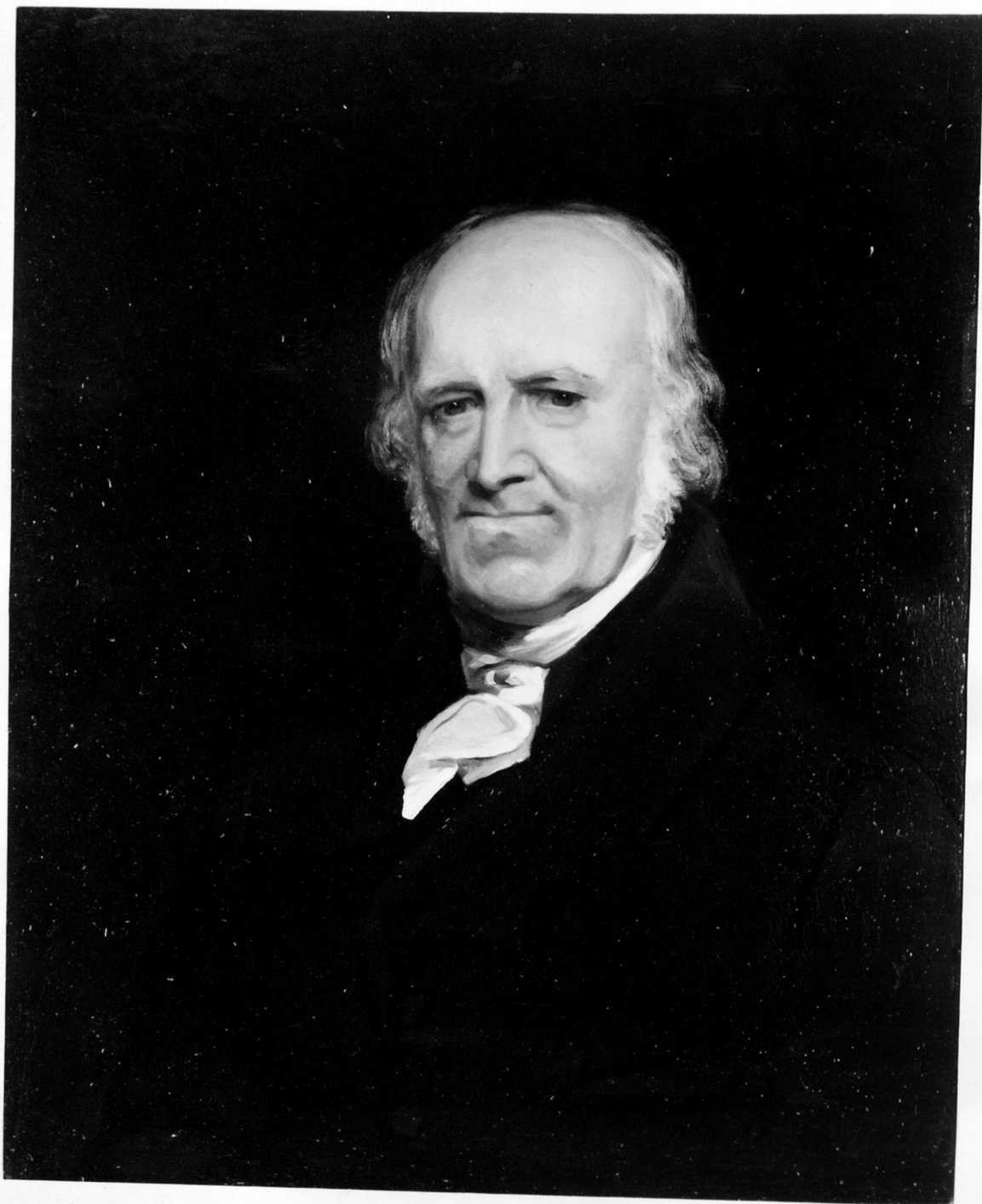




THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

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DAVID BOGUE; DD. 1750-1825.

DAVID BOGUE, D.D., 1750-1825
PIONEER AND MISSIONARY EDUCATOR

A Thesis Presented to
the Faculty of Divinity
in the Department of Church History
University of Edinburgh

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

by
Chester Terpstra

May, 1959



TO
MY WIFE, MARGERY

PREFACE

One hundred and thirty-four years have elapsed since the death of David Bogue, and one hundred and thirty-two since the publication of his Memoir. No detailed study of his labors has appeared since that time. David Bogue (1750-1825) was the theologian of missions during the Great Missionary Awakening. From his academy in Gosport, which, as the London Missionary Society's Seminary, was the first school in that era to give specific missionary training, graduated many of the Society's ablest early missionaries. Bogue's Bible-centered curriculum, and his approach, which emphasized apostolic precedent, produced men who made solid achievements: churches were planted which became self-propagating; the Scriptures were translated into the indigenous languages; and seminaries for the training of native leadership were established. During the next two and one-half years a commission of the World Council of Churches and the International Missionary Council will be engaged in a study of the theology of missions. Therefore, a work on David Bogue is timely.

The author is indebted to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions who granted him his last two furloughs for pursuit of this study. In particular Miss Alice Cary, the past Secretary for the Pacific area, should be mentioned.

In pursuing the research the following libraries were

used: New College; the University of Edinburgh; the Scottish Congregational College; the National Library of Scotland; the British Museum; Dr. Williams' Library; Memorial Hall Library; and the London Missionary Society's Reference Library and Archives. I express my gratitude to the staffs of these institutions, especially to Miss Irene Fletcher, Archivist and Librarian of the London Missionary Society, and Miss Erna Leslie, a staff member at New College, Edinburgh.

Many individuals in Britain, on the Continent and in the United States have given their time, in interviews and correspondence. I would, however, make particular acknowledgement to the Reverend Principal Charles S. Duthie, M.A., D.D., and the Very Reverend Principal Emeritus Hugh Watt, D.D., D. Litt., who gave freely and most enthusiastically their counsel during the course of my study.

Seeking the source of theological influence in the Pacific Islands, I discovered Dr. Bogue, and am grateful to God for this leading. I pray that my own missionary service may be more effective as a result of his example.

The spelling is based upon Webster's New World Dictionary, London, 1956.

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DAVID BOGUE	Frontispiece
PLAQUE OF THE GOSPORT ACADEMY	Facing page 21
MISSIONARY LECTURES OF DAVID BOGUE..	Facing page 102
Transcribed by Robert Moffat	

CHAPTER I

GRADUATES OF THE GOSPORT ACADEMY

I. INTRODUCTION

Over the doorway of No. 5, High Street, Gosport, is a metal plaque bearing the inscription:

Here lived from 1777 to 1825, David Bogue, M.A., D.D., Minister of the Independent Chapel, and Tutor of the Academy of Ministers and Missionaries in Gosport, and one of the founders of the London Missionary Society, 1795.¹

David Bogue's name is most frequently associated with the Academy at Gosport, Hampshire. Here at least two hundred young men were prepared for the Christian ministry.² We are, in this chapter, particularly interested in the quality of the students trained under Mr. Bogue, feeling that the worth of a man is most clearly seen in that which he produces.

The picture given concerns mostly the foreign field, because the majority of the students were trained for that sphere of service. The choice of students to be described was entirely arbitrary. Nevertheless, it is believed to be a representative group.³

¹Portsmouth Evening News, June 21, 1945.

²The exact number of students is not known. See Appendix A for the names of those who are known to have attended Gosport.

³For example, David Johns, Samuel Kidd, John Le Brun, George Pritchard, David Griffith and Robert Haldane are other Gosport men whose contributions warranted them a place in the Dictionary of National Biography. They could have been substituted for those chosen because their ministry was equally as fruitful.

II. FIELDS THE GRADUATES SERVED

In 1807 Robert Morrison sailed from Gravesend, England; his destination, China.¹ His sponsors, the London Missionary Society, had long contemplated this vast country as a possible mission site and now their expectation was being fulfilled.² Morrison, their choice for this field, was a young Scotsman of twenty-five years. He had sought a fellow countryman for a companion; but, this having failed, he sailed alone for Canton via New York.³

The London Missionary Society, having begun their activities in the South Seas and Africa, were reaching out into new territory. India, Ceylon, South America, and now China had been added to their list of mission stations.⁴ During the early part of the nineteenth century little was known about China, except that it was the most populous country in the world.⁵

¹Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison, D.D., compiled by his widow, Two Volumes, 1839, I, 106-108.

²The London Missionary Society was during its early years known as the Missionary Society. It was at the Annual Meeting of 1818 that it was decided that the term "London" should be included. This decision was made because many other missionary organizations had now sprung up, and they did not wish others to think their name "assuming or improper". Evangelical Magazine, June, 1818, p. 265. See Chapter VIII, page 267 for the early thoughts of the Society concerning China.

³E. Morrison, Robert Morrison, pp. 69, 70, 103. Mr. Clunie was prevented from accompanying Morrison by duties at home. Ibid., p. 69.

⁴See Richard Lovett, The History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895, Two Volumes, I, 102-105 for an account of the opening of these stations.

⁵Ibid., II, 399

Soon the Protestant Christian public was receiving reports which stirred their imagination. Morrison, legally in China as a translator for the East India Company, by 1813 had completed the translation of the New Testament into Chinese; four years later there was an Anglo-Chinese dictionary; and by 1819 there was a complete Chinese Bible. At approximately the time Morrison was finishing the translation of the New Testament, he baptized Tsae-Ar-ko, the first Protestant Chinese Christian. A decade after his first convert, he ordained the first Chinese native pastor, Leang A-fa.¹

In this second half of the twentieth century there is much concern for China. By the year 2000 it is alleged that she will have a population of 1,200,000,000.² The Christian church of the West rightfully ponders the question of how solidly the church was planted in that great land. Morrison and colleagues showed great insight when they chose their first contribution to be one so permanent, the Scriptures translated into the native tongue.³

¹James Sibree, London Missionary Society: A Register of Missionaries, Deputations, etc. from 1796 to 1923, 1923, p. 7.

²A January, 1959, B.B.C. telecast, relating the future of Asia cited this figure.

³Bishop Stephen Neill, in his Duff Lectures of 1958 delivered at Edinburgh University, mentioned that the Chinese considered Morrison to be their best missionary. He stayed out of China proper, but yet made a marked contribution. Morrison was bothered that he was not able to preach, but Bogue kept reminding him of that which he had already learned at Gosport: the tremendous value of the Scriptures in the native tongue. See Dr. Bogue's letter to Morrison in Morrison, Robert Morrison, I, 494-497.

Robert Morrison, while a student at the Missionary Society's seminary at Gosport, was undecided as to where he should serve. From his correspondence it is clear that, if there was any preference, it was for Timbuctoo in the interior of Africa. However, his tutor, the Reverend David Bogue, according to Morrison, seemed "quite fond" of sending a mission to China.¹

David Bogue, the tutor of the seminary at Gosport, was one of the founders of the London Missionary Society.² From its inception he had been pleading for missions to the densely populated and civilized countries of the east.³ One year after the Society's formation, he had offered himself as a missionary to India,⁴ and for some years he had been looking for possible candidates for China.⁵ This young man from Morpeth, Northumberland, Bogue felt, had all the qualifications necessary to pioneer this mission.⁶

¹Ibid., I, 61.

²See Chapter V for his part in the founding of this Society.

³Chapter IV has a section on Bogue's preference of the eastern countries for missions. See page 128.

⁴For the complete account of this proposed mission see Chapter VIII, pages 253-268.

⁵Most historians mention Joseph Hardcastle as the person who suggested the China mission. However, in 1802, two or three years before Hardcastle's suggestion, Bogue had approached John Campbell regarding China. See Chapter VIII, page 268 for details. Note E.A. Payne, The Church Awakes, 1942, p. 129, and Lovett, op. cit., II, 403 for the usual opinion.

⁶Bogue was very fond of Morrison. Notice his many references to him in his speeches at the Annual Meetings of the L.M.S., e.g. in 1817. See the Evangelical Magazine, June, 1817, p. 242.

