; it will awaken enemies of all sorts and sizes, and especially such a history of the Gospel as we are thinking of. It ought therefore to be well done or not at all (72).

It was thus a matter of no little surprise to Newton when Haweis asked him to tackle the delicate task himself. He was at first reluctant, complaining that " his bow was unbent and his harp hung upon the willows " (73), but he finally determined to make the attempt, and sent his friend a rough sketch plan. The conspectus ranged from the time of Christ to the eighteenth century. Newton's next letter confirmed the statement in the diary that he had begun to collect books to assist him in his ambitious researches. He submitted a weighty bibliography for Haweis' critical comment (74). The nature of Newton's inquiries were a tribute in themselves to the reputation for learning that Haweis must have gained in Evangelical circles. By November, 1763, the introduction was in Haweis' hands for revision, and presumably Newton continued his investigations, and possibly started to pen his opening chapter during the weeks that followed. But the events of early 1764 (of which more will be said shortly) interrupted Newton's studies, and it was not until 1769 that he pub-

lished A Review of Ecclesiastical History (75), which was but a fragment of the original plan. But Haweis had started something when he set Newton to work on his Church History, for Newton claimed: " I was the remote cause of Milner writing his. He got the hint from me " (76). Joseph Milner (77) was the historian par excellence of the Evangelical Movement. Sir James Stephen describes his great work as " the only extant attempt to deduce the theological genealogy of the British Churches from those of which the apostles were the immediate founders " (78), and Yngve Brilioth regards it as " one of the most important monuments we possess of Lutheran influence on English ground " (79). But for Haweis this valuable and unusual venture in the realm of Church History might never have been essayed.

It was Haweis, too, who prompted Newton to prepare for publication the letters which compose his Authentic Narrative. Newton wrote on January 4, 1763:

I was pleased today with a very kind letter from Mr. Haweis, late of Oxford. He informs me that he has seen my eight letters to Mr. Fawcett (80), when he was lately at Sandwich; that he was much affected with reading them, and desired that I would send him an account to the same purpose, but more in detail. My case is uncommon indeed, and I perhaps am the only person who considers it without being affected (81).

Newton wasted no time in complying with this request, and by January 23 he was sending five more sheets to follow seven previously despatched (82). He suggested that the series should finish with his marriage. An account of two further voyages to Africa and his preparations for the ministry were subsequently added. In April Newton was evidently polishing parts of the

Narrative, for he promised: " I will endeavour to keep your pattern in view, to light by your fire and to imitate your simplicity " (83). These letters were published by Haws, with Newton's consent, in 1764, with the full title of An Authentic Narrative of some Remarkable and Interesting Particulars in the Life of ----. The Preface to the original edition explained the circumstances leading up to its appearance.

Some verbal relations of the facts awakened my curiosity to see a more connected account of them, which the author very obligingly consented to, having at that time no intention of its being made public. But the repeated solicitations of friends have at last prevailed: and indeed the publication is the more needful, as several imperfect copies have been handed about, and there has been cause to think some surreptitious edition might steal through the press into the hands of the public.

I have therefore, with consent of the author, now sent these letters abroad in their original form. They were written in haste, as letters of friendship, to gratify my curiosity; but the style, as well as the narrative itself, is so plain and easy, that corrections were thought needless. I can only add my best wishes that the great truths they contain may prove as edifying as the facts are striking and entertaining (84).

We are thus indebted to Haws for the publication of this primary source of information concerning Newton's early life.

But the matter uppermost in Newton's mind throughout these years was the problem of securing ordination, and here once again Haws proved himself a wise guide. It is no exaggeration to state that Haws saved Newton for the Church of England. Newton was a latitudinarian as far as ecclesiastical polity was concerned. As Sir James Stephen observed, if Hooker was amongst " the best writers in Divinity " studied by Newton at Liverpool, the great Elizabethan Churchman found a refractory

pupil in this sailor home from the sea (85). Newton was utterly indifferent to forms of Church government. His one aim was to find

a public opportunity to testify the riches of Divine grace. I thought I was, above most living, a fit person to proclaim that faithful saying, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save the chief of sinners (86).

After being refused ordination by the Bishop of Chester and the Archbishop of York, he had several offers to enter the Dissenting ministry. At the close of 1759 he had received an invitation to become the pastor of an Independent Church in Warwick (87). He toyed with the idea for the best part of a year before finally declining. In 1760 John Wesley apparently invited him to join the ranks of the Methodist itinerants. He replied:

Though I love the Methodists, and vindicate them from unjust aspersions upon all occasions, and suffer the reproach of the world for being one myself, yet it seems not practicable for me to join them farther than I do (88).

Then in 1762 he wrote to Caleb Warhurst (89), an Independent minister in Manchester:

I should be glad of an opportunity to see Mr. Scott (of Heckmondwike) (90), either at Tockholes, or in his own house, to let him know that I am disposed to accept a call within his connection, if any favourable opportunity should offer, and he thinks proper to encourage me. I begin to be weary of standing all the day idle; and there seems not the least probability of beginning anything at Liverpool. If I should not have an opportunity to meet Mr. Scott, will you tell him, so far as I know my own heart, I have quite done with the Established Church, so called - not out of anger or despair, but from a conviction that the Lord has been wise and good in disappointing my views in that quarter; and I believe that if the admission I once so earnestly sought was now freely offered, I could hardly, if at all, accept it (91).

No response was immediately forthcoming, and it was

whilst Newton thus hovered in uncertainty that Haweis first inquired whether he was still willing to enter the Church of England, should the occasion offer. " I have informed him (i.e. Haweis) under what restrictions I still retain my desire of episcopal ordination, " Newton wrote in his diary for January 7, 1763 (92), and in the letter to which the entry has reference he declared that his inclination towards the ministry was as earnest as ever, but his former disappointments led him to await with resignation an opening which would seem plainly to be of the Lord. He did not feel bound to any particular denomination. If God did choose to call him, " grace, free grace must be the substance of my discourse " (93) he affirmed. On March 10, Newton reported:

A letter from Mr. Haweis making a distinct proposal of my taking orders in the Church. He hints there is no great temptation to accept such a call from motives of filthy lucre, which indeed I am glad of; but perhaps some thought of this kind might assist me in getting over two or three scruples which I yet retain. They are comparatively small, and I hope they are but scruples. I do approve of parish order where practicable. I approve of the Liturgy, as to the sum and substance. The only difficulty is to subscribe, ex animo, that there is not a line contrary to the Word of God. I think, indeed, that there are not many; but I observe a few expressions in the Burial and Baptismal offices, and in the Catechism, which I cannot fully approve. But I can assent to the whole in such a manner as is due to any writings of human authority, which are not pretended to be written by infallible inspiration. My desire is to peace, union and usefulness. My talent and temper seem best adapted to that side; my principal friends and counsellors are there; and I think at this time the greatest measure of the Lord's power and Spirit is there likewise.

Join where I will, my own private sentiments in non-essentials must, more or less, give place to the judgment of others. So that if, after all that has passed, the Lord should be pleased to incline the hearts of those in power to admit me into the Establishment, by means not of my own seeking, I think I can conscientiously comply..... My friend

asks if I could content myself with forty pounds per annum for the present, and trust futurity to the Lord, and me-thinks I can cheerfully say I can, provided only I see my call clear from Him. I know that if He employs me He will take care of me (94).

The substance of the above was presumably conveyed to Haweis in a letter missing from the series, for on March 19 Newton replied to a letter written by Haweis on the 16th., and arrived at this definite conclusion: " I am willing and ready to accept any call or opportunity you should recommend " (95). Whatever proposal Haweis may have had in mind seems to have fallen through, for in a further letter to Newton he expressed the opinion that the latter's ordination would be more practicable upon a presentation to a living rather than on a bare title to a curacy (96). Haweis had also mentioned Haworth as a possibility, for Newton replied:

It was friendly and like yourself to wish me at Haworth, but that was quite out of the question - a University degree is a sine qua non for that service, and if otherwise, there are several at hand with a better claim and superior abilities to succeed Mr. Grimshaw (97).

Early in 1764 two invitations successively occupied Newton's thoughts. The project of starting an Independent cause in Liverpool, already mentioned by Newton, was taken up more seriously. Many friends solicited him to turn Independent and establish a preaching place in his own city. Men like Edwards of Leeds (98), Knight of Halifax (99) and Warhurst of Manchester promised their help in breaking up the fallow ground. Newton was inclined to accept the scheme, but the difficulties proved too great for it to be carried through effectively (100). Almost

immediately Newton had an offer from a Presbyterian congregation in Yorkshire, situated "in the land of Goshen," between Huddersfield and Haworth (IOI). At first, certain unfavourable conditions were attached, but a further letter removed them, and Newton promised to give the call careful consideration (IO2). He wrote to Haweis immediately, seeking his advice. Just as Newton was ready to become a Presbyterian, Haweis succeeded in preventing his departure from the mother Church by opening the way that led to Olney, fame and happiness.

Moses Browne, Vicar of Olney, had accepted the Chaplaincy of Morden College, Blackheath, which necessitated the appointment of a Curate to the parish. The living was in the patronage of Lord Dartmouth, who without hesitation offered the curacy to Haweis, knowing the ecclesiastically unofficial nature of his Assistantship at the Lock. Haweis generously declined it in favour of Newton, whom he recommended to Lord Dartmouth as a suitable man (IO3). We may well echo Seymour's exclamation: "How much the Church of Christ owes to this introduction!" (IO4). Haweis wrote without delay to Newton to know whether he would accept the curacy. Here is Newton's entry in the diary for February 26, 1764:

I would not hesitate upon a comparison of the two proposals, either with regard to my own comfortable settlement, or, which I hope lies nearer to my heart, the probability of superior usefulness. I sent him my acceptance, with many thanks to him and Lord Dartmouth. Thus I find the Lord fulfilling His promises, and giving me light to lead me through the perplexities of my own mind. Had the proposal been deferred one week longer it would have been too late. Wonderful is the chain of Divine providences (IO5).

The letter to Haweis of which he spoke has happily been preserved. It ran:

My letter must be as short as yours, and therefore I shall not attempt to tell you my sensibility of your friendship and kindness. I hope the Lord will enable me to show my thankfulness to you and to endeavour that you may have no cause to regret your patronage of my case, and your warm recommendations in my favour. I cannot demur my acceptance of what you mention, especially as you say that your appointment is likewise fixed. To be near you would be a most welcome and considerable addition to every other agreeable circumstance, which I persuade myself you will easily believe.

You will be pleased to present my most respectful thanks to Lord D. for his kind intention on my behalf, and let him know that however the Lord should dispose of me, I shall ever retain a deep sense of his goodness, and make it my constant study and prayer that I may act answerable to my obligations (IO6).

Lord Dartmouth's letter of March 4 officially offering Newton the curacy of Olney was accompanied by a note from Haweis directing him to break off all his engagements and repair to London for ordination (IO7). Newton was ordained deacon at Buckden, Huntingdonshire, by the Bishop of Lincoln (IO8), on April 29. Thus in his thirty-ninth year, John Newton began his famous ministry at Olney. But had it not been for Haweis, would the world have heard the Olney hymns, would Lord Dartmouth have received the Cardiphonia, would William Cowper have come under Evangelical influence? The judicious intervention of Haweis at this crisis in Newton's career has not received adequate recognition (IO9).

Olney was not the only offer Haweis had. The death of Thomas Jones, of St. Saviour's, has been mentioned already. Haweis' name was put forward as a possible successor, but the election went to one who was evidently a more active canvasser

and a greater friend of the publicans (II0). He made capital out of Haweis' expulsion from his Oxford curacy, and his association with the Lock. When Joseph Jane took the living of Iron Acton, he offered the curacy to Haweis. John Pugh eventually went (III). George Whitefield, returning from America in 1763, carried a commission to secure a suitable minister for St. Paul's, Philadelphia. After Romaine had declined it (II2), Whitefield approached Haweis, assuring him that it was a post of great responsibility and no inconsiderable emolument. Despite Whitefield's pressure, Haweis refused this tempting invitation (II3). What might have been his destiny had he accepted affords a fascinating theme for speculation. In the same year, a Chapel in Broadway, Westminster (II4), fell vacant by the death of the incumbent, Francis Bryars (II5). His widow, who had the disposal of the living, was ready to present it to Haweis, whose friends urged him to agree, and thus enlarge the sphere of his usefulness. Haweis applied to the Dean of Westminster for a license. The Dean was then Zachariah Pearce (II6), also Bishop of Rochester. Haweis waited on Dr. Pearce at the Chapter House, and made his respectful petition, but was most ungraciously refused. The unfortunate Haweis pleaded the hardship imposed upon a young clergyman by being thus branded and excluded from the Church in which he was called to serve.

But remonstrance was in vain (he sadly recorded), where the determination was taken to crush me. I had been oppressively driven from Oxford, and I served at the Lock Hospital. These were crimes of inexpiable dye..... Finding it vain to contend, I submitted to this repeated insult of abused authority. It only added one more to those which

I had already received (I17).

So once more Haweis was called upon to suffer for " the unpardonable sin of daring to preach the everlasting Gospel " (I18). Romaine was permitted to serve the Chapel, but after one year the capricious Dean forced him to withdraw (I19).

The way finally opened for Haweis to take the living of All Saints, Aldwinckle, Northamptonshire, in February, 1764, immediately after the Olney overture. Indeed, the preliminary negotiations must have been going forward at the very time of Lord Dartmouth's approach, and the fact that Haweis had another prospective string to his bow may have made it easier for him to forego the attractions of Olney. The circumstances under which Haweis was offered the Aldwinckle incumbency were so peculiar, and the charges afterwards brought against him so serious, that the events leading up to his acceptance must be recounted in some detail (I20).

On the evening of Friday, February 17, 1764, two visitors came to seek Martin Madan at the Lock Hospital. He was at the time preaching in the Chapel, but when the service was over, he met them in the vestry, in Haweis' presence. One was Samuel Brewer (I21), a Dissenting minister, then in charge of Mile End Chapel, well known to both Madan and Haweis as " a sound and serious man " (I22). The other was John Kimpton, an acquaintance of Brewer, a fell-monger living in Bermondsey Street (I23). They desired a private interview with Madan, and he therefore ushered them into the Chapel, leaving Haweis alone in the ves-

try. Brewer explained that Kimpton had a living at his disposal, and the latter went on to clarify his position. The benefice involved was that of All Saints, Aldwinckle. Kimpton had acquired one-third of the advowson through his wife, and the other two parts he had purchased from her sisters, who were heirs-at-law to the estate (I24). This had cost him seven hundred pounds, and had so strained his purse that he was obliged to borrow money from his friends. On August 30, 1763, the incumbent of the parish, Charles William Fleetwood, his wife's uncle, died (I25). Various hindrances prevented Kimpton from disposing of the living until January, 1764. But when the title-deeds had been inspected, and the title appeared to be clear, the prospective purchaser cancelled the whole agreement, for some unstated reason. This had occurred within fourteen days of a lapse (I26). Unless he could dispose of the benefice within that brief space, he stood to lose the total value of eleven hundred pounds, since if the Bishop presented a young man, it would be unsalable. At Brewer's suggestion he therefore sought Madan's advice (I27). Madan pointed out straight away that any attempt to sell a void presentation was illegal (I28). Nor was it permissible to fill the vacancy temporarily, since to present under bonds of resignation was equally actionable (I29). Not only was simony involved in such a proposal, but perjury, too, for both the presentee and the resignee were sworn to commit no simony.

Mr. Kimpton's whole plan was simoniacal, (wrote Madan later) his whole aim and intention was directly opposite to the laws of the land, and the bargain he wanted to make was corrupt, and must have involved himself and all con-

cerned in a crime which the law calls execrable and detestable before God (I30).

Kimpton pleaded a Dissenter's ignorance of ecclesiastical law, and asked Madan's further advice. Madan replied that there were only two alternatives: either a presentation must be made with all speed, or the living must be allowed to lapse to the Bishop. There was no middle course sanctioned by law. Kimpton confessed that he knew of no one to whom he could offer the living at such short notice, and asked Madan whether he could make any recommendation. Madan inquired whether Kimpton wished a minister who would faithfully discharge his duty to the people, and he agreed that he undoubtedly did. " Then, Sir, " said Madan, " I cannot recommend you a better man than my Assistant, Mr. Haweis, who is now in the vestry: if you please, we will go into the vestry and talk matters over with him. " This they accordingly did, and, after Kimpton had explained the whole position once again, Haweis, perceiving Kimpton's original intention, declared, somewhat uncivilly, Madan thought, " I will have nothing to do with it. If Mr. Kimpton thinks fit to give me the living out and out, well and good; if not, I will have nothing to do with bargains or agreements of any kind; you may take your living and do what you will with it. " Kimpton complained that the living would be his ruin, to which Haweis replied, " I have nothing to do with that, nor will I have anything to do with the living on any terms of resignation, or any condition whatsoever." Madan then brought in the large Prayer Book from the Chapel and read the oath on simony sworn by all presentees. Kimpton cried,

" If I cannot dispose of the advowson for eleven hundred pounds, I am ruined. " Haweis said he was sorry for it, but he would have nothing to do with the living unless Kimpton would present him to it in the proper manner, rather than let it lapse to the Bishop. When Kimpton continued to bemoan his predicament, Haweis appeared a little more sympathetic, though no less firm in his resolve to avoid illegality. " I wish I could help you, Sir; but I cannot as the case stands. I would stand in the gap for you if I could with a clear conscience. I will tell you what I will do. I will go to the Bishop and inform him of all the circumstances, and if he will waive the oath and consent that I shall hold it for a time, I will stand in the gap for you with all my heart. " Kimpton seemed satisfied to clutch at this somewhat unsubstantial straw, and retired, after arranging to accompany Haweis to see the Bishop next morning.

As Madan and Haweis returned home in their coach, Madan expressed his opinion that the proposal to go to the Bishop was absurd. It meant asking him to do what he plainly had no power to do, and would actually amount to an attempt to implicate him in a simoniacal transaction. There could be no possible doubt as to what answer he would give. That evening, Haweis and Madan dined with Sir Sidney Stafford Smythe. To him they recounted the whole affair. " Mr. Haweis, " he advised, " if the man intends to give you the living bona fide, well and good; if not, have nothing to do with it. Such transactions are always bad. I would not have you take the living if resignation or any other

thing is expected from you. As for his distress, you have nothing to do with it. Pray have nothing to do with him upon any other footing than a fair presentation. " " You may depend upon it, Sir, " Haweis replied, " I will not on any account, and so I told the man. " " Well, if the man gives you the living fairly, you may take it, and when you go to the Bishop of Peterborough, you may make use of my name, and say I know you " (I31).

On the morrow Haweis was dressed and ready to go to the Bishop when Kimpton arrived. The latter explained that he had just called on his attorney, who had informed him that the former prospective purchaser of the advowson had a new proposal to make. In view of this, Kimpton wished to defer the visit to the Bishop, and the presentation to Haweis. However, no fresh agreement was concluded, and on Sunday, February 19, Haweis received a note from Kimpton saying that he would call on Monday to present the living (I32). When Kimpton arrived, he renewed his complaints about his plight and expressed regret that he had not consulted a lawyer. " Well, " he said, " it is too late to extricate myself now, and I will give Mr. Haweis the presentation. " Once again, on Madan's evidence, Haweis repeated his insistence that no terms or conditions whatsoever should attach to the transaction, and Kimpton declared, " As I must part with the living, I am glad to give it to you, Sir, " or words to that effect (I33). Haweis then visited the Bishop of Peterborough, Richard Terrick (I34). His Lordship first asked whether the living had not been trafficked for since it became vacant.

This made Haweis suspect that it was the Bishop who had prevented the previous sale. Dr. Terrick then inquired whether Haweis had known the patron prior to the offer being made. On being satisfied that Haweis had never met Kimpton before he was introduced by Brewer, the Bishop said that he hoped there was no collusion in the matter, and Haweis assured him that there was none. After this interview, Haweis received a letter from the Bishop's secretary, saying that before the institution His Lordship wished to see the patron and examine the title-deeds. On Thursday, February 23, Kimpton took the deeds to Madan, who inspected and approved them. Haweis and Kimpton then waited upon the Bishop. Terrick interrogated Kimpton concerning the title, which he seemed to suspect had passed from him. Having satisfied himself that Kimpton had not disposed of the advowson, he turned to Haweis and told him that he had the greatest respect for Sir Sidney Stafford Smythe, by whom he was recommended, but that, according to law, it was necessary for him to obtain testimonials from two or more persons belonging to his parish. Haweis produced these, and the Bishop bade him go to the Bishop of London (I35), in Frith Street, who would sign the credentials, and he would then be pleased to grant the institution (I36). This was done, and Haweis was duly instituted to the living on Saturday, February 25 (I37).

Richard Hill was then in town and, as an old friend, offered to accompany Haweis to Aldwinckle, before returning to Hawkstone. The pair set off on horseback, and stayed the night

at Kettering, with Abraham Maddock (I38), the Evangelical Curate of that parish. Next day they reached Aldwinckle, where they were met by the Curate, Charles Laurence. Haweis was formally inducted on receiving authorization from the Bishop. He left a quaint doggerel account of this initial visit to Aldwinckle in a personal letter. Despite its deficiencies, it opens a window into Haweis' heart as he undertook his first incumbency.

The Curate come, with key in hand,
Awhile in the Church porch we stand.
The key being placed, as he instructed,
Into possession I'm inducted.
Unlock, then lock the door as mine,
The tenor bell is heard to chime.
And here, my Nan, I felt my heart
Affected with the weight, in part,
Of this dread charge, and poured my prayers
On bended knees, to Him Who hears
The cry of every soul that flies
To Him, nor will their suit despise (I39).

In such a spirit of humble dependence upon Almighty God, Thomas Haweis assumed the title he was to bear to the end of his days,
' Rector of All Saints, Aldwinckle. '

CHAPTER FOUR

ALDWINCLE 1764-1774

Aldwinckle is a village in Northamptonshire situated approximately four miles south of Oundle and two and a half miles north of Thrapston (1). It originally comprised the two parishes of All Saints and St. Peter, both of which are mentioned in Domesday Book (2). The parish of All Saints was united to that of St. Peter by an Order in Council of November 23, 1879 (3). All Saints Church still stands, however, although it is now used only for Burial services and on All Saints' Day. The pleasantly meandering road from Thorpe Waterville leads over the River Nene, in whose waters William Carey was baptized (4), and crosses Harper's Brook at Brancey Bridge. The Church, shielded by trees, comes gradually into view on the south side of the road, and strikes the traveller by its fine appearance (5). The interior, unhappily, has suffered from long neglect. The imaginative eye can reconstruct the edifice of well-nigh two hundred years ago. The Church is not large: its seating capacity cannot have been more than some four hundred. The chancel is tiled and, with the chancel arch and the south arcade of the nave, probably belongs to the latter half of the thirteenth century, although it now retains only two original windows, and has otherwise been altered (6). The north aisle, vestry and clerestory date from the fourteenth century, the arcade being first built, whilst the

chapel, tower and porch are fifteenth century additions. The small chapel at the upper end of the south aisle was erected by William Chambre and his wife, who founded a chantry there in 1488, and afterwards became the sepulture of the Spinkes family (7). John Bridges, the eighteenth century historian of Northamptonshire, mentioned a portrait of St. Catherine and her wheel in the lower window of the south aisle, but this has now disappeared (8). The names of the Churchwardens in the year 1814 are inscribed on either side of the space formerly occupied by the Royal Arms (9). A late thirteenth century font was sold in 1655 and set up again in 1662, after being reheaded. The tower, at the west end of the Church, is embattled with pinnacles and vanes at each corner. There was formerly a west gallery, which was removed in 1893, when the tower arch was opened out. Five bells once hung in the belfry (10), and it was one of these that Thomas Haweis must have tolled when he took possession of his benefice (11).

The following week Haweis returned to London to make the requisite arrangements for removal (12). He did not take up residence in the Rectory until the month of June (13). The house was in a seriously dilapidated condition, and Haweis attempted in vain to obtain some small compensation from Mrs. Fleetwood, the widow of the previous incumbent (14). The furnishing and renovation cost him in the region of three hundred pounds, for which sum he was indebted to the liberality of his friends (15). Until he was able to move in, Haweis lodged with

a Mr. Adcock, with whom Laurence lived. The Rectory, a picturesque sixteenth century building, standing across the road from the Church, has interesting associations. It was the birthplace of John Dryden. His mother was the daughter of Henry Pickering, Rector of the parish, and in an upper room, which can still be seen, the poet was born in 1631 (16). This historic house was destined to be the home of Thomas Haweis for over forty years.

When he began his ministry, Haweis found the people entirely unacquainted with Gospel truth (17). Although Kettering was an Evangelical stronghold, the surrounding country parishes as yet had not been awakened. Not one of the neighbouring clergymen was sympathetic to Haweis' views when he embarked upon his labours. Not one of his parishioners had even so much as heard the sound of Evangelical preaching. Haweis had no hesitation in nailing his colours to the mast at the outset. His reputation had gone before him: the people were expecting to hear a Gospel preacher, and they were not disappointed. In his very first sermon Haweis struck the authentic Evangelical note, and a somewhat sceptical visitor from a neighbouring town paid a rare tribute to the preacher when he reported: " He preached Christ uphill and down all the way through " (18).

Haweis soon found himself immersed in a busy round of services. He often preached three times on Sunday, and always lectured once in mid-week. The effects of his devoted ministry were not long in making themselves apparent. Very soon the Church was filled to capacity with worshippers from all the par-

ishes within a radius of twenty miles, much to the annoyance of the indolent clergy, who, though not prepared to feed their flocks themselves, deeply resented this desertion to another shepherd. In view of the increasing aloofness of his ministerial brethren, Haweis felt it wiser to withdraw from the local clerical club (19). Conversions were many and frequent, for Haweis favoured what has been aptly called " the preaching of conquest " (20). The following example, recorded in the Evan-gelical Magazine, may be regarded as typical, if amusing:

Among his converts was an old innkeeper, who, having been a good customer to his own barrel, had carbuncled his nose to the sign of his calling. He was from nature and interest averse to the Methodists, and could not see what all the world, in his part, had to run after at Aldwincle Church. Being fond of music, however, and hearing that the singing was admirable, he contrived, at the next feast day, to go six miles, avoid a drinking party, and squeeze himself into a pew somewhat narrow for his portly person, where he listened with delight to the hymns, but stopped his ears to the prayer. Heated and fatigued, he closed his eyes, too, till a fly stinging his nose he took his hands from the side of his head to punish the intruder; just then the preacher, in a voice that sounded like thunder, gave out the text, ' He that hath ears to hear, let him hear. ' The impression was irresistible; his hand no longer covered his organs of hearing; a new sense was awakened within; it was the beginning of days to him. No more swearing, no more drunkenness, but prayer and hearing occupied his time, and he died after eighteen years' walking with God, rejoicing in hope, and blessing the instrument of his conversion (21).

Not only individuals, but whole families were converted under Haweis' ministry. Amongst those mentioned in the Autobiography were John Coales (22), the principal farmer of the neighbourhood, whose wife and seven children all professed conversion (23); and John Hodgskin (24), whose wife was one of the converts of Haweis' first Sunday at Aldwincle, and whose son and daughter

subsequently entered into the same saving experience. It was little wonder, then, that, as John Newton expressed it, Haweis' preaching sounded through the country like the report of a cannon (25).

We are not surprised to learn that Haweis soon began to raise the musical standard at Aldwinckle. He was grieved by " the wretched and unmeaning Psalmody " led by an old Church clerk with a cracked and tremulous voice (26). He invited the choristers to his own house, and carefully rehearsed them in the anthems, chants and responses. With the Lock experiment in mind, he increased the number of congregational hymns, and the Church rapidly became noted for its hearty and harmonious singing. He introduced the Lock Collection, and later frequently used his own hymns. The singing was accompanied by violin and 'cello. Haweis' passion to preach the Gospel did not lead him to underestimate the importance of worship. The Sacraments were duly dispensed, the great feasts of the Church observed and the liturgy faithfully followed throughout the year. Haweis was true to type in this little recognized aspect of Evangelicalism.

Haweis' labours, however, were by no means confined within the four walls of his Church. He preached in the open air, and visited his flock quarterly from house to house (27). Particular attention was paid to the poor of the parish, and the various charities were scrupulously administered (28). Nor were the sick neglected. Not only did Haweis attend them per-

sonally, but a rota of sick visitors was drawn up, which provided a useful sphere of service for his Church members. Haweis' medical training enabled him to act as physician as well as pastor, without remuneration.

Family religion was encouraged. When Haweis came to Aldwinckle, he could not discover a house in the parish where family prayers were held. Whilst he was staying with Adcock, prior to taking up residence in the Rectory, Haweis introduced the practice, which appeared to be a novelty in the neighbourhood. He never entered a house without offering prayer, and before long family devotions were the rule rather than the exception. His own earnest regularity set an example to the rest of the parish. Each evening he threw open his own household worship to his parishioners, and expounded the Scriptures to them. This was no doubt the origin of his Biblical commentary, The Evangelical Expositor. He soon gathered a goodly number to these parochial prayer meetings, which were becoming more and more common among the Evangelicals. This emphasis upon domestic piety substantiates the claim of Archdeacon Cunningham that the Evangelical Movement was the religion of the home, and of Canon Charles Smyth that family prayer was the badge of an Evangelical allegiance (29).

Thus, in an age notorious for clerical negligence, Haweis' Aldwinckle ministry was remarkable for the conscientious care of souls and a systematic application to parish duties. The deep and practical sympathy displayed by the congregation

in times of trial and sorrow, and the genuine joy with which they hailed his return after any absence, reflected the esteem and affection which they felt for their Rector (30).

Despite these abundant labours, Haweis did not neglect the claims of the study. Shortly after his arrival at Aldwincle, he began his most voluminous literary undertaking - a commentary on the whole of Holy Scripture, which eventually ran to two folio volumes. Haweis was under contract to Dilly, the printer (31), who offered him three guineas a sheet, which amounted to about eight hundred pounds for the complete work (32). It originally appeared in parts, and Haweis often found himself working against the clock to provide the inexorable publisher with his quota. He would sometimes spend as many as sixteen consecutive hours at this task, eating his meals with the ink not dry and his papers left open on the adjoining table (33). He endeavoured to keep ahead of schedule, lest any unforeseen parish business should interrupt his composition.

He described in the Autobiography the method he adopted in compiling his commentary (34). He first searched the Scriptures themselves, as diligently as he was able, reading them in the original Hebrew and Greek. Then he turned to the best exegeses, and having weighed their comments, he then proceeded to compose his own. Although he probably utilized the expositions of Doddridge, Guyse and Gill, he was chiefly indebted to Matthew Henry (35). He closely followed Henry's chapter summaries and divisions, and at times incorporated the substance of Henry into

his own text (36). The introductions to each book were modelled on Henry, and were often no more than convenient digests (37). But Haweis claimed that his work was more than a mere abridgment of the famous Presbyterian commentator.

Whoever consults it will see that every line was my own composition; though it proceeded on his plan, our sentiments differ. I am no Baxterian, but decidedly and consistently Calvinistic, though I hope there is not a line I have written at which a spiritually minded Arminian need stumble (38).

In the Preface Haweis acknowledged his obligation to Henry, and expressed the hope that his own more compendious work might preserve Henry's spirituality whilst reducing his compass (39).

The commentary was first published as a complete work in the years 1765 and 1766. The full title was: The Evangelical Expositor, or a Commentary on the Holy Bible, wherein the Sacred Text of the Old and New Testament is inserted at large, the Sense Explained, and the more Difficult Passages Elucidated, with Practical Observations. Also References to Parallel Scriptures, the Marginal Readings and a Chronology. For the Use of Families and Private Christians of Every Denomination. Haweis' Bible, as it was commonly called, became generally popular in Evangelical circles, and stood second only to that of Thomas Scott. It was extensively used amongst the Evangelicals as an aid to their distinctive practice of private and family devotions. It ran into a number of editions, the last as recent as 1916. In 1836-1838 it was re-issued with an introduction and marginal references by John Brown of Haddington, and a complete index and concise dictionary of the Bible by John Barr. The testimonials accompany-

ing the first edition came from the pens of four prominent Evangelical clergymen: Henry Venn, Walter Shirley (40), John Newton and Joseph Townsend.

Haweis shared the customary Evangelical view of Holy Scripture. For him the Bible not only contained but actually was the Word of God. He subscribed wholeheartedly to the Sixth Article, as may be judged from the opening paragraph of the Preface.

As it is the professed belief of every Christian that the Scriptures alone contain the way of salvation, it is therefore their greatest interest, as well as duty, to consult those sacred oracles, and diligently inquiring after the mind and will of God therein revealed, to follow with simplicity and sincerity the path marked out to them in this sure guide to heaven. To be a believer upon trust, or a Christian by education, is only to abuse the name, without a real possession of the thing. We must go then to the Word and to the testimony, that on the foundation of Scriptural knowledge we may raise the glorious superstructure of real Christianity, and be enabled, not merely to have a good hope, through grace, in ourselves, but be able also to give to others a reason of the hope that is in us (41).

Many of his comments were concerned with the nature of Scripture. He had no hesitation in asserting the absolute authority of the Bible. " All Scripture is of Divine authority, " he declared, " therefore on God's testimony to be received with faith " (42). That authority is self-authenticating. " The Scriptures carry their own Divine authority along with them, and, through the energy of that Spirit Who indited them, impress this full conviction on the conscience " (43) Hence the written Word of God is the Christian's only rule of faith and practice (44). The Bible is superior to all other books. It is the Book of books beside which all others are insignificant. We must not expect enlight-

enment from any volume that does not accord with Holy Writ (45). Haweis was fond of repeating the assertion that one page of God's Word speaks with more convincing power and contains more sublime truth than all the works of philosophy the world has produced, and that the poorest and most illiterate saint of God is wiser, in the things that make for everlasting peace, than the deepest metaphysician (46). Holy Scripture takes precedence over " the decrees of the Councils, the decisions of the Fathers, or traditions of the Church; these are fallible, and may deceive; that is the voice of truth itself " (47). Haweis was echoing the message of the Reformers when he wrote:

The Word of God alone, exclusive of all traditions and human expositions, must be our rule; the labours of others may assist our inquiries after the truth, but after all we must call no man master; one is our Master, even Christ, and He hath promised that we shall be taught of Him; and, by prayer and meditation on His Word, humbly desiring to know His mind, He will lead us into all truth (48).

The Scriptures are the Christian's guide to glory (49). As the pillar of cloud which directed the journeyings of the Israelites,

such to every believer is the Word of God in his journey to glory. Under its guidance he sets out, and by its light shall he be conducted, till he shall take his last exodus, his final departure from this sublunary scene, to his mansion in the skies, and his eternal and fixed abode with God in glory (50).

The Bible will prove a reliable vade-mecum in every exigency.

The Book of God is the Christian's great magazine; he can be in no state and condition, but he will there find direction, instruction, reproof, or comfort exactly suited to his circumstances (51).

Haweis firmly believed in the inerrancy of the written Word. It is " perfectly pure from all falsehood and corrupt

intention " (52). It is " the unadulterated fountain of truth " (53). It is like the golden candlestick in the Tabernacle, " pure in itself, without alloy, and serving to enlighten us for all the spiritual services whereunto we are consecrated " (54). God's Word is free from any admixture of human fallibility (55). It must therefore be treasured in all its minutiae. " Every tittle of God's Word is precious and is to be preserved with sacred reverence " (56). Even those portions of Holy Writ which appear to be least inspiring are nevertheless inspired. " The parts of Scripture which seem least practical are not always least useful. The genealogies which lead to Christ are names of gold " (57). In his comment on II Peter I, 2I Haweis indicated his view of inspiration.

Though the Bible was written by men, we must say, as of the tables which Moses hewed, that the writing was of God. They were but organs and instruments, and did not themselves often comprehend the full meaning of what they delivered. With what sacred reverence and awe then should we open that Holy Book, where God Himself is heard speaking (58).

The unity of Scripture was insisted upon. The two Testaments are inseparably linked, said Haweis. The Word of God is a seamless robe. The most profitable way to read the Bible is to compare one portion with another. Haweis commended and employed the Reformation principle of the analogia fidei (59). He also stressed the perspicuity of Scripture. " The entrance of Thy words giveth light " (60). Even the simplest can find increasing understanding of the things of God from His enlightening Word (61).

To a natural man, the greatest truths of Scripture are

enigmatical, and often, in his account, foolishness; yet are they the words of the wise, even of the all-wise God; and when He gives an enlightened understanding, then, like a mathematical problem solved, what seemed confusion and nonsense to the unskilful, appears evident, clear and striking (62).

The Bible is to be read with prayer and faith (63). Reason alone is insufficient to lead us to God's truth. The written Word can only be comprehended through Christ, the living Word. Haweis always held these two manifestations, verbal and personal, in tension. " The wise man keeps the Book of God, as the pilot his compass, ever in his eye; and Christ, his pole-star, guides all his motions " (64). In his exposition of Hebrews IV, 12 he interpreted " the Word of God " as referring primarily to Christ as the Logos, and only in a subsidiary sense to the written Word.

Some by the Word of God suppose the written Word is meant, whose quickening, powerful, piercing, discerning efficacy is so great; and this, no doubt, is included, as being the instrument which the Lord makes use of; but I conceive the context and expressions show that Christ personally is here described and spoken of (65).

The Word of Scripture is not to be severed from Christ, the living Word, and must always be subordinated to Him.

According to Haweis, Christ is the heart of Scripture. He made that abundantly clear in his Preface to the New Testament.

The sum and substance of all the Scriptures is Jesus Christ. Him we have seen as the great object of faith and hope proposed in the Old Testament, and the great subject of all the foregoing prophecies. In the New, we behold Him in the fulness of time appearing, accomplishing all the things written concerning Himself, putting a period to the former shadowy and typical dispensation, and establishing that Church which is to endure to the end of time (66).

Christ is the key and clue to Scripture and the living link between the Testaments. Haweis did not hesitate to affirm that " the Old Testament, as well as the New, is full of Christ " (67). Indeed, the Old Testament only becomes Christian Scripture when related to Christ. Much is made of the Old Testament witness to Christ. The possibility of pre-Incarnational appearances of the Second Person of the Trinity is entertained. In dealing with Melchizedek, Haweis wrote:

He is generally supposed to be a prince of Canaan, a worshipper of the true God. But more probably the Son of God, the true King of righteousness and peace, appears to bless His faithful servant (68).

The angel with whom Jacob wrestled by Jabbok was " a man in form, but more than man in nature; even the great God-man, the angel of the Covenant " (69). Christ was present with the children of Israel in the wilderness, as the " spiritual Rock that followed them " (70). To Gideon as he threshed wheat by the winepress, " the angel of the everlasting Covenant, the Lord Jesus Christ, appeared in human form " (71). The mysterious companion of Shadrach, Meshach and Abed-nego in the burning fiery furnace was probably " that uncreated angel of the Covenant, the Lord Christ, who had of old so often appeared in human form " (72). The interpretation of these passages as manifestations of the eternal Christ is not as fantastic or outmoded as might at first sight appear. Not only is it in line with Luther, Calvin and the Protestant fathers, but contemporary theologians, like Hans Hellbardt, Wilhelm Vischer and Suzanne de Diétrich, are drawing the same conclusions (73). Haweis had no difficulty

in referring the Psalms to Christ. In his Introduction to the Book of Psalms, he affirmed that their great design is

to describe the glory of our Immanuel; His Person, offices, character; His Incarnation, sufferings, Resurrection, Ascension, and everlasting rule at the right hand of God. Some of them are quoted in the New Testament, expressly as referring to Him, as their grand subject. And many good men have been of opinion that there is not one of them in which some prophecy, description, or circumstance peculiar to Him, may not be found; so that here we may emphatically say, Christ is all in all (74).

This is even more abundantly true of the prophets, declared Haweis, in a lengthy Preface to their writings. The first and most important subject of the prophetic literature is

Christ, His Person, offices and character: His Incarnation, humiliation, sufferings, with the glory which should follow; and these described with such minuteness, respecting the time and place, with all the circumstances of His afflicted life, miserable death, glorious Resurrection, Ascension and Future Judgment, that when we compare them with His history in the New Testament, we see them so exactly fulfilled in Jesus the son of Joseph, that nothing but judicial blindness, and wilful rejection of the truth, can leave a suspicion in the mind, but that this is He that should come, neither look we for another (75).

Haweis went on to quote the hermeneutical canons laid down by Vitringa, in his Typus Doctrinae Propheticae (76).

Typology found a ready exponent in Haweis. In the narrative of Genesis XXII, I-II his readers were called upon to see behind the offering of Isaac " a lively type of greater things " in the sacrifice on Calvary (77). Joseph is " a type of the beloved Son of God, sent of His Father, rejected of His brethren. sold by another Judas, and stripped of His seamless coat, whilst they cry, ' Come, let us kill Him ' " (78). In his eventual prosperity in Egypt Joseph resembles the Lord of Glory

" exalted from His prison of death to the right hand of God; the concerns of heaven are entrusted to Him alone, and angels, principalities and powers bow before Him " (79). Typology was applied to objects as well as to persons. The serpent elevated by Moses in the wilderness prefigures Christ, " fashioned after the likeness of sinful flesh, and lifted up once upon the Cross, and still in the preaching of the Gospel for the healing of the nations " (80). The entire Jewish sacrificial system was Divinely appointed as " typical of the one great oblation of Jesus " (81). Solomon's Temple has a fourfold significance. It is typical

1. Of the body of Christ, in which the fulness of the Godhead dwelt, and by Whom alone our services come before God with acceptance.

2. Of the Christian, who, by the power of Divine grace prepared and sanctified, becomes a habitation of God, and more gloriously adorned with faith and holiness than this Temple with wrought gold.

3. Of the Gospel Church, in which every consecrated soul daily ministers as a priest before God, where cherubic spirits wait on the heirs of salvation in a manner those who are without know not of.

4. Of heaven, the eternal Temple, where the service will be uninterrupted, the glory infinitely surpassing, the worshippers innumerable, and no veil any longer concealing from us the brightest beams of our Divine Shekinah (82).

Haweis discovered a hidden sense beneath the sacred text by the use of allegory as well as of typology. He allegorized his way through much of the Old Testament, but, as might be expected, found his happiest hunting ground in the Song of Songs. One example of his method must suffice. The eulogy of the beloved in IV, 1-7 was applied by him to the beauty of the Church, and of every gracious soul who bears the Divine image. The eyes

of doves within the locks represent the modesty and humility, the sweetness and inoffensiveness of the faithful. The profusion of hair signifies the multitude of converts in the Church. The teeth, as white as newly washed fleeces, denote the ministers of the Gospel. The scarlet lips are a mark of spiritual health. The temples, like a piece of pomegranate, may be applied to the unworthiness of the sinner. The neck is compared to the saints, and the breasts to the two Testaments or the two Sacraments. Once such allegorizing gets fairly under way, there is apparently no means of stopping it. This is surely an instance of that kind of mystical interpretation against which Dr. John Lowe warns us, where " anything can mean anything " (83). But whilst Haweis, after the manner of his times, and following his master, Matthew Henry, on occasion permitted his allegorizing tendency to run away with him, it must be remembered that the allegorical method has been employed and sanctioned by many of the Fathers of the Church, including Augustine and Origen, and is being sympathetically reconsidered, in a restrained and modified form, by some modern scholars, notably Father A.G. Hebert (84). Haweis might have shown himself wiser, however, had he observed the canon that we may allegorize only where the Scripture itself allegorizes.

Haweis' Evangelical Expositor was practical, devotional and homiletical, rather than critical. The days of the Higher Criticism were not yet. Questions of date and authorship, of authenticity and unity, did not greatly concern him. Not that

he altogether overlooked these matters. In his Introductions to the various books of the Bible he did touch upon these issues, invariably coming to a conservative conclusion. Job was dated prior to Genesis (85), Daniel was said to have composed his prophecy towards the close of the Exile (86) and Habakkuk was assigned to the reign of Manasseh (87). The Pauline Epistles were dated thus: I and II Thessalonians 54 A.D.; Romans 57; Galatians 59; Ephesians, Philippians and Colossians 64 (88). I and II Corinthians and the Pastorals were not dated. The Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch was defended, Samuel was credited with the composition of Judges, and Solomon with both Proverbs and the Song of Songs (89). The Psalms were composed

chiefly by David, the sweet singer of Israel, whose name the whole collection bears; though some of them appear to have been written by other hands, before and after his time (90).

Haweis contended for the Pauline authorship of Hebrews, meeting the objection that his name is omitted with the argument that

he, being the Apostle of the Gentiles, who were odious to the Jews, might think fit to conceal his name, lest their prejudices against him might hinder them from reading and weighing it as they ought to do (91).

The Fourth Gospel, the Johannine Epistles and the Apocalypse were all ascribed to the Apostle John (92). In his exegetical comments Haweis did not confine himself entirely to spiritual and edifying observations. He frequently used his knowledge of the Hebrew or Greek original to bring out more clearly the meaning of a verse, and did not hesitate to suggest a better rendering. He discussed some of the problems which still interest the

modern commentator - the nature of manna (93), the identity of Balaam (94), the meaning of Selah (95), the significance of Our Lord's designation as Nazarene (96) and Son of Man (97), the crux exegetica in Romans III, 25-27 (98), the Kenosis passage in Philippians II, 6-8 (99). On occasion Haweis even ventured into the sphere of textual criticism (100). Although his academic equipment might be considered defective by our standards, he showed acquaintance with the writings of such authorities as Josephus (101), Tacitus (102), Chrysostom (103), Gregory the Great (104) and Vitringa (105). Within the limitations imposed by the age in which he lived, the school of thought he represented and the readers for whom he wrote, Haweis must be reckoned to be a commentator not altogether devoid of scholarship.

The Evangelical Expositor served to reveal Haweis as a champion of Protestant orthodoxy in his theological convictions. In his Introduction to Romans, he broke away from Matthew Henry, and enlarged upon a theme of his own.

Many expositors have grievously debased the great and glorious doctrines herein contained, respecting the free grace and justification of the Gospel, and would fain insinuate that the works concerning which the Apostle speaks are not the moral, but ceremonial works of the Law; that the election spoken of is national, respecting Jews and Gentiles, and not to be interpreted of individuals; and the privileges to which some are chosen in preference to others are merely external, and have no reference to the eternal state: the contrary of which many faithful and able advocates have fully evinced; among the least of whom I shall count it an honour to be numbered, and wish to plead with them the cause of sovereign grace. Not that any can be reasoned into the reception of these humbling truths: man's fallen spirit, his pride and prejudice, must revolt against them; till enlightened from above, brought under a Divine conviction of sin,

and led to a discovery of the desperate wickedness, the absolute impotence, and the inconceivable deceitfulness of his naturally corrupted heart, he bows in the dust, is content to be saved as desperate, and to acknowledge himself indebted for his whole salvation to God's free choice and everlasting love (I06).

Haweis kept this evangelical plan of salvation ever in view.

Justification by faith was recognized as the Grundmotiv of all theology. This is the theme that links the two Testaments (I07). This is the core of the evangelical dispensation (I08). Free grace and imputed righteousness were repeatedly rehearsed (I09). As in Haweis' published sermons, justification was always related to sanctification. Haweis carefully guarded against any Antinomian inclination. The doctrine of justification by the righteousness of Jesus has its blessed fruit and effect in the practice of holiness (I10). The Decalogue and the Sermon on the Mount were expounded at considerable length (I11). Haweis' Calvinism betrayed itself when he explicated the doctrine of election. The Divine decree and the eternal plan of God's providence loomed large in the argument (I12). God from eternity knows who are His, and what He predestinates must infallibly take place (I13). Nothing can hinder the elect in their passage to glory (I14) or prevent the destruction of the reprobate (I15). But, once again, Haweis avoided any taint of Antinomianism.

God's predestination is so far from leading us to live as we list, as some suppose, that it is the most powerful argument to walk in holiness as Christ also walked, whereunto we are appointed. It were the height of folly to flatter ourselves we shall live with God hereafter, if we are not like Him now (I16).

The Evangelicals have sometimes been accused of neglect-

ing the doctrine of the Church (II7). Such a charge is not substantiated by an examination of Haweis' Biblical Commentary. The Church was a constantly recurring theme throughout. It is, according to Haweis, essentially a Gospel Church, a saved and saving remnant. It is " a little enclosure, with Christ in the midst of it, and His worshippers around Him, separated from the world, and ready to move out of it " (II8). The perpetuity of the Church is guaranteed by Christ, its Founder (II9). Haweis anticipated the missionary expansion of the Church (I20). Much attention was paid to the ministry. Clerical laxity was deplored and the loftiest standard set for the priests of God (I2I). The centrality of worship was recognized, for " they who love God will love His ordinances " (I22). A warning was issued against formalism, however: " God's service requires no ornaments: He demands not the gilded altar, but the holy heart " (I23). The liturgy was commended, but Haweis reminded his readers that

they who place all their dependence on the form of public prayer, and are inattentive to the Word of God read, or expect no benefit from the sermon preached to them, are certainly self-deceivers, and strangers to the power of godliness (I24).

As we should anticipate from the author of The Communicant's Spiritual Companion, the " great Gospel ordinance " - the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper (I25) - was everywhere mentioned with reverence.

The sacrifice is a crucified Jesus, offering Himself upon the Cross for sinners. The wine is His Blood, the richest cordial for the guilty soul. The Table is furnished with all the blessings of grace, pardon, righteousness, peace, strength, consolation; the provision Jesus Himself hath made, and freely offers to every poor and hungry sinner (I26).

The mode under which the Sacrament of Baptism should be administered was discussed, with the conclusion that we should

see that in whatever manner Baptism be administered, we do not rest upon the ordinance; it is an essential concern that our souls be really partakers of the thing signified, even sprinkling with the Blood of Jesus, and saved by the washing of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost (I27).

Even fasting was recommended as " a needful, though much neglected duty " (I28). Haweis was no lover of schism. He earnestly prayed for the day when the divided Church should be reunited in love.

Amongst the deadliest evils that have befallen the Church of God we may justly reckon the divisions, disputes and animosities which have from time to time so grievously rent it, disfigured its beauty, destroyed its peace. O that we had passed at last the waters of strife, and began to taste the blessedness of loving one another out of a pure heart fervently (I29).

He strongly deprecated the theological controversies which severed Christian brethren and fomented further contention. He pleaded passionately for the spirit of reconciliation (I30).

Haweis' theology, then, as exemplified in The Evangelical Expositor, was true to the principles of the Protestant Reformation, particularly as expressed in the teaching of Calvin. Like the Reformers, Haweis did not overlook the doctrines of the Church, Ministry and Sacraments, although his views did not coincide with those of the Oxford Movement, which was later to lay so much emphasis upon these very themes. We note no doctrinal discrepancies between Evangelical Principles and Practice and The Evangelical Expositor. The foundations of Haweis' theology were firmly laid at the outset of his ministry, under the influ-

ence of Conon and Walker, and his position scarcely varied to the end of his days.

The foregoing survey will have sufficed to show that we cannot fairly follow W.T. Lowndes in dismissing Haweis' Biblical Commentary as " a work of little estimation " (I31). Others have set a higher value upon it. William Jay generously praised it, and defended Haweis from the charge of merely rehashing Henry (I32). The tribute to Haweis in Public Characters for 1798 alluded to it as " a very useful and judicious Commentary upon the Scriptures " (I33). How, then, are we to assess it today ? It must be frankly admitted that its chief interest to the modern student lies less in any intrinsic merit than in the light it throws upon the outlook of eighteenth century Evangelicalism. It supplies further evidence, if such be needed, of the remarkably close links which bound the Evangelical fathers to the Protestant Reformation. In his approach to the Bible and in his theological orientation, Haweis was in the direct line of Luther and Calvin. Indeed, there is little that he set down in his extensive Commentary on these themes which is not an echo, albeit unconscious, of something that emanated from Wittenberg or Geneva. And if Haweis shared, in some measure, the greatness of this tradition, he also participated in its deficiencies. Whilst we may admire, and, indeed, profit from his bold and uncompromising emphasis upon the authority, the indispensability, the consistency, the perspicuity, the Christocentricity of Scripture, yet we cannot help feeling that his attempt to vindicate

the absolute inerrancy of the written Word amounted to little more than a pathetic futility (I34). He was driven to such transparent evasion and unblushing verbal legerdemain in order to buttress the unsteady edifice of infallibility that, as Dr. A. Mitchell Hunter said of Calvin, his vehement championship produced the opposite effect of emphatic refutation (I35). But this conspicuous weakness should not lead us to overlook Haweis' strength - his deep and evident sincerity; the atmosphere of genuine piety which pervades the whole work; the practical usefulness of many of his comments; his plain and clear, if heavy, style; the solid evangelical core of his theology; and, perhaps above all, that which Sir James Stephen singled out in Thomas Scott as the true and characteristic merit of his exegesis - the saturation of the comment by the spirit of the text (I36). It was not for nothing, then, that Haweis' Bible occupied an honoured place on Evangelical bookshelves for more than a century after its publication. It may have had little claim to originality, but it tapped the fountain-head of Protestant orthodoxy and thus vitalized the Evangelical Movement by feeding it from its source.

The winter of 1764-1765, during which the bulk of The Evangelical Expositor must have been compiled, was, even apart from his parish duties, by no means a season of undisturbed retirement for Haweis. It was now that the first rumblings of a controversial thunder-storm were heard. Even in this remote Northamptonshire village, Haweis was to be surrounded by obloquy

as serious as ever he had encountered in Oxford. The instigator of this new attempt to blacken his name was John Kimpton, who had presented him to the living in the circumstances outlined in the previous chapter. Haweis had seen and heard little of his patron since his induction. In May, 1764, when he returned to London to make arrangements for furnishing the Rectory, Haweis had paid Kimpton a courtesy visit (I37). The pair met in the street on Thursday, May 31, when Haweis informed Kimpton that he was travelling to Aldwinckle on the following Monday (I38). Kimpton loaned him a horse to draw his chaise. On September 4 Haweis wrote to Kimpton to tell him that his ministry was being blessed with some spiritual fruit, and to arrange for the return of the borrowed horse. He invited Kimpton to visit him at Aldwinckle if the opportunity arose (I39). Kimpton replied politely, saying that he entertained some thoughts of accepting the invitation, and wishing Haweis continued success in his parish labours (I40). He mentioned having read Haweis' sermons and meditations with pleasure (I41). So far the relationship between Kimpton and Haweis was a model of what should pass between patron and incumbent.

On November 26 Haweis arrived in London to visit his friend, Dr. Bromfield (I42). On the previous day Kimpton had spoken to Martin Madan, after the latter had preached a Charity sermon at Shadwell, and inquired after Haweis. On hearing that he was coming to London, Kimpton expressed his desire to have an interview with him. Later in the week Kimpton called on Haweis,

and for the first time broached the matter which was to cause so much stir (I43). Already, at Madan's house, Kimpton had explained that he found himself in a position of pecuniary embarrassment, and that he hoped Haweis would either resign his living or purchase the advowson. Madan had naturally intimated his great surprise that Haweis had ever given any hint of considering such a proposal. Kimpton had also confided in his friend, Brewer, that he had high hopes that Haweis would buy the living at its full value of eleven hundred pounds (I44). On his first visit Kimpton does not appear to have made a direct suggestion that Haweis should either purchase or resign. He simply pleaded the extremity of his financial position, and Haweis, quite obviously unaware of what he was hinting at, spoke of his own difficulties after the expense of making the Rectory habitable (I45).

On a second visit to Haweis, this time at Madan's, on December 6, Kimpton dropped his bombshell. He roundly accused Haweis of failing to honour the understanding upon which the living had been offered, namely, that Haweis should resign when called upon to do so by his patron (I46). Haweis was completely taken aback. He had never anticipated any such turn of events. Madan was equally nonplussed. Both of them protested that at no time had any promise of resignation been made (I47). Later, Kimpton and his abettors did not deny this, but argued that when Kimpton first applied to Madan in his dilemma, Madan must have known what he wanted, and that equally Haweis must have known that Kimpton expected him to purchase or resign, even though no

hint of a consideration was made (I48). Madan immediately realized the illegality of any such resignation as Kimpton demanded. " I believe every man must see, " he said, " there is an impossibility for Mr. Haweis to resign, when he considers that a living must be resigned upon oath, as well as taken upon oath, as appears by the form of resignation " (I49). The alternative of purchase was, of course, out of the question for a man of Haweis' meagre means, and, in any case, his oath on institution to the benefice would have precluded him from entering into such a transaction on the grounds of a prior agreement, whether explicit or tacit. Madan therefore advised Kimpton, as his only resource, to call his creditors together and acquaint them with his case (I50). Haweis was prepared to advance him a small loan, on proper security (I51).

On December 8 Kimpton wrote to Haweis begging him to reconsider his decision (I52). Haweis answered kindly, but firmly (I53). Kimpton despatched a further letter to Haweis on December 17, and received a similar reply (I54). On December 31 Kimpton had a final interview with Madan, in the presence of Brewer (I55). Madan proposed to lay the whole matter before the Bishop of Peterborough, and leave it to his decision. Brewer agreed. " That is a very candid, and a very honourable proposal, " he commented, " and if Mr. Kimpton does not accept it, his friends must give him up " (I56). Kimpton, however, was not willing to accede to this plan, and there the affair rested when Haweis returned to Aldwinckle in the new year.

Kimpton then commenced a slanderous campaign against Haweis. He spread the calumny that Haweis had taken the benefice of Aldwinckle under bonds of resignation, and, when called upon, had refused to resign. He accompanied this policy of defamation with a continued attempt to extort compensation from Madan, whom he knew to be a wealthy man (I57). He also made a wide appeal for subscriptions to assist him in his distress, by means of which he raised more than he ever expected for the living (I58). The result was that Haweis' name was once again dragged into unwelcome prominence and the whole affair became fair game for the enemies of the Evangelical Movement. The clergy in the neighbourhood of Aldwinckle drew in their skirts even more noticeably than before, and Haweis' reputation was besmirched as freely and as unjustifiably as at Oxford.

Writing to Madan on March 6, 1765, Haweis painted no pleasant picture of his lot.

The present uneasy situation I am in, I cannot but communicate. You will expect from Kimpton's behaviour that I shall meet with some disagreeable things; and indeed it is come with such a torrent as I confess I never felt any situation so irksome as within these five or six days. The people are ready to stone me; and the serious ones are almost deterred from coming to me, and ready to be mobbed when they go down the street (I59).

This intolerable state of affairs was confirmed in a letter to William Bromfield, two days later.

Such a torrent of abuse is descending upon me, if this living had been in the depths of the sea my peace had been more consulted. Kimpton hath raised such a flame here that I am ready to be knocked on the head. The very serious people are startled, and hardly dare come, whilst everybody insults me as the vilest of fellows, for ruining a poor innocent man who trusted 'them Methodists,' who (according to

a note just received) are ' the damnedest people in the world for knavery and deceit ' (I60).

Haweis was also involved in an epistolary altercation with one D. Y ---- , of Thrapston, an ally of Kimpton, who bombarded him with accusations (I61).

So unbearable did his position at Aldwincle become that Haweis again visited London in the hope of clearing up the matter once and for all (I62). He put the case to his friends - Martin Madan, William Bromfield, Lord Dartmouth, Sir Sidney Stafford Smythe were the chief, - and said, in effect, " There is the living. Direct what I shall do and I will do it " (I63). They all concurred that to relinquish the living in such circumstances would be fatal. Not only would it constitute a breach of both canon and civil law, but it would immediately cast a doubt upon the probity of the original agreement, as indeed would the purchase of the advowson. They advised Haweis to take his stand on the integrity of the initial transaction and, having sought to vindicate himself in every possible way, to defy the abuse of his detractors (I64). Madan had already gone so far as to say that if Haweis resigned the living, he would never again regard him as a friend or brother, since the world might then charge them both with falsity (I65). The only dissentient from this counsel was John Thornton (I66), who considered that Haweis' resignation would silence all complaints. It was Thornton who also suggested an approach to the Bishop. Haweis was still prepared to take this step, even though he had no expectation of episcopal partiality. He actually wrote to His Lord-

ship, and received a note in reply declining all appeal to him, or interference in the matter on his part (I67).

Haweis was now impaled upon the horns of a peculiarly uncomfortable dilemma. The situation at Aldwincle had become so intolerable that he was sorely tempted to resign his living, despite the advice of his friends. John Thornton's offer of another benefice if Haweis would leave Aldwincle was attractive (I68). True, to relinquish his charge would involve a breach of honour in respect of the oath, but eighteenth century consciences were not particularly tender, and such illicit procedure was only too common. Would it not be expeditious to sacrifice conscience for the sake of peace? Besides, might it not be argued, even though with a touch of sophistry, that he now had legitimate grounds for resignation, quite apart from Kimpton's demand, in the treatment he was receiving in his parish?

Such questions as these must have presented themselves to the distraught mind of Thomas Haweis as he sought an escape from his entanglement. But, though the eighteenth century conscience was pliable and accommodating, the Evangelical conscience was stern and unyielding. Haweis knew in his heart of hearts that, in the delicate circumstances in which he was placed, he could not resign. Neither could he disregard the counsel of his friends. However unpleasant the prospect might appear, he could not quit his station. He would stand firm on the ground of a clear conscience and brave the storms of abuse.

Another set of considerations must also have weighed with

him. What motive had first brought him to Aldwinckle ? He had not sought the living. On the contrary, he had been reluctant to accept it. He had refused more lucrative offers. He had finally acquiesced since he regarded it, as he himself said, as " a very providential call which I dared not refuse, for my situation and worldly advantages were exceeding preferable in town (I69). Haweis had gone to Aldwinckle solely in the service of the Evangelical Movement. It was not easy for Evangelicals to find livings. Patrons sympathetic to the cause were few and far between. In the nineteenth century Charles Simeon embarked upon his much criticized policy of purchasing livings with a view to securing a continuous Evangelical ministry in an increasing number of parishes (I70). In these early, pioneering days the problem was even more acute. A foothold had to be seized wherever it offered. Haweis had been perfectly ready to forego his congenial Chaplaincy at the Lock, or the safe sinecure that Lord Huntingdon had promised, or the allurements of a rich American appointment, in order to gain a pied à terre for Evangelicalism in what was virtually virgin territory. No motive of selfish greed had directed his choice in I764. Should he in I765 abandon this Gospel opening simply because his own name was being unfairly bandied about ? Haweis could only answer that question in one way. With a noble scorn of consequences and a genuine indifference to what men might say, he determined to remain at Aldwinckle for the Gospel's sake. Haweis preferred to stay and suffer shame in the place where already his Evangelical ministry was bearing such abundant

fruit. If the parish were now to be deprived of the Evangelical witness, the last state might be worse than the first. He felt that he had been called to the Evangelical plough at Aldwinckle, and, despite every discomfort, he resolved not to look back. Time was to prove how right he was.

This, however, was not the end of the distasteful affair. In spite of the gratifying response to his financial appeal, Kimpton, evidently the most improvident of men, was by the year 1767 so deep in debt that he was consigned to the King's Bench prison until he could pay his many creditors (171). His family were on the verge of starvation and his son was driven insane by these domestic misfortunes (172). The calamity greatly increased the public outcry against Haweis, which had subsided a little since 1765. Haweis was held responsible for sending an innocent man to gaol and ruining his dependents. Samuel Brewer had foreseen this unhappy development, and had begged Madan to intervene.

If something is not done, Mr. Kimpton and his family are absolutely impoverished, nay, more than probable, Mr. Kimpton will eventually be imprisoned, and such, my dear Sir, is the humanity of Britons, that they will pity him and reproach you; and indeed the more so as after all you have said, none can suspect you of giving the least countenance to purchasing of presentations, but that all you do springs from humanity - humanity to them whom, without design, you have instrumentally brought to ruin; and I do not think seven years hence it will give you pleasure that you had done it; on the contrary, perhaps seven years hence deep pain that you had not done it (173).

In view of this renewed attack upon Haweis, Madan felt it necessary to come to his defence, and he therefore circulated amongst his friends a manuscript statement of the facts relating to the presentation, as he knew them. This provoked from Kimpton

the first of a series of eleven pamphlets, from various pens, dealing with the pros and cons of the case (I74). Madan himself published a reply to Kimpton, together with his manuscript statement (I75). Samuel Brewer contributed two sets of correspondence (I76). An anonymous ' Bystander ' countered Madan's answer (I77) and Kimpton's friend, Mays, published a particularly scurrilous attack on Haweis (I78). Madan produced a rejoinder to ' Bystander ' (I79), and Henry Mayor, a Doctor of Laws, examined the legal aspect of the case (I80). One effort was in rhyme (I81). It is quite impossible to review this logomachy in detail. Some of the evidence has already been noticed. The general impression left by a scrutiny of this literature is that Haweis and Madan acted in perfect good faith and that Kimpton was both irresponsible and extravagant. Kimpton's character, in fact, emerges not a little impugned. Perhaps the most decisive piece of evidence in this respect is a letter to Madan published by Martha Fleetwood, widow of William Fleetwood, once sole patron to the advowson of Aldwinckle (I82). Towards her Kimpton behaved in a most reprehensible manner. Her husband was hardly dead before Kimpton invaded the house in his capacity as joint executor to take an inventory of the contents (I83). Mrs. Fleetwood was left the sum of four hundred pounds in her husband's last will (I84). Kimpton failed to remit this sum and she was eventually compelled to file a Bill in Chancery against him (I85). In Kimpton's " Account of the Estate of Mr. William Fleetwood, deceased, and of the Administration thereof " a

number of fictitious expenses were claimed (I86). Mrs. Fleetwood had no doubt that Haweis was the victim of attempted fraud.

Certain facts about Kimpton's affairs confirming this view had by now been revealed in some of the other pamphlets. He had been in financial difficulties for some years before the Aldwincle incident. He regarded the advowson as a means of repairing his lost fortunes (I87). He had to borrow extensively in order to purchase the remaining two-thirds of it belonging to his wife's sisters. On the death of Charles William Fleetwood the presentation became inalienable. Kimpton, however, succeeded in finding a purchaser who by some manoeuvre was able to get to the windward of the law and give him eleven hundred pounds. This unlawful contract existed to within a fortnight of a lapse. When Kimpton came to Madan, the proposition he made was indubitably simoniacal. Its whole aim was contrary to the law of the land, both civil and ecclesiastical. It would have involved Haweis not only in simony, but in perjury, too (I88). As Madan - himself a lawyer - demonstrated, even though no actual mention was made of resignation and the matter was left to Haweis' tacit perception of Kimpton's intention, such mental reservation would have constituted, in point of conscience, a breach of the oath (I89). Dr. Andrew Gifford later warned Madan of Kimpton's character and of his dishonesty in executing his brother-in-law's will (I90). Madan concluded: " I have no doubt but that he had from the first a secret design of getting a valuable consideration somehow or other from me " (I91).

" Aye, and from Haweis, too, " added the impartial Mayor (I92). The reason, moreover, why Kimpton suddenly began to press Haweis to resign in December, 1764, was that he had now found another prospective purchaser of the advowson at its full value, if offered (illegally) on a void presentation. The facts brought to light in the pamphlets, therefore, satisfactorily clear Haweis of the grave charges levelled against him and show him to have been far more sinned against than sinning. He obviously fell prey to a thriftless and unscrupulous rascal who finally received the due reward of his deeds.