Morrison, in turn, realized that Dr. Bogue was interested in helping his students find assignments. One of his roommates, Joseph Frey, had come to England from his native Germany with the intention of going to South Africa. Now, with Dr. Bogue's approval, he was being permitted to prepare himself for work among his fellow Jews in England.¹ Another roommate, W.C. Loveless, was going to join the mission at Surat.² J.A. James, a close friend training for the home ministry, had been encouraged by Dr. Bogue to accept a call to a church in Birmingham.³ Then had come Morrison's turn to pray for God's leading in his life. As his ship made for Canton, he was persuaded that God had directed his steps: China's day for the gospel had come.⁴

Morrison labored for some years in China alone. Not only had he been interested in a fellow-Scot, Clunie, accompanying him, but at one time he had dared to hope that he might go in the married state. The directive from the Missionary Society soon crushed his hopes. It read:

¹Chapter VI has an account of Frey's work among the Jews. Pages 183-187.

²Morrison, op. cit., I, 63 mentions Frey, Loveless and M'Donald as house-mates of Morrison and states that Loveless was designated for Surat.

³Morrison and James were drawn to each other at Gosport. For an account of their friendship and James' call to Birmingham see R.W. Dale, The Life and Letters of John Angell James: Including an Unfinished Autobiography, (2nd Edition), 1861, pp. 47, 48, 66-82, 137.

⁴"It was his /Morrison's/ own deliberate conviction, that his destination to China was in answer to prayer;..." Morrison, op. cit., I, 65.

It is the opinion of the Directors, that no missionary, while under their care and living in this country, ought to form any connection with a young woman leading to marriage, or raise any expectations in her mind of that estate, without previously consulting and obtaining the explicit approbation of the Directors.¹

In 1813 William Milne was sent to China in response to Morrison's plea for help.² A fellow Scot, from Aberdeenshire, Milne proved to be a valuable colleague. He teamed with Morrison in opening the first Protestant seminary for the training of indigenous leaders on the mission field,³ and in translating the Old Testament.⁴ He, too, was eyed with suspicion by government officials and most of his contribution was made while residing in outlying islands in the Malay archipelago. It was because of these restrictions that he went to Malacca in 1815 and pioneered the opening of that field.⁵

Milne, like the majority of the London Missionary Society candidates, had received training at the Gosport Academy.⁶

¹Lovett, op. cit., I, 74. Although this directive did not outrightly forbid marriage there was a general understanding that for pioneer fields the men should go by themselves. See the Minutes of the Candidate Committee of the L.M.S. located in their archives.

²Evangelical Magazine, April, 1823, p. 137.

³This was the Anglo-Chinese college at Malacca. Dr. Bogue rejoiced in this move of Morrison and Milne. This was the first of its kind on the foreign field and he challenged the South Africa and South Sea missionaries to follow China's example. Evangelical Magazine, June, 1819, p. 258.

⁴Sibree, op. cit., pp. 7, 10

⁵Evangelical Magazine, May, 1823, pp. 177, 178.

⁶He went through the regular course of studies there. Ibid., April, 1823, p. 137.

After graduation he had been assigned to the China field, and it is recorded that he received this placement "with some surprise and trembling".¹ Five years more experience, however, had been gained by the Directors of the Society since Morrison's enquiry, and when Milne sailed from Portsmouth in 1812 he was able to share his hopes and fears with a wife.²

While Morrison and Milne were completing the translation of the Chinese Scriptures, the University of Glasgow conferred on both of them honorary doctorates.³ However, Milne's earthly contributions were almost completed. His wife had died in childbirth and though he was still able to care for their four children, his own health was failing rapidly.⁴ He, with Morrison, felt the great need for additional personnel. Though very ill, he desired to hang on until reinforcements came. His pathetic plea, "We want missionaries; young men - hard students - flaming souls, to set this dull part of the world on fire"⁵ came too late, and as he surmised, he died before a replacement arrived.⁶

The Missionary Society was endeavoring, however, to

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Dictionary of National Biography edited by Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, 1908-1912, Vol. XIII, 456, 1008.

⁴Evangelical Magazine, May, 1823, pp. 180, 181.

⁵Ibid., p. 180

⁶Ibid., pp. 180, 181.

bolster all Asian stations where she had commitments. In Java, which Milne had visited in 1814, there were three continental young men, Bruckner, Kam and Supper.¹ Scattered throughout the Malayan islands were others who had come from the Society's missionary academy. Pioneering at Penang were Beighton and Ince;² at Singapore, Milton and Thomsen;³ at other stations, Slater, Fleming and Humphreys.⁴

In 1824 Robert Morrison returned to England on furlough. He was made a Fellow of the Royal Society⁵ and had the honor of presenting a copy of the Chinese Bible to the King.⁶ His leave also gave him opportunity to visit his friends. He especially wished to see John Angell James, his schoolmate of Gosport days.⁷ James had been a pastor in Birmingham for 18 years, and was to continue on in the same church for 36 more.⁸ His influence,

¹See Lovett, *op. cit.*, II, Appendix I, p. 743 for the names of these three men who pioneered this station. Though Continentals, nevertheless, they came to Gosport for training. See Appendix A.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Morrison, Robert Morrison, II, 303, 304.

⁶Ibid., II, 254, 255.

⁷Dale, John Angell James, pp. 427ff. In one of the letters exchanged between the two, Morrison expressed his wish to see James upon his arrival in England.

⁸Ibid., James served at Birmingham from 1805 until his death in 1859. See pages 85 and 528 for dates.

however, was widespread. His numerous books, with a direct personal appeal, made him known to men of all stations of life.¹ Though he declined to use the title, honorary doctorates had been conferred upon him by three schools, Glasgow, Princeton and Jefferson.² His great interest in missions caused him to be an active supporter of the Missionary Society and his church, a recruiting center for personnel to serve overseas.³

A person to whom James felt especially indebted was the Reverend James Bennett.⁴ One of Dr. Bogue's first ministerial students, Bennett had encouraged James to enter the ministry and had facilitated his acceptance at Gosport.⁵ During his own ministry at Romsey, Hampshire, Bennett had filled the pulpit of Carr's Lane Chapel in Birmingham, later receiving a call from that church. Believing he should decline the offer, he, with Dr. Bogue, challenged James to consider the opening.⁶

¹Dictionary of National Biography, X, 652, 653. Among his admirers was Wordsworth. Ibid., X, 653.

²Ibid.

³Dale, op. cit., passim.

⁴"...the Rev. J.A. James...publicly thanked him for all that he owed to him, and told his people that if he had been of any service to them, or to the church of God, he owed it in no small measure to Dr. Bennett." Memorials of the Late Rev. James Bennett, D.D., etc. 1863, p. 13.

⁵Ibid.; also see Dale, op. cit., p. 43.

⁶Ibid., p. 66.

Bennett, while at Gosport, was Bogue's favorite pupil.¹
 An alert student, he, like his tutor, continued to improve his mind throughout his life.² Because of his vast learning, the Rotherham Academy called him from his successful pastorate at Romsey³ to succeed Dr. Edward Williams as its head tutor.⁴

After several years of imaginative leadership, he, for reasons of health, retired from the heavy demands of administrative and tutorial duties at Rotherham⁵ to successive pastorates at Silver-Street and Falcon Square churches in London.⁶

A leader in Congregational circles, Bennett was one of a deputation of nine chosen to represent the denomination in America.⁷ A voluminous writer, he made a definite contribution

¹Memorials of the Late Rev. James Bennett, D.D., p. 9.

²"Before he left Romsey, he had made such advances in linguistic studies, more especially in Greek and Hebrew, and the allied Oriental languages, that his scholarship was even then considerable...." Ibid., p. 13.

³From 1796 to 1804, the Romsey congregation grew with such rapidity that a new building was needed to accommodate them. Ibid., pp. 10, 11; Evangelical Magazine, Oct., 1804, p. 476.

⁴H. McLachlan, English Education under the Test Acts: Being the History of the Non-conformist Academies 1662-1820, 1931, pp. 203-207.

⁵Memorials... Rev. James Bennett, D.D., pp. 17, 18.

⁶Ibid., pp. 18-21. "The church in Silver Street, when Dr. Bennett took the oversight, consisted of only sixty members. He raised it to between three and four hundred." Ibid., p. 21.

⁷John Waddington, Congregational History. Continuation to 1850, etc., 1878, p. 452. This trip to America did not materialize. Ibid.

to the Evangelical cause in the nineteenth century.¹ His biography of his former tutor reveals his esteem for Dr. Bogue, to whom he looked for counsel throughout his life,² and from whom he gained his broad vision.³

Another close friend of J.A. James was Richard Knill.⁴ The latter served the Missionary Society in three different capacities during the course of his life. After Gosport, he was sent to the South India mission to work with William Loveless.⁵ This station, which had been opened in 1804, had been weakened by the death of two of the three pioneer missionaries.⁶ However, Knill's own contribution to India was short-lived. His health failed in that climate⁷ and, after a furlough in England, he was transferred to the Russian mission at St. Petersburg.⁸ Here,

¹See the section, "Biographical Sketch" in Memorials... Rev. James Bennett, D.D., pp. 3-30, for a list of his books and some of his former students.

²For example, note his consultations with Dr. Bogue before accepting the Rotherham position. Ibid., pp. 14, 15.

³"Like all Dr. Bogue's students, he became an active and enthusiastic supporter of the London Missionary Society...." Ibid., p. 12.

⁴James wrote a review of the life of Knill. See Charles M. Birrell's The Life of the Rev. Richard Knill, in which there is included a "Review of His Character, by the Late Rev. John Angell James", pp. i, 249-265.

⁵Ibid., p. 41.

⁶George Cran and Augustus Des Granges, both Gosport men, died on the field. Lovett, op. cit., II, 38.

⁷Birrell, op. cit., pp. 72-86.

⁸Ibid., p. 91.

receiving the support of the Emperor and the Royal Family, his undertaking flourished.¹ Soon, however, at the Society's request he returned to England and traveled throughout the British Isles on behalf of foreign missions.²

It was said of Knill that:

Perhaps no man living in this generation has been so honoured of God in the awakening and conversion of men.... About 100 ministers and missionaries are known as the fruits of his labours.³

This man with a passion for souls showed the same sensitiveness to God's will while a student at Gosport. His earnestness and spirit in street-preaching, as well as in all his assignments, made his contributions distinctive.⁴ His letter to a friend reveals the seriousness with which he viewed labor in God's vineyard. He wrote:

We have lately parted with some more of our missionary brethren; two for Surat, and one for Malacca. About twenty of the brethren accompanied them to the ship, which lay at the Mother-bank. You may conceive what were our feelings as we talked with them by the way. Sometimes we were overwhelmed by the difficulties, and then we were animated with the pleasing prospect, the delightful hope of bringing poor heathen to Jesus. At last the moment came for us to part. Some took a long farewell, not with the most distant hope of seeing each other again in the flesh, while others entertained the expectation of meeting again in the Eastern world. The voyagers were left apparently with a sacred calm upon their hearts; but we in the returning bark, made the billow echo with 'Salvation, O the joyful sound!'⁵

¹Dictionary of National Biography, XI, 272.

²Knill traveled for the L.M.S. for eight years. Evangelical Magazine, Feb., 1857, p. 143.

³Ibid., p. 145.

⁴See Birrell, op. cit., pp. 36-53, for an account of his activities at Gosport.

⁵Ibid., pp. 37, 38.

One of the one hundred whom Knill reached through his ministry was Aaron Buzacott.¹ Buzacott, whom Lovett describes as a "model missionary",² served in the South Seas. At Rarotonga, in 1839, he founded a missionary college for the training of island leaders.³ From this school went forth brave souls who carried the gospel further to the west. Not a few fell as martyrs to the cause, but the result was that Samoa, the Loyalty Islands, the New Hebrides and New Guinea received the gospel.⁴ Buzacott was also filled with the vision of what Christian literature could mean to an island people. Besides seeing the entire Bible through the press, he gave to his people many other publications including his former tutor's theological outlines.⁵

Also associated with the winning of the island world to Christ is another Gosport figure, William Ellis. Called by Wright and Fry "one of the most learned"⁶ of the early missionaries of that area, he made most of his contribution through the

¹While preaching in North Devon, Knill concluded his remarks by saying, "There is a young man in that gallery who is now saying, 'Lord, here am I, send me.'" The young man was Buzacott who later made his decision for missionary work known. Aaron Buzacott, Mission Life in the Islands of the Pacific: Being a Narrative of the Life and Labours of the Rev. A. Buzacott, 1866, pp. 5-7.

²Lovett, op. cit., I, 359. From the testimony given by various persons, Buzacott deserved that compliment. See the chapter, "English and Native Estimate of his Work and Worth" in Buzacott, op. cit., pp. 258-282.

³Buzacott, op. cit., pp. 133-138.

⁴Lovett, op. cit., I, 353.

⁵See the charts in Buzacott, op. cit., pp. 180-185 for a list of the works he published.

⁶Louis B. Wright and Mary Isabel Fry, Puritans in the South Seas, 1936, p. 35.

press.¹ Besides his tour of duty in the South Seas and in Hawaii, he served in the Foreign Department of the London Missionary Society and later, on behalf of the Society, made visits to South Africa,² Mauritius and Madagascar. Most of these voyages were concerned with the reopening of the work on Madagascar.³

This large island had been reached with the gospel in 1818 by two of Ellis' schoolmates, Thomas Bevan and David Jones.⁴ Within six years the number of converts had become very large and schools were progressing. Then King Radama died and the assassinations within the Royal family which followed led to continued instability, until finally all Christian work stopped and missionaries were forbidden entrance into the country.⁵

Not all of the projects of the London Missionary Society during these years of awakening were continued into the next century. Already mentioned has been the work among the Jews by Frey,

¹Some of his works are Tour in Hawaii, Polynesian Researches, Memoir of Mrs. Ellis, History of Madagascar, History of the L.M.S., Three Visits to Madagascar, Vindication of the American Mission in the Sandwich Islands, Madagascar Revisited, and The Martyr Church of Madagascar. Sibree, op. cit., pp. 11, 12.

²On the dark continent, where Ellis awaited an opportunity to enter Madagascar, Gosport men had also served. Carl Pacalt is but one of many who made a marked contribution to Africa. For his contribution see Lovett, op. cit., I, 562, 563. See Appendix A for Gosport men who served in Africa.

³Sibree, op. cit., pp. 11, 12.

⁴Lovett, op. cit., I, 674.

⁵Dictionary of National Biography, X, 983, 984.

and in South America by Creighton.¹ Other fields, which were opened by Gosport men and later abandoned by the Society, were Malta, Mauritius, France, Belgium and the work among French Prisoners of War in England.²

III. CONCLUSION

From Gosport one hundred and fifteen men went to the foreign mission field:³ upward of sixty remained to serve in churches in England, Scotland, Ireland and America.⁴ The alumni of this institution who went to the mission field were, according to Lovett, some of the "ablest early missionaries of the Society's staff...."⁵ Speaking of Gosport, the same historian said, "Few colleges have so noble a record as the small homely but fruitful seminary, dominated for so many years by the strong personality of its principal."⁶ Those students who remained at home in pastorates were the bulwark supporters of the men on the field. In 1828, three years after Dr. Bogue's death, seven of them were

¹Creighton was the person who went to South America, the station mentioned on page two of this chapter. He was also a Gosport man. See Appendix A.

²See Lovett, *op. cit.*, II, Appendix I, 746, 747. Fifteen of the eighteen men mentioned as pioneering in these fields (also included is North America, not mentioned above) were Gosport men. Cf. Lovett's Appendix I with Appendix A of this thesis.

³At least this is the number known to have gone to the field. See Appendix A.

⁴See Appendix A.

⁵*Op. cit.*, I, 74.

⁶Ibid.

serving as Directors of the London Missionary Society.¹ The Evangelical Magazine, the periodical which promoted missions,² had six Gosport men among its trustees.³ Names equally as well known in England as Robert Morrison and William Milne were those of John Angell James and James Bennett, while in Scotland Robert Haldane was a familiar figure because of his mission among the neglected poorer classes.⁴

At home, abroad, all who labored in the cause of Christ received encouragement from their former tutor.⁵ Not only did he write to them, but their families also received consolation from his pen.⁶ Dr. Waugh, a London Missionary Society director,

¹The Report of the Directors to the Thirty-Fourth General Meeting of The Missionary Society, 1828, pp. x-xii.

²For an account of this Magazine see Chapter VI, pp. 171-173.

³This is for the year 1835, ten years after Bogue's death. See the flyleaf in the Jan. issue of the Evangelical Magazine, 1835.

⁴See Chapter VII, pp. 214ff.

⁵This was a well-known fact at Gosport. "We did hope, after having enjoyed the benefits of a competent education under our late venerable Tutor, to have been stimulated, directed, and encouraged in our work by his valuable correspondence...." This is part of a Letter from Gosport Students, dated Oct. 27, 1825, and located in the L.M.S. archives.

⁶Examples of this correspondence are: (1) Letter No. 12 of Bogue in the L.M.S. archives in which he enquires concerning information regarding Adams, one of the former students; (2) Mary Smith Moffat's mother receives a letter from the Bagues expressing their sympathy and understanding as Mary leaves them to join Robert in Africa. John S. Moffat, The Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat, 1885, pp. 60, 61.

said of Bogue,

He kept up the effect of his valuable instructions by a large and free correspondence with missionaries and others in the four quarters of the globe; and could this be collected together, it would form a series of pastoral letters which has perhaps never been surpassed.¹

Back at Gosport, where students were treated as sons and fellow-laborers in the faith, and not as "menial servants" of the Missionary Society,² a lasting impression must have been made upon the students. The impact of Owen's last words "do all you can for Christ" as he died in a fellow-student's arms;³ the sight of school-mates sailing off into the unknown world with the Word of God as their only defense;⁴ the report of the death of three of their classmates after only a short term in India;⁵ the intense field-work among the neglected in their own county of Hampshire:⁶

¹James Hay and Henry Belfrage, Memoir of the Rev. Alexander Waugh, D.D., 1830, p. 164.

²Bogue felt the Missionary Society often looked upon the candidates as such. Dale, John Angell James, pp. 138, 139, contains a letter to James from Bogue which expresses this sentiment.

³See the account of Owen's death in Morrison, Robert Morrison, I, 70.

⁴For one example see Knill's account on page twelve of this chapter.

⁵Three young men, Cran, Des Granges, and Brain died in the commencement of their labors. Bogue published his funeral sermons for them. Bennett, David Bogue, pp. 438, 439.

⁶For an account of this work see Chapter II, page 47 and Chapter VII, pages 204-207.

these were the extra-curricular circumstances which brought the students face-to-face with the meaning of the Christian ministry.

The Gosport Academy lists among her students¹ thirteen whose names are found in the Dictionary of National Biography.² These and their classmates were the men who gave to so many peoples the Scriptures in their own language.³ They and their converts planted the church beyond the boundaries of the last out-station.⁴ Seminaries were raised up by them for the training of indigenous leaders.⁵ There were some who laid down their lives for the principles they believed. At home these were the men who

¹Not all who wished to matriculate at Gosport could. The war of 1812 prevented Adoniram Judson and the other first missionaries of the A.B.C.F.M. from enrolling. See "International, Interdenominational, Interracial Teams" in The International Review of Missions, XLIII, Oct., 1953, p. 406. Robert Moffat had to be content with copying Bogue's "Missionary Lectures" from his colleague, James Kitchingman. Letter from Miss Irene Fletcher, L.M.S. Librarian and Archivist, to the author, Sept. 23, 1958.

²They are R. Morrison, J.A. James, W. Milne, D. Jones, D. Johns, S. Kidd, R. Knill, J. Le Brun, G. Pritchard, J. Bennett, W. Ellis, D. Griffiths, and R. Haldane.

³Note Chapter IV, page 122. The missionaries who did important translation work are listed there.

⁴This Chapter has noted how many of the L.M.S. fields were pioneered by Gosport men. From their initial stations they spread out into new territory.

⁵The Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca and the Seminary in the Cook Islands are two examples. See pages 6 and 13.

were aflame for Christ and the extending of his kingdom.

Why this long list of outstanding graduates from this small homely school?¹ What caused these men to spend their lives in such a heroic fashion for the cause of Christ? It was their faith in God. Allow one of them to explain it, as he did to a personal friend who enquired of conditions on a pagan field and his, the missionary's, reaction to them:

1. The great necessity that there is for missionaries to take their creed from the word of God alone, of their receiving the gospel in its primitive simplicity, and of their being daily under the full force of those internal evidences which prove the Scriptures to be a revelation from God. Many things tend to shake the faith of a Missionary in this fundamental point, and nothing will, I think, reconcile him more to a life of patient labour than a firm and unshaken faith in the truth of divine revelation, accompanied with a spiritual persuasion of its superior worth, of its just claim to supersede and set aside every other system of religion, and to be the religion of the world.

2. I have been led to look back with surprise and horror on the contentions and idle speculations which divide the church at home. O that such as delight in mere speculative controversy - that are daily contending about forms - O that they were transported to the borders of some pagan country for a few months, where the sight of a Christian, though of a different mind in some respects, would be hailed as the appearance of the morning sun to the bewildered night traveller.

3. It has often struck me that the conversion of pagan nations will be slow; and that the patience of the churches at home will be long tried, as well as the strength, faith,

¹McLachlan, in summarizing the work of Dissenting Academies, mentions that there were more than three hundred names in the Dictionary of National Biography of academy graduates. In his book he treats 72 academies, so it is evident that the Gosport average is approximately three times as great as the norm. H. McLachlan, English Education Under the Test Acts: Being the History of the Non-Conformist Academies 1662-1820, 1931, pp. 15, 44.

and patience of missionaries.


5. That the success of our efforts depends solely on the grace of God, opening the hearts of the heathen.

6. The great necessity that we are under of daily communications of grace to keep up our zeal and courage in the work. These things may seem to you but mere common place, but I assure you, to us they appear in as different a light from what they did at home as the death, or deep affliction of a bosom friend, from the death or affliction of an indifferent person.¹

This Biblical-centered faith which was the missionary's basis for missions; this spirit of Christian unity which led eventually to Edinburgh, 1910; this long-range view of the spreading of the gospel which gave perspective to the labors of one day; this utter dependence upon God and the need for daily divine strength; these, for William Milne, who penned these words, were the underlying arms in Christian service. This was the key to the success of these men. At Gosport, under the care of the Rev. David Bogue, they were initiated into an appreciation of these great fundamental truths which they carried with them throughout their labors in many parts of the earth. Their contributions are widely recognized, but often forgotten is the man who so definitely helped to mould their lives. If they could testify they would pay tribute to him. William Milne did, in these words, "...the Rev. David Bogue, my venerable tutor, to have sat under whom I consider as one of the greatest blessings of my life."²

¹Evangelical Magazine, Feb., 1823, pp. 56, 57.

²Ibid., April, 1823, p. 137.



HERE LIVED FROM
1777 TO 1825 DAVID BOGUE
M.A. D.D. MINISTER OF THE
INDEPENDENT CHAPEL & TUTOR
TO THE ACADEMY FOR MINISTERS
AND MISSIONARIES IN GOSPORT
ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF THE
LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY
1795

CHAPTER II

THE GOSPORT ACADEMY

I. INTRODUCTION

If Dr. McLachlan is right that "the work of the academies must be judged...by the character of the students whom they trained",¹ the rank and prestige of the Gosport Academy has already been established. However, most authors writing on the education of dissenters have passed Gosport by with but few comments.² There appear to be two reasons for this omission. First, the academy, being on a domestic plan without the usual trustees of the institutional type of school, had few collected records.³ The Rev. Charles E. Surman, the Research Secretary of the Congregational Historical Society, emphasized this point when he wrote, "I tried a number of years ago to compile something about his /Bogue's/ educational work in the seminary there, but apart from the fact that he did it, nothing much seems to have survived."⁴ Second, it is usual for the writers on academies

¹H. McLachlan, English Education Under the Test Acts: Being the History of the Non-conformist Academies 1662-1800, 1931, p. 43.

²Ibid., p. 8, has nine lines; Irene Parker's Dissenting Academies in England, Their Rise and Progress and Their Place among the Educational Systems of the Country, 1914, and Nicholas Hans' New Trends in Education in the 18th Century, 1951, have nothing; J.W. Ashley Smith's The Birth of Modern Education: the Contribution of the Dissenting Academies, 1660-1800, 1954, has pp. 188-192.

³An academy run in a person's home or vestry usually had no reports or minutes. McLachlan, op. cit., pp. 2, 3; cf. pp. 3, 4.