Kimpton did not languish long in the King's Bench prison. His liberator, surprisingly enough, was the Countess of Huntingdon. She arrived in London early in 1768, when the paper war had reached its climax. Captain Alexander Clunie, a member of Brewer's congregation, and his friend, a Mr. West, had done their utmost to prevent these publications, but without effect (I93). The affair was bringing Evangelicalism into such bad odour that Lady Huntingdon determined to intervene. After consulting George Whitefield, John Thornton, and others, but without discussing the matter with either Haweis or Madan, she decided to purchase the advowson herself (I94). She sincerely believed that this was the best means of redeeming the Evangelical cause from reproach, and of restoring Haweis and Madan to public esteem. On March 1, 1768, Lady Huntingdon therefore sent Whitefield a draft for one thousand pounds to pass on to Thornton, and commissioned him, Whitefield, West and Brewer to purchase the perpet-

ual advowson of Aldwincle, thus relieving Kimpton and his family of their distresses (195). At the same time Lady Huntingdon wrote a letter of explanation to Lord Dartmouth, who had expressed anxiety lest Haweis and Madan should suffer through her action (196). Finally, she communicated to Madan her feelings in the matter and the reasons for the course she had taken. She called upon Haweis and Madan to "make every proper and public concession to the world for any conscious infirmity, weakness, temptation or mistaken step throughout this transaction" (197). She even enclosed a copy of an apology, which she desired Haweis and Madan to sign and insert in the press (198).

Madan replied that although the Countess had acted with the best intentions, the effect would undoubtedly be to injure his character and Haweis' most seriously (199). The payment of a thousand pounds would be regarded as hush-money (200). He therefore begged Lady Huntingdon, on behalf of Haweis and himself, to make it quite clear to all that her action was taken without their knowledge, consent or approval. Any "public concession" was out of the question. So he concluded the letter thus:

When evil is spoken of us falsely, we are commanded to rejoice; when any can be said truly, I shall hope that you will find none more ready to acknowledge and lament it than dear Mr. Haweis, and, Madam,

Your Ladyship's humble servant,
MARTIN MADAN (201).

The outcome was as Madan feared. As Haweis himself wrote, somewhat ruefully,

That imprudent step of Lady Huntingdon, for so I must es-

teem it, so far from silencing the abuse and reproach, was turned into a fresh argument against us, as if we had been driven to this expedient at last, though what she had done was unknown to me, and in opposition to every wish of ours, who saw the handle that would be made of it (202).

Haweis was never allowed to forget the controversy throughout his long life. The Gentleman's Magazine had given the fullest prominence to the affair at the time, and even as late as 1800 was still casting it in his teeth (203). The British Critic, reviewing a sermon on "The Blessings of Peace" preached by Haweis in 1801, repeated the slander (204). In the Anti-Jacobin Review for August, 1803, Haweis had to defend himself against the same "stale calumny" (205). Warner's Bath Characters, published in 1807, added a new item to the list of falsities by stating that Haweis was "entrusted to hold the living of his friend (and that, too, his only property) for the use of his son" (206). But Haweis was not lacking in champions, even in the press. Public Characters for 1798 referred to the unpleasant business which brought upon him "much unmerited odium," and went on:

Time, however, has destroyed this prejudice, and we believe there is no person so uncandid at present, as to admit a thought to his disadvantage, in consequence of this business (207).

That judgment may have been a trifle optimistic, but it was none the less encouraging.

Haweis' friends continued to maintain his innocence. Madan never deviated from the view expressed in his pamphlets. Lord Dartmouth always supported Haweis. John Newton and Henry Venn both agreed that the course he took was the only right one (208).

Brooke Bridges and Edward Davies firmly stood by him (209).

When the dispute was at its height, Dr. Bromfield had pleaded on Haweis' behalf to William Fuller, a London banker:

For God's sake, Sir, let there be some method taken to disabuse the people of Mr. Haweis' neighbourhood, as he lives a most shocking life from the reproaches of his neighbours and the clergy of the country, who suppose him guilty of defrauding this Mr. Kimpton of his living (210).

Sir Sidney Stafford Smythe, whose opinion as a future Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer was not to be treated lightly, afterwards told Haweis, " In the affair of Aldwinckle you acted with perfect uprightness, and I shall always be ready to declare it " (211). Later, in the Senate House of Cambridge University, Smythe spoke in defence of Haweis, testifying to his acquaintance with the whole transaction and his fullest approbation of his friend's conduct (212), and then wrote personally to the Vice-Chancellor vouching for Haweis' integrity in the Aldwinckle business (213). Nor was this the only authoritative legal opinion expressed in Haweis' favour. Madan sought the advice of Lord Bathurst (214), later Lord Chancellor, whose Chaplain he was, and obtained a verdict decisively in Haweis' favour (215). Although Lady Huntingdon, without acquainting herself with all the facts, had urged Haweis to assume the penitent's role, she nevertheless continued to favour him with her friendship and opportunities of service, and it was quite evident that her previous high opinion of him had not been qualified. There is no suggestion that either George Whitefield or John Thornton, who both counselled Haweis to resign in order to quell the storm, ever entertained any sus-

picion that he was guilty of the charges laid at his door (216). Even Brewer and Fuller, Kimpton's friends, never went so far as to accuse Haweis of deliberately defrauding Kimpton of the living (217).

Despite this overwhelming evidence, Haweis was not only subject to literary insult over this affair in his lifetime, but even since his death his name has been maligned. Cardinal Newman, in one of his Essays Critical and Historical, revived the whole controversy when reviewing Seymour's biography of Lady Huntingdon. He took no pains to check the facts for himself. All Seymour's inaccuracies are repeated, with the addition of some of Newman's own (218), and his very misleading account concludes with this judgment:

Such was the issue of an affair in which, whatever we think of Mr. Madan, Dr. Haweis does not particularly shine; but, if faith, such as he was considered to have, blots out all, even the most enormous sins, it is not wonderful if Lady Huntingdon and her friends considered it a sovereign prophylactic against any prospective mischief happening to his soul from mere peccadilloes against the law, whether of charity, generosity, equity, or honour (219).

Other writers have stated the case more fairly and drawn less derogatory conclusions. Although Seymour badly muddled the data, he at least never suggested that Haweis made any promise to resign. Since his motto throughout was " My Countess, right or wrong," Seymour shared Lady Huntingdon's view of the matter and regarded her letter to John Thornton as " memorable " (220). He believed, however, that both Haweis and Madan acted as upright and conscientious men (221), and considered the continued friendship of Romaine, Venn and Newton with Haweis to be " unequivocal

testimony " to his piety (222). Morison was equally satisfied as to Haweis' sincerity.

There can be no doubt, in candid minds, that both Mr. Madan and Dr. Haweis had a full conviction of mind that they acted in this affair with perfect honour and integrity. They never dreamed, at the time when Mr. Kimpton assigned the living of Aldwinckle, that there was any reservation in his mind on the subject of compensation (223).

But, Morison continued,

their error, and it was a very unfortunate one, consisted in their not embracing the first opportunity, after Mr. Kimpton appraised them of the offer which had been made to him, of meeting his just wishes (224).

Such a verdict reveals a serious ignorance of canon and civil law and an imperfect knowledge of the facts behind the case. It must be remembered that Morison had not examined the voluminous evidence provided in the pamphlets: indeed, he does not appear to have gone beyond the very inadequate account of the matter given by Seymour. He was certainly unaware of Kimpton's character. He did not even know that he was not a clergyman. But on the main issue, as to whether Haweis accepted the benefice under a bond of resignation, explicit or implicit, Morison is clear. Haweis was an innocent man.

One final point may be noticed before this rather tedious controversy is left behind. There was a distinction that Haweis was fond of drawing when discussing the Aldwinckle affair in after years. He was prepared at the time, he said, to do something for Kimpton if he would accept it as a distressed man, and not as an injured man; but, as he demanded remuneration as a right, Haweis could do nothing without condemning himself (225).

It was in such a cleft stick that Haweis was caught in this unhappy business, and this is the only issue on which opinions may legitimately differ. Conscience clearly could not permit Haweis to relinquish the living at Kimpton's demand, on the assumption of prior collusion. For the same reason he could not think of purchasing the advowson, even had his financial resources permitted it. But when Kimpton and his family were reduced to such desperate straits, Haweis, despite his knowledge of Kimpton's character, to avoid all appearance of evil, might have waived the quibble of 'distressed' and 'injured' and forestalled Lady Huntingdon's intervention - that, at least, is an arguable case, though not necessarily fully proven. This, and only this, may be regarded as a moot point. But on all other scores, Haweis must be unreservedly acquitted. That he was entirely innocent of any attempt to obtain the living of Aldwinckle under false pretences, and fully justified in remaining in his parish, is, on a fair assessment of all the available evidence, surely beyond all reasonable doubt.

As if Haweis were not already involved in more than his share of public ignominy, his name was further besmirched by its association with one of the six Methodist students expelled from St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, in 1768 (226). It has already been noticed that after Haweis left Oxford, the Evangelical witness was maintained by a small group meeting in James Stillingfleet's rooms in Merton, or in the house of the devout Mrs. Durbridge. Although Stillingfleet supplied the pulpit of St. Mary Magdalene

for a brief period, the public preaching of Evangelical doctrine ceased when Samuel Rogers became Rector (227). Richard Hill would sometimes attend the religious club and give an address, and sometimes a more regular " Gospel minister " appeared (228). The University authorities were apprised of these meetings and, following up the policy which had succeeded in ejecting Haweis from his curacy, a determined effort was made to suppress them (229).

Between the years 1765 and 1767 St. Edmund Hall, one of the five Halls of the University, began to acquire a name for religious fervour (230). The Principal, George Dixon (231), was kindly disposed towards this fresh shoot of Evangelicalism, although he was not, of course, actually identified with it. The Vice-Principal, John Higson (232), was a very different sort of man. Richard Hill described him as being " of very proud, revengeful disposition " (233). His eccentricity, bordering upon madness, was not denied by the enemies of Evangelicalism (234). When he lectured on the Thirty-Nine Articles, Higson found that the young Evangelicals in his class were unwilling to accept the interpretation he placed upon them. Eventually he lodged a formal complaint with the Principal that " there were several enthusiasts in the society (St. Edmund Hall) who talked of regeneration, inspiration, and drawing nigh unto God " (235). Dr. Dixon attempted to pacify his colleague, but Higson was out for blood. He therefore took the extreme step of appealing to the Vice-Chancellor, David Durell (236). On February 29, 1768, he

brought charges against six of his pupils (237). The Vice-Chancellor cited the accused to appear before him and his Assessors on March II (238). After a travesty of a trial, the six students were expelled from the University (239).

The name of Haweis was dragged into the proceedings because of his association with one of the six students, Erasmus Middleton (240). Middleton had joined the Methodists in his native town of Horncastle, in Lincolnshire. After occasionally acting as an exhorter, he felt a call to the ministry, and was placed under the tuition of Joseph Townsend at Pewsey, through whose generosity he was enabled to enter St. Edmund Hall (241). The specific charge preferred against him (apart from his intercourse with those of Evangelical persuasions) was that of preaching in the Chapel of Ease in the parish of Clevedon, Berkshire, as an unordained man without a license (242). For this offence he was refused ordination by the Bishop of Hereford (243). He afterwards attached himself to Haweis (possibly through Townsend), who promised to assist him into orders. This allegiance was held against Middleton, in view of the reputation Haweis had already gained at Oxford as a known Evangelical. Exception was taken also to the fact that Haweis had once addressed Middleton as " a dear child of God " (244). Ridiculous as these charges were, they added fresh fuel to the fire already kindled against Haweis. Middleton, however, survived the set-back and lived to justify Haweis' confidence in him. Through the liberality of William Fuller, he was enabled to enter King's College, Cambridge,

where he graduated Bachelor of Divinity (245). He was admitted into orders by James Traill (246), Bishop of Down, served as Curate to Romaine and Cadogan (247), and finally became Rector of Turvey, Bedfordshire (248). He is best known as the author of Biographia Evangelica and as an editor of Luther's Commentary on Galatians (249).

1768 was probably Haweis' unhappiest year. Misfortunes, like sorrows, when they come,

' come not single spies,

But in battalions ! ' (250).

This fateful year saw the tide of prejudice and bitterness against Haweis reach its fullest swell. The dispute with Kimpton came to its malodorous head when, with what was unconsciously perhaps the unkindest cut of all, Lady Huntingdon stepped in to intervene. All the painful memories of Haweis' treatment at Oxford were revived by the St. Edmund Hall expulsions. It seemed as if the work he had maintained there was now doomed to extinction, and that his parish labours at Aldwinckle, begun with such high hopes and early fruits of success, were destined to be rendered vain by the outcry against him. But 1768 was to prove the nadir of his fortunes. From this point the clamour began slowly to die down.

Meanwhile, Haweis pursued his parish duties with a tenacity of purpose which cannot fail to call forth our admiration. Opposition persisted for some time to come, but gradually the uproar ceased. Haweis dared to hope that more peaceful days lay

in store for him (251). It was perhaps this expectation that encouraged him to consider taking unto himself a wife. Incidentally, John Kimpton had offered to supply this very deficiency and had recommended a wealthy niece of his; Haweis politely thanked him for his kindness, but begged to be excused (252). Haweis made a proposal of marriage to the widowed daughter-in-law of Dioderick Beckman, of Wapping; he had known William Beckman at Oxford (253). She turned him down. Afterwards Haweis learned that she had been maliciously informed that her fortune was to pay for his living at Aldwinckle. He also discovered that she already had a secret attachment. He does not appear to have shed many tears over this refusal.

It was in a very different strain that he described at length in his Autobiography his courtship of Judith Wordsworth. He had first met her, as we have seen, when he was resident in London, and he had no doubt been attracted to her. She had been sacrificed to her parents' wishes in her unhappy marriage to John Wordsworth, a man of some social standing who unfortunately proved to be a drunken and dissolute partner. In her sorrow and loneliness she found spiritual consolation in correspondence with Martin Madan, whose Chapel at the Lock she attended. Her health was seriously affected by her husband's ill-treatment of her, and her brother Joseph finally removed her from Wordsworth's house, and had her cared for by a friend in Spring Gardens. Haweis happened to be in London at the time, and was sent for to pray with the patient (254). He not only

gave her the benefit of his spiritual ministration but also of his medical skill, to such good purpose that she was soon fully restored to health. She afterwards confessed that he had saved her life (255). On her recovery, their ways parted for some time, but Haweis again met her on a visit to London, when she was on the point of leaving to keep house for her brother Joseph at Pewsey, where he was now Rector (256). Whilst Joseph Townsend was labouring at Edinburgh in the service of Lady Huntingdon and to the considerable annoyance of John Wesley (257), Haweis supplied his Church and occupied his house (258). Here he renewed his acquaintance with Judith for a period of six weeks, and was impressed not only by her capabilities as a housekeeper, but also by her labours of love amongst the poor of the parish. Joseph Townsend married shortly after this (259), and Judith took a little cottage at Bathsford, just outside Bath, where she continued her work amongst the poor (260). She met Haweis occasionally in London.

Then, when Haweis was on a visit to his relations at Carnanton in 1770, he received a letter from Dr. Bromfield containing the news of John Wordsworth's death (261). On his way back to Aldwinckle he went to London and called on the Townsend family at Austin Friars, where he found Judith, too. With the whole-hearted consent of Joseph and of her sisters - Chauncy Townsend had recently died - he sought and won her hand. For some reason Madan objected to the union, and won over James Townsend (another brother) and John Smith (a brother-in-law)

to his side (262). Though he succeeded in dividing the family, he could not prevent the marriage, which was solemnized in the Church of St. Peter le Poer, London, on January 3, 1771 (263). Romaine lent his Curate, John Foss (264), to supply at Aldwincle, and accepted Haweis as his assistant during his stay in town (265). Judith Wordsworth had been for many years the close friend and correspondent of Romaine and shared his love of the Hebrew language (266). His wedding present to her was a beautifully inscribed copy of Julius Bate's Critica Hebraica (267). Haweis' married life with Judith was an idyll. Their friends called them " the happy pair " (268) and Haweis himself recorded: " I believe two persons hardly ever lived together so many years in a state of such uninterrupted affection " (269). She proved an invaluable helpmate in the parish. She accompanied him in his visitation and resumed the work amongst the poor which had occupied her both at Pewsey and at Bathsford (270). Haweis' parishioners came to love and value her for herself and for her zealous service. The newly-weds determined not to part even for a day. Everything they did together. " We prayed, we read, we walked, we visited together, " said Haweis (271). They were indeed one in Christ Jesus. After all the clamour of his first years at Aldwincle it is reassuring to learn that Haweis' ministry now passed into a quieter phase, in which the dominant note was an unusual domestic felicity.

Not long after his marriage, Haweis, encouraged by his

wife, resolved to complete the academic degree that he had been unable to take at Oxford. He had prepared his exercise there for that purpose, but he knew that he would never meet with anything but opposition in that quarter, and so he had not made application. But when on a visit to Dr. Bromfield he met, as he had done many times before, Anthony Shepherd (272), Professor of Astronomy at the University of Cambridge. Shepherd had often heard Haweis preach at the Lock Chapel and had praised his eloquence. He also shared Haweis' love of music and more than once Shepherd, Haweis, Madan and Felice Giardini (273), the noted Italian violinist, had played quartets together. On this particular occasion Shepherd, who fully sympathized with Haweis in the shameful abuse he had endured at Oxford, urged him to finish his degree at Cambridge, where he promised that no such difficulties would be raised. After some consideration, Haweis decided to accept Shepherd's proposal. He therefore went to Oxford and obtained permission from his College and the Vice-Chancellor to be entered ad eundem at Cambridge (274). He was then admitted to Christ's as a fellow commoner (275). He was treated with the utmost civility. It was necessary for him to make some residence in the College and perform the usual exercises under the Regius Professor of Civil Laws, Samuel Hallifax (276). Haweis was kindly received by Hallifax, who disapproved of the treatment he had met with at Oxford. The Professor took down a volume of Haweis' sermons from his shelves and expressed his appreciation of them. On another occasion he opened Jona-

than Edwards' treatise on The Freedom of the Will and declared, " That book made me a Calvinist " (277). Hallifax allotted Haweis a thesis on which he was to dispute and guided him as to the mode of procedure in drawing out the questions in Latin, a language in which Haweis had not been accustomed to write or speak since he left Oxford (278). He was given a comfortable set of rooms, which Judith was permitted to share. He made a number of friends, amongst whom the chief were John Law and William Paley. Law was the eldest son of the Bishop of Carlisle and brother of Edward, First Lord Ellenborough (279). He was at this time a Fellow of Christ's. His bosom companion was William Paley, later to become famous as a theologian (280). Both Law and Paley assisted Dr. Shepherd in the tuition of the College (281). Haweis' own tutor, however, was Thomas Parkinson (282), from whom he received every kind attention and support. Haweis' musical interests brought him into contact with Nicolas Ximenes, the celebrated virtuoso patronized by Lord Sandwich (283). Haweis, Shepherd and Ximenes met to perform some of Corelli's sonatas one Sunday evening - an act of Sabbath-breaking which gave Haweis some qualms of conscience afterwards (284).

This residence at Cambridge formed a pleasant interlude in Haweis' life, and was duly crowned with success. On July 6, 1772, he was awarded the degree of Bachelor of Laws (285). He left with the warmest invitations to return and take his Doctor's degree after the statutory interval had elapsed. Once

more Haweis picked up the threads of parish life, which, on this occasion, as on others, he had left in the capable hands of his close friend and near neighbour, Dr. Brooke Bridges, of Wadenhoe (286). Haweis had now reached the end of a well-defined period in his life - a period which had opened amidst much trial and tumult, but closed upon a more peaceful scene. Soon a door of great opportunity was to open for him. But this must be reserved for the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

ALDWINCLE 1774-1791

In 1774 Thomas Haweis was appointed Chaplain to the Countess of Huntingdon. This date is definitively established by the Autobiography, and must supersede the statements of Boase, in the Dictionary of National Biography, and Peile that 1768 was the year (1). A letter from Lady Huntingdon to one of her preachers, John Hawkesworth (2), confirms this emendation. On April 2, 1774, the Countess wrote:

The Lord has sent us Mr. Haweis to join our Connection; and indeed he is a most blessed and extraordinary minister. Yet pray on we must for more labourers in our harvest, for truly it is great, and the labourers are few (3).

Haweis already held a similar office, for, shortly after taking orders, he had become Chaplain to the Earl of Peterborough (4). It was quite customary for members of the nobility to keep domestic Chaplains to conduct their family devotions and preach in their private Chapels. In the early days of Evangelicalism this practice offered a means of propagating the Gospel to advantage. Lady Huntingdon employed several such Chaplains. The only one who seems to have fulfilled the normal duties of a household Chaplain was George Baddelley (5). The rest preached under the Countess' patronage to congregations she had gathered to hear the pure milk of the Word. And, as Monsignor Knox remarks, these were not the domestic nonentities we might be tempted to imagine them (6). Whitefield himself had been of

this company, and Romaine, Venn and Shirley were already Chaplains of some years' standing when Haweis joined them. Haweis was at pains to point out that none of them received any emolument for their services (7). The office involved an obligation to minister in the Chapels that Lady Huntingdon had already begun to erect, and which were later to form the preaching places in her Connection. Haweis had previously taken services for Lady Huntingdon, as we have seen. He had been at Brighton (8). He was mentioned as a possible supply for John Berridge at Everton, in 1763 (9). He evidently preferred not to preach in Tottenham Chapel (10). It is possible that Haweis had already supplied at Bath, although he was certainly not present at the opening, for Martin Madan, whom her Ladyship expected to participate in the celebrations, was at the time parting from him at Aldwincle (11). Thus Haweis was clearly regarded as belonging to Lady Huntingdon's band of preachers even before he officially became her Chaplain (12). He now identified himself more closely with her cause.

In the Autobiography he set out at length his reasons for taking this step (13). For some time he had felt that his restricted lot at Aldwincle was not affording him an adequate field of Gospel service. The parish was but a tiny one and hardly demanded a full-time ministry. It could quite conveniently and conscientiously be left to the care of Brooke Bridges and a Curate for some part of the year. The work in the neighbourhood was by now consolidated. After much prayerful

consideration, therefore, and in full consultation with Judith, Haweis decided to seek a sphere of greater usefulness to the Evangelical cause, even at the sacrifice of personal comfort and expenditure. He resolved to make occasional preaching excursions and began with a visit to Bristol to supply for a sick friend. It was whilst thus engaged in the spring of 1774 that Lady Huntingdon met him at Bath and most earnestly solicited him to itinerate regularly for her. The scope of her work was widening rapidly. One of her letters, of October, 1773 (I4), mentioned Wiltshire, Sussex, Kent and Lincolnshire, as well as London and Worcester, as centres of operation. Wales was already catered for and Ireland was being missioned. The number of Chapels was increasing correspondingly (I5). In view of this expansion of her labours Lady Huntingdon felt the need to engage more helpers. She appears to have approached a number of ordained clergymen of the Church of England at this period to invite them to itinerate for her (without necessarily becoming Chaplains). The response was mixed. Some, like Toplady, preferred to remain strictly regular (I6). Others were prepared to fulfil the more irregular ministry of moving around Lady Huntingdon's Chapels according to her instructions. The Countess invited Haweis to join this band and to accept a Chaplain's scarf. After a trial period at Bath, Haweis was so enamoured of the opportunities offered by this service that he agreed to Lady Huntingdon's request, duly joining her Connection and becoming her Chaplain (I7). " So great a door and as it seems

effectual was opened, " he wrote, " that I am willing, whilst my taper burns, it should be in that candlestick " (I8). He determined to devote his time, talents and money to Lady Huntingdon's service. He vowed never to accept a single penny by way of remuneration, either from the Countess herself or from her Chapels. He set aside three hundred pounds per annum to defray the cost involved, including lodgings, a carriage, servants and the provision of a Curate at Aldwinckle. Henceforward some part of each year was given over to this itinerant ministry, except when intermitted through illness, bereavment or pre-occupation with his missionary projects (I9). Haweis' Autobiography and correspondence reveal a fairly regular annual routine from 1774 onwards. He spent the summer and early autumn at Aldwinckle. Leaving his parish in October or November, he would set out on his itinerary, which usually included Brighton, London, Bath and Bristol, returning to Northamptonshire in the spring. Haweis thus entered a service with which he was to be identified, with one interruption, until death, and in which he found abundant scope for an increased usefulness, which brought well merited honour to his name.

Haweis does not appear to have regarded this allegiance to the Countess of Huntingdon as constituting any breach of loyalty to the Church of England. He remained a staunch Churchman. He took the view, shared by other clergymen of the Established Church who laboured for Lady Huntingdon, that, as a peeress of the realm, she had a legal right to employ her Chaplains

in her own Chapels. It is important to remember that Haweis only consented to preach for her on the assurance that where and while he did so no minister of any other denomination should be admitted (20). He was evidently anxious to avoid undue irregularity. Haweis desired to preserve Lady Huntingdon's places of worship as proprietary Chapels within the Church of England. He gravely feared the possibility of secession, but hoped that it might be avoided. He viewed with some trepidation the prospect of men leaving the Church to serve the Connection. He entertained an anxiety for his old friend, Thomas Wills, in this respect - an anxiety that was ultimately justified by the event. He confided to Martha Biddulph:

I am apprehensive Wills will have some difficulty if Lady Huntingdon opens a Chapel, how to demean himself, as there will appear to be some consequences which he cannot but be aware of. The Lord keep his heart simple and faithful is my prayer for him (21).

These scruples concerning order suffice to indicate that, although Haweis at this period cannot be described as a pure Evangelical, confining himself solely to his appointed parish, he is quite clearly to be classed as an Evangelical rather than as a Methodist.

At this point it is convenient to raise the question of Haweis' relationship to Lady Huntingdon's theological College at Trevecka. The Countess had always shown an interest in ministerial training. She subscribed to the evangelical seminary established by Dissenting ministers in London, and also to Dr. Doddridge's academy in Northampton. She first supplied her

Chapels almost entirely with ministers of the Church of England, but as her preaching places multiplied, these proved insufficient for the task. She therefore decided to found a College to train students at her own expense. In 1754 Howell Harris had started his religious community at Trevecka, in Breconshire (22), and it was from him that Lady Huntingdon rented an ancient building that had originally been part of a castle in the reign of Henry II (23). The College was opened by Whitefield on the Countess' birthday, August 24, 1768 (24). It provided a steady stream of Gospel preachers to supply not only Lady Huntingdon's Chapels, but many Dissenting meeting places as well (25). This latter feature did not please Haweis, and though he rejoiced in the success of the students sent forth, he could not see his way either to visit the College or to take any active part in its management (26). He disagreed with Lady Huntingdon as to the function of the College. He would have preferred it to prepare men solely for the ministry of the Church of England. He believed that such an institution was necessary to provide the kind of training which Conon and Walker had so generously afforded him. Trevecka could fulfil a valuable purpose in this respect, especially since the attitude of the University authorities both at Oxford and Cambridge was so severe to Evangelicalism. But that the College should become a nursery to feed the Dissenting ministry was something Haweis never contemplated and could not support (27). These opinions of Haweis, disclosed by his Diary, make it difficult for us to believe that

he was, as has been claimed, a manager of Trevecka College from its inception (28). There is no mention of his association with the institution in any capacity in any of Haweis' manuscripts until, on the Countess' death in 1791, he became a trustee for all her property. It seems, therefore, extremely unlikely that Haweis was in any way responsible for the College prior to this date.

Having thus boldly nailed his colours to the mast of Lady Huntingdon's vessel, Haweis returned to the University of Cambridge in 1776 to claim the Doctor's degree that had been promised him. It is hardly surprising that in the interval the news of his Chaplaincy had revived the former prejudices against him in relation to his ejection from Oxford and the Aldwincle affair. Opposition was stirred up to resist his application, and though he was assured that he would meet with none in the Caput, he was defeated by an equality of votes. The records simply indicate that he was 'stop't' without any sort of explanation (29). Dr. Hallifax, who had defended him before the Senate, urged him not to consider the suspension as final and advised him to renew his application at the next commencement. This he did. Richard Watson (30), the Regius Professor of Divinity, assured him that there was too much good sense in the University to countenance a repetition of the injustice, and the Bishop of Peterborough (31), who was Master of Trinity, promised his support. It was on this occasion, too, that Lord Chief Baron Smythe wrote to the Vice-Chancellor of the Univer-

sity testifying to the integrity of Haweis in the Aldwinckle transaction. However, the enemies of Evangelicalism canvassed their friends to oppose Haweis and brought so many into the Junior Master's House that he was outvoted by one (32). Haweis therefore resolved to press the matter no further. He felt he had now borne the cross in both Universities and he was ready to see the hand of God even in these unfortunate circumstances (33). The kindness of Dr. Hallifax was unfailing to the last, and before Haweis left, he admitted that he was restrained by his position and expectations of preferment from saying all that he felt. Haweis was thus forcibly reminded that he was living in the eighteenth century, when too often the ruling passion in ecclesiastical circles was the desire for promotion. He decided that if he was to be censured for his service to Lady Huntingdon, then he would devote himself unsparingly to that service. If this was to be vile, he would submit to be more vile (34).

Haweis had not been long a Chaplain to Lady Huntingdon when he found himself involved in another affair which brought his name into unfortunate prominence and eventually led to the secession of the Countess' Connection from the Church of England. In March, 1774, a large building in Spa Fields, Clerkenwell, formerly used as a place of amusement, was advertized as for sale (35). It had been built in 1770 on the site of an old inn, the Ducking Pond House (36). It was a spacious, circular auditorium, with a seating capacity of between two and three thousand, built in imitation of the famous Pantheon in Rome and

named after it. The fact that the Pantheon was unoccupied and on the market was brought to the Countess' notice (37). She seriously considered purchasing it for use as a Chapel, and a correspondence ensued between the Countess and Toplady. Walter Shirley, Antony Crole and David Parker had met in Toplady's study to discuss the proposal (38). The expense of transforming the edifice into a Chapel appeared to be prohibitive, and the situation was not regarded as ideal. Acting, with some reluctance, upon this advice, Lady Huntingdon abandoned her plan (39). The Pantheon was almost immediately sold to a company of zealous Christian men who turned it into a Chapel, and appointed two Gospel ministers, Herbert Jones and William Taylor, to conduct services there (40). The renovated building was reopened for worship on July 5, 1777 (41). It was known as Northampton Chapel, as the ground on which it stood belonged to the Marquis of Northampton (42). Large congregations were attracted - so large that the Rector of Clerkenwell, William Sellon (43), raised objections and intervened. He protested against this intrusion into his parish and claimed the right to preach in the Chapel whenever he desired, and to nominate the officiating clergy (44). He threatened to take the matter to the ecclesiastical courts should the ministers and proprietors fail to comply with his demands. A lawsuit followed, when the Chapel Committee refused to accept Sellon's articles. Jones and Taylor were cited to the Consistorial Court of the Bishop of London on a charge of preaching in a place not episcopally consecrated and

without the consent of the parish incumbent. A verdict was obtained against them and they were forbidden to preach in the Chapel, which had to be closed (45).

When Lady Huntingdon heard that the Pantheon was once again vacant, she hastened to fulfil her former plan. Encouraged by Berridge and after consultation with Lord Dartmouth, John Thornton, Antony Crole and Robert Keen (46), she eventually became proprietrix of Northampton Chapel (47). Lord Dartmouth and John Thornton advised the Countess on certain improvements and alterations. The building was renamed Spa Fields Chapel and was reopened on March 28, 1779 (48). Haweis preached the official sermon from I Corinthians I, 23, 24 before an overflowing congregation (49). He and Cradock Glascott were appointed Chaplains. Lady Huntingdon believed that she was entitled to employ her own Chaplains when and where she pleased on her own premises. She assumed that, as a peeress of the realm, her Chapels would be regarded as private and therefore did not require to be registered in the Diocesan Court under the Toleration Act. She was not permitted to entertain this delusion for much longer. William Sellon, who according to Seymour " most justly merited the appellation of Sanballat " (50), returned to the attack and challenged the Countess in the ecclesiastical courts. Haweis and Glascott were summoned before the Consistorial Court on May 26, 1780, and the suit against Lady Huntingdon proved successful (51). The two Chaplains were forbidden either to preach or read prayers in Spa Fields Chapel, and were severely admonished by

the judge (52). Thomas Wills, who had resigned the curacy of St. Agnes to enter the Countess' Connection, and had succeeded Haweis and Glascott at Spa Fields, and William Taylor, who followed, were both placed under the same ban (53). This legal decision, of course, jeopardized the status of all the Countess' Chapels. The Spa Fields crisis brought the whole matter to a head. It became urgently necessary for Lady Huntingdon to define her position. The issue is clearly stated by Overton and Relton:

If her Chapels were still to be regarded as belonging to the Church, then the laws of the Church must be obeyed. If not, and they were to be sheltered under the Toleration Act, they must be registered as Dissenting places of worship (54).

She chose the latter alternative and thus found herself, perhaps somewhat unwillingly, a Dissenter (55). In 1781 the Countess of Huntingdon's Connection ceased to be a society within the Established Church and became a sect. This secession was further emphasized when on March 9, 1783, the first public ordination of her ministers was held (56). A number of clergymen withdrew from the Connection at the secession, amongst whom were Romaine, Venn, Jesse and Townsend. Thomas Haweis followed suit (57). He had strongly urged the Countess not to secede. He wrote in the Autobiography:

I strove very hard always to preserve her Chapels regular, to maintain a propriety and dignity in the service, and to admit none to preach where I was whom I did not think qualified to appear before a polite as well as intelligent auditory. Multitudes of the clergy and nobility were then attending the ministry, and I have to be thankful for the happy effects produced which to mention might be ill-conceived. I struggled hard to prevent any departure from the Church and

to impress on her Ladyship the advantages which must accrue from affording those that preferred that mode of worship the best means of edification in it (58).

He fully realized, however, that the attitude of Sellon and the verdict of the Consistorial Court had forced the Countess' hand:

For what has happened the authors of it only have to thank themselves, and if any of our Church rulers instigated the process, I believe by this time they must be fully convinced that it was as impolitic as unchristian (59).

Haweis felt that in the new circumstances he could not continue to itinerate for the Countess, and for eight years he left her Connection. This decision on his part further underlines his allegiance at this juncture to the Evangelical rather than to the Methodist wing of the Revival.

Haweis' incessant labours at Spa Fields contributed to the longest breakdown in health he ever suffered. Whilst at the Lock he had already been compelled to watch himself in this respect. The heat of the Chapel shook his constitution and he fell prey to an intermittent fever which threatened serious consequences. Although he was at that time not thirty years of age, his hair, which had been fine and profuse, began to turn grey and thin out from the crown. Dr. Bromfield then ordered him a complete rest, which he had taken with the Wordsworths at Bannstead (60). This same complaint, in a more violent form, seems to have overtaken Haweis in 1780. The house at Spa Fields, he said, was as unpleasant and unhealthy as the work was exacting (61). Throughout the dispute with Sellon, Haweis was without assistance (Glascott being doubtless employed elsewhere in the

Connection), having to read prayers as well as preach in " that vast but beautiful Chapel " (62), and administer Communion every other Sunday to many hundreds of communicants. The excessive heat of the Chapel - " hell was a cold bath to it, " he declared (63) - brought about a recurrence of his former ailment. It was felt that a change of air might help him, so he returned to his native Cornwall, where he took duty in Biddulph's Church at Padstow (64). For a time he seemed to improve, but after the heavy duties of Easter Day, 1781, he caught a severe chill which brought on fever and ague (65). A protracted illness laid him at death's door and suspended his ministry for the longest period in his life (66). After a relapse whilst convalescent at Truro, he was eventually able to return to Aldwinckle by easy stages, including a brief stay with Joseph Townsend at Pewsey. Characteristically, Haweis was able to see the mercy of God even in the circumstances of his expulsion from Spa Fields. Had he not been prohibited from preaching there he might have worked himself to death (67).

On his recovery, Haweis completed a work which he had evidently begun before his illness took its severest turn. His pen had lain almost idle since he had finished The Evangelical Expositor. His only publication of any length since then had been A Familiar and Practical Improvement of the Church Catechism (1775). He now felt it to be his painful duty to take up the literary cudgels against his old friend and superior, Martin Madan. In 1780 Madan had published two volumes entitled

Thelyphthora: or, a Treatise on Female Ruin in which he recommended polygamy as a solution to the problems of prostitution and profligacy. Whilst the work was in the press the Countess of Huntingdon begged him to suppress it, adding " that she could send him a paper signed by above three thousand persons, with the same request " (68). Madan replied " that if there were six thousand names, it should not prevent the publication of the book " (69). Thelyphthora was born out of Madan's long association with the Lock Hospital which was reserved, as we have seen, exclusively for venereal patients. Contact with unfortunate women, who had been driven to prostitution after being seduced by some irresponsible man and then left in the lurch, impressed this problem upon the mind and heart of Madan. He set himself to offer a solution which he claimed as Scriptural. He wished to align the civil law with the Law of God, as represented in the precepts of the Pentateuch (70). He strongly deprecated a legal system which treated women as of less consequence than the beasts of the field and which regarded it as less penal to seduce and abandon to prostitution a thousand women than to steal, kill or even maim an ox or sheep (71). In his defence it must be said that Madan was in no way advocating immorality. He was rather seeking to safeguard morals by providing a deterrent to licentiousness. As J.W. Middleton points out in his Ecclesiastical Memoir, Madan

never intended to recommend polygamy in the abstract, but conceived that such a regulation would act as a powerful check to that profligacy which ensnared so many females whose subsequent misery he was constrained to witness at the

Hospital which was the particular scene of his ministry (72).

Haweis intended to refute Madan's treatise as soon as it appeared, but his illness intervened. In 1781, however, he was able to publish his reply: A Scriptural Refutation of the Arguments for Polygamy advanced in a Treatise entitled Thelyphthora. He was solely concerned to answer Madan's interpretation of Scripture. He was deeply disturbed that Madan should base his proposals on Holy Writ. Haweis was driven himself to " search the oracles Divine " (73) and his entire refutation of Madan was drawn from " the grand treasury of Divine wisdom and knowledge, the Bible " (74). Haweis considered Thelyphthora to constitute one of the most dangerous attacks on Christianity that the century had produced (75). To argue that such a plan as Madan had advanced would promote purity and that its rejection would prove a hindrance to the Gospel was an instance of muddled thinking (76). Haweis reversed Madan's maxim that what he did not find under the Law he would not admit under the Gospel dispensation. Haweis preferred to proceed on the principle that what was not found in the Gospel was merely local and peculiar in the Law (77). Whilst Madan was primarily occupied with the Old Testament, Haweis began with the New (78). He challenged Madan to produce a single instance of polygamy in the New Testament or the shadow of a sanction for the practice (79). He asked if any body of faithful Christians since New Testament times had condoned polygamy. Was there any support from the Fathers or Reformers ? (80). Was it then left to Madan to make this revolut-

ionary discovery that polygamy was Scripturally approved ?

" Reader, " he concluded, " let thy indignation give place to pity and prayer " (81).

Haweis then turned to meet Madan's interpretation of the Old Testament (82). The Law was good, Haweis argued, if and when used lawfully. But local and temporary regulations were not to be incorporated into " the eternal rules of the Church of God " (83). Much of Madan's case was based upon the supposed polygamy of Abraham. Haweis rightly pointed out that Abraham was no polygamist. There is no suggestion that Hagar was his wife. She was cast out into the desert, and the line was continued in Isaac, the son of the only true wife. Abraham had no other legal partner until after Sarah's death (84). Jacob was betrayed into polygamy " rather with aversion than from choice " (85). Haweis did not deny that polygamy was practised in the period of the judges, but that it had the Divine sanction was strongly contested (86). Madan considered the Mosaic Law to be decisive in his favour. Haweis effectively contrasted the Law and the Gospel (87), and concluded:

Everything contained in the Mosaical ordinances respecting polygamy evidently appears to be merely regulations to prevent the evil consequences which might arise from it to the injured party: or as penalties on the offender (88).

He carefully examined the prophets, but could find neither warrant for nor approval of polygamy (89). No such practice existed amongst the Jews at the time of Christ's advent, nor is it anywhere suggested that polygamy was admitted after the Exile (90). In conclusion, Haweis referred his readers to the first

section of his reply. The New Testament evidence was for him decisive. He was content to rest his argument on Scripture alone, not on any Malthusian ratio relating to the proportion of the sexes (91).

Haweis was not the only writer to challenge Madan. Lady Huntingdon commissioned Thomas Wills to answer Thelyphthora, which he did effectively in his Remarks on Polygamy (92). John Smith, Rector of Nantwich, also countered Madan's arguments in Polygamy Indefensible (93). Joseph Benson penned a series of letters to John Wesley rebutting Madan's treatise (94). Sir Richard Hill's refutations are contained in The Blessings of Polygamy (95). Wilson, in his Dissenting Churches, mentions An Answer to Mr. Madan's Thelyphthora by John Towers (96). Badcock severely criticized Madan in the Monthly Review (97). William Cowper printed his anonymous "Anti-Thelyphthora: a Tale in Verse" in 1781 (98). It was later discovered by Southey and included in the poet's general works (99). The thought of Cowper's "Love Abused" was also prompted by this controversy (100). Madan replied to Haweis in a third volume, which failed to meet the real point of Haweis' criticism and added little worthy of note to what had already been written. As a result of the scandal aroused by his treatise, Madan resigned his Chaplaincy of the Lock and retired to Epsom (101). In 1783 Haweis ventured into a rather different realm of literature, with Siberian Anecdotes, A Novel and Memoirs of the Manstein Family - and this with the English novel scarcely out of its

cradle !

The shadow of death appears to have hung over the next few years of Haweis' life. He had himself escaped from its very jaws, but he was to see one dear friend after another removed. Already his father in God, George Conon, had gone to his reward (102). In 1783 Martha Biddulph died (103) and Thomas Adam in 1784 (104). In 1786 Walter Shirley passed away at the house of his brother-in-law in Dublin (105). But these sad losses could hardly have prepared Haweis for the blow that was to fall in the death of Judith (106), on August 24, 1786. Yet even in this unexpected bereavement he found consolation in his faith. " My heart fled daily to the Great Refuge. He supported me under the stroke of His hand. He allowed me to mourn, but preserved me from murmuring " (107). Bravely Haweis endeavoured to pick up the broken threads of life. He did not allow any interruption of his parish duty. He " preached with flowing tears the Lord's Day following her sepulture " (108). He found his work a great source of comfort and renewed his vows of fidelity to Almighty God. After visiting the Smiths (109) in London, he went into Wales in the winter of 1786. Haweis first supplied a pulpit in Swansea whilst the Vicar was away. His Evangelical preaching swiftly filled the Church and the Vicar hastened back to dismiss him (110). Haweis then assisted at Llansamlet, Glamorgan, which was under the patronage of John Smith, who owned coal mines in the neighbourhood (111). Haweis preached each Sunday in English at twelve after the minister had

conducted a Welsh service. He also preached at St. John's, Swansea, in the afternoon, to crowded congregations (II2). He acted as domestic Chaplain to Smith's relations and expounded the Scripture in the house on Sunday evenings (II3). It was here, in the land of song, that Haweis the hymn writer was born. His sorrow taught him to sing.

Here, soothed by the attentions of kind friends, I endeavoured to divert my mind from poring on irremediable evils by turning it to the composition of hymns, which may some day see the light, and at that time served a very good purpose. And for these I attempted to compose melodies, suitable to the sentiments they contained (II4).

Although it was not until 1792 that the hymns mentioned above actually saw the light (II5), it will be appropriate to consider them now, when the bulk of them were composed.

Haweis' interest in the musical side of the Evangelical Revival has already been noticed (II6). He never forgot his experience under Madan at the Lock Chapel. At Aldwinckle he had revolutionized the praise and people came from near and far, attracted not only by Haweis' preaching, but also by the congregational singing. " I am partial to hymn singing, " Haweis admitted, " I have seen its blessed and happy effects. And I believe it to be one of the most powerful means of reviving the spirit of animated religion among us " (II7). He deplored the low ebb to which psalmody had sunk and the prevailing prejudice against the introduction of hymns.

I may venture to say, that nothing can be more absurd than to enthrone Sternhold and Hopkins, or Tate and Brady, in our Churches, to the exclusion of more edifying compositions, which even in Queen Elizabeth's day were allowed (II8).

The last point is worthy of notice. Haweis did not pose as an innovator. He claimed to have tradition on his side. He quoted Pliny's Letter to Trajan on his title page: Carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem (119). On the following page, opposite the Advertizement, he printed this passage from Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions to the Clergy, in 1559:

For the comforting of such as delight in music, it may be permitted, that in the beginning or in the end of Common Prayer, either morning or evening, there may be sung an hymn, or suchlike song, to the praise of Almighty God, in the best melody and music that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sense of the hymn may be understood and perceived (120).

In the Preface Haweis painted a pathetic picture of eighteenth century worship - a picture which is largely substantiated by other contemporary evidence (121).

Even in our public worship the voice of joy and gladness is too commonly silent, unless in that shameful mode of psalmody, now almost confined to the wretched solo of a parish clerk, or to a few persons huddled together in one corner of the Church, who sing to the praise and glory of themselves, for the entertainment, or oftener for the weariness of the rest of the congregation; an absurdity too glaring to be overlooked, and too shocking to be ridiculous ! (122).

Haweis spoke feelingly from all too painful experience at Aldwinchle. More recently at Swansea he had met with even more lamentable conditions, for the Choir consisted of a solitary voice, which was well-nigh drowned when the pealing organ blew ! (123). As a remedy for this disgraceful state of affairs, Haweis recommended the introduction of congregational hymn singing. He was well aware of the inveterate prejudice against the practice, but was firmly convinced that sacred song could become an effective instrument not only of devotion, but also of evangelism.

It is a well known fact and observation that hymns to the Saviour's praise have constantly revived with every revival of real godliness, and as constantly borne the badge of reproach from the world, as they have marked out the peculiar people of God.

I am persuaded also, that no other method of communicating the knowledge of religious truths hath been attended with happier effects, or serves to leave deeper impressions of them on the memory and conscience of the common people, than sacred songs. And for whom should we delight to labour but for these ? ' To the poor the Gospel is preached ' (I24).

It was as a humble contribution towards this end that Thomas Haweis offered his collection of hymns to the Evangelical world. He came to cast his mite into the treasury along with those whom he was content to recognize as his superiors - Isaac Watts, Philip Doddridge, Charles Wesley, John Newton, William Cowper, Joseph Hart (I25).

There were two hundred and fifty-six hymns in the fullest edition of Carmina Christo (I26), for fifty-four of which Haweis had composed his own tunes. These latter were published separately. The first part was mainly devoted to general hymns based on Scripture texts (Nos. I-I29, I34-I37). Then followed hymns for special occasions - Baptism (Nos. I45-I48), Communion (Nos. I54-I56), Fast Days (Nos. I40, I4I, I77, 2I4, 2I5), the Seasons (Nos. I59-I64), " The Dark and Cloudy Day " (No. I67), " Child Bed Song " (No. I49), " The Cherub Infant's Hymn " (No. I52), " Thanks on Return to the House of God " (No. I53), " On a Minister Parting " (No. I78), and " Aged Minister's Hymn " (No. I80). The last section comprised paraphrases of the Gospel according to St. Matthew (Nos. 2I7-256). There was a wide variety of metre, with Long

and Common Measure predominating (127). The general quality of the hymns was reasonably good throughout and a few rose above the average and still hold a place in modern hymnals. The best known are: " O Thou from Whom all goodness flows " (No. 62), " From the Cross uplifted high " (No. 134), " Submissive to Thy will, O God " (No. 65), " Our children, Lord, in faith and prayer " (No. 147), " God's foundation standeth sure " (No. 63). Others not so familiar, but worthy of revival, are: " Great Spirit ! by Whose mighty power " (No. 14), " Spirit of God and glory, send " (No. 55), " When in affliction's furnace tried " (No. 64), " Spirit of power, descend " (No. 99), " Holy Bible ! Blessed book ! " (No. 183). As a composer of hymn tunes Haweis is remembered by " Richmond," originally set to " O Thou from Whom all goodness flows," with a repeat in the fourth line. It is named after Haweis' friend, Legh Richmond, Rector of Turvey, Bedfordshire, in succession to Erasmus Middleton, and author of The Dairyman's Daughter (128). A.S. Gregory praises it as a tune " of superlative merit " (129).

After a visit to his relatives in Cornwall - during which time he had ample opportunity for preaching owing to the illness of two local clergymen (130) - Haweis returned to Aldwinckle in the summer of 1787. His flock had been cared for by Dr. Bridges and a Curate. The Parish Registers of All Saints, Aldwinckle, suggest that until 1776, apart from help received from visiting clergy, Haweis laboured without assistance. After this date the names of several Curates appear. Samuel Phillipps,

a former Tutor at Trevecka College, who had previously assisted William Jesse, was Haweis' Curate in July, 1776 (I31). Thomas Charles of Bala nearly took the position in 1778, but the arrangement fell through (I32). David Davis, who had been Curate of Llangelgar, Carmarthenshire, officiated from June, 1781, to October, 1783 (I33). The name of Charles Chew is not found in the Registers until 1790, but the Autobiography implied that he was associated with Haweis earlier than this date, and it is probably he who was left in charge in 1786-1787 (I34).

For a while Haweis struggled against his domestic solitude, but eventually, obeying Judith's express injunctions in her lifetime, he decided to seek another partner. His choice fell upon Jennett Payne Orton, the boon companion of Lady Huntingdon. Miss Orton travelled with the Countess on all her many excursions and liberally supported the Evangelical cause from her considerable fortune (I35). Haweis had known her for many years and he and Judith had visited her at the house of her uncle, Dr. Gillies Payne, at Tempsford (I36). A sermon by Haweis more than twenty years before had first drawn her towards Evangelicalism, and led to her intimacy with Lady Huntingdon (I37). The marriage was solemnized at St. Luke's, Old Street, London, in the year 1788 (I38). Sir James Wright (I39) gave away the bride. After a protracted stay at Aldwinckle, Haweis and his wife spent part of the winter of 1788-1789 at Bristol. They took lodgings in College Green, near Haweis' friend Harris (I40). As the latter was taken ill, as well as Joseph Easter-

brook, of the Temple Church (I41), and William Tandey, Curate of St. Mary le Port (I42), Haweis had many opportunities of preaching. He was particularly attracted to this Evangelical stronghold. " I know no city, " he wrote, " where more light and truth of Gospel grace dwelled in the Church and meeting, and nowhere have I met with such respect and attention from the magistrates " (I43). His stay at Bristol was extended because of a heavy snowfall which prevented his departure.

It was whilst he was thus detained by the weather at Bristol in 1789 that the way was opened for Haweis to return to the service of Lady Huntingdon. As has been seen, the Spa Fields dispute had caused him to withdraw from the Connection, and he had not appeared in any of her Ladyship's Chapels since 1780. Whilst at Bristol in 1789 he received a visit from William Taylor, who was then stationed at Bath, with a letter from Lady Huntingdon begging him in the strongest terms to rejoin the Connection (I44). Haweis was disposed to reconsider his position. The contest with Sellon was a thing of the past: he had so sickened all his supporters that they vowed they would never take up a similar case again (I45). Haweis' wife was emphatically in favour of his return to the Huntingdonian fold. He therefore decided to identify himself once more with the Countess' cause, and in the spring of 1789 he took up residence in the Chapel house at Bath and served the congregation there for several months (I46). Haweis has been severely criticized for his continued allegiance to Lady Huntingdon after she had seceded

from the Church of England. It has not been generally recognized, however, that he did actually sever himself from the Connection at the time of the secession, and only later resumed service with the Countess. His position was nevertheless peculiar. Beilby Porteus, later Bishop of London, said that when Lady Huntingdon registered her Chapels as Dissenting meeting houses it was impossible for a clergyman " to divide himself between sectarianism and the Establishment, between the Church of England and the Church of Lady Huntingdon " (I47). It was this prodigious contortion which Haweis succeeded in performing when in 1789 he took up work once again in the Connection. Some, like Wills and Taylor, had left the Church of England to join the Countess. Others had permanently separated themselves from the Connection. Haweis now adopted a middle course. He remained a clergyman of the Established Church whilst resuming his itineracy in what had become a Dissenting body. After the stand he had taken prior to the secession in his anxiety to preserve the regularity of the Chapels under the Countess' care, his decision in 1789 seems strangely inconsistent and less characteristic of the true Evangelical attitude than his previous alignment. As Stoughton has pointed out, Haweis' continued service for Lady Huntingdon suggests that

the decision of the ecclesiastical courts regarding the Spa Fields case was not considered to have settled the question as to whether cooperation with the Countess affected the legal position of an English incumbent (I48).

It is significant, however, that Haweis refused to take part in any ordination service in the Connection. At a later date he

wrote to his Bishop on this point:

Your Lordship may rest assured that from the day Lady Huntingdon pressed me into her service to the present I never ordained an individual in her Connection, nor joined others in such appointment, but studiously avoided being present on such occasions (I49).

The society at Bath had passed through a trying period since Haweis had last ministered there. In 1782 there had been a split which led to the building of Argyle Chapel, later famous as the pulpit of William Jay (I50). Congregations had dwindled and the finances were seriously reduced. Haweis was soon able to gather an auditory that " crammed the House from door to door " (I51) and to extricate the Chapel from its pecuniary embarrassment.

It was whilst Haweis was thus engaged at Bath that he took the first practical steps towards the realization of a dream he had cherished over a number of years. He had read the thrilling narratives of Samuel Wallis and James Cook describing their voyages to the South Seas, and, like William Carey, had felt the challenge of Cook's prophecy that the island of Tahiti would never become the scene of a Christian mission (I52). Haweis longed to see these far off regions won for Jesus Christ.

I could not but feel deep regret that so beautiful a part of creation, and the inhabitants of these innumerable islands of the Southern Sea, should be regions of the shadow of death and dens of every unclean beast and habitations of cruelty devouring literally one another. Led by the Gospel through grace on all occasions to look for help to Him Who is mighty to save, I could not but hope and pray that this providential discovery of a before unknown world might lead to the communicating of Divine truth to these benighted lands, and bring them out of darkness into His marvellous light, Who is the light of life (I53).

It was whilst he was serving Lady Huntingdon at Bath late in 1789 that Haweis first broached to her the possibility of sending missionaries to Tahiti, and she thereupon offered him two of her Trevecka students to be trained for this purpose. Haweis immediately closed with the offer and undertook to educate the candidates at his own expense. The two men were Michael Waugh, aged twenty-eight, and John Price, aged twenty-three or twenty-four. Haweis examined them and found them well versed in the Scriptures and the principles of theology, but lacking the advantages of a school education. Haweis and his friend Dr. Walker, who had volunteered to assist, began to coach these missionary aspirants for their task (154).

Their course was comprehensive. They were first taken through Lowth's A Short Introduction to English Grammar in order to gain a mastery of their own tongue. They were regularly required to compose essays, especially on sacred subjects, with a view to improving their powers of expression. They were then taught enough Latin to enable them to construe the Latin Testament. Their practical equipment was not neglected. They were given an intensive course in geography and history, so that they might have some knowledge of the islands to which they were to go. They were taught by a gardener to croft and plant and also how to use an axe and saw. They had lessons in elementary needlework so that they would be able to care for their own clothes. Haweis instructed them in the rudiments of first aid and nursing, and, by courtesy of the surgeon at the casualty

hospital, they were able to watch the patients' wounds being dressed. Haweis admitted that their training was necessarily hurried. He would have liked to introduce them to classical literature, but he felt that these practical matters were more important. He consoled himself with the French proverb: Dans les paies des aveugles les bourgeois sont rois. When Haweis left Bath in the spring of 1790, he arranged for Waugh and Price to attend Edward Spencer's academy at Wingfield (I55). There they were to remain until Haweis returned to Bath in the winter, or an opportunity offered to send them on their mission. Thus the project stood during the year 1790.

Meanwhile, Haweis found himself once again obliged to express his disagreement with Lady Huntingdon, on this occasion in criticism of her newly proposed plan for her Chapels. As she realized that her days were numbered, Lady Huntingdon felt it wise to draw up a scheme for the government of her Connection after her death. She had retained the sole power of appointing and removing ministers and of selecting managers to superintend the secular affairs of her Chapels (I56). Now she was placed in a similar position to John Wesley when, in 1784, he constituted the Legal Hundred in order to perpetuate his work. In 1790 a number of ministers and laymen formed themselves into an Association, at her Ladyship's invitation, to devise some means of carrying on the management of the Connection. The sketch of the plan was dated Spa Field, March 3, 1790, and signed " By order of the Countess of Huntingdon and the Association -

George Best, Secretary " (I57). It was sent to all members of the Connection, accompanied by a letter from the Countess in which she expressed her hope that it would prove generally acceptable. Unfortunately this letter seems to have disappeared, but the plan, which is said to have originated with William Francis Platt, then supplying Spa Fields for the first time, is preserved in full by Seymour (I58). It proposed to form a body bearing the title of The Countess Dowager of Huntingdon's General Association. The whole Connection was to be divided into twenty-three districts, each with its own Committee, responsible through the London Acting Association to the General Association at its annual meeting. Each district was to send a minister and two laymen as representatives to this yearly conference. A special delegated power was to be vested in the London Acting Association. Arrangements were also proposed for raising a fund to support the Association. Lady Huntingdon wrote a special letter to the congregation of her Chapel at Bath, which has happily survived. In it she warmly commended the plan of union to their sympathetic consideration (I59).

Such a scheme, however, did not appeal to Haweis and he wrote on the back of the envelope containing the above letter, " If her Ladyship pleases to insist on the scheme being enforced at Bath, I shall be very sorry, as I am unable to concur in it, and it must separate me from you " (I60). He later wrote two letters of explanation to Lady Huntingdon, draft copies of which have been preserved amongst his correspondence. In them he made

it clear that he still regarded the Connection as in essence a society within the Church of England, despite the step taken in 1781. This revelation of Haweis' outlook may help in some measure to explain his return to the Connection in 1789. He objected to the new plan on the grounds that it would turn the Connection into a Dissenting denomination. He feared the prevalent spirit of independency and believed that the Dissenters were awaiting just such an opportunity as this to increase their numbers. As to the rulers of the Established Church, so far from being alarmed or concerned, they would find, Haweis thought, only an occasion of triumph and contempt. He continued:

These endless divisions serve only to expose and weaken exceedingly the real cause of God and truth among us, if I judge right: and to put fresh difficulties in that path which seemed increasingly to brighten. In the Church of England the great work hath of late years been carried on; almost all the lively Christians have been of late in her communion; these God hath eminently given His blessing, both in raising up ministers, and giving singular success. In that particular your Ladyship hath been eminently blessed, your privilege opening a door of utterance and usefulness such as has been most singularly useful (oh that it might be enlarged !) and therefore in the Church I think the present work promises to be carried on with success..... My poor judgment fully convinces me, amidst all our ill usage from those who have power in the Church, that our faithful adherence to her ordinances will be the most powerful means of promoting that great end. I am sure that so doing we shall also stand more eminently in their view to condemn, or convince them, and the world around us (161).

There surely, if anywhere, speaks Thomas Haweis the Evangelical.

Haweis strongly objected to the proposal that every minister in the Connection should be subject to an Association chiefly composed of laymen, and also to the suggestion of a penny collection in the congregations. He begged the Countess

to consult her friends on the whole matter and to reconsider her decision, " but if your Ladyship is fixed in the disposition of this place to the Committee in London, love me, bless me, and dismiss me " (I62). Monsignor Knox somewhat sardonically observes that in all the galaxy of evangelists serving Lady Huntingdon only John Berridge " writes to her with no hint of approaching her on all fours " (I63). Surely the name of Haweis deserves to be added to that of Berridge in view of the correspondence just quoted.

Haweis was not alone in opposing Lady Huntingdon's plan. His wife, who had an intimate knowledge of the Connection, agreed whole-heartedly with him. Lady Anne Erskine also objected, and it was eventually dropped. Both Seymour and New regret that it was not carried into effect (I64). The latter contended that had the trustees and ministers been compelled to adhere to a constituted order, the Countess of Huntingdon's Connection would by his time (I857) have occupied a conspicuous position amongst the religious denominations of England. " The auspicious moment, however, passed, and the golden opportunity has never yet returned " (I65). But, although Haweis has been dubbed a schismatic because he was willing to preach in the Countess' Chapels after they had been licensed under the Toleration Act, it is evident that he had no love of schism for schism's sake and at heart desired to see the Evangelical Revival functioning in and through the Established Church. If his attitude in I789 appeared somewhat inconsistent, his stand in I790 marked him as in-

dubitably an Evangelical.

It was in 1790 that Haweis first recorded in his Diary that the annual conference of Evangelical clergymen in the East Midland area met at Aldwinckle (166). This Clerical Club, much on the lines of that founded by Samuel Walker at Truro, assembled, less frequently than its model, for prayer, Bible study and mutual edification in things spiritual. Amongst those present in 1790 were the aged Henry Venn and young Charles Simeon. The previous year the conference had gathered at Rauceby, near Sleaford, in Lincolnshire, where John Pugh was Vicar (167). For several years to come Aldwinckle was their venue. In 1790, too, Haweis broke new ground by going on a preaching tour of Leicestershire (168). The year saw the passing of two of Haweis' oldest friends, Martin Madan and Thomas Biddulph (169).

Having made the usual arrangements for the supervision of his parish, Haweis went again, via London and Brighton, to Bath, where he stayed from November, 1790, to June, 1791 (170). Whilst he was there Joseph Easterbrook, of Bristol, passed away, and Haweis attended his funeral (171). As on previous occasions, Dr. Walker assisted him in reading the prayers and administering the Communion. There were five or six weekly preachings and frequent conversions. It was noticeable that many of the nobility and clergy now came to hear Haweis. In view of this, he was led to dwell in his discourses on the Articles and Liturgy, and the sense in which they were to be understood. This formed the subject of one of the chapters in his Essays on the Evidence,

Characteristic Doctrines, and Influence of Christianity, which appeared anonymously in 1790. " I published without a name, " he explained, " that it might be read by some who would have closed it on reading the title page, but if the Lord is pleased to bless it, that is all I seek " (172). As Abbey has remarked, " Treatises on the evidences of Christianity constitute a principal part of the theological literature of the eighteenth century " (173). The controversies of the earlier half of the century evoked a vigorous apologetic. Nathaniel Lardner had produced the sixteen volumes of his massive The Credibility of the Gospel History between 1727 and 1757, and more recently, in 1776, Soame Jenyns had published A View of the Internal Evidence of the Christian Religion (174). Four years after Haweis' Essays on the Evidence, William Paley gave to the world perhaps the most famous of all Evidences (175).

Haweis' appeal to reason was, in fact, an appeal to the Scripture as the highest wisdom. Unaided reason avails nothing, he argued. Only in God's light shall we see light. Haweis pictured his contemporaries gathering round the feeble glow-worm ray of human reason and forsaking the Sun of righteousness (176). The relation between Christianity and philosophy was confidently stated thus:

The professed object of a philosopher is truth, of a Christian, the truth as it is in Jesus. No longer wandering in the labyrinths of conjecture, and science falsely so called, the light of life is risen to guide our feet into the paths of eternal life (177).

There followed essays in the typical eighteenth century vein on

" Divine Revelation," " The Superior Comfort and Blessedness which the Gospel of Christ Ministers," " The Uniformity of Truth. " Haweis was fully persuaded that attack was the best means of defence, as may be seen from the bold, if lengthy, title of the second essay: " Infidelity rests on Evidence much more questionable than any which it rejects in the Gospel, and requires a Credulity much more irrational than can be charged on the Faith which it presumes to ridicule. " Thomas Haweis the Calvinist revealed himself in the eighth discourse, " On the Fewness of those who shall be Saved," and in the previous section he asserted categorically that the Articles and Liturgy of the Church of England were uniformly and consistently Calvinistic - a position which he was to defend later at greater length. The two essays " On Enthusiasm " and " On Toleration " were penned with the ink of bitter experience. ' Enthusiast ' was one of the names of opprobrium that had been persistently flung at him. He claimed:

There cannot be a term in the English language which hath been more perverted, less understood, and oftener employed to serve the purposes of infidelity and irreligion, than enthusiasm (178).....

After exploding the power of godliness, we have very nearly got rid of the form, and to exculpate ourselves from all religious enthusiasm have taken care to have no religion at all, and then we can no longer be suspected (179).

Haweis then proceeded to expound the true meaning of enthusiasm as derived from $\epsilon\nu\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$. In the eleventh essay he pleaded for religious toleration on Scriptural grounds. Persecution for conscience' sake is opposed not only to common sense, but to the teaching of the Gospel. Whoever presumes to judge another

usurps the throne of God. The Gospel makes no demand of the state save liberty for its proclamation. Haweis found the Protestant as guilty of intolerance as the Roman Catholic, and, not unnaturally, saw in the attitude of the ecclesiastical rulers of his day to the Evangelical Revival corroboration of that assertion (180).

These essays, though not of major importance in the evidential literature of the period, nevertheless revealed Haweis as a Christian apologist of some ability. Even so unsympathetic a journal as the Monthly Review was prepared to acknowledge their merits, whilst, of course, sharply criticizing Haweis' Evangelical bias (181). The Essays on the Evidence are valuable as an example of a type of publication not always associated with the Evangelicals. Their contemporary popularity may be judged from the fact that they ran through four editions in two years (182).

At the beginning of June, 1791, Haweis went to London to supply at Spa Fields for a spell (183). Soon after his arrival in the metropolis he heard that Captain William Bligh, who had a year previously landed in England after the mutiny on the 'Bounty,' was planning to embark a second time for Tahiti to convey the bread fruit plant to our West Indian colonies (184). Haweis saw in this expedition the very opportunity he had been awaiting, and took immediate steps to secure passages for his two missionaries, Waugh and Price, aboard the 'Providence' (185). Hearing that Captain Bligh was to be found at the home of Sir Joseph Banks (186), in Soho Square, Haweis sought him

there and outlined his scheme. Bligh was at first disposed to raise objections on the score that the accommodation of his ship was fully taxed. But Haweis was not to be lightly discouraged. He visited Bligh repeatedly at his home at 3, Durham Place, Lambeth, and advanced every possible argument, including Bligh's own miraculous escape. In this Haweis was sympathetically seconded by Elizabeth Bligh. Eventually Bligh capitulated and from the moment he had given his consent Haweis found him to be most cooperative and considerate. He gave Haweis all the benefit of his seaman's knowledge and encouraged the hope that the reception of the missionaries in Tahiti would be cordial. Bligh undertook to do everything in his power to see them comfortably settled (I87).

Having won over Captain Bligh, Haweis' next task was to obtain leave from the Government for his two candidates to sail on the ' Providence. ' In this difficult approach Haweis was helped by the kindness of his friends. William Romaine evidently had some influence at the Admiralty. And a letter dated May 10, 1791, brought Haweis an invaluable offer of assistance from Ambrose Serle (I88), himself a naval man and a prominent figure at the Admiralty.

Permit a stranger to you (though you for many years have not been a stranger to him) to trouble you upon a subject which it gave me great pleasure to hear from my dear friend Mr. Romaine has engaged your attention and concern. The mention of extending the Gospel to the islands in the Pacific Ocean and your noble forwardness upon the occasion caused my heart to leap for joy. I am therefore inclined rather to run the risk of seeming impertinent by what I beg to say than to decline thanking you for the liberal promotion of a measure which I rejoice to hear has laid so much upon

your mind, as it has for a considerable time on my own. I bless God that He hath put such abilities as yours upon leading the way in this good work, in the prosecution of which every Christian and benevolent heart must surely unite with your own both by contributions and prayers.

Though your intended bounty is truly generous, yet I fear that, from the variety of necessaries proper for the intended missionaries (which can only be had from home, and cannot easily be recruited), the duration of their employment, and their distance from England, it will suffice for little more than a primary equipment, without allowing for the hazards and losses incident to so long a voyage. I would therefore beg to recommend that a further subscription, subordinate to your own, and under your patronage and direction, may be set on foot: and though my circumstances in life are not affluent, considering that I have eight children to provide for, you shall command my purse on such an occasion as this, and all my humble endeavours to second your own (189).