⁴In a letter to the author on January 16, 1954.

to limit their study to the eighteenth century,¹ while Gosport made its greatest contribution at a later date.² It is therefore the purpose of this chapter to give a description of this academy: its facilities, curricula, government, personnel, and reputation.

That there was an academy in Gosport raises the question of why such schools were in existence. The Act of Uniformity of 1662,³ and the Statutes of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge left non-conformists outside the schools as well as the churches.⁴ Many of the ejected clergy had been professors at the Universities, and, for financial reasons as well as for the education of dissenters' children and future ministers,⁵ continued teaching, not, however, in the Universities so closely associated with the Established church, but in what have been termed

¹Note the dates given in the subtitles in footnotes¹ and ² on the preceding page.

²On August 4, 1800, Bogue accepted the offer to tutor L.M.S. missionary candidates; on November 14, 1825, it was resolved to move the Seminary into the vicinity of London. L.M.S. Board Minutes of these dates.

³"On St. Bartholomew's-day, August the twenty-fourth, in the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-two, the act of uniformity expelled from the establishment all ministers who would not swear their unfeigned assent, and consent to every thing in the Book of Common Prayer." Bogue and Bennett, History of Dissenters, from the Revolution in 1688, to the Year 1808, 1808-1812, 4 Volumes, I, 98.

⁴Cambridge did allow non-churchmen to enter but honors could not be obtained without declaring oneself a member of the Church of England. McLachlan, op. cit., p. 1

⁵Ibid. A third reason is cited by Smith: "it would be wrong for the tutor to hide his talents." Op. cit., p. 9.

"academies".¹ For years these academies existed contrary to the law.² The Act of Toleration of 1689 gave some relief,³ but it was not until 1799 that tutors could carry on their profession without many disabilities.⁴ During the earliest years many academies moved from place to place to escape attention,⁵ and it was not until George I came to the throne that they met with any sympathy whatsoever from the government.⁶

Bogue and Bennett were the first authors who endeavored to describe dissenting academies. They did this in their History of Dissenters, a general work on the Puritans, Non-conformists and Dissenters.⁷ In their sections on education they did not limit themselves to any one principle of classification of the academies. In treating the first academies, chronology⁸ and the number of tutors⁹ were the main principles of classification they followed.

¹Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., II, 12-14.

²McLachlan, op. cit., p. 2.

³"In order to enjoy the benefits which it confers /the Act of Toleration/, dissenting ministers must sign thirty-five articles and a half of the church of England." Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., I, 198.

⁴McLachlan, op. cit., p. 39; Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., III, 313.

⁵Smith, op. cit., p. 14; McLachlan, op. cit., p. 2.

⁶Of George I, Bogue and Bennett wrote, "The king, immediately on his arrival, declared to the privy council that he was determined to adhere to the principles of toleration, and endeavour to unite all his protestant subjects, by affording them all equal protection." Op. cit., III, 118. It was George II who protected Doddridge from his persecutors. McLachlan, op. cit., pp. 39, 40.

⁷Smith, op. cit., p. 3.

⁸Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., II, 15, 21.

⁹Ibid., II, 57.

Later, denominational,¹ geographical² and theological³ factors were introduced; not, however, to the exclusion of the earlier principles.⁴ Also considered in their discussion were the following questions; Did the academy exist exclusively for theological training?⁵ Was it of a private or institutional nature?⁶ Had the tutors been educated at the universities of England, and did they follow the pattern of the curriculum of these universities?⁷

Miss Irene Parker (Mrs. Parker-Crane), the first person to attempt a work limited to the dissenting academies,⁸ followed the chronological principle of classification. She gave three main eras: 1) 1663-1690; 2) 1691-1750; 3) ca. 1750 onwards.⁹

Mr. Herbert McLachlan, in his, the standard, work on the academies,¹⁰ exchanged Parker's chronological principle of classification for that which differentiated the academies on the basis

¹Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., III, 282, 298.

²Ibid., IV, 271, 276, 295.

³Ibid., IV, 276, 295.

⁴Ibid., IV, 258, 276.

⁵Ibid., IV, 301.

⁶Ibid., IV, 279, 299.

⁷Ibid., III, 300.

⁸Smith, op. cit., p. 3.

⁹Parker, op. cit., pp. 57, 58.

¹⁰Smith, op. cit., p. 3. It is generally agreed that McLachlan's book is the standard work on the academies, completing the study which Miss Parker started.

of the training they gave. His two categories divided the academies which limited themselves exclusively to ministerial training from those which offered general academic work.¹

Mr. J.W. Ashley Smith, in his recent book on the same subject, chose to classify the academies according to the type of curriculum the tutor offered because of the influence of his own education and time. Smith's three divisions are as follows:

(1) Tutors trained at the English universities, Oxford and Cambridge; (2) Tutors without English university training, but continuing the traditional educational system of Oxford and Cambridge; (3) Tutors constructing their own curricula.²

Smith recognized the difficulty of following exclusively any one principle of classification. He showed there were exceptions and overlappings in Parker's and McLachlan's categories,³ and, to avoid the same error, did not make his own divisions rigid.⁴

It is likewise difficult to classify the Gosport Academy. The Academy's government, from 1777 to 1789, was private; later, from 1789 onwards, it was supported by various patrons; and finally, from 1800, when the London Missionary Society sent their students, one division of the academy was a missionary seminary supported by an institution.⁵ Denominationally, it is equally

¹McLachlan, op. cit., p. 6.

²Smith, op. cit., pp. 4, 5.

³Ibid., pp. 3, 4.

⁴Ibid., p. 5.

⁵See the section under government in this chapter, pages 48 through 56.

difficult to categorize. In the beginning the training was general and for dissent rather than any one denomination. In 1789 it began to train young men for the Independent ministry.¹ The influx of candidates from the "catholic" Missionary Society once again altered the denominational character of Gosport. The missionary seminary division of the academy was interdenominational, while the other portion continued to be Independent.² Theologically Gosport was always conservative and evangelical in contrast to the liberal Unitarian academies.³ At the beginning it offered general academic work,⁴ but became, after 1789, exclusively theological.⁵ The tutor, in the non-missionary division of the academy, constructed his own curriculum;⁶ however, in the missionary seminary, Dr. Bogue and the Missionary Society officials jointly fixed the course of study.⁷

II. THE GOSPORT ACADEMY: FACILITIES

It was said that Gosport in the eighteenth century,

¹Richard Lovett, The History of the London Missionary Society, 2 Volumes, 1899, I, 66, 67.

²Bennett, Memoirs of the Life of The Rev. David Bogue, D.D., 1827, pp. 133-136.

³Ibid., p. 101.

⁴Ibid., p. 100.

⁵Ibid., p. 119.

⁶Bogue's views on the curriculum of an academy are set forth in Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., III, 264-272. The courses outlined in these pages were those taught at Gosport. Bennett, David Bogue, pp. 119 ff.

⁷See the L.M.S. Board Minutes of May 5, 1800 where the proposal for a seminary is outlined. Bogue drew up his lectures after this plan. Bennett, op. cit., pp. 219, 220.

Had the narrowness and slander of a small country town, without its rural simplicity. A sea-port in the vicinity of Portsmouth, with a full share of the vices characteristic of that famous place, must be polluted by fortunes gained from the madness of sailors and the extravagance of harlots. To these evils were added the petty pride of half-pay officers, and the sectarian bigotry of a fortified town.¹

The academy was situated in this unattractive village of 5,000 inhabitants² because it was here that David Bogue resided. The Independent church at Gosport had called him to be their pastor,³ and like most tutors of the day he was 'guilty' of plurality. Their plurality did not carry the stigma of position-seeking and avarice as in other circles during the same century. It was just necessity. There were no endowments for the academies; the pastorate was therefore the tutor's means of livelihood.⁴

David Bogue, like many of the tutors of English academies,⁵ was a graduate of a Scottish university.⁶ At Edinburgh he

¹Bennett, op. cit., p. 83

²Ibid., p. 77.

³Ibid., p. 73. See also Walter Wilson's The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses, 1808-1814, 4 Volumes, II, 114, 115. He moved from London to Gosport in 1777. Ibid.

⁴"Since these, unlike the ancient colleges on the Isis and the Cam, did not enjoy endowments and benefactions, their tutors, in receipt of beggarly stipends, were perforce almost invariably engaged in the active ministry of neighbouring congregations...." McLachlan, op. cit., p. 17

⁵See Smith's chart of Education Backgrounds of Tutors, op. cit., between pp. viii and ix; also McLachlan, op. cit., p. 30.

⁶Bennett, op. cit., p. 17; Wilson, op. cit., III, 114. From Edinburgh he received an M.A. degree, Bennett, op. cit., p. 17.

had received in the course of nine years a thorough education and to this he added six years of private study and teaching before accepting the Gosport call.¹ The usual date given for the opening of his academy is 1789.² This is the year George Welch, a wealthy London banker, underwrote the expenses for three students.³ However, David Bogue had been tutoring before this. Dr. McLachlan in his book on dissenting academies dates the opening of the academy in 1780, followed by a question mark, but no explanation.⁴ Probably the date comes from a letter written by Bogue in that year mentioning that at least one student was with him.⁵ This particular student, however, had already been with Bogue two and one-half years,⁶ which puts the date back to 1777 or 1778.⁷ Before Mr. Welch's financial assistance, other students beside the above-mentioned one had been with him.

¹He was at Edinburgh until 1771 and spent the next six years ushering in different academies in London. Ibid., pp. 13, 32, 75.

²Richard Lovett, The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895, 1899, 2 Volumes, I. 66, 67.

³Bennett, op. cit., p. 119.

⁴Loc. cit., p. 8.

⁵Bennett quotes a letter Bogue wrote to his father on June 21, 1780. It reads, "A young gentleman...has been my pupil about two years and a half, and leaves me in the end of July or beginning of August, to go to an academy for training up young men for the ministry." Op. cit., p. 100.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Smith gives 1777 as the likely date of the beginning of Bogue's academy. Op. cit., pp. vii, 188.

Thomas Heinekin and Robert Haldane, who toured Flanders and France with Bogue in 1784, had both been under Bogue's tuition.¹ Undoubtedly there were others. It was only after 1800 when the London Missionary Society sent their students to Gosport that there are any records of the institution.²

In 1789 when Mr. Welch made his first contribution, David Bogue wrote in his diary, "Went to London on Monday evening, and returned on Friday: bless God for preservation, and for success in the business of becoming tutor to young men for the ministry."³ "For the ministry" indicates the direction his tutorship took at that time, but the date does not necessarily mean the beginning of his academy. Up to this date his work had been preparatory, and not limited to ministerial students.⁴ Now, supported

¹James Alexander Haldane, The Lives of Robert Haldane of Airthrey, and of His Brother, James Alexander Haldane, 1853 (3rd edition), p. 39; see also John Morison, The Fathers and Founders of the London Missionary Society, n.d., 2 Volumes, I, 485, and Bennett, op. cit., p. 102. Appendix A gives a list of students under Bogue's tuition.

²The records from 1800 on are only for the missionary candidates, while the other students studying for the home ministry continue in obscurity. The records here mentioned are not in any systematic order, but are scattered through the L.M.S. Board Minutes, the L.M.S. Candidate Committee Minutes, etc. The Rev. Charles E. Surman has gathered a list of the students at Gosport from references in obituary notices in various periodicals. Letter to the author, January 16, 1954.

³In David Bogue's diary of March 15, 1789, as quoted in Bennett, op. cit., p. 119.

⁴Bogue's first student at Gosport was being prepared for "philosophical studies". Bennett, op. cit., p. 100. See also McLachlan, op. cit., p. 284, regarding Heinekin's later studies.

by outside funds, he must keep his contract with the patron, and limit the study to ministerial training.¹ This follows the usual pattern for academies. The first type, unsupported by societies or other outside interest, was open to all types of students. When receiving financial support from interested individuals or groups, the training became exclusively theological.² Likely fearing the threat of Unitarianism from Priestley's and Belsham's influence,³ Welch saw the need for "pure preaching of the gospel" so placed these academies at different places in the Kingdom, including Gosport.⁴ From this evangelical emphasis, Gosport, unlike many academies, never departed.⁵

The wealthy banker paid the Gosport tutor £10 per student per annum for his tuition, and an additional £25 for the

¹Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., IV, 282.

²Ibid., IV, 304, 305; see also McLachlan, op. cit., p. 4.