Haweis eagerly accepted Serle's offer of help and through him was put in touch with Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Middleton (190), who was later to prove such a tower of strength to the London Missionary Society in its infancy. Through the good offices of Sir Charles Middleton and William Wilberforce (191) access was gained to Sir Evan Nepean (192), then Commissioner of the Privy Seal, and afterwards Secretary to the Admiralty. Nepean gave a more favourable hearing to Haweis' project than Haweis himself had dared to hope, and permission was duly granted for Waugh and Price to sail with Captain Bligh. Sir Joseph Banks, one of the foremost explorers of his day, had also interested himself in Haweis' enterprize and placed his wide and valuable knowledge at Haweis' disposal. Charles Grant (193), senior merchant of the East India Company, and later the adviser of the Baptist Missionary Society, was also favourable to Haweis' plan. This, then, was no wild, romantic dream, unsupported by any practical

counsel or experience. The names of Sir Evan Nepean, Sir Charles Middleton, Sir Joseph Banks, William Wilberforce, Charles Grant and Captain Bligh himself combine to constitute an ample guarantee of the soundness of this scheme.

Unforeseen disappointments, however, lurked ahead. Haweis had sent for Waugh and Price, who travelled up from Wingfield to London. They then began to lay down conditions prior to their departure, evidently on the advice of their friends. They first demanded a pension should they be obliged to withdraw, and a guaranteed return fare. Haweis agreed to bear their travelling expenses and provide for them in Lady Huntingdon's Connection if, after a fair trial abroad, they proved their ability. The missionaries then produced their bomb-shell. They refused to sail unless they were given episcopal ordination. This was a matter that had never even been discussed previously. There had been no question of them going out as ordained clergymen of the Church of England. They belonged to Lady Huntingdon's Connection and would, no doubt, have been set apart for that ministry before they embarked - though Haweis himself would have preferred to send them out simply as lay evangelists. He had never encouraged them to hope for orders in the Established Church and was well aware that their academic limitations would prove an insurmountable obstacle. But since they were quite adamant on this point, and Haweis had visions of his cherished plan melting before his eyes, he determined to make every effort to secure what they desired.

Haweis consulted Romaine, who suggested that an attempt might be made through the Bishop of London (I94). So Haweis drew up a statement of the case and made out a copy of the Admiralty permit, both of which Romaine undertook to deliver to the Bishop. Romaine also persuaded Wilberforce to intercede with His Grace. This appeal, however, was unavailing, as Romaine's letters to Haweis revealed (I95). The Bishop referred the matter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in whose department in the diocese of London it fell (I96). Sir James Wright, whose sister the Archbishop had married, took Haweis' letter and seconded it, but without success. Haweis determined to make one more effort and went to see the Primate himself. He was courteously received and his petition was graciously heard, but the Archbishop politely refused to consider ordaining Waugh and Price, since they were not University men.

Haweis therefore told the candidates what trouble he had taken to comply with their wishes, and urged upon them how little this ought for a moment to interfere with the solemn promises they had made. They had already offered to go wherever a passage could be secured, and no question of episcopal ordination had been previously mentioned. Waugh and Price, however, blankly refused to embark without this seal, and thus, at the very last moment, when every other arrangement had been made for their departure, they backed out. Haweis was deeply disappointed at first at their withdrawal, but added that, in the light of their subsequent conduct, the event left him no cause for regret (I97).

Another of Lady Huntingdon's students, Thomas Lewis (198), offered to go alone, and came up to London prepared to sail, but it was deemed inexpedient to send out only one missionary, and the ' Providence ' left before a companion could be found for him. So the great opportunity passed. It seemed as if this missionary dream was foredoomed to failure. But where Haweis had been so unfortunate, others were to succeed, and in 1793 William Carey and John Thomas sailed for Bengal as the first representatives of a British missionary society (199). Had not Waugh and Price retracted their promises at the eleventh hour, their names might have been immortalized amongst the harbingers of the great missionary awakening, and Thomas Haweis would today be something more than one of history's forgotten men.

Haweis scarcely had time to brood over his disappointment. Lady Huntingdon had been taken seriously ill before negotiations had broken down. Now Haweis found her much worse, and instead of returning to Aldwinckle, as he intended, he remained at her bed-side (200). As he had no supply for his parish, she consented to his leaving London on Saturday and returning on Monday. On the following Wednesday, June 17, 1791, Haweis was about to preach as usual in Spa Fields Chapel, when he was summoned hastily to the Countess' room. Even as he held her hand he felt the last pulsation of her heart. So died the grand old lady of the Evangelical Revival (201). Haweis had been her Chaplain and friend for the space of seventeen years. Now she was gone, at the very hour when his missionary scheme had found-

dered. Gloom descended upon his soul in the midst of the years.

CHAPTER SIX

ALDWINCLE 1791-1796

As Thomas Haweis hurried from the death-chamber of Lady Huntingdon to inform his wife of the sad event, he met George Best, the Secretary of the Connection, who came to tell him that the Countess' will had been lodged in his custody, and that in it Haweis was appointed one of her trustees and executors, with Mrs. Haweis as a residuary legatee (1). Lady Huntingdon's will, dated January 11, 1790, gave and devised

all her Chapels, houses, and furniture therein, and all the residue of her estates and effects, to Thomas Haweis and Janetta Payne, his wife, Lady Anne Agnes Erskine, and John Lloyd (2),

and directed that on the death of any one of them, the survivors should appoint one other person to fill the vacant place, so that there should always be four trustees. This news, as Haweis put it, "burst on him like a thunder-stroke,"(3) for the Countess had never even hinted such a possibility, either to himself or to his wife. Already suffering from the frustration of his missionary hopes and greatly distressed at the passing of a mother in Israel, Haweis found this additional burden grievous to be borne. He was aware of the delicate position in which the Connection had been placed since 1781. He knew only too well that the Chapels were very far from affluent and he foresaw hard work and considerable difficulties ahead of him if he undertook this responsibility. With tears in his eyes, Haweis knelt down and

asked God to guide and strengthen him at this new crisis in his career (4). Before he consented to assume this onerous responsibility, however, he consulted his old friend, William Romaine. Romaine assured him that had he himself been similarly honoured, he would have accepted the trust. " May I say that Mr. Romaine gave me that advice ? " asked Haweis; and Romaine replied, " With my free leave, and more than that, I will vindicate the step, persuaded your matters will be thus better conducted than if they devolved upon other hands; you will always find me the same, and though I may not give you my help, you will be always welcome to my pulpits and receive every token of my fraternal regard and approbation " (5). Romaine proved as good as his word, and often invited Haweis to preach at Blackfriars (6). Haweis therefore decided to accept the heavy responsibility bequeathed to him by Lady Huntingdon, feeling, no doubt, as Romaine had hinted, that under his control the Connection might kept as close to the Church of England as was possible.

The four trustees appointed by Lady Huntingdon's will met shortly afterwards, together with George Best and John Ford, who were co-executors. They discussed the best means of carrying on the work of the Connection in the spirit of its founder. It was unanimously agreed that the superintendency of the Chapels should devolve upon Lady Anne Erskine (7). She was best acquainted with the Countess' methods of procedure and with the preachers of the Connection. She expressed her willingness to undertake this active service. She was therefore asked to occupy

part of Lady Huntingdon's house at Spa Fields and to be in constant residence there, as the headquarters of the Connection. Lady Anne was to handle all the voluminous correspondence, always keeping the trustees advised of important matters. The financial administration of the Connection was also entrusted to Lady Anne, together with Best and Ford. The writer of the memoir of Lady Anne in the Evangelical Magazine for 1805 stated that Haweis and his wife declined to have anything to do with money matters, and wished the whole of the disbursements and receipts to be lodged with Lady Anne (8). Haweis seems to have undertaken the responsibility of arranging to supply the pulpits of the Connection, and he himself made a regular round of the principal Chapels in ensuing years.

After a much longer absence than he had intended, Haweis took up residence in Aldwinckle once again in the summer of 1791. He found that Charles Chew had assiduously tended the patient flock. The Curate had maintained the Evangelical witness with faithful preaching and systematic visitation (9). Chew left to do service at Bath for a spell on Haweis' arrival at Aldwinckle. Haweis' health had suffered somewhat from the strain and exertions of the previous months and he found country life a source of real relaxation and renewal. He often worked on his own farm, tasting the delights of haymaking and harvest (10).

The spring of 1792, however, saw this indefatigable servant of the Kingdom back in London, ready for more and greater labours. His health and spirits had been restored by his stay at

Aldwinckle. He took an optimistic view of the prospects of the Connection. He rejoiced in the cordial unanimity of the trustees and the liberality of the congregations, which gave the promise of discharging all the debts left on the Connection (II). The opposition with which he met from outside was less than he had expected, considering his previous experiences.

For this, next to my Lord's pity to my infirmity, I am probably indebted to the awfulness of the times. I have no doubt that the hearts of men are the same, and the disposition of those in power, especially in the Church, to harass and oppress Evangelical ministers as in times past, but the growing spirit of liberty and religious toleration, as well as the increasing number who have been driven from the Church by a variety of causes, have rendered any glaring oppression more dangerous (I2).

Haweis did not think that this tolerance proceeded " from candour or a better opinion of our objects, or respect for the advice of Gamaliel, " but from " the public desire of avoiding attention to objects which the more they are brought into view will speak stronger to the common sense of mankind " (I3). In London Haweis preached regularly, both at Spa Fields and Zion Chapel. He lived in his own house in Queen Anne Street, the distance of which from the Chapels added to the fatigue of his work.

It was in 1792 that the lease on Lady Huntingdon's property at Trevecka expired, and the College was transferred to Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire. The opening ceremony was performed on August 24, 1792, the anniversary of the opening of Trevecka (I4). Subscriptions had been collected in Lady Huntingdon's lifetime in anticipation of this removal. As now a manager of the College and one of the trustees of Lady Huntingdon's estate,

Haweis was closely associated with the transfer. He was also partly responsible for the selection of Isaac Nicholson as first President of the new College (I5).

Whilst in London in 1792, Haweis was first introduced by Lady Fanny Harper to John White Middleton, her minister, who wanted to connect himself with the Evangelical clergy in the north of England, where his parish was (I6). Haweis was able to link him with the key men of his area. Middleton was a valuable acquisition to Evangelicalism, and his Ecclesiastical Memoir is still a standard source book of the movement.

Haweis' annual visit to Brighton in 1793 was unusually fruitful. He was able to fulfil an exceptionally valuable ministry amongst the soldiers then quartered in the town. He held special services for them on Sunday afternoons and soon the Chapel was filled with red-coats. Bibles and tracts were distributed amongst the men. It was for this purpose that Haweis penned The Soldier's Calling, of which several thousand copies were circulated (I7). Some objection was at first raised to Haweis visiting the camp to hand out this tract, but when the commanding officer, Lord Euston, read it himself, he highly commended it and gave permission for every man to be supplied with a copy (I8). Haweis was also able to do a useful piece of work amongst the émigré priests and nobles who were flocking into the town on every boat from France. Haweis undertook to provide accommodation for them and made arrangements with a local banker to exchange their currency on the best terms. Am-

ongst those whom Haweis hospitably entertained at his home were the Archbishop of Aix (19) and the Comte de Brege, of the French royal household, who, despite their religious affiliation, worshipped in Lady Huntingdon's Chapel. Later the Archbishop called on Haweis in London and brought with him the Bishop of Cominges (20). A number of other priests visited Haweis both in London and Bath, and he was able to obtain teaching posts for some of them. Some were even present at a Communion Service at Spa Fields, and one acknowledged that " though he knew so little English, he was never more affected than at the sight and behaviour of the very numerous body which attended " (21). Another said that if anything would make him change his religious views, it was the sight he had just witnessed: if he ever got back to his parish, he would not forget to urge on his own congregation a like devotion. Haweis had long conversations with these émigrés and earnestly endeavoured to win them over to the Protestant faith. He tried to show that his conception of the Church was more universal than theirs, for " it was one body from Adam to the latest believer " (22). But his arguments were unavailing. His eagerness to obtain even one convert amongst the French priests arose from his missionary enthusiasm.

Oh ! if the Lord would but give me one of these men, how happy I should be to carry him with me to Paris the first moment an opening offered, and endeavour, as I have fully resolved to do, to carry the Gospel to that corrupted city (23).

One of the priests paid Haweis the perhaps unconscious compliment of saying that he combined the principles of a Jansenist with the

zeal of a Jesuit. Haweis later made inquiries and discovered that there was a Jansenist settlement in the French capital. He planned to expedite his scheme, utopian as it appeared to some, as soon as peace was restored to France. He and his wife meanwhile began to make some translations into French for circulation as tracts (24). Haweis' desire to take the Gospel to France in person was never fulfilled, but he was instrumental in the London Missionary Society's missions to that country (25).

Haweis had occupied his time during his summers at Aldwincle with a translation of the New Testament, which was completed in manuscript form by 1794. He evidently hesitated before sending it to the press, but eventually he decided on publication, and it appeared in 1795 (26). When he embarked upon this task, Haweis was unaware that any similar attempt had been recently made: it was only later that he came upon two volumes extracted from Doddridge's Family Expositor (27). Haweis' own translation was then so far advanced that he finished it. In point of fact, several other New Testament translations had also been published since that of Doddridge in 1765, notably those by Edward Harwood (1768)(28), John Worsley (1770)(29), and Gilbert Wakefield (1791)(30). Nathaniel Scarlett's version was to follow in 1798 (31). Biblical translation was a subject under discussion in the last decade of the eighteenth century. The need for a revised version of the Scriptures was keenly felt. In 1792, William Newcome, an opponent of Haweis at Oxford (32), and now Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, had produced an important work,

An Historical View of the English Biblical Translations, the Expediency of Revising by Authority our present Translation, and the Means of Executing such a Revision (33). After presenting a historical conspectus of the evolution of the English Bible, Newcome met the objections raised against a revision and laid down " Rules for conducting an improved version of the Bible " (34). Haweis was thus in the mid-stream of contemporary thought when in his Preface he wrote:

Respecting highly as I do the translation of our Reformers, whose language has dignity, and whose soundness in the faith I hope, living and dying, to maintain, it must be acknowledged that there are in our present version obscurities which may be avoided, words become in the lapse of ages obsolete, expressions feeble and inexact, for which others more accurate and energetic may be substituted, and in some passages the sense embarrassed and probably mistaken. To make therefore the Scriptures as intelligible as I can to men of common capacity, who are destitute of the knowledge of the original, and sometimes perhaps to suggest a sense not unworthy the adoption of the judicious scholar, I have endeavoured to render every passage with the most literal exactness, to use the most forcible and clear expressions corresponding with the original, not to omit a particle, preserving the participles, and following, as much as the genius of our tongue will permit, the exact order of the Greek words, persuaded that, thus placed, the sense often receives clearness and energy (35).

Haweis was fully aware of the difficulty of recapturing the idiom and atmosphere of one language in another. He realized, too, that the Scriptures were unlike any other ancient writings in that their meaning could only be fully perceived by the illumination of the Holy Spirit Who first inspired them. Haweis maintained the Reformed insistence on the sensus literalis.

As the words of the Spirit contain one precise meaning, and to communicate His mind is the intention of revelation, it must be our endeavour not to leave them equivocal, but to fix a clear and determinate idea to each, in exact conformity

to the original, that the true sense may be understood, which can be but one (36).

Haweis was faithful to his basic principle throughout the translation. The gains of his method can only be estimated when a comparison is made, for example, with that monstrosity of a rendering by Harwood. Haweis' slavishly close adherence to the Greek order and sense was infinitely preferable to Harwood's ridiculous periphrases. There were instances, too, where Haweis' literal approach did elucidate some of the verbal tangles of the Authorised Version. But as a contribution towards a real revised version which was to live on into the future, Haweis' method had serious limitations. Monsignor R.A. Knox has stated the issue with the utmost sharpness.

Two alternatives present themselves at once, the literal and the literary methods of translation. Is it to be, ' Arms and the man I sing, ' or is it to be something which will pass for English? If you are translating for the benefit of a person who wants to learn Latin by following the Gospel in a Latin missal, when it is read out in Church, then your ' Arms and the man I sing ' is exactly what he wants. If you are translating for the benefit of a person who wants to be able to read the Word of God for ten minutes on end without laying it aside in sheer boredom or bewilderment, a literary translation is what you want - and we have been lacking it for centuries (37).

Haweis' version belonged quite definitely to the ' Arms and the man I sing ' school. He was more anxious to set down the exact order and sense of the original than to ask how an Englishman would have said the same thing. As a literary effort, then, Haweis' rendering must be reckoned a failure. But in his defence it can be argued that he lived in an age of similar failures and that his was less ludicrous than some.

To say that Haweis' New Testament translation was a literary failure is not to imply that it is therefore of no value. Many of his renderings, if not felicitous, were full of interest. On occasion he anticipated (surprisingly sometimes) more modern versions. He had light to throw upon a number of crucial passages (38). His early training in classical Greek stood him in good stead, and the criticism of Hatfield that he "ventured with inadequate qualifications on New Testament translation" (39) is certainly not justified. Haweis' own pious attachment to the Scriptures was unquestioned and most moving.

During forty years and upwards this blessed Book of God hath been continually in my hands - never a day hath passed in which it hath not been matter of my meditation; I may venture to say I have read it over more than a hundred times, and many of the passages much oftener. I have consulted the works of the most godly and ingenious of the dead, and often conversed with some of the ablest and most experienced ministers of Christ among the living. I have at two different times of my life translated and transcribed the whole of the New Testament, and considered every word, and phrase, and passage with attention; indeed the leading object and employment of my whole life hath been to discover and communicate to mankind the truth as it is in Jesus; and every day I bowed my knees to the Divine Interpreter, Who giveth wisdom and understanding to the simple, that He would lighten my darkness, and shine into my heart, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, as it is manifested in the face of Jesus Christ (40).

Haweis made no pretence of infallibility. In the Preface he asked for useful criticism and necessary corrections (41). He advertized in the Evangelical Magazine for reader's comments on his translation (42). He hoped at one time to produce a second and improved edition. His sole aim was to be of assistance to God's people and to communicate "clearer and more explicit views of His revealed will to the poor and unlearned of the flock" (43).

In this, despite the stiffness of his literary style and his undue bondage to the letter, he succeeded at least as well as most of his contemporaries.

Although Haweis' missionary dream had been rudely shattered by the experiences of 1791, he had by no means abandoned the hope that one day he would be instrumental in despatching Gospel messengers to darkened lands. His keenness to inaugurate evangelistic work in France has been noted. In 1794 we find him exploring the possibility of a mission to West Africa, and this, be it remembered, at a time when only one of the great missionary societies was even in existence. Cato Perkins, a native convert from Sierra Leone, had come to London to plead with the Government to send out missionaries to Africa. Since the return of the Chaplains, Gilbert and Horne (44), the settlement had been without any Christian witness. The needs of this field, the scene of a unique experiment in colonization, stirred Haweis' heart. He wrote in his Diary:

I hope the Lord will yet open our way into Africa. Never did the access seem more promising. If a zealous, able minister or two were then assisted by the serious blacks, some impression might be made upon the natives (45).

The outcome was a piece of pioneering work that might have remained unnoticed had it not been for the happy circumstance that three letters from Lady Anne Erskine to Haweis relating to the matter have been preserved (46). Haweis opened negotiations with a certain Mr. Du Bois, who had formerly been employed by the Sierra Leone Company (47), but had now offered his services to the newly proposed Bulam Company (48). Bulam (or Bolana)

was an island at the mouth of the Rio Grande which had been discovered by the Portuguese in 1446. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Portuguese had deserted this island amongst others in the Bissagos group. The Dutch, French and British had all made depredations upon the Seignory of Guinea, leaving the Portuguese in control only of the coast. The British claim to Bolama island was referred to the arbitration of the United States in 1870, when President Grant's award was in favour of Portugal (49). In 1794, according to Du Bois, the island was inhabited only by nine British and about forty natives (50). Du Bois had informed the trustees that Haweis hoped to establish a mission on Bulam, and they promised that when they had obtained their Charter they would be prepared to offer a piece of land on suitable terms (51). Haweis was to interview the trustees when the Charter had been granted in the next Parliamentary session. No more is heard of the scheme and it is possible that the Company failed to gain a Charter and the trustees therefore disbanded. In his Diary Haweis simply said that Du Bois' project did not meet his views and so this door was closed (52). Once again Haweis' missionary dream was extinguished.

It was not long, however, before he was on the missionary war-path again. This time an opportunity arose for him to return to his first love - the project of a mission to Tahiti. Haweis had recently become acquainted with John Eyre (53), an Anglican minister at Homerton, the founder and editor of the Evangelical Magazine, the first issue of which had appeared in

July, 1793. One of the objects of this journal was to promote the missionary cause and Eyre pressed Haweis to assist in writing and reviewing (54). Haweis was on his way to Brighton in the summer of 1794 when Eyre begged him to take a book on missions by Melville Horne to review for the magazine. On his return from Sierra Leone Horne had published his memorable Letters on Missions: addressed to the Protestant ministers of the British Churches. Haweis was tremendously stirred by this treatise.

The pamphlet breathed a fervent spirit of missionary zeal and pleaded energetically the claims of millions of heathen ready to perish for lack of knowledge, whom no man cared for. I read and my heart, touched as it were by a living coal from between the cherubim, kindled afresh into a flame. I had met such bitter disappointments in my first efforts made some years before to send the Gospel to Otaheite (as hath been precedently noticed) that I began to despair of seeing this first desire of my soul ever accomplished. Roused by the views presented in this pamphlet to a deep feeling of the imperious claims of the heathen and renewed exertion, when I returned to town and sent the review to Mr. Eyre, I not only expressed my own concurrence with Mr. Horne and Mr. Eyre in any renewed efforts which could be made for the purpose, but empowered him with my review to insert an offer of five hundred pounds for the equipment of the first body of missionaries who should be sent to this blessed service (55).

Haweis' review of Horne's letters, which was destined to prove one of the turning-points in the modern missionary awakening, was published in the Evangelical Magazine for November, 1794. Ernest A. Payne couples Horne's Letters on Missions with Carey's Inquiry as " two historic missionary pamphlets " " of considerable importance for the beginnings of the modern missionary movement and the founding of the great societies " (56). There is little doubt, however, that it was Haweis' review in the already widely circulating Evangelical Magazine which brought

Horne's letters to the notice of a sympathetic public.

Haweis' review concluded with a definite proposal for the formation of a missionary society.

Could a new society be formed for promoting the Gospel, and those who now, as individuals, long for it, be united together, without respect to different denominations of Christians, or repulsive distance arising from the points in dispute between Calvinists and Arminians, would the really faithful and zealous look out for men who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, and begin with one corps of missionaries to the heathen in the South Seas, would they pursue their object without being discouraged by disappointment, and try again and again, till it should please God to open the way for success, no expense attending deserves for a moment to come into consideration (57).

Haweis then proceeded (anonymously) to make the offer of five hundred pounds referred to in the Autobiography - the first subscription to the Missionary Society (58). On the strength of the favourable reception given to this review an appeal was made to the " faithful brethren of all denominations, and to the Christian world in general, with an invitation to associate and form a society for the purpose " (59). Haweis added a significant note in his Autobiography at this point.

My former experience had convinced me that only by a general union of all denominations could a broad basis be laid for a mission. The treatment I had received from the Bishops made me sure that from them I could expect no countenance and must look to the zealous and spiritually minded of my brethren only for cordial cooperation (60).

This was altogether in the spirit of Melville Horne himself, who had written:

The missionary must be far removed from narrow bigotry, and possess a spirit truly catholic. It is not Calvinism, it is not Arminianism, but Christianity that he is to teach. It is not the hierarchy of the Church of England, it is not the principles of the Protestant Dissenters, that he has in view to propagate. His object is to serve the Church Uni-

versal (61).

From this " Address to Christian Ministers " (62), dated December I, 1794, the series of meetings was instituted which ultimately led to the official formation of the London Missionary Society in September, 1795 (63).

In the foregoing account we have been necessarily concerned with the part played by Thomas Haweis in the events leading up to the inception of the Missionary Society. Other influences, of course, were also at work. The success of William Carey's mission to Bengal had kindled the imagination of Christian men far beyond the bounds of the Baptist denomination. In 1793 and 1794 the Congregational Churches of Warwickshire had shown a commendable interest in furthering missionary enterprise, and Dr. Edward Williams, minister of Carr's Lane Church, Birmingham, had circulated Congregational Churches in England and Wales in canvassing the cause (64). Similar enthusiasm was displayed in Worcestershire (65). In July, 1794, John Ryland (66) had received Carey's first letter from India and had called David Bogue (67), of Gosport, and James Steven (68), of the Scots Church, Covent Garden, who were both in Bristol at the time, to share his joy in this communique from the mission field (69). Afterwards Bogue, Steven and John Hey (70), minister of the Congregational Church at Castle Green, in Bristol, met in the parlour of Whitefield's Tabernacle, Bristol, to pray, and to discuss the best means of quickening the public to a sense of their missionary responsibilities. The room was often called " the cradle of the

Missionary Society " (71). As a consequence, Bogue published an appeal in the Evangelical Magazine for September, 1794, with the somewhat strange title, " To the Evangelical Dissenters who practise Infant Baptism. " This article is one of the key documents of the missionary awakening, along with the pamphlets of Carey and Horne, and Haweis' review.

It will hardly be disputed that Bogue played a vitally important role in the formation of the London Missionary Society, but we cannot agree with James Bennett (72) and William Brown (73) in designating him as its father and founder. Bennett does at least acknowledge the difficulty of tracing the origin of the Society to any single pioneer.

To discover who was the father of this Missionary Society may be as difficult as to ascertain the source of the Nile. Many equal rills may contribute to form an inconsiderable river which afterwards, by the aid of tributary streams, swells into a Volga or a Danube; and while wisdom is hesitating among the nicely balanced claims, accident or caprice, or even ignorance, may give the right of precedence to one source, from which no subsequent discoveries could take away the honour. If we be asked who called the attention of the Church to the conversion of the world, we look back farther and still farther till our eye fastens on the Saviour of the world. But if the question is, who projected the formation of the London Missionary Society, it may be difficult or even impossible to say (74).

The Missionary Society was not the creation of any one man. It was the result of a cooperative movement. But, as Payne asserts (75), three men were outstanding in the group which shaped the new Society - John Eyre, David Bogue and Thomas Haweis. The members of this missionary triumvirate must be accorded equal honours.

This, of course, means that any claim on behalf of Haweis

that he should be regarded as the founder of the Society must be dismissed. And such claims were in fact made, though never by Haweis himself (76). Haweis' widow (the third Mrs. Haweis) was particularly anxious to defend his right to this title. Shortly after his death, she wrote to William Alers Hankey (77), second treasurer of the Society,

I am not aware, Sir, that I could justly declare the Doctor to be the founder of the Missionary Society, and the parent of the Tahitian mission, unless I could support the declaration with such incontestible evidence as would satisfy the mind of any unprejudiced person; such I consider yourself, and, if you desire it, I will submit those documents to your inspection. I am only anxious that his memory should be treated with the respect it deserves, and that his reverend head might not be allowed to descend into the grave without some public tribute of regard from a Society which owes its existence, under God, to his exertions, as an honoured instrument (78).

But whilst Haweis was one of the prime movers of the Society and was the first to be actively engaged in missionary enterprise, as his 1791 attempt proved, he cannot fairly be described as the sole founder. The documents to which Mrs. Haweis referred were no doubt his own manuscript accounts already noted, and a careful examination of them does not reveal an such " incontestible evidence " as she supposed. The other title - that of " parent of the Tahitian mission " - is rightly reserved for Haweis alone. This was the field which first captured his imagination and it was to Tahiti that he planned to send his two candidates in 1791. Once the Missionary Society was formed, Haweis used all his powers of persuasion to ensure that Tahiti should be the destination of the first missionary voyage, as we shall shortly see. There can be no question that Haweis was, as Morison aff-

irms, " the father of the South Sea mission " (79).

The general meeting for the purpose of constituting the new Society was originally arranged for August 18, 19 and 20, 1795, but was afterwards postponed to September 22, 23 and 24 (80). On the Monday evening preceding a " consultation of friends of the institution " (81) was held in the Castle and Falcon, Aldersgate Street. Sir Egerton Leigh (82) took the chair. After an account of the steps leading up to the general meeting had been given, John Love (83), as secretary of the Committee of Correspondence, read letters from all parts of the country, all promising whole-hearted cooperation, but in some cases expressing doubt on the subject of securing suitable candidates. Haweis then,

with much affection and energy, represented to the meeting the practicability of finding proper missionaries, and read some very striking letters from persons who had generously offered themselves for this arduous service (84).

It was thereupon unanimously agreed that a Missionary Society should be established and a subscription list was immediately opened (85).

The first act of worship was held at Spa Fields Chapel on Tuesday morning, at ten o'clock. To Haweis fell the honour of preaching the first sermon of the Society (86). It was based on the great missionary text, Mark XVI, 15, 16: " And He said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned. " The preacher began:

It is with thankfulness and delight that I look round on this great congregation, assembled for the noblest purposes that can interest the best feelings of the human heart. No schemes of worldly advantage, no projects of vain ambition, no selfish ends or aims, contaminate our views. Nor will the 'confused noise of the warrior, or garments rolled in blood' mark our progress. We meet under the conduct of the Prince of Peace, and, unfurling the banner of His Cross, desire to carry the glad tidings of His salvation to the distant lands, deep sunk in heathen darkness, and covered with the shadow of death.

The petty distinctions among us, of names and forms, the diversities of administrations, and modes of Church order, we agree, shall on this day all be merged in the greater, nobler, and characteristic name of Christians; and our one ambition be, to promote no partial interests, since Christ is not divided, but with united efforts to make known abroad the glory of His Person, the perfection of His work, the wonders of His grace and the transcendent blessings of His redemption, where His adorable name hath never yet been heard, but the god of this world still reigns the uncontrolled tyrant over the bodies and souls of men (87).

Haweis was aware of the indifference of the careless and the derision of unbelievers. He was aware, too, that their own efforts were feeble and their abilities small. But he took courage from the principle that "great events flow from causes apparently insignificant" (88).

Haweis then proceeded to consider four points arising from the text, namely, 1. Where we must go. 2. Who are to be sent. 3. What they must preach. 4. The result of their mission (89). Under the first heading, Haweis reviewed the possible areas of missionary adventure: Africa "where scarce a gleam of light illumines the darkness, from the Pillars of Hercules to the Cape of Good Hope" (90); China, with its three hundred million souls and hardly one who "knows the true God, and Jesus Christ, Whom He hath sent"; India, where "commercial Christians seem to worship no other god but gold" (91) and are reprehensibly

apathetic towards the evangelization of the Hindus. Then he painted a glowing picture of the new world so recently opened up by the discoveries of Wallis and Cook. Haweis warmed to his favourite theme - the suitability of the South Sea islands as a scene for pioneer missionary effort.

No region of the world, which I have yet observed (and I have considered the matter with much attention) affords us happier prospects in our auspicious career of sending the Gospel to the heathen lands; nowhere are the obstacles apparently less, or the opportunities greater, for the admission of the truth as it is in Jesus. No persecuting government, no Brahmanic castes to oppose, no inhospitable climate to endure, a language of little difficulty to attain, and of vast extent, with free access, and every prejudice in our favour (92).

Here Haweis breathed the spirit of his age, for the eighteenth century tended to locate Utopia in Tahiti (93).

In dealing with his second point, Haweis set forth his views on missionary training - views which differed substantially from those of Bogue and which later brought the two men into controversy. The primary qualification Haweis considered to be the call of the Holy Spirit, attested within by His mysterious witness, and ratified without by the tests of the Church.

He continued:

Nor need we despair of finding them, if not in the schools of learning, or the seminaries of theology, yet among the faithful in our several congregations.

Not that I think lightly of the advantages of education, or despise attainments of learning of any kind. Few have been found more indefatigable in the pursuit of these acquirements than some whom I am now addressing, and if we are treated with insolent contempt by those who imagine themselves the only wise and learned, we have to regret that our abilities have not equalled our application.

But here also God hath in His hands the hearts of all men. There may be found among the sons of the prophets some who, glorying in the Cross, will feel it their privilege

to lift up the standard and proclaim the crucified Lord to their fellow sinners of the heathen. Not that the knowledge of dead languages, however desirable, is essential to the communication of Gospel truth in the living ones. A plain man, with a good natural understanding, well read in the Bible, full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, though he comes from the forge, or the shop, would, I own, in my view, as a missionary to the heathen, be infinitely preferable to all the learning of the schools, and would possess, in the skill and labour of his hands, advantages which barren science could never compensate (94).

Haweis advocated, however, the setting up of an adequate Examining Board to estimate the qualifications of missionary candidates.

As to the message of the missionaries, it was to be " the pure, powerful, unadulterated Gospel of our great God and Saviour, Jesus Christ " (95). The essential doctrines of the Gospel were expressed in the Articles of the Church of England, the Westminster Catechism, the Helvetic Confession and the symbols of every Reformed Church. Jesus Christ was the chief corner stone, and He was to be preached in His saving office.

We appeal to the experience of all ages, whatever did, or ever can control the unruly wills and affections of sinful men, but the preaching the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by Whom, saith St. Paul, ' the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world. ' Without this, what could a missionary effect in a heathen land? How poor, how unavailing would be all the weapons of vain philosophy, and false Christianity? Imbelle telum sine ictu.

Brethren, our whole success will depend upon this one point: if Christ be preached, only preached, always preached, then shall we see the power of His death and resurrection, and the Lord will add again ' daily to His Church such as shall be saved ' (96).

The results of such a mission would be the salvation of the hearers from eternal damnation. The fate of the unbelieving was depicted in the severest terms. The consequence of the miss-

ionary project would be to " save the miserable, the helpless, the desperate, " to " pluck some of the brands from the burning " (97), since only they who believe shall be saved. But the Gospel is " the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth. " " The doctrines of faith will lead to the grace of faith, through the mighty efficacy of the Spirit of faith, and ' the justified will be glorified ' " (98).

This moving and eloquent sermon, which, if not the finest, was certainly the most significant that Haweis ever preached, closed with this appeal:

We know that the time approaches when Ethiopia and Saba shall stretch out their hands unto God: when ' the ends of the earth shall remember themselves, and be turned unto the Lord, and all flesh shall see the salvation of our God. ' From which extremity of the earth the lightning shall flash, we know not; but one thing we know, that when the blessed period fixed in His eternal counsels arrives, He will provide the means, and raise up the instruments, to fulfil all His pleasure. We hope He will favour, and graciously accept, our humble efforts to this end, and cause many to say, ' Here am I, Lord, send me. '

It would take up too much of your time at present to suggest the steps most eligible to be pursued. These will be the subject of repeated consideration, and matured by the united wisdom of a body, far superior to any individual. In one thing only I indulge the fullest confidence, that nothing will be wanting to furnish every necessary supply for a numerous mission. ' The silver and the gold are Mine. ' These have often been lavished by our fellow citizens to procure luxuries from the ends of the earth, and sometimes more fearfully to deluge the world with blood. Let us teach them a nobler use of riches, and procure for ourselves greater indulgences, the luxury of doing good, and instead of destroying men's bodies, employ them to save their souls.

May God our Saviour prosper the attempt. Endue us with wisdom, zeal, and persevering diligence, and crown the labour with success, for the glory of His own great name, Who liveth and reigneth with the Father and the Holy Ghost, the only true Jehovah, to Whom be glory and dominion for ever and ever ! Amen (99).

At the conclusion of the sermon, those desiring to form

a missionary society were asked to assemble in the body of the Chapel. The interest was so great that hardly anyone in the crowded congregation moved. A small committee was appointed, of which Haweis was one, to draw up a plan for the Society. Having retired for this purpose, they returned, after Matthew Wilks (I00) had delivered a congratulatory address, to present the draft constitution (I01). This was duly approved, and the meeting adjourned at three o'clock, after a five hour session.

Further sermons were preached by George Burder (on the same evening), Samuel Greatheed and John Hey (on the 23rd), Rowland Hill and David Bogue (on the 24th) (I02). On Thursday, September 24, the ministers met at eight a.m. in the Surrey Chapel schoolroom to discuss the financial prospects of the Society, and it was then that Wilks proposed that the first missionary voyage should be to the South Seas. Haweis was asked to speak on this subject at the close of the morning service, to which he consented, and there and then gave the name of a volunteer ready to go (I03). Bogue mentioned another, and altogether seven candidates were registered. After the worship had concluded, Haweis " explained in a very energetic and convincing manner his views of the expediency of fixing on the islands in the South Seas as the first and immediate object of missionary endeavours " (I04). This address was afterwards published (I05) and is described by John Campbell (I06) as " throughout a sparkling and splendid production; it clothes marvellous facts in the dazzling embellishments of an impassioned eloquence " (I07).

The vastness of the opportunity was first dwelt upon.

The field before us is immense. O that we could enter at a thousand gates: that every limb were a tongue, and every tongue a trumpet to spread the joyful sound! Where so very considerable a part of the habitable globe on every side calls for our efforts, and like the man of Macedonia cries, 'Come over and help us,' it is not a little difficult to decide at what point to begin (I08).

Haweis proceeded to answer this question in two ways: 1. Where the difficulties are least. 2. Where the prospect of success is greatest (I09). The most serious obstacles to the missionary were catalogued as an inhospitable climate, absolute governments, established prejudices, and the acquirement of languages (I10). Haweis went on to show that the South Seas appeared to present the smallest number of the above mentioned difficulties together with abundant hopes of success (I11).

We have a field wholly uncultivated, but the soil is fit for seed, and the climate genial, and coming first, we have everything in our favour, and may, without dispute or opposition, inculcate the true knowledge of God our Saviour. From the King on the throne to the infant of a year old I should not be surprised to see our schools thronged and our worship attended. We know that He Who made the heart can only renew it. We are sure that the residue of the Spirit is with Him: and He hath promised to be with us always even to the end of the world. With such Divine encouragements what may we not hope for? (I12).

Haweis then considered the means by which the mission could be expedited. He discussed the type of missionary candidate required and the high hopes of securing suitable men. Their qualifications were detailed on the same lines as in his sermon (I13). The modes of conveyance seemed reducible to three: a small ship belonging to the Society employed solely in the service of the mission, with the possibility of carrying a small

cargo to defray some proportion of the expenses: a ship provided by others, either in or out of the Missionary Society, of considerable size, upwards of five hundred tons, to be engaged on contract to the Government to convey stores or convicts to Port Jackson, or Norfolk Island: passages on a ship in the Southern Fishery to convey the missionaries to their place of destination, with all necessaries for their use, until a second cargo could be sent (II4). Haweis himself strongly favoured the second suggestion, which, despite the expense it would involve, seemed to offer the greatest advantages. He firmly believed it to be a sound commercial proposition and was prepared to back it to the extent of his financial resources (II5).

In his address Haweis was able to acquaint the Missionary Society with the providential offer of Captain James Wilson (II6) to take charge of such a ship could it be secured. The fascinating life story of James Wilson cannot be retailed here: suffice it to say that if ever a man was sent by God at the opportune moment to undertake a specific task, James Wilson was the very man to lead this pioneer missionary expedition. Haweis declared unhesitatingly:

I may speak with confidence where my brethren are so unanimous in opinion, that a man more highly qualified for the work could not be hoped, if we had the choice of the whole land. In all his manners, a gentleman: a man that is commanding, an age yet in the prime of vigour, with the maturity of experience, and with all, an amiability of diffidence in offering himself that seemed only conquerable by the calls of the mission and the deep impressions resting on his own heart (II7).

Wilson had been so affected on hearing Haweis speak at the

Castle and Falcon meeting and in the inaugural sermon that he had written to Haweis offering his services for the task. An interview was arranged and Haweis was so impressed with Wilson that he immediately recommended him to the Directors and announced to the Thursday morning gathering that he believed the man they were looking for had been found (I18).

Haweis' speech was attentively heard and well received, for it was reported that " the large assembly then present seemed warmly and joyfully to harmonize with his sentiments on that subject " (I19). The address was so highly approved by the Directors that they ordered it to be printed along with the sermons (I20). It was thereupon unanimously agreed " that the first missionary efforts of the Society should be directed to one or more of the South Sea islands " (I21). On September 28 the Directors met to interview Captain Wilson, and as a result the following resolution was adopted:

That the Society do unanimously approve and cordially accept the offer made by Captain Wilson; and that as soon as they have arranged the circumstances necessary for the accomplishment of their purposes, he shall be acquainted therewith (I22).

Haweis left these historic gatherings with a bounding heart. At last his life's dream was about to be realized. The hopes disappointed in 1791 were to be fulfilled on a much larger scale and with much greater support. The pen must have glided jubilantly over the paper as he wrote in his Diary:

Returned from our meetings overawed with wonder, love and praise. I sit down the first moment to acknowledge the great goodness of God in preserving my life to be a witness of what my eyes have seen the week past and preceding. I own next to a

miracle I can conceive nothing more demonstrative of the finger of God. It exceeds all my hopes. I should never in my most sanguine moments have indulged the idea of such an assemblage of zeal and love. This is indeed the Lord's doing and it is truly marvellous in my eyes (I23).

Steps were next taken to secure a suitable ship to convey the missionaries. The suggestion that a passage might be sought on a South Sea whaler was soon rejected as impracticable (I24). A Committee was therefore convened to explore the other two possibilities proposed by Haweis in his Memoir. It was eventually agreed " that a ship belonging to the Society be judged by the Directors to be the most eligible plan " (I25). After several abortive efforts, the " Duff," a vessel of three hundred tons, was bought at a cost of four thousand eight hundred pounds (I26). The price was greater than was at first anticipated, and caused some hesitation. But finally the purchase was made in faith and the money was eventually forthcoming from a generous Christian public. Haweis was sorely overworked in these months, for he refused no invitation to preach where there was an opportunity to take a collection for the Missionary Society's funds (I27). He also used these occasions to appeal for candidates. Haweis himself sat on the Examining Board (I28). He was actively concerned in the quest for a ship. He again solicited the help of Ambrose Serle, who had shown such practical interest in the I79I attempt, and through him approached Sir Charles Middleton, now one of the Lords of Commission at the Admiralty (I29). Haweis was also in close touch with Christian Ignatius Latrobe (I30), the Secretary of the Moravian Missions, who gave

the benefit of his experienced counsel to the infant Society (I31). It was through Haweis, Latrobe and Middleton that the intercession of Wilberforce with the Lords of the Admiralty was secured (I32). Haweis was also in contact with James Gambier and Lord Dundas (I33).

Not content with these manifold exertions, Haweis found time to pen a series of missionary pamphlets: A Word in Season, designed to encourage my brethren of the Missionary Society to faithful perseverance in the work, A Plea for Peace and Union among the living members of the Church of Christ, Missionary Instructions recommended to the serious attention of all who are engaged in the great and important work of promoting the Gospel of Christ among the heathen, and A Memoir Respecting an African Mission - all of which were written in 1795 (I34). The type for the first of these was actually set up by one of the missionary volunteers, who was being trained as a compositor at Chapman's so that he might be in charge of the printing of the Scriptures and tracts in Tahiti.

A Word in Season was addressed partly to the members of the Missionary Society and partly to those who "hitherto have only looked on" (I35). Haweis deplored the apathy and listlessness within the Church and urged the desperate need for united Christian action.

It is no longer a day for those who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity to have their zeal diverted by controversies among themselves respecting points which the best of men have held not essential to the substance of vital godliness, because they must acknowledge to have found men differing from them in these particulars respecting whom they

could not doubt that they really held the head, Christ, and walked in love, under the Divine influence of that Spirit Who shed it abroad in their hearts. Let us, therefore, agree to differ with candour and Christian charity, but in the great points to unite, and by a more concentrated and vigorous exertion of the whole in the work we all profess to have at heart, desire to make the name of God our Saviour better known, and His authority over the conscience more respected (I36).

With the rationalism engendered by the French Revolution no doubt in mind, Haweis recognized that the contest was now not " between true religion and false, between power and form, but between true religion and no religion " (I37). But he hoped to see a great revival of vital godliness in his day. He had watched the growth of the Evangelical movement in his lifetime and believed that an even more triumphant era was opening with the creation of the Missionary Society. He appealed for all Christians everywhere to support this high enterprize.

Did all the true Church of God, the spiritual members of the Body of Christ, really thus join in one compacted phalanx, with the Bible in their hands, and Christ in their hearts, a numerous company of preachers sent forth, and clouds of the incense of prayer going up before the throne, taking hold of God's strength, and engaging Omnipotence to be our rereward, what wonders might we not yet expect ? (I38).

A Plea for Peace and Union urged a similar argument.

It was a study of the nature of the Church. The true Church was defined as one, universal, spiritual and holy (I39). The givenness of the Church was greatly stressed (I40). When these essentials were considered, matters of outward administration, which so unhappily divided the Church, would be seen in their proper perspective and there would be more likelihood of agreement (I41). Haweis was at pains to prove, though not with conspicuous success,

that many who renounced the name of episcopacy accepted the thing (I42). He held a ' reduced ' view of the nature of episcopacy.

By the Scriptural episcopacy, I humbly conceive, is meant the superintendence of one man over such a district and its pastors as comes within his competency - I should suppose within easy application to him for his advice, and ready opportunity of access to visit them any day, if occasion required; the numbers to be determined by circumstances of vicinity and utility (I43).

But although Haweis preferred the episcopal mode of government, he did not insist upon it as being of the esse of the Church. He recognized that the really indispensable element was holiness, and therefore that " the most spiritually minded Christian is the best Churchman " (I44). One passage of this pamphlet is specially worthy of quotation as an instance of the catholic spirit.

The diffusion of light hath begun to shame bigotry out of countenance; and, I hope, there are but few, really taught of God, in England and Scotland, who suppose the Church is confined to one side or other of the Tweed: that the good Francillion of Switzerland is not as really a minister of Christ as the good Archbishop of Upsala; or that a Lutheran superintendent, or a Huguenot pastor are not as truly ordained by Christ and His Church as the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Moderator of the General Assembly. Episcopalian as I am, were I in Scotland, though I should prefer my own mode, I should feel not the least objection to join in communion with real Christians, in the High Church, or in a meeting of faithful men among the Seceders, Burghers, or Anti-Burghers; if I were in Saxony, my Lutheran brethren would meet me at their tables; at Nimes I should sit down with St. Étienne under the rock; at Berne break bread with that gracious Swiss correspondent as cordially as with the prelate of Upsala, if I were in Sweden - and preferably ten thousand times to any prelate in the universe, of whom I had not a like evidence and hope that he loved our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. I need not add they would be equally welcome to the bread I break, for the same is my brother, my sister, and mother (I45).

Haweis' Missionary Instructions were prepared for the benefit of those who had offered themselves for the missionary service, and were arranged under seven heads: For the Regulation of their own Spirit and Conduct: Public Administration and Instruction: General Employment of Time: Manner of Life in Society: Solemn Designation of Missionaries: Miscellaneous Cautions: Probable Facility of Settlement. The second of these divisions is of especial interest. The method of teaching was to be a simple recital of the story of Jesus and His love.

Avoid all subtleties and deep points of controversy, both among yourselves and the natives. Never dispute. Waive, as much as possible, what would lead to questions, rather than godly edifying. Never enter into metaphysical reasonings on the Being and attributes of God, nor attempt by arguments on the reasonableness or evidences of the Christian religion to display your own wisdom, or suppose you can answer and silence all their objections. Stick to the simplicity which is in Christ, trusting to the power of the Holy Ghost to take the things of Christ and show them to their consciences with Divine conviction and effective energy (I46).

In the endeavour to convince the natives of their sin, the missionaries were advised to fix particularly on those evils which were most obviously unchristian, such as human sacrifice, child murder and public prostitution.

Avoid attacking their established customs in matters rather of an indifferent nature, such as their dress, amusements, and etc., however indecent the one may appear, or in their consequences apparently dangerous the other (I47).

And even the worst practices might afford occasion for the entrance of the Gospel. Human sacrifice could lead to the great sacrifice on Calvary. Ancestor worship could pave the way for the Christian doctrine of resurrection and the communion of

saints. This section of Haweis' pamphlet strikes the reader as remarkably modern in its approach to the missionary's problem of communication. Latrobe read these Missionary Instructions in manuscript with interest and care, and wrote to Haweis giving his comments under each heading. These letters were included as appendices to the pamphlet when it was printed in 1796 (I48).

The Memoir Respecting an African Mission showed that, with all his concern for the expedition to the South Seas, Haweis had not forgotten his plans for missionary work on the Dark Continent. The Bulam scheme had fallen through. Haweis now returned to his prior notion of a mission to Sierra Leone itself. At the Board Meeting of the Missionary Society, on October 2, 1795, Haweis presented a plan for taking the Gospel to Africa, which was later published as a memoir (I49). This report was first submitted to Zachary Macaulay (I50), Governor of Sierra Leone, who made helpful comments, which were added to the publication. He also promised to send any additional information he could collect on his return to the colony. This Memoir represented the initial step towards the work of the London Missionary Society in Africa, which began in 1797 with a mission to the Foulahs (I51). Haweis was thus not only the unquestionable father of the South Sea mission, but the instigator of the Society's African missions, too.

These many concerns occupied Haweis in the latter part of 1795 and the first half of 1796, in addition to all his other commitments to his Aldwinckle parish and Lady Huntingdon's Conn-

action. Until his visit to Bath in the spring of 1796 he was almost entirely absorbed in missionary work. One day Rowland Hill happened to see Haweis' horse standing outside Mawman's, the printers, in the Poultry. He came up and patted it on the head, saying, " There is a horse that is doing more for the Gospel than six and twenty Bishops " (I52). Little wonder that Samuel Greatheed, when writing to Haweis at this period, referred to " your unequalled capacity of attending to everything and your peculiar concern about everything connected with the mission " (I53).

Haweis was present at the memorable-Director's meeting on May 9, 1796, which, claims Richard Lovett, " marks an epoch in the history of the Society " (I54). What has since been regarded as the regula regulans of the London Missionary Society was then adopted, as follows:

As the union of God's people of various denominations in carrying on this great work is a most desirable object, so, to prevent, if possible, any cause of future dissension, it is declared to be a fundamental principle of the Missionary Society, that our design is not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy, or any other form of Church order and government (about which there may be differences of opinion among serious persons), but the glorious Gospel of the blessed God to the heathen: and that it shall be left (as it ever ought to be left) to the minds of the persons whom God may call into the fellowship of His Son from among them to assume for themselves such form of Church government as to them shall appear most agreeable to the Word of God (I55).

How far this declaration expressed Haweis' own firmly stated views and was indebted to them may be estimated from an examination of his missionary pamphlets and sermons.

On July 28 a solemn service of dedication for the thirty

missionaries finally selected to sail on the " Duff " was held in Zion Chapel (I56). No less than ten ministers took part, of whom Haweis was one. He officiated, with four others, at the actual commissioning ceremony (I57). The missionaries knelt at the Communion rail in groups of five. The ministers advanced with Bibles in their hands and charged the missionaries thus: " Go, beloved brother, live agreeable to this blessed Word, and publish the Gospel to the heathen according to your calling, gifts and abilities. " A Bible was presented to each missionary, who responded to the charge in the words, " I will, the Lord being my helper " (I58). Haweis also offered the commendatory prayer after Dr. Edward Williams' sermon (I59). " O great day ! like unto one of the days of the Son of Man, " wrote Haweis in his Autobiography, " Never do I expect to see its like again " (I60). A valedictory Communion service was held on August 9 in the Haberdashers' Hall Meeting House (I61). Haweis presided, as the oldest minister present, and the Society's report concluded:

If ever God was present in the assemblies of His saints, He was present upon that occasion. It was surely a little specimen of what the Church, in the latter days, will be, when love, like death, will level all distinctions. It was even a foretaste of heaven (I62).

At six o'clock on the following morning the " Duff " weighed anchor at Blackwall and hoisted the missionary flag, " three doves argent on a purple field, bearing olive branches in their bills " (I63). Haweis, accompanied by Matthew Wilks and Joseph Brooksbank (I64), joined the ship and remained with the company until they finally joined their convoy. Haweis left

a full manuscript account of this trip: A Journal of a Visit to Portsmouth and its Environs, in the Ship Duff with the Missionaries who were embarked for the South Seas. This document was extensively quoted by Lovett, Campbell and Morison (I65). Haweis preached on deck on Sunday, August 14, from II Corinthians XII, 10 (I66). Arriving at Spithead early on the 16th they found their convoy gone, to their great disappointment. Haweis consulted Captain Wilson and John Eyre as to what should be done, and it was agreed to await the Directors' orders. Haweis meanwhile busied himself inquiring about some blocks which should have been ready on the " Duff's " arrival at Portsmouth (I67).

Haweis lost no opportunity of preaching during this enforced interval, as the following entry indicated:

Desiring to make this providential delay of some utility, I have been laying out myself at Mr. Griffin's, Mr. Horsey's, Mr. Hepburn's at Portsea, at Fareham, Gosport, Southampton, and the Isle of Wight, at all which places the Word has been heard with great avidity, and many precious souls have expressed the refreshment they have found under it, and multitudes unused to attend before have heard constantly at Portsea, and with great seriousness (I68).

His cordial reception at Portsea evidently much moved him. He was no doubt recalling less happy experiences in former years when he wrote:

Mr. Howell, the clergyman of St. John's, who has been so friendly in communicating his papers, called on me at Portsea and Gosport, with Mr. Sargent, the agent for the Society. I was on board and did not see them. It hardly entered my idea, after the manner in which I had been labouring for the last six weeks, that I should receive such an invitation to the noblest Church and most respectable congregation in the place. It is a happy proof of the subdual of prejudice, and I hope will enable me always to see, that a sincere desire

to do good in every way will be no obstruction to my admission into the Churches of my brethren, to whom I particularly wish to be serviceable. But the well-known reproach attached to us often shuts the doors of the Church against us, and compels us to labour where we are more welcome. I am conscious I can have recommended myself only to them by the undisguised frankness with which I have acted. I concluded my having preached for the Dissenters would have excluded me from the Church pulpits; and now I am clear if I had not acted as I have done, I never should have been invited to them. Multitudes heard me; their prejudices were removed; some were, I hope, affected. It was spoken of; in general, what I said was approved; many wished to hear me, and desired I might be invited. Where my friend Romaine, and all of a like kind, had been refused, I was received with great civility, and pressed into the service, for which indeed I was as ready as they were anxious (I69).

There are a number of references in the Journal to Haweis' association with local Dissenters. He was much in the company of Walter Taylor, William Kingsbury's brother-in-law, whose house was frequented by Romaine, Newton and Cadogan (I70). These contacts gave Haweis a fresh insight into the character of the Dissenters and evoked a new sympathy with them. One of the notable features of this missionary period of his life was his broadening outlook and greater willingness to cooperate with those outside the Establishment. He grew less strict in his Evangelicalism and more ready to join hand and heart with good Christian men of all denominations.

The " Duff " eventually sailed on September 24, 1796. The wind proved favourable and the convoy of fifty-seven " sail of transports and Portugal traders " was under way by five a.m. (I71). Haweis went on board and spoke a parting word to the assembled ship's company. He preached from Hebrews III, I, and then all joined in singing Charles Wesley's hymn, " Blest be

the dear uniting love. " Haweis went round to each missionary personally to give his benediction and handshake. He took a last farewell of Captain Wilson. Then he left the ship on which all his hopes and dreams and prayers were focussed. His own words best convey his feelings.

I descended, with a thousand different sensations, the ladder I had so often mounted, and sat myself down in the stern of the boat: the sail was hoisted - I looked back, and prayed for them; we were in a moment out of hearing - we waved to each other - the boat flew through the water - the distance increased: the ' Duff ' began to mingle among the multitude of vessels around her - soon she became indistinguishable from them. I shall see them probably no more. God be praised, Who has led us hitherto; we will bless Him, and say, Hitherto He hath helped us, for His mercy endureth for ever (I72).

It was whilst thus delayed at Portsea that Haweis began his work amongst the Jews, which deserves to be chronicled in the history of Christian missions to Jewry. Portsea was remarkable for the large number of Jews resident within its boundaries, and Haweis seized this opportunity to challenge them with the Gospel. He compiled and circulated the following address:

Children of the stock of Abraham, a friend and well-wisher to your nation desires to address a kind word to you on the present state of your people, and the prophecies concerning you. He wishes to remove, if possible, the barriers of prejudice which have separated us: to cultivate a spirit of union and reciprocal kindness between us and God's ancient people. The reign of the Messiah, you believe as well as we, will one day extend over all nations. They who truly long for Him, and are prepared to meet Him, will be careful to examine their ways, that they may be found of Him in peace. To engage your attention and to awaken our own to the things which make for our eternal peace is the only motive which engages me to offer my services to you. I mean not to offend, or say a word to grieve you. Mine will be good words and comfortable words. Oh ! that God's Israel would hear them ! (I73).

There was appended an invitation to attend a meeting at John

Griffin's Church in Orange Street. The response was greater than Haweis had dared to hope, hundreds being unable to gain admission. He pressed home two arguments: the impossibility of salvation by the Law of Moses, and the testimony of the prophets that Christ must have long since come. Haweis also addressed the Jews in the open air as they left their synagogue. He sought entrance into the synagogue to discuss with their ablest men the Messianic prophecies, but permission was not granted. He was eventually able to hold a conference with the local rabbis, though what was the outcome is not recorded (I74). Haweis kept Lady Anne Erskine informed of this mission, in which she was particularly interested. She provided him with full accounts of similar work being done at Zion Chapel, in London (I75). In addition to this pioneer approach to the Jews, Haweis also capitalized the enforced delay in the sailing of the "Duff" by carrying on an evangelistic crusade amongst the seamen in Portsea and on the ships in the convoy. He distributed several thousand copies of his own tract, first published in I79I, entitled The Sailor's Calling (I76).

Whilst Haweis was in Portsea he received from William Kingsbury a parcel of Romaine's letters to examine, with a view to utilizing them in a biography, first proposed by Romaine's son. William Romaine had passed to his reward on July 26, I795. Haweis must have applied himself to the task of composition immediately on his return from Portsea, for his life of Romaine was published in I797. As he revealed in the Preface, he

had hoped that some better qualified author might have appeared to do justice to the undertaking, " with materials more abundant, and capable of adorning his memory with trophies of more excellent workmanship " (I77). Since no such offer was forthcoming, Haweis felt constrained to make the effort. He was conscious of the inadequacy of his biography. Referring to the project of listing Romaine's converts, he said: " My numerous avocations forbid the attempt, and hardly permit the hasty snatches of my pen, to wreath a garland for his memory " (I78). He had, nevertheless, spent some considerable time in collecting information about his friend and expressed his indebtedness to those who had provided him with further facts, either verbally or by correspondence. One life of Romaine had already been written, by William Bromley Cadogan. Whilst providing a useful account of Romaine's life and work, this biography deliberately omitted any reference whatsoever to Romaine's association with Lady Huntingdon. Cadogan, as a thoroughly ' regular ' Evangelical, could not bring himself to approve of Romaine's itineration for the Countess, and therefore preferred not to mention it in his book. Haweis naturally sought to remedy that defect, and dwelt at some length upon Romaine's service for Lady Huntingdon.

In his Introduction Haweis announced that he would proceed upon his favourite biographical principle, that " the best of men are but men at best " (I79). He regretted that biographers too often turned panegyrists instead of producing a faithful account of their subject. They were apt to elevate their hero

to such a pedestal of perfection that readers were disheartened rather than stirred to emulation.

In fact earth produces no such faultless monsters and Christianity disclaims them. The Bible biography is of quite a different kind. Men as they are, not as they ought to be, are there described in their true character: and the best of men as but men at best (180).

Haweis wrote from a personal knowledge of and acquaintance with Romaine extending over forty years (181). Romaine's life was sketched in ten periods: 1. Education. 2. London. 3. St. George's, Hanover Square. 4. Lectureship of St. Dunstan's . 5. 6. 7. Labours for Lady Huntingdon. 8. Matter and Manner of his Preaching. 9. Rector of St. Anne, Blackfriars. 10. Death. It will be seen from the above summary of contents that almost a third of the biography is devoted to Romaine's work for the Countess of Huntingdon . Haweis' delineation of Romaine the preacher will afford a sample paragraph of this biography.

He was no accommodating preacher, nor thought he might hide any part of sacred truth, disguise its comely proportions, or soften down what the world calls its asperities or hard sayings, in order to render them less offensive to the ears of those who might be disgusted with plainness of speech or fidelity of rebuke. He never affected to conceal the characteristic doctrines of Christianity, so as to render it dubious what he believed himself; nor strove to make them more palatable to those who are disgusted with the simplicity which is in Christ. He was too full of the election of grace, the Divine righteousness and complete redemption which is in the Son of God, to bend these truths to the temper of half-hearted professors, or to accommodate Calvinistic doctrines to Arminian gospellers. He desired to keep back nothing of the whole counsel of God. He never dared to wear two faces, or preach a different truth, or in a different manner, before the wise or the unwise, the fashionable or the vulgar, the rich or the poor. He told one unvarnished tale of Him Who died upon the Cross to save the chief of sinners. And as the thief and the murderer, who suffered at the side of our Lord, others as vile as he were invited and exhorted to embrace the freedom and the fulness of the Gospel of

Christ, to look to Him and be saved from the ends of the earth (I82).

No sooner had the " Duff " sailed for Tahiti than Haweis busied himself in promoting missions to other fields. As we have seen, France was especially laid on his heart (I83). Even before the departure of the South Sea expedition, Haweis was corresponding with Ambrose Serle about the possibility of a mission to that country. The French Ambassador, however, did not prove helpful. Serle wrote:

As to Monsieur Charretin, you think of him as I do. No dependence is to be made in that quarter respecting the least encouragement for any endeavour to extend the Gospel. If you could export Devilism, I believe the ruling atheists in France would heartily concur in the measure (I84).

A mission to East India was also discussed with Serle (I85). The West Indies were considered as a prospective field and George Burder had even written to Haweis about evangelizing the mysterious Welsh Indians (I86). Meanwhile, probably some time in the year 1796, and possibly in connection with his labours for the Missionary Society, Haweis is said to have been awarded the degree of Doctor of Medicine, from a Scottish University (I87). Some obscurity attaches to Haweis' doctorate, for his name does not appear on the graduate rolls of the four Scottish Universities (I88). However, from this time forward he was addressed and referred to as Dr. Haweis.

1796 was a red letter year for Haweis. His loftiest dream had been realized. At last the mission to Tahiti was on its way. His long cherished scheme had ripened. As the year drew to its close, a well defined chapter in Haweis' life was rounded off.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ALDWINCLE 1796-1809

No news was received from Captain Wilson concerning the fortunes of the " Duff " for more than six months (1). Meanwhile, Haweis appears to have resumed his regular round of duties, serving the Chapels of Lady Huntingdon's Connection and tending his Northamptonshire flock. He was certainly in Bath early in 1797 (2). There he found the work unusually heavy and experienced an increasing sense of strain and advancing age (3). It is not surprising that after his almost superhuman exertions prior to the sailing of the " Duff " some physical and mental reaction should have set in.

Haweis nevertheless continued to seize every opportunity of commending the missionary cause and soliciting candidates for further enterprizes (4). He began an extended correspondence with J.T. Vanderkemp (5), who had recently been accepted as a missionary by the Society and was appointed to lead the mission to South Africa (6). Before embarking upon this voyage, Vanderkemp returned to Holland bearing an address from the Directors to be circulated amongst the Dutch Churches. This led directly to the formation of the Netherlands Missionary Society, which worked in close conjunction with its counterpart in London. Vanderkemp kept Haweis posted with news of this infant association. He came back to London late in 1797 and was ordained at

Crown Court on November 3. It was not until over a year later that a passage was finally found for him and his colleagues on the convict ship "Hillsborough," which sailed from Spithead on December 23, 1798.

By this time Captain Wilson had returned with the "Duff" and was ready to set out on a second missionary voyage (7). The first intimation that the "Duff" was homeward bound was received during the May meetings of the Missionary Society in 1798. Whilst one of the Anniversary services was being held at Christ Church, Spitalfields, on May 11, a note was delivered to Haweis announcing the safe arrival in the previous December of the "Duff" at Canton on her way home. Just before the sermon Haweis mounted the pulpit and imparted the welcome news to the congregation (8). Shortly afterwards copies of Wilson's own account of the voyage were received by Sir Charles Middleton, Sir Joseph Banks, James Gambier and C.I. Latrobe, and by them circulated amongst others interested in the expedition. The subsequent arrival of the "Duff" on July 11 aroused tremendous enthusiasm. On August 6 special thanksgiving services were held to mark the safe return of the missionary ship. Griffin preached at Surrey Chapel in the morning, and Haweis at Zion Chapel in the evening. Haweis' sermon, "Grateful Memories," was based on Psalm CXXVI, 3, and rose to great heights of enthusiastic eloquence.

Shall we not with thankfulness admire the safety of the conveyance? Not a mast sprung, not a sail split, not an anchor left behind! To traverse more than twice the circumference of the globe, especially amongst lurking shoals, hidden

rocks, and the low islands of the Pacific Ocean, must, it is well known, be full of danger. Few vessels have ever been so long without touching for refreshment, or performed so vast a run as 13,800 miles without sight of land; but except the common effects of the sea, or the indisposition of an individual, not a scorbutic complaint appeared, no fever, no infectious disorder, no accident (9).

Amongst those participating in this service was Thomas Charles, of Bala, the friend and correspondent of Haweis (10).

Haweis maintained a lively interest in the work of the Missionary Society. He was actively engaged in the preparations for the ill-fated second voyage of the "Duff" and gave an address on board before she sailed (11). He considered the possibility of missions to Jamaica and Malaya (12). He entered into correspondence with Thomas Coke, the apostle of Methodism in America (13). But it was evident that he felt his days to be numbered. He wondered how much longer he would be spared. He wrote to Vanderkemp:

Through mercy I am at present quite well and as fit for labour as in the days that are past: but I reach out my hand ready to touch the goal, and know it must be near. This makes me earnest to finish the work that the great Master hath appointed me to do, as an under-rower, so the original I think is, in the vessel sailing under the banner of the Cross; and happy shall I be to see the rich freight conveyed to the Namaquas, the Malays and the isles of the sea, and returning us glad tidings of jewels acquired richer than those which the mines of Golconda ever produced (14).

Under this sense of urgency Haweis shouldered a further burden when, not long after the return of the "Duff" (15), he began to compile, from the journals of the ship's officers and of the missionaries themselves, an account of the first missionary voyage. This was eventually published in 1799 in a fine quarto edition, with maps, charts and views, drawn by William Wilson, the

first officer, and engraved by the famous firm of William Bowyer. There was a preliminary discourse on the geography and history of the South Sea islands by Samuel Greatheed (I6). Haweis has not always been recognized as the editor of the Missionary Voyage, since his name does not appear on the title page, which attributes the work to a Committee. But Haweis' letters and missionary papers leave no doubt that the Committee delegated the task of editorship to him. Greatheed's manuscript notes, quoted by Campbell, also unhesitatingly ascribe to Haweis the digest of the journals and the interlinking material (I7). It was fitting that Haweis should thus be entrusted by the Directors of the Society with the responsibility of preparing for publication the official account of the first missionary voyage, and characteristic that he did not seek to advertize himself.

The year 1799 opened in sorrow for Haweis. On February 15 he lost his second wife (I8). She died at Bath after a long and painful illness, having never fully recovered from a carriage accident twelve months previously (I9). Following upon this domestic affliction there came a stunning blow to Haweis' missionary hopes. The "Duff" was captured off Cape Frio on February 19 by a French privateer, "Le Grand Buonoparte." The missionaries were sent to Monte Video. From there they were proceeding to Rio de Janiero when they were seized a second time, on this occasion by the Portuguese. The missionaries were conveyed to Lisbon and eventually reached Britain once again in the autumn

of 1799 (20). The first reference to the calamity in the Society's records was a minute of a special meeting, dated August 3, when it was resolved

That, as in consequence of the capture of the ' Duff ' the funds of the Society have suffered very considerably, a subscription be opened for repairing the loss, and that the Directors and other friends present do set down their names with the sums which they mean to subscribe (21).

This was accordingly done and one thousand four hundred and ninety-four pounds was speedily raised. Haweis appears amongst the subscribers with a donation of one hundred pounds to his name (22).

More bad news was to follow. On August 16 it was learned that eleven missionaries had left their posts in Tahiti under circumstances which reflected little credit upon them (23). It seemed, indeed, as if Haweis' cup of sorrow was now brimful. Not only had the second missionary voyage ended in disaster, but it now appeared that the fruits of the first expedition were not to ripen. It was a matter of urgent necessity to equip a vessel as quickly as possible to carry supplies and reinforcements to the devoted missionaries who had remained on Tahiti, and in these preparations Haweis was prominent. A letter of special greeting was sent to the loyal band in Tahiti, composed by Haweis himself. He began by praising their order and steadfastness, and then sought to stimulate them with news of the Cape mission. He ended:

It gives me peculiar satisfaction now near the end of my journey to depart in the reviving hope that you brethren are sent to usher in the great day of the Lord by turning the disobedient to the wisdom of the just, and as we probably

may never meet till the work is done and we stand before the throne to give an account of ourselves to the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls, if I go before you I shall at His right hand wait for and welcome you with delight, and if any of you get the start of me and reach the goal before me, I hope I shall hobble after you, and that we shall eternally rejoice together (24).

As this letter showed, whilst the South Sea mission remained his first love, Haweis continued to interest himself in the widening activities of the Society. He rejoiced in the news he received from Vanderkemp of the progress of the Cape mission and it was to Haweis that Vanderkemp sent the successive portions of his journal (25). Haweis was one of the three signatories, along with Eyre and Hardcastle, of the Society's letter of encouragement to Vanderkemp, dated September 3, 1799. Haweis was also associated with Eyre and Hardcastle on the Committee of Foreign Correspondence (26). In this capacity he received and answered cordial letters from the Christian Societies of Basle, under the signature of C.J. Steinkopff, and of Frankfurt, from Baron August von Schirnding, adopted as a co-Director of the Society, and from the Societas Pro Fide in Sweden (27). Whilst Eyre held the office of Secretary to the Society he frequently consulted Haweis on matters of policy (28). In the midst of all these missionary labours Haweis somehow found time not only to superintend Lady Huntingdon's Connection and his own parish, but also to lend his support to other worthy causes, including the Royal Humane Society (29).

This busy and anxious year produced one of Haweis' most ambitious literary efforts. In 1800 his lengthy three volume

Church History was published, but, as the date of the Preface indicated, the actual writing was completed in 1799 (30). The full title was: An Impartial and Succinct History of the Rise, Declension, and Revival of the Church of Christ; from the Birth of Our Saviour to the Present Time, with Faithful Characters of the Principal Personages, Ancient and Modern. As has already been shown (31), Haweis was interested in the writing of an ecclesiastical history as far back as 1763, when he recommended the attempt to John Newton. The bibliography he then suggested to Newton must have assisted him in his own researches. Haweis' Church History stood in line with Newton's fragment and Joseph Milner's more substantial work. It was Church History written from the Evangelical standpoint. It set out to recount the story of the Gospel Church in every era. Haweis aimed at tracing the faithful remnant of God's people which had persisted through even the darkest ages. He had at least grasped the essence of Church History. He realized the limitations of the average contemporary specimens. They paid far more attention to the abuses and distortions of Christianity than to its continuance in primitive purity. They tended to degenerate into little more than secular histories, giving special prominence to the Church, it was true, but treating it simply as a human institution. Newton and Milner had already recognized that this could not properly be called Church History (32), and Haweis followed in their footsteps. He wrote in the Introduction:

The volumes of ecclesiastical history, under which our shelves already groan, are immense; and it may require an

apology for presuming to increase their number, and adding to the ponderous load. But whilst the very magnitude of many deters from perusal, in others the spirit of party has too frequently discoloured the optic glass; and the bitterness of bigotry, the interests of exclusive establishments, the prejudices of education, or the mists of heretical pravity, have presented the Church through such a distorted medium that the fair face of truth has been disfigured by the vizor of anti-Christian deformity. Instead of a Kingdom 'not of this world,' whose essential characteristics are 'righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost,' we are disgusted with contentions for wealth, power, and pre-eminence, issuing in anathemas of body and soul, and terminating in executions the most horrible and inhuman (33).

Amidst all this farrago of heresy, bigotry and dissension Haweis sought to discover the true and unadulterated Church.

I am inquiring after God's secret ones, the remnant whom the world knoweth not, the chosen, the called, the faithful: the only Church worth a Christian's care (34).

He admitted that his task was not easy.

To produce a genuine, impartial ecclesiastical history is confessedly a work of difficult attempt. The true Church can only be described by those who are its real members; and 'not many wise' in any age have been counted of that number (35).

This logically led Haweis to define the nature of this true Church. It was, he said,

catholic, or universal; not monopolized by any one body of professing Christians, but essentially a spiritual Church; and consisting only and equally of those who, in every denomination, love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity (36).

And again:

No man belongs to any Christian Church who has not the spirit of Christ, and a fortiori, no Church has any pretensions to be a living member of His Body, which in its ministers and members is not found joined to the Lord in one spirit. A Church without evidence of the influence and experience of the operations of the Holy Ghost, hath but a name to live and is dead; and whatever may be its forms, or however sound its confessions of faith, hath no more title to be esteemed a Christian Church than a statue or a corpse has to be esteemed a living man (37).

In his conception of the Church Haweis found himself in complete agreement with Joseph Milner, whom he quoted with approval as affirming that

no Church can have any real pretensions to Christianity, as it is contained in the Scriptures of truth, where the foundation is not laid in the vicarious sacrifice of God incarnate, and the superstructure raised by the agency of the Holy Ghost, in powerful access to the consciences of men, and effectively turning them from the disobedient to the wisdom of the just, that they may obtain an inheritance amongst those who are sanctified through faith, which is in Jesus Christ (38).

Haweis continued:

Respecting the administration of this Church, I am not convinced that the Lord of Life and Glory left any precise regulations. His Kingdom could alike subsist under any species of government, and having nothing to do with this world, was in externals to be regulated by existing circumstances. Whether episcopacy, a presbytery, or the congregational order, be established as the dominant profession, it affects not the Body of Christ. The living members, under each of these modes of administration, are alike bound to love one another out of a pure heart fervently; to indulge their brethren in the same liberty of private judgment which they exercise themselves; and ought never to suffer these regulations of outward order to destroy the unity of the Spirit or break the bonds of peace (39).

Haweis confessed his predilection for an episcopal mode of Church government, without pressing any exclusive claims on behalf of his view. He was also careful to define his terms.

When I speak of episcopacy as most correspondent, in my poor ideas, to the apostolic practice and the general usage of the Church in the first and generally esteemed purer ages, let no man imagine I plead for that episcopacy which, rising very early on the stilts of prelatical pride and worldly-mindedness, has since overspread the earth with its baneful shadow; or suppose those to be the true successors of the apostles who, grasping at power and pre-eminence over Churches, which their labours never planted or watered, claim dominion over the districts, provinces, kingdoms, beyond all power of individual superintendence. These all, everywhere, and in every age, have manifested the same spirit of AntiChrist; and that just in proportion as their usurpation of authority over the

Churches and the consciences of men hath been most extensive, most exclusive and most intolerant (40).

It was with such a view of the Church that Haweis set out to rewrite Ecclesiastical History. Doctrinally, as in the case of Milner, the Reformers' articulus stantis ^{ant} (et) cadentis ecclesiae was his yardstick. Justification by faith Haweis held to be " the cardinal hinge of the question who are the schismatics; to what teachers we must cleave; and from whom we must separate the disciples " (41). As he prosecuted his quest for the Church of the first-born, Haweis said:

these will be sought for not exclusively among those denominated orthodox, but will often be found amidst the separatists, and even with some who have been branded with the name of heretics (42).

We are not therefore surprised to find him extolling the primitive purity of the Waldensians, the Lollards, the Hussites, the Jansenists, the Moravians. In fact, most of those whom Monsignor Knox classifies as enthusiasts in the various periods of Church History, were listed by Haweis as perpetuating the tradition of the true ecclesia. Haweis regarded the Novatians as genuine members of the Church of Christ and closer walkers with God than those who vilified them. " I would rather be under the curses with Novatian, " he declared, " than utter them with Cyprian " (43). He also defended the Paulicians and Bogomils, detecting an incipient Protestantism in their refusal to worship the Virgin or tolerate the crucifix (44). Vigilantius was singled out for praise. His protests against prevailing idolatry and the veneration of relics were just and timely, in Haweis' opinion, al-

though they evoked the censure of St. Jerome (45). Haweis displayed sympathy with both Nestorius and Eutyches (46). He regarded the term *Θεοτόκος*, which Nestorius refused to apply to the Blessed Virgin Mary, as unscriptural and dangerous (47). Eutyches, he thought, denied neither the Godhead and glory of Christ, nor the real atonement made by Him on the Cross (48). These are only a selection of the schismatics and heretics whom Haweis chose to include within the true Church. Some of his omissions were puzzling. We should have expected him to have mentioned and championed Priscillian, the fourth century Spanish reformer. The Montanists, the Meletians and the Donatists might have received a measure of his approval. Names like Marsiglio of Padua, Meister Eckhart, the Friend of God of the Oberland and Nicholas of Basle, amongst others, might have been expected to have figured in his story. Haweis nevertheless displayed discernment in refusing to be misled by conventional labels. Whether it is possible to trace a revised version, as it were, of the apostolical succession through such groups is rather a different matter.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that Haweis did less than justice to the great figures of orthodoxy. His appreciation of the Fathers was sadly defective. In this he compared unfavourably with Milner, to whom Newman was attracted because of his patristic quotations (49). Haweis even went so foolishly far as to declare: " All the Fathers I have ever consulted are but miserable guides to evangelical truth " (50).

The extent of this deficiency may be judged from the fact that St. Augustine was dismissed in less than a page (51). Of all the Fathers surely none should have pleased Haweis more than the Bishop of Hippo, had he really come to grips with him: one can only suspect that Haweis had never done so. Here is Haweis' verdict on St. Augustine:

A considerable portion of his writings will be found jejune, declamatory, and sometimes highly objectionable: and in the very point of the doctrines of grace, wherein he excels, there is more deep reasoning, solid argument, precision of language, and Scriptural evidence, in one page of Edwards on Free Will, than in all the voluminous works of Augustine put together (52).

If St. Augustine was thus summarily treated, it is not surprising that the other Fathers were given short shrift. St. Irenaeus was "far more valuable in confuting his adversaries than in his delineation of the evangelical truth" (53). The writings of Tertullian were "stuffed with absurdities" (54). The divinity of St. Ambrose was "wretched, and often unscriptural" (55).

There is more clearness of Gospel doctrine, more genuine purity of truth, and more beautiful application of it to the conscience, in one modern sermon, than is to be found in a folio of Ambrose (56).

And when the men of thought were thus dismissed, the men of action fared little better, as we can readily believe.

We should hardly expect Haweis to reveal any real appreciation of the Medieval Church. To him the Middle Ages were engulfed in unrelieved gloom, with scarcely a Rembrandtian gleam to cheer the scene. As he opened his chapter on the sixth century, he reminded his readers that they were

descending into the regions of darkness, and the shadow of death; where scarce a ray of truth casts its feeble glimmerings to light the benighted traveller on his way to the celestial city (57).

The greatest names of Medieval Christianity counted for nothing in Haweis' estimation. St. Anselm was awarded only six lines (58). Abelard had less than half a page, mainly critical (59). Peter Lombard, to whose Sententiae Luther himself confessed his indebtedness (60), received this unworthy comment:

Whoever opens the book and reads a single page, will find abundance to exercise his risible muscles, and make him stand astonished at the imbecility of an age that could admire and adopt such absurdities (61).

Of St. Bernard Haweis said: " Saint added to such a name would be impious " (62), and later branded him as " the superstitious, fraudulent, bitter and bloody Abbot of Clairval " (63). St. Dominic also received the epithet " bloody " and was depicted as " a man suited by nature for an inquisitor; acute, violent, unfeeling, overbearing, indefatigable " (64). Even St. Francis of Assisi did not escape the sharpness of Haweis' prejudiced pen (65). The whole monastic revival was thus written off:

The pride and folly of these men, who once made a great noise in the world, are now become the object of ridicule, and after too long a reign of ignorance, the final extinction of these unChristian societies seems approaching (66).

Even Hildebrand, the tireless champion of reform, was ignominiously dubbed " that fiend " (67). Haweis' failure to achieve a fair assessment of Medieval Christianity was due in part, no doubt, to the lack of easily available authoritative literature relating to the period, but we cannot help feeling that a misguided pseudo-Protestant bias heavily weighted his sympathies.

It was only when he reached the Reformation that Haweis could release his enthusiasm. Hitherto, in his view, true and evangelical Christianity had manifested itself only here and there. Now it shone forth in all its glory: this was " the meridian splendour of the Sun of Righteousness " (68) of which he spoke in the Introduction. As Haweis embarked upon the study of the sixteenth century he sighed with evident relief.

After toiling through a long dismal night of papal darkness, and regions of the shadow of death, a beam of Gospel day, as the morning spread upon the mountains, revives the fainting spirit (69).

Martin Luther was " a name for ever to be revered by every real Christian " (70).

Never was a man more formed for the contest in which he was engaged with the see of Rome, than this brave Saxon. His faculties were singularly great; his memory prodigious; his mind fraught with the richest stores of ancient wisdom and literature, to which he had addicted himself; but above all he was deeply read in the oracles of God, and conversant with the best of the Fathers and their writings, particularly St. Augustine, the patron of his order. His natural temper was strong and irascible; his courage invincible; his eloquence powerful as his voice; and darting the lightnings of his arguments on his confounded opponents. No dangers intimidated him; no difficulties, trials, or emergencies deprived him of self-possession; in perseverance unshaken, in labours indefatigable. Rome knew not the Hercules in the cradle that was ready to strangle her snakes, and at first despised such impotent efforts. Nor did he himself know his own strength, or suspect or intend the consequences which would result from this small commencement. But if God will work, none can let it; and any instrument is sufficient, though it were but the jaw-bone of an ass, when the Spirit of the Lord comes upon the appointed Samson (71).

Haweis revealed some acquaintance with Luther's works, which is interesting, for it was not until the early nineteenth century that many of them were made easily available in English through the efforts of Henry Cole, Erasmus Middleton and Julius Charles

Hare. Luther's Commentary on Galatians was discerningly described as " an enduring monument of sound divinity, and Biblical erudition " (72). A long and significant quotation was made from De Servo Arbitrio (73). Haweis was aware that " the doctrine of justification by faith never had a better expositor than Luther " (74), and that " the plain and literal sense of the Scripture he adhered to as to be always followed, in preference to all allegorical and fanciful interpretations " (75). Haweis knew something of Luther's teaching on predestination and grace (76). He criticized Luther's eucharistic doctrine, however, as " little less absurd " than transubstantiation (77), quoting the analogy of heat and fire from De Captivitate Babylonica (78). And even when dealing with his greatest hero Haweis did not forget his favourite maxim " that the best of men are but men at best " (79). Luther's obstinacy and violence in dispute were neither concealed nor condoned (80).

Haweis paid little attention to the other Reformers, disposing of Calvin, Melancthon, Zwingli and Carlstadt in the smallest space. Only three pages were allotted to the English Reformers (81). Nearly two hundred, on the other hand, were devoted to the eighteenth century, including a survey of Continental Christianity and a detailed account of the rise and progress of the Evangelical Revival. Haweis regarded his own time as the Golden Age of true religion in Great Britain.

I am seeking the spiritual Church of Christ, and I am filled with comfort at the spread of the Gospel in our land. Multitudes in the Established Church, ministers and people, are blessed monuments of redeeming love. Multitudes of every

other denomination stand high in faithful and vigorous exertions for the glory of our common Lord. I am sure He will say, I have much people in this place (82).

A wholly disproportionate amount of space was assigned to the life of Lady Huntingdon and a survey of her Connection. In view of the scrappy and inadequate treatment afforded to the Medieval Church, this effusive eulogy of the Evangelical Revival threw the entire work out of balance.

Haweis recounted the story of the missionary awakening of his time. The whole production was dedicated to " Joseph Hardcastle, Treasurer, and all the Directors and Governors of the Missionary Society " (83). It was they who encouraged Haweis in the undertaking, supposing that it would prove useful in promoting the objects they had in view. Haweis displayed a keen interest in the missionary endeavour of the Church in every age. He praised the missionary zeal of the Nestorians (84), of Baleslaus and Waldemar (85), of Johannes à Monte Corvino (86), of Ernest of Wells (87), of the Moravians (88) and the Methodists (89). He could not extend like approval to the Roman Catholic missionaries.

To me indeed, and those who think as I do, it will be a matter of doubt whether the disciples of a Xavier, or the converts of Loyola and Dominic, with their partisans in the Romish superstition, should be admitted among the number of Christians, or their labours be thought to have contributed to the promotion and furtherance, or the disgrace and hindrance of the true religion of Christ (90).

He thought, nevertheless, that the ardour of the Roman Church in this direction ought to rebuke the Protestants.

Yet let it be remembered that however Jesuits and Capuchins may be despised or condemned by Protestants, their

conduct is to us highly reproachful. That we who vaunt a purer Christianity, and have so many nobler motives to animate our zeal, have been hitherto so backward in the work of heathen missions, so indifferent about enlarging the borders of Immanuel's Kingdom, and so cold in our love towards the souls purchased by His most precious Blood, must be confessed our guilt and shame, and can neither be too deeply lamented, or too soon amended (91).

Haweis did not fear to enter the lists against other historians. He took Mosheim to task for asserting that Laud caused " the Church of England to be new modelled, and publicly renounced the Calvinistic opinions " (92), since the Articles, Liturgy and Homilies continued in full force as ever, since the Reformation. He also embarked upon a lengthy defence of Pietism against the onslaughts of the same writer (93). Nor was Haweis afraid to tackle the redoubtable Edward Gibbon (94). He disagreed with the distinguished secular historian in his attempt to make light of the Neronian persecution (95). Haweis devoted a whole dissertation, appended to Volume I, to challenging Gibbon's fifteenth and sixteenth chapters in The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (96). Here were concentrated Gibbon's main arguments against Christianity. Haweis commented:

Ingenious and insidious as they appear, I have read them with attention, and I hope without undue prejudice to the argument, however evidently convinced of the wickedness of the man; and I may venture to assert that no real Christian need be apprehensive of any dangerous effects from such unfair statements, and malicious insinuations. His ignorance of the truly Christian character which is the subject of his contempt, disarms the malignity of his suggestions; and his attempts to depreciate the Gospel of Christ discovers how little he is acquainted with the real dignity of our nature, and the means which can only enable it. I have attentively followed him through the mazes of sly insinuation and treacherous commendation, and am persuaded the more the grounds of his charges are examined, the less force they will have to shake our confidences (97).

Haweis then proceeded to expose the misrepresentations of Gibbon in a capable manner.

Although Haweis closely followed the outline of his fellow Evangelical, Joseph Milner, he did not always see eye to eye with him. At a number of points he registered his disagreement (98), and the first dissertation in Volume I was entitled: " On the Establishment of Uniformity in Religion, in reply to the Rev. Mr. Milner, in his second volume of Church History " (99). Milner had attempted to defend the conduct of the Emperor Theodosius in enforcing the profession of Christian beliefs by the imposition of penal laws (100). He took it for granted

that the Gospel is of Divine authority, and ought to be received, on pain of condemnation, by everyone who has the opportunity of hearing it fairly proclaimed, and that a man ought no more to plead the pretences of conscience for rejecting its fundamentals, than for the commission of murder, theft, or any other criminal action (101).

Milner came to the conclusion that:

1. The supreme power has no right to violate liberty of conscience by extorting confessions of faith.
2. It has a right - To establish the true religion by positive institutions.
3. To ensure public respect to these institutions by penal laws.
4. To restrain and punish the propagators of irreligious opinions (102).

Haweis argued against these rights of the State. True religion could not be established merely by positive institutions. It was Divine in its origin and could only be established by its Divine Author (103). Wherever penal enactments had been imposed, the progress of real Christianity had been impeded rather than advanced (104). The suppression of atheism on oath would only lead

to perjury, and would not really promote genuine Christianity (IO5). Milner supposed that without an establishment provided by the State the greater part would "scarce have any religion at all" (IO6). Haweis could not agree. He asked

Why? Did not the true Church from the beginning subsist without it? Was it to obtain this the primitive Christians were content to be confessors and martyrs?..... Why should God set His face against every government which does not fence religion with penal sanctions? (IO7).

The Church was best without any civil support, contended Haweis.

The alliance of Church and State had always been meretricious.

And so he concluded

that Theodosius had no right to make his religion that of the state universally, with pains and penalties on the dissenters from his impositions; that every man in this matter is to be left to his own conscience, undisturbed, as long as he is a peaceable subject; that it is an unwarranted violation of the right of private judgement to impose religious sentiments on the subjects of any government, with pains and penalties for nonconformity; and that therefore Theodosius, and all others who have acted like him, are chargeable with a criminal abuse of authority (IO8).

This dissertation, and Haweis' other criticisms of Milner, brought him into conflict with Milner's brother, Isaac, Dean of Carlisle, President of Queens' College, Cambridge, and Vice-Chancellor of that University (IO9). In a pamphlet pre-faced to the second edition of Joseph Milner's Church History, Isaac Milner charged Haweis with misrepresenting the views of his departed brother on the subject of establishment. Haweis defended himself in a reply, published in 1801, which evoked Further Animadversions from the Dean, and a second reply from Haweis (IIO). This logomachy, though typical of the period, brings little interest or profit to the modern reader. It rev-

ealed, however, that although Haweis may have been careless in his quotations from Joseph Milner, and perhaps did not altogether understand the latter's position as regards establishment, there was certainly no intention of deliberate mis-statement (III).

Haweis' comments on the Quakers in the third Volume of his Church History (II2) also incurred criticism. In the Preface to A Refutation of some of the more Modern Misrepresentations of the Society of Friends, published in 1800, Joseph Gurney Bevan claimed that his work answered Haweis' erroneous assertions respecting the Society of Friends and his general charges against its early members (II3). Haweis was only too glad to receive any constructive criticisms of his work and hoped to produce a second edition in which he proposed to remove any actual inaccuracies, supply footnotes indicating his authorities and rewrite certain passages where he felt that a fresh appraisal was demanded (II4). This was unfortunately never carried out.

As it stands, lacking this much needed revision, Haweis' Church History cannot be deemed satisfactory. Its principal merit lay in its unusual approach, for which Haweis may take at least some of the credit. Admittedly, he followed Joseph Milner's plan, but Milner acknowledged his indebtedness to John Newton, and it was Haweis who first laid the scheme before Newton. Haweis' literary style was, as usual, commendable, if rather high-flown. He wrote after the manner of his period and his party without aspiring to timeless prose. Even the Gentleman's Magazine could not fault him here. " His style and ex-

pression, however tinged with occasional quaintness, may entitle him to a reputation as a writer " (II5). But as to the general value of this work as an accurate guide to the course of Ecclesiastical History, little of real commendation can be said. Haweis entertained too many prejudices to be impartial, and we cannot help feeling that the severe treatment meted out by the Anti-Jacobin Review in estimating this attempt to rewrite Church History was for the most part justified (II6).

It was at this period that Haweis was in frequent correspondence with Sir Joseph Banks, the naturalist and explorer, who was the President of the Royal Society (II7). It was Haweis who first interested him in the work of the Missionary Society and persuaded him to become a subscriber. In an important letter he had emphasized the doctrinal orthodoxy and patriotic loyalty of the Society.

We desire to be neither exclusively Churchmen or Dissenters; we contain a considerable number of both, and on either side of the Tweed. We form no parties in religion or politics; our design rises from a broader basis. It is the inviolable rule with us that politics never enter into our conferences, and that no exclusive mode of worship shall be presented to our missionary brethren, but every man left to his private judgement, acknowledging only the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England as containing the substance of our religious sentiments; supposing His Majesty as much King of North Britain, as of the south: and admitting men from both into our work and service alike.

You, Sir, will be above the false representations of those who know us not, as if we secretly entertained ill designs, but the present afforded a happy opportunity of offering respectful homage to His Majesty, and exposing to the world the real sentiments of our Society, who compose no inconsiderable body of his subjects.

I may venture to suggest to you, Sir, that nothing hath ever happened in this land which had a happier tendency to divert the minds of men from the dangerous field of political contention to the peaceable objects of general philanthropy

than the Missionary Society. The most attached friend to Government could never have wished for effects more conducive to peace and union than have been produced, and it is obvious that our efforts, if ultimately successful, must be of the most beneficial consequences to the Kingdom at large (II8).

Haweis' value to the Missionary Society as an apologist in high places may be judged from this shrewdly argued letter. Through Sir Joseph Banks Haweis succeeded in awakening Lord Liverpool and Lord Spencer to a practical concern for the Society (II9).

It was to Banks that Haweis first broached a scheme which he had cherished for some time and which he strove to expedite for many years to come. It will be remembered that when the Directors of the Missionary Society discussed the possibility of a South Sea mission the question of conveyance was carefully canvassed. One of the three proposals put forward by Haweis was the chartering of a ship of large tonnage, by individuals, as a commercial venture. Haweis had inclined to this idea from the start, and now that the work at Tahiti was actually established, he considered it to be the best means of keeping in constant touch with the missionaries and of ensuring regular supplies. He believed it to be a sound business proposition, although the Directors of the Society regarded it as inexpedient. If a suitable vessel could be obtained, Haweis was prepared to give his own financial backing to the project. He hoped that the ship might be used to transform the mission station on Tahiti into a British colonial settlement, and it was this argument which he sought to impress upon the Government (I20). Haweis met with no immediate success in these representations. When,

however, the Society decided to send out the " Royal Admiral " to reinforce the South Sea mission, Haweis was to the fore in the preparatory arrangements. The Society had paid three thousand pounds for passages for twelve missionaries aboard this ship, which was engaged in carrying convicts to Port Jackson. It was by Haweis' intervention, through Sir Joseph Banks, at the Duke of Portland's office that permission was secured for the transport of the missionaries (I21). Haweis also made unavailing application through this channel to the Chairman of the East India Company to obtain a return cargo from India (I22). The " Royal Admiral " eventually sailed in March, 1800 (I23). It was whilst seeking missionary candidates for this voyage that Haweis penned his one surviving letter to Thomas Charles, of Bala (I24). But though the arrival of the " Royal Admiral " would bring immediate relief to the South Sea missionaries, Haweis still held to his original plan of establishing regular trade with Tahiti. On September 29, 1799 he had written again to Sir Joseph Banks on the matter, suggesting the settlement of a colony at Matavai, when peace returned, and expressing the hope that a ship would be forthcoming (I25). Sir Joseph, however, was not prepared to encourage this proposal. He replied:

With regard to the establishment of a defensive post and a strong colony, I doubt much of its policy, either in a religious or a civil point of view. Defence certainly implies offence, for noone, I believe, can for a long time defend himself against an enemy who offends him without commencing in his turn offensive operations. If he does not, he will surely be in the end overcome.

To establish a post of any kind is to colonize, which I conclude is not the idea of the Missionary Society. Patience, forbearance and suffering are the means of carrying the Gos-

pel into foreign parts (I26).

Haweis was also kept informed of missionary progress in Africa. He received regular letters from J.T. Vanderkemp and William Edwards (I27). Vanderkemp's journal was sent to Haweis as it was written (I28). Haweis not only replied personally to Vanderkemp, but was one of the signatories of an official letter to the Directors of the South African Missionary Society, dated March, 1800 (I29). Haweis rejoiced in the inauguration of the Dutch mission in this same year. He wrote to inform Vanderkemp that passports had been procured and that Captain Gordon was prepared to convey the missionaries aboard the "Oslo," another convict ship (I30). Haweis and Bogue both preached to the unfortunate prisoners before the vessel sailed.

In July, 1800, David Bogue was invited by the Directors of the London Missionary Society to undertake the post of Tutor at a training college for prospective candidates. Robert Haldane (I31) had offered two hundred pounds for this purpose, and a Mr. Spear, of Manchester, had promised five hundred pounds. Haweis sat on the Committee which considered the proposal and drew up the outline of a plan for missionary instruction (I32). Bogue had founded a theological academy in 1789 at Gosport and this existing institution was now pressed into missionary service. In later years Haweis strongly objected to this association with Gosport. He claimed that from the first he had raised his voice against the danger that the College should become linked with a party within the Missionary Society, led by Bogue himself, which

preferred to send missionaries to the colonies rather than to pioneer new territory. Haweis accused Bogue of opposing the South Sea mission from the beginning, and of sacrificing the wider usefulness of the Society to his own prejudiced views. Haweis was also anxious to safeguard the interdenominational basis of the Society and foresaw the difficulties attendant upon establishing a missionary training college on the premises of a Dissenting academy. He disagreed with the policy of allowing the students to choose their own spheres of service. He thought that they should be ready to go not only where they were needed, but where they were needed most. Too many of them, he complained, wanted to be gentlemen rather than missionaries. Although it was not until the close of his life that Haweis divulged his dissension in writing, he stated quite clearly that he had always been alive to these perils, and had spoken against them from the first (I33). He wrote to George Burder:

I always foresaw and remonstrated the consequences, and, as you know, brought Mr. Bogue's wrath on me and address to you for my expulsion from the Society. He has assumed the entire authority, and though he cannot destroy, he will impede by diverting every missionary that is sent to Gosport. We refuse episcopal government and have adopted another independent authority and set him at the head of it (I34).

This disagreement between two of the three co-founders of the Missionary Society was unfortunate. It was the result of misunderstanding and a measure of prejudice on both sides. Haweis was so wedded to the South Sea mission that he could not bear any retrenchment there to be even hinted. Bogue considered that the original account of the prospects in that field was too

sanguine. Haweis, in his enthusiasm to hasten the cause, was prepared to send out candidates who were hardly qualified for their exacting task. Bogue had a lofty conception of missionary training and was a real pioneer in this sphere. On the other hand, Bogue's religious background made him less concerned than Haweis about Church order, and it must be confessed that there was a streak of benevolent despotism in the resolute Scotsman (I35).

Peile mistakenly connects Haweis with the Church Missionary Society (I36). Although, of course, Haweis played no official part in this body, he was on occasion consulted by its leaders (I37). The Church Missionary Society owed much to a meeting of the Evangelical Clerical Association to which Haweis belonged. It was at a session in 1795, held in John Pugh's parish at Rauceby, that its formation was mooted, and it was a bequest of four thousand pounds from Joseph Jane, Haweis' former **Vicar** at Oxford, which provided a financial foundation stone of the Society (I38). The links between the early missionary societies in Great Britain were remarkably close. A further clue to Haweis' somewhat complex Evangelicalism is provided by the fact of his attachment to the London Missionary Society, with its interdenominational basis and a predominance of Dissenters, rather than to the Church Missionary Society, in which the prime movers were almost all Evangelicals of the more regular variety.

Two of Haweis' letters to Sir Joseph Banks throw an in-

teresting light upon the national situation during the last phase of the French Revolution, and the early invasion scare in Britain. Haweis, as a patriotic Englishman, offered his services in national defence, if he could be of any use. He modestly added:

I have a little influence with a certain description of persons called Methodists in a great variety of places, and should be happy to use my best exertions, and hazard my own person in forwarding any services that should be ordered for the general good (I39).

Lord Pelham was grateful for the offer and asked Haweis to correspond with him on the matter (I40). In a further letter to Sir Joseph, Haweis expatiated upon the services that might be rendered by those of Lady Huntingdon's Connection whom he had described as Methodists in his previous communication.

There are not many miles from Newcastle to the Land's End, and indeed round the whole coast, where there are not some persons, many in connection with us, who would probably be excited to activity in any service which might be recommended by the Commander-in-Chief, if a man in whom they had confidence were among them, and I know many of my brethren, in Wales as well as in England, who would as readily as myself come forward to promote any service that might induce to national defence in case of emergency (I41).

These letters are in themselves sufficient to clear Thomas Haweis from the charge of Jacobinism which was persistently made against him.

The temporary truce afforded by the Peace of Amiens, the preliminaries of which were signed on October 1, 1801 (I42), presented, in Haweis' estimation, a challenge to redoubled missionary ardour. He wrote to Banks:

I am happy to find, since I last had the honour of addressing you, that the war is happily ended. May the experience of miseries it has occasioned make every nation more careful to avoid all causes of contest in the future. It

now becomes more than ever desirable to endeavour to ameliorate the condition of mankind in general, and to promote the prosperity of this favoured land that our burdens may be alleviated (I43).

He therefore urged afresh upon the patient Sir Joseph his pet scheme of establishing a colonial outpost in Tahiti.

It was in 1801 that Haweis found himself drawn into the current controversy concerning the interpretation of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England (I44). The particular work which roused his Calvinistic blood and caused him to enter the fray was The Elements of Christian Theology, by George Pretyman (later Tomline), the Bishop of Lincoln (I45). The second volume of this treatise was taken up with an exposition of the Articles, expressly designed to deny their Calvinistic implications. Not content with this, the Bishop even went so far as to advance the thesis that some of the Articles were actually composed in direct opposition to the teaching of Calvin (I46).

Haweis could not allow what was to him a flagrant piece of theological chicanery to pass unanswered. He therefore leapt to the defence of the Calvinistic interpretation of the Articles, Liturgy and Homilies, in a reply of one hundred and sixty pages, entitled: The Church of England Vindicated from Misrepresentation, showing her Genuine Doctrines as contained in her Articles, Liturgy, and Homilies, with a particular reference to The Elements of Christian Theology, by the Bishop of Lincoln. He did not set his name to the title page, but described himself as "A Presbyter of the Church of England."

The Preface was respectfully addressed to the Bishop in

person. Haweis quoted with approval a passage from Tomline's own book, emphasizing the importance of the subject (I47). Haweis' avowed purpose was to maintain the Calvinistic sense of the Anglican Articles, Liturgy and Homilies, for he found these to be a seamless robe as far as doctrine was concerned. He believed that the serious decline of the Established Church was partly due to a departure from the original intention of the English Reformers.

The grand cause of our present divisions, and what drives hundreds and thousands from the parish Churches, is the want of the doctrines contained in the Articles, jealously enforced, diligently taught, and adorned by a conversation in heaven (I48).

He then went on to examine Bishop Tomline's arguments in pursuance of the maxim previously enunciated, that " it is a bad cause that resorts to misrepresentations, and a weak one that needs them " (I49). The comments of Tomline on the first seven Articles were conceded to be less exceptionable than the rest. Haweis nevertheless regarded the Bishop's views on the agency of the Holy Spirit as open to suspicion. Tomline argued that the ordinary operation of the Spirit consisted in " causing a change and renewal of men's minds, and in affording them inward and secret assistance to become good and virtuous " (I50). The " comfortable and important assurance " which the Bishop offered turned out to be the very diluted affirmation, in Haweis' sight, " that the Spirit of God cooperates with our sincere endeavours after righteousness, and assists in all our virtuous exertions " (I51). Tomline's remarks on the damnatory clauses in the Atha-

nasian Creed brought a rejoinder from Haweis. The Bishop had expressed the view that the Church would have been wiser not to have adopted the clauses in question, whilst maintaining that the doctrines of the Creed were all founded on Scripture (I52). Haweis seized on this obvious inconsistency and inquired how the Bishop could advocate the omission of any part of the Creed if he believed that all its articles " may be proved by the most certain warrant of Holy Scripture " (I53).

It was over Article IX that Haweis and Tomline really came to grips, however. Haweis disagreed with the Bishop on a series of important points. The Bishop regarded the mediation of Christ as the means of atonement: to Haweis, the atonement was the means of mediation. The Bishop spoke of a work of the Holy Spirit before the sinner was entitled to the benefits of the Gospel dispensation: Haweis could only admit such a work after such an access of blessing. The Bishop sought to evade the plain sense of original guilt: Haweis defended it. The Bishop claimed that both Calvinists and Anti-Calvinists acknowledged that the effects of Christ's obedience were commensurate with Adam's disobedience: Haweis contended that no Calvinist ever admitted such a thing. The Bishop asserted that the Gentiles without the Law partook of salvation, and were collectively free from sin and justified by grace: Haweis saw here the fatal error of universalism. The Bishop spoke of " faith in Christ, joined with repentance and a sincere endeavour " (I54): Haweis insisted on faith alone (I55).

Under the Tenth Article, Haweis objected to the synergistic tendency of the Bishop's language, and referred his readers to his favourite work on free will - that by Jonathan Edwards (I56). In discussing the Article on Good Works, Haweis sanely commented:

There never was, there never can be a dispute whether ' our Church considers good works as essential to the character of a good Christian, and as the necessary consequence of sincere faith in Christ; ' the dispute is whether they are the cause or the consequence of justification by faith, and whether, as we affirm with the Article, they do not spring necessarily out of it (I57).

The crux of the controversy, however, lay in the Seventeenth Article. " To make an Arminian bridge over Article XVII was a work worthy of an ingenious pontiff, " declared Hunt (I58). Yet this was precisely what Tomline attempted. He was not satisfied with the usual argument that the Article taught only moderate Calvinism because it was silent on double predestination. Despite the solemn introduction, the Bishop averred that election was merely the election to privilege of those to whom God had made known the Gospel. In what sense, then, could it be said that " for curious persons lacking the spirit of Christ to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's predestination, is a most dangerous downfall " ? (I59). The Bishop surmounted this hurdle by taking this dangerous predestination to refer to the doctrine of Calvin ! (I60). Haweis justly remarked: " I allow a man to dispute the truth of the Article, but the words and meaning of it will admit none of these Procrustean extensions or defalcations " (I6I).

In the last part of his reply, Haweis subjected the Liturgy and Homilies to a careful examination and maintained their Calvinistic sense. He concluded by regretting his own inadequacy to do justice to his theme.

I could wish so good a cause had an abler advocate; but if my inferiority to my reverend and right reverend brethren in ability be acknowledged, it will add to the strength of the argument adduced, and the force of truth be more strikingly displayed. For I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, nor afraid to challenge the fullest investigation of the doctrines in question, hoping that there will never be wanting an answer to every anti-Calvinistic impugner of the doctrines of the Church of England (I62).

Despite his inferiority to the Bishop in formal learning, Haweis emerged with some credit from this paper warfare. As Hunt remarks of Tomline, " his hatred of Calvinism was simply hatred, and the spirit in which he wrote of it compares unfavourably with the judicial wisdom of Watson and Horsley " (I63). Even so biassed a journal as the British Critic, whilst taking Haweis to task for certain expressions and disagreeing with some of his conclusions, was compelled to concede that he had registered more than one palpable hit (I64). The more sympathetic Gospel Magazine was full of praise.

We congratulate every real and faithful member of the Church of England on the reception of a treatise in which the bold assertions of His Lordship are justly exploded; his mistaken paraphrases on the Word of God, and the Articles are placed in a Scriptural light, by a writer who possesses a great store of sound and critical penetration, and of a cool and deliberate investigation (I65).

Haweis' The Church of England Vindicated was a useful contribution from the Evangelical side to the Articles controversy and served to support the lengthier works of Augustus Toplady, John

Overton and Sir Richard Hill (I66). Haweis might have strengthened his case by comparing the phraseology of the Articles with that of Calvin's Institutes. When he was compelled to return to the fray in 1805, in order to answer some of his critics, Haweis did argue effectively from such a comparison (I67).

Haweis married for the third time in 1802 (I68). In the previous autumn he had broken his right arm in a chaise accident, and during his consequent incapacitation, Elizabeth McDowall, daughter of Captain Alexander McDowall of the Guards (I69), acted as his secretary. After six weeks, Haweis was so pleased with her kind services and conversation that he made her a proposal of marriage, advising her to consider carefully before answering (I70). Her reply was evidently favourable, for the union took place. Bessy was a great comfort to Haweis in his declining years and in his Diary he found it impossible to speak too highly of her (I71). She was of a sweet and even disposition, constantly attentive to his needs and cordially devoted to the cause of the Kingdom. Haweis already felt himself nearing the grave when he married Bessy: the fact that he lived for another eighteen years may be attributed largely to her loving care.

Later in this same year Haweis hoped to realize a long cherished ambition by visiting France in the interests of the Gospel. On May 17, 1802, the Board of the Missionary Society appointed a deputation to France to ascertain what steps could most advantageously be taken to further the proposed mission there. The deputation was to number four: David Bogue, Joseph

Hardcastle, William Alers Hankey and Thomas Haweis (I72). Unhappily Haweis, having again broken his arm, this time in a fall from his horse, was unable to travel, to his great disappointment. He would doubtless rejoice at the lengthy report in the Minutes of the Society for October 25, 1802, recording the establishment of a mission in Paris under the leadership of Samuel Tracy (I73).

Haweis continued to agitate for a missionary ship to ply between England and Tahiti. Joseph Hardcastle had sent him a letter from Samuel Marsden, then a Chaplain in New South Wales, in which he proposed just such a commercial enterprize as Haweis had in mind (I74). Haweis thereupon renewed his representations to Sir Joseph Banks in an endeavour to secure royal patronage to form a colonial station on Tahiti. In soliciting an interview with Sir Joseph, Haweis quoted extracts from letters written by Jefferson, Henry and Eyre, dated January, 1801, in which they earnestly begged for reinforcements (I75). Another letter, of April 18, 1803, inquired whether it was the intention of the Government, in view of the recent revolt in Atahuru, to form a settlement in order to secure a regular supply of provisions for Port Jackson (I76).

The Missionary Society's Report for 1803 mentioned two Tahitian youths, aged about sixteen, who had been brought to England and placed under the tuition of Dr. Oakley (I77). Haweis took a special interest in these two boys, Oley and Mydo. Dr. Oakley, who had sent Mydo to the Moravian School at Fulneck, and Oley to a similar institution at Fairfield, was concerned for

their health, and confided his anxiety to C.I. Latrobe. Latrobe in turn consulted Haweis, who recommended the return of the youths to Tahiti before the winter (178). Unfortunately no suitable transport could be found for them, and they both died (179). Earlier in the year, Haweis had attended the funeral of his friend and co-founder of the Missionary Society, John Eyre (180).

Haweis had been deeply apprehensive about his wife's health at the close of 1803, and arranged to remain to Aldwincle for an extended period, in order that she might recover (181). They arrived on Christmas Eve and intended to stay well into the coming year (182). Their baby daughter, Calista, died when only a few months old, to the grief of her parents (183). By the end of 1804 Bessy's health gave cause for alarm, and Dr. Denman was consulted (184). She improved greatly in the following year and in November gave birth to a son, John Oliver Willyams Haweis, so named after Haweis' cousin (185). The protracted illness of Bessy, necessitating a continuous residence at Aldwincle for over two years, prevented Haweis from fulfilling his usual round of preaching engagements and curtailed his missionary activities. He was able, however, to attend the May meetings of the Society in 1805, and was re-elected as a Director. He presided over the missionary Communion and listened to an inspired address from C.J. Steinkopff. " To these pious breathings, " remarked Haweis at the close, " let all the people say, Amen " (186). In the autumn of 1805 he met with a further injury, to his thigh, due to a fall from his horse (187).

On February 24, 1806, a series of resolutions was adopted by the Board of the Missionary Society relating to a mission to the Jews (188). One of Bogue's students at Gosport, Joseph Samuel Frederick Frey, a German Jew, had begun in 1805 to give lectures on the Old Testament and to preach, first at Jewry Street Chapel, in London, and then at Zion. This eventually led to the inauguration of a Jewish mission under the auspices of the Missionary Society, carrying on the work already begun by Haweis in Portsea and by Lady Anne Erskine in London. In 1809 Frey resigned from the London Missionary Society and formed the London Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews (189).

Haweis was unable to attend the Missionary Society's annual meetings in 1806 because of lameness, but sent Hardcastle a donation of five hundred pounds from a friend who preferred to remain anonymous (190). In his "contracted sphere" at Aldwinkle his congregation afforded him "much matter for thankfulness" and "gave hope that labour was not spent in vain" (191). The South Sea mission was never far from his thoughts, despite this enforced retirement. He spoke of the station at Tahiti as a Pharos which would shed its gracious light over all the islands of the Southern Seas (192). Haweis was still convinced of the commercial and colonial possibilities of Tahiti. He had offered the sum of five thousand pounds to a Mr. Hall, of Hull, a friend of Marsden, in order to put the scheme into effect. He had tried to interest James Wilson, but he was not in favour. Haweis still

thought it practicable and urged the Society to reconsider the matter (I93).

It was a profound joy to Hawsis to receive the letter written by King Pomare to the Directors of the Missionary Society (I94). After the many disappointments in Tahiti, the "night of toil," as Lovett calls it (I95), seemed to be yielding to a brighter dawn. A communication from the Governor of New South Wales had already reached Hawsis, enclosing a message from the missionaries on Tahiti to the effect that the King was favourably disposed towards the Gospel (I96). Now Pomare's own communication confirmed that good news. These happier tidings confirmed Hawsis in his opinion that he had been right in advocating the South Sea mission as the primary concern of the Society. He wrote to Burder:

My sentiments respecting the Otaheitan mission are unchanged. It was the object which the Lord directed us to at first. It laid the broad basis of the Society. To it we are indebted for all the beneficial effects which have followed in every place. Had it not been broken into parts by the advice of those who I am persuaded meant well: had the missionaries settled together according to the original plan, it would ere this, I am persuaded, have been a Christian Church and a flourishing settlement (I97).

Bad news, however, was yet to emanate from Tahiti. On November 8, 1808, open rebellion broke out on the island. So serious was the situation that the married missionaries had to be removed to Huahane, in the brig "Perseverance," which, providentially, was lying at anchor off Tahiti at this time. Soon the other missionaries were obliged to leave also. Pomare was defeated and had to remove to Eimeo. The missionaries sent the following

gloomy report:

We unanimously agreed that the state of the island is such that there is no prospect of safety or usefulness. Should ever the disaffected chiefs prove our friends, we dread the thought of living under a government where nothing is to be expected but constant quarrels and confusion..... The consideration of these things, together with the little success that has hitherto attended the labours of many years at Otaheite, and Providence having, at the present juncture, put into our hands the means of removal to another island, fully determined our minds (198).

The fair hopes of dawn had faded. The night of toil seemed darker than ever before. It was on this doleful note that the year 1808 closed for Haweis' missionary schemes.

CHAPTER EIGHT

BATH 1809-1820

We now reach the final stage in Thomas Haweis' life. After more than forty-four years' residence at Aldwinckle, he retired to Bath. Bessy's health was the determinative factor. The midland air did not suit her, and the week before Christmas, 1808, Haweis left Aldwinckle never to return as a permanent inhabitant (1). Bessy and the boy had already gone to stay in Camberwell, and there Haweis joined them. He found fresh scope for Christian service, preaching regularly in the nearby Chapel (2). He was able to renew his friendship with Captain James Wilson, who resided in Denmark Hill (3), and he mentioned a Mr. Birch and a Mr. Flint as being, amongst others, his Christian companions.

It was during these weeks at Camberwell that Haweis debated where he and his family could most conveniently settle (4). Camberwell itself held out many attractions - the company of friends, a spacious Chapel and a field of usefulness - but its nearness to London made it an expensive place to live in. Brighton was Haweis' choice as to place, but neither he nor Bessy were enamoured of the society there. He might have returned to his native Cornwall, and had the Carnanton estate fallen to him a few months earlier, this event might have determined his choice. Bath was finally selected for a number of reasons. It had al-

ways suited Bessy's health, the waters proving beneficial; being a town of doctors, the best advice would always be available. Haweis had served Lady Huntingdon's Chapel in the Vineyards over a period of many years and would find a sympathetic congregation to minister to in his declining years. Both he and Bessy had innumerable friends in Bath and could never be lonely there. The education of young Willyams was also borne in mind: the facilities of the town from this point of view, were, of course, excellent. Haweis would find in the local libraries the books which were so indispensable to him (5). He would also delight in the musical life of Bath. Here flourished the Linley family - the nest of nightingales, as Dr. Burney christened them: here Dr. Harington had formed the famous Glee Club, superseded in 1795 by the Harmonic Society: here Signor Rauzzini directed the season of orchestral concerts (6). All these advantages were duly weighed and on January 31, 1809, the Haweis family left Camberwell for Bath.

They stayed for a time in the Chapel house at the Vineyards, whilst Haweis looked out for a suitable residence to purchase. In June, 1809, he bought No. 5, Beaufort Buildings and, after the necessary preparations had been made and the furniture was removed from Aldwincle, they moved in sometime during the autumn (7). No final decision was made about Aldwincle meantime. Although there seemed little prospect of return, Haweis was reluctant to relinquish his living and thus sever all connection with the flock he had tended so faithfully for nearly half a cen-

tury. He was also no doubt anxious to secure an Evangelical successor, which could not be done immediately. He therefore decided to leave a Curate in charge pro tempore. Haweis was unfortunate in his choices in this matter, and several of his letters at this period are concerned with them. The first of these assistants was named Sell (8). He had not been two months in the parish when he began to malign Haweis' name. He complained of his ill usage at Haweis' hands and sought to prejudice the parishioners against their Rector. As a result of these tactics, the greater part of the congregation left him, so that Haweis bemoaned in his Diary the fact that Sell had " thinned my Church to a desert " (9). A more serious charge was brought against the Curate. Writing to Sell informing him that he had applied to the Bishop for his removal, Haweis asked:

Do you think I would ever have received you if I had suspected you must go twice to the vestry before ascending the pulpit and drink strong liquor and speak in so wild a way as to provoke the rebuke of your hearers ? (10).

Haweis eventually persuaded Frederic Powys, son of a former Rector of St. Peter, Aldwincle, and Curate of the nearby parish of Tichmarsh, to officiate for him (11). Powys was a man of Evangelical principles and Haweis looked to him to carry on his own witness (12).

Amidst all the upset of removal and the anxiety over Aldwincle, Haweis did not forget the missionary Society. He rejoiced to meet Henry Bicknell, one of the original missionaries in Tahiti, who returned on furlough in 1809 (13). First-hand news of the work that lay nearest his heart was balm in Gilead

to Haweis. Meanwhile, the situation in Tahiti appeared to be altogether hopeless. Nearly all the missionaries had retired to Port Jackson and were in favour of abandoning the work. Haweis showed his practical concern by offering Bicknell five hundred pounds to take back with him to provide equipment for the missionaries so that they might be encouraged to return to Tahiti as soon as a suitable opportunity presented itself (14). Haweis still persisted in advocating his project to maintain contact with Tahiti by means of a small trading vessel. He had broached the matter to a friend in the South Sea Fishery, who was prepared to support it. Haweis would have borne half the expense, forfeited any claim to profit, and made good any loss. Unfortunately the Napoleonic war prevented this plan from being put into effect, to Haweis' regret (15). In the meantime, Haweis was so successful in his missionary propaganda at Bath that the wealthy Mrs. Gage, widow of the American general, sent a further three hundred and fifty pounds to the Society by him (16).

The winter of 1809 brought mingled joy and sorrow to Haweis in his family circle. His daughter, Calista Sidney, was born in Bath on November 18 (17). On December 3 his cousin and brother-in-law, Lieutenant-Colonel John Oliver Willyams, died at Carnanton (18). By his will the deceased left Haweis a life interest in the Carnanton estate, on condition that he resided there for at least half the year. This bequest displeased James Willyams, son of John Oliver's youngest brother (19), who expected to receive the estate immediately himself (20). Haweis trav-

elled to Cornwall with James McDowall, Bessy's brother, and spent two months settling his affairs. At first he toyed with the idea of trying a year's residence, but finally resolved to sacrifice profit to comfort. He therefore allowed his successor, James Wilyyams (who was named as the inheritor on Haweis' death) to take possession of Carnanton at a very inadequate rent (21). Haweis eventually made over the house and estate to Wilyyams at half its value (22). Boase was probably unacquainted with the contents of Lieutenant-Colonel Wilyyams' will when he stated that James Wilyyams " succeeded to Carnanton on the death of his cousin, John Oliver Wilyyams, in 1809 " (23).

But Haweis did not spend all his time in Cornwall attending to domestic business. He found an opportunity to preach the Gospel in the neighbourhood, for, as he confessed, " I should have been as a fish out of water unless my Sabbaths were usefully employed " (24). One significant result of this Cornish journey was the beginning of Evangelical witness in Mawgan-in-Pydar. Haweis loaned his cottage at Trevenna as a preaching place (25). It was used by the Wesleyans, too, when Thomas Bryant was stationed in the Circuit (26). Though himself an unrepentant Calvinist, Haweis had cordial communications with such men as Bryant, and others of John Wesley's Connection. He observed:

Really spiritually minded men are all one in Christ Jesus, and however, when disputes arise, the difference between Calvinist and Arminian seems vast and irreconcilable, yet when we converse in love and the spirit of meekness, rejoicing if Christ be preached by whomsoever, or whensoever, we can stretch out the right hand of fellowship and press the

hand with true fraternal affection (27).

Whilst at Carnanton, Haweis, true to the Evangelical tradition, held family worship in his own house and invited his neighbours to participate (28).

References to national events are few and far between in Haweis' Diary, and this comment on George III's insanity is thus all the more interesting (29):

The present state of the royal family is truly afflictive. They have the ardent prayers of this house. I love and venerate the King, and though I am too far from him to know whether he be a real Christian, in our view, his conduct as a ruler and a man have ever appeared to me laudable. I am persuaded he meant the good of his people supremely. Factious demagogues and Republican levellers have never had any part with me (30).

Haweis' estimate of "farmer George" was not far wide of the mark, for Wraxall observed, by the end of the reign, that "his virtues had obtained for him a higher place in our esteem than any prince has occupied since the Conquest" (31).

Haweis found great comfort in reviewing the fruits of his labours. He was not now able to pursue the busy life to which he had been accustomed, although he still preached three or four times a week and seldom a day passed without seven or eight hours reading or writing (32). He rejoiced in the steady growth of Evangelicalism, at home.

I see a rising host of faithful men, under every discouragement that the Bishops put in their way and every unkind treatment they suffer, reviving the work of God in the Church of England (33).

He revelled in any item of news from the Kingdom overseas. He was delighted to meet once again a physician, one of his con-

verts, who had spent ten years in Bengal and who " with a heart full of love for the glory of God " (34) gave him a glowing account of the spread of the Gospel there. He found abundant consolation in his sons in the Gospel. He saw them carrying on the work he loved but could now no longer perform as in his prime. He referred in his Diary at this period to his friend Captain B. of the Dragoons, who he hoped would soon be ordained (35). As for himself, he said:

I am stigmatized as an enemy, and undermining the Establishment, and my uniform efforts are employed in keeping every gracious man I have influence with in it. The administration of the Church of England I confess abominable, and its rulers in my view the greatest enemies of the Cross of Christ, but the Church is venerable and its Articles the noblest standard of Gospel truth. Fifty years and upwards I have maintained them inviolate and I am not conscious that I have ever uttered a sentence or written a line but in perfect conformity with them (36).

Coupled with these discouragements was the difficulty of the work at Bath. Conditions were very different from the early days when the people were carried forward by the flowing tide of revival. A second phase had been entered upon and the going was hard. Haweis spoke of diminished attendances at the Chapel and the growing onerousness of the task (37). He was still undecided about relinquishing his living at Aldwinckle. If his friend Bull could have secured orders, Haweis hoped to instal him there and retire content in having an Evangelical successor (38). But this was not to be (39).

Whilst Haweis eagerly received news from all parts of the mission field - India, Africa, France (40) - Tahiti remained his first love. He anxiously awaited tidings from Port Jackson

to tell him that the missionaries had returned to the island after the rebellion had subsided. He had authorized Marsden to draw on his account in order to give the missionaries every assistance. He was particularly concerned that they should not abandon the original object (41). He had urged that the mission should be renewed by means of a merchant vessel such as he had recommended before (42). The news that the missionaries had returned late in 1811 must have rejoiced his heart (43). He immediately sent the sum of two hundred pounds to provide equipment for them. He touchingly declared:

I may probably never more hear from this far country, but I am sure in the last hour my brethren and their success will be on my heart, and whilst breath passes my lips, they will close in prayer for them (44).

Soon there followed the report of King Pomare's desire for baptism, which heralded a new and victorious chapter in the Tahitian work (45). The night of toil was over and the flags of dawn were beginning to appear.

Haweis was able to report satisfactory progress in Lady Huntingdon's Chapels in this period.

It is matter of thankfulness that in general I hear the prosperity of the work among those of my brethren that are more immediately under my care, and in the fulfilment of the trust Lady Huntingdon imposed upon me, however reluctantly undertaken. I hope when I die I shall leave the Connection more flourishing than I found it, and that my colleagues who have been such helpers in the truth will long continue in succession to see the pleasure of the Lord prosper in their hands (46).

Meanwhile, he was experiencing further trouble at Aldwincle with his latest Curate. Frederic Powys had been succeeded by Richard Ash Hannaford. A Devonshire man, Hannaford was educated at St.

John's College, Cambridge (47). He was ordained deacon at Salisbury in 1811 and his name appeared in the Marriage Register of Aldwinckle All Saints in the following year. He was Curate of Tichmarsh and evidently officiated at Aldwinckle as well, like Powys before him. On June 24, 1814, Haweis found it necessary to write to Llewellyn Powys, Rector of Tichmarsh, complaining of Hannaford's conduct. He had evidently made charges against Haweis before the Bishop of Peterborough, which His Grace did not see fit to pursue, being fully satisfied by a letter from Haweis. The only clue to the nature of these accusations was contained in the following sentences:

On the score of perjury, could the paltry sum of ten pounds be an object with me, to sacrifice the spirit of the Gospel and injure a brother's peace and comfort? To entertain such a suspicion I feel a real injury (48).

The disagreement was apparently in connection with the terms on which Hannaford was permitted to reside in the Rectory. Haweis sought to be fair to his Curate, as the closing paragraph of the letter indicated.

I honour his abilities, and shall rejoice in the success of his labours, as much as he can himself, but he must show a more subdued spirit and humbleness of mind before I can give him my esteem as a minister of Christ or receive him with the cordiality of a brother, and I am sure such will be for his own soul's comfort as well as contribute to his future usefulness (49).

No doubt Hannaford profited by the kindly rebuke of his Rector, for he served the Church faithfully as the Vicar of Irthlingborough for thirty-five years, and became a Surrogate and Rural Dean (50).

1815 was a year of good tidings, not only from the

battle field of Waterloo, but from the distant island of Tahiti. A letter written from Haweis to Hardcastle on March 8, 1815, was the first indication that news had been received of the Gospel triumphs of the previous year, when the first fruits of long toil were reaped (51). At the same time came encouraging reports from Africa, so that Haweis could write:

The finger of God in so diffusive a circle appeared next to miraculous, and the coincidence in the isles of the sea with like manifestation of the outpouring of the Spirit upon the missionary work fills me with joy unspeakable and full of glory. To see the adorable Master's Kingdom riding upon earth with such power and glory wakens up in us, after the years of hope deferred, something of the good old Simon's cry, Now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace (52).

In the Diary, under the date March 22, he wrote:

What a record I have to make of the gracious dealings of my Lord and Saviour since last I continued my journal. I am overwhelmed with the sense of the astonishing things the Lord hath lately done for me and crowning our missionary work with success almost miraculous. Our prayers indeed are heard and ten thousand times into my bosom hath He returned to me in blessing the insignificant offerings and unworthy labours made for His cause in the isles of the sea and the coasts of Africa. Bless the Lord, o my soul. Surely the time, and the accepted time is come after so long, and hope deferred, in which the Lord is arisen to crown our brethren with unexpected success and to exceed the most sanguine hopes we had ever dared to entertain. The despatches before me put me in mind of the Psalmist's expression, 'When the Lord turned again the captivity of His people, then were we like unto them that dream' (53).

Buoyed up by the thrilling communiqué which told of the revival in Tahiti, Haweis decided to accede to the solicitations of his brethren and visit London for the May meetings of the Missionary Society. This was a remarkable venture for a man of eighty-one, when the regular coaches from Bath to London took two days on the journey, stopping the night at Andover (54).

In his Diary and in two letters to his wife Haweis described his stay in London on this occasion of rejoicing (55). At the Annual Meeting of the Society in the City Chapel he had the honour of sitting next to the chairman. When the report was read out to the assembled congregation, the effect was electrical. Haweis seconded the motion of adoption in a speech of some length, couched in his usual felicitous phraseology and glowing with all his former fire and enthusiasm (56). He was also present at the Communion service in Zion Chapel: " a sweeter ordinance I never attended " (57) was his comment. He preached at Spa Fields on the morning of Sunday, May 14, without undue fatigue, and heard Rowland Hill at night. He attended the Candidates' Examination Committee, on which he had himself served for so many years. Here he met his friend William Roby, who had originally belonged to the Countess of Huntingdon's Connection (58). Roby's Chapel, in Grosvenor Street, Manchester, was a hive of missionary activity, and he told Haweis on this occasion that three members of his congregation had recently offered for the field, one of whom was Robert Moffat (59). Haweis visited many old friends whilst in London. Amongst those he mentioned were Rowland Hill, Matthew Wilks, Mr. Flint, Dr. Hamilton, John Willson, Mr. and Mrs. Oldham, Mrs. Ford and Mrs. Wilson (widow of James Wilson) (60). He was disappointed to find that Joseph Hardcastle was unwell and had gone to Suffolk to recuperate. Haweis was also able to effect a reconciliation between his two brothers-in-law, James and Samuel McDowall (61).

Later in the year Haweis addressed a letter to the missionaries in Tahiti, which he thought might be his last.

Through mercy I am still numbered amongst the living and count it my great mercy to be employed in the blessed work of missionary exertions, though the part I can take now is little, as my strength is failing, yet desirous, as Gideon, though faint to be still pursuing. This will probably be the last effort I can make to serve you, though living or dying you will not be forgotten by me. My last thoughts, desires and prayers will probably be directed to the isles of the sea which your labours are fortifying (62).

It was a most tender and affectionate letter, full of sound practical counsel. His advice to the younger helpers was expressed in the maxim: " Do all you can, and a little more " (63). Haweis accompanied his prayers and greetings, as usual, with financial assistance.

Again, in 1816, we find him offering another five hundred pounds for the purpose of sending more missionaries to the South Seas. He urged Matthew Wilks to expedite the matter without delay and did not wish the money to be sunk in the general fund, but to be used immediately for this specific end (64). The continued good news from Tahiti impressed upon Haweis the need to strike while the iron was hot (65). He accepted re-election as a Director of the Society for a further year in 1816 (66). He still pressed his proposal for a missionary ship and renewed his generous financial offer, in a letter to Burder.

I touch so near my departure that I stand as it were on tiptoe and wish for a refreshing from the presence of the Lord before I go hence and am no more seen, and I know of nothing would smooth the pillow of death like the hearing of the prosperity of the work among the heathen (67).

Nothing, he believed, would be more conducive to that prosperity

than the establishment of regular trade with Tahiti. In August, 1817, Haweis addressed a long letter to King Pomare, which was published in the Evangelical Magazine. Haweis' interests continued to range over the whole missionary field and the report (later proved false) of James Read's lapse in Africa grieved him deeply (68). He rejoiced in the success of the Moravians, the Methodists, the Baptists and the Church Missionary Society (69). Haweis did not forget the relatives of those who had helped the Missionary Society and who had now been called to higher service. The daughter of Lord Barham (formerly Sir Charles Middleton) had fallen on evil days and Haweis, ever generous, came to her financial assistance (70). He worked hard to form an Auxiliary Missionary Society at Bath. The plan for establishing local Auxiliaries was first outlined in the Evangelical Magazine for January, 1807, in an article entitled "Missionary Union" (71). Their purpose was to enable those who were not sufficiently wealthy to become annual subscribers to join together to make small but regular contributions to the Society. Such Auxiliary Societies had already been set up in many parts of the country (72), and Haweis and Jay were instrumental in promoting the matter at Bath (73). Haweis was disappointed because it was decided, by the predominance of Jay's congregation, to devote only one-third of the amount raised to the London Missionary Society, the remainder being divided between the Irish Evangelical Society and the support of itinerant preaching at home (74).

A further enheartening bulletin was soon issued from Tahiti. Pomare had gained a decisive victory in a battle against the Papara at Bunaauia, as a consequence of which the idolaters

unanimously declared that they would trust their gods no longer; that they had deceived them, and sought their ruin; that henceforward they would cast them away entirely, and embrace the new religion, so distinguished by its mildness, goodness, and forbearance (75).

Idolatry was thus totally abolished both at Tahiti and Eimeo, and King Pomare sent to the missionaries his family idols, which were forwarded to London. Letters from the missionaries, dated August 12 and October 3, 1816, officially confirmed this information, and Burder was able to pass on these glad tidings to Haweis, assuring him that the "blessed trophies" (Pomare's idols) were on their way to be included in the Society's museum (76). By June 18 the images, "more welcome than the spoils of the Acropolis" (77), had arrived by a South Sea whaler.

Haweis now began to urge the necessity of appointing a Superintendent for the Tahitian mission. The work had reached a stage when such a step appeared eminently advisable. In this Burder fully concurred, and a move was made by the Society to secure a suitable man. The reasons which lay behind this decision were listed in a letter from Burder to Haweis dated June 30, 1819.

1. The great importance of the mission.
2. The success of the mission and the hopes of extension to other islands.
3. The necessity of securing the advantages obtained.

4. To aim at making the mission self-supporting and meanwhile to regulate the supplies sent.

5. The need for the translation, printing and dispensing of the Scriptures.

6. Education.

7. To promote the arts of civilisation, to combat idleness and provide full employment for all (78).

The qualifications for such a Superintendent were also discussed.

He would have to be

1. A man of tried and sterling piety - not a novice; acquainted with the world and its evils, but no bigot.

2. A man of zeal, courage and fortitude, ready for sacrifices.

3. He must know the world as well as the Church, be a man of sound judgment, capable of managing temporal as well as spiritual things. He must be prepared to have oversight of agriculture and manufactures.

4. A man of temper to bear with the infirmities of his brethren and rule in love and draw men who will not be dragged.

5. Undecided whether he should dwell in the islands, and another at Port Jackson, or whether the same person should first visit the islands, reside there for a time, and then go to live at Port Jackson (79).

Haweis consulted William Jay on the matter. His estimate of Jay is worth recording: " I think him without dispute one of the most useful and judicious men in the Kingdom, and whose heart is as my heart in missionary work " (80). In the end, Haweis tentatively recommended two candidates for the post of Superintendent, in order of preference: a Mr. Gard, of Devizes, and a Mr. Leader, of Dublin Academy (81). With his usual generosity Haweis offered one hundred pounds to equip the Superintendent. The qualifications of these two men were duly weighed by the Board, but it was finally decided that the Superintendent ought to be a minister. Those who had worked as missionaries in Tahiti for so long would not be likely to act under a layman. The

Board therefore relinquished the hope of engaging either of Haweis' nominees, and resolved to look out for a minister (82). Haweis himself did not think that Gard was just the man for the job, although fully devoted to the cause (83).

Haweis rejoiced that for the first time he had been given an assurance that the foundations were to have a stability in Tahiti itself. To Burder he wrote:

That as from the beginning was my hope, as you know, if the light was collected in this focus, from thence the diverging rays would spread, till the multitude of the isles should be illumined; and how much I have suffered on a variety of occasions, when I have seen this end counteracted, however well meaning brethren thought differently, He that is acquainted with the hearts of all men knows (84).