³McLachlan, op. cit., p. 4. "From the middle of the eighteenth century, with the increasing recognition of doctrinal differences in the ranks of dissenters following the spread of Arianism and the subsequent outbreak of militant Unitarianism under the banner of Priestley and Belsham, there was a decided tendency on the part of evangelicals to restrict the work of the academies to the training of ministers...." Ibid.

⁴Bennett, op. cit., p. 119.

⁵Bennett speaks of Bogue's students all adhering to the faith which had been imparted to them, i.e. the orthodox faith. Op. cit., p. 101. Many of the other academies of the century became Unitarian. Smith, op. cit., pp. 152 ff.; see also Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., III, 272; IV, 298, 299.

room, board, and incidental expenses of each student.¹ Later, upon Mr. Welch's death, the academy was supported by Robert Haldane and the Hampshire Association of Ministers, with the latter group, after three years of joint sponsorship, taking over full support. At the beginning of this sponsorship the tuition fee remained the same, but the support for the students was raised to £30.² In 1800, when the missionary candidates of the London Missionary Society entered Gosport, the same rates were kept.³ However, war conditions soon made it necessary to raise allowances, first to £35 and two guineas for pocket money, and then in 1810, to £40 for board and lodging with an additional £30 for clothing, washing, stationery, and miscellaneous expense.⁴

Opening an academy at a total tuition of £30 does not allow the tutor much to invest in buildings and equipment. This explains why all classes met in Mr. Bogue's vestry and the furnishings consisted of "worm-eaten benches", a table, and the tutor's chair.⁵ This was the extent of the Academy, a vestry,

¹Bennett, op. cit., pp. 119, 120. Robert Haldane mentions this rate as that agreed upon when he planned to send students to Gosport. It was what Bogue was then receiving for the "Welch" students. Robert Haldane, An Answer to Mr. Greville Ewing's Pamphlet, Entitled, Facts & Documents, &c., 1810, p. 38.

²Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., IV, 281; for the fees see Robert Haldane, op. cit., p. 38, and R.W. Dale, The Life and Letters of John Angell James: Including an Unfinished Autobiography, 1861, (2nd edition), p. 47.

³L.M.S. Board Minutes, July 29, 1805.

⁴Ibid., July 29, 1805; Feb. 20, 1809; July 24, 1809; L.M.S. Candidate Committee Minutes, August 20, 1810.

⁵Dale, op. cit., p. 48.

"a room measuring 30 feet by 13 feet-- and the enthusiasm and ability of Dr. Bogue."¹

To accommodate one's students in the vestry was not unusual for academies. Besides providing class-room space most tutors housed their students.² Bogue was spared those "petty vexations that usually attend the domestic economy"³ of an academy, because all his students lived with members of his congregation.⁴ During a number of years the missionary students boarded with Mrs. Shepherd, a parishioner,⁵ and lived in small cottages which were rented by members of the church and located on either side of the path leading to the chapel.⁶ James Bennett, who later as a tutor knew collegiate life in dormitories, felt the advantages this type of life had, compared with what he had experienced at Gosport, were purchased at too high a price.⁷ Another alumnus, however, John Angell James, a pastor by calling, later lamented that there

¹Quoted in Kennedy's thesis on J.A. James from T.W. Rumsby, Carrs Lane Journal, Oct., 1952. "The Life, Work and Thought of John Angell James (1785-1859)", p. 15. Presented to the U. of Edinburgh, Oct., 1956.

²McLachlan, op. cit., p. 24.

³Bennett, op. cit., pp. 127, 128.

⁴Ibid.

⁵L.M.S. Board Minutes, July 29, 1805.

⁶Dale, op. cit., p. 48.

⁷Of collegiate living, Bennett says, "where all things tend to foment youthful levity and to suggest youthful counsels." Op.cit., p. 128.

had been no college buildings at Gosport.¹

From the letters written to the Missionary Society by the students it is evident that not all of them were pleased with Mrs. Shepherd's boarding house. George Thom and William Milne desired the sum allowed for each student's provision at their own disposal, so that they might board where they wished. Accompanying their letter to the Society was a note from Bogue saying their request should not be complied with, and recommending that such students, because of their delicacy, should leave the academy.²

It was undoubtedly a wise decision when David Bogue refused to house the students in his own home. He lived the self-denying life to such an extent, that he would have expected too much from the young students.³ Students lived on very little during the years of their acquiring an education at the Scottish universities,⁴ and here was one Scot who thought such a life good

¹James was pastor in Birmingham for fifty-three years. Dale, op. cit., pp. 85, 528.

²L.M.S. Candidate Committee Minutes, Feb. 12, 1810. Bogue's attitude toward the two soon changed. Two months later he recommended Thom to go to the Cape of Good Hope to settle affairs after Dr. Vanderkemp's death. L.M.S. Board Minutes, April 20, 1812. See Chapter I, page 6 regarding Milne.

³Bennett, op. cit., pp. 128, 129.

⁴Of these students, Halévy writes, "But the poor student knew how to eke out his resources. His wants were few. Every week a messenger came in from the country, brought him oatmeal, potatoes, salt butter, and eggs, and took back linen to wash and clothes to be mended." Taken from J.A. Froude, Thomas Carlyle, Vol. I, 20 ff. Elie Halevy, A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century - I: England in 1815, 1949 (2nd edition), p. 540.

discipline.¹

Six months after Thom and Milne's letter, Mrs. Shepherd died.² Her funeral must have brought forth mingled feelings from the students. The Mission Society, from the beginning, was desirous of investing as little as possible in a building, so Dr. Bogue's vestry, and plan for the students boarding out met with the size of the Society's purse.³ Nevertheless, it is evident from the Board of Directors' minutes that they had not been entirely satisfied with Mrs. Shepherd's accommodations.⁴ At her passing, they made the following resolutions:-

(1) That the students be boarded and lodged in private houses under the direction of a tutor and a committee.

(2) That a Committee of Directors at Gosport or in the neighbourhood be appointed to superintend⁵ affairs of the students and that the following gentlemen be recommended to form that Committee:

(3) That each student be allowed £40 for his board and lodging; £30 for clothing, washing, stationery, pocket money.

(4) That the tutor be allowed an annual salary as an acknowledgment for his valuable services in the education of the students.

(5) That a Committee be annually chosen of the London

¹Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., II, 5. What the authors, Bogue and Bennett, could not agree upon, they did not publish. Bennett, op. cit., p. 235. Because of this the author always assumes the principle stated in the joint work to be harmonious with Bogue's opinion.

²L.M.S. Candidate Committee Minutes, August 20, 1810.

³L.M.S. Board Minutes, April 28, 1800.

⁴L.M.S. Board Minutes, May 20, 1805.

⁵"Inspect the conduct and to manage the pecuniary" is crossed through, and "superintend" inserted. L.M.S. Candidate Committee Minutes, August 20, 1810.

Directors to visit the Seminary in the month of March to converse with the Gosport Committee and to examine the progress of the students, and to make their report in time for the general Annual report of the Directors.¹

Necessity forbade a common collegiate life at Gosport, and in this instance poverty undoubtedly was accompanied by providence.

Where a common collegiate life was attempted, as at Carmarthen, Warrington and Hackney College, it was far from successful, and when it was not a failure discipline seems to have been maintained with some difficulty. This appears to have been due in part to the mingling of men of different types and outlook, in² part to the theological and political unrest of the period.

At this time the training of the Gosport Academy was entirely ministerial, yet its very location must have brought the students in contact with the political ideas of France.³ That there were strong feelings theologically is evident from some of the students' petition to the Missionary Society that a fellow student, Fleming, be expelled because of his unitarian views.⁴

It is true that academies operated on a smaller budget than the universities, and student fees were proportionately lower.⁵ However, the financial situation at Gosport was not always as simple as £30 for board and lodging and two guineas for pocket money. It has already been noticed how these rates were

¹Ibid.

²McLachlan, op. cit., p. 24.

³Being a seaport and near even larger ports, Gosport must have been penetrated by ideas from across the Channel.

⁴L.M.S. Candidate Committee Minutes, Jan. 12, 1818. The Committee later investigated and found the accusation groundless. Ibid.

⁵McLachlan, op. cit., p. 25.

gradually raised.¹ Because the Gosport Academy, at least in one of its departments,² became the theological college of the London Missionary Society, and the students being trained were already under contract, the Society was paternal in its attitude.³

Entered in the records are these diverse expenses: Mrs. Hyde, whose husband was at the Seminary, was sent £20 per annum;⁴ missionary candidate Stephen Laidler's poor mother was given aid to the amount of £5;⁵ six guineas were allowed John Wray to visit his friends;⁶ Richard Elliot was voted £10 for books: Henry's commentary, Buck's dictionary, and Cruden's concordance;⁷ French students were given £15 for work among the French prisoners;⁸ students were allowed £3 for travel and one week's board to attend the Annual meeting in London;⁹ students' bills for severe illness were to be assumed by the Board;¹⁰ those students ready for the

¹See page 31 of this chapter.

²It must be remembered that after the L.M.S. sent missionary candidates, there continued to be students educated for the home churches. Bennett, *op. cit.*, p. 134; Bogue and Bennett, *op. cit.*, IV, 281, 282.

³See the Proposal for a Seminary in the L.M.S. Board Minutes, May 5, 1800.

⁴*Ibid.*, June 12, 1812.

⁵*Ibid.*, August 12, 1816.

⁶L.M.S. Candidate Committee Minutes, July 27, 1807.

⁷*Ibid.*, December 28, 1807.

⁸L.M.S. Board Minutes, March 28, 1814.

⁹*Ibid.*, May 1, 1815.

¹⁰L.M.S. Candidate Committee Minutes, April 24, 1820.

field were allowed four guineas for a watch, and necessary expenses for their marriage.¹

Since Gosport actually had become the outfitting headquarters as well as the educational center of the Missionary Society, expenses continued to rise and were watched by the keen eyes of the Committee. On May 27, 1822, they resolved to study the question

with a view to form some plan of economy and entrenchment /sic/ in reference to the board of the students and the terms on which they have been hitherto admitted into the Institution.²

The expenses for that year had been £2250.5s.10d.,³ compared with £312.17s. in 1804.⁴ Three years later, in an effort to economize and improve upon the domestic and local disadvantages of Gosport, the missionary students were moved into the vicinity of London. The resolution which carried the move into effect was made within a fortnight of Dr. Bogue's death.⁵

III. THE GOSPORT ACADEMY: CURRICULA

For forty years David Bogue taught the Gosport students

¹Ibid., July 22, 1822.

²Ibid., May 27, 1822.

³Ibid.

⁴Lovett, op. cit., Vol. I, 85.

⁵L.M.S. Board Minutes, November 14, 1825. Bogue died on the 25th of October, 1825. Bennett, op. cit., p. 366.

subjects ranging from theology to astronomy without assistance.¹ The herculean load he carried was not thought exceptional in the days of the academies. The tutors had studied widely and thus taught the gamut of courses.² One reason for the encyclopaedic nature of the course of studies was that many of the students would later become tutors. This was not as true in this period as at an earlier one;³ nevertheless, included among the Gosport alumni were James Bennett,⁴ Clement Perrot,⁵ and David Bogue, Jr.,⁶ men who became tutors at home, while many of the missionary candidates, including Robert Morrison and William Milne,⁷ were connected with educational institutions on the foreign field.

Beginning in 1800, two different theological schools were actually run at Gosport by Dr. Bogue. One was the continuation of the Hampshire Association of Churches' Academy which had

¹Bogue labored alone from 1777 until 1817. On the 11th of August, 1817 the L.M.S. Candidate Committee recommended an assistant tutor; see also Bennett, op. cit., pp. 134, 135.

²McLachlan, op. cit., pp. 17, 18.

³Parker gives three periods: 1663-1690; 1691-1750; 1750-/1800/. Op. cit., pp. 57, 58. Some of the tutors of the second period were educated in the academies of the first. Smith, op. cit., p. 63.

⁴McLachlan, op. cit., p. 203.

⁵Bennett, The History of Dissenters during the Last Thirty Years (from 1808 to 1838), 1839, p. 150.

⁶Bennett, David Bogue, p. 135.