In October, 1819, Haweis was asking George Hodgson whether the Superintendent had been found: in the same month an advertisement had appeared in the Evangelical Magazine (85). Haweis could brook no delay in the matter and in November he wrote again to Hodgson (86). In this same letter he begged the Board to reconsider his plan to establish a trading station on Tahiti and renewed his offer of four thousand pounds. He said he would come to London to plead himself if he could. He also stressed the need to send more missionaries to Tahiti and volunteered to bear half the expense of their equipment (87).

On October 4, 1819, Haweis penned his last letter to the missionaries in Tahiti.

You will probably have concluded that I have finished my course at eighty-seven, but though enfeebled by age in my limbs, I feel my spirit still alive and longing for you all in the bowels of Jesus Christ, rejoicing with joy unspeakable and full of glory in the glad tidings which continue to reach us, of the glorious extent of the everlasting

Gospel, so far beyond all we dared to hope or expect, and yet were they not to be expected from the great and precious promises and His agency Who hath promised to be with us even to the end of the world. Is He the Leader and Commander given to the people, and will He not go on conquering and to conquer till all nations shall do Him homage, and the Gospel being preached to every creature, the fulness of the Gentiles shall come in, the heathen be given to Him for His inheritance and the utmost end of the earth for His possession. Lord, hasten it in its time !

A thousand times I longed to be with you, to behold your order, and the steadfastness of your faith, nor am I conscious would anything deter me from making the attempt, but the absolute impracticability of the effort. My courage does not fail me to mount the ship's side for Otaheite tomorrow, but this is like a pleasing dream, from which I awake to feel the infirmities of age, and the various providential ties, perhaps. Oh ! how would the thought revive my spirit, my son may be growing up to fill my place; higher preferment I aspire not after for him, than to be a missionary with you. Whilst I am in the body, my heart is with you, as all that know me can witness, and I have evidence that you have kind remembrance of me always, in the name of your vessel, which I am glad to see not only finished, but thus employed in service. Assure Pomare he could not have given me a more grateful token of his remembrance than in the memorial impressed on the vessel, and I confess myself obliged to him for this lasting token of his regard. He is a letter in my debt, and if it pleases the Lord, I may yet live to receive his letter and to acknowledge it (88).

Haweis' hope regarding his son was not fulfilled. Willyams did, however, enter the Church, becoming Rector of Slaugham, Sussex, in 1874, and Prebendary of Chichester in 1887 (89). The reference to the vessel was to the brig "Haweis," built by the missionaries at Eimeo and launched in December, 1817. She sailed in June, 1818, and was employed among the islands, partly in conveying the missionaries to their new stations, and partly in procuring a cargo of native produce for the colony of New South Wales (90). This was the first missionary ship of the London Missionary Society, and it was fitting that Haweis should give his name to it, for it was he who had from the first urged the

importance of such a vessel. The letter from King Pomare, despatched on October 3, 1818, was received on January 1, 1820, and gave great joy to Haweis (91). It brought news of the work in the islands and of the missionary ship. Haweis made a last despairing effort to put his commercial plan into action, interceding with Sir Joseph Banks and Prince Galitzin, via the Russian Ambassador. He wrote to Burder:

If I live to see the next cargo moved, small or great, I shall think my life prolonged in mercy. And I have the pleasure of informing you that my general state of health is the wonder of all around me. I really think the prosperous state of the mission contributes to it (92).

The improvement in Haweis' health was, however, to prove deceptive. He had been unwell at Christmas (93). By February 11, 1820, he was dead. He was active almost to the last. He had written an article for the Evangelical Magazine only a few weeks before (94). His last letter to the Missionary Society was sent to Hankey on February 5, offering a further sum to equip Gard and his family for missionary service (95). But he felt the end approaching. "An indisposition falls upon me. What I do, I do quickly." And then, pathetically, "I am not well today; cheer me with some pleasing information" (96). It was not until February 9 that Bessy had any premonition of his passing. She thought that his condition indicated an impending attack of gout, to which he was subject (97). The mission was on his mind to the last. On the 10th, James Hayward, one of the Tahiti missionaries on furlough, called to see him, brought by Jay. Haweis was still anxious about the appointment of a

Superintendent and was disappointed that no such step was likely to be taken. Mercifully, Burder's letter confirming this did not arrive until after Haweis had died (98). In the evening Haweis gave instructions for despatching the books for which King Pomare had asked. Bessy promised to attend to this. She then prayed with him, she said,

when, with uplifted hands and eyes, he uttered as loud an Amen as when in health, blessed me, and sank into a state of meditation which was only interrupted by repeatedly exclaiming, ' Wonderful things the Lord is doing upon earth ! ' (99).

About two a.m. on Friday, the 11th, he eagerly inquired, " Is that the Lord ? " after which he never spoke, but his smiling, animated countenance, and elevated hands clearly evinced both his happiness and his sensibility " (100). He slipped away between four and five o'clock in the afternoon without a struggle. This first-hand record from his wife's pen corrects other less accurate accounts (101). Belcher notes that Haweis was the oldest Evangelical clergyman in the Church of England at the time of his death (102). His passing was thus reported in the obituary column of the Bath Chronicle:

Friday, died at his house in Beaufort Buildings, the Rev. Thomas Haweis, LL.D. (sic), M.D., Rector of All Saints, Aldwinckle, Notts (sic), Chaplain and principal trustee to the late Countess of Huntingdon, founder of the London Missionary Society, and father of the mission to the South Sea islands (103).

Haweis was buried in Bath Abbey. William Jay preached one funeral sermon in Argyle Chapel and John Chamberlain delivered another in Lady Huntingdon's Chapel (104). Haweis' memorial tablet may still be seen in the Abbey, on the wall near the

North gallery. It reads:

Near this spot are deposited the remains of the

Revd. Thomas Haweis, L.L.B. & M.D.

57 Years Rector

of All Saints, Aldwinckle, Northamptonshire;

Chaplain, and Principal Trustee

to the late

Countess of Huntingdon;

and

Founder of the Missionary Society.

He died

February 11th., 1820

Aged 87.

The Southern savage Isles he pitying view'd,
And urged the peaceful heralds on their way;
Through fruitless years the patient hope pursued,
Till glorious conquests crown'd the long delay.

As good old Simeon, ere his spirit fled,
Surveyed the promised Branch from Jesse's rod:
So HAWEIS beheld MESSIAH'S kingdom spread,
And then in peace departed hence to God.

Are there who glory in heroic fire, -
Behold the Christian on the bed of death,
Mark with what triumph holy men expire,
And catch the rapture of their parting breath.

With smiles he whispered, on the verge of flight,
' I go to glory ! - Death hath lost his sting ! '
' I view the prospect all before me bright ! '
Then blessed his friends, and took immortal wing.
(105)

This epitaph forms a fitting tribute to one who has fallen into undeserved oblivion. The name of Thomas Haweis is

worthy of commemoration. Greatness is not claimed for him, but in the chronicles of the Evangelical Revival and even more of the modern missionary awakening he merits a place of honour. He was a faithful labourer in the Evangelical vineyard. His sermons were representative of the best type of preaching in the Revival: earnest, eloquent, sound in doctrine and exposition. His pastoral care of his Northamptonshire parish was exemplary in an age when it was easy to be negligent. Though not a scholar of the first rank, Haweis' major works - his Biblical Commentary, his New Testament translation, his Church History - were not altogether without their value. His contribution to the hymnody of the Revival was noteworthy. But his zeal and tireless devotion were probably his greatest gift to the Evangelical movement in its formative years. Haweis was essentially a man of action, and today his actions speak louder than his words. That is why his supreme title to a more informed memorial than has as yet been accorded to him lies in his missionary endeavours. As the indisputable originator of the South Sea mission, a co-founder of the London Missionary Society and an indefatigable agitator in the cause of overseas missions, Haweis deserves to be named, with due appreciation of his services, amongst the missionary fathers of Great Britain.

Haweis' character shines through his books, through his letters, and, above all, as we should expect, through his Autobiography and Diary. A.D. Martin, in his life of Vanderkemp, has aptly epitomized it thus: " A rather sweet old man was Dr.

Haweis, sweetness and fire being almost as much akin as Matthew Arnold's ' sweetness and light ' " (106). Haweis was genial, generous, and sociable. He was fond of fellowship. He was no solitary Christian. He genuinely loved the brethren and thrived in their company. The remarkably wide range of his correspondence suggests that he had a genius for friendship. He was a practical idealist at heart. He dreamed dreams and saw visions and then proceeded to translate them into reality. He was, not unnaturally, impatient of any who seemed to stand in his way. Then the sweetness turned to fire - the fire not of self-opinionated aggressiveness but of sincere, if occasionally misguided, zeal for the Kingdom. And without such consecrated prophetic fervour, how shall the people of God be strong and do exploits ?

Haweis' life story not only articulates his claim to remembrance. It casts a light upon the age in which he lived and the circle in which he moved. In particular, it illustrates the complexity of early Evangelicalism. That Haweis is rightly classified as an Evangelical will have become sufficiently apparent. But, especially in his later years, when his missionary exertions had caused him to join hands with the Dissenters and Lady Huntingdon had committed to him the oversight of her Connection, it is equally evident that he was no strict Evangelical of the Samuel Walker school. Though he was not by any means indifferent to Church order, it was not his final standard. Perhaps if one word more than another recurs in his writings and reflects his real criterion, it is the word usefulness. John

Wesley's cry found an echo in Haweis' heart: " Lord, let me not live to be useless ! " Haweis was supremely concerned to be useful - useful to God and useful to his fellows. When order threatened to limit usefulness, then order was transcended. Whilst preferring to exercise his ministry in the Established Church, he was not prepared to confine himself within parochial limits if opportunities of wider service presented themselves elsewhere - as they did in Lady Huntingdon's Connection and pre-eminently in the Missionary Society. Under this title, then, we salute the name of Thomas Haweis. He was a true Onesimus. He was profitable to his Master, his Church, and his age.

APPENDIX A

GENEALOGY OF THE HAWEIS FAMILY

GENEALOGY OF HAWEIS FAMILY

HAWEIS

DA. AND COH. OF FRANCIS TREGIAN OF GOLDEN, 1ST WIFE, D.S.P.

REGINALD HAWEIS OF TREDRUGY d. 1612. WILL PRO. ARCHD. CT. CORNWALL

JOAN DA. OF JAMES MARK, OF WOODHILL NAMED IN HER HUSBAND'S WILL

DAVID HAWEIS OF TREDRUGY = DA. OF --- TRENHAYLE OF ST. ERTH
A QUO. MICHELL OF REDRUTH AND HOWELL OF LANLAWREN

FRANCIS HAWEIS NAMED IN HIS FATHER'S WILL d. 1658 AND BY HIS WILL LEFT HIS PROPERTY TO HIS COUSIN JOHN HAWEIS OF KILLIOW.

FRANCES MAR. TO --- PENROSE TO --- DISPUTED THE WILL OF HER BROTHER

GRACE, MAR. TO --- CONDYE DISPUTED THE WILL OF HER BROTHER

JANE MAR. TO ARTHUR PAYNTER WHO IS NAMED IN THE WILL OF HIS FATHER IN-LAW LIVING 1612

--- MAR. TO RICHARD ANGOVE, WHO IS NAMED IN THE WILL OF HIS FATHER-IN-LAW LIVING 1612

THOMAS HAWEIS OF REDRUTH NAMED IN THE WILL OF HIS SON NICHOLAS LIVING 1663

= ELIZABETH DA. OF. ---

A JOHN HAWEIS OF KEA. BAP. REDRUTH FEB. 1584 NAMED IN HIS FATHER WILL. WILL 20TH AUG 1651 PRO. 5TH JULY. 1652, P.C.C. (BOWYER 205)

A GRACE DA. & COH. OF EDWARD VIVIAN OF KILLIOW IN KEA

REGINALD HAWEIS NAMED IN HIS FATHER'S WILL

JANE MAR. TO RICHARD BANBURY B NAMED IN THE WILL OF HER BROTHER NICHOLAS LIVING IN 1663

ELIZABETH

HUGH HAWEIS BAP. 5TH JUNE 1614 AT KEA C DIED YOUNG.

ANNE 1ST DA. BAP. 4TH OCT 1614 AT KEA C

MARY 2ND DA. BAP. 2ND FEB 1617-18 AT KEA C NAMED IN HER FATHER'S WILL LIVING 1651.

A ELIZABETH 3RD DA. NAMED IN HER FATHER'S WILL LIVING 1651.

RADIGON 4TH DA. NAMED IN HER FATHER'S WILL LIVING 1651.

A FRANCIS HAWEIS 2ND SON NAMED IN THE WILLS OF HIS FATHER AND COUSIN NICHOLAS HAWEIS OF GOLLA. LIVING --- 1663

DAVID HAWEIS = --- THOMAS HAWEIS BAP. 2ND APR. 1622 AT REDRUTH NAMED IN THE WILL OF HIS BROTHER NICHOLAS 1663 N A ROYALIST OFFICER

THOMAS HAWEIS BAP. 2ND APR. 1622 AT REDRUTH NAMED IN THE WILL OF HIS BROTHER NICHOLAS, PURCHASED CHINGCOOSE 1669. BURIED 8TH NOV. 1708 AT REDRUTH

JANE DA. OF EDWARD SPARNON, OF SPARNON MAR. 2ND NOV. 1647 AT BREAGE D NAMED IN THE WILL OF HER BROTHER-IN-LAW NICHOLAS HAWEIS BUR. FEB. 1671-2 AT REDRUTH B.

NICHOLAS HAWEIS OF GOLLA WILL PRO. 1663 ARCHD. CT. CORNWALL. A N ROYALIST OFFICER

A REGINALD HAWEIS 3RD SON = MARY DA. OF --- CARLYON NAMED IN THE WILL OF HER FATHER-IN-LAW LIVING --- 1651.

MARY DA. OF --- CARLYON NAMED IN THE WILL OF HER FATHER-IN-LAW LIVING --- 1651.

FRANCIS HAWEIS TO WHOM HIS UNCLE LEFT NICHOLAS TREVEGLA LIVING 1663 KILLED AT SEA. JUNE 1673 B

DAVID HAWEIS NAMED IN THE WILL OF HIS UNCLE NICHOLAS LIVING 1663 BUR. AT REDRUTH 25TH APRIL 1671 B

ELIZABETH, NAMED IN THE WILL OF HER UNCLE NICHOLAS LIVING IN 1663

A JOHN HAWEIS SON AND HEIR AGED 9 YRS. EXR. OF HIS FATHER'S WILL AND NAMED IN THE WILL OF HIS MOTHER IN-LAW BARBARA VOSPER LIVING 1658

JANE DA. OF JOHN VOSPER OF PERHALICK IN ILLOGAN NAMED IN THE WILLS OF HER FATHER-IN-LAW AND MOTHER LIVING 1658

REGINALD HAWEIS 1ST SON NAMED IN HIS GRANDFATHER'S WILL LIVING 1651 DIED BEFORE 1658

JOHN HAWEIS OF KILLIOW = 2ND SON AND HEIR NAMED IN THE WILL OF HIS GRANDMOTHER VOSPER, LIVING 1658

ANNE DA. OF ARTHUR SPRY OF PLACE 1ST WIFE.

GRACE NAMED IN THE WILL OF HER GRANDMOTHER VOSPER LIVING 1658

ANNE NAMED IN THE WILL OF HER GRANDMOTHER VOSPER LIVING 1658. MAR. 5TH SEPT. 1672 AT KEA C TO STEPHEN HICKS

JANE, NAMED IN THE WILL OF HER GRANDMOTHER VOSPER LIVING 1658. MAR. 3RD JAN. 1670-1 AT KEA C TO THOMAS HAWEIS, VIDE BELOW.

MARY NAMED IN THE WILL OF HER GRANDMOTHER VOSPER LIVING 1658.

EDWARD HAWEIS 2ND SON, VICAR OF KEA.

JANE, YOUNGEST DA. AND COH. OF EDMUND HARR [Y] [S]

REGINALD HAWEIS OF KILLIOW SON AND HEIR, GENTLEMAN COMMONER OF EXETER COLLEGE OXFORD, SHERIFF OF CORNWALL 1724

SUSANNA. ELDEST DA. AND HEIR OF EDMUND HARR [Y] [S]

DAVID HAWEIS 3RD SON DIED 26TH MAY 1777 S.P. M.I. AT KEA.

URSULA, DA. OF CHARLES KEMPE, OF CHUGZILLICK D.S.P.

THOMAS HAWEIS = JANE HAWEIS A

JOHN HAWEIS d. UNMARRIED

ANNE, DIED UNMARRIED

G EDWARD HAWEIS OF TRURO = G ANNE, DA. OF WILLIAM GREGOR OF TRURO, MERCHANT

ANNE, DA. OF WILLIAM GREGOR OF TRURO, MERCHANT

JANE, DA. OF JOHN HAWEIS OF KEA 1ST WIFE MARRIED 3RD JAN. 1670-1 AT KEA d. s. p.

THOMAS HAWEIS, OF REDRUTH CHINGCOOSE & GOLLA BAPTIZED 2ND OCT. 1648 AT REDRUTH B NAMED IN THE WILL OF HIS UNCLE NICHOLAS BUR. 19TH NOV 1709 AT REDRUTH B WILL PRO. 1709 M ARCHD CT. CORNWALL

JANE, DA. OF ARTHUR PAYNTER, OF TRELISICK MARRIED, SETTLED AT ST. ERTH 30TH APRIL 1677 L

MARY 1ST DA. MARRIED TO --- CARTER

CATHERINE. 2ND DA. MARRIED TO THOMAS BUSKAH OR BURSCOUGH 1ST OCT. 1703 B WHO IS NAMED IN THE WILL OF HER FATHER-IN-LAW.

MARGARET, 3RD DA. MARRIED TO STEPHEN BAMFIELD 1ST JULY 1711 B

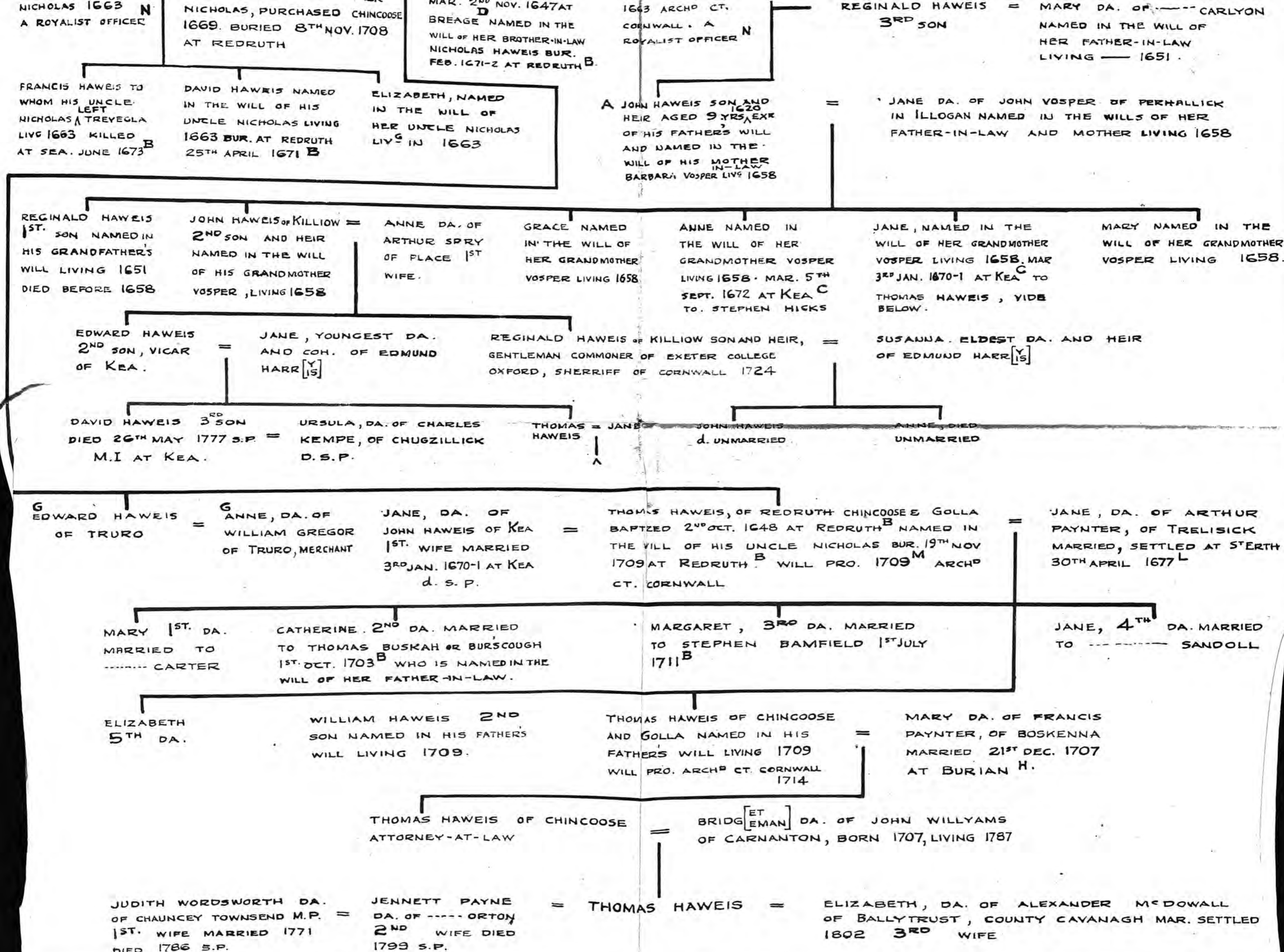
JANE, 4TH DA. MARRIED TO --- SANDOLL

ELIZABETH 5TH DA.

WILLIAM HAWEIS 2ND SON NAMED IN HIS FATHER'S WILL LIVING 1709.

THOMAS HAWEIS OF CHINGCOOSE AND GOLLA NAMED IN HIS FATHER'S WILL LIVING 1709 WILL PRO. ARCHD CT. CORNWALL 1714

MARY DA. OF FRANCIS PAYNTER, OF BOSKENNA MARRIED 21ST DEC. 1707 AT BURIAN H.



NOTES - A. ORIGINAL VISITATION, VIDE VIVIAN OP. CIT.
B. REDRUTH PARISH REGISTER
C. BISHOP'S TRANSCRIPTS AT EXETER
D. BREAGE PARISH REGISTER (THIS MAY BE A
CORRECT REF. BUT SEE P.3 BOOK I REDRUTH REGISTER)
E. BOASE, OP. CIT.
F. FRANCIS TREGIAN OF WALVEDEN ALIAS GOLDEN IN
PROBUS WAS CONVICTED OF PRÆMUNIRE HAVING CONCEALED
CUTHBERT MAYNE, THE RECUSANT, IN 5 CHARLES I AN IN-
QUISITION WAS ISSUED TO INQUIRE INTO HIS POSSESSIONS.
AMONG OTHER PROPERTIES APPEARING IN THE RETURN OF VALUE
ARE :- THE MANOR OF TOLLAYS ALIAS TOLGUS CUM P'TIIS IN P'CH
DE REDRUTH ET ST JUST, ET ALIBI £23-10 THE MANOR OF TRELLEIGH
CUM P'TIIS, IN P'CH DE REDRUTH ETC. £4-1.

G. HAWEIS V ENYS. CHANC. B AND A 1689 HAMILTON NO 162 40-41
H. BURIAN PARISH REGISTER
J. ST. MARY LE BONE, MIDDLESEX, PARISH REGISTER
K. TORR. MOHUN, DEVON. PARISH REGISTER
L. ST. ERTH PARISH REGISTER
M. PETER, OP. CIT., COULD NOT TRACE THIS PROBATE
N. SEE ABSTRACT OF WILL OF NICHOLAS HAWEIS, PETER, P. 114.

THOMAS HAWEIS

JUDITH WORDSWORTH DA
OF CHAUNCEY TOWNSEND M.P. =
1ST WIFE MAR. JAN. 3RD 1771.
DIED 24TH AUG. 1786. S.P.

JENNETT PAYNE DA.
OF ---- ORTON 2ND WIFE.
MAR. 1788 DIED 1799 S.P.

BORN 1ST JAN. BAPT. 20TH FEB 1733-4
AT REDRUTH^B L.L.B.&M.D. RECTOR OF
ALDWINCLE DIED 11TH FEB. 1820.

^F ELIZABETH DA. OF ALEX. MCDOWALL
OF BALLYTRUST COUNTY CAVANAGH
MAR. SETT. 1802 3RD WIFE
BORN 1778 DIED 1859.

JOHN OLIVER WILLYAMS HAWEIS
BAPT 27TH NOV 1805 AT ALDWINCLE
CLERK IN HOLY ORDERS, M.A.
RECTOR OF SLAUGHAM 1874-6
PREBENDARY OF CHICHESTER 1883

MARY, DA. OF THOMAS HUGH
DAVIES OF MANCHESTER SQUARE, LONDON.
MAR. 18TH AUG. 1835 AT ST MARY-LE-
BONE COUNTY MIDDLESEX

JUDITH DIED
AN INFANT.

CALISTA SIDNEY
BORN 1807

= EDWARD GOULD

HUGH REGINALD HAWEIS M.A.
BORN EGHAM SURREY 3RD APL
1838. BAPT. 26TH MAY 1838 AT
EGHAM INCUMBENT OF ST JAMES
MARY-LE-BONE.

MARY ELIZA, DA. OF
THOMAS MUSGROVE JAY,
OF BROUGHTON, KENT
BORN 1849.
MAR. LONDON 1867

ELIZABETH MARGARET -
HAWEIS BORN
MARYLEBONE 20TH JY 1868

THOMAS WILLYAMS
HAWEIS, BORN 8TH APL.
1844. MIDSHIPMAN R.N
EMIGRATED TO
MELBOURNE

MARY, DA OF,
---- VANSTONE

MARY DAVIES, BAPT
9TH JULY 1836 AT TORR
MOHUN, DEVON^K MAR
REGINALD HEARLE
PAYNTER OF BOSKENNA
1858

(HUGH) STEPHEN WILLYAMS HAWEIS
BORN 18TH JULY 1878 AT NORWOOD
(C.C. 24TH JUNE.)^E

LIONEL THOMAS JAY HAWEIS
BORN 24TH AUG. 1870 AT
LICHFIELD

HUGOLIN OLIVE.
BORN 6TH SEPT 1873
AT LICHFIELD
(HAMPSTEAD C.C.)^E

THOMAS WILLYAMS
HAWEIS, 1ST SON

REGINALD OLIVER
HAWEIS, 2ND SON

MARY HAWEIS

SYDNEY GOULD
BORN LONDON
28TH JUNE 1832

ADELA GOULD
BORN 6TH OCT.
1840

LAURA GOULD
BORN 21ST JAN
1846

ERNEST HAWEIS GOULD = MARY DEATON

ARTHUR ERNEST GOULD
BORN 30TH JAN. 1871

ARTHUR WILLIAM GOULD
BORN 6TH APRIL 1851

EMILY GOULD
DIED 1858
AGED 5

APPENDIX B

EXAMPLES OF HAWEIS' NEW TESTAMENT TRANSLATION

St. Matthew XVI, 13: Haweis reads $\nu\epsilon$ with certain uncials, minuscules, the Old Latin and Syriac versions, and understands a mark of interrogation after $\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha\iota$. He translates: Then Jesus coming into the parts of Caesarea Philippi, questioned his disciples, saying, Who do men say that I am? The Son of Man?

Romans II, 14: Haweis takes $\phi\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota$ with what precedes and renders: For when the Gentiles, who have not the law naturally, do the things of the law....

II Corinthians V, 21: Haweis translates: For he hath made him, who knew no sin, to be a sin offering for us...., evidently identifying $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\alpha$ with $\gamma\psi\theta$ (sin offering) rather than with $\lambda\chi\theta\pi$ (sin) or $\gamma\iota\chi$ (punishment for sin).

Hebrews XII, 17: Haweis translates: For he found no place for a change of his father's mind. This would, in this verse at least, mitigate what Dr. T.H. Robinson calls the most terrible of all this writer's doctrines - the impossibility of a second restoration (Theodore H. Robinson, The Epistle to the Hebrews, The Moffat New Testament Commentary, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1933) 187).

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2. William Jay, The Autobiography of William Jay, ed. George Redford and John Angell James, (London: Hamilton, Adams, 1854), 479-480.

3. John Campbell, Maritime Discoveries and Christian Missions considered in their mutual relations, (London: Snow, 1840), 261.

4. George W.E. Russell, Collections and Recollections, First Series, (London: Nelson, 1903), 71.

INTRODUCTION

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2. Basil Willey, The Eighteenth Century Background: Studies on the Idea of Nature in the Thought of the Period, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1950), 212.

3. W.H. Fitchett, Wesley and His Century. A Study in Spiritual Forces, (London: Smith, Elder, 1906), 2.

4. Johnson's England. An Account of the Life and Manners of his Age, ed. A.S. Turberville, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), I, v.

5. Ibid., I, vi.

6. L. Elliott Binns, The Evangelical Movement in the English Church, (London: Methuen, 1928), 3.

7. Norman Sykes, Church and State in England in the Eighteenth Century, (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1934), 37-39; " Queen Anne and the Episcopate," English Historical Review, 1935, 437-464.

8. Maximin Piette, John Wesley in the Evolution of Protestantism, trans. J.B. Howard, (London: Sheed and Ward, 1937), III.

9. John S. Simon, The Revival of Religion in the Eighteenth Century, (London: Kelly, n.d.), 83.

10. W.E.H. Lecky, A History of England in the Eighteenth Century, (London: Longmans, Green, 1892), I, 540.

11. William Connor Sydney, England and the English in the Eighteenth Century: Chapters in the Social History of the Times, (London: Ward and Downey, 1892), I, 165; Elie Halévy, A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century, I, England in 1815, trans. E.I. Watkin and D.A. Barker, (London: Benn, 1945), 440; W.J. Lawrence, "The Drama and the Theatre," Johnson's England, II, 160-189.

12. G.M. Trevelyan, English Social History: A Survey of Six Centuries, Chaucer to Queen Victoria, (London: Longmans, Green, 1945), 341. These figures are for England and Wales.

13. Ibid., 379.

14. C.S. Orwin, "Agricultural and Rural Life," Johnson's England, I, 267.

15. J.L. and B. Hammond, "Poverty, Crime, Philanthropy," Johnson's England, I, 307.

16. 9 George I, cap. 27. cf. Johnson's England, I, 302-303. The Charity Schools must not be overlooked, either: vide M.G. Jones, The Charity School Movement: A Study of Eighteenth Century Puritanism in Action, (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1938).

17. The clue to Montesquieu's over-quoted generalization, "In England there is no religion," probably lies in what follows: "and the subject, if mentioned in society, excites nothing but laughter." His impression was doubtless gained from contact with Court circles, where, as we have seen, the departure from conventional morality was most marked.

18. The Works of Joseph Butler, ed. Samuel Hallifax, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1826), II, lxxv-lxxvi.

19. Quoted in J. Wesley Bready, England: Before and After Wesley. The Evangelical Revival and Social Reform, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1938), 19.

20. The Works of Thomas Secker, ed. Beilby Porteus and George Stinton, (Dublin: Williams, 1775), Second Charge, V, 292.

21. Yngve Brilioth, The Anglican Revival: Studies in the Oxford Movement, (London: Longmans, Green, 1925), 8. cf. Sykes, op. cit., 5-6.

22. Charles J. Abbey and John H. Overton, The English Church in the Eighteenth Century, (London: Longmans, Green, 1886), 279.

23. Sykes, op. cit., xi. Professor Sykes' essay on the Church in Johnson's England is a useful précis of the main findings of this larger work. His earlier biography of Edmund Gibson also provides a valuable insight into the period: Norman Sykes, Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London 1669-1748. A Study of Politics and Religion in the Eighteenth Century, (Oxford: O.U.P., 1926). For this more sympathetic view of the Hanoverian Church, cf. also W.K. Lowther Clarke, Eighteenth Century Piety, (London: S.P.C.K., 1944) and the admirable summary in A.T.P. Williams, The Anglican Tradition in the Life of England, (London: S.C.M., 1947), 53-70.

24. e.g. J.H. Whiteley, Wesley's England: A Survey of Eighteenth Century Social and Cultural Conditions, (London: Epworth Press, 1945), 297-298.

25. Johnson's England, I, 16.

26. James Boswell, The Life of Samuel Johnson, ed. George Birkbeck Hill, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1887), V, 298.

27. Abbey and Overton, op. cit., 24.

28. " It is indeed in the alliance with Whiggery that the gravamen of the charge against the Georgian Church consists," Sykes, op. cit., 2.

29. " Who is more proper for having the dignity of a peer than a Bishop, provided a Bishop be what he ought to be; and if improper Bishops be made, that is not the fault of the Bishops, but of those who make them " (Dr. Johnson's reply to Sir Adam Ferguson, quoted in Johnson's England, I, 18).

30. Sykes, op. cit., 92-146.

31. Ibid., 96.

32. Ibid., 102, 119, 137. Dr. Sykes also attempts to do justice to Richard Watson and even seeks to rescue from unqualified infamy the bête noire in the early eighteenth century episcopate, Benjamin Hoadly, *ibid.*, 332-378.

33. Ibid., 144-145.

34. Johnson's England, I, 27.

35. Ibid., I, 20; Spectator, March 24, 1711.

36. Ibid., I, 31.

37. Sykes, op. cit., 251.

38. J. Wickham Legg, English Church Life from the Restoration to the Tractarian Movement, (London: Longmans, Green, 1914), Chapters II and IV.

39. Quoted in Sykes, op. cit., 274.

40. As, for example, Simon, op. cit., 98-99. Piette is a little kinder to them, op. cit., 117.

41. Quoted in Abbey and Overton, op. cit., 306.

42. Johnson's England, I, 34.

43. Willey, op. cit., 76.

44. The Works of John Tillotson, (Edinburgh: Ruddiman, 1772), I, 112.

45. Ibid., I, 99.

46. T. Bisse, Visitation Sermon, 1716, quoted in G.R. Balleine, A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England, (London: Longmans, Green, 1908), 17.

47. Balleine, op. cit., 16.

48. Simon, op. cit., 43.

49. Quoted in A.W. Harrison, The Evangelical Revival and Christian Reunion, (London: Epworth Press, 1942), 13.

50. John H. Overton and Frederic Relton, The History of the English Church from the Accession of George I to the end of the Eighteenth Century, 1714-1800, (London: Macmillan, 1906), 66.

51. Eric W. Baker, A Herald of the Evangelical Revival. A Critique into the relation of William Law to John Wesley and the Beginnings of Methodism, (London: Epworth Press, 1948).

52. Harrison, op. cit., 14.

53. G.G. Perry, A History of the English Church, III Period, (London: Murray, 1890), 61.

54. Benjamin B. Warfield, "Jonathan Edwards and the New England Theology," Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, V, 224; S.E. Dwight, The Life of President Edwards, (New York: Carvell, 1830), 120-123. Simon, op. cit., 135, records a revival in 1730-1732 in the Presbyterian Church, Freehold, New Jersey, under the ministry of John Tennent, but its effects were not so widespread as that under Edwards. It is significant that John Wesley read Edwards' own account of the Northampton Revival as early as October, 1738 (John Wesley, The Journal of John Wesley, ed. Nehemiah Curnock, (London: Epworth Press, 1938), II, 84).

55. For the Welsh section of the Revival, see J.W. James, A Church History of Wales, (Ilfracombe: Stockwell, 1945), 154-168.

56. Luke Tyerman, The Life of George Whitefield, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1890), I, 25.

57. J. Wesley, Journal, I, 418.

58. Thomas Jackson, The Life of Charles Wesley, (London: Mason, 1841), I, 107.

59. As, for example, John H. Overton, The Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century, (London: Longmans, Green, 1900), 32.

60. Ronald A. Knox, Enthusiasm: A Chapter in the History of Religion, with special reference to the XVII and XVIII centuries, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950), 490.

61. Robert Southey, The Life of Wesley; and the Rise and Progress of Methodism, (London: Bell and Daldy, 1864), 91.

62. Quite apart from the controversy as to whether this experience is rightly called a conversion, there can be no real doubt as to its pivotal significance in the life-work of John Wesley.

63. Knox, op. cit., 483.

64. Overton, op. cit., 34.

65. The Letters of Horace Walpole, ed. Mrs. Paget Toynbee, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903-1905), IV, 382.

66. Knox, op. cit., 66.

67. Sykes, op. cit., 390, speaks of "the two Evangelical Revivals, led respectively by John Wesley and George Whitefield," and again, 397, has this sentence: "The Anglican Evangelical Revival exhibited affinities with the two Methodist movements." So also A Dictionary of English Church History, ed. S.L. Ollard, Gordon Crosse, Maurice F. Bond, (London: Mowbray, 1948), H.M. Lerner on "Evangelicals", 215-220. Others distinguish between the Evangelical Revival and the Methodist movement. It seems preferable rather to regard Evangelicalism and Methodism as two movements, or parties, within the one Evangelical Revival.

68. J. Edwin Orr, The Second Evangelical Awakening in Britain, (London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1949).

69. Thomas Scott, The Force of Truth; an Authentic Narrative, (Edinburgh: Robertson, 1821), 13n.

70. Edinburgh Review, 1808, 341-342.
71. Letter Thomas Haweis to Samuel Walker, July 16, 1759, Edwin Sidney, The Life and Ministry of Samuel Walker, (London: Seeley and Burnside, 1838), 479.
72. Knox, op. cit., 497.
73. Charles Smyth, Simeon and Church Order: A Study of the Origins of the Evangelical Revival in Cambridge in the Eighteenth Century, (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1940), 255.
74. Knox, op. cit., I.
75. William Jones, The Life of George Horne prefixed to his Works, (London: Rivington, 1830), cvii.
76. Letter John Wesley to James Rouquet, March 20, 1761, The Letters of John Wesley, ed. John Telford, (London: Epworth Press, 1931), IV, 143.
77. Dictionary of English Church History, 215.
78. Their truer parentage may be traced to the religious societies formed in London and spreading to the provinces before and after the Revolution: see Perry, op. cit., 61-62.
79. Letter John Wesley to Thomas Adam, October 31, 1755: " We know Mr. Piers, Perronet, Manning, and several regular clergymen who do preach the genuine Gospel, but to no effect at all. There is one exception in England - Mr. Walker at Truro. We do not know one more who has converted one soul in his own parish " (J. Wesley, Letters, III, 151). Walker was by no means as exceptional as Wesley supposed, of course.
80. Letter John Wesley to James Rouquet, March 20, 1761, J. Wesley, Letters, IV, 143.
81. Ibid., III, 143-147; 152-153; 192-196; 221-226.
82. Ibid., III, 144; 149-152.
83. George G. Cragg, Grimshaw of Haworth: A Study in Eighteenth Century Evangelicalism, (London: Canterbury Press, 1947), 24.
84. Bready, op. cit., 289, for example, regards Methodism and Evangelicalism almost as cause and effect.
85. H. Miles Brown, " The Rise of Methodism in Cornwall, " Church Quarterly Review, April-June, 1946, 81.
86. G.C.B. Davies, " Truro Clerical Club: 1750-1760, " Church Quarterly Review, October-December, 1947, 80-95.

87. William Temple, The Church Looks Forward, (London: Macmillan, 1943), 2.

88. Quoted in Ernest A. Payne, The Church Awakes: The Story of the Modern Missionary Movement, (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1942), 24.

CHAPTER ONE

1. Thomas Tonkin (1678-1742) collected material for an unpublished history of Cornwall. His MSS are preserved in the Museum and Reference Library of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, at Truro, and have been extensively utilized by later historians.
2. cf. Joseph Polsue, A Complete Parochial History of the County of Cornwall, (Truro: Lake, 1867-1872), III, II2.
3. This date is confirmed by the Redruth Parish Register. Several biographical dictionaries and histories of hymnody wrongly date Haweis' birth in 1732. Others, with more excuse, give the year as 1733, without, however, adding " Old Style. " Before the Calendar Act (1750) came into force in September 1752 the legal year was reckoned from March 25.
4. The Parish Register does not record the officiant's name. Hugh Ley was Rector from 1711 until his death in November, 1734 (The Parish Registers of Redruth in Cornwall, 1560-1716, ed. Thurstan C. Peter, (Redruth: Hoblyn and Taylor, 1894), I26).
5. Frank Michell, Notes on the History of Redruth, (Redruth: Roberts, 1948), 10, 23. The first Church was a Norman one, probably after 1100 A.D. A silver flagon donated by Haweis' grandfather formed part of the Communion plate (Peter, op. cit., I24; Polsue, op. cit., III, II3).
6. Richard Polwehele, Biographical Sketches in Cornwall, (Truro: Nichols, 1831), I, 80, 84. Polwehele was Vicar of Manaccan from 1794 to 1821 and noted for his strong antipathy to the Evangelical Revival and its representatives.
7. Thomas Haweis, The Life of William Romaine, (London: Chapman, 1797), I5.
8. John Henry Newman, Essays Critical and Historical, (London: Pickering, 1871), I, 390-391. So also Knox, op. cit., 484. See The Life and Times of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, by A Member of the Houses of Shirley and Hastings, (London: Painter, 1840), I, 414. The author was Aaron Crossley Hobart Seymour. This strange and often grossly inaccurate biography is nevertheless packed with references to the circle in which Haweis moved, unfortunately without any attempt at documentation. An invaluable Index to this amorphous work is provided in Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, V.
9. MS Autobiography of Thomas Haweis, 3.

10. Peter, op. cit., I81; Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica, (London: Bowyer, 1836), III, I04, I05, I49, 270.

11. Peter, op. cit., I09; Polsue, op. cit., III, 322; Genealogical Gleanings in England, ed. Henry F. Waters, (Boston: New England Genealogical Society, 1901), II, I266; John Gage, The History and Antiquities of Suffolk: Thingoe Hundred, (London: Deck, 1837), I7; Notes and Queries, 6th Series, V, I49, 294.

12. John Haweis, of Kea, baptized at Redruth in February, 1584, married Grace, daughter of Edward Vivian, of Killiow (J.L.Vivian, The Visitations of Cornwall, (Exeter: Pollard, 1887), 583; C.S. Gilbert, An Historical Survey of the County of Cornwall, (Plymouth: Longdon, 1817-1820), II, I42 - I43; Peter, op. cit., I08-I09; Polsue, op. cit., II, 317). A genealogical table of the Haweis family will be found in Appendix A.

13. Reginald Haweis, of Treworgy (now Trewirgie), died in 1612. His will was proved in the Archdiaconal Court of Cornwall (Vivian, op. cit., 583; Peter, op. cit., I08-I09).

14. Reginald Haweis, of Killiow, Sherriff of Cornwall in 1724, had a son, John, and a daughter, Anne, who both died unmarried (Vivian, op. cit., 583; Peter, op. cit., I08-I09; Polsue, op. cit., II, 317).

15. Seymour, op. cit., I, 414.

16. Quoted from William Hals, in Polsue, op. cit., II, 325. Hals (1655-1737), like Tonkin, made collections for a history of Cornwall, part of which was printed in 1750 from the original MS in the British Museum.

17. See Peter, op. cit., II4, for the wills of David, Thomas and Nicholas Haweis, and Michell, op. cit., I3, for fines imposed on David and Thomas Haweis.

18. Peter, op. cit., I08-I09.

19. Autobiography, 3.

20. Ibid.

21. For the full pedigree of the Willyams family, see George Clement Boase, Collectanea Cornubiensia, (Truro: Netherton and Worth, 1890), I271-I275, and Polsue, op. cit., III, 293, 297, 299 for references.

22. Seymour, op. cit., I, 414; Morison, op. cit., II, I71.

23. Seymour, op. cit., I, 414; Morison, op. cit., II, I71.

24. Boase, op. cit., 335, I272; Vivian, op. cit., 628.

25. Seymour, op. cit., I, 414. The error is repeated in the Dictionary of National Biography (henceforward referred to as D.N.B.), XXV, 186.

26. D.N.B., XXXVII, 390.

27. Richard Polwhele, The History of Cornwall, (Truro: Cadell and Davies, 1803), V, 72, speaks of a school at Redruth which the gentry of the town and neighbourhood patronized. The schoolmaster was Hogg, who followed Cardew at Truro Grammar School in 1805 (ibid., 63). How long this school had been in existence he does not say.

28. Autobiography, 4-5.

29. She was born on May 11, 1728. Haweis referred to her as " the late Mrs. Lemon " (Autobiography, 5). She married William Lemon on December 23, 1747, and died on September 28, 1761. Lemon, a prominent Truro merchant, gave his name to a street in the town about 1795 (Boase, op. cit., 1272; Vivian, op. cit., 628; Truro Official Guide (1948), 8).

30. Lord Aubrey Beauclerk (1710?-1741) was the eighth son of Charles, First Duke of St. Albans. He was killed in an attack on the Boca Chica on March 22, 1741. There is a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey (D.N.B., IV, 34).

31. Boase, op. cit., 335, 1271.

32. John Wilyams, baptized March 21, 1702, married Ann Oliver, daughter of John Oliver of Falmouth, in 1723 (Boase, op. cit., 1271). If the date of her death could be traced, a further clue might be afforded, but local records do not supply this.

33. John Oliver Wilyams (1731-1809) was later Lt.-Col. of Militia and J.P. for Cornwall. In 1772 he married Charlotte, fourth daughter of Chauncy Townsend, M.P., and thus became brother-in-law to Haweis, as well as cousin (Boase, op. cit., 1271).

34. Autobiography, 6.

35. Edwin F. Hatfield, The Poets of the Church, (New York: Randolph, 1884), 394.

36. Polwhele, History of Cornwall, V, 190.

37. George Canon (1701-1775) was Master of Truro Grammar School from 1729 to 1771. He moved to Padstow in 1771 and died there four years later (Thomas Wills, The Spiritual Register, (London: Hughes and Walsh, 1784), III, 28-38; Christian Observer, 1802, 545; 1803, 531-533). For the school, see Nicholas Carlisle, A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools of England and Wales, (London: Baldwin and Cradock, 1818), II, 144-151.

38. Boase, op. cit., 1391.

39. He graduated M.A. from Marischal College, Aberdeen, in 1721 (Marischal College Registers).

40. The Truro Borough Account Book, under the date February 25, 1729, records: " Ordered that Mr. Conan (sic) now usher at Mr. Fox's school at Kensington be admitted to teach and instruct youth in the Latin school here.... "

41. Carlisle, op. cit., II, 149.

42. Samuel Walker (1714-1761), son of Robert Walker, of Exeter, and a descendant of Bishop Joseph Hall, was educated at Exeter Grammar School (1722-1731) and Exeter College, Oxford (matriculated November 4, 1732, graduated B.A., 1736). He served as Curate of Doddiscombe Leigh, Devonshire in 1737 and 1738. After a period as tutor in France to Lord Rolles' youngest brother, he became Curate at Lanlivery, Cornwall, to Canon Nicolas Kendall. On the death of the latter in 1740, Walker was presented to the living to hold it during the minority of a nephew of the patron. He resigned the incumbency in 1746 and accepted the Curacy of St. Mary's, Truro. He was converted in 1747. He also held the vicarage of Talland, Cornwall, from 1746 until 1752. He died at Blackheath in 1761 and is buried in Lewisham Churchyard. For his life, see Sidney, op. cit.; Erasmus Middleton, Biographia Evangelica, (London: Justins, 1786), IV, 350-374 (actually by James Stillingfleet); Wills, op. cit., III, 1-27; Boase, op. cit., 1189-1190; George Clement Boase and William Prideaux Courtney, Bibliotheca Cornubiensis, (London: Longmans, Green, 1874), II, 846-848, III, 1358. For Conon's influence on Walker, see Sidney, op. cit., 7-12.

43. Autobiography, 7. The Bishop was George Lavington (1684-1762), who was instituted to the see in 1747. For the difficulties confronting Hanoverian Bishops in fulfilling their diocesan duties, and especially in the larger sees, such as Exeter, see Sykes, op. cit., 115-132.

44. Thomas Wills (1740-1802) was the son of Thomas Wills, of St. Issey, Truro. Left an orphan in childhood, he was cared for by his aunt, Lucy Spry (died 1755) and Thomas Mitchell, of Croft Allst (died 1811). At Truro Grammar School he came under the influence of Conon and Walker. He matriculated from Magdalen Hall, Oxford, on March 28, 1757 and graduated B.A. in 1760. He was ordained deacon (Oxford) in 1762 and priest (Exeter) in 1764. He served as Curate of St. Agnes, Cornwall, from 1764 to 1778, and of Perranzabuloe in 1764 and 1765, under Samuel Walker's brother, James. St. Agnes was a chapelry to Perranzabuloe with a resident Curate. In 1778 Wills left the Established Church to join Lady Huntingdon's Connexion. In 1788 he resigned from the Connexion and became pastor of Silver Street Chapel, in London. For his life, see Memoirs of the Life of Thomas Wills, by a Friend, (London: Williams, 1804); Walter Wilson, The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses in London, (London: Button, 1810) III, 118-123; Boase, op. cit., 1270; Evangelical Magazine, 1802, 293-298; New Spiritual Magazine, 1783, I, 9-14.

45. Seymour, op. cit., I, 208. Samuel Foote (1721-1777) was born in Truro and educated at Truro Grammar School, the Collegiate School, Worcester, and Worcester College, Oxford. For his life, see Percy Fitzgerald, Samuel Foote, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1910).

46. Morison, op. cit., II, 172.

47. Foote matriculated on July 1, 1737, aged sixteen (Joseph Foster, Alumni Oxonienses, (Oxford: Parker, n.d.), Pt. II (1715-1886), 475.

48. Autobiography, 7.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid., 8.

51. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Martha Biddulph, May 11, 1774; MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Thomas Biddulph, n.d.

52. Morison, op. cit., II, 173.

53. Autobiography, 6. Local historians in Truro are unable to identify the doctor. He is described in Public Characters for 1798 as " an eminent surgeon and apothecary " (321).

54. *ὁ βίος βραχὺς, ἡ δὲ τέχνη μακρὴ* (Aphorismes d'Hippocrate, ed. Emil Littré, (Paris: Baillièrè, 1844), 80.

55. Autobiography, 9.

56. Jenner's first case of vaccination was in May, 1796, and his pamphlet, An Inquiry into the Causes and Effects of the Variolae Vaccinae was published in 1798.

57. Autobiography, 10.

58. Sidney, op. cit., 17.

59. Christian Observer, 1802, 566. Thomas Adam(s) (1701-1784) was the son of Henry Adam(s), a solicitor and Town Clerk of Leeds. He was educated at Leeds Grammar School and Christ's College, Cambridge (admitted sizar April 14, 1720). In 1722 he migrated to Hart Hall (now Hertford College) whence he graduated B.A. in 1724. He was ordained priest (Lincoln) in 1726. From 1724 to 1784 he was Rector of Winteringham, near Barton-on-Humber, Lincolnshire. His Private Thoughts on Religion deeply impressed Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Reginald Heber, Thomas Chalmers and John Stuart Mill. See the memoir prefixed to his An Exposition of the Four Gospels, ed. A. Westoby, (London: Hatchard, 1837), 2 Vols.; D.N.B., I, 89-90; Alumni Cantabrigienses, Pt. I, John Venn and John A. Venn (to 1751), (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1922-1924), I, 6; Biographical Register of Christ's College, 1505-1905, compiled John Peile, (Cambridge, C.U.P., 1910), II, 197.

60. Balleine, op. cit., 96.

61. Letter John Wesley to Thomas Adam, October 31, 1755, J. Wesley, Letters, III, 151.

62. Autobiography, 10.

63. Ibid., 12.

64. Ibid., 8-9.

65. The clergyman must have been John Tregenna, Rector of Mawgan from 1725 to 1754, and Chaplain to the Countess Dowager of Cassilis. He was the father of eight daughters. Mary, the eldest, remained unmarried and was one of Walker's Christian helpers. Martha (2) married Thomas Biddulph. Haweis corresponded with her in his Oxford days (see MS Letters). Margery (3) was evidently the ' Peggy ' of these same letters. Grace (4) married Thomas Hamley of St. Columb. Jane (7) married the Rev. John Whittaker and Sarah (8) died unmarried in 1763 (Boase, op. cit., 1028-1029). That leaves Catherine (5) and Ann (6) concerning whom no records are available. It may be presumed, therefore, that one of these two was the young lady referred to by Haweis in his Autobiography, 10, as being the object of his affections.

66. The Rector was St. John Elliott (1721-1761), son of John Elliott of Liskeard. He matriculated from Exeter College, Oxford, May 17, 1738, and graduated B.A. in 1742, and M.A. from King's College, Cambridge, in 1748. He was Rector of St. Mary's, Truro, from 1746-1761 and Rector of Ladock, Cornwall, 1749-1761. Boase and Courtney, op. cit., 141, give 1745 as the date when he became Rector of Truro, but Bishop Claget's Register, folio 113, records the date of institution as June 3, 1746 (F.W.B. Bullock, A History of the Parish Church of St. Mary, Truro, (Truro: Jordan, 1948), 66). Polsue, op. cit., II, 383, and Boase and Courtney, op. cit., 141, have 1760 for his death, but the Ladock Parish Register is decisive, reporting the burial on July 1, 1761.

When Walker turned Evangelical, his enemies appealed to the Rector to dismiss him. Twice Elliott attempted to do so, but finally refused, saying to one of his chief parishioners, " Do you go and dismiss him if you can, I cannot. I feel in his presence as if he were a being of a superior order, and am so abashed that I am uneasy till I can retire " (Sidney, op. cit., 49-50).

67. Autobiography, II.

68. The general sequence of events following it, the MS Letter, to be quoted later, dated August 12, 1754, and the fact that Haweis joined Walker's society, which was constituted in February, 1754 (Sidney, op. cit., 59), all point towards early 1754 as the time of Haweis' conversion.

69. Autobiography, 13.

70. Luther's classic phrase in his Römerbriefvorlesung, Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe, Weimar, Bd. LVI, 272.

71. George Burnett (1734-1793) was the son of John Burnett, of Aberdeen. Walker described him as an M.A. of Aberdeen University, but the Registers record nothing at this period. Conon brought Burnett to Cornwall c. 1749. He was at Christ Church, Oxford, from December 1, 1755 until the spring of 1756. He was ordained deacon in 1758 and may possibly have been Curate of Padstow in the same year. From 1759 to 1760 he served as Henry Venn's Curate at Huddersfield and in 1761 accepted the vicarage of Elland, which he held until 1781. For his life, see Sidney, op. cit., passim; Boase, op. cit., 122; Foster, op. cit., II, 195; Seymour, op. cit., I, 276; Evangelical Magazine, 1793, 83.

72. Boase, op. cit., 122.

73. Sidney, op. cit., 63.

74. Ibid., 66.

75. Letter Samuel Walker to Thomas Adam, February 16, 1755, Christian Observer, 1803, 345.

76. Sidney, op. cit., 71.

77. Autobiography, 14.

78. Ibid., 15.

79. Methodist Hymn Book, No. 578, v.I.

80. Sidney, op. cit., 74.

81. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to an unnamed recipient, August 12, 1754.

82. Autobiography, 17.

83. Ibid., 18.

84. Ibid.

85. Ibid., 19.

86. Ibid., 20.

87. Letter George Whitefield to Lady Huntingdon, February 25, 1750, George Whitefield, Works, (London: Dilly, 1771), II, 333. Hence the title of James Bennett's biography, The Star of the West, (London: Hamilton, 1813). Risdon Darracott (1717-1759), son of Richard Darracott, pastor of the Dissenting Chapel at Swanage, and later of Chulmleigh, Devonshire, was trained under William Palke, Dissenting minister of South Molton. In 1732 he was sent to Dr.

Doddridge's Academy at Northampton, and in 1738 was called to Market Jew Street Chapel, Penzance, in 1739 to Barnstaple and in 1741 to Wellington, where he remained until his death (Bennett, op. cit., D.N.B., XIV, 66-67).

88. Bennett, op. cit., I45.

89. Letter Samuel Walker to Risdon Darracott, December 15, 1757, Bennett, op. cit., 89.

90. Bennett, op. cit., I71-I72.

91. Polwhele, History of Cornwall, V, I90.

92. Autobiography, 2I.

93. William Basset(t)(c.1705-1765), son of William Basset(t), Vicar of Glentworth, Lincolnshire, was educated at Magdalen College, Cambridge (admitted sizar, March 28, 1722; matriculated 1723; graduated B.A. 1727). He was ordained deacon (Lincoln) in 1726 and priest (Lincoln) in 1729. He was Vicar of Glentworth from 1729 to 1765 and Archdeacon of Stow from 1751. He was a known Evangelical (Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, compiled John le Neve, (Oxford: O.U.P., 1854), III, 81; J.Venn and J.A.Venn, op. cit., I, I04; Overton, op. cit., 84; Sidney, op. cit., 83).

94. Autobiography, 22.

95. Middleton, op. cit., IV, 354.

96. Joseph Jane, senior was Rector of St. Mary's, Truro, from 1711 to 1745 and Master of Truro Grammar School from 1714 to 1729 (Bullock, op. cit., 59; Boase and Courtney, op. cit., I, 269). J. Venn and J.A. Venn, op. cit., II, 462, give 1706(?) as the year when he became Master, but one of the four slate monuments found in November, 1880, when the Cathedral was being built, records the name of Thomas Hunkin as Master from 1706 to 1714 (Bullock, op. cit., 59). Perhaps Jane was an Assistant during this period. He died in 1745 (Calendar of Wills and Administrations relating to the Counties of Devon and Cornwall, proved in the Court of the Principal Registry of the Bishop of Exeter, 1559-1799, ed. Edward A. Fry, (London: British Record Society, 1908), I02).

97. Joseph Jane (1716-1795) was educated at Westminster School (Alumni Westmonasterienses, compiled Joseph Welsh, (London: Ginger, 1852), 308; The Record of Old Westminsters, compiled G.F.Russell Barker and Alan H. Stenning, (London: Chiswick Press, 1928), I, 510) and Christ Church, Oxford (matriculated May 25, 1733; graduated B.A. 1737, M.A. 1740, B.D. 1748; Proctor 1747) (Foster, op. cit., II, 743; A Catalogue of Graduates..... in the University of Oxford, (Oxford: O.U.P., 1851), 792). He was ordained deacon (Oxford) in 1740 (June 1) and priest (Oxford) in the same year

(December 28). He became Curate of Cowley on June 19, 1747, of St. Thomas', Oxford, on January 18, 1748 and Vicar of St. Mary Magdalene on December 17, 1748 (Diocese of Oxford Ordinations, Institutions, Licenses, Resignations etc., 1733-1802, Bodleian MS Oxford Diocesan Papers, Book 2I, folio 46 V). He was Rector of Iron Acton, Gloucestershire, from 1763 to 1789 (Boase and Courtney, op. cit., I, 269, 356; Welsh, op. cit., 299, 308; Barker and Stenning, op. cit., I, 510, Supplement, 82).

98. Autobiography, 24.

99. Ibid., 25.

100. Ibid.

101. Ibid.

CHAPTER TWO

1. Foster, op. cit., II, 627.
2. Ibid., 195.
3. A.D. Godley, Oxford in the Eighteenth Century, (London: Methuen, 1909), 62.
4. Ibid., 63.
5. William Wordsworth, The Prelude, ed. E.E. Reynolds, (London: Macmillan, 1932), Bk. VIII, 127.
6. William Holwell (1726-1798), later Vicar of Thornbury, Gloucestershire, 1762; Prebendary of Exeter 1776; Tutor to Lord Beauchamp and Chaplain to George III (D.N.B., XXVII, 213-214; Foster, op. cit., II, 683).
7. Autobiography, 26.
8. Ibid., 28.
9. William Rawlings was a prominent merchant at St. Columb who moved to Padstow c. 1770, and helped to develop the trade of that place. He died in 1795. He was a friend and correspondent of Lord Dartmouth. For Haweis' letters to him, see Bibliography. His son, William (1761-1836), followed Thomas Biddulph (vide infra, 63) as Vicar of Padstow in 1790 (Boase, op. cit., 787-788; Polsue, op. cit., IV, 16; Foster, op. cit., II, 1178). Seymour, op. cit., II, 4n., makes this astonishing statement: " The Rev. William Rawlings, formerly of Exeter College, Oxford, and for fifty years Vicar of Padstow, was the intimate and bosom friend of Mr. Walker of Truro. " In actual fact this William Rawlings was born in the year of Walker's death. The somewhat erratic biographer of Lady Huntingdon has obviously confused father with son.
10. Letter Samuel Walker to William Rawlings, December 16, 1755, Sidney, op. cit., 275-276.
11. Journal of Charles Wesley, II, 216.
12. John Guyse, D.D. (1680-1761) was a Dissenting minister in London. He became the first pastor of New Broad Street Chapel in 1727 (D.N.B., XXIII, 394; Wilson, op. cit., II, 229-243; Middleton, op. cit., IV, 374-379).
13. Autobiography, 29.
14. The student in question was John Hamilton, of University College, the son of an Irish M.P., and later Curate of Bedington,

Surrey, Rector of Taboyne and Archdeacon of Raphoe, in Ireland (Jones, Life of Horne, xlvi).

15. Autobiography, 30.

16. George Horne (1730-1792) was at University College, Oxford, from 1746 to 1749. He was elected a Fellow of Magdalen in 1750, and graduated M.A. in 1752, B.D. 1759 and D.D. 1764. He became President of Magdalen in 1768, Dean of Canterbury in 1781 and Bishop of Norwich in 1791 (Jones, op. cit., D.N.B., XXVII, 356).

17. Autobiography, 27.

18. Letter Samuel Walker to Thomas Adam, May 10, 1756, Sidney, op. cit., 199.

19. Bridget Bevan (d. 1779) was the daughter of John Vaughan of Derllys and wife of Arthur Bevan (d. 1745), of Laugharne, M.P. for Carmarthen for fourteen years. She was converted under Griffith Jones, and for twenty years after his death supported his Charity Schools in Wales. Whitefield used her house in Bath as a preaching place (Seymour, op. cit., I, 454n. (has Laugharne); Tyerman, op. cit., II, 345n.; D.E. Jenkins, The Life of Thomas Charles of Bala, (Denbigh: Jenkins, 1908), I, 4, 10, 562; A History of Carmarthenshire, ed. Sir John E. Lloyd, (Cardiff: Lewis, 1939), II, 34, 122).

20. Whitefield, Works, III, 178-179.

21. There are two letters, dated March 6 and 7, 1756, from Samuel Walker to Mr. Harris " just before his ordination at Exon. " (Zion's Trumpet, 1798, 388-389, 411-413, 475-476) which Boase and Courtney, op. cit., III, 1358 refer to as " letters to Mr. H. (aweis ?) just before his ordination at Oxford. " This, however, could not have been Haweis.

22. The Letters patent reestablishing the ancient diocese of Truro were issued in December, 1876 (Truro Official Guide, 17).

23. Letter Samuel Walker to Thomas Adam, May 10, 1756, Sidney, op. cit., 199.

24. In the Autobiography (27) Haweis said he spent ten months in Cornwall. It may be presumed that he came down at the end of the Hilary Term, in March, 1756, and returned for the beginning of the same Term in January, 1757.

25. He finally secured ordination in 1758, after a series of setbacks (Sidney, op. cit., 452-455).

26. Tyerman, op. cit., II, 375: " Young Haweis had formed a society at Oxford analogous to the ' Holy Club ' of the Wesleys and their friends, more than a quarter of a century previous to

this..... Haweis, in fact, had founded a second Society of 'Oxford Methodists,' a Society which grew into such importance as to lead, in 1768, to the expulsion of six students, belonging to Edmund Hall, 'for holding Methodistical tenets, and taking upon them to pray, read, and expound the Scriptures in private houses' " (St. James' Chronicle, March 16, 1768). For the original Holy Club, see The Works of John Wesley, (London: Wesleyan Methodist Book Room, n.d.), VIII, 334; Luke Tyerman, The Oxford Methodists, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1873); A New History of Methodism, ed. W.J. Townsend, H.B. Workman, George Eayrs, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1909), I, 137-158. Haweis may also have had in mind Walker's Clerical Club (Sidney, op. cit., 76-78; G.C.B. Davies, " Truro Clerical Club: 1750-60, " Church Quarterly Review, October-December, 1947, 80-95; H. Miles Brown, " The Rise of Methodism in Cornwall, " Church Quarterly Review, April-June, 1946, 81-82).

27. vide infra, I46-I47.

28. S.L. Ollard, The Six Students of St. Edmund Hall, (London: Mowbray, 1911), 3, mentions a group, led by James Stillingfleet, which met sometimes in his own rooms, and sometimes at the house of Mrs. Durbridge, whose husband, a sadler, had been a friend of Whitefield. This would appear to have been a continuation of Haweis' club. After Haweis' departure from Oxford, Stillingfleet supplied his Church, and, in all likelihood, also inherited the supervision of the club (vide infra, 74). James Stillingfleet (1729-1817), son of James Stillingfleet, Registrar of the Diocese of Worcester, was educated at Westminster School (Barker and Stenning, op. cit., II, 885) and Wadham College, Oxford (matriculated January 20, 1748; B.A. 1751). He was a great grandson of Edward Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester. He migrated to Merton College, where he graduated M.A. in 1754, having been elected a Fellow in 1752. In 1772 he became a Prebendary of Worcester, through Lord Dartmouth, and was Rector of St. Martin's, Worcester from 1775 to 1779. He was afterwards Rector of Knightwick with Doddenham until his death on July 6, 1817. In 1769 he married Catherine, daughter of Herbert Mackworth, of Knoll Castle, Glamorgan, and in 1783, Elizabeth, third daughter of William Hale, of King's Walden Park, Hertfordshire (Wadham College Register, Barker and Stenning, op. cit., II, 885; Jenkins, op. cit., I, 24) He is to be distinguished from James Stillingfleet of Hotham (1742-1826), for whom see Foster, op. cit., II, 1355.

29. vide supra, 7.

30. Foster, op. cit., II, 1579.

31. Haweis' rooms were in Christ Church cloisters.

32. Memoir of Wills, II; Evangelical Magazine, 1802, 293-294; Autobiography, 40.

33. Seymour, op. cit., I, 226.

34. Ibid. This news reached the Countess through James Stillingfleet, which lends weight to the contention that Stillingfleet had a close connection with Haweis' club.

35. Letter Samuel Walker to Thomas Adam, April, 1757, Sidney, op. cit., 329.

36. William Romaine (1714-1795) was a native of Hartlepool, Co. Durham, the son of a French Protestant who took refuge in England after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He was educated at Houghton-le-Spring Grammar School and Hertford College, Oxford (matriculated April 10, 1731). He moved to Christ Church, and graduated B.A. in 1734 and M.A. in 1737. He was ordained deacon (Hereford) in 1736 and priest (Winchester) in 1738. After serving as Curate of Lewtrenchard and Banstead, he was appointed to the Afternoon Lectureship of St. Dunstan's, Fleet Street, London, in 1749. From 1760 to 1765 he was assistant morning preacher at St. George's, Hanover Square, from 1756 to 1759 Curate of St. Olave's, Southwark, and from 1759 to 1761 morning preacher at St. Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield. He was Rector of St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe with St. Anne, Blackfriars, from 1764 until his death (William Bromley Cadogan, The Life of William Romaine, prefixed to The Whole Works of William Romaine, (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1840); Haweis, Life of Romaine; Donald G. Davis, The Life and Work of William Romaine, (Edinburgh University Ph.D. Thesis)).