⁷E. Morrison, Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison, D.D., 1839, 2 Volumes, I, 512, 513.

begun in 1792;¹ the other was the Seminary of the London Missionary Society.² For the missionary candidates Dr. Bogue drew up a special set of lectures suitable for their foreign career.³ The course of studies for the three years included: Orientation lectures,⁴ Latin, Greek, Hebrew,⁵ Theology, Old Testament, New Testament, Evidences of Christianity, Jewish Antiquities, Missionary lectures,⁶ Pastoral Office, Universal grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, Ecclesiastical history, Pre-Christian dispensations, Geography, Astronomy, Composition, and Preaching.⁷

The languages, Latin, Greek and Hebrew⁸ were taught during the whole time the students were enrolled.⁹ Smith in The Birth of Modern Education says of the Gosport curricula, "Greek and Hebrew kept their important place, but Latin was in only by

¹See page 31 of this chapter.

²See page 31 of this chapter

³Bogue and Bennett, Dissenters, IV, 281, 282. It appears that the missionary lectures were exclusively for the foreign-field trainees; otherwise, the students were in classes together. See also footnote 6 on page 45.

⁴L.M.S. Candidate Committee Minutes, May 15, 1815.

⁵Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., IV, 281, 282.

⁶These lectures are described in Chapter IV.

⁷L.M.S. Candidate Committee Minutes, May 15, 1815. The minutes of this date contain the curricula for the academy.

⁸It appears that during the early years, i.e. before 1796, Hebrew was taught only the third year. Bennett, David Bogue, p. 120.

⁹Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., IV, 282.

the skin of the teeth."¹ Mr. Smith's information on Gosport was taken almost exclusively from Bogue and Bennett's History of Dissenters,² and he passes judgment on the basis of Bogue's statement that Latin is valuable in that it is the key to divine knowledge.³ However, an actual investigation into the Latin taught at Gosport reveals that the classics had not been forgotten. In fact, the students were examined in Horace, Livy, Ovid, Virgil, Caesar and Tacitus. In Greek they took examinations in Homer, Xenophon and Demosthenes.⁴ The deputation examiners from the London Missionary Society were not pleased with these selections and suggested religious authors.⁵ This recommendation had been made before and they "were somewhat surprised to find the old plan still in operation".⁶ Bogue did not waver on this issue. Perhaps he was cognizant of the criticism levied against Scottish university graduates' lack of knowledge of the classics.⁷ However,

¹Loco. cit., p. 192.

²Ibid., pp. 188-192. In these pages Smith has 30 references, and 24 of them are to Bogue and Bennett's Dissenters.

³Smith, op. cit., p. 190.

⁴Report of the 1825 deputation to Gosport.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

⁷McLachlan, op. cit., p. 33. "In Classics, it must be admitted, the Scottish universities lagged far behind the English. Englishmen commonly criticized the insufficiency of their instruction in Greek and Latin." From Halévy, Histoire du peuple anglais aux XIX^e siècle, I, 513, and cited by McLachlan, op. cit., p. 33.

it was true that for Bogue the classics were not for literary ends; rather, they were a means of acquiring a good working knowledge of the ancient languages, so that theological works and the Scriptures might be thoroughly understood.¹

Chaldean was taught, but apparently only to select students.² The only modern language offered at Gosport was French, and it was pursued primarily for the reading of sermons.³ It was not included in the curriculum for the missionary candidates, probably being limited to students preparing for the ministry at home.⁴

Theology occupied the central place in the Gosport curriculum.⁵ Forty lectures each year were devoted to it.⁶ Bogue's method of presenting the material was along the line of Dr. George Campbell's of Aberdeen who

used no system of divinity but 'strenuously exhorted his

¹Bennett, David Bogue, pp. 120-122. See also Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., III, 265.

²This particular year, one student was examined in Chaldean, while all underwent exams. in Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Report of the 1825 deputation to Gosport.

³Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., III, 269.

⁴Ibid.; see also the L.M.S. Candidate Committee minutes of May 15, 1815.

⁵Bennett, David Bogue, p. 120; Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., III, 265, 271.

⁶There were 120 over the three year period. J.S.C.F. Frey edited The Theological Lectures of the late Rev. David Bogue, D.D.: Never before Published, 1849, 2 Volumes, I, vii, viii.

students to form one for themselves from the sacred Scriptures, without consulting commentators or previously studying writers in theology.'¹

Bogue dictated and the students copied his outline form. They were then required to read the recommended authors on the subject and fill in the syllabus with their own conclusions. Later, the students, in turn, lectured, and after hearing their statement the tutor would question them to ascertain their grasp of the material.² This method of presenting the material and having the students investigate for themselves was used by Bogue in all but the language courses.³ Writing regarding this method a former student remarked,

On these occasions, the tutor displayed great judgment and liberality; never imposing his own opinion, but giving free scope for the observation of the pupils, and erring rather on the side of reserve with regard to his own sentiments, than on that of dictating to others.⁴

Bogue did use and recommend commentaries, but his final authority was Scripture. Fathers, councils, schoolmen, divines; all were judged by this single authority.⁵ He allowed for freedom of

¹Quoted in McLachlan, op. cit., pp. 30, 31, from the Monthly Repository, IV, p. 632, 1809.

²Bennett, David Bogue, pp. 120, 121; Frey, op. cit., I, v.

³Frey, op. cit., I, v.

⁴Bennett, David Bogue, pp. 120, 121.

⁵Ibid., p. 122; see also Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., III, 266.

thought, but endeavored to keep it within certain bounds.¹ He did not approve of Doddridge's looser method because in his estimation it tended toward a departure from orthodoxy.²

Stoughton's appraisal of evangelical leaders of the eighteenth century is applicable to Bogue. He said,

They leaped back over a hundred years to get at the times of Goodwin and Owen, Baxter and Howe, Bates and Charnock, Gurnall and Flavel.... The wells, next to those of the Bible, whence the Evangelicals drew their inspiration, were not Patristic, not Anglo-Catholic; but they were Protestant works of the sixteenth, and Nonconformist works of the seventeenth century.³

Owen, Howe, Baxter, and Edwards are names which appear again and again in Bogue's writings.⁴ He said, "Were we compelled to adopt in

¹His questioning period did this. Frey, a former student at Gosport, wrote, "After one, two, or three days, according to the importance of the Lecture, the students read it to the Dr., and he frequently stopped them, proposing questions by which he could discover their industry and judgment; whether they had a proper understanding of the subject, whether they had read the books, whether they had made extracts, and whether they were to the purpose." *Op. cit.*, I, v.

²"This inattention to the genuine religion of the youths, which we should call the original sin of the institution, poisoned Doddridge's lectures; for they seem to proceed too much on the idea that the mind of the student was a perfect tabula rasa, destitute of sentiments or prepossessions. Had this been the case, we could not approve of the tutors furnishing them with the wrong as well as the right in theology, error as well as truth, and then calling them to make their election." Bogue and Bennett, *op. cit.*, III, 479. For more on his sentiments, see pages 382, 383 of the same volume.

³John Stoughton, Religion in England under Queen Anne and the Georges, 1878, 2 Volumes, Vol. II, 93.

⁴Bogue and Bennett, *op. cit.*, III, 263; IV, 394; see also Frey, *op. cit.*, I and II. In these two volumes he lists the sources used after each lecture.

the gross the sentiments of any mere human teacher, we should not hesitate to prefer those of Owen to any other writer in the English language."¹ If he preferred any one school, it was that of the American theologians, particularly Jonathan Edwards.² However, because it was "difficult for any one man to excel in every point," he saw even greater value in separate works on specific subjects such as:-

Charnock 'on the Attributes,' Jonathan Edwards 'on Original Sin,' and 'on the Freedom of the Will,' Claude 'on the Office of Christ,' Owen 'on Justification,' and 'on the Spirit,' M'Laurin 'on Divine Grace,' and all his treatises, Witherspoon 'on Regeneration,' Evans 'on the Christian Temper,' /and/ Boyse 'on the four last Things,'.....³

Smith in his work, The Birth of Modern Education, included Gosport in his third category of academies in which tutors constructed their own curricula.⁴ This was an accurate classification, because it was Bogue's and the Missionary Society's decisions which determined the Gosport course of studies.⁵ In general the Society was opposed to mathematics usurping time which should be spent on language and divinity.⁶ However, they were not

¹Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., II, 237.

²Bennett, David Bogue, p. 124.

³Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., III, 267 ftn.

⁴Loco. cit., p. vii. In the other two categories described by Smith, the tutors followed the plan of studies at the English universities. Ibid., pp. 9, 63.

⁵Bogue followed the plan laid out in the L.M.S. Board Minutes of May 5, 1800. However, see page 40 of this chapter, footnote 6.

⁶L.M.S. Board Minutes, May 5, 1800.

opposed to some mathematics being given to those entering the academy with a good educational background.¹ The range among those who matriculated was great: one entered ignorant of "arithmetic and even writing",² while others were classified as having "excellent talents".³ Robert Morrison took work in mathematics, natural philosophy and physic,⁴ and Threlkeld was also allowed to attend lectures on the theory and practice of physics.⁵ All of the students attended lectures on astronomy and geography,⁶ perhaps because the majority "were to follow untrodden paths to the ends of the earth."⁷ Although mathematics and science were touched upon, Gosport did not follow the trend perceptible in some academies where "mathematical Learning.../carried/ the Bell."⁸

Gosport was not guilty of the total neglect of history which was the case in most academies.⁹ Besides sixteen lectures

¹ L.M.S. Candidate Committee Minutes, Dec. 22, 1817.

² Waugh's letter regarding the Seminary, 1817.

³ Ibid.

⁴ L.M.S. Board Minutes, March, 18, 1805.

⁵ Ibid., April 10, 1815.

⁶ Smith implies that only the missionary students received this instruction. Op. cit., p. 191. Because the missionary lectures are not included in Frey's edition of Bogue's lectures, the author is assuming that these were the lectures given to all of the students during the early years of the Seminary. Frey's work does include something on geography and astronomy. Frey, Loco. cit., I, x, xi.

⁷ Smith, op. cit., p. 191.

⁸ Quoted from a manuscript lecture of an academy tutor by McLachlan, op. cit., p.27.

⁹ Ibid., p. 35.

in Jewish Antiquities and twenty-eight in Ecclesiastical History, there were fifteen lectures on the pre-Christian era.¹ In addition to these formal courses, the reading of the histories of the ancient and modern nations was encouraged as a means of a "more enlarged and accurate view of human nature, the predictions of sacred Scripture, and the providence of God."²

The courses in practical theology included exercises in the composition and preaching of sermons, five lectures in logic, thirty-five on rhetoric, five on universal grammar,³ and forty on the pastoral office.⁴ Bogue's own emphasis on plainness and usefulness kept him from spending much time on elocution.⁵ He desired clarity and logical order, but "could not long be detained on the minor graces of speech."⁶ Students felt rhetoric was the best of these, the minor courses. Bogue was well read on the subject and taught the students the essence of what he had digested.⁷ He encouraged the reading of biographies and had on his recommended list:

...Baxter, Stockton, Philip and Matthew Henry, Trosse, Halyburton, Brainerd, Boston, Doddridge, Whitefield, Wesley, Fletcher, Pearce, Newton, and C. Winter....⁸

¹L.M.S. Candidate Committee Minutes, May 15, 1815.

²Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., III, 270.

³These courses are dealt with more fully in Chapter IV, p. 113ff.

⁴L.M.S. Candidate Committee Minutes, May 15, 1815.

⁵See Chapter III, page 92.

⁶Bennett, David Bogue, p. 126.

⁷Ibid., p. 125; see also the evaluation of Dale, op. cit., p. 55.

⁸Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., III, 269.

The tutor, recognizing "the grand business of a minister"¹ was to preach Christ, and that the courses in practical theology were important to the conveying of that message, gave time to the courses which related to preaching, but was definitely more concerned about the content of the message.²

Field-work,³ which was omitted from the schedule of ministerial students at Oxford and Cambridge,⁴ was probably over-emphasized at Gosport. Bogue was so deeply involved in the Association for evangelizing Hampshire, in order that critics could not sneeringly remark that the romantic islands were embraced at the expense of the English working class,⁵ that he had students preaching too soon and too often.⁶ The Committee, which examined Gosport Students, recommended that there be no preaching the first year, and for advanced students, only once a month, at not over a ten mile distance from Gosport. Previous to this the

¹Ibid., III, 268.

²"...The highest place in a course of theological study", according to Bogue, belonged to systematic theology. Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., III, 266. Of Bogue, Bennett wrote, "...he was not fond of the fine gentleman in the pulpit, which he thought was the place for the plain apostle, or the venerable patriarch." David Bogue, p. 98.

³See Chapter VII, pp. 206ff. where an account is given of the students' participation in the evangelizing of Hampshire.

⁴McLachlan, op. cit., pp. 25, 26.

⁵Bogue advised these exertions in order to remove the alibis of a certain class of stay-at-home critic. Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., IV, 387. See also Chapter VII, page 194.

⁶Dale, op. cit., 56. James was sent to preach at the ripe age of 17½; he had only been at Gosport two months. Ibid.

students had gone out twice a month, from Saturday afternoon until Monday morning, being responsible for eight places in the vicinity of Gosport.¹ Because the dissenters of the period laid great stress on preaching,² they gave students, besides many courses related to preaching, extensive deputation work.³

IV. THE GOSPORT ACADEMY: GOVERNMENT AND PERSONNEL

A. GOVERNMENT

It is amazing that so much could be accomplished at Gosport in the course of three years.⁴ One way in which the academies did gain time was by lengthening their term.⁵ Vacation at Mr. Bogue's academy was only during July and August, leaving ten months for academic work.⁶ Basil Willey's judgment was correct when he wrote that the academies were "thoroughly alive

¹L.M.S. Candidate Committee Minutes, Nov. 24, 1817; also Waugh's letter regarding the Seminary, 1817.

²McLachlan, op. cit., pp. 25, 26: Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., III, 268.

³McLachlan, op. cit., pp. 25, 26. "In this connection /the dissenter, compared with the established church laid greater emphasis upon preaching/ it is important to remember that from the beginning divinity students in the academies, unlike men reading for holy orders in the universities, were sent out to preach to congregations far and near." Ibid.

⁴This was the length of the course for the majority of students. Bennett, David Bogue, p. 123.

⁵McLachlan, op. cit., p. 25.

⁶L.M.S. Candidate Committee Minutes, May 17, 1815.

and active".¹ They made time where the universities lost it. The days at the academies began early and ended late.² The syllabus of lectures was heavy, and, at Gosport, even the best students were struggling to keep up.³

Another advantage at Gosport was the students' age and maturity. Many in academies in this era had already been engaged in secular work.⁴ Most of those matriculating at Gosport were in their twenties and of a serious nature.⁵ Bogue requested of the Missionary Society that only those who have "deep and decided personal religion" be accepted by the Board as candidates for the school.⁶ He was convinced that older men, who had had a change of heart, were far better qualified to enter the Seminary, even though their age was unfavorable to literary attainment, than youths who were often enrolled only because of the influence of friends.⁷ The Society's evaluation of the students, however, was not always correct. One was discharged for "gross

¹Basil Willey, The Eighteenth Century Background, 1940, p. 185.

²McLachlan, op. cit., p. 25.

³Richard Knill wrote, "I have often wondered how any of us survived." Charles M. Birrell, The Life of the Rev. Richard Knill, 1859, p. 37.

⁴Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., IV, 305.

⁵Knill, one of the missionary students, was 27 when he entered Gosport. Most of the candidates of the Missionary Society were older than the usual student at the universities. Birrell, op. cit., pp. 4, 35-37.

⁶L.M.S. Board Minutes, February 10, 1817.

⁷Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., IV, 304, 305.

immorality";¹ another was on probation for buying books and clothes without any means or prospect of paying for them, and attempting to borrow money from a stranger.² However, the following representative reports show that these cases were very rare exceptions. In 1817 the London committee wrote, the Deputation reported that "the religious character, missionary spirit, & correct deportment" which they found at Gosport was highly pleasing;³ in 1825 the same Committee commented, "The Deputation was well satisfied respecting their personal piety and their devotedness to missionary labours...."⁴

"In the attention paid to the religion of the students," wrote Dr. Bogue, "lies the prime excellence of the dissenting academies."⁵ To help the Gosport students in their devotional life "the studies of the day were opened, when the young men assembled with the tutor, by a prayer from each of the students in his turn."⁶ Sometimes, when fellow-students were ready to leave the academy for the foreign field, the whole morning was devoted to prayer.⁷ Of their leader's prayer life example one student said, "If a man's prayers are justly esteemed the barometer of his religion, how exalted is the estimate we must form

¹L.M.S. Candidate Committee Minutes, Nov. 20, 1815.

²Ibid., March 11, 1816.

³Waugh's letter regarding the Seminary, 1817.

⁴Report of the 1825 deputation to Gosport.

⁵Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., IV, 304.

⁶Bennett, David Bogue, p. 130.

⁷Ibid.

of the religion of David Bogue!"¹ It is no wonder,

No one could leave Gosport without a deep impression of the grandeur and responsibility of the ministry, and an awful anticipation of the day when each shepherd of souls must render up his account to the good shepherd who laid down his life for the sheep.²

Yet Dr. Bogue's seriousness never sank into sullenness. The students were drawn to him by his dry humor and hilarity in their social gatherings.³

There was, however, a time for everything for this stern-appearing man. His love of fun did not cause him to forget discipline. Not only did he recommend discharging those who were prone to complain,⁴ but he wielded the rod whenever necessary. Instances of the discipline he sought are seen in the manuscript records. On the twenty-ninth of September, 1817, he called to the Society's attention that four students had not returned to the seminary on time.⁵ Two months later he informed the Directors that a student was in London to confer with them without his permission.⁶ His sternness, however, was tempered with understanding. One student, later a missionary in India, was returned to Gosport on probation at Bogue's request, when others apparently were ready to

¹Ibid., p. 399.

²Ibid., pp. 130, 131.

³Ibid., pp. 399 ff.

⁴See page 33 of this chapter.

⁵L.M.S. Board Minutes, loco. cit.

⁶Ibid., October 20, 1817.



dismiss him.¹

On arriving in Gosport the students were handed a set of the Candidate Committee's rules.² Dr. Bogue observed the young men for three months and then reported to the Society his appraisal of each student.³ Besides the watchful eyes of the tutor, the students were under the scrutiny of the Gosport committee of the academy. This committee, in turn, reported to the Deputation group which came yearly from London.⁴ The metropolis group also felt personally responsible for the conduct of the students and had as one of their duties: "To make enquiry of their the students' / Tutor as to the behaviour of each toward him and towards each other, and as to the moral and religious character and conduct of each."⁵ Occasionally the Committee read the students a letter "on gravity of apparel and demeanour,"⁶ but most of their counseling concerned rule number four, which forbade the students "to declare their partiality to any female, till the concurrence of the Directors be obtained."⁷ The students in 1817 approached the Deputation group from London and petitioned them that this rule,

¹L.M.S. Candidate Committee Minutes, March 18, 1816.

²Waugh's letter regarding the Seminary, 1817.

³L.M.S. Candidate Committee Minutes, Oct. 25, 1805.

⁴Ibid., August 20, 1810; see also page 34 of this chapter.

⁵Hints to the Deputation Group, March 17, 1817.

⁶L.M.S. Candidate Committee Minutes, Oct. 11, 1815.

⁷Waugh's letter regarding the Seminary, 1817.

which they were unacquainted with until their arrival at Gosport, and to which "their consent was so suddenly required, that they had scarcely opportunity to consider the laws by which they were to be governed," be altered.¹ The students were, however, willing "to remain under a strict injunction, not to make any positive engagement, with a view to marriage, till they have received the permission of the Directors."² This fourth rule, though later altered slightly,³ brought to the Candidate Committee varied duties; on February 4th, 1811, they wrote to the parents of Miss Smith acknowledging their right as parents to withhold their consent to their daughter's marriage;⁴ on December 12th, 1814, they expressed their opinion that a young lady a missionary candidate wished to marry was "wholly uneducated and unfit to accompany him";⁴ on February 25th, 1817, they were upset by Jones' and Bevan's refusal to occupy their station unless the Society concurred with their desire to marry,⁴ and advised the former to write to his friend asking whether she was willing "to relinquish the proposed connection";⁵ the Committee was further perplexed when the girl replied saying she was unwilling to give up Jones,⁶

¹Ibid.

²Ibid. Italics are in the text.

³The L.M.S. Candidate Committee revised the regulation in accordance with the students' suggestion. The Committee's Minutes of April 28, 1817.

⁴L.M.S. Candidate Committee Minutes, loco. cit.

⁵Ibid., April 13, 1818.

⁶Ibid., April 27, 1818.

so they sought a solution to the problem by recommending a committee to investigate her piety and to see if she had a missionary spirit ;¹ on September 23rd, 1822, they were investigating to discover if the young men who "broke off former correspondence in view of marriage with females", had done this honorably.²

During the years David Bogue tutored young men in general academic studies, the Gosport Academy had no officials other than the tutor. In 1789 when he began to train men for the ministry he was obligated to the patron to give the students theological training, but the academy continued to be managed by Bogue.³ The Hampshire Association of Churches, which began in 1802 to send young men to Gosport, had two officials, a secretary and a treasurer, who had some part in the business affairs of the academy.⁴

Mr. Bogue continued to run, practically singlehanded, the organization of the school even when the London Missionary Society was sending its students to him. A Candidate Committee of the Society did examine the students, and those who

¹Ibid.

²L.M.S. Candidate Committee Minutes, loco. cit.

³In arrangements with Robert Haldane, Bogue set prices for tuition, room and board. There apparently were no committees or officials with whom to confer. R. Haldane, op. cit., pp. 27, 38.

⁴E.W. Giles, Nonconformity in the South; History of the Hampshire Association, with Biographical Notices of its Founders, 1847, p. 21.

qualified were directed to Gosport for a probationary period.¹ Once arriving in Gosport, however, the students were under the tutor's rule. In addition to teaching them, he supervised many aspects of their life, including managing their finances,² forwarding their letters to the Society,³ recommending their fields of service,⁴ and giving advice to the Society as to where they should be ordained.⁵

In 1810 the Missionary Society did appoint a committee of five men in Gosport and vicinity to assume the financial, and manage the disciplinary matters of the students; however, Bogue was one of the members of that committee.⁶ The same year a Deputation Committee, chosen from among the Society's directors, was appointed to make yearly visits to Gosport to hear reports from the Gosport committee and to make a general inspection of the Seminary.⁷ The Candidate Committee in 1819 requested from Dr. Bogue a report every three months on those students who were on probation, and one every six months on all other students.⁸ Despite these

¹L.M.S. Candidate Committee Minutes, May 7, 1805; Oct. 25, 1805.

²Waugh's letter regarding the Seminary, 1817.

³L.M.S. Board Minutes, Oct. 20, 1817.

⁴L.M.S. Board Minutes, Jan. 20, 1806; Jan. 18, 1808; Dec. 13, 1816; Jan. 13, 1817.

⁵L.M.S. Candidate Committee Minutes, Aug. 29, 1814.

⁶L.M.S. Candidate Committee Minutes, Aug. 20, 1810.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid., Nov. 22, 1819.

committees, which were appointed rather tardily¹ and even then did not always function,² Dr. Bogue was the power at Gosport. It appears that some rules the committees made, which he did not agree with, he disregarded.³ He did not favor changing the policies in operation without proof of their inefficiency.⁴ The Candidate Committee which visited Gosport, recognizing Bogue's great contribution to the Missionary Society, hardly knew how to handle his independent spirit. In a report they sent to the Directors in 1817 recommending changes, they felt for words suitable for the situation. Sometimes sensing they were overdoing their politeness, they crossed out such terms as: "or rather invaluable" tutor, "excellent" tutor, "able" tutor, "revered" tutor, and substituted other adjectives.⁵

B. PERSONNEL

David Bogue did have an independent spirit. Everything, however, in an academy usually depended upon the tutor. Often

¹In 1810 after Bogue had managed everything by himself for ten years. See footnote 6 on page 55.

²L.M.S. Candidate Committee Minutes, Feb. 22, 1815.

³For example the L.M.S.'s recommendation that religious authors be read rather than the classics. Report of the 1825 Deputation to Gosport.

⁴This was his attitude toward allowing the students to handle their own funds, and board according to their wishes. Waugh's letter regarding the Seminary, 1817.