37. Haweis, Life of Romaine, 63-64.

38. Romaine, Works, 785. Romaine delivered two sermons on The Lord our Righteousness (Isaiah XLV, 8), one in the morning at St. Mary's, and the other in the afternoon at St. Peter's. He had previously preached at St. Mary's on March 4, 1739, December 6, 1741 and April 11, 1756 (ibid., 762, 746, 886). Haweis may, of course, have heard Romaine on this last occasion, but it would seem likely that he had returned to Cornwall by then.

39. Davis, op. cit.,

40. Letter of William Blackstone, August 28, 1744, The Standard Sermons of John Wesley, ed. Edward H. Sugden, (London: Epworth Press, 1935), I, 90.

41. J. Wesley, Sermons, 92-III.

42. Romaine, Works, 785.

43. Haweis, Life of Romaine, 65.

44. James Hervey (1714-1758) was one of the first Holy Club members. He became Curate of Weston Favell in 1743, and Vicar in 1752 (Tyerman, Oxford Methodists, 201-333; John Brown, Memoirs of

the Life and Character of James Hervey, (London: Ogle and Duncan, 1822)).

45. This visit is not mentioned in the Autobiography.
46. Tyerman, Oxford Methodists, 201. Charles Wesley refers to him as "our own Isocrates" (Journal, II, 393).
47. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to an unnamed recipient, January 22, 1807. John Brown, of Whitburn, the biographer of Hervey, had been inquiring for information and Haweis supplied this reminiscence through an unknown intermediary.
48. Tyerman, Oxford Methodists, 309-310. The reference is to John Ryland, the well-known Baptist preacher of the period, and Sir James Stonehouse, M.D., the Northampton physician, who later entered the Church, being Rector of Great and Little Cheverell, Wiltshire, from 1769, and Lecturer at All Saints, Bristol (Foster, op. cit., II, 1360; Jenkins, op. cit., I, 152; Gentleman's Magazine, 1795, ii, 1058; 1796, i, 165).
49. John Richard Green, Studies in Oxford History, chiefly in the Eighteenth Century, ed. C.L. Stainer, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901), 53-54; Godley, op. cit., 36-65; Johnson's England, II, 209-242.
50. Autobiography, 30.
51. Ibid., 31. Francis Fulford matriculated from Christ Church on November 22, 1755. He graduated B.C.L. from Balliol in 1764 and became Vicar of Dunsford. John Fulford matriculated from Christ Church on February 11, 1755, and died in 1780 (Foster, op. cit., II, 499).
52. Autobiography, 31.
53. The phrase used by John Wesley in his sermon before the University of Oxford on Scriptural Christianity, Sermons, I, 110.
54. Autobiography, 32.
55. Godley, op. cit., 162.
56. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to William Rawlings, April 6, 1757. See also an undated letter to Rawlings of the same period.
57. This must have been fairly early in 1757, as a letter from Samuel Walker to Thomas Adam, March 9, 1757, shows: " I mentioned awhile ago a young gentleman to you, who had turned his thoughts to the ministry. Mr. Jane has taken him with him to Oxford to assist him in his parish there, and the Bishop of Oxford has promised to ordain him " (Sidney, op. cit., 325).

58. Thomas Secker (1693-1768) was Bishop of Oxford from 1737 to 1758. He received the degree of D.C.L. from the University in 1733. He was nicknamed 'decent Secker' after Pope:

" E'en in a Bishop I can spy desert;
Secker is decent....."

(The Poetical Works of Alexander Pope, (London: Warne, n.d.), Epilogue to the Satires, Dialogue II, 342-343. For Secker, see the Life prefixed to The Works of Thomas Secker, ed. Beilby Porteus, (Dublin: Williams, 1775); D.N.B., LI, 170-173.

59. David Gregory, D.D. (1696-1767), the first Regius Professor of Modern History and Language, was Dean from 1756 to 1767 (Foster, op. cit., I, 602; Anthony Wood, The History and Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls in the University of Oxford, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1786), ed. John Gutch, 442-443; Barker and Stenning, II, 1074; D.N.B., XXIII, 95; Welsh, op. cit., 262-263).

60. Edward Bentham, D.D. (1709-1776), Fellow of Oriel College, and Canon of Christ Church, was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity in 1763 (Foster, op. cit., I, 97; le Neve, op. cit., III, 510).

61. John Fanshawe, D.D. (1697-1763), Canon of Christ Church, and Regius Professor of Divinity 1741-1763 (Foster, op. cit., I, 446; Wood, op. cit., 478; Barker and Stenning, op. cit., I, 319; Welsh, op. cit., 267).

62. Thomas Hunt, D.D. (1697-1774), Fellow of Hart Hall, Canon of Christ Church and Regius Professor of Hebrew 1747-1774 (Foster, op. cit., I, 716; le Neve, op. cit., II, 528; John Nichols, Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century, (London: Nichols, 1812-1815), VIII, 471-472).

63. John Penrose (1713-1776) was Vicar of St. Gluvias from 1741 to 1776 and one of the seven original members of Walker's Clerical Club. For his life, see H. Miles Brown, A Cornish Incumbency 1741-1776, (Truro: Privately printed, 1945).

64. Thomas Michell (1705?-1773) was Vicar of Veryan from 1743 to 1773 and also an original member of the Truro Clerical Club (Sidney, op. cit., 191, 405).

65. Autobiography, 33.

66. Ibid.

67. Thomas Burton, D.D. (1711-), Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Oxford, was himself a Christ Church man (Foster, op. cit., II, 200).

68. Autobiography, 33.

69. George Berkeley, D.C.L. (1734-1795), son of the famous philosopher, entered Christ Church in June, 1752. His father moved to Oxford at the same time to be near him, and died there in

1753. The son was later a Prebendary of Canterbury and Chancellor of Brecknock. He was one of the Hutchinsonian group in the University (Jones, Life of Horne, xlvi). His correspondence with Lord Dartmouth indicates his sympathy with Evangelicalism (Historical Manuscripts Commission, 15th Report, Appendix, Pt. I, III, (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1896), 205, 208). For other details of his life, see Foster, op. cit., II, 99, and le Neve, op. cit., I, 54.

70. Samuel Glasse, D.D. (1735-1812), later Rector of Hanwell, Middlesex, Vicar of Epsom, Surrey (1782-1785), Vicar of Wanstead, Essex (1786-1812), Prebendary of Wells 1790, and of St. Paul's 1798 (Foster, op. cit., II, 528; Welsh, op. cit., 358; le Neve, op. cit., I, 200; Jones, Life of Horne, xlvii).

71. Charles Poyntz, D.D. (1735-1809), later Rector of North Creak, Norfolk (1760-1809) and Prebendary of Llandaff and Durham (1784-1809) (Foster, op. cit., II, 1142; le Neve, op. cit., III, 316).

72. Edward Willes, D.D. (1695-1773), Bishop of Bath and Wells from 1743 to 1773 (Foster, op. cit., I, 1635; le Neve, op. cit., I, 140).

73. Autobiography, 36. The " unexpected circumstances " included not only the letter, but the fact that as Haweis rode to Exeter he met and recognized Bishop Lavington's coach travelling in the opposite direction. He learned that the Bishop was to spend the night at Wells, and thereupon turned his horse.

74. Secker attended Winslowe's lectures in Paris in 1718 and 1719, and took the degree of M.D. at Leyden in 1721 (Porteus, Life of Secker, xx).

75. Autobiography, 37.

76. Diocese of Oxford, Ordinations, etc., Bk. 21, folio 47 R. Alumni Cantabrigienses, Pt. II, J.A. Venn (1752-1900), III, 290, unaccountably gives 1755 as the date of Haweis' reception into deacon's orders. The Oxford Clergy Index has September 9, 1757, which, though incorrect, is understandable, being the date of the public ordination. The establishment of the October date clears up the problem of Haweis' letter to Martha Tregenna, on September 14, 1757, in which he explained that " the peculiar exigencies of my present circumstances..... call for my attendance here until I see whether I shall be ordained or no."

77. Josiah Bull, John Newton, An Autobiography and Narrative, (London: R.T.S., 1868), 100.

78. Seymour, op. cit., I, 167-168.

79. Alfred Leedes Hunt, Evangelical By-Paths, (London: Thynne

and Jarvis, 1927), 27.

80. Edwin Sidney, The Life of Rowland Hill, (London: Baldwin and Cradock, 1834), 50.

81. Westoby, Life of Adam, I, 58; Christian Observer, 1877, 156.

82. Letter Samuel Walker to Thomas Adam, December 8, 1757, Sidney, Life of Walker, 410-411.

83. Anthony Wood, Survey of the Antiquities of the City of Oxford, ed. Andrew Clark, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1890), II, 74.

84. Leonard Hutten, A Dissertation on the Antiquities of Oxford, quoted in Herbert Hurst, Oxford Topography, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899), 102: " Then passing onwards, wee come to the Church of St. Mary Magdalen, which appeareth to be more auntient than the Castle, because it is said in the Ledger Book of Osney Abbey that Robert Doily the Elder, and Roger Ivie his sworn Brother, gave this Church cum tribus hidis terrae in Walton et pratis et decimis eidem Ecclesiae pertinentibus, to the Church of St. George in the Castle and to the Cannons Seculer serving God " (cf. Wood, Survey of Antiquities of City of Oxford, II, 75).

85. It is not likely that St. Frideswyde's actually built it, or the fact would have been noted in the Charters (Hurst, op. cit., 104).

86. Letter William Warburton to Richard Hurd, December 14, 1758, in Letters from a late eminent Prelate to one of his Friends, (London: Cadell and Davies, 1809), 275-276, referring to Jane. The same letter contains a high tribute to the ability and integrity of Jane from one who has been described as " an ecclesiastical porcupine " (Hunt, op. cit., 28). Jane had written to Warburton, the Bishop of Gloucester, " an expostulatory letter in the very spirit of Methodism " objecting to a passage in the Dedication of The Divine Legation of Moses in which the author speaks of the ministry in terms of profession rather than of vocation. Although Warburton disagreed with Jane on the point at issue, he admits " there were the marks of great candour and goodness throughout the letter. " He had inquired from his friend John Nichols, who testified that Jane was " many years respectable for his piety, learning and great sequestration of himself. " These tributes from Tuscany shed valuable light upon one of the little known heroes of the Evangelical Movement. See also A Selection from Unpublished Papers of William Warburton, ed. Francis Kilvert, (London: Nichols, 1841), 164-167, for two letters from Jane to Warburton, the second dated January 16, 1759.

87. Said to have come from Osney, but more probably from Rewley, as in 1536 the Churchwardens purchased some of the latter's

material (Wood, Survey of Antiquities of City of Oxford, 303. For a description of the Church as it is today, see An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of Oxford, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments in England, (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1939), 138-140.

88. Autobiography, 39-40.

89. Ibid., 41.

90. Sidney, Life of Rowland Hill, 24.

91. Memoir of Wills, 12.

92. A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Nowell, by the Author of Pietas Oxoniensis, IIn., quoted in Ollard, op. cit., 2. Thomas Nowell, D.D. (1730-1801), of Oriel, was later Principal of St. Mary Hall, and held the office of Public Orator in the University from 1760 to 1776 (Foster, op. cit., II, 1031; Ollard, op. cit., 29-30).

93. The Diary of a Country Parson, James Woodforde, 1758-1781, ed. John Beresford, (London: O.U.P., 1924), 19. St. Giles' Church was situated beyond the North Gate of the city, past St. John's College (Hurst, op. cit., II4).

94. Gentleman's Magazine, 1820, i, 290. Signed W.C.D. Haweis moved to Magdalen Hall in 1758, vide infra, 60.

95. C. Wesley, Journal, II, 216.

96. See Bibliography.

97. Thomas Haweis, Evangelical Principles and Practice, (London: Dilly, 1762), iii.

98. Arianism was a live issue in the eighteenth century, and Arian subscription to the Articles was common. The earlier part of the century witnessed the height of the controversy, but as late as 1751 Robert Clayton, Bishop of Clogher, revived it in a new form in his An Essay on Spirit, (London: Noon, 1751). Clayton was ably answered by William Jones of Nayland (Overton and Relton, op. cit., 206-207).

99. Haweis, Evangelical Principles and Practice, iv-vi.

100. Autobiography, 42.

101. Haweis, Evangelical Principles and Practice, 21-43.

102. Ibid., 30.

103. Ibid., 31.

104. Ibid., 45.

I05. Ibid., 69.

I06. Ibid., 92.

I07. Ibid., I7I-I72.

I08. The Book of Common Prayer (I662), Communion Office.

I09. Haweis, Evangelical Principles and Practice, I85-I9I.

IIO. Ibid., I66.

III. Ibid., 43.

II2. Luther believed that the differentiation between Law and Gospel contained the sum of all Christian doctrine, and was the test of a true theologian (Martin Luther, A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, edited Erasmus Middleton, (London: Tegg, I860), 75.).

II3. Haweis, Evangelical Principles and Practice, I28.

II4. Ibid., 64.

II5. Ibid., 267.

II6. Ibid., 2I9.

II7. Ibid., 264-265 (Deuteronomy XXIX, 29; Ephesians I, 4; Romans VIII, 29; I Peter I, 2).

II8. Ibid., 22I-222.

II9. Ibid., 223 (II Thessalonians III, 5).

I20. John Stoughton, History of Religion in England, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, I88I), VI, 429.

I2I. The Letters of Horace Walpole, ed. Mrs. Paget Toynbee, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, I903-I905), V, I6.

I22. Jay, Works, V, 56. On eighteenth century preaching, see Charles Smyth, The Art of Preaching, (London: S.P.C.K., I940), c.IV, The Triumph of Tillotson, 99-I66.

I23. Autobiography, 6I.

I24. Haweis, Evangelical Principles and Practice, 88.

I25. James Fortescue, D.D. (I7I7-I777) was a Fellow of Exeter from I737 to I765, Chaplain of Merton and Rector of Wootton, Northamptonshire (Foster, op. cit., II, 485). William Tonkin (I7I8-I798) was a Fellow of Exeter from I739 to I77I, Vicar of Long

Wittenham, Berkshire, 1765-1771 and Rector of Broad Somerford 1771-1798. Haweis refers to him as ' Dr. Tonkin ' (Autobiography, 74), but this was evidently a courtesy title arising from the fact that he was licensed to practise medicine in 1748 (Foster, op. cit., II, 1426). Biographie Universelle, (Brussels: Michaud, n.d.), pays tribute to Haweis as an extemporaneous preacher: " (II) acquit un nom populaire par quelques sermons eloquents et par une facilite improvisatrice remarquable... " (XVIII, 588). cf. Jay, Autobiography, 477-478.

I26. Autobiography, 43. Thomas Haweis, A Familiar and Practical Improvement of the Church Catechism, (London: Dilly, 1775). Part of this Catechism exists in MS form in the collection at the Mitchell Library, Sydney. In his attention to the Catechism Haweis showed himself an apt pupil of Walker, who wrote Fifty-Two Lectures on the Church Catechism, (London: Hamilton, Adams, 1836). On the general neglect of catechizing in the eighteenth century, see Sykes, op. cit., 243-246.

I27. See Bibliography. The title is adapted from Matthew Henry, The Communicant's Companion, or Instructions and Helps for the right receiving of the Lord's Supper, (London: Lawrence, 1704).

I28. Thomas Haweis, The Communicant's Spiritual Companion; or, an Evangelical Preparation for the Lord's Supper, (Edinburgh: Oliphant, 1828), ix.

I29. Ibid., ix-x.

I30. Ibid., 19.

I31. Secker, Eight Charges, quoted in Abbey and Overton, op. cit., 454.

I32. cf. article on Pre-Tractarian Revival by E.J. Gwyn Rogers, in Theology, September 1950, 323: " Many historians have associated the sacramental revival with the Tractarians, and the Evangelicals have been criticized for their lack of definite Churchmanship and for their neglect of worship. This may be true of their successors, but it certainly is not true of the first three generations of the Evangelical Fathers. "

I33. John Wesley, Sermons on Several Occasions, (London: Caxton Press, 1824), II, 421-429.

I34. Romaine, Works, 34.

I35. Sidney, Life of Walker, 139.

I36. Church Catechism.

I37. Haweis, Communicant's Spiritual Companion, 25-26.

I38. Ibid., 38.

- I39. Ibid., 40.
- I40. Ibid., 48.
- I41. Ibid., 49.
- I42. Ibid., 54. Church Catechism.
- I43. Haweis, Communicant's Spiritual Companion, 77.
- I44. Ibid., 81-84.
- I45. Ibid., 89.
- I46. Ibid., 99-100.
- I47. Ibid., 106.
- I48. Ibid., 102.
- I49. Ibid.
- I50. Ibid., 106.
- I51. Robert South, Sermons Preached upon Several Occasions, (Oxford: O.U.P., 1842), I, 312-356.
- I52. Haweis, Communicant's Spiritual Companion, 109.
- I53. Ibid., 133.
- I54. Ibid., 131.
- I55. Autobiography, 50.

I56. For the Tregenna family, see Chapter I, note 65. Haweis' correspondence with Martha, or Patty as he calls her, began during his Oxford days, and continued to within a few years of her death in 1783 (Boase, op. cit., 1071; Wills, Spiritual Register, I, 149-150. The former gives the date of her death as March 3, the latter March 2). Polwhele, Biographical Sketches, III, 171, speaks of " a sister of Miss Tregenna " - Miss Tregenna being Jane, afterwards the wife of the Rev. John Whitaker - who " had been engaged for many years to Tom (Aldwinckle) Haweis. " He is said to have courted her in the days of his medical apprenticeship. But, continues the Cornish historian, " this was boy's love. The views, however, of lucre, filthy lucre opened upon the man: and all the fairy prospect of young imagination vanished into air. In plain language, Haweis was worse than his word. His plighted faith he laughed at: and perfidiously left the damsel to her fate." As far as can be ascertained, this accusation against Haweis is quite groundless. Polwhele has apparently presented a very misleading conflation of Haweis' relationship with two of the Treg-

enna sisters as if it referred only to one. As we have seen, Haweis courted either Catherine or Ann until her death. At a later date he exchanged letters with Martha which here and there suggest a more than platonic interest, on his side, at least. But she was evidently more attracted to Thomas Biddulph, whom she married on May 11, 1761.

I57. Lord Dartmouth, i.e. William Legge, the Second Earl (1731-1801), who succeeded to the title in 1750. He was the younger son of George, Viscount Lewisham, and grandson of the First Earl. He was educated at Westminster School and Trinity College, Oxford, (matriculated June 14, 1749; graduated M.A. 1751, D.C.L. 1756). He was appointed High Steward of the University in 1786. He served as First Lord of Trade (1765), Secretary of State for the Colonies (1772-1775), Secretary of State for the American Department (1775-1782), Lord Privy Seal (1775-1782) and Lord Keeper of the Household (1783). He was a friend of Lady Huntingdon and one of the most prominent Evangelical laymen and patrons (D.N.B., XXXII, 417-419; Barker and Stenning, op. cit., II, 566, Supp. 90; Welsh, op. cit., 556; Seymour, op. cit., passim).

I58. Perhaps William Rawlings' wife.

I59. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Martha and Margery Tregenna, November 15, 1757.

I60. Autobiography, 45. Biographical dictionaries are thus incorrect in stating that Haweis entered Christ Church as a gentleman commoner. Even so sound a scholar as Canon Ollard repeats this inaccuracy (op. cit., 2). The Diocesan Registers of Oxford (Diocese of Oxford, Ordinations, etc., Bk. 21, folio 47 R) describe him after his removal as "a civilian of Magdalen Hall."

I61. William Dennison, D.D. (d. 1786), Principal of Magdalen Hall 1755-1786. He also succeeded his father in the rectories of Chorton and Clanfield, Hampshire (Wood, History of University, 688).

I62. Autobiography, 46.

I63. John Allen (1705-), son of the Dean of Chester, entered Magdalen Hall in 1723 and graduated B.C.L. in 1730 (Foster, op. cit., II, 17).

I64. His sermon in St. Mary's on July 19, 1761, was an attack on Methodist doctrine (Edwin Sidney, The Life of Sir Richard Hill, (London: Seeley, 1839), 130.).

I65. Autobiography, 46.

I66. Congregational Magazine, December 1841, 869, quoted in Smyth, Simeon and Church Order, 179n.

- I67. Oxford Clergy Index.
- I68. Autobiography, 44.
- I69. Ibid., 47.
- I70. Ibid., 48.
- I71. Ibid., 49.
- I72. Letter Samuel Walker to Thomas Adam, June 7, 1758, Sidney, Life of Walker, 436.
- I73. Autobiography, 40.
- I74. Ibid., 47, 51.
- I75. Thomas Biddulph (1736-1790), see Wills, Spiritual Register, III, 38-56; Polsue, op. cit., IV, 16; Boase, op. cit., IO7I; D.N.B., V, 17.
- I76. vide infra, 81.
- I77. Foster, op. cit., II, IO7.
- I78. Boase, op. cit., IO7I; Wills, Spiritual Register, 38.
- I79. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Thomas Biddulph, October 22, 1780.
- I80. Thomas Tregenna Biddulph (1763-1838), educated at Truro Grammar School and Queen's College, Oxford, was incumbent of St. James', Bristol, from 1799 to 1838, and founder of the magazine Zion's Trumpet, later The Christian Guardian (D.N.B., V, 17).
- I81. Seymour, op. cit., I, 414, fails to distinguish between the first and second Mrs. Biddulph when he describes Charlotte Townsend, who married John Oliver Willyams, as " sister to Mrs. Biddulph, whose son, Mr. Biddulph, is minister of St. James' Bristol. "
- I82. Matthew Powley (1741-1806), son of John Powley, of Lawther, Westmoreland, is referred to incorrectly by Seymour, op. cit., I, 428, as Mr. Powling. For his life, see John White Middleton, An Ecclesiastical Memoir of the First Four Decades of the Reign of George III, (London: Seeley, 1822), 77-78.
- I83. He matriculated on September 25, 1760 (Foster, op. cit., II, II40.
- I84. Autobiography, 55.
- I85. Thomas Fothergill, D.D. (1718-1796), Tutor in Queen's

College and later Provost, and Prebendary of Durham in 1775, was one of the judges in the St. Edmund Hall case. His nickname was ' Old Customary ' (Foster, op. cit., II, 483; Ollard, op. cit., 29; R.H. Hodgkin, Six Centuries of an Oxford College: A History of the Queen's College, 1340-1940, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1949), 156-157).

186. Autobiography, 55. A somewhat garbled account appears in J.W. Middleton, Ecclesiastical Memoir, 78, where Powley and Pugh seem to have been confused.

187. J.W. Middleton, Ecclesiastical Memoir, 78.

188. Powley's wife was Susanna, daughter of Morley and Mary Unwin, and brother of William Cawthorne Unwin (D.N.B., LVIII, 35).

189. For Powley at Slaithwaite and Dewsbury, see J. Wesley, Journal, IV, 17; VI, 207; Smyth, Simeon and Church Order, 240n.

190. John Pugh (1732-1816?), son of David Pugh of Dolgelly, Merionethshire, matriculated from Jesus College on March 27, 1750, and graduated B.A. in 1754. He must have moved to Hertford College later. He became Rector of Newport, Pembrokeshire (Foster, op. cit., II, 1161). He is in all probability to be identified with the ' Mr. Pugh ' in John Wesley's Journal, V, 483; VI, 163, and in Seymour, op. cit., I, 422 . He is to be distinguished from John Pugh, the Evangelical Vicar of Rauceby and Cranwell, Lincolnshire, also a firm friend of Haweis, also from Dolgelly and also at Hertford College, but not until 1767 (Foster, op. cit., II, 1161; Gentleman's Magazine, 1799, i, 440).

191. William Newcome, D.D. (1729-1800), was Vice-Principal of Hertford College, and later Bishop of Dromore 1766, Ossory 1775, Waterford and Lismore 1779, and Archbishop of Armagh 1795 (Foster, op. cit., II, 1015; D.N.B., XL, 322-323; Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae, compiled Henry Cotton, (Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1845-1860), II, 15.).

192. Autobiography, 52-54.

193. Ibid., 52.

194. John Pickering (1739-), son of the Rev. John Pickering, of Mackworth, Derbyshire, matriculated from New College on March 30, 1757 (Foster, op. cit., II, 1113).

195. William Makepeace Thackeray, The History of Pendennis, Chapter XXVII.

196. Autobiography, 57.

197. Thomas Bliss (1738-1802), son of Nathaniel Bliss, Astronomer Royal and Professor in Oxford University. Hunt, op. cit.,

80, gives the date of his birth as 1742, but Foster, op. cit., II, 124, says he matriculated from Merton College on June 13, 1755, aged seventeen. He moved to Christ Church in 1758, and graduated B.A. in 1759.

198. Evangelical Magazine, 1802, 338. cf. Seymour, op. cit., I, 391. Bliss must have been more than sixteen at the time. Romaine occasionally preached for Haweis at St. Mary Magdalene (Autobiography, 62).

199. Evangelical Magazine, 1802, 339.

200. Augustus Montagu Toplady (1741-1778), son of Major Richard Toplady, was educated at Westminster School and Trinity College, Dublin (admitted pensioner, July 11, 1758; graduated B.A. 1760). He was ordained deacon (Bath and Wells) in 1762 and priest (Bath and Wells) in 1764. After serving as Curate at Blagdon, Somerset, and Farleigh, near Hungerford, he became Rector of Harpford and Venn Ottery, Devonshire, in 1766, and in 1768 Vicar of Broad Hembury. See Joseph Maycock, Augustus Toplady, Hymn Writer and Theologian, (Edinburgh University Ph.D. Thesis); D.N.B., LVII, 57; E. Middleton, Biographia Evangelica, IV, 474-488; Barker and Stenning, op. cit., II, 923; Supp. I40.

201. Seymour, op. cit., I, 391.

202. Autobiography, 46.

203. Foster, op. cit., II, 1136.

204. Cradock Glascott (1743-1831): see Seymour, op. cit., I, II, passim.

205. Foster, op. cit., II, 528.

206. Foster, op. cit., II, 528, gives his death as August II, 1831 and is a more reliable authority than Seymour, op. cit., II, 464, who has August 18, 1830.

207. James Ireland was a wealthy merchant living at Brislington, near Bristol. He was a friend of Lady Huntingdon, John Wesley, John William Fletcher and William Romaine (J. Wesley, Letters, VIII, 248).

208. William Jesse (1739-1814) was the son of the Rev. William Jesse, of Wellington, Somerset. He matriculated from Trinity College, Oxford, on March 26, 1757, and graduated B.A. in 1761. After he had served in Yorkshire, Lord Dartmouth presented him to the West Bromwich curacy. He began to itinerate for Lady Huntingdon in 1766. He was later Rector of Dowles and Ribblesford, Worcestershire (Foster, op. cit., II, 753; Seymour, op. cit., I, II, passim; Gentleman's Magazine, 1814, ii, 679; 1815, i, 87-88). For his correspondence with Lord Dartmouth, see Historical Manuscripts

Commission, 15th Report, Appendix, Pt. I, III, 272-273, 274-275.

209. Seymour, op. cit., I, 487.

210. See Note 28 of this Chapter.

211. Autobiography, 70.

212. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Martha Tregenna, n.d.

213. Autobiography, 49. Haweis probably preached in some of the Evangelical parishes whose incumbents constituted the Truro Clerical Club. In a MS letter to William Rawlings, n.d., he revealed acquaintance with Penryn.

214. Henry Venn (1724-1797), son of Richard Venn, Rector of St. Antholin's, London, and a High Churchman, was educated at Pitman's Academy, Market Street, Hertfordshire, and St. John's College, Cambridge, which he entered in June, 1742. He removed to Jesus College, from which he graduated B.A. in 1745 and M.A. in 1749. He was elected a Fellow of Queens' in the latter year. He was ordained deacon (London) in 1747, and served as Curate of St. Matthew's, Friday Street, London, and of West Horsley, near Guildford, Surrey, from 1750 to 1754. In 1754 he became Curate of Clapham, in 1759 Vicar of Huddersfield and in 1771 Vicar of Yelling, Huntingdonshire. For his life, see Henry Venn, The Life and a Selection of the Letters of the late Henry Venn, (London: Hatchard, 1835); the Venn MSS are in the possession of Dr. J.A. Venn, President of Queens' College, Cambridge, the great-grandson of Henry Venn. The London Churches where he held Lectureships, and where Haweis would preach, were St. Alban's, Wood Street, St. Swithin's, London Gate, and St. Antholin's.

215. Thomas Broughton (1712-1777) was one of the Wesleys' Holy Club members when at Exeter College, Oxford. In 1736 he became Curate at the Tower of London and in 1741 was chosen Lecturer of All Hallows, Lombard Street and finally Rector of Wotton. He was Secretary of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge from 1743 until his death. Both Seymour, op. cit., I, 223, and Venn, op. cit., 19, call him Bryan Broughton. For his life, see Tyerman, Oxford Methodists, 334-360; D.N.B., VI, 464-465.

216. Autobiography, 62. cf. Seymour, op. cit., II, 223-224; J.C. Ryle, The Christian Leaders of the Last Century, (London: Nelson, 1869), 292. It is significant that John Venn, in the memoir of his father's life, contained in the above-mentioned work edited by Henry Venn, makes no reference to Haweis' influence. At other points, too, he is anxious to suppress any connection Venn may have had with "irregular" clergy.

217. Unhappily this correspondence seems to have disappeared. No part of it is included in any of the Haweis' collections, and

Dr. J.A. Venn informs me that there is no trace of it in the surviving Venn MSS.

218. q.v. infra, 77-78.

219. Autobiography, 62. John Wesley included Haweis in the list of Evangelical clergymen to whom he appealed in 1764. The name was added in the copy sent to Lady Huntingdon, on April 20 (J. Wesley, Letters, IV, 239).

220. Andrew Gifford, D.D. (1700-1784), son of a Baptist minister, became assistant to his father in Bristol in 1726, and pastor of Eagle Street, London, in 1730. He was Chaplain to Sir Richard Ellys. In 1757 he was appointed Assistant Librarian at the British Museum (D.N.B., XXI, 300; Tyerman, Life of Whitefield, II, 243-244, 374, 461; Wilson, op. cit., I, 439; Nichols, op. cit., V, 461, VI, 367; Edward Edwards, Lives of the Founders of the British Museum, (London: Trübner, 1870), I, 345).

221. Sidney, Life of Walker, 529. This was the house to which Lord Dartmouth brought his bride in 1755 (Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report on the MSS of Reginald Rowden Hastings, ed. Francis Bickley, (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1934), III, 95).

222. Burnett was by now Vicar of Elland, after spending two years as Henry Venn's Curate at Huddersfield (H. Venn, Life of Henry Venn, 81-82; Sidney, Life of Walker, 511-512; Sidney, Life of Richard Hill, 93-94).

223. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to an unnamed recipient, June 30, 1761. Sidney, Life of Walker, 539, suggested Thomas Adam as the addressee, and a handwriting test (the date with which the letter is headed is in different ink and hand from that of the writer, and seems thus to be the endorsement of the recipient) tends to confirm the probability of this conjecture. I am indebted to the Rev. Frank Baker, B.A., B.D., Secretary of the Wesley Historical Society, for examining the original script and comparing it with known handwriting of Thomas Adam.

224. Letter Lord Dartmouth to William Rawlings, July 3, 1761, Sidney, Life of Walker, 543.

225. Letter Lord Dartmouth to William Rawlings, July 17, 1761, Sidney, Life of Walker, 552.

226. John Gambold (1711-1771), a Welshman, was one of the early Oxford Methodists. He was instituted to the living of Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire, in 1733. Here he remained until 1742, when he seceded to the Moravians. He became an Assistant Bishop in 1754 (Tyerman, Oxford Methodists, 155-200; D.N.B., XX, 396-397; Arminian Magazine, 1814, 3-12).

227. Autobiography, 30.

228. Benjamin Latrobe (1728-1786) came of Huguenot stock. As a Baptist Divinity student he established a religious society in Dublin according to the Methodist plan. He found his spiritual home in the Unitas Fratrum and in 1757 became pastor at Fulneck. In 1768 he was appointed General Superintendent of the Moravian work in Great Britain. He maintained cordial relations with several leaders of the Revival (J.E. Hutton, A History of the Moravian Church, (London: Moravian Publication Office, 1909), 438-441; R.T. Jenkins, The Moravian Brethren in North Wales, (London: Cymmrodorion Society, 1938), 162-164; W.G. Addison, The Renewed Church of the United Brethren, (London: S.P.C.K., 1932), 194; D.N.B., XXXII, 183).

229. Thomas Powys (d.1774), of Berwick, Shropshire, was a gentleman of large fortune and high connections. He and his wife were friends of Lady Huntingdon and active Evangelicals. Mrs. Powys became the second wife of Sir Rowland Hill on September 23, 1776 (Seymour, op. cit., I, 375n.; Tyerman, Life of Whitefield, II, 495; Sidney, Life of Richard Hill, 210-212; J. Wesley, Journal, V, 33In.).

230. William Talbot (1717-1774), eldest son of Major-General Sir Sherington Talbot and grandson of William Talbot, Bishop of Durham 1722-1730 (le Neve, op. cit., III, 296-297), was educated at Exeter College, Oxford (matriculated March 1, 1737; graduated B.A. in 1744 and M.A. in 1745. He was Vicar of Kington from 1745 to 1768 and Rector of St. Giles, Reading, from 1768 to 1774 (J.W. Middleton, Ecclesiastical Memoir, 64-65; Smyth, Simeon and Church Order, 205-207; Foster, op. cit., II, 1385; Seymour, op. cit., II, 395-396; Tyerman, Life of Whitefield, II, 399-401). Seymour and Tyerman both supply Talbot with a fictitious Ll.D. For an account of Talbot by Haweis himself, in a letter to Walker, July 16, 1759, see Sidney, Life of Walker, 479-481.

231. Thomas Haweis, An Impartial and Succinct History of the Rise, Declension and Revival of the Church of Christ, (London: Mawman, 1800), III, 244.

232. She was formerly a Miss Eyles (J.W. Middleton, Ecclesiastical Memoir, 64). There is a short account of her in Samuel Burder, Memoirs of Eminent Pious Women of the British Empire, (London: Ogles, Duncan and Cochrane, 1815), II, 272-280.

233. Letter Samuel Walker to Thomas Adam, October 22, 1759, Sidney, Life of Walker, 493.

234. John Hume, D.D. (-1782), Bishop of Oxford 1758-1766, was translated to the see of Salisbury in 1766, where he remained until his death (le Neve, op. cit., II, 611, III, 479).

235. Joseph Browne, D.D. (1701-1767) was Vice-Chancellor from 1759 to 1765. He had been Provost of Queen's in 1756 and 1757 and was Sedleian Professor of Natural Philosophy from 1741 to 1767 (Foster, op. cit., II, 175; Wood, History of the University of

Oxford, 149).

236. Haweis gave his nephew's name as Grindall, but Foster does not list a student of that name at this period.

237. Autobiography, 67.

238. The prison at the North Gate, famous for the incarceration of Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer (Hurst, op. cit., 70).

239. vide supra, 61.

240. Autobiography, 69.

241. Letter Lord Dartmouth to Richard Hill, June 25, 1762, Sidney, Life of Richard Hill, 83.

242. Ibid. Either Lord Dartmouth confused Jane and Jones, or the transcriber misread the original. Thomas Jones died on June 6, 1762 (vide infra, 81), and the second reference is undoubtedly to him.

243. Letter Lord Dartmouth to Richard Hill, July 6, 1762, Sidney, Life of Richard Hill, 85.

244. Ibid., 86.

245. Autobiography, 70.

246. Ibid., 72. Haweis, Church History, III, 247-248; Life of Romaine, 62-63.

247. Hume was elected to Salisbury on August 20, 1766 (le Neve, op. cit., II, 611).

248. John Rogers (1717-1773), son of the Rev. John Rogers, of Bradford, Wiltshire, was educated at Oriel College, Oxford (matriculated March 13, 1735; graduated B.A. in 1738 and M.A. in 1741). He was the Evangelical Vicar of Warminster from 1743 to 1773. His Curate, for a time, was Richard Hart, one of Joseph Jane's proteges (Foster, op. cit., II, 1220; Henry Wansey and Sir Richard Colt Hoare, The History of Modern Wiltshire, Hundred of Warminster, (London: Nichols, 1831), 27; Seymour, op. cit., II, 358n.).

249. Haweis, Church History, III, 428. Haweis heard the story from a friend of Rogers.

250. Joseph Jane was Rector of Iron Acton from 1763 until 1789. The living was in the gift of the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church (Autobiography, 80; Diocese of Oxford, Ordinations, etc., Bk. 21, folio 46 V; Samuel Rudder, A New History of Gloucestershire, (Cirencester: Rudder, 1779), 213-216).

251. Autobiography, 72.

252. John Gadsby, Memoirs of the Principal Hymn Writers and
Compilers of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, (London:
Gadsby, 1855), 65.

CHAPTER THREE

1. Haweis was the first of several notable Assistants, including Thomas Scott, the commentator, and Charles de Coetlogon.

2. Martin Madan (1726-1790), son of Martin Madan, M.P. for Hertingfordbury, was educated at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford (matriculated February 9, 1743; graduated B.A. in 1746). He was called to the Bar in the Inner Temple in 1748, and ordained in 1750. He served as Chaplain to the Lock Hospital from 1750 until 1780 (D.N.B., XXXV, 288; Barker and Stenning, op. cit., II, 612; Foster, op. cit., II, 900; Seymour, op. cit., I, II, passim; British Museum, Additional MSS, 5832, folio 84).

3. Spencer Madan, D.D. (1730-1813) was Bishop of Peterborough from 1794 until 1813 (Le Neve, op. cit., II, 537).

4. Seymour, op. cit., I, 165-166.

5. Tyerman, Life of Whitefield, II, 263.

6. Whitefield, Works, III, 214.

7. Autobiography, 77.

8. 'Loke' may in turn be derived from the Old French 'loques,' referring to the linen rags applied to the sores of the sufferers, or perhaps from the Saxon 'log' or 'loc,' equivalent to 'shut' or 'closed,' referring to the isolated condition of the leper (Edward Walford, Old and New London, (London: Cassell, Petter and Galpin, n.d.), V, 14; Thomas Pennant, Some Account of London, (London: Faulder, 1793), 59).

9. There was another Lock Hospital at Kingsland (Walford, op. cit., V, 527-528).

10. Anthony Highmore, Pietas Londiniensis, (London: Phillipps, 1810), 146-147.

11. MS Letter Martin Madan to Judith Wordsworth, June 16, 1761.

12. Cadogan, Life of Romaine, 13. Romaine had preached in 1746 at the institution of the Hospital. Madan also preached at the Chapel opening.

13. David Hughson, London, (London: Stratford, 1805), VI, 573-574.

14. i.e. Romaine.

15. Haweis, Life of Romaine, 76. The Gospel Magazine for 1797, 240, reviewing the above book, accused Haweis of ingratitude to Madan in not mentioning him here. The reason for Haweis' omission was no doubt the scandal associated with the publication of Madan's Thelyphthora (1780), in which he advocated polygamy as a means of protecting the rights of women. Madan resigned his Chaplaincy and retired to Epsom after the appearance of his unfortunate work, and thereafter his name was not mentioned in Evangelical circles, except when it was necessary to point out that his strange beliefs were not to be regarded as representative of Evangelicalism.
16. H. Venn, Life of Henry Venn, 26.
17. J.W. Middleton, Ecclesiastical Memoir, 43.
18. Letter to a friend, Romaine, Works, VIII, 188, quoted in Balleine, op. cit., 52.
19. vide supra, Chapter II, Note 36.
20. Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense, compiled George Hennessy, (London: Swan, Sonnenschein, 1898), 138.
21. Balleine, op. cit., 53-54.
22. Ibid., 54.
23. Haweis, Life of Romaine, 82-83; Evangelical Magazine 1795, 447.
24. Haweis, Life of Romaine, 52. The Collegiate Church of St. Saviour, Southwark, also known as St. Marie Ouerie, became Southwark Cathedral in 1905. Before the Reformation it was in the hands of priors, but afterwards " the Church was usually served by two ' preaching Chaplains ' of independent powers " (W. Thompson, The History and Antiquities of the Collegiate Church of St. Saviour, Southwark, (London: Elliott, Stock, 1904), 135).
25. He matriculated as sizar from King's College in Lent, 1746, and graduated B.A. in 1751 and M.A. in 1754 (J. Venn and J.A. Venn, op. cit., II, 488).
26. For his conversion, see Tyerman, The Life and Times of John Wesley, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1880), II, 324.
27. J.W. Middleton, Ecclesiastical Memoir, 46. This must have been very shortly after Haweis arrived in London.
28. Romaine, Works, 817-828.
29. Louis F. Benson, " The Hymnody of the Evangelical Revival "

30. Romaine, Works, V, 478, quoted in Hunt, op. cit., 41.

31. The full title was: A Collection of Psalms and Hymns, extracted from various authors, and published by the Reverend Mr. Madan, London, printed by Henry Cock, and sold at the Lock Hospital, near Hyde Park, 1760. It was clearly modelled on Whitefield's Hymns for Social Worship (1753).

32. Several of Haweis' hymns were later included in the Lock Collection. The Lock Chapel became famous not only for hymn singing, but for its annual performances of oratorio, for the introduction of which Madan and Haweis were responsible. John Wesley heard Arne's "Judith" there in 1764 and "Ruth" in 1765 (J. Wesley, Journal, V, 47). Haweis wrote the libretto of the latter (MS Letter John Newton to Thomas Haweis, November 29, 1763, and the previous one in the series, n.d.).

33. Autobiography, 73.

34. The Poetical Works of Robert Browning, (London: Smith, Elder, 1896), I, 25 (from " Paracelsus ").

35. Sidney Stafford Smythe (1705-1778) and his wife, the daughter of Sir Charles Farnaby, were earnest Evangelicals. He was appointed a Baron of the Exchequer in 1756 and Lord Chief Baron in 1772 (D.N.B., LIII, 198; Edward Foss, The Judges of England, (London: Murray, 1848-1864), VII, 369-371; Walpole, Letters, IV, 74, VII, 220; Annual Register, 1778, 227). John Nichols, Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century, (London: Nichols and Bentley, 1817-1858), describes him as " the ugliest man in Britain " (III, 809). Seymour, op. cit., I, refers to him as Sir Sidney Halford Smythe (392), and Tyerman, Life of Whitefield, II, 416, repeats the slip.

36. Lady Gertrude Hotham (d. 1775), sister of Lord Chesterfield, opened her house to Whitefield's preaching, and was a friend of John Wesley (Tyerman, Life of Whitefield, II, 345; Alfred H. New, The Coronet and the Cross, (London: Partridge, 1858), 80, 124; The Letters of Philip Dormer Stanhope, Fourth Earl of Chesterfield, ed. Bonamy Dobree, (London: King's Printers, 1932), 220, 967, 2669, 2900, 2902; Seymour, op. cit., I, II, passim). Tyerman, Life of Whitefield, II, 258, makes Lady Gertrude the daughter of Lord Chesterfield.

37. Sir Charles Hotham (d. 1767) married Clara Anne Clütterbuck in 1757. Her death in 1759 first led him towards religious truth. He was Groom of the Bedchamber to George III, and died in Germany, where he had gone for health reasons (Seymour, op. cit., I, 456-458; Tyerman, Life of Whitefield, II, 415; Chesterfield, Letters, passim). Madan's tune ' Hotham, ' set to Charles Wesley's ' Jesu, Lover of my soul, ' was named after Sir Charles.

38. Brighton, opened 1760 (Francis F. Bretherton, The Count-ess of Huntingdon, (London: Epworth Press, 1940), 37); Oathall, opened 1761 (Seymour, op. cit., I, 316).

39. Haweis, Church History, III, 247.

40. Letter John Wesley to Lady Huntingdon, January 8, 1764, Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, XXVII, 3.

41. John Berridge (1716-1793), son of John Berridge, farmer, of Kingston, Nottinghamshire, was educated at Clare Hall, Cambridge (admitted pensioner, June 12, 1735; graduated B.A. in 1739 and M.A. in 1742; Fellow 1740-1755; Taxor 1756). He was ordained deacon (Lincoln) in 1745 (March 10) and priest (Ely) in the same year (June 9). He served as Curate of Stapleford, near Cambridge, from 1750 to 1755, and Vicar of Everton and Tetworth, Huntingdonshire, from 1755 to 1793. For his life, see the Memoir prefixed to The Whole Works of John Berridge, ed. Richard Whittingham, (London: Palmer, 1864); Tyerman, Life of Wesley, II, 309-314, 331-332; D.N.B., IV, 393-394; Evangelical Magazine, 1793, 8-20; J. Venn and J.A. Venn, op. cit., I, 139. It is interesting to note that Monsignor R.A. Knox, op. cit., 488-489, shows appreciation of Berridge's quaint style and defends him from the strictures of Southey and Newman.

42. Autobiography, 77. Francis, Tenth Earl of Huntingdon (d.1789) was a Privy Councillor in 1760 and Lord Lieutenant of the West Riding of Yorkshire in 1762. He was under the influence of his godfather, Lord Chesterfield, and his failure to share his mother's religious experience was a great sorrow to her (Seymour, op. cit., I, 115, 458; Historical Manuscripts Commission, Hastings MSS, ed. Bickley, III, 134-136, 142).

43. William Bromfield (1712-1792): see D.N.B. VI, 398.

44. " The City Match " (1639), by Jaspar Maine.

45. Joseph Townsend (1739-1816) was the fourth son of Alderman Chauncy Townsend. For his life, see D.N.B., LVII, 106-107; Boase, op. cit., 1272; Seymour, op. cit., I, 287, 290, II, 42.

46. Chauncy Townsend was M.P. for Westbury, Wiltshire, from 1754 to 1758. He died in 1770. (Robert Beatson, A Chronological Register of both Houses of the British Parliament, (London: Longmans, 1807), I, 220, II, 296.).

47. He graduated B.A. in 1762 and M.A. in 1765. Seymour, op. cit., II, says that Townsend " at one time studied physic under Dr. Cullen, at Edinburgh, where he had for a fellow student Dr. Haweis " (41-42). A search of the Edinburgh University Registers reveals that Joseph Townsend attended the classes of Professors William Cullen and John Hope in the year 1762-1763 and those of Monro, Whyte, Rutherford and Young in addition in 1763-1764

There is no mention, however, of Haweis, and this part of Seymour's statement must therefore be reckoned amongst his numerous inaccuracies. John Telford, in J. Wesley, Letters, V, 57, no doubt relying upon Seymour, makes the same mistake. Townsend was Rector of Pewsey, Wiltshire, from 1765 to 1816. He itinerated for Lady Huntingdon.

48. See Bibliography.
49. MS Letter Martin Madan to Judith Wordsworth, May 14, 1761.
50. MS Letter Martin Madan to Judith Wordsworth, August 5, 1761.
51. MS Letter Martin Madan to Judith Wordsworth, May 14, 1761.
52. Judith married John Wordsworth in 1758, according to Seymour, op. cit., I, 467n.
53. MS Letter John Newton to Thomas Haweis, February 7, 1763.
54. MS Letter John Newton to Thomas Haweis, September 26, (1763).
55. MS Letter John Newton to Thomas Haweis, July 18, 1763.
56. MS Letter John Newton to Thomas Haweis, August 14, 1763.
57. Bull, John Newton, 99, 100.
58. MS Letter John Newton to Thomas Haweis, January 7, 1763.
59. MS Letter John Newton to Thomas Haweis, April 24, 1763.
60. MS Letter John Newton to Thomas Haweis, March 19, 1763.
61. MS Letter John Newton to Thomas Haweis, January 10, 1764.
62. Haweis kept up his friendship with the Powys! They met in London occasionally; Letter Charles Wesley to his wife, May 28, 1764: "Near three hours this morning I spent with Mrs. Powys at Mr. Madan's. Mr. Venn and Haweis were of the party. All send greeting" (MS in the possession of the Rev. Frank Baker, B.A., B.D., Secretary of the Wesley Historical Society).
63. The Works of John Newton, ed. Richard Cecil, (Edinburgh: Brown and Nelson, 1834), 32; Bull, op. cit., 109.
64. Bull, op. cit., 114 (September 2, 1762).
65. Ibid.
66. vide supra, Chapter I, Note 59.

67. Incorporated in The Evangelical Expositor (see Chapter IV, II2-II8.

68. MS Letter John Newton to Thomas Haweis, January 7, 1763.

69. The " notes on the Fifth Chapter " mentioned in the diary (Bull, op. cit., II6) would thus appear to refer to Matthew rather than to Acts.

70. MS Letter John Newton to Thomas Haweis, July 18, 1763, in which Newton said he had made some " petty remarks here and there," and August 14, 1763, in which he confessed: " You will perceive that I can be of little service to you as a reviser. But what I can I have attempted. "

71. Bull, op. cit., I20.

72. MS Letter John Newton to Thomas Haweis, September 26, 1763.

73. MS Letter John Newton to Thomas Haweis, October 17, 1763.

74. MS Letter John Newton to Thomas Haweis, November 1, 1763.

75. Newton, Works, 423-519. Newton sent it to Haweis for criticism before publication (Letter John Newton to Lord Dartmouth, October 25, 1768, in Historical Manuscripts Commission, 15th Report, Appendix, Pt. I, The Manuscripts of the Earl of Dartmouth, III, (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1896), 189).

76. Bull, op. cit., I69.

77. Joseph Milner (1744-1797), Master of Hull Grammar School, adopted Evangelical views in 1770. He served as Vicar of North Ferriby and, for a few weeks before his death, as Vicar of Holy Trinity, Hull (D.N.B., XXXVIII, I7; Evangelical Magazine, 1798, I33-I38, I810, 417-423; Gentleman's Magazine, 1820, i, 370). The History of the Church of Christ had only reached its third volume when Milner died (I, 1794; II, 1795; III, 1797).

78. Sir James Stephen, Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography, (London: Longmans, Green, 1883), 436.

79. Brilioth, op. cit., 35.

80. Benjamin Fawcett, pastor of the Old Meeting House, Kidderminster? (William Urwick, Nonconformity in Worcester, (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, 1897), 209)

81. Bull, op. cit., II6.

82. MS Letter John Newton to Thomas Haweis, January 23, 1763.

83. MS Letter John Newton to Thomas Haweis, April 24, 1763.

84. John Newton, Letters, Sermons and a Review of Ecclesiastical History, (Edinburgh: Murray and Cochran, 1780), I, 3.

85. Stephen, op. cit., 405. Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity was one of the works Newton read (Bull, op. cit., 99).

86. Newton, Works, 32.

87. Bull, op. cit., 104.

88. Arminian Magazine, 1780, 441.

89. Caleb Warhurst (1723-1765), of Stockport, was ordained as an Independent minister in 1756 and was pastor of Cannon Street Church, Manchester (B. Nightingale, Lancashire Nonconformity, (Manchester: Heywood, 1890), V, 108-116).

90. James Scott (1710-1783), of Berwick-on-Tweed, was ordained as an Independent minister in 1741 and served first at Tockholes, and then at Heckmondwike as pastor and tutor at the Dissenting College there (Nightingale, op. cit., I, 294-295).

91. Letter John Newton to Caleb Warhurst, August 1762, Bull, op. cit., 113-114.

92. Bull, op. cit., 116.

93. MS Letter John Newton to Thomas Haweis, January 7, 1763.

94. Bull, op. cit., 117-118.

95. MS Letter John Newton to Thomas Haweis, March 19, 1763.

96. MS Letter John Newton to Thomas Haweis, May 19, 1763.

97. Ibid. William Grimshaw died on April 7, 1763 (John Wesley dated it as 1762, Journal, IV, 496; for a discussion of the error, see Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, V, 59). John Richardson was eventually presented.

98. John Edwards, Independent minister of Leeds (Nightingale, op. cit., South Lancashire, 267; Seymour, op. cit., I, 359).

99. Titus Knight, Independent minister of Halifax (Nightingale, op. cit., South Lancashire, 267).

100. MS Letters John Newton to Thomas Haweis, December 30, 1763, January 31 and February 7, 1764.

101. MS Letter John Newton to Thomas Haweis, February 7, 1764, Bull, op. cit., 120.

102. Bull, op. cit., 120-121 (February 6, 1763).

- I03. Bull, op. cit., I2I.
- I04. Seymour, op. cit., II, 36.
- I05. Bull, op. cit., I2I.
- I06. MS Letter John Newton to Thomas Haweis, February 26, I764.
- I07. Bull, op. cit., I2I.
- I08. John Green, Bishop of Lincoln from I76I to I779 (le Neve, op. cit., II, 28).
- I09. Sir James Stephen, for example, speaking of Newton's wish to enter the ministry, says: " he was enabled to gratify this desire by the counsels, and by the united influence, of Richard Cecil, of the Earl of Dartmouth, and of Young, the author of the " Night Thoughts. " They not only induced him to seek, but enabled him to find, admission as a pastor in the episcopal fold " (op. cit., 405). Edward Young certainly encouraged Newton to seek orders, but made no practical contribution towards securing them for him (Bull, op. cit., I03). Richard Cecil was hardly in a position to be of assistance in this latter direction since he was only fifteen at the time (The Works of Richard Cecil..... with a Memoir of his Life, ed. Josiah Pratt, (London: Seeley, I838), I, 3).
- There is no mention of Haweis in the accounts of Balleine, op. cit., I03, or Abbey and Overton, op. cit., 378-380.
- IIO. Autobiography, 87. Jones' successor was William Day (Thompson, op. cit., I35).
- III. Autobiography, 80.
- II2. Seymour, op. cit., I, 326; Romaine, Works, 678.
- II3. Autobiography, 78.
- II4. This was variously denominated Broadway Chapel, Westminster Chapel, New Way Chapel. It was originally a Chapel of ease to St. Margaret's, Westminster and was built c. I63I on a piece of waste ground belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster (T. Francis Bumpus, London Churches, Ancient and Modern, (London:), II, I40). It stood at the west end of the great almonry opposite the entrance to Jeffrey's Buildings from New Tottenham Street (Walford, op. cit., IV, 20). Christ Church, Broadway, was built in I843 on the same site (*ibid.*, 2I). Only the blitzed shell now remains.
- II5. Haweis, in his Life of Romaine (78), called him ' Mr. Briant.' As D.G. Davis has demonstrated, op. cit., I59-I60, this must refer to Francis Bryars of St. Clement Dane's who, on May 2I, I754, was granted a lease of ground and four tenements " belonging and part of the Chapel.....on the west side of a street called

the New Way " (Westminster Chapter Book). In June, 1759, the Dean of Westminster held a visitation of the Abbey, parishes and Chapel. Francis Bryars is recorded as officiating at the New Way Chapel (ibid.). Bryars' will was proved on July 12, 1763 (Principal Probate Registry, London).

II6. Zachariah Pearce (1690-1774) was Bishop of Rochester from 1756 until 1774. The Deanery of Westminster had been held in commendam with the see since 1666 (D.N.B., XLIV, 151-152; le Neve, op. cit., III, 349).

II7. Haweis, Life of Romaine, 79.

II8. Ibid., 80.

II9. Ibid. February 2, 1764 is the date recorded in the Westminster Chapter Book (Davis, op. cit., 161). Pearce had already prohibited Whitefield's preaching in Long Acre (Tyerman, Life of Whitefield, II, 365).

I20. Haweis left some account of them in the Autobiography, and also subscribed to Martin Madan's An Answer to a Pamphlet entitled, A Faithful Narrative of Facts Relative to the late Presentation of Mr. H-----s to the Rectory of A--w---le, in Northamptonshire, (London: Dilly, 1767). At the end of the first part of this pamphlet by Madan (" A True State of the Facts," 1-18) Haweis added: " As far as any of the preceding account relates to me, or any part of the affair in which I was personally engaged, I do, to the best of my knowledge and belief, affirm the same to be just and true " (18). The following summary is drawn chiefly from these sources.

I21. Samuel Brewer (1723-1796) was a convert of Dr. Guyse. He was ordained as an Independent minister in 1746 (D.E. Jenkins, Life of Charles, I, 59n.; Bull, op. cit., passim; Evangelical Magazine, 1796, 299, 1797, 5-18).

I22. Autobiography, 83.

I23. He was so described in the will of William Fleetwood, October 20, 1747 (Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury).

I24. The trust of the living was surrendered to Kimpton by heirs of Francis Barrel and Sir Andrew St. John, who were made trustees of the whole estate by a decree in Chancery ((John Kimpton) A Faithful Narrative of Facts...., (London: Privately printed, 1767), I).

I25. Ibid., 2.

I26. Presentative advowsons were held in trust under the Bishop, and if no presentation to a void benefice was made within six months, the right reverted to him (Robert Phillimore, The Ecclesiastical Law of the Church of England, (London: Sweet, 1873), 471).

I27. Madan's legal training, of course, gave him qualifications above the ordinary.

I28. The purchase of void presentations was forbidden by Canon Law as simoniacal, I3 Ann., Chap XI, para. 2 (J.H. Blunt, The Book of Church Law of the Church of England, (London: Longmans, Green, 1921), 231-232).

I29. " If any incumbent of any benefice with cure of souls shall corruptly resign the same, or corruptly take for or in respect of the resigning the same, directly or indirectly, any pension, sum of money, or other benefit whatsoever: as well the giver, as the taker, of any such pension, sum of money, or other benefit corruptly, shall lose double the value of the sum given, taken or had; half to the Queen, and half to him that shall sue for the same in any of Her Majesty's courts of record " 3I Eliz. c.b. S. 7 (Phillimore, op. cit., 32I).

I30. Madan, An Answer....., xii.

I31. The last two paragraphs are condensed from Madan, An Answer....., 2-7; Autobiography, 84.

I32. Kimpton, A Faithful Narrative of Facts..... , 6.

I33. Madan, An Answer....., 7.

I34. Terrick was Bishop of Peterborough from 1757 to 1764 (le Neve, op. cit., II, 537).

I35. Richard Osbaldeston was Bishop of London from 1762 to 1764 (le Neve, op. cit., II, 305).

I36. Madan, An Answer....., 8,9; Autobiography, 84; Kimpton, A Faithful Narrative of Facts, 8,9.

I37. Boase, op. cit., 335. Morison has 1763, op. cit., II, 180.

I38. Abraham Maddock (1713-1785) was trained as an attorney. He was ordained deacon (London) in 1757 and priest (Peterborough) in 1759. In 1761 he went as Curate of Kettering and in 1773 as Curate of Creton (J.W. Middleton, Ecclesiastical Memoir, 65-67; F. Middleton, Biographia Evangelica, IV, 491-496).

I39. It is addressed to " My lovely Nan." Haweis confessed it
" hard to define
Whether 'tis writ in prose or rhyme.
For if 'tis rhyme, the verse is bad;
You'll think it only prose run mad. "

CHAPTER FOUR

1. The name was variously spelled in different periods, e.g., Aldevincle, Eldewincle, Audewyncle, Ardewinkle, Aldwyncle. In Haweis' time it was Aldwinckle or Aldwinkle (A History of the County of Northampton, Victoria County Histories, III, ed. William Page, (Westminster: Constable, 1930), 164; The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire, compiled Peter Whalley (from MSS of John Bridges), (Oxford: Payne, 1791), II, 208).
2. A History of the County of Northampton, Victoria County Histories, I, ed. W. Ryland, D. Adkins, R.M. Serjeanson, (Westminster: Constable, 1902), 316, 365, 343.
3. London Gazette, December 5, 1879, No. 7201.
4. George Smith, The Life of William Carey, Shoemaker and Missionary, (London: Murray, 1887), 15.
5. With the exception of the South porch which has recently been damaged by the fall of a tree during a severe storm.
6. The chancel was restored in 1863. The architectural details are to be found in A History of the County of Northampton, III, 166-167, and Bridges, op. cit., II, 208-210.
7. Elmes Spinkes purchased the manorial estate from William Fleetwood in 1699 (Bridges, op. cit., II, 209). The chantry chapel is praised for its architectural beauty by A. Hamilton Thompson, The Ground Plan of the English Parish Church, (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1911), 121.
8. Bridges, op. cit., II, 210.
9. Henry and Thomas Thomson.
10. In 1903 four of these were removed to form part of a new ring at Aldwincle St. Peter. The remaining tenor was recast.
11. In addition to the poem quoted above (105), Haweis described his prayer in the belfry in the Autobiography, 97.
12. Autobiography, 85.
13. June 4, according to Kimpton, A Faithful Narrative of Facts....., 10.
14. Madan, An Answer....., 9; Autobiography, 90.
15. Ibid.

16. Erasmus Dryden, of Tichmarsh, married Mary Pickering on October 21, 1630. Henry Pickering was Rector from 1592 to 1657 (The Visitations of the County of Northampton in the year 1681, ed. Henry Isham Longden, (London: Harleian Society, 1935), 66; J. Venn and J.A. Venn, op. cit., II, 359; Peile, op. cit., I, 174; Bridges, op. cit., II, 210). For a full description and photograph of the Rectory, see J. Alfred Gotch, Squire's Homes, and other Old Buildings of Northamptonshire, (London: Batsford, 1939), 10, 11. The house was purchased in 1895 by Colonel Milne-Redhead. It is now owned by Captain L.O. Micklem, and bears the name ' Dryden's House. '

17. Autobiography, 87.

18. Ibid., 98.

19. Ibid., 89.

20. W.M. Macgregor, The Making of a Preacher, The Warrack Lectures, 1942-1943, (London: S.C.M., 1945), 77.

21. Evangelical Magazine, 1796, 72 (cf. Seymour, op. cit., I, 420n.; Morison, op. cit., II, 185).

22. The name is still known in Aldwinckle. The local omnibus proprietor is Mr. Frank Coales.

23. Autobiography, 140. One daughter became servant to John Newton, and T.T. Coales (a grandson) a minister in Lady Huntingdon's Connection (Seymour, op. cit., II, 530).

24. His memorial tablet is to be found on the South wall of All Saints Church. It is inscribed thus: " John Hodgskin, February 10, 1797, aged 57. " Haweis regretted that he had not kept a fuller record of the conversions in his parish. Some are included in Wills, Spiritual Register.

25. Seymour, op. cit., I, 420; Morison, II, 185.

26. Autobiography, 167.

27. Ibid., 140.

28. By an indenture dated December 19, 1765, in performance of the intentions of Henry Wotton in his will, one hundred and twenty twopenny loaves and twelve shillings in money was to be distributed annually amongst the needy (A History of the County of Northampton, III, 168). This was no doubt one amongst many similar bequests.

29. Smyth, Simeon and Church Order, 20.

30. Autobiography, 169, 179, 198.

31. E. and C. Dilly, in the Poultry, near the Mansion House.
32. Autobiography, 88. Haweis was more fortunate in this respect than Thomas Scott, who only received a guinea a number, and was for a time involved in serious financial embarrassment (Abbey and Overton, op. cit., 387).
33. Autobiography, 90.
34. Ibid., 100.
35. He referred to the profit derived from reading Doddridge and Guyse in the Autobiography, 29. For his indebtedness to Gill, see The Evangelical Expositor, (Glasgow: Blackie, 1836), III, 57. The works in question were: Philip Doddridge, The Family Expositor; John Guyse, The Practical Expositor; John Gill, An Exposition of the Old Testament and An Exposition of the New Testament; Matthew Henry, An Exposition of the Old and New Testament.
36. This tendency to borrow from Henry is most noticeable in the early part of The Evangelical Expositor, e.g. I, 10, 21, 96, 262, 386, 434, et al. It seems as if Haweis grew in confidence and capacity, and gradually emancipated himself from an undue reliance upon his acknowledged mentor.
37. e.g. Genesis (I, 3); Ezekiel (II, 611-612); I Corinthians (III, 461-462); Philippians (III, 549); Acts (III, 326-327).
38. Autobiography, 88.
39. Evangelical Expositor, I, 1.
40. The Hon. Walter Shirley (1725-1786), fourth son of the Hon. Lawrence Shirley, of Staunton, Leicestershire, was educated at University College, Oxford (matriculated June 30, 1742; graduated B.A. 1746). He was Rector of Loughrea, Ireland, from 1746 to 1786. He was one of Lady Huntingdon's Chaplains and a leader on the Calvinist side in the 1770 controversy (D.N.B., LII, 139-140; Foster, op. cit., II, 1290; Seymour, op. cit., I, II, passim).
41. Haweis, Evangelical Expositor, I, 1.
42. Ibid., III, 597.
43. Ibid., III, 661.
44. Ibid., III, 11.
45. Ibid., II, 376.
46. Ibid., I, 4; II, 220, 374; III, 597.
47. Ibid., II, 248.

48. Ibid., II, 928.
49. Ibid., III, 66I.
50. Ibid., I, I74.
- 5I. Ibid., III, 597.
52. Ibid., I, 3.
53. Ibid., I, 298.
54. Ibid., I, I69.
55. Ibid., II, 25I.
56. Ibid., I, 229.
57. Ibid., I, 32.
58. Ibid., III, 66I.
59. Ibid., II, 444.
60. Psalm CXIX, I30.
- 6I. Haweis, Evangelical Expositor, II, 25I.
62. Ibid., II, 28I.
63. Ibid., III, 64, 597.
64. Ibid., II, 3I7.
65. Ibid., III, 6I4.
66. Ibid., III, I.
67. Ibid., III, 243.
68. Ibid., I, 38.
69. Ibid., I, 75.
70. Ibid., III, 48I; I Corinthians X, 4.
- 7I. Haweis, Evangelical Expositor, I, 407.
72. Ibid., II, 779.
73. Luthers Werke (Weimar), XVI, 276, 44, IO3-IO4; Heinrich Bornkamm, Luther und das Alte Testament, (Tübingen: Mohr, I948), 86-IO3; John Calvin, The Institutes of the Christian Religion, trans. Henry Beveridge, (London: Clarke, I949), I, II8; A. Mitchell Hunter,

The Teaching of Calvin, (London: Clarke, 1950), 90-92; Wilhelm Vischer, Das Christuszeugnis des Alten Testaments, I, Das Gesetz (München: Kaiser, 1935), II, Die Propheten i (Zurich: Evang. Verlag, 1946); Hans Hellbardt, Das Alte Testament und das Evangelium, (München: Kaiser, 1939); Hans Hellbardt, Das Bild Gottes, Theologische Existenz Heute, Heft 64, (München: Kaiser, 1939). But cf. Professor Norman W. Porteus' criticisms in Scottish Journal of Theology, September 1948, 140-143.

74. Haweis, Evangelical Expositor, II, 79.

75. Ibid., II, 394.

76. Campegius Vitringa, Hypotyposis Historiae Chronologiae Sacrae..... Accedit Typus Doctrinae Propheticae, (Leyden: Halma, 1716).

77. Haweis, Evangelical Expositor, I, 54.

78. Ibid., I, 84.

79. Ibid., I, 91.

80. Ibid., I, 262.

81. Ibid., II, 326.

82. Ibid., I, 583.

83. The Interpretation of the Bible, Edward Alleyn Lectures 1943, ed. Charles W. Dugmore, (London: S.P.C.K., 1944), 121.

84. A.G. Hebert, The Throne of David, (London: Faber and Faber, 1942); The Authority of the Old Testament, (London: Faber and Faber, 1947); "The Interpretation of the Bible," Interpretation, October 1950, 445-450.

85. Haweis, Evangelical Expositor, II, I.

86. Ibid., II, 770.

87. Ibid., II, 880.

88. Ibid., III, 568, 417, 521, 558.

89. Ibid., I, 3, 395; II, 279, 375.

90. Ibid., II, 79.

91. Ibid., III, 607.

92. Ibid., III, 666.

93. Ibid., I, 133.

94. Ibid., I, 264.
95. Ibid., II, 83.
96. Ibid., III, 8.
97. Ibid., III, 61.
98. Ibid., III, 426.
99. Ibid., III, 553.
100. e.g. *ibid.*, II, 416 (on Isaiah IX, 3).
101. Ibid., I, 373, 592.
102. Ibid., III, 6.
103. Ibid., I, 22.
104. Ibid., II, 376.
105. Ibid., II, 441, 514.
106. Ibid., III, 418.
107. Ibid., III, 527.
108. Ibid., III, 427.
109. Ibid., II, 508, 671, 961; III, 15, 67, 83, 431.
110. Ibid., II, 507, 550.
111. Ibid., I, 138-140; III, 14-27.
112. Ibid., I, 272, 340, 343; II, 70, 294, 297, 811; III, 83,
594.
113. Ibid., II, 539.
114. Ibid., I, 357.
115. Ibid., III, 39, 689.
116. Ibid., III, 439.
117. e.g. H.O. Wakeman, An Introduction to the History of the Church of England, (London: Rivingtons, 1898), 451-452; Vernon F. Storr, The Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century, (London: Longmans, Green, 1913), 66-67; S.C. Carpenter, Church and People, (London: S.P.C.K., 1933), 40-41; C.P.S. Clarke, The Oxford Movement and After, (London: Mowbray, 1932), 8.

- I18. Haweis, Evangelical Expositor, II, 171.
- I19. Ibid., II, 615; III, 61.
- I20. Ibid., II, 480.
- I21. Ibid., I, 226, 456.
- I22. Ibid., II, 112, 257.
- I23. Ibid., I, 331.
- I24. Ibid., II, 359.
- I25. Ibid., III, 101, 485.
- I26. Ibid., II, 297.
- I27. Ibid., III, 8,9.
- I28. Ibid., III, 22.
- I29. Ibid., II, 263.
- I30. Ibid., II, 48.
- I31. W.T. Lowndes, The Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature, (London: Bohn, 1857-1864), IV, 1013.
- I32. Jay, Autobiography, 477.
- I33. Public Characters, 1798, 322.
- I34. e.g. Haweis, Evangelical Expositor, I, 33, 265, 352; II, 753; III, 78, 601.
- I35. Hunter, op. cit., 76.
- I36. Stephen, op. cit., 429.
- I37. Kimpton alleged that on this occasion Haweis proposed to purchase the perpetual advowson of Aldwincle (Kimpton, A Faithful Narrative of Facts....., 9).
- I38. i.e. June 4 (ibid., 10).
- I39. Ibid.
- I40. Madan, An Answer....., 10 (September 11, 1764).
- I41. Evidently Evangelical Principles and Practice and The Communicant's Spiritual Companion.

I42. Madan, An Answer...., II. Possibly some business with Dilly, who was publishing The Evangelical Expositor, also occasioned his presence in town.

I43. Kimpton, A Faithful Narrative of Facts...., I2.

I44. Ibid., II.

I45. Ibid., I2.

I46. Ibid., I3; Madan, An Answer...., 44.

I47. Kimpton, A Faithful Narrative of Facts...., I4.

I48. Seymour, op. cit., I, 415. In A Faithful Narrative of Facts, 7, Kimpton averred that Madan had said, when the presentation was first discussed, " Mr. Haweis may give you three or four months' notice of his resignation. " Madan strongly denied ever making such a statement (An Answer...., 25). It is noticeable that Kimpton did not press the point again. Kimpton also claimed that he told Haweis " he came to present him with the living for the purpose intended " (A Faithful Narrative of Facts...., 5). Madan, as a lawyer, scented here an instance of felo de se evidence, and affirmed that if he had heard it he would have asked for a definition (An Answer...., 24).

I49. Madan, An Answer...., 45. The form of resignation ran as follows: " In the name of God, Amen. I, for certain just and lawful causes me hereunto especially moving, without compulsion, fraud, or deceit, do purely, simply and absolutely resign and give up my said Rectory and Parish Church of ----- " (William D. Willis, Simony, (London: Rivington, 1865), v).

I50. Kimpton, A Faithful Narrative of Facts...., I4.

I51. Ibid., I5.

I52. Ibid.

I53. Ibid., I6.

I54. Ibid., I6-I8; 22.

I55. Ibid., 2I.

I56. Madan, An Answer...., I8.

I57. Autobiography, 9I. Madan had private means. A letter from Madan, probably to John Wesley, May 18, 1756, intimated that his father's death had left him with a plentiful estate (Arminian Magazine, 1779, 536-537).

I58. Autobiography, 95.

I59. Letter Thomas Haweis to Martin Madan, March 6, 1765, (Samuel Brewer), A Supplement; or, the Second Part of an Epistolary Correspondence relative to the living of Aldwincle, (London: Wilkie, 1768), 8.

I60. Letter Thomas Haweis to William Bromfield, March 8, 1765, Brewer, A Supplement...., 6.

I61. Brewer, A Supplement...., 9-17, 20-27, 47-51.

I62. Autobiography, 91.

I63. Ibid., 93.

I64. Ibid.

I65. Letter Thomas Haweis to D.Y.-----, March 5, 1765, Brewer, A Supplement...., II.

I66. John Thornton (1720-1790), son of Robert Thornton, a Director of the Bank of England, was a prominent merchant and philanthropist. He and his brother, Henry, were leading Evangelical laymen. Canon Smyth describes John as " the Nuffield of the Evangelical Revival " (Smyth, Simeon and Church Order, 246). For John Thornton's life, see D.N.B., LVI, 301.

I67. Autobiography, 94.

I68. Ibid., 97.

I69. Letter Thomas Haweis to D.Y.-----, March 7, 1765, Brewer, A Supplement...., 22.

I70. Memoirs of the Life of Charles Simeon, ed. William Carus, (London: Hatchard, 1847), 589-591; Smyth, Simeon and Church Order, 202-204; Willis, op. cit., 168-212; Balleine, op. cit., 131-133.

I71. Brewer, A Supplement...., 54-55. The King's Bench Prison was one of four principal debtors' prisons in London, the others being the Fleet, the Marshalsea and the Ludgate. In 1758 it had been moved from the east to the west side of High Road, Southwark. It held up to five hundred prisoners (Sir Walter Besant, London in the Eighteenth Century, (London: Black, 1902), 598-600). Seymour, who, in his usual vein, gives a very garbled account of the Aldwincle affair, makes Kimpton the incumbent of the parish, and whisks him off to the King's Bench Prison before he has disposed of the living to Haweis (op. cit., I, 414). Morison perpetuates Seymour's mistakes (op. cit., II, 180).

I72. Letter John Kimpton to a Friend in London, December 15, 1767, Brewer, A Supplement...., 54.

I73. Letter Samuel Brewer to Martin Madan, March 3, 1767, (Samuel Brewer), An Exact Copy of an Epistolary Correspondence between the Rev. Mr. M---- and S----- B-----, concerning the living of Aldwincle....., (London: Pearch, 1768), 27.

I74. Kimpton, A Faithful Narrative of Facts.... Full details of all these pamphlets will be found in the Bibliography.

I75. Madan, An Answer....

I76. Brewer, An Exact Copy....; A Supplement.....

I77. Remarks on the Answer of the Rev. Mr. M---n to the Faithful Narrative of Facts.... by a Bystander, (London: Lee, 1767).

I78. This pamphlet is mentioned by Seymour, op. cit., I, 416n., who says that it was considered by Madan's friends to be libellous, and that his brother-in-law, William Hale, advised prosecution. No work by Mays is included by name in the British Museum collection of this literature, but the reference may possibly be to the anonymous Strictures upon Modern Simony, (London: Vernor, 1767).

I79. Martin Madan, Remarks on the Answer by a Bystander, 1767. This is not in the British Museum collection, but was reviewed in Gentleman's Magazine, 1767, 507-508.

I80. (Henry Mayor), Aldwincle: A Candid Examination...., (London: Bladon, 1767).

I81. The Priest in Rhyme, (London: Cook, 1767).

I82. A Letter to the Rev. Mr. Madan...., by the Widow of the late Mr. Fleetwood, (London: Williams, n.d.).

I83. William Fleetwood's will is dated September 16, 1747. His mother, Anna Fleetwood, and Kimpton were appointed joint executors (Martha Fleetwood, A Letter to Madan...., 15).

I84. Proved October 20, 1747, cf. Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. In a previous will Fleetwood left his whole estate to his wife as sole executrix. In the six weeks of Fleetwood's illness Kimpton had shown himself unusually attentive, with the result that Fleetwood altered his will just before his death (Martha Fleetwood, A Letter to Madan...., 5,6).

I85. Martha Fleetwood, A Letter to Madan...., 17. The correspondence between Kimpton and Mrs. Fleetwood's lawyer was published in her Letter to Madan...., 22-26.

I86. A fee of Eight Guineas was claimed for the services of Doctors Letherland and Lobb, which neither of these physicians asked or received (Martha Fleetwood, A Letter to Madan...., 27) Miscellaneous sums, amounting in all to Fifty Five Pounds, were recorded as having been paid to Mrs. Fleetwood for housekeeping.

None of these were received (*ibid.*, 35). Law charges were heavier than necessary because Kimpton did not pay until compelled (*ibid.*, 31).

187. Madan, An Answer...., x.

188. " Simony is the more odious because it is ever accompanied with perjury; for the presentee is sworn to commit no simony " (Lord Coke, 3rd. Inst., 156). Despite the twofold infringement involved, the sale of advowsons on a void or the next presentation was quite common in the eighteenth century. Only the Evangelicals seem to have had a consistently sensitive conscience on this matter (Elie Halevy, England in 1815, (London: Benn, 1949), 394; T. Timpson, British Ecclesiastical History, (London: Aylott and Jones, 1849), 500-501; Robert Hodgson, The Life of Beilby Porteus, (London: Cadell and Davies, 1811), 142-144).

189. Madan, An Answer...., xiii.

190. *Ibid.*, 40.

191. *Ibid.*

192. Mayor, A Candid Examination...., 17.

193. Seymour, *op. cit.*, I, 416n. ' Mr. West ' was probably Daniel West, one of the executors of Whitefield's will (Tyerman, Life of Whitefield, II, 609).

194. Seymour, *op. cit.*, I, 416n. Autobiography, 95. Haweis stated that the money actually came from the purse of Miss Orton, Lady Huntingdon's boon companion, who subsequently became Haweis' second wife.

195. Letter Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, to John Thornton, March 1, 1768, Seymour, *op. cit.*, I, 416-417.

196. Letter Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, to Lord Dartmouth, March 1, 1768, Seymour, *op. cit.*, I, 417-418; Historical Manuscripts Commission, 15th Report, Appendix, Pt. I, The Manuscripts of the Earl of Dartmouth, III, (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1896), 186-187.

197. Letter Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, to Martin Madan, March 1, 1768, Seymour, *op. cit.*, I, 418-419.

198. *Ibid.*

199. Letter Martin Madan to Lady Huntingdon, March 3, 1768, Seymour, *op. cit.*, I, 420.

200. This was the very suggestion that Madan had been at pains

to avoid: " Mr. Madan told me (Captain Clunie) he did not mind £1,000 if Kimpton had a claim upon him; but to give one penny as hush-money was what he neither could nor would consent to " (Seymour, op. cit., I, 416n.).

201. Seymour, op. cit., I, 420.

202. Autobiography, 95.

203. Gentleman's Magazine, 1767, 507-510, 591-594; 1800, i, 560, 1182.

204. British Critic, 1802, 439.

205. Letter Thomas Haweis to Anti-Jacobin Review, 1803, 507.

206. Warner's Bath Characters, 73 (I am indebted for this reference to Mr. Reginald W.M. White, Director of the Victoria Art Gallery and Municipal Library, Bath). Haweis was vilely slandered in The Works of Peter Pindar, (London: Walker, 1816), III, 420. In " Lord Auckland's Triumph," Ode II, Miss Fornication speaks thus:

" I'll aid Hypocrisy's dark cause,
And for a parson choose a H----s;
I'll ope new turnpikes to salvation,
Or I'm not christened Fornication. "

A footnote is appended to Haweis' name: " While Alnwinle (sic) exists, the conscientious act of this Huntingtonian (sic) apostle will be remembered."

207. Public Characters, 1798, 322.

208. Morison, op. cit., II, 184.

209. Jay, Autobiography, 476. Edward Davies was Jay's father-in-law. He was Rector of Coychurch and latterly lived in London, at Surrey Chapel (D.E. Jenkins, Life of Charles, I, 245).

210. Letter William Bromfield to William Fuller, August 29, 1767, Madan, An Answer...., 34. Fuller was persuaded of Haweis' innocence, although he urged him to resign his living for the sake of peace (Letter William Fuller to Thomas Haweis, March 20, 1766, Brewer, A Supplement...., 32-33). In reply to Bromfield's appeal, Fuller promised to write to " an eminent attorney at Thrapston who knows everybody in the county. " When Kimpton heard of it, he was annoyed, and said he would write himself, which he failed to do (Madan, An Answer...., 34).

211. Boase and Courtney, op. cit., I, 217; D.N.B., XXV, 186.

212. Letter Thomas Haweis to Anti-Jacobin Review, 1803, 507.

213. Autobiography, 136.

214. Lord Bathurst (1714-1794) was a Judge in the Court of

Common Pleas from 1754. On the death of Lord Chancellor Yorke in 1770 the Great Seal was put into commission, and Lord Bathurst shared it with Sir Sidney Stafford Smythe and Sir Richard Aston. He was himself installed as Lord Chancellor in 1771 and was raised to the peerage as Baron Apsley of Apsley. He became Lord President of the Council in 1779. He succeeded to the earldom in 1775. Seymour, op. cit., I, 415, errs in describing him as Lord Chancellor at the time of the Aldwinckle affair. For his life, see D.N.B., III, 407-408; John Lord Campbell, The Lives of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal of England, (London: Murray, 1846), V, 432-472 .

215. Seymour, op. cit., I, 415.

216. Jay, Autobiography, 476; Morison, op. cit., II, 184.

217. Brewer repeatedly declared that at the first interview with Haweis and Madan at the Lock Chapel, after the oath was read, nothing was said which could give Kimpton the least hope that Haweis would take the living under bonds of resignation (Letter Samuel Brewer to Martin Madan, March 3, 1767, Madan, An Answer...., 47).

218. Newman's distortions are superimposed on Seymour's errors to produce a travesty of the truth. The passage merits analysis as a specimen of essay writing which is neither critical nor historical (Newman, Essays Critical and Historical, 414-415).

219. Ibid., 416.

220. Seymour, op. cit., I, 417.

221. Ibid, I, 414.

222. Ibid., I, 421.

223. Morison, op. cit., II, 182.

224. Ibid.

225. Jay, Autobiography, 476; Letter Thomas Haweis to D.Y.-----, March 7, 1765, Brewer, A Supplement...., 21.

226. An admirable account of these expulsions, with a survey of the copious literature relating to it, is to be found in S.L. Ollard, The Six Students of St. Edmund Hall.

227. Ollard, op. cit., 3. Samuel Rogers (1732-1806), educated at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford (matriculated June 27, 1753; graduated B.A. 1757, M.A. 1760, B.D. 1786), became Rector of St. Mary Magdalene, Oxford, May 13, 1763. He was later a Prebendary and Canon of St. David's (Barker and Stenning, op. cit.,

II, 798; Welsh, op. cit., 360).

228. Sidney, Life of Richard Hill, 101-103.

229. The technical offence involved was a contravention of the Conventicle Act (1664), 16, Car. II, c. 4., which forbade five or more persons beside the household to be present at any religious meeting other than was allowed by the practice of the Church of England (Documents of the Christian Church, ed. Henry Bettenson, (London: O.U.P., 1946), 401-403)

230. Ollard, op. cit., 4.

231. George Dixon, D.D. (1710-1787), a Fellow of Queen's, became Principal of St. Edmund Hall in 1756. He was also Vicar of Chedworthy, Gloucestershire, and of Bramley, Hampshire (Foster, op. cit., II, 373; Wood, History of University of Oxford, 666; le Neve, op. cit., III, 595).

232. John Higson, (b. 1721), of Wadham College, became Vice-Principal of St. Edmund Hall in 1751. He held a living near Bath (Foster, op. cit., II, 658; Ollard, op. cit., 4,5).

233. (Richard Hill) Pietas Oxoniensis, (London: Keith, 1768), 3.

234. Ollard, op. cit., 5.

235. R. Hill, op. cit., 2,3.

236. David Durell, D.D. (1728-1775), Fellow of Hertford College, and later Principal, became Vice-Chancellor in 1765. He was Vicar of Tysehurst, Sussex, and later Prebendary of Canterbury (Wood, History of University of Oxford, 644; Fasti Oxonienses, ed. John Gutch, appended to Wood, 174; le Neve, III, 479).

237. Ollard, op. cit., 9.

238. Ibid., 10.

239. Ibid., 22.

240. Erasmus Middleton (1729-1805), see Evangelical Magazine, 1805, 337-343. There is his own account of his conversion in a letter to John Wesley, February 27, 1762, Arminian Magazine, 1781, 338-339. For his gifted wife, the daughter of Sir Gilbert Grierson, see Burder, op. cit., II, 310-315.

241. He matriculated on June 4, 1767 (Foster, op. cit., II, 151.

242. Ollard, op. cit., 20.

243. Lord James Beauclerk was Bishop of Hereford from 1746 to 1787 (le Neve, op. cit., I, 473). Middleton had written to the Bishop apologizing for the infringement (R. Hill, op. cit., 75-76).

244. Ollard, op. cit., 16; R. Hill, op. cit., 4n.

245. Evangelical Magazine, 1805, 339.

246. James Traill was Bishop of Down from 1765 to 1783 (Cotton, op. cit., III, 211-212).

247. The Hon. William Bromley Cadogan (1751-1797), second son of Charles, First Earl Cadogan, Master of the Mint, was educated at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford (matriculated May 24, 1769; graduated B.A. 1773, M.A. 1776). In 1774 he was instituted Vicar of St. Giles, Reading, and in 1775 Rector of St. Luke's, Chelsea (Barker and Stenning, op. cit., I, 156; Welsh, op. cit., 389; Foster, op. cit., II, 208; Seymour, op. cit., II, 398-411; Smyth, Simeon and Church Order, 202-247; Cecil, Works, I, 167-271).

248. April 25, 1804 (Foster, op. cit., II, 95) He died exactly a year later. There is a memorial slab in the North Chapel floor (Index Ecclesiasticus, ed. Joseph Foster, (Oxford: Parker, 1890), 122; Evangelical Magazine, 1805, 286; A History of the County of Bedford, Victoria County Histories, ed. William Page, III, (London: Constable, 1912), 116).

249. See Chapter I, Note 42, and Chapter II, Note 112.

250. William Shakspeare, Hamlet, Act IV, Scene V.

251. Autobiography, 103.

252. Madan, An Answer...., 9.

253. William matriculated from Brasenose College on June 4, 1761, aged eighteen. Dioderick Beckman was a friend of Whitefield and one of his managers (Foster, op. cit., II, 86; Seymour, op. cit., I, 215; Tyerman, Life of Whitefield, II, 457).

254. Autobiography, 106.

255. Ibid., 107.

256. A MS Letter to her from William Romaine is addressed to Pewsey, September 27, 1764.

257. Townsend spent two months in Edinburgh in 1767 (Letter John Wesley to Joseph Townsend, August 1-3, 1767, Letters, V, 57-59).

258. Autobiography, 109.

259. Ibid. This must have been a first marriage. Townsend married Joyce, daughter of Thomas Nankivell, of Truro, on September 27, 1773. She died in 1785 and on March 26, 1790 he married Lydia Hammond, widow of Sir John Clarke (D.N.B., IVII, 106-107).

260. Autobiography, I09.

261. Ibid., I10. Hawsis said that Chauncy Townsend died soon after Judith became a widow. This was in 1770 (see Chapter III, Note 46).

262. Autobiography, III-II2.

263. Boase, op. cit., 335; Autobiography, II9. St. Peter le Poer was situated on the West side of Old Broad Street (Walford, op. cit., II, 166). The wedding was reported in Gentleman's Magazine, 1771, 46. Daniel Burton, D.D., was Rector from 1751 to 1775, and presumably officiated (James Peller Malcolm, Londinium Redivivum, (London: Nichols, 1807), IV, 567; Hennessy, op. cit., 376). There is no record in London Marriage Licenses, 1521-1869, ed. Joseph Foster, (London: Quaritch, 1887).

264. John Foss, son of William Foss, clergyman, of Ilfracombe, matriculated from Exeter College, Oxford, on May 30, 1764, aged eighteen, and graduated B.A. in 1768 (Foster, op. cit., II, 482).

265. Autobiography, II3; Hawsis, Life of Romaine, 156.

266. MS Letter William Romaine to Judith Wordsworth, September 27, 1764.

267. Seymour, op. cit., I, 467n. Julius Bate (not Bates, as in Seymour) was a prominent Hutchinsonian scholar. The work must have been Critica Hebraica: or a Hebrew-English Dictionary without points, (London: Folingsby, 1767), not Clavis Hebraica, as Seymour has it, since no volume of the latter title is listed in the Bate Bibliography.

268. Autobiography, I39.

269. Ibid., II5.

270. Ibid., I21.

271. Ibid., I32.

272. Anthony Shepherd, D.D. (1724-1796), Fellow of Christ's 1746-1763, was Plumian Professor of Astronomy from 1760 to 1796. He was Rector of Burton Miles, Suffolk, 1763-1782, Master of Mechanics to George III, 1768-1796, and Canon of Windsor, 1777-1796 (J. Venn and J.A. Venn, op. cit., IV, 58; Peile, op. cit., II, 241; le Neve, op. cit., III, 664).

273. Felice Giardini (1716-1796), violinist and composer, born in Turin, came to London in 1743 and tried to popularize Italian opera. He may have met Hæwys as early as 1763, for he composed the music for the second part of Ruth in that year (Groves' Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. H.C. Colles, (London: Macmillan, 1927), II, 376-377; Biographie Universelle des Musiciens, ed. F.J. Fetis, (Paris: Didot, 1861), III, 479-480; New, op. cit., 140).

274. Autobiography, I33.

275. Alumni Cantabrigienses, Pt. II, 1752-1900, compiled J.A. Venn, (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1940-), III, 290.

276. Samuel Hallifax, LL.D., D.D. (1734-1790), Fellow of Jesus 1756-1760, Fellow of Trinity 1760-1765, was Professor of Arabic and Lord Almoner's Reader from 1768 to 1770 and Regius Professor of Civil Law from 1770 to 1782. He was Rector of Cheddington, Buckinghamshire, in 1765, Chaplain to the King, 1774, and Bishop of Gloucester, 1781-1789, and St. Asaph, 1789-1790 (J. Venn and J.A. Venn, op. cit., II, 290; le Neve, op. cit., III, 658).

277. Autobiography, I33; Hæwys, Plain Truths, (London: Williams, 1805), 22.

278. Autobiography, I34.

279. John Law, D.D. (1745-1810) was educated at Charterhouse and Christ's College, Cambridge (graduated B.A. 1766, M.A. 1769, D.D. 1782). He was a Fellow of Christ's, Prebendary of Carlisle 1773, Archdeacon of Carlisle 1777, Bishop of Clonfert 1782, Killala 1787 and Elphin 1795 (D.N.B., XXIII, 234-235).

280. William Paley, D.D. (1743-1805) was admitted sizar to Christ's College, Cambridge, on November 16, 1758. He graduated B.A. in 1761, Senior Wrangler 1766, D.D. 1796. He was a Fellow of Christ's. After holding numerous benefices he eventually secured the rich Rectorate of Bishop Wearmouth (1796). He was also Chancellor of the Diocese of Carlisle (1785), Prebendary of St. Paul's (1794) and Sub-Dean of Lincoln (1795). His works are well known, especially Horae Paulinae (1790), The Evidences of Christianity (1794) and Natural Theology (1801) (D.N.B., XLIII, 101-107). For his life, see The Works of William Paley, ed. Robert Lynam, (London: Baynes, 1825), prefixed to I.

281. Paley, Works, I, x.

282. Thomas Parkinson succeeded Law in 1784 and was Proctor in 1786 (D.N.B., XLIII, 102; le Neve, op. cit., III, 631).

283. Nicolas Ximenes came to London in 1772 (Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten, ed. Robert Eitner, (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Haertel, 1900), X, 311).

284. Autobiography, I35.

285. J.A. Venn, op. cit., III, 290; Peile, op. cit., II, 288; Graduati Cantabrigienses, (Cambridge: Smith, 1823), 222.

286. Brooke Bridges (1726-1801), only son of Nathaniel Bridges, Rector of Wadenhoe, was educated at Sidney College, Cambridge (admitted pensioner June 22, 1742; graduated B.A., 1746, M.A. 1749). He was ordained priest (Peterborough) on February 24, 1748, and was Rector of St. Giles, Wadenhoe, from 1749 to 1783. He was Rector of Orlingbury, Northamptonshire, for the same period (J. Venn and J.A. Venn, op. cit., I, 215; History of the County of Northampton, III, 151). He is probably to be identified with the Brooke Bridges who was instituted Rector of Birdbrook, Essex, on November 25, 1800, and died there in 1801 (Index Ecclesiasticus, 23). Haweis always referred to him as ' Dr. ' Bridges.

CHAPTER FIVE

1. Autobiography, I23. For the 1768 date, see D.N.B., XXV, 186, and Peile, op. cit., II, 288. J.A. Venn, op. cit., III, 290, repeats the statement, no doubt relying on the above authorities.
2. John Hawkesworth was one of Lady Huntingdon's itinerants, trained at Trevecka College. He did useful work in Ireland (Seymour, op. cit., II, 159-188). He withdrew from the Connection in 1782 and joined the Moravians. After serving at Wem, Shropshire, Fulneck and London, he left the Church of the United Brethren and retired to Horsley, Gloucestershire, where he died in 1810 (New, op. cit., 301; Seymour, op. cit., II, 188; Foster, op. cit., II, 630; J. Wesley, Letters, IV, 267, VI, 76).
3. Letter Selina, Countess of Huntingdon to John Hawkesworth, April 2, 1774, Seymour, op. cit., II, 295-296.
4. Charles, Fourth Earl of Peterborough and Monmouth, succeeded to his grandfather in 1735. He died in 1779. The family seat was at Dantsey, in Wiltshire (Collins' Peerage of England: Genealogical, Biographical and Historical, ed. Sir Egerton Brydges, (London: Rivington, 1812), III, 309-331).
5. George Baddelley (b. 1726), son of George Baddelley, of St. Saviour's, Southwark, was educated at Pembroke College, Oxford (matriculated July 15, 1743; graduated B.A. 1747) and became a Chaplain to Lady Huntingdon c. 1747. He was Rector of Markfield (Seymour, op. cit., I, 73, 119, 120, 153; New, op. cit., 54, 79, 89). He is to be distinguished from William Baddiley, of Nailsea, with whom Tyerman confuses him (Life of Whitefield, II, 242, 249) and from John Baddiley, Rector of Hayfield, " a sort of second Grimshaw " (J. Wesley, Works, XIII, 209). For William Baddiley, see Foster, op. cit., II, 45; J. Wesley, Journal, VIII, 11n.; Gentleman's Magazine, 1795, 442; for John Baddiley, see J. Wesley, Journal, IV, 110n., Letters, III, 15In.; Tyerman, Life of Wesley, II, 195.
6. Knox, op. cit., 487.
7. Haweis, Life of Romaine, 85-86.
8. Letter John Wesley to Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, January 8, 1764, Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, XXVII, 3. Lady Huntingdon had opened a Chapel at Brighton in 1760 (Bretherton, op. cit., 37; Seymour, op. cit., I, 314, has 1761).
9. Seymour, op. cit., I, 358: " Mr. Berridge could not leave Everton till relieved by Mr. Madan or Dr. Haweis. " It was Madan who finally went.

10. Ibid.: " The Tottenham congregation would not be deprived of the services of Mr. Dyer, depending on Mr. Green, and neither the hospital Chaplains nor the Vicar of St. Dunstan's cared (we quote Mr. Berridge) to peep into the Tottenham pulpit. " Seymour has muddled his footnotes on this page. ' Mr. Dyer ' was George Dyer, resident minister at Tottenham Chapel and Lecturer of St. George the Martyr, Southwark. ' Mr. Green ' was John Green, formerly Curate of Thurnscoe, Yorkshire. The ' hospital Chaplains ' were, of course, Madan and Haweis, and by the Vicar of St. Dunstan's Seymour intended to indicate Romaine, who was actually only the Afternoon Lecturer.

11. MS Letter Martin Madan to Judith Wordsworth, October 15, 1765. Madan and his wife had gone to Aldwinckle on September 9, along with Dr. Bromfield. The latter had returned on September 16, but the Madans remained until October 5. Lady Huntingdon's Chapel at Bath was opened on October 6. The Countess had invited Madan to officiate and was somewhat annoyed at his absence (Seymour, op. cit., I, 467).

12. cf. Letter John Wesley to Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, January 8, 1764, Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, XXVII, 3.

13. Autobiography, I23-I25.

14. Letter Selina, Countess of Huntingdon to John Hawkesworth, October 13, 1773, Seymour, op. cit., II, I67-I69.

15. Brighton (1760), Oathall (1761), Bath (1765), Bretby (1765), Tunbridge Wells (1769), Worcester (1773), Westminster (1774) - see Bretherton, op. cit., 37-40; Seymour, op. cit., II, I68, 295; New, op. cit., I82; Urwick, op. cit., I57.

16. Seymour, op. cit., II, 293.

17. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Martha Biddulph, n.d. (1774).

18. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Martha Biddulph, n.d. (1774). In a further letter to Martha Biddulph, dated May 11, 1774, Haweis spoke of having recently returned to Aldwinckle from Bath.

19. We shall notice later one period of several years when Haweis withdrew from Lady Huntingdon's Connection.

20. MS Diary, 2.

21. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Martha Biddulph, n.d. Wills was still Curate of St. Agnes. He left the Church of England to join Lady Huntingdon's Connection as a whole time minister in 1778 (Boase, op. cit., I270; Wilson, op. cit., III, II9).

22. John Bulmer, Memoirs of the Life and Religious Labours of Howell Harris, (Haverfordwest: Thomas, 1824), 52.

23. The date over the entrance was II76 (Tyerman, Life of Whitefield, II, 54I). Howell Harris paid a visit to the Lock Chapel in I763 (where he probably met Haweis) and saw Lady Huntingdon. As early as May, I764, the Countess inspected Trevecka and arranged to purchase Lower Trevecka house and have it rebuilt as a College (Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, XV, 35, XVI, II6). This quite rules out F.F. Bretherton's suggestion, op. cit., 28, perhaps based on the Cheshunt College Brochure for I8I4, that the St. Edmund Hall expulsions influenced the Countess in her decision to establish a College. The expulsions took place in March, I768, when Fletcher of Madeley had already been appointed as President of Trevecka (January, I768). A sermon of Thomas Wills at the first ordination service in the Connection, on March 9, I783, also gave the impression that the St. Edmund Hall affair had been decisive (Seymour, op. cit., II, 446).

24. Bretherton, op. cit., 29; Seymour, op. cit., I, 92.

25. A lengthy list of Trevecka students who entered the ministry is given in Seymour, op. cit., II, II2-II3. Only a small proportion took orders in the Establishment.

26. Diary, 3.

27. Berridge realized this danger and warned the Countess in his characteristically outspoken manner (Seymour, op. cit., II, 423). We cannot quarrel with Canon Overton's conclusion that " Lady Huntingdon's College at Trevecka can really be regarded as little else than a training college for Dissenting ministers " (Overton, op. cit., I54).

28. Boase, in D.N.B., XXV, I86, and J.A. Venn, op. cit., III, 290, both make this claim. The records of Cheshunt College, Cambridge (the lineal descendant of Trevecka) confirm my view. Haweis' name does not appear until after I79I, and then only as a subscriber and perhaps as a representative on the Committee from Spa Fields. It would appear that Lady Huntingdon supported Trevecka in her lifetime from her own pocket and from the donations she personally solicited, and no board of management is mentioned. It was not until I787, when it was felt advisable to draw up plans for the supervision of the College after the Countess' death, that a body of trustees was appointed, of which Haweis was not one. By Lady Huntingdon's will the oversight of her College was left in the hands of this trust. The full Committee, which met monthly, consisted of the trustees, fourteen members of an Assistant Committee elected from the subscribers, and the Committee of Spa Fields Chapel. It is at least possible that Haweis sat on this wider governing body as a member of the last named Committee. I am indebted to Mr. Ralph Waggett, B.A., a student of Wesley House, Cambridge, who consulted the Cheshunt College files, and to the President, Professor A. Victor Murray, M.A., B.Litt., for his kind permission and cooperation.

29. Peile, op. cit., II, 288.

30. Richard Watson, D.D. (1737-1816) was Professor of Chemistry at Cambridge from 1764 to 1771 and Regius Professor of Divinity from 1771 until 1816. He was consecrated Bishop of Llandaff in 1782 (Anecdotes of the Life of Richard Watson, Bishop of Llandaff, written by Himself at Different Intervals, ed. Richard Watson (films), (London: Cadell and Davies, 1817); D.N.B., LX, 24-27; le Neve, op. cit., II, 256, III, 656).

31. John Hinchcliffe was Bishop of Peterborough from 1769 to 1794 and Master of Trinity from 1768 to 1789 (le Neve, op. cit., II, 537, III, 700).

32. Autobiography, I36. Peile, op. cit., II, 288, records " stop't again 1781(?) " but the Autobiography makes it clear that both applications were in 1776.

33. Autobiography, I37.

34. Ibid.

35. London Evening Post and Advertizer, March 10, 1774.

36. William J. Pinks, The History of Clerkenwell, (London: Herbert, 1881), I43.

37. Seymour says " towards the close of the year 1776 " (op. cit., II, 304).

38. Antony Crole (1740-1803) was born at Fettercairn, Kincardineshire, and apprenticed to a cabinet maker. At the age of twenty-two he came to London and was converted under Madan. He joined the Society at Archer Street. He was trained for the ministry at Trevecka College and served in the Countess of Huntingdon's Connection. In 1776 he was ordained to the pastorate of Cumberland Street Chapel, London, and later became minister of Pinner's Hall (Wilson, op. cit., II, 294-301). David Parker was a generous Evangelical layman (Seymour, op. cit., II, 304).

39. Letter Augustus M. Toplady to Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, n.d., Seymour, op. cit., II, 304-305.

40. Herbert Jones was Chaplain to the Misericordia Hospital, and William Taylor, a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, was Chaplain to the Earl of Marchmont (Seymour, op. cit., II, 305).

41. Pinks, op. cit., I44; Seymour, op. cit., II, 306.

42. Bretherton, op. cit., 21.

43. William Sellon (1731-1790), educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, was Rector of St. James and John, Clerkenwell, from 1757 to 1790. He was also preacher at St. Giles' in the Fields, 1758-1790, Chaplain to Lord Pomfret and proprietor and minister of Portman

Chapel, Marylebone (J. and J.A. Venn, op. cit., IV, 42; Welsh, op. cit., 352; Hennessy, op. cit., 244).

44. Seymour, op. cit., II, 307.

45. Ibid., 308.

46. Robert Keen, a London woollen draper, was a friend and correspondent of Whitefield, to whom, with others, he entrusted the management of his Chapels in his lifetime (Tyerman, Life of Whitefield, II, 445 et passim; Seymour, op. cit., I, 215; New, op. cit., 183; J. Wesley, Letters, V, 211).

47. Seymour, op. cit., II, 308.

48. Pinks, op. cit., I43, has March 29. Seymour, op. cit., II, 309, and Morison, op. cit., II, 186, have March 28.

49. Pinks, op. cit., I43; Seymour, op. cit., II, 309.

50. Seymour, op. cit., II, 309.

51. Pinks, op. cit., 739.

52. Lady Huntingdon sought the legal advice of Serjeant John Glynn on the position of her Chapels, shortly before his death. Her inquiries and his reply are worthy of being studied by those who wish to grasp the precise relationship of Lady Huntingdon's Connection to the Church of England. See Seymour, op. cit., II, 309-311.

53. Seymour, op. cit., II, 311.

54. Overton and Relton, op. cit., 88.

55. Letter Selina, Countess of Huntingdon to William Piercy, December 23, 1781, Seymour, op. cit., II, 311-312, 314-315. Piercy, son of William Piercy, of Sowe, Warwickshire, was educated at St. Edmund Hall, Oxford (matriculated July 10, 1767, aged twenty-two) and went out to America as President of Whitefield's Orphan House and Rector of St. Paul's, Charleston, South Carolina. He returned in 1780 after eight years and itinerated for the Countess (Seymour, op. cit., II, 265, 267, 271; Foster, op. cit., II, III4; Tyerman, Life of Whitefield, II, 584).

56. An Authentic Narrative of the Primary Ordinations in the Countess of Huntingdon's Chapel at Spa Fields, London, on Sunday, the 9th day of March, 1783, (London: Hughes and Walsh, 1786).

57. Autobiography, 176.

58. Ibid., 130.

59. Ibid., 131.

60. Autobiography, 81.

61. Ibid., 113.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid., 126.

64. Haweis had kept in touch with the Biddulphs by correspondence and by occasional meetings at Bath. Biddulph's health had been precarious and Haweis' visit to Padstow at this period enabled the invalid to consult a specialist. A letter from Haweis to Biddulph, written from Padstow on October 22, 1780, implied that he had not long before arrived.

65. Autobiography, 127.

66. Five months. Autobiography, 128.

67. Ibid., 129.

68. Seymour, op. cit., II, 464.

69. Ibid.

70. (Martin Madan), Thelyphthora; or, a Treatise on Female Ruin, in its causes, effects, consequences, prevention and remedy; considered on the basis of the Divine Law, (London: Dodsley, 1780), III, 352.

71. Ibid., I, iv.

72. J.W. Middleton, Ecclesiastical Memoir, 48.

73. Charles Wesley, Methodist Hymn Book, No. 310, v. I.

74. Thomas Haweis, A Scriptural Refutation of the Arguments for Polygamy, advanced in a Treatise entitled Thelyphthora, (London: Dilly, 1781), iv.

75. Ibid., viii.

76. Ibid., ix.

77. Ibid., x.

78. Part I, I-40.

79. Ibid., 38.

80. Ibid., 39.

81. Ibid., 40.

82. Part II, 4I-102.
83. Ibid., 4I.
84. Ibid., 53.
85. Ibid., 58.
86. Ibid., 70, 7I.
87. Ibid., 73-84.
88. Ibid., 85.
89. Ibid., 99.
90. Ibid., 100.
91. Ibid. cf. (Thomas Haweis), Essays on the Evidence, Characteristic Doctrines and Influence of Christianity, (Bath: Hazard, 179I), 357-358.
92. Thomas Wills, Remarks on Polygamy, in Answer to the Rev. Mr. Madan's Thelyphthora, (London: Hughes and Welsh, 178I).
93. John Smith, Polygamy Indefensible: Two Sermons preached in the Parish Church of Nantwich in Cheshire, on Sunday the 10th December, 1780, occasioned by a late publication entitled Thelyphthora, To which is prefixed a Letter to the Rev. Mr. Madan, (London: Hogg, 1780).
94. In 1783 and 1784, Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, VI, VII, passim. John Wesley had thought of replying himself before Benson tackled Madan.
95. Richard Hill, The Blessings of Polygamy Displayed, in an Affectionate Address to the Rev. Martin Madan; occasioned by his late Work, entitled Thelyphthora; or, a Treatise on Female Ruin, (London: Matthews, 178I).
96. Wilson, op. cit., III, 226.
97. Monthly Review, 1780, 273-287, 32I-329; letter from Andrew Kippis, 429-430.
98. The Poetical Works of William Cowper, Chandos Classics, (London: Warne, n.d.), 73-77.
99. Ibid., xxiv, 77n.
100. Ibid., 78.
101. Seymour, op. cit., II, 464. Cardinal Newman indulged in

a cheap gibe at the Evangelicals on the score of Madan's literary lapse, without pointing out that it was the Evangelicals themselves who led the way in refuting it (Newman, op. cit., 418).

I02. Conon died at Padstow on May 27, 1775 (Boase, op. cit., I39I; Wills, Spiritual Register, III, 3I).

I03. March 2, 1784 (Wills, Spiritual Register, III, 42).

I04. March 3I, 1784 (Christian Observer, I8I2, I9).

I05. April 7, 1786 (Seymour, op. cit., II, 200).

I06. Boase, op. cit., 335; Gentleman's Magazine, 1786, 907; Obituary prior to 1800 (as far as relates to England, Scotland and Ireland), compiled by Sir William Musgrave...., ed. Sir George J. Armytage, (London: Harleian Society, 1900), III, I7I. There was no account of Judith's death in the Autobiography. Haweis referred to a letter written to Judith's sister, Mrs. Smith, at the time, which he obviously meant to be left with his papers. This letter is not amongst his located correspondence. His son added a note to the effect that he had never seen it. He believed that Judith met her death by falling from a cart, on which chairs had been stacked for an outing. The horse started suddenly and she was thrown off and killed.

I07. Autobiography, I62.

I08. Ibid., I63.

I09. A reconciliation had been effected with John Smith (Autobiography, I57, I62). He was at one time Governor of South Carolina (Seymour, op. cit., II, 255).

I10. Autobiography, I64. Haweis did not name the parish.

I11. Llansamlet was a parish in Glamorgan, four miles from Swansea. It was a Curacy not in charge annexed to the vicarage of Llangyvelach (Samuel Lewis, A Topographical Dictionary of Wales, (London: Lewis, 1849), II, 92-93; Nicholas Carlisle, A Topographical Dictionary of the Dominion of Wales, (London: Bulmer, 1811), II, under Llansamlet).

I12. Autobiography, I64. St. John's, Swansea, was a parish then on the outskirts of the town. The Church formerly belonged to the Knights of Jerusalem (Carlisle, Topographical Dictionary of Wales, II, under Swansea).

I13. Autobiography, I65.

I14. Ibid.

I15. Thomas Haweis, Carmina Christo, or Hymns to the Saviour,

designed for the use and comfort of those who worship the Lamb that was slain, (Bath: Hazard, 1792).

Thomas Haweis, Carmina Christo, or Hymns to the Saviour, arranged for the voice, organ, or pianoforte, (London: Preston, n.d.).

II6. vide supra, 82-83.

II7. Haweis, Life of Romaine, 179-180.

II8. Ibid., 181.

II9. C. Plinii Caecilii Secundi Epistolarum Libri X, ed. J.A. Amer, (Lefevre: Paris, 1822), cap. 97, 202-203.

120. Antony Sparrow, A Collection of Articles, Injunctions, Canons, Orders, Ordinances and Constitutions Ecclesiastical, with other Public Records of the Church of England, (London: Pawlet, 1684), Section 49, p. 80.

121. cf. Overton and Relton, op. cit., 294; Dorothy Margaret Stuart, Regency Roundabout, (London: Macmillan, 1943), 39-40.

122. Haweis, Carmina Christo (words), vi.

123. Autobiography, 163.

124. Haweis, Carmina Christo (words), viii, ix.

125. Ibid., ix.

126. i.e. the 1808 edition. There are only 141 in the first edition

127. A number of the metres are used only once. Haweis was evidently fond of experimenting with new forms. 74 hymns are C.M. and 50 L.M.

128. Legh Richmond (1772-1827) was the son of Henry Richmond, a Liverpool physician. He was educated at Blandford, Dorset, and Trinity College, Cambridge (graduated B.A. 1794, M.A. 1799). Ordained deacon in 1797 and priest in 1798, he became Curate of Brading and Yaverland, Isle of Wight and in 1805 Assistant Chaplain at the Lock Hospital, London. He was Rector of Turvey from 1805 to 1827 (T.S. Grimshawe, A Memoir of Legh Richmond, (London: Seeley and Burnside, 1829); W.H.B. Proby, Annals of the Low Church Party in England, (London: Hayes, 1888), I, 296-307; Index Ecclesiasticus, 150). According to Mr. Charles S. Edwards, F.T.S.C., M.R.S.T., President of the St. Austell Old Cornwall Society, there is a story circulating in Cornwall that Haweis composed the tune " Richmond " in 1784, when staying in Truro, and named it after Richmond Hill. The evidence of the Autobiography that Haweis did not begin to compose either hymns or tunes until after Judith's death explodes this Cornish myth, for which Mr. Edwards admits there is no authority.

" Richmond " was reduced to its usual form today by Samuel Webbe, Junior, and has been used with great effect by H.A. Chambers in his anthem " Praise to the holiest in the height " (James T. Lightwood, The Music of the Methodist Hymn Book, (London: Epworth Press, 1935), I).

I29. A.S. Gregory, Praises with Understanding, (London: Epworth Press, 1938), I90.

I30. Autobiography, I69.

I31. Parish Registers of Aldwinckle All Saints; D.E. Jenkins, Life of Charles, II, 85.

I32. Letter Thomas Charles to Edward Griffin, January 22, 1778 mentioned correspondence with Haweis " about the Curacy of Aldwinckle, Northants.," according to Edward Morgan, A Brief History of the Life and Labours of Thomas Charles, (London: Hamilton, 1828), who continues: " A title was offered him, with Fifty Pounds a year. To be near Mr. Newton and within reach of his friend G(riffin) at Leicester was a great inducement to accept this offer; but Mr. Haweis making an annual interchange of duties with him at Bath an indispensable condition, induced Mr. C(harles) to decline the situation " (I3, I4).

I33. Parish Registers of Aldwinckle All Saints; David Davis (1753-1820) was Curate of Llangelar, Carmarthenshire, in 1779, and Rector of Llanfyrnach and Penriva in 1799 (D.E. Jenkins, Life of Charles, III, 325).

I34. Charles Chew (b.1757), son of James Chew, of Worcester, was educated at Trinity College, Oxford (matriculated May 31, 1775; graduated B.A. 1779). He became Vicar of Lockington, Leicestershire, in 1819 (Foster, op. cit., II, 246; Index Ecclesiasticus, 34).

I35. Seymour, op. cit., passim; New, op. cit., I98. Miss Orton was a friend and correspondent of Berridge.

I36. Autobiography, I71.

I37. Ibid., I72.

I38. Ibid., I74. There is no mention of it in London Marriage Licenses. St. Luke's parish was taken out of St. Giles' by an Act of George II, and the building completed in 1732 (Stat. 6 Geo II, c. 21; John Noothouck, A New History of London, including Westminster and Southwark, (London: Baldwin, 1773), 754). Henry Waring was incumbent from 1775 to 1795 (Hennessy, op. cit., 271).

I39. Sir James Wright (d.1816) married the daughter of John Smith. His father had been Attorney General and Governor of Georgia (Seymour, op. cit., II, 255).

I40. Autobiography, I75. Harris was probably the sick friend for whom Haweis deputized in 1774, vide supra, I57.

I41. Joseph Easterbrook (1752-1791), son of the Gloucester bellman, was educated at Kingswood School and Emmanuel College, Cambridge (admitted sizar May 4, 1774). For a time he was Assistant at Trevecka College. He was Vicar of Holy Cross (or Temple), Bristol, from 1779 to 1791. His memorial inscription is in Temple Church (J.A. Venn, op. cit., II, 375; J. Wesley, Journal, VIII, 47n., 96n.; Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, III, 157-158; Tyerman, Life of Wesley, III, 600; Bretherton, op. cit., 29; Balleine, op. cit., 9I).

I42. William Tandey (1750-1839), son of Thomas Tandey, of Bristol, was educated at St. Edmund Hall, Oxford (matriculated July II, 1771). He was Curate of St. Mary le Port, Bristol, 1788-1799, and Rector of St. Werburgh, Bristol, 1799-1832 (Foster, op. cit., II, 1386; Balleine, op. cit., 9I).

I43. Autobiography, 207. cf. Balleine, op. cit., 90-9I.

I44. Autobiography, I76.

I45. Ibid.

I46. Ibid., I78.

I47. Hodgson, op. cit., 268.

I48. Stoughton, op. cit., VI, 258. Stoughton, however, like the rest, does not appear to have known that Haweis did dissociate himself temporarily from the Connection.

I49. Copy MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Spencer Madan, Bishop of Peterborough, December 3I, 1808.

I50. The dispute arose when Lady Huntingdon debarred from her pulpits all but ordained priests of the Church of England. Argyle Chapel was opened on October 4, 1789, with Thomas Tuppen as its first minister (William Tuck, Notes on the History of Argyle Chapel Bath, (Bath: Fyson, 1906), IO, II).

I51. Autobiography, I78.

I52. Kenneth S. Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity, (London: Eyre and Spottiswood, 1938-1942), V, 203.

I53. Parchment Book, giving an account of Haweis' missionary endeavours, I.

I54. In his MS " The Origin of the Missionary Society " Haweis revealed his uncertainty as to the date of his contact with Waugh and Price: " I think in 1787 (1788 is crossed out), I am not sure

as to the year; it might be perhaps earlier. " The Diary for 1790 has 1789-1790 (Diary, 6). In a letter to Sir James Wright on June 6, 1791, Haweis said it was " about a year and half ago, or something less. " In his Life of Romaine, 211, he put it at " about seven years ago " (the Life was published in 1797). In the latest account (February 1, 1819) he spoke of " the efforts I made in 1789, 1790 and 1791. " William Ellis, in The History of the London Missionary Society, (London: Snow, 1844), I, 8, quotes from a letter of Haweis in 1789 in which he wrote: " For many years I have planned, prayed for, and sought for an opening for a mission among the heathen. My dear Lady Huntingdon has concurred with me in attempting it. " Unfortunately Ellis does not date this letter by day and month, and it has not been preserved amongst the located Haweis MSS. Ellis also cites a letter from Lady Huntingdon to Haweis, of January 20, 1790, in which she said: " I shall be happy to see my dear and kind friend's plan for the heathen mission. It charms me to hear; and suffer me only to fulfil your meaning in all I can do. The barrel of meal and the cruse of oil fail not. " We may therefore conclude that these pioneer agitations of Haweis, which culminated in the Countess' offer of Waugh and Price, probably began in real earnest towards the end of the year 1789, and that the students actually began training early in 1790.

The account which follows here and on pages 189-194 is drawn from the MS sources mentioned in this and the previous note.

I55. Edward Spencer (1739-1819), son of Thomas Spencer, of St. Botolph's, Aldgate, was educated at St. Edmund Hall, Oxford (matriculated June 11, 1768). He was Curate of Bradford, Wiltshire, and later Rector of Wingfield, Wiltshire, where he established a school for the training of ministers, of which Edwin Sidney, the biographer of Samuel Walker, and Richard and Rowland Hill, was a pupil (Sidney, Life of Walker, 255; J.W. Middleton, Ecclesiastical Memoir, 48-49; D.E. Jenkins, Life of Charles, I, 283; Foster, op. cit., II, 1334; Seymour, op. cit., I, 366; Gentleman's Magazine, 1819, i, 188; Evangelical Magazine, 1819, 393-399).

I56. Bretherton, op. cit., 24.

I57. Seymour, op. cit., II, 483. George Best, one of Lady Huntingdon's agents, acted as her private secretary and latterly as Secretary of the Connection.

I58. Seymour, op. cit., II, 483-485. William Francis Platt (1758-1831) was minister of Holywell Mount Chapel, London, from 1789. He was a convert of Romaine and was trained at Trevecka. He laboured first in Yorkshire and Durham (Morison, op. cit., II, 295-308).

I59. Letter Selina, Countess of Huntingdon to Vineyards Chapel, Bath, May 19, 1790 (Seymour, op. cit., II, 486, who has 1780)

I60. Seymour, op. cit., II, 487. The envelope was returned to

two members of the London Acting Association, Shepherd and Ford. The latter was John Ford, M.D. (1740-1806), son of William Ford, Congregational minister at Castle Hedingham, Essex. He was apprenticed to an Ipswich surgeon and qualified in London. He attended his brother's ministry at Miles Lane, then Whitefield's and Romaine's. He retired from practice in 1786 and offered his services to the Countess of Huntingdon's Connection as a minister (D.E. Jenkins, Life of Charles, II, 49; Evangelical Magazine, 1806, 529-536; Gentleman's Magazine, 1806, i, 586).

I61. MS Letter Thomas and Jennett Haweis to Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, November 20, 1790.

I62. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, (May, 1790).

I63. Knox, op. cit., 488.

I64. Seymour, op. cit., II, 488; New, op. cit., 358.

I65. New, op. cit, 358.

I66. Diary, 8.

I67. Ibid., 2. Autobiography, 179.

I68. Diary, 8.

I69. Madan died at Epsom on May 2, 1790 (D.N.B., XXXV, 289). Biddulph died at Bath on August 30, 1790 (Wills, Spiritual Register, III, 38).

I70. Diary, 10.

I71. Easterbrook died on January 21, 1791, see Note I41.

I72. Autobiography, 182.

I73. Abbey and Overton, op. cit., 21. Basil Willey has called the eighteenth century " the great Age of Evidences " (Nineteenth Century Studies: Coleridge to Matthew Arnold, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1949), 92).

I74. Soame Jenyns, A View of the Internal Evidence of the Christian Religion, (London: Dodsley, 1776).

Nathaniel Lardner, The Credibility of the Gospel History, (London: Johnson, 1788).

I75. William Paley, A View of the Evidences of Christianity, (Cupar: Tullis, 1816). The first edition was in 1794.

I76. Haweis, Essays on the Evidence, iv.

I77. Ibid., v.

I78. Ibid., 233.

I79. Ibid., 234.

I80. Ibid., 274-276, 279-283.

I81. Monthly Review, I79I, I6I-I64.

I82. Two editions were anonymous (I790 and I79I) and two bore the author's name (both in I79I).

I83. " Origin of the Missionary Society. "

I84. William Bligh (I754-I8I7) had accompanied Captain Cook on his second voyage (I772-I774) when the bread-fruit plant was discovered on Tahiti. In I787 he was appointed to the " Bounty " which arrived in Tahiti in October, I788. Bligh returned to England on March I4, I790. In I79I he was appointed to the " Providence " (D.N.B., V, 2I9-220).

I85. Haweis, in " Origin of the Missionary Society," has the " Bounty."

I86. Sir Joseph Banks (I743-I820) inherited his father's fortune in I764. In I766 he made a scientific expedition to Newfoundland and Labrador. He was a member of Cook's first party, and in I772 went to Iceland. He was elected President of the Royal Society in I778 and a member of the National Institute of France in I802. He bequeathed his books to the British Museum (Edward Smith, The Life of Sir Joseph Banks, (London: Bodley Head, I9II); D.N.B., III, I29-I33; Gentleman's Magazine, I820, i, 637-638, ii, 86-88; Annual Register, I820, ii, II53-II63).

I87. Bligh is one of the most maligned figures in history. The popular misconception of his character is based largely upon a distorted version of the events connected with the mutiny on the " Bounty," perpetuated in our own generation by a grossly inaccurate film.

I88. Ambrose Serle (I742-I8I2) attained the rank of Captain in the Navy in I795. He was Under Secretary for the Colonies in I772 and visited America from I774 to I776 with the British Army. In I776 he was Clerk of Reports. Serle was a friend of several of Haweis' friends - Romaine, Newton, Legh Richmond, John Thornton. He was the author of Horae Solitariae (I780) (D.N.B., LI, 254; J.W. Middleton, Ecclesiastical Memoir, 222-224; Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fourteenth Report, Appendix X, passim).

I89. MS Letter Ambrose Serle to Thomas Haweis, May IO, I79I.

I90. Sir Charles Middleton (I726-I8I3) was the second son of Robert Middleton, a collector of customs at Bo'ness, and Helen, daughter

of Charles Dundas, of Arniston. He was a grandson of George Middleton, D.D., Principal of King's College, Aberdeen. After a distinguished naval career, he was appointed Comptroller of the Navy in 1778. He was created a Baronet in 1781 and was M.P. for Rochester from 1784. He was promoted to Rear-Admiral in 1787, Vice-Admiral in 1793 and Admiral in 1795. In 1794 and 1795 he was one of the Lords of Commission at the Admiralty and in 1805 became First Lord of the Admiralty, being raised to the peerage as Lord Barham. He was an early member of the Evangelical party (D.N.B., XXXVII, 340; Seymour, op. cit., II, 390; The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, extant, extinct and dormant, by G.E. C(ockayne), ed. Vicary Gibbs, (London: St. Catharine Press, 1910), I, 423).

191. William Wilberforce (1759-1833), son of Robert Wilberforce of Hull, educated at Hull Grammar School, Pocklington Grammar School and St. John's College, Cambridge (October 1776). He was M.P. for Hull from 1780 and the Parliamentary leader in the abolition of slavery. He helped to found the Church Missionary Society in 1799 and the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804 (The Life of William Wilberforce by His Sons (Robert and Samuel), (London: Seeley, Burnside and Seeley, 1843); D.N.B., LXI, 208-217).

cf. MS Letter Ambrose Serle to Thomas Haweis, June 16, 1791, referring to Wilberforce as the primum mobile in securing audience with Nepean.

192. Sir Evan Nepean (1751-1822) became Commissioner of the Privy Seal in 1784. He was Under Secretary for War in 1794, Secretary of the Admiralty in 1795, Chief Secretary for Ireland in 1804, Lord of Commission at the Admiralty in 1804 and Governor of Bombay from 1812 to 1819 (D.N.B., XL, 221-22; Gentleman's Magazine, 1822, ii, 373).

193. Charles Grant (1746-1823) was a member of the Clapham Sect. A Scot, born on the shores of Loch Ness, Grant went out to India as a youth and entered the service of the East India Company, of which he eventually became Chairman. It was a meeting with Christian Friedrich Schwartz that first fired his missionary enthusiasm. He settled in Clapham in 1790 (John A. Patten, These Remarkable Men: The Beginnings of A World Enterprize, (London: Lutterworth Press, 1945), 90-96).

194. Beilby Porteus was Bishop of London from 1787 to 1808 (le Neve, op. cit., III, 306).

195. MS Letters William Romaine to Thomas Haweis, May 20 and 25, 1791; Haweis, Life of Romaine, 203.

196. The Primate in 1791 was John Moore (Aldred W. Rowden, The Primates of the Four Georges, (London: Murray, 1916), 348-379).

197. " Origin of the Missionary Society."

198. Thomas Lewis (d.1799) was one of the four ordained ministers

who eventually sailed on the " Duff " in 1796 (Richard Lovett, The History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895, (London: Frowde, 1899), I, 127)

199. Smith, op. cit., 61.

200. Autobiography, 195; Diary, 18.

201. See Thomas Haweis, A Short Account of the Last Days of the Right Honourable and most respected Lady Selina, Countess Dowager of Huntingdon, from Authentic Testimonies, (London: Chalmers, n.d.).

CHAPTER SIX

- I. Autobiography, 196.
2. Seymour, op. cit., II, 490. John Lloyd was one of the group of generous Evangelical laymen (Seymour, op. cit., II, 107; New, op. cit., 254, 256). The trust was renewed on March 1, 1805, when Dr. Ford and Messrs. Groves and Butcher filled the vacancies, and again on June 12, 1807, when Messrs. Oldham and Langston succeeded Ford and Groves (Seymour, op. cit., II, 491).
3. Autobiography, 196.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., 197; Diary, 19; Haweis, Life of Romaine, 171-173; Seymour, op. cit., II, 314; Morison, op. cit., 186.
6. Haweis, Life of Romaine, 155, 173; Autobiography, 157.
7. Lady Anne Agnes Erskine (1740-1804) was the daughter of the Earl of Buchan and a relative of Ralph and Ebenezer Erskine. She met Lady Huntingdon when her family removed to Bath in 1767. She acted as secretary to the Countess (Seymour, op. cit., passim; Burder, op. cit., II, 257-262; Evangelical Magazine, 1805, 241-247).
8. Evangelical Magazine, 1805, 243-244; Burder, op. cit., II, 260; D.E. Jenkins, Life of Charles, II, 400.
9. Autobiography, 198.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid., 200-201.
12. Ibid., 201.
13. Ibid., 201-202.
14. Seymour, op. cit., II, 512.
15. Diary 26. Subscriptions to support a new College were collected by a body known as " The Apostolic Society," constituted on October 17, 1787, for the purpose of perpetuating Lady Huntingdon's College after her death. Eight hundred pounds had been raised and invested. The Countess had thought of Swansea as a possible site for the transferred institution, but the trustees decided in favour of Cheshunt. The house at Trevecka was given up on Lady Day, 1792. As we have seen, Haweis probably sat as a governor on the full Committee, though not a trustee (Cheshunt College Brochure for 1814; Minutes of The Apostolic Society; The Plan of the Apostolic Society).

Isaac Nicholson (1761-1807), a native of Cumberland, took orders in the diocese of Chester in 1783. He was Curate of Coddington, Cheshire, in 1784 and later Perpetual Curate of Woodalehead, Cumberland. He was President of Cheshunt College from 1792 until 1803, when he was compelled to resign through ill health. He was pastor of Mulberry Gardens Chapel, London, from 1804 to 1807 (D.E. Jenkins, Life of Charles, II, 228n.; Evangelical Register, I, 225-229).

16. Autobiography, 201; Diary, 27. Haweis may have met Middleton first in 1792, but the link-up with Evangelical clergymen in the north must have been later, for Middleton did not matriculate from Trinity College, Oxford, until June 20, 1794, aged 18. He graduated B.A. in 1798 and M.A. in 1801 (as Middelton - a variant that appears elsewhere). As he was described in the register as the son of John Middleton of Marylebone, a London meeting with Haweis in 1792 is quite feasible. His parish is not mentioned by Foster (op. cit., II, 952).

17. The Sailor's Calling had been published in 1791.

18. Diary, 62.

19. Joannes Raimund Boisselin de Ciccé was Archbishop of Aix from 1771 until 1801. He was made a Cardinal in 1803 and died the following year (Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae, quotquot innotuerunt a Beato Petro Apostolo a multis adjutus, ed. P. Pius Bonifacius Gaius, (Leipsig: Hiersemann, 1931), 485, 641). The Archbishop left Haweis a tricoloured cockade as a keepsake (Diary, 32, note by Elizabeth Haweis).

20. Antoine Eustache d'Osmond was Bishop of Cominges from 1785 to 1801. He was transferred to the see of Nancy in 1802. In 1809 Napoleon imposed him on Florence as its Archbishop, causing great dissatisfaction. Monsignor d'Osmond died in 1829 (Series Episcoporum, 540, 580; Catholic Encyclopaedia, VI, III).

21. Diary, 32.

22. Ibid., 33.

23. Ibid., 34.

24. Ibid., 35. Four thousand copies of " The Passionate Address " were printed, and various dialogues.

25. vide infra, 269-270.

26. A Translation of the New Testament from the Original Greek, humbly attempted with a view to assist the unlearned with clearer and more explicit views of the mind of the Spirit in the Scriptures of Truth, (London: Chapman, 1795).

27. A New Translation of the New Testament..... extracted from

the Paraphrase of the late Philip Doddridge, D.D., and carefully revised..., (London: Rivington, 1795), 2 Vols.

28. Edward Harwood, A Literal Translation of the New Testament, being an attempt to translate the Sacred Writings with the same freedom, spirit and elegance with which other English translations from the Greek classics have lately been executed..., (London: Becket, 1768), 2 Vols.

29. John Worsley, The New Testament or New Covenant... Translated from the Greek according to the presentation of the English tongue..., (London: Hett, 1770).

30. Gilbert Wakefield, A Translation of the New Testament, (London: Philanthropic Press, 1791), 3 Vols.

31. Nathaniel Scarlett, A Translation of the New Testament from the Original Greek, humbly attempted..., (London: Gillet, 1798).

32. vide supra, 64.

33. Published in Dublin by Exshaw in 1792.

34. Newcome, op. cit., Chapter V.

35. Haweis, N.T. Translation, iii-iv.

36. Ibid., v.

37. Ronald A. Knox, On Englishing the Bible, (London: Burns, Oates, 1949), 3.

38. Some of these are examined in Appendix B.

39. Hatfield, op. cit., 307.

40. Haweis, N.T. Translation, vi.

41. Ibid., i.

42. Evangelical Magazine, 1796, 26.

43. Haweis, N.T. Translation, vii.

44. Gilbert was an Anglican Chaplain in Sierra Leone for a time. He was probably George Gilbert, son of Benedict Gilbert, of Roulston, Hereford, who matriculated from Jesus College, Oxford, on November 22, 1781, aged 19, and graduated B.A. in 1786 (Foster, op. cit., II, 522).

Melville Horne (1761-1841) was originally one of John Wesley's preachers. He was Curate of Madely in 1785 and also served as Curate of Olney for a time. He was ordained priest in 1786 and spent fourteen months as a Chaplain in Sierra Leone. He was afterwards Rector of St. Stephen's, Salford and a Director of the Missionary Society (Morison, op. cit., I, 316; J. Wesley, Journal, VII, 253; Letters

VII, 295).

45. Diary, 42.

46. In the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth: see Bibliography.

47. Known first as the St. George's Bay Company and given a Charter in 1791 as the Sierra Leone Company (The Cambridge History of the British Empire, ed. J. Holland Rose, A.P. Newton and E.A. Benians, II, 1783-1870, The Growth of the New Empire, (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1940), 210).

48. The trustees were named by Lady Anne as Paul le Mesurier, Sir John Riggs, David Scott, M.D., James Kirkpatrick, Moses Ximenes and George Hartwell (MS Letter Lady Anne Erskine to Thomas Haweis, January 14, 1794). Le Mesurier and Scott were both on the Board of the East India Company. Le Mesurier was elected in 1784 and Scott in 1788 (C.H. Philips, " The New East India Board and Court of Directors, 1784," English Historical Review, 1940, 438-446).

49. Article, " Portuguese Guinea," Encyclopaedia Britannica, XVIII, 289.

50. MS Letter Lady Anne Erskine to Thomas Haweis, January 28, 1794.

51. MS Letter Lady Anne Erskine to Thomas Haweis, January 14, 1794.

52. Diary, 62.

53. John Eyre (1754-1803) was born at Bodmin, Cornwall and educated at Bodmin Grammar School. He was converted when a clothier's apprentice at Tavistock and entered Trevecka College. He served in Lincoln and at Mulberry Gardens, London, before deciding to take orders in the Establishment. He matriculated from St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, in March, 1779 and was ordained deacon and priest in the same year. After Curacies at Weston, Lewis (to Richard Cecil) and Reading (to W.B. Cadogan) he was appointed to the Episcopal Chapel at Homerton in 1785. He originated the scheme which eventually developed into Hackney Theological College (D.N.B., XVIII, 100, which errs in calling him a student of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, of which J.A. Venn, op. cit., has no record; Foster, op. cit., II, 441; Morison, op. cit., I, 242-294; Campbell, op. cit., 536-538; Evangelical Magazine, 1803, 225-230, 273-287).

54. Autobiography, 215; " Origin of Missionary Society. "

55. Ibid.

56. Ernest A. Payne, The Church Awakes: The Story of the Modern Missionary Movement, (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1942), 65.

57. Evangelical Magazine, 1794, 478.

58. Samuel Greatheed offered a hundred pounds (Autobiography, 215; Greatheed's MS Notes, quoted in Campbell, op. cit., 170). Samuel Greatheed, F.A.S., (dates uncertain) was the son of a London bank clerk. He was educated at the Tower School and went as an engineer to Canada, where he was converted. In St. John's, Newfoundland, he worshipped with the Congregationalists, and on his return to England he joined the Congregational Church at Ipswich. In 1784 he entered the Evangelical Institution at Newport Pagnell under Thomas Bull, to train for the ministry. He became a tutor at the Institution and pastor of Woburn Independent Chapel, Bedfordshire. He was associated with the Eclectic Review and was one of the original Directors of the L.M.S. (Morison, op. cit., II, 287-294; Campbell, op. cit., 542-544; Lovett, op. cit., I, passim).

59. Autobiography, 215.

60. Ibid., 214 (Note to 215).

61. Melville Horne, Letters on Missions, addressed to the Protestant Ministers of the British Churches, (Andover: Flagg and Gould, 1815), 92-93.

62. " An Address to Christian Ministers, and all other Friends of Christianity, on the subject of Missions to the Heathen " (Reports of the Missionary Society, (London: Williams, n.d.), 1st Report, 5-8).

63. The first meeting recorded in the Minutes was on January 8, 1795. What the 1st Report, 5, calls " the first concerted meeting with a view to this society " took place on November 4, 1794, at Baker's Coffee House, Change Alley, Cornhill (Lovett, op. cit., I, 13; Ellis, op. cit., I, 17). Campbell, op. cit., 171, says: " The first stone of the mighty edifice was laid in that momentous hour. "

64. Lovett, op. cit., I, 12-13; Ellis, op. cit., I, 11-12; Campbell, 171-172. Edward Williams, D.D. (1750-1813) was born at Glanclwyd, near Denbigh, where he was associated with the Congregational Church. Educated at Abergavenny Academy he became minister of the Congregational Church at Ross, Herefordshire, in 1775. In 1777 he removed to Oswestry (not 1781, as Evangelical Magazine, 1818, 229). He was minister of Carr's Lane from 1792 to 1795 and then became a tutor at Rotherham College (Joseph Gilbert, Memoir of the Life and Writings of Edward Williams..., (London: Westley, 1825); D.N.B., LXI, 394; D.E. Jenkins, Life of Charles, I, 294, II, 18).

65. Ellis, op. cit., I, 12.

66. John Ryland (1753-1825) was the son of the Baptist minister John Collett Ryland, of Northampton. He entered the ministry in 1771 and assisted his father until 1786 when he took sole charge. From 1793 to 1825 he served as minister of Broadmead Chapel, Bris-

tol and as tutor at the Baptist College, Bristol. He was Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society from 1815 to 1825 (D.N.B., I, 55-56).

67. David Bogue, D.D. (1751-1825), son of John Bogue, was born at Hallydown, Coldingham, Berwickshire and educated at Eyemouth School, Duns Grammar School and Edinburgh University (matriculated 1762; graduated M.A., March, 1771). He was licensed to preach in the Church of Scotland and would have been presented to the living of Coldingham, but the patronage controversy was at its height and his father would not seek the favour from the Earl of Marchmont, Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland. Bogue went to London in 1771 and assisted at Silver Street and Camberwell Chapels. In 1777 he became pastor of the Congregational Church at Gosport and in 1789 opened his Academy there, financed by George Welsh, a London banker. He was an original Director of the L.M.S. and received the degree of D.D. from Yale in 1815 (James Bennett, The Life of David Bogue, (London: Westley and Davis, 1827); D.N.B., V, 302; Morison, op. cit., I, 457-552; Campbell, op. cit., 533-536; Lovett, op. cit., I, passim).

68. James Steven, D.D. (1761-1824) was a native of Kilmarnock, educated at Glasgow University and licensed by the Presbytery of Paisley. After an Assistantship at Ardrossan Steven became, in 1787, minister of Crown Court Chapel, Covent Garden. He was one of the original Directors of the L.M.S. In 1803 he was presented by the Earl of Eglinton to the parish of Kilwinning. He was awarded a D.D. by his University in 1817 (Morison, op. cit., II, 425-434; Campbell, op. cit., 552-553; Hew Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae: the Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation, (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1915-1928), III, II8, VII, 468; W. Innes Addison, A Roll of the Graduates of the University of Glasgow, 1727-1897, (Glasgow: Maclehose, 1898), 577).

69. Lovett, op. cit., I, 5. cf. also Appendix II, 802.

70. John Hey, minister of Castle Green Congregational Church, Bristol, was an original Director of the L.M.S. He preached one of the inaugural sermons, on September 27, 1795 (1st Report, 26).

71. James Bennett, Life of Bogue, 170.

72. Ibid., 193-194.

73. William Brown, History of the Propagation of Christianity among the Heathen since the Reformation, (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1854), II, 98n.

74. James Bennett, Life of Bogue, 193. Having issued this sensible caveat Bennett rather inconsistently proceeds to support the popular acclamation of Bogue as the originator of the L.M.S.

75. Payne, op. cit., 36.

76. cf. Morison, op. cit., II, 170n.: " Many highly respectable and well-informed persons hold the opinion that Dr. Haweis was the originator, or founder, of the London Missionary Society, and he is so described on his sepulchral tablet in the Abbey Church at Bath. "

77. William Alers Hankey succeeded Joseph Hardcastle as Treasurer of the L.M.S. in 1816 and served until 1832. He was the friend and partner of Hardcastle (Lovett, op. cit., I, 91).

78. MS Letter Elizabeth Haweis to William Alers Hankey, April 6, 1820.

79. Morison, op. cit., II, 170. cf. MS Letter George Burder to Thomas Haweis, June 30, 1818: " I cannot but congratulate you, dear Sir, on having lived to see the desires of your heart justified by the success of this Mission of which doubtless you are the founder. "

80. Lovett, op. cit. I, 24.

81. The wording of the official notice, see 1st Report, 16; Missionary Magazine, 1796, 45-47.

82. Sir Egerton Leigh (1762-1818), third son of Sir Egerton Leigh, was educated at Westminster School and succeeded his father in the title in 1781. His residence was West Hall, High Leigh, Cheshire. He was one of the original Directors of the L.M.S. (Morison, op. cit., II, 556-557; D.N.B., XXXII, 433; Barker and Stenning, op. cit., II, 567; John Sibree and M. Caston, Independency in Warwickshire, (Coventry: King, 1855), 393-398).

83. John Love, D.D. (1757-1825) was born at Paisley and educated at Paisley Grammar School and Glasgow University. He was licensed in 1782 and served as an Assistant at Greenock and Rutherglen. In 1788 he became minister of the Presbyterian congregation meeting in Crispin Street, Spitalfields, London. He was Joint Secretary of the L.M.S. with William Shrubsole from 1795 to 1800, when he became minister of Anderston Chapel of Ease, Glasgow. He acted as Secretary of the Glasgow Missionary Society. He received his doctorate from Aberdeen in 1810. Lovedale, the first mission station in Kaffraria, was named after him (D.N.B., XXXIV, 158; Morison, op. cit., II, 59-78; Campbell, op. cit., 545-546; Scott, op. cit., III, 389, VII, 496; W. Innes Addison, The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow, 1728-1858, (Glasgow: Maclehose, 1913), 84).

84. 1st Report, 16.

85. Ibid., 17, 23.

86. Sermons preached in London, at the formation of the Missionary Society, September 22, 23, 24, 1795: to which are prefixed

Memorials, respecting the establishment and first attempts of that Society....(London: Chapman, 1795), Sermon I. The Apostolic Commission, 3-23.

87. Ibid., 5,6.

88. Ibid., 6.

89. Ibid., 10.

90. Ibid., 11.

91. Ibid., 12.

92. Ibid., 13.

93. Willey, Eighteenth Century Background, 14.

94. Missionary Sermons, 14, 15.

95. Ibid., 14.

96. Ibid., 19.

97. Ibid., 21.

98. Ibid.

99. Ibid., 22, 23.

100. Matthew Wilks (1746-1829) was born in Gibraltar, the son of an Army officer who retired to Birmingham. Wilks first came into contact with Evangelical teaching through William Piercey, then Curate of West Bromwich. He was trained at Trevecka College and in 1775 became one of the pastors of the Tabernacle and Tottenham Court Chapel. He cooperated with Eyre in starting the Evangelical Magazine and was one of the original Directors of the L.M.S. (Morison, op. cit., II, 376-406; Campbell, op. cit., 514-533).

101. 1st Report, 24-25.

102. Missionary Sermons, 27-158. George Burder (1752-1832), son of Henry Burder, of Southwark, was intended for an artist and studied at the Royal Academy. In 1773 he began work as an engraver. He had come under the influence of Whitefield and Romaine and in 1775 joined the Tabernacle. Fletcher of Madely encouraged him towards the ministry and in 1778 he was ordained pastor of Lancaster Congregational Chapel. In 1781 he was invited to West Orchard Chapel, Coventry, and began his ministry in 1783. He helped to found the Warwickshire Association of Ministers for the Spread of the Gospel at Home and Abroad (1793) and was an original Director of the L.M.S. He was connected with the formation of the Religious

Tract Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society. He was Secretary of the L.M.S. from 1803 to 1827 and minister of Fetter Lane Chapel (Henry Foster Burder, Memoir of George Burder, (London: Westley, 1833); D.N.B., VII, 294-295; Morison, op. cit., II, 79-117).

I03. 1st Report, 19; Lovett, op. cit., I, 33.

I04. 1st Report, 19.

I05. A Memoir on the most eligible part to begin a Mission, and the most probable means of accomplishing it: being the substance of a discourse delivered in Surrey Street Chapel, before the Missionary Society, September 24, 1795, Missionary Sermons, 159-184. cf. also Evangelical Magazine, 1795, 261-271.

I06. John Campbell (1766-1840), a founder of the Scottish Religious Tract Society and an advocate of Sunday Schools, lay preaching, Magdalen societies and slavery abolition, was a Congregationalist minister at Kingsland from 1802. In 1812 and 1819 he visited South Africa as a deputation from the L.M.S. (D.N.B., VIII, 378; Lovett, op. cit., I, 533, 536).

I07. Campbell, op. cit., 202.

I08. Haweis, Memoir, 163.

I09. Ibid.

I10. Ibid., 163-168.

III. Ibid., 168-172. Lovett, op. cit., I, 121, comments thus: " Dr. Haweis had what was, for his day, the best obtainable and, apparently, reliable evidence for all these assertions. But this was based upon the reports of men who, though intelligent and acute observers, had yet sketched only the merest surface life of the islanders. They had looked at them mainly from the standpoint of the man of the world, and had no more conception of the true nature of the Tahitian savage than many of our military men and civilians have of the spiritual needs and the religious capacity of the Hindu, or than the commercial man in China, who has little or no sympathy with Christianity, has of the religious capabilities and achievements of the native converts. Dr. Haweis supported his views by his deeds. He gave £500 towards the mission, his energy and enthusiasm entitle him to be called the Father of Polynesian Missions, he lived through the long and weary night of toil, and he was permitted to see the first great triumphs of the Gospel in the islands of the Southern Sea. But he would have given very different reasons in 1820, the year of his death, for selecting Tahiti as a mission-field, from those which he urged so eloquently in 1795. "

I12. Haweis, Memoir, 172.

II3. Ibid., I72-I73.

II4. Ibid., I73-I81.

II5. Ibid., I80.

II6. James Wilson (I760-I814), son of the captain of a Newcastle trader, went to America as a young man and fought at Bunker's Hill and Long Island. He then sailed as mate on an East Indiaman and later, as a captain, helped to supply Sir Eyre Coote's army hemmed in by Hyder Ali. Wilson was captured by the French and made a thrilling escape. He returned to England and settled at Hordean, in Hampshire. Through Captain Sims he was introduced to John Griffin's Church at Portsea (John Griffin, Memoir of Captain James Wilson, (London: Hamilton, Adams, I834); Haweis, Church History, III, Appendix III, 36I-40I; Morison, op. cit., II, 534-550; Campbell, op. cit., 573-575).

II7. Haweis, Memoir, I78.

II8. Autobiography, 2I8; Griffin, op. cit., I4I-I42; Campbell, op. cit., 225.

II9. Ist Report, I9.

I20. 2nd Report, 30.

I2I. Ibid.

I22. Ibid., 3I.

I23. Autobiography, 220 (Extract from Diary, October 3, I795).

I24. 2nd Report, 35.

I25. Ibid.; this decision of the London Executive was ratified by a general meeting, ibid., 37.

I26. Autobiography, 220; Campbell, op. cit., 208; Ellis, op. cit., I, 40.

I27. Autobiography, 222.

I28. Ibid., 2I7.

I29. MS Letters Ambrose Serle to Thomas Haweis, October 7, 29, November 5, I2, December 3, 5, I795, July I9, I796 and n.d. Serle agreed with Haweis that a commercial vessel sponsored by a company on behalf of the Society would be the least expensive proposition. Hardcastle at first favoured Haweis' idea also, but later changed his mind - see MS Letters Joseph Hardcastle to Thomas Haweis, November 6, I795, January 26, February 2, March 7, I796 and MS Letter John Eyre to Thomas Haweis, April 2, I796.

Joseph Hardcastle (1752-1819) was born in Leeds. In 1766 he came to live with his uncle, Nathaniel Hardcastle, in London. He attended Bury Street Chapel. He rose to be one of the leading merchants in the city and in 1787 removed to Hatcham House. He was associated with Wilberforce and Granville Sharp in the anti-slavery agitation. He was a friend of Thomas Coke and Zachary Macaulay. Hardcastle's premises in Duck's-foot Lane were used for some of the early Directors' meetings of the L.M.S. In 1801 Hardcastle moved his business to No. 9, Old Swan Stairs and from that date until 1814 the Directors' meetings were held there regularly. In this same room the Committee of the R.T.S. met and the British and Foreign Bible Society was born. Hardcastle was Treasurer of the L.M.S. from 1795 to 1816. He retired to Bayton, near Bury St. Edmunds (Morison, op. cit., I, 295-418; Campbell, op. cit., 568-570; Lovett, op. cit., I, 89-91; Evangelical Magazine, 1842, 267-269).

I30. Christian Ignatius Latrobe (1753-1836), son of Benjamin Latrobe, was born at Fulneck and educated at the Moravian College of Insota. In 1787 he became Secretary for the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel and in 1795 succeeded James Hutton as Secretary of the Unitas Fratrum in England (D.N.B., XXXII, 183).

I31. MS Letters Christian Ignatius Latrobe to Thomas Haweis, n.d. (1795), and November 14, 1795.

I32. MS Letter Christian Ignatius Latrobe to Thomas Haweis, n.d. (1795).

I33. MS Letter Ambrose Serle to Thomas Haweis, August 2, 1796. James Gambier (1756-1837) was one of the Lords of the Admiralty from 1795 to 1801. He was later Governor of Newfoundland and rose to be an Admiral of the Fleet (D.N.B., XX, 393).

MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Lord Dundas, July 22, 1796. Henry Dundas, First Viscount Melville (1742-1811) was a Privy Councillor and Treasurer of the Navy 1782-1783 and 1784-1800. He became First Lord of the Admiralty in 1804 and figured in a famous impeachment, from which he was acquitted (D.N.B., XVI, 186-191).

I34. See Bibliography.

I35. Title.

I36. Thomas Haweis, A Word in Season..., (London: Chapman, 1795), 9.

I37. Ibid., II.

I38. Ibid., I5.

I39. Thomas Haweis, A Plea for Peace and Union..., (London: Chapman, 1795), 8-13.

I40. Ibid., I4.

- I41. Ibid., 16.
- I42. Ibid., 16-23.
- I43. Ibid., 20.
- I44. Ibid., 27.
- I45. Ibid., 29-30.
- I46. Thomas Haweis, Missionary Instructions..., (London: Chapman, 1795), 8.
- I47. Ibid., 9.
- I48. Ibid., 30-34. The letters were dated November 25, 1795 and February 18, 1796. In a third letter, of November 30, 1795, Latrobe answered questions posed by Haweis, *ibid.*, 34-44. cf. also MS Letter Christian Ignatius Latrobe to Thomas Haweis, November 14, 1795.
- I49. Thomas Haweis, A Memoir respecting an African Mission..., (London: Chapman, 1795). See 2nd Report, 38 and Lovett, *op. cit.*, I, 45, 101-102, 477.
- I50. Zachary Macaulay (1768-1838), son of a Scots cleric, was Governor of Sierra Leone from 1793 to 1799 and Secretary of the Company from 1799 to 1808. He was Secretary of the African Institute from 1807 to 1812, editor of the Christian Observer and helped to form the Anti-Slavery Society in 1823 (D.N.B., XXXIV, 418).
- I51. 3rd Report, 61-62, 75-76. Haweis was taken into consultation when this mission was planned (MS Letter Joseph Hardcastle to Thomas Haweis, September 22, 1796).
- I52. Autobiography, 225.
- I53. MS Letter Samuel Greatheed to Thomas Haweis, June 3, 1796.
- I54. Lovett, *op. cit.* I, 49.
- I55. Ibid.
- I56. 3rd Report, 55; Autobiography, 230-231; Lovett, *op. cit.*, I, 128. Ellis, *op. cit.*, I, 42, has July 27 and Campbell, *op. cit.*, 240, has August 28. Lovett, *op. cit.*, I, 128, says that " the order of proceedings in the handwriting of Dr. Haweis is still extant " (1899) and adds a footnote: " MSS in possession of Rev. H.R. Haweis " - i.e. Haweis' grandson. This has not been preserved in any of the located collections of Haweis MSS.
- I57. The others were Reynolds, Love, Waugh and Wilks. John Reynolds was minister of Camomile Street Independent Chapel, London, from 1774 to 1803 (Lovett, *op. cit.*, I, 13; J.G. White, The Churches

and Chapels of Old London, (London: Privately printed, 1901), 38).

Alexander Waugh, (1754-1827) was a native of East Gordon, Berwickshire, and educated at Earlstown Grammar School and Edinburgh University. In 1770 he joined the Secession Church at Stitchell and from 1774 studied Divinity under John Brown of Haddington. He was licensed in 1779 and in 1780 served at Newton, Roxburgh. In 1782 he was called to Wells Street Chapel, London. He was one of the original Directors of the L.M.S., Chairman of the Examining Board and chief propagandist of the Society in Scotland (James Hay and Henry Belfrage, Memoir of Alexander Waugh, (Edinburgh: Oliphant, 1839); Morison, op. cit., II, 1-58; Campbell, op. cit., 547-548).

I58. 3rd Report, 55.

I59. Ibid.

I60. Autobiography, 230.

I61. 3rd Report, 58-59; Lovett, op. cit., I, 129; Autobiography, 232.

I62. 3rd Report, 58-59.

I63. Lovett, op. cit., I, 129.

I64. Joseph Brooksbank (1762-1825) was born at Thornton, near Bradford, Yorkshire, and was a farmer's son. Educated at Bradford Grammar School and Homerton Old College, he became minister of Haberdasher's Hall, Staining Lane, Cheapside, London, in 1785. He was an original Director of the L.M.S. (Morison, op. cit., II, 463-469; Campbell, op. cit., 556; Evangelical Magazine, 1825, 236, 312-320). Lovett, op. cit., I, 130, in this context, describes Haweis' companion as Thomas Brooksbank, but the Index lists this reference under Joseph Brooksbank.

I65. Lovett, op. cit., I, 130-131; Campbell, op. cit., 248-270; Morison, op. cit., II, 195-207. The Journal dates from August 10 to October 1, 1796.

I66. Journal, 6. Ellis, op. cit., I, 43, has August 4.

I67. Journal, 7. cf. MS Letter William Kingsbury to Thomas Haweis, July 4, 1796. William Kingsbury (1744-1818) was a Londoner, educated at the Merchant Tailors' School and Christ's Hospital. In 1758 he entered Mile End Academy to train for the ministry and in 1762 became a member of Haberdasher's Hall Chapel, Tooting. He was ordained pastor of Southampton Independent Chapel in 1765. He was a friend of John Howard and prominent in the Sunday School movement. In 1807 he resigned his charge and retired to Westbury, Wiltshire (Morison, op. cit., II, 517-533; Campbell, op. cit., 556-558).

I68. Journal, 10.

I69. Ibid., 29-30.

I70. Campbell, op. cit., 268. Walter Taylor (d. 1803) married in 1776 Sarah Andrews, daughter of the Rev. Mordecai Andrews, of London, whose sister Kingsbury had married in 1768 (Campbell, op. cit., 267; Morison, op. cit., II, 524). He was a friend and correspondent of Romaine (Haweis, Life of Romaine, 100; Romaine, Works, passim).

I71. Lovett, op. cit., I, 132.

I72. Journal, 35.

I73. Ibid., II.

I74. MS Letter Lady Anne Erskine to Thomas Haweis, September 13, 1796.

I75. MS Letters Lady Anne Erskine to Thomas Haweis, August 23, 31, September 3, 6, 13, 1796. For Haweis' printed sermon to the Jews, see Bibliography.

I76. MS Letter Lady Anne Erskine to Thomas Haweis, August 23, 1796.

I77. Haweis, Life of Romaine, 3.

I78. Ibid., 141.

I79. Ibid., 9-10.

I80. Ibid.

I81. Ibid., 13.

I82. Ibid., 143-144.

I83. vide supra, 201-202.

I84. MS Letter Ambrose Serle to Thomas Haweis, September 22, 1796.

I85. MS Letter Ambrose Serle to Thomas Haweis, December 23, 1796.

I86. MS Letter George Burder to Thomas Haweis, December 23, 1795. New England traders claimed to have met a community in Western America which traced its origin to Welsh emigrants under Madoc ap Owen Gwynedd in the eleventh century. The Rev. Charles Beattie, a missionary in the Allegheny Mountains, had the story from a William Sutton, and published a book about it in 1768 (Missionary Magazine, 1796, 221-224; D.E. Jenkins, Life of Charles, II, 128-129).

I87. D.N.B., XXV, I86, has c. I772. cf. also Public Characters, I795, 323; Gentleman's Magazine, I820, i, 27.

I88. Haweis' name is not listed in the register of Anderson's 'University', Glasgow, founded in I796. Gilbert, op. cit., II, I43, even describes Haweis as an " eminent physician " !

CHAPTER SEVEN

1. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Joseph Hardcastle, April 14, 1797, referred to a communication from Captain Wilson which was "confidential, but highly encouraging." Haweis thought of publishing extracts in the Evangelical Magazine, but does not seem to have done so. The first letter printed in the magazine from the "Duff" was written by one of the seamen, Thomas Robson, to John Alldey, of Soho, dated November 18, 1796, from Rio de Janiero (Evangelical Magazine, 1797, 161-162). The next issue contained three more: John Jefferson to the Directors, November 15, 1796; William Crook to Matthew Wilks, November 16, 1796; John Cock to J. B. Wildbore, of Falmouth, November 16, 1796 - all from Rio de Janiero (Evangelical Magazine, 1797, 205-209).
2. MS Letter Samuel Greatheed to Thomas Haweis, February 7, 1797.
3. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Joseph Hardcastle, April 14, 1797.
4. Ibid.
5. Johannes Theodosius Vanderkemp (1748-1811) was born in Rotterdam and was the son of a Dutch Lutheran pastor. He studied medicine at Leyden and took his M.D. at Edinburgh in 1782 with a thesis entitled "De Vita." He was drawn to the Missionary Society by the Directors' appeal circulated in Germany and offered himself for missionary service (A.D. Martin, The Life of J.T. Vanderkemp, (London: Livingstone, n.d.); Lovett, op. cit., I, 482-486; Transactions of the Missionary Society, I, 351-353; List of Graduates in Medicine in the University of Edinburgh, (Edinburgh: Neill, 1867), 16).
6. Minutes of Missionary Society, July 24, 1797. 4th Report, 77.
7. The "Duff" actually sailed in the same convoy as the "Hillsborough" (Lovett, op. cit., I, 484).
8. Lovett, op. cit., I, 57. For the letter itself, see 4th Report, 82-88.
9. Thanksgiving Sermons preached before the Missionary Society in London, August 6, 1798..., (London: Chapman, 1798), 50-51.
10. Campbell, op. cit., 367. Thomas Charles (1755-1814), the son of a Carmarthenshire farmer of Llanvihangel, was reared among Methodists. He was educated at Jesus College, Oxford (matriculated May 31, 1775; graduated B.A. 1779) and was Curate of Queen's Camel, Somerset, in 1778. He went to Bala in 1784 and became a famous Calvinistic Methodist preacher. He was also prominent in the Charity and Sunday School movement (D.E. Jenkins, Life of

Charles; Morgan, op. cit.; D.N.B., X, 112-114; Foster, op. cit., II, 240).

11. Missionary Magazine, 1798, 376-377.
12. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Johannes Theodosius Vanderkemp, March 2, 1798.
13. MS Letter Thomas Coke to Thomas Haweis, October 26, 1798.
14. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Johannes Theodosius Vanderkemp, March 2, 1798.
15. Letter Thomas Charles to Edward Griffin, August 15, 1798: " Dr. Haweis is preparing the Missionary Voyage for the press " (D.E. Jenkins, Life of Charles, II, 186). Samuel Greatheed left an account of the negotiations prior to the publication of the work, dated August 16, 1798.
16. It was originally intended that this should be completed before the " Duff " sailed and provide the missionaries with a useful guide. cf. MS Letters Samuel Greatheed to Thomas Haweis, March 11, June 3, 20, 21, July 1, 1796.
17. Campbell, op. cit., 365.
18. Diary, 59-60 ; Autobiography, 174; Gentleman's Magazine, 1799, 1, 255. cf. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Johannes Theodosius Vanderkemp, February 22, 1799: " You will hear with grief the loss I have sustained in Mrs. H.: after a long indisposition she is resting in Jesus, and there is no doubt He will bring her with Him. " Letter William Astle to Thomas Charles, February 25, 1799: " You may probably have heard of Mrs. Haweis' death. I shall only say that she departed this life on Friday the 15th. inst. at Bath " (D.E. Jenkins, Life of Charles, II, 275). Boase, op. cit., 335, Peter, op. cit., 108-109, and Vivian, op. cit., 583-584, all give 1796 as the year of her death. She was ill at this time (cf. MS Letter Lady Anne Erskine to Thomas Haweis, August 23, 1796) and perhaps this gave rise to the error.
19. Diary, 22.
20. Lovett, op. cit., I, 60-62.
21. Minutes of Missionary Society.
22. Ibid.
23. The letter containing this sad information was dated March 29, 1798.
24. MS Copy of Letter Thomas Haweis to the missionaries in Tahiti, n.d. (1799).

25. MS Letters Johannes Theodosius Vanderkemp to Thomas Haweis, July 16, August 12, 1799.

26. MS Letter John Eyre to Thomas Haweis, January 12, 1799.

27. The following letters are found amongst Haweis' correspondence:

Letter from Basle, December 12, 1798, signed C.J. Steinkopff.

Letter from Basle, February 9, 1799, signed C.J. Steinkopff.

Letter from Swedish Society, n.d., signed Gustaf Murray and John Linderholm.

Reference was made to letters from Frankfurt and Baron von Schirnding in MS Letter John Eyre to Thomas Haweis, March 12, 1799, and to a letter from the Swedish Society in MS Letter John Eyre to Thomas Haweis, April 12, 1799.

28. cf. MS correspondence John Eyre to Thomas Haweis.

29. Haweis preached the Society's Annual Sermon in 1798, see Bibliography. Later he invented a Life Preserver. The honorary prize voted to him he directed to be paid into the funds of the L.M.S. (Missionary Chronicle, 1820, 427).

30. July 10, 1799.

31. vide supra, 89.

32. Newton, Works, 427-428; Joseph Milner, The History of the Church of Christ..., (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1841), iv-v.

33. Haweis, Church History, I, i.

34. Ibid., I, 345.

35. Ibid., I, ii.

36. Ibid., I, ix.

37. Ibid., I, 53.

38. Ibid., I, vii.

39. Ibid., I, x.

40. Ibid., I, x-ii.

41. Ibid., I, 136.

42. Ibid., I, vi.

43. Ibid., I, 246.

44. Ibid., II, 77-78. For a more recent defence of the Paulicians, cf. E.H. Broadbent, The Pilgrim Church, (London: Pickering and

Inglis, 1931), 41-57. The purpose of Broadbent's book is strikingly similar to that of Haweis. The sub-title is revealing: "An account of the continuance through succeeding centuries of Churches practising the principles taught and exemplified in the New Testament. "

45. Haweis, Church History, II, 22. cf. Jerome, Adv. Vigilantium. J.L. von Mosheim, Institutes of Ecclesiastical History, trans. James Murdock, (London: Ward. Lock, 1849), 195, defended Vigilantius. cf. also W.S. Gilly, Vigilantius and his Times, (London: Seeley, Burnside and Seeley, 1844).

46. Haweis, Church History, II, 12, 13.

47. For a modern reconsideration of Nestorius, see J.F. Bethune-Baker, Nestorius and His Teaching: A Fresh Examination of the Evidence, (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1908).

48. "Perhaps of all those who have given their name to a great heresy, Eutyches is the most deserving of pity" (A.R. Whitham, The History of the Christian Church to the Separation of East and West, (London: Rivingtons, 1943), 288. cf. Reinhold Seeberg, Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte, (Erlangen: Böhme, 1895), 217.

49. John Henry Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, being the History of His Religious Opinions, (London: Longmans, Green, 1895), 7. Since Waterland and Wake Patristic studies had fallen into sad desuetude in England.

50. Haweis, Church History, II, 332.

51. Ibid., I, 337-338. There was, however, a further brief reference to St. Augustine under the Pelagian controversy, ibid., II, 17-18.

52. Ibid., I, 337.

53. Ibid., I, 190. Haweis accused Irenaeus of arguing from tradition more than from Scripture, but cf. F.R. Montgomery Hitchcock, Irenaeus of Lugdunum: A Study of His Teaching, (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1914), 196-197; John Lawson, The Biblical Theology of Saint Irenaeus, (London: Epworth Press, 1948), 97-106.

54. Haweis, Church History, I, 197.

55. Ibid., I, 332.

56. Ibid., I, 333.

57. Ibid., II, 29.

58. Ibid., II, 169.

59. Ibid., II, 211.

60. Martin Luther, Von den Konziliis und Kirchen, in Works of Martin Luther, Philadelphia Edition, (Philadelphia: Holman, 1915-1932), V, 169-170.

61. Hawsis, Church History, II, 210.

62. Ibid., II, 230.

63. Ibid., II, 231. Compare the estimate of Dr. Herbert B. Workman, himself a staunch Protestant and a student of the Reformation: " In his personal humility amid all exaltation he proved himself a true saint, as also in the passion and depth of his piety " (Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, II, 536).

64. Hawsis, Church History, II, 254. Contrast the Protestant opinion of Grützmacher: " Dominic was a noble personality of genius and true piety.... In the purity of his intention and the earnestness with which he strove to carry out his ideal, he was not inferior to Francis " (Real-Encyclopädie für Protestant Theologie und Kirche, IV, 773).

65. Hawsis, Church History, II, 256.

66. Ibid., II, 181. Again, cf. H.B. Workman: " The result was, in some respects, the most wonderful fact in the history of the Church. For a while the world lay at the feet of the monastic ideal; no longer an ideal outside the Church, but dominating the Church itself " (Herbert B. Workman, The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal, from the earliest times down to the coming of the Friars, (London: Kelly, 1913), 235).

67. Hawsis, Church History, II, 173.

68. Ibid., I, viii.

69. Ibid., II, 345.

70. Ibid., II, 354.

71. Ibid., II, 356.

72. Ibid., II, 426.

73. Ibid., II, 393-399; cf. Martin Luther, The Bondage of the Will, trans. Henry Cole, (London: Sovereign Grace Union, 1931), 65ff. passim).

74. Hawsis, Church History, II, 458.

75. Ibid., II, 459.

76. Ibid., II, 477.

77. Ibid., II, 378.

78. Luther, Works, Philadelphia Edition, II, 191.
79. vide supra, 234.
80. Hawsis, Church History, II, 378, 383, 461.
81. Ibid., II, 415-418.
82. Ibid., III, 283.
83. Ibid., I, v.
84. Ibid., II, 53, 77.
85. Ibid., II, 202-203.
86. Ibid., II, 281.
87. Ibid., III, 11.
88. Ibid., III, 200-206.
89. Ibid., III, 206.
90. Ibid., II, 431.
91. Ibid., III, 10.
92. Ibid., III, 429; cf. Mosheim, op. cit., 821.
93. Hawsis, Church History, III, 68-75; cf. Mosheim, op. cit., 801-806.
94. Gibbon had already been attacked, of course, on many sides. The most notable effort was Richard Watson's An Apology for Christianity, in a Series of Letters addressed to Edward Gibbon, (Cambridge: Archdeacon, 1777), 1st. Ed. 1776. In 1779 Gibbon published an answer to his various antagonists: A Vindication of Some Passages in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters of the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, (Dublin: Whitestone, 1779). For a modern reconsideration of Gibbon's attitude, see Shelley T. McCloy, Gibbon's Antagonism to Christianity, (London: Williams and Norgate, 1933).
95. Hawsis, Church History, I, III, 113; cf. Edward Gibbon, The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, (London: Warne, n.d.), I, 391-395.
96. Hawsis, Church History, I, 389-440; Gibbon, Decline and Fall, I, 332-432.
97. Hawsis, Church History, I, 399-400.
98. On schism, ibid., I, 135. On Novatian, I, 243. On Gregory

Thaumaturgos, I, 249. On apostolic ordination, I, 319. On Vita Antoniae, I, 326. On particular redemption, II, 17-18. On Pope Gregory VII, II, 40. On Augustine of Canterbury, II, 49. On Milner's alleged partiality to Rome, II, 109. On St. Bernard, II, 230.

99. Ibid., I, 351-378.

100. J. Milner, Church History, 266-273.

101. Ibid., 267.

102. Ibid., 269.

103. Haweis, Church History, I, 359.

104. Ibid., I, 365.

105. Ibid., I, 367.

106. J. Milner, Church History, 271.

107. Haweis, Church History, I, 370.

108. Ibid., I, 378. John Hunt notes this controversy in Religious Thought in England in the Nineteenth Century, (London: Gibbings, 1896), 27.

109. Isaac Milner, D.D. (1750-1820) was educated at Queens' College, Cambridge (Senior Wrangler 1774, Proctor 1782, M.A. 1783, Taxor 1787). He was Professor of Experimental Philosophy from 1783 to 1792 and Lucasian Professor of Mathematics from 1798 to 1820. He was President of Queens' from 1788, Vice-Chancellor and Dean of Carlisle from 1792 (Mary Milner, The Life of Isaac Milner, (London: Parker, 1842); D.N.B., XXXVIII, 9; le Neve, op. cit., III, 248, 631, 662; Gentleman's Magazine, 1820, 370-371).

110. Isaac Milner, Animadversions on Dr. Haweis' Impartial and Succinct History of the Church of Christ, (London: Matthews, Mawman, 1801). cf. M. Milner, Life of I. Milner, 222, 226-227; Evangelical Magazine, 1801, 205.

111. Isaac Milner, Further Animadversions on Dr. Haweis' Misrepresentations, (London: Matthews, Mawman, 1802). William Jay declared that Haweis' " arguments against Milner, with regard to penal enactments in an Establishment, are unanswerable " (Jay, Autobiography, 477).

112. Haweis, Church History, III, 86-89. The Quaker principle of the inner light, said Haweis, necessarily excluded the vicarious substitution of Christ and led ultimately to refined deism.

113. Joseph Gurney Bevan, A Refutation of some of the more

Modern Misrepresentations of the Society of Friends, (London: Nichols, 1800), Preface. cf. also MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Mr. Corfield, n.d. (November 1806 ?), for Haweis' views on the Quakers. He had read both Robert Barclay and William Penn and they did not satisfy him on the central doctrine of the Atonement.

II4. Anti-Jacobin Review, 1803, 500; MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Mr. Corfield, n.d.

II5. Gentleman's Magazine, 1800, ii, 1182.

II6. Anti-Jacobin Review, 1802, 225-244, 356-364; 1803, 265-281. The Review gave space to Haweis' letter of defence against these criticisms, 1803, 493-508.

II7. D.N.B., III, 131. cf. Chapter V, Note 186.

II8. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Sir Joseph Banks, September 12, 1798.

II9. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Sir Joseph Banks, March 29, 1799, and Sir Joseph's reply.

Charles Jenkinson, First Earl of Liverpool and First Baron Hawkesbury (1727-1808) was now Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, after having served as Secretary to the Treasury, Master of the Mint, Secretary-at-War and President of the Board of Trade (D.N.B., XXIX, 309-310).

Lord Charles Spencer (1740-1820) had been appointed one of the Lords of the Admiralty in 1779. He was later Post Master General and Master of the Mint (D.N.B., LIII, 352).

I20. MS Letters Thomas Haweis to Sir Joseph Banks, March 29 and May 29, 1799.

I21. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Sir Joseph Banks, July 4, 1799.

I22. MS Letters Thomas Haweis to Sir Joseph Banks, January 29 and March 3, 1800.

I23. Haweis and Edward Williams slept on board, intending to preach, but were prevented by bad weather (D.E. Jenkins, Life of Charles, II, 199).

I24. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Thomas Charles, February 8, 1800. A transcript of another letter from Haweis to Charles is found in D.E. Jenkins, Life of Charles, II, 196-197, dated December 17, 1799, but this is not included in the located collections of Haweis' MSS. It was Haweis who first interested Charles in the work of the L.M.S. (D.E. Jenkins, Life of Charles, II, 186).

I25. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Sir Joseph Banks, September 29, 1799.

I26. MS Letter Sir Joseph Banks to Thomas Haweis, October 20, 1799.

- I27. MS Letters Johannes Theodosius Vanderkemp to Thomas Haweis, May 14, December 20, 1800.
MS Letters William Edwards to Thomas Haweis, January 4, March 1, 29, 1800. Edwards sailed with Vanderkemp, John Kicherer and John Edmonds in 1798. He later left the mission (Lovett, op. cit., I, passim).
- I28. MS Letter Johannes Theodosius Vanderkemp to Thomas Haweis, May 14, 1800.
- I29. MS Letters Thomas Haweis to Johannes Theodosius Vanderkemp, January 27, May 10, 1800.
Letter to Directors of the South African Missionary Society, March, 1800, signed by J. Hardcastle, T. Haweis and S. Greathead.
- I30. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Johannes Theodosius Vanderkemp, May 10, 1800.
- I31. Robert Haldane (1764-1842) of Airthrey was a wealthy Scottish layman. He had made voyages to India and China as a midshipman. It was he who suggested the Indian mission to the L.M.S. In 1797 he and his brother founded the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Home and in 1799 James became the first Congregational minister in Scotland. He later joined the Baptists (Alexander Haldane, The Lives of Robert Haldane of Airthrey and of his brother, James Alexander Haldane, (Edinburgh: Kennedy, 1871); D.N.B., XXIV, I4-I5).
- I32. Minutes of Missionary Society; Lovett, op. cit., I, 67-72. The Committee consisted of Joseph Hardcastle, Alexander Waugh, John Eyre, George Durant, Matthew Wilks and Thomas Haweis.
- I33. MS Letters Thomas Haweis to George Burder, November 18, December 21, 1819.
MS Letter Thomas Haweis to William Alers Hankey, December 6, 1819.
- I34. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to George Burder, November 18, 1819.
- I35. Bogue's biographer refers to the " inflexible purpose " with which he adhered to his principle of silence concerning his spiritual experience, " but whether it deserves the praise of firmness, or the censure of obstinacy, " he adds, " depends on the correctness of the principle itself " (Bennett, Life of Bogue, II).
- I36. Peile, op. cit., II, 288. Boase, op. cit., 335, calls Haweis " one of the first promoters of the Church Missionary Society in 1794. " The C.M.S. was not formed, of course, until 1799.
- I37. Letters from Haweis were read to the Committee of the C.M.S. on November 3 and December 1, 1800 (Charles Hole, The Early History of the Church Missionary Society, for Africa and the East

to the end of 1814, (London: C.M.S., 1896), 63).

I38. Eugene Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society, (London: C.M.S., 1899), I, 61-62, describes the meeting without giving the names of either Pugh or Jane or crediting them with a real part in the formation of the Society. He thought that the money was used for training the home ministry. But see Hole, op. cit., 23-25; Boase and Courtney, op. cit., I, 269; Boase, op. cit., 1390; Letter Samuel Furdy to Jonah Milford, February 12, 1795, Letter John Pugh to Jonah Milford, December 5, 1795, Boase and Courtney, op. cit., I, 356.

I39. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Sir Joseph Banks, July 27, 1801.

I40. MS Letter Sir Joseph Banks to Thomas Haweis, August 22, 1801. Thomas Pelham (1756-1826), second Earl of Chichester, was Home Secretary in Addington's administration in 1801 (D.N.B., XLIV, 252-255).

I41. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Sir Joseph Banks, September 19, 1801.

I42. Sir Charles Grant Robertson, England Under the Hanoverians, Vol. VI in A History of England, ed. Sir Charles Oman, (London: Methuen, 1947), 405.

I43. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Sir Joseph Banks, October 29, 1801.

I44. For an account, see John Hunt, Religious Thought of Nineteenth Century, I-22, 272-273.

I45. George Pretyman Tomline (1750-1827), son of George Pretyman of Bury St. Edmunds, was educated at Bury St. Edmunds Grammar School and Pembroke Hall, Cambridge (graduated B.A., Senior Wrangler and Smith's prizeman, 1772; Tutor 1773; M.A. 1775; Moderator of University, 1781). He received the D.D. in 1784 and the F.R.S. in 1785. He was Rector of Corwen, Merionethshire in 1782 and of Sudbourn-cum-Offord in 1785. He became a Prebendary of Westminster in 1784, Bishop of Lincoln in 1787 and of Winchester in 1820, holding the Deanery of St Paul's also from 1787. He took the name of Tomline in 1803, after his benefactor, Marmaduke Tomline. He was a personal friend of William Pitt the younger (D.N.B., LVII, 14-17; Rowden, op. cit., 385; le Neve, op. cit., II, 29, 317; III, 20: Gentleman's Magazine, 1828, i, 202).

I46. George Tomline, Elements of Christian Theology, (London: Cadell and Davies, 1804), II, 36.

I47. (Thomas Haweis), The Church of England Vindicated..., (London: Mawman, 1801), 2; Tomline, op. cit., II, 568.

I48. Haweis, Church of England Vindicated, 28.

- I49. Ibid., 22.
- I50. Tomline, op. cit., II, 174-175.
- I51. Ibid., II, 175; Haweis, Church of England Vindicated, 56-58.
- I52. Tomline, op. cit., II, 60.
- I53. Article VIII.
- I54. Tomline, op. cit., II, 246.
- I55. Ibid., II, 230-248; Haweis, Church of England Vindicated, 63-72.
- I56. Haweis, Church of England Vindicated, 72-76.
- I57. Ibid., 86-87.
- I58. John Hunt, Religious Thought in Nineteenth Century, 8.
- I59. Article XVII.
- I60. Tomline, op. cit., II, 307-309.
- I61. Haweis, Church of England Vindicated, 112.
- I62. Ibid., 159-160.
- I63. John Hunt, Religious Thought in Nineteenth Century, 7.
- I64. British Critic, 1803, 589-609.
- I65. Gospel Magazine, 1801, 466.

I66. Augustus M. Toplady, The Church of England Vindicated from the Charge of Arminianism, in The Works of Augustus Montagu Toplady, (London: Chidley, 1841), 610-663.

Richard Hill, An Apology for Brotherly Love, and for the Doctrines of the Church of England; in a series of Letters to the Rev. Charles Daubeney, (London: Cadell and Davies, 1798).

John Overton, The True Churchmen Ascertained: or, An Apology for those of the Regular Clergy of the Establishment, who are sometimes called Evangelical Ministers: occasioned by the publications of Drs. Paley, Hey, Croft; and Messrs Daubeney, Ludlam, Polwhele, Fellowes; the Reviewers, etc., (York: Mawman, 1802).

I67. (Thomas Haweis), Plain Truths: or the Presbyter's Reply to all his Anti-Calvinist opponents, of whatever eminence in the Church, or distinction in literature; specially to the Dean of Peterborough, the British Critics, and the Anti-Jacobin Review, with a few strictures on the Christian Observer, (London: Williams, 1805).

168. The exact date of this marriage was not recorded by Haweis. In December, 1802, he said they were nine months married, so the ceremony probably took place in March. Boase, op. cit., 335, states that the marriage settlement was fixed in September, 1802.

169. Alexander McDowall, of Ballytrust, County Cavanagh, whose wife was formerly a Miss Smith, was the son of John McDowall, whose will was proved in 1749. Elizabeth was born in 1778 and buried in Bath cemetery in 1855 (Boase, op. cit., 335; Index to the Prerogative Wills of Ireland, 1536-1810, ed. Sir Arthur Vicars, (Dublin: Ponsonby, 1897); Diary, 73).

170. Diary, 73.

171. Ibid., 73-74, 77.

172. Lovett, op. cit., I, 94.

173. Minutes of Missionary Society.

174. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Joseph Hardcastle, March 24, 1802. Samuel Marsden (1765-1838), the Apostle of New Zealand, was born at Farsley, Yorkshire and educated at Hull Grammar School. He was adopted by the Elland Society and sent to Magdalen Hall, Cambridge (sizar 1790) where he formed a friendship with Simeon. He was ordained deacon and priest in 1793 (January 1 and May 26) and appointed second Chaplain to New South Wales. He resided at Parramatta and had charge of the religious instruction of the convicts. He returned in 1807 to report to the Government on the state of the colony. From 1809 onwards he turned his attention to the evangelization of New Zealand, with which his name is for ever associated (S.M. Johnstone, Samuel Marsden, A Pioneer of Civilization in the South Seas, (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1932); The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden, ed. John Rawson Elder, (Dunedin: Caulls, Somerville, Wilkie, 1932); D.N.B., XXXVI, 205-206).

175. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Sir Joseph Banks, May 13, 1802.

176. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Sir Joseph Banks, April 18, 1803. For the rebellion against King Otu, see Lovett, op. cit., I, 178.

177. 9th Report, 161. Dr. Oakley was evidently a Moravian.

178. MS Letters Christian Ignatius Latrobe to Thomas Haweis, August 20 and 27, 1803.

179. 10th Report, 182.

180. Eyre died on March 28, 1803. He was interred in his own Chapel at Hackney on April 5. The coffin was preceded by Rowland Hill, Cradock Glascott and James Wilson. The London Directors of the Missionary Society and the principal members of his congregation followed in twenty-five coaches. Glascott read the service and

Rowland Hill preached from St. Matthew XXV, 21 (Morison, op. cit., I, 288-289; Evangelical Magazine, 1803, 273).

I81. Diary, 87.

I82. Ibid., 88.

I83. Ibid., 94. Sometime after April, 1804.

I84. Ibid., 98.

I85. Born November 28, 1805, according to Boase, op. cit., 335. Peter, op. cit., I08-I09, says he was baptized on November 27, 1805, at Aldwinckle. There is no extant entry in the Baptismal Register.

I86. Evangelical Magazine, 1805, 280-281.

I87. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to James Shotter, September 7, 1805.

I88. I2th Report, 237-240; Lovett, op. cit., I, 96-98.

I89. Lovett, op. cit., I, 98.

I90. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Joseph Hardcastle, May 7, 1806. The receipt from Hardcastle, dated November 28, is among Haweis' papers. The anonymous donor was Mrs. Gage, of Bath, widow of General Thomas Gage, who died in 1787 (D.N.B., XX, 356; Barker and Stenning, op. cit., I, 360).

I91. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Joseph Hardcastle, November 20, 1806.

I92. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Joseph Hardcastle, May 7, 1806.

I93. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to George Burder(?), November 25, 1806.

I94. Letter King Pomare to Directors of Missionary Society, January I, 1807, I4th Report, 273-275. This letter was in reply to one sent by the Directors.

I95. Lovett, op. cit., I, I46. Heading of Chapter IV.

I96. I3th Report, 244.

I97. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to George Burder, September 26, 1807. Most of the pioneer missionaries were landed on Tahiti, but some were taken to the Friendly Islands and others to the Marquesas (Lovett, op. cit., I, I40).

I98. I4th Report, 364.

CHAPTER EIGHT

1. Diary, I42. The last entry by Haweis in the Marriage Register of Aldwinckle All Saints is July 3, 1808.
2. This may have been the meeting house started by William Smith c. 1773 (Scott, op. cit., VII, 494).
3. Captain James Wilson resided at Denmark Hill until his death in 1814 and attended George Clayton's Chapel at Walworth (Griffin, op. cit., 222).
4. Diary, I43.
5. The oldest library in Bath is that of the Abbey Vestry. Bull's Library was also well known at this period (Handbook to Bath, I21).
6. Ibid., I08-II2.
7. Diary, I48. cf. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Joseph Hardcastle, November 4, 1809, in which he said that they were by then settled comfortably.
8. The name does not appear in the Aldwinckle Register. Identification may possibly be made with the John Sell, of Milwich, Staffordshire, mentioned by Foster, op. cit., II, I272.
9. Diary, I59.
10. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Sell, September 20, 1809. Sell did not deny this charge. He admitted that unless he drank two or three glasses of port he could not preach at all (MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Sell, September 27, 1809).
11. The Hon. Frederic Powys was also Curate of Pilton, Northamptonshire. He became Rector of Achurch and Lilford in 1826 (Index Ecclesiasticus, I43). cf. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Frederic Powys, August 10, 1809; Diary, I90.
12. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Frederic Powys, n.d.
13. Lovett, op. cit., I, I95; Diary, I50; MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Joseph Hardcastle, November 4, 1809.
14. Diary, I52; MS Letter Thomas Haweis to George Burder, July 8, 1809.
15. Diary, I51.
16. Ibid., I63.
17. Ibid., I60; Boase, op. cit., 335. She was baptized at the

Vineyards Chapel Bath and her name was entered in the Register of Baptisms. Haweis justified this irregularity thus: " The miserable state in which I view the Churches here and their ministers, and their prejudices against me, lead me to avoid presenting her at Church. For all temporal purposes the Register of Baptisms is sufficient, and for all spiritual ones my dedication of my own child to our Lord in my house must, I am sure, with the many prayers of which she is the object, be as effectual a means of grace as any I can devise " (Diary, I73).

18. Diary, I63. cf. Boase, op. cit., I272. For John Oliver Willyams, see Chapter I, Note 33.

19. James Willyams was born on September 30, I74I. He was a partner in the Miners' Bank established at Truro in I77I. He travelled extensively in Europe and America (Boase, op. cit., I276; Vivian, op. cit., 628).

20. Diary, I65.

21. Ibid., I67. Haweis said that James Willyams would not have been named in the will at all had he (Haweis) not insisted. At that time Haweis had no heir. Had it not been for John Oliver's mental weakness in his last years, Haweis thought the will would have been altered to leave Carnanton to young Willyams Haweis on his own death (Ibid., I65).

22. Ibid., I75; MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Joseph Hardcastle, May 2I, I8IO.

23. Boase, op. cit., I274. John Oliver Willyams was not, of course, James Willyams' cousin, but his uncle.

24. Diary, I68.

25. Ibid., I77.

26. Thomas Bryant, one of Wesley's preachers, was ordained by Erasmus, Bishop of Arcadia, in Crete, whose credentials Toplady questioned (J. Wesley, Letters, IV, 252; Tyerman, Life of Wesley, II, 487; Seymour, op. cit., I, 33I).

27. Diary, I78.

28. Ibid., I68.

29. Bouts of madness assailed the King in I8IO and in I8II, after the death of his favourite daughter, Amelia, he lost both his sight and his reason. The Prince Regent was appointed on February 4, I8II (Robertson, op. cit., 445).

30. Diary, I78.

31. Encyclopaedia Britannica, X, I88.

32. Diary, I79-I80. He mentioned reading, amongst other books, William Jay's life of Cornelius Winter and Buchanan's account of missions in Asia.

33. Ibid., I8I.

34. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Joseph Hardcastle, January 22, I8II. Haweis also referred in this letter to a Colonel recently returned from Madras. Either the physician or the Colonel may be his " dear friend Julius " mentioned in the Diary, I8I.

35. Diary, I82.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid., I85-I86.

38. Ibid., I90. Bull may possibly have been Captain B. referred to above.

39. Ibid., I93.

40. Ibid., I90, I92, I97.

4I. Ibid., I9I. I8th Report, 403, shows that Marsden supported Haweis on this point.

42. MS Letters Thomas Haweis to George Burder, February I8, April 8, I9, I8I4 and George Burder to Thomas Haweis, October 3, I8II and April I2, I8I4.

43. Letter William Henry to Matthew Wilks, September, I8II, Appendix to I8th Report, 433-434.

44. Diary, 203.

45. 20th Report, 494-495.

46. Diary, 20I.

47. Richard Ash Hannaford (I788-I865) was born on August 8, I788 and admitted sizar at St. John's College, Cambridge, on December 4, I807. He matriculated at Michaelmas, I808, and graduated B.A. in I8I3. He was ordained priest (Peterborough) in I8I4 (J.A. Venn, op. cit., III, 227).

48. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Llewellyn Powys, June 24, I8I4.

49. Ibid.

50. Index Ecclesiasticus, 80; Gentleman's Magazine, I865, I, 523.

51. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Joseph Hardcastle, March 8, 1815. cf. Lovett, op. cit., I, 200-205.

52. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Joseph Hardcastle, March 8, 1815.

53. Diary, 209-210.

54. Rosalind Bayne-Powell, Eighteenth Century London Life, (London: Murray, 1937), 28. In 1775 the " flyers " began to cover the journey on Sundays in one day.

55. MS Letters Thomas Haweis to Elizabeth Haweis, May 10, 15, 1815; Diary, 214-221.

56. The speech is recorded in the Diary, 215-221.

57. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Elizabeth Haweis, May 10, 1815.

58. William Roby (1766-1830) was born at Haigh, near Wigan, Lancashire, and called under Johnson, of Wigan, one of Lady Huntingdon's preachers. After teaching at Bretherton School, Roby underwent training for the ministry at Trevecka College. He served in the Countess' Connection at Malvern and then succeeded Johnson at Wigan. In 1795 he accepted a call to Cannon Street Congregational Church, Manchester (D.N.B., XLIX, 65-66; Morison, op. cit., II, 247-258).

59. John S. Moffat, The Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat, (London: Fisher, Unwin, 1886), 18-22.

60. Dr. James Hamilton was a member of the Methodist society at Dunbar who later settled in London, after periods in Edinburgh and Leeds. His house was in Finsbury Square. He died in 1827. One of Kay's Edinburgh sketches shows Hamilton walking with John Wesley and Joseph Cole in 1790 (D.N.B., XXIV, 187; J. Wesley, Journal, V, 460n.; Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, 1827, 359).

John Willson hailed from Coventry. He was converted under Whitefield in London and was for fifty years a member of the Tabernacle. He was a manager for thirty years and a close friend of Matthew Wilks. He died in 1826 (Morison, op. cit., II, 569-574).

James Oldham Oldham was a co-trustee with Haweis for Lady Huntingdon's property after 1807. He had been a manager of Spa Fields prior to this (Seymour, op. cit., II, 491, 495; New, op. cit., 353)

Mrs. Wilson was the daughter of Richard Halbert. She had married James Wilson in 1799 (Griffin, op. cit., 238). Haweis composed Wilson's epitaph whilst visiting Mrs. Wilson on this occasion.

61. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Elizabeth Haweis, May 10, 1815.

62. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to missionaries in Tahiti, November 6, 1815.

63. Ibid.
64. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Matthew Wilks, July 21, 1816. The offer was first made through Burder: see MS Letter Thomas Haweis to George Burder, April 1, 1816.
65. Diary, 226-228.
66. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to George Burder, May 14, 1816.
67. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to George Burder, May 22, 1817.
68. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to George Burder, November 4, 1817: " This will put a thorn in my dying pillow. " A charge of immorality was brought against this devoted missionary by George Thom, and the Directors at first confirmed it by suspending Read (see printed Letter from the Missionary Rooms, October 27, 1817). Read was eventually cleared and restored to full work and standing (Lovett, op. cit., I, 535-536).
69. Diary, 229; MS Letter Thomas Haweis to George Burder, February 25, 1819.
70. MS Letters Thomas Haweis to Lady Barham, January 1, February 20, 1816. Diana, Lady Barham, succeeded to the peerage on her father's death in 1813, and her husband, Gerard Noel, succeeded to the baronetcy (Cockayne's Complete Peerage, I, 423).
71. Evangelical Magazine, 1807, 282.
72. Lovett, op. cit., I, 82-83.
73. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to George Burder, February 19, 1814.
74. Diary, 228; Haweis had been consulted at the formation of the Irish Evangelical Society, see MS Letters Thomas Haweis to William Cooper, May 19, 21, 1814.
75. Letter from Missionaries, August 13, 1816, Lovett, op. cit., I, 211.
76. MS Letters George Burder to Thomas Haweis, January 20, June 30, 1818 and Thomas Haweis to George Burder, June 25, 1818.
77. Diary, 232.
78. MS Letter George Burder to Thomas Haweis, June 30, 1819.
79. Ibid.
80. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to George Burder, February 25, 1819.
81. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to William Alers Hankey, May 21,

1819. Gard was described as " assistant to Elliott. "

82. MS Letter George Burder to Thomas Haweis, August 4, 1819.

83. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to George Burder, August 6, 1819.

84. Ibid.

85. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to George Hodgson, October 6, 1819; Evangelical Magazine, 1819, 436. George Hodgson was designated " Secretary of the Missionary Society." He was evidently an assistant to Burder. There is no mention of him in Lovett.

86. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to George Hodgson, November 6, 1819.

87. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to George Burder, December 21, 1819.

88. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to his Brethren in Tahiti, October 4, 1819. Haweis was, of course, in his eighty-sixth year. The confusion in his aging mind no doubt arose from the fact that he was born in 1733 (O.S.).

89. John Oliver Willyams Haweis (1805-18) was educated at Queen's College, Oxford (matriculated November 26, 1823: proceeded B.A. 1828, M.A. 1831). He was Curate of Prittlewell in 1830 and preacher at the Magdalen Chapel, London, in 1848 and later at All Saints, Norwood. He was Rector of Slaugham from 1874 to 1886, a Prebendary and afterwards a Canon of Chichester, and the author of a number of books, the best known of which was Sketches of the Reformation and Elizabethan Age taken from the Contemporary Pulpit, (London: Pickering, 1844). His son, Hugh Reginald Haweis, was a popular writer on music and religion in the late Victorian period (Boase, op. cit., 335; Foster, op. cit., II, 627; le Neve, op. cit.,

90. Lovett, op. cit., I, 218. A town in the district of Papanā, in Tahiti, was also named after Haweis - Haweistown (B.B. Edwards, The Missionary Gazetteer, (Boston: Hyde, 1833)). A station of the American Board Commission for Foreign Missions amongst the Cherokees, begun by John C. Ellsworth in 1823, was also called Haweis in honour of the missionary pioneer (Charles Williams, The Missionary Gazetteer, (London, Westley and Davis, 1828), 266).

91. Printed copy among Haweis' papers; Missionary Chronicle, 1820, 81-83; Edinburgh Christian Instructor, 1820, 126.

92. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to George Burder, n.d. (January, 1820).

93. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to James McDowall, December 24, 1819, with note by Elizabeth Haweis.

94. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to George Burder, January 12, 1820.

95. MS Letter Thomas Haweis to William Alers Hankey, February 5, 1820.
96. Ibid.
97. MS Letter Elizabeth Haweis to William Alers Hankey, March 10, 1820. This corrects the statement in the Evangelical Magazine, March 1820, 104, that Haweis was taken ill on February 4, after which he took no refreshment. The emendation was made in the April issue, 174.
98. MS Letter Elizabeth Haweis to William Alers Hankey, March 10, 1820.
99. Ibid.
100. Ibid.
101. cf. Evangelical Magazine, 1820, 104; Missionary Chronicle, 1820, 174. William Jay's memory must have been faulty, for he put Hayward's visit on the very day of Haweis' death (Jay, Autobiography, 479).
102. Joseph Belcher, Historical Sketches of Hymns, Their Writers, and Their Influence, (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1859), 165.
103. Bath Chronicle, February 17, 1820, 3. See also Gentleman's Magazine, 1820, 277-278.
104. John Chamberlain was one of the most prominent preachers in Lady Huntingdon's Connection at this time (Foster, op. cit., II, 234).
105. I am indebted to the Reverend Dr. Henry E. Pressly for copying this inscription.
106. Martin, op. cit., 77.

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Thomas Haweis' Diary, 1791-1818. ML.

Thomas Haweis' Miscellaneous Papers, including " The Origin of the Missionary Society," and his Journal on the ' Duff. ' ML.

Thomas Haweis' Letters:

(17)54	August 12	to	Unknown recipient	LC.
(1757?)	n.d.	to	William Rawlings	ML.
I757	April 6	to	William Rawlings	ML.
I757	September 14	to	Martha Tregenna	ML.
I757	November 15	to	the Misses Tregenna	ML.
(1757)	November 21	to	the Misses Tregenna	ML.
(1757)	December 22	to	Martha Tregenna	ML.
(1758?)	n.d.	to	Martha Tregenna	ML.
(1761)	Good Friday	to	Martha Tregenna	ML.
(17)61	June 30	to	Thomas Adam	LC.
(1774)	n.d.	to	Martha Biddulph	ML.
(1774)	n.d.	to	Thomas Biddulph	ML.
(1774)	n.d.	to	Martha Biddulph	ML.
I774	May 11	to	Martha Biddulph	ML.
I775	February 4	to	Martha Biddulph	ML.
I778	March 16	to	Martha Biddulph	ML.
I780	October 22	to	Thomas Biddulph	ML.
I789	November 25	to	Lady Anne Erskine	ML.
I790	January 1	to	William Taylor	ML.
I790	November 20	to	Selina, Countess of Huntingdon	ML.
(1790)	n.d.	to	Selina, Countess of Huntingdon	ML.
I791	June 6	to	Sir James Wright	ML.
I796	July 22	to	Lord Dundas	ML.
I796	August 18	to	Joseph Hardcastle	ML.
I798	March 2	to	J.T. Vanderkemp	LMS.
I798	(April)	to	Beilby Porteus	ML.
I798	September 3	to	Unnamed Belgian (in Latin)	ML.
I798	September 12	to	Sir Joseph Banks	SL.
I798	October 6	to	John Newton	ML.
I798	October 17	to	Sir Joseph Banks	SL.
I798	November 25	to	Sir Joseph Banks	SL.
I798	n.d.	to	Sir Joseph Banks	SL.

I799	January 26	to	Sir Joseph Banks	SL.
I799	February 22	to	J.T. Vanderkemp	LMS.
I799	March 29	to	Sir Joseph Banks	SL.
I799	April 27	to	Sir Joseph Banks	SL.
I799	May 29	to	Sir Joseph Banks	SL.
I799	July 4	to	Sir Joseph Banks	SL.
I799	July 14	to	Sir Joseph Banks	SL.
I799	July 18	to	Sir Joseph Banks	SL.
I799	July 30	to	Sir Joseph Banks	SL.
I799	August 2	to	Sir Joseph Banks	SL.
I799	August 17	to	Thomas Robson	LMS.
I799	September 15	to	J.T. Vanderkemp	LMS.
I799	September 29	to	Sir Joseph Banks	SL.
I800	January 17	to	Sir Joseph Banks	SL.
I800	January 27	to	J.T. Vanderkemp	LMS.
I800	January 29	to	Sir Joseph Banks	SL.
I800	February 8	to	Thomas Charles	NLW.
I800	February 20	to	Sir Joseph Banks	SL.
I800	March 3	to	Sir Joseph Banks	SL.
I800	March 10	to	Sir Joseph Banks	ML.
I800	May 10	to	J.T. Vanderkemp	LMS.
(I800)	n.d.	to	Unnamed French recipient	ML.
I801	March 11	to	Sir Joseph Banks	SL.
I801	May 15	to	Sir Joseph Banks	SL.
I801	July 27	to	Sir Joseph Banks	SL.
I801	September 19	to	Sir Joseph Banks	SL.
I801	October 29	to	Sir Joseph Banks	SL.
I801	December 2	to	Sir Joseph Banks	SL.
I802	March 24	to	Joseph Hardcastle	LMS.
I802	May 13	to	Sir Joseph Banks	SL.
I803	April 19	to	Sir Joseph Banks	SL.
I803	December 6	to	J.T. Vanderkemp	LMS.
I805	September 7	to	James Shotter	ML.
I806	May 7	to	Joseph Hardcastle	ML.
I806	November 20	to	Joseph Hardcastle	ML.
I806	November 25	to	George Burder (?)	ML.
I806	n.d.	to	Mr. Corfield	ML.
I807	January 22	to	Unnamed recipient	ML.
I807	September 26	to	George Burder	LMS.
I808	December 31	to	Spencer Madan	ML.
I809	July 8	to	George Burder	LMS.
I809	August 10	to	Frederic Powys	ML.
I809	September 20	to	(John?) Sell	ML.
I809	September 27	to	(John?) Sell	ML.
I809	November 4	to	Joseph Hardcastle	ML.
I809(?)	n.d.	to	James McDowall	ML.
I810	n.d.	to	Frederic Powys	ML.
I810	n.d.	to	Frederic Powys	ML.
I810	May 21	to	Joseph Hardcastle	ML.
I810	July 7	to	Frederic Powys	ML.
I810	July 31	to	Harold Smith	ML.
I811	January 22	to	Joseph Hardcastle	ML.
I811	February 12	to	Joseph Hardcastle	ML.

I811	November 18	to	Unnamed recipient	ML.
I814	February 18	to	George Burder	LMS.
I814	February 19	to	George Burder	LMS.
I814	April 8	to	George Burder	LMS.
I814	May 21	to	William Cooper	ML.
I814	June 24	to	Llewellyn Powys	ML.
I814	October 29	to	Samuel Tracy	LMS.
I814	(?) II	to	his lawyer ?	ML.
I815	March 8	to	Joseph Hardcastle	ML.
I815	May 10	to	Elizabeth Haweis	ML.
I815	May 15	to	Elizabeth Haweis	ML.
I815	November 6	to	Missionaries in Tahiti	ML.
(I815?)	n.d.	to	Lady C. Harvey	ML.
I816	January 1	to	Lady Barham	ML.
I816	February 20	to	Lady Barham	ML.
I816	April 1	to	George Burder	LMS.
I816	April 14	to	George Burder	LMS.
I816	May 14	to	George Burder	LMS.
I816	July 21	to	James McDowall	ML.
I816	July 21	to	Matthew Wilks	ML.
I816	November 2	to	James Willyams	ML.
I817	May 22	to	George Burder	LMS.
I817	August 1	to	King Pomare <u>II</u>	ML.
I817	November 4	to	George Burder	ML.
I818	(January?)	to	George Burder (?)	ML.
I818	June 25	to	George Burder (?)	ML.
I818	n.d.	to	Mr. Gard	ML.
I819	February 25	to	George Burder (?)	ML.
I819	(April?)	to	Richard Ash Hannaford	ML.
I819	May 21	to	William Alers Hankey	ML.
I819	August 6	to	George Burder	ML.
I819	October 4	to	Missionaries in Tahiti	ML.
I819	October 6	to	George Hodgson	LMS.
I819	November 6	to	George Hodgson	ML.
I819	November 18	to	George Burder (?)	ML.
I819	(November?)	to	William Alers Hankey	ML.
I819	December 5	to	William Alers Hankey	ML.
I819	December 6	to	William Alers Hankey	ML.
I819	December 21	to	George Burder	LMS.
I819	December 24	to	James McDowall	ML.
I819	n.d.	to	Matthew Wilks	ML.
I820	January 4	to	George Hodgson (?)	ML.
I820	January 5	to	George Burder	ML.
I820	January 11	to	Russian Ambassador	ML.
I820	January 12	to	George Burder	ML.
I820	(January)	to	George Burder (?)	ML.
I820	(January)	to	George Burder	ML.
I820	February 5	to	William Alers Hankey	LMS.

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I799	August 17	to	Dr. Roger	LMS.
I799	September 3	to	J.T. Vanderkemp	LMS.
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from Thomas Coke, October 26, 1798 WHS.

from William Cooper, May 19, 1814 ML.

from William Edwards, January 4, March 1, 29, 1800 LMS.

from Lady Anne Erskine, February 20, May 20, 1790; November 7, 1791; November 7, December 18, 1793; January 14, 28, February 19, March 21, April 1, May 6, 1794; February 6, March 30, 1795; August 27, 31, September 3, 6, 13, n.d., 1796 NLW.

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- from William Romaine, May 20, 25, 1791 ML.
- from Baron August von Schirnding, 1796 LMS.
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