⁵Waugh's letter regarding the Seminary, 1817.

when he moved the students moved with him; when he died the academy was discontinued.¹ A strong personality had to be coupled with a gift for teaching in this calling. David Bogue, fortunately, had the latter quality as well as the former.²

George Welch, Robert Haldane, the Hampshire Association of Churches, the London Missionary Society took advantage of this talent. In 1812, when William Bull of Newport Pagnel died, Bogue became the senior tutor in all the dissenting academies.³

Until 1817 Bogue was the only tutor⁴ at the Gosport Academy. On the eleventh of August of that year David Bogue, Jr., appeared before the Candidate Committee and on that date they recommended to the Directors his employment as classical assistant.⁵ The son, who came to Gosport as classical tutor, had been educated, first at his father's academy, and then at the University of Glasgow where he graduated with high honors.⁶ Not only were the

¹McLachlan, op. cit., pp. 17-19.

²Chapter III of this thesis concerns "David Bogue: The Man".

³In a letter to William Bull, dated Dec. 7, 1813, which is in the archives of the L.M.S. Bogue's letters, number 10.

⁴For a while some students studied classical learning under the Rev. Mr. Chalmers of Stafford preparatory to their going to Gosport. L.M.S. Candidate Committee Minutes, Oct. 13, 1817.

⁵L.M.S. Candidate Committee Minutes, loco. cit.

⁶Bennett, David Bogue, p. 135; see W. Innes Addison, Matriculation Album of the University of Glasgow, No. 9044 and The Congregational Magazine, 1824, p. 615.

Directors pleased with the assistant, but the students were drawn to the young man because of "his acquaintance with languages and sciences, his enthusiasm for learning, /and/ his talent for the communication of knowledge...."¹ Four years later when David, Jr. resigned, his place was filled by Theophilus Eastman² who was likewise a former Gosport student. He continued with Dr. Bogue until the latter's death.³

Medically the students were cared for by Dr. Dods,⁴ a member of Mr. Bogue's church.⁵ From the reports of the Deputation group which visited Gosport, it is evident that many students were afflicted with lung disease,⁶ the scourge of that century. "Excellent talents - Bad health"⁷ must have been the condition of more than one student, because many died at Gosport and others succumbed shortly after their graduation from the academy.⁸

The student body at Gosport varied in size. In 1777

¹Bennett, David Bogue, p. 135.

²He was approved "for the present", i.e. until some further arrangements could be made regarding the Missionary Seminary. L.M.S. Candidate Committee Minutes, Dec. 10, 1821.

³Bennett, David Bogue, p. 135.

⁴He was also a member of the Gosport Academy local Committee. L.M.S. Candidate Committee Minutes, August 20, 1810.

⁵Bennett, David Bogue, p. 439.

⁶Report of the 1825 Deputation to Gosport.

⁷Notes appended to reports on various students in Waugh's letter regarding the Seminary, 1817.

⁸See the dates of the students' death in Appendix A.

one student was with Mr. Bogue;¹ twelve years later three young men were matriculating at Gosport;² the first Missionary Society contingent numbered only three.³ However, a few years later the number of missionary candidates averaged twenty,⁴ and in addition to these there were others being trained for the home ministry.⁵

Mr. Giles, in his history of the Hampshire Association, stated that upwards of sixty were trained at Gosport for the local county churches.⁶ There were more than one hundred and fifteen missionary candidates who received instruction under Dr. Bogue.⁷ The number receiving general academic training is not known.⁸

The two hundred young men, who sat under Bogue's tuition, came from far and near. French⁹ and German¹⁰ students were

¹Bennett, David Bogue, p. 100.

²Ibid., p. 131.

³Report of the Missionary Society, 1802, p. 148.
Reports of the Missionary Society from its Formation in the Year 1795, to 1814, inclusive, n.d., p. 148.

⁴In 1817 there were 21 students. Waugh's letter regarding the Seminary, 1817. For the other totals see the Reports of the Missionary Society.

⁵Bennett, David Bogue, p. 134.

⁶Giles, op. cit., p. 21.

⁷See Appendix A. The exact number educated by Dr. Bogue is not known.

⁸A few of the students in this category are listed in Appendix A.

⁹L.M.S. Board Minutes, March 28, 1814.

¹⁰Zwaar, Wiesinger, Bruckner and others; see Appendix A.

enrolled. From Great Britain there were Scottish¹ and Welsh² in addition to English students. Two men and one boy from Tahiti were assigned to Gosport by the Missionary Society.³ From America Adoniram Judson wrote to Bogue and asked permission for himself and other married students to enter the academy.⁴ Joseph Frey and Rabbi Asa, both Jews, were educated at Gosport.⁵

V. THE GOSPORT ACADEMY: TEXT BOOKS

The library at Gosport, compared to the universities' and like most academies',⁶ was quite small, most of the volumes belonging to the tutor.⁷ In addition to Bogue's study, the students had the use of 850 volumes bequeathed to the Missionary Society by Cornelius Winter⁸ and of books which the Society

¹Haldane, Ballantyne, Cleghorn, Morrison are a few Scots listed in Appendix A.

²David Jones and Thomas Bevan. Lovett, op. cit., I, 674.

³L.M.S. Board Minutes, July 4, 1800.

⁴Ibid., June 25, 1811. See also Chapter I, page 18, footnote 2.

⁵Lovett, op. cit., I, 96-98; see also Appendix A.

⁶McLachlan, op. cit., p. 42

⁷Bennett, David Bogue, p. 121.

⁸Hints to the Deputation Group, March 17, 1817; Mr. Winter died in January, 1808. Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., IV, 281. See also The Evangelical Magazine, April, 1808, p. 179.

purchased on Dr. Bogue's or the Deputation Committee's recommendation.¹ Maps and globes were available,² and apparently philosophical apparatus.³

Dr. Bogue's method of lecturing, which required the students to copy his skeleton outlines and later fill up the syllabus, required reading works "numerous and extensive".⁴ The advantage of this method was not only in stimulating the students to think for themselves,⁵ but also in relieving the shortage of English text books.⁶ The students spent hours, not without grumbling,⁷ copying these outlines. Although shorthand was taught at many academies it was not at Gosport.⁸ Occasionally

¹L.M.S. Candidate Committee Minutes, Jan. 11, 1819; Waugh's letter regarding the Seminary, 1817.

²L.M.S. Candidate Committee Minutes, May 15, 1815.

³The maps and globes had been asked for and obtained; later there was the request for the philosophical apparatus. Ibid., April 24, 1820.

⁴Bennett, David Bogue, p. 121.

⁵See page 42 of this chapter.

⁶Because Latin had been used in all universities, there were few books available in English. McLachlan, op. cit., p. 22.

⁷Waugh's letter regarding the Seminary, 1817. The students complained to the Deputation Group of the time consumed, and the Group advised that Bogue's lectures be printed. Ibid.

⁸McLachlan, op. cit., p. 23; Bennett, David Bogue, p. 121.

there are references to each student having a copy of a book,¹ but usually there was a dash after lectures to acquire the library books needed to complete their assignment.²

Dr. Bogue's Theological Lectures, a manuscript which included Theology, Divine Revelation, Divine Dispensation, Church History, Jewish Antiquities, Sacred Geography, Composition of Sermons, and the Pastoral Office, were published posthumously in America in 1849.³ R.W. Dale correctly remarked that "the book is full of blunders".⁴ He further commented,

Whether the fault lies with the editor or the printer, cannot be determined,... some of the names of the authors cited are perseveringly and consistently misspelt throughout, others⁵ are spelled in a new fashion almost every time they occur.

In spite of all its errors, the work has preserved valuable information, specifically the names of the authors represented in the Gosport library⁶ and which of these the tutor most often encouraged his students to read.⁷

¹For example, each student was given a copy of Chalmer's Argument on the Evidences of Christianity. L.M.S. Candidate Committee Minutes, April 15, 1815.

²Bennett mentions that much time was lost waiting for those who were fortunate enough to get the books first. David Bogue, p. 121.

³Frey, op. cit., I, p. i in the introduction. There is a copy in the British Museum.

⁴Dale, op. cit., p. 54.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Frey, the editor of the Lectures, left Gosport in 1805. We know the books which were in the library at that date.

⁷There are references at the end of each lecture indicating the sources the students were required to read.

In theology the two works the young divines went to most frequently were Dr. John Gill's Body of Divinity,¹ and Dr. Thomas Ridgley's A Body of Divinity.² Gill, a most decided Calvinist, and a Baptist,³ was used in practically every lecture except those on baptism, then amusingly enough "Maurice against Gill" and "Cogon against Gill" replaced him, but on the very next lecture, on the other sacrament, the Baptist theologian was back in his prominent place.⁴ In the Missionary Society Candidate Committee's minutes of January 11, 1819, Bogue's request for Campbell on the Gospel, MacKnight on the Epistles, Hartwell Horne's Introduction to the Sacred Scriptures were approved, but "Gill's body of Divinity 'wrote' for by Dr. Bogue.../was/ not recommended by the Committee".⁵ Was it Frey's, Haldane's and Judson's departure from Congregationalism,⁶ or Gill's followers' tendency to antinomianism which caused the Committee's decision?⁷

¹Referred to in McLachlan, op. cit., p. 23, and in Smith, op. cit., p. 214, as being used in other academies.

²Mentioned in McLachlan, op. cit., p. 279, and in Smith, op. cit., p. 211, as a text book in other academies.

³See Bogue's comments on him in Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., IV, 464ff.

⁴Frey, op. cit., I, 305-318

⁵Loco. cit.

⁶All of these men had been at Gosport; Frey for 3 years, Haldane for part of a year, and Judson for several weeks. Later they all became Baptists.

⁷The hyper-Calvinists were accused of this. Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., IV, 390; see also Smith, op. cit., p. 93.

Calvin's Institutes are conspicuous by their absence.¹ Bogue greatly admired both Calvin and Luther,² but perhaps he felt Ridgely's "popular presentation of Calvinistic theology,"³ more useful for his students, in spite of its unorthodox views of the Trinity.⁴ Ridgely, himself a non-conformist tutor of high esteem,⁵ had put his lectures on the exposition of the Larger Catechism of the Westminster Assembly into printed form, and this Body of Divinity was used in more than one academy.⁶ This practice of using each others' manuscripts and printed lectures was common among the tutors, not only in theology, but in the entire field of learning.⁷

Bennett's opinion that Bogue preferred Jonathan Edwards and the American school of theology to other systems is confirmed by the numerous references to all Edwards' works.⁸ Bogue's high esteem for Owen is also seen.⁹

¹They are not found once in the index of books in Frey, op. cit., II, 803ff.

²Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., I, 113ff.

³McLachlan, op. cit., p. 297.

⁴Smith, op. cit., p. 93.

⁵McLachlan, op. cit., p. 118.

⁶McLachlan, op. cit., p. 297.

⁷Ibid., pp. 22, 23.

⁸See the references following each lecture in Frey, op. cit., I, II.

⁹Ibid.

Next in popularity, from a list of one hundred and thirty sources¹ the students were required to read, were these five divergent men: Limborch, the liberal Continental theologian;² Bishop Hopkins of the Anglican Church;³ Samuel Cradock, a Cambridge Platonist admirer;⁴ Philip Doddridge, whose lectures Bogue thought too objective for the type of student enrolled;⁵ and Thomas Boston, a Marrow man of the Church of Scotland.⁶ The wide use of Bates, Owen, Howe, Flavel, Charnock, and Baxter has already been noted.⁷

Second in order in the Theological Lectures, because Bogue assigned it this priority in his theological education scheme, was Divine Revelation,⁸ which, according to Bogue included,

¹See the references in Frey, op. cit., I, 13-359.

²McLachlan, op. cit., p. 301.

³Besides Hopkins the following Anglicans were read: Tillotson, Barrow, Wilkins, Scott. The last mentioned is praised. Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., IV, 502 footnote.

⁴Smith, op. cit., pp. 38ff, 142.

⁵See page 43 of this chapter

⁶Cunningham, The Church History of Scotland: From the Commencement of the Christian Era to the Present Century, 2 Volumes, 1859, II, 383-387. Others from Scotland, whose works were read at Gosport, were McLaurin, Beattie, B. Campbell, Glass, John and Ebenezer Erskine, and Witherspoon. See Frey, op. cit., II, 303ff.

⁷See page 43 of this chapter.

⁸"A second branch of theological study intimately connected with the former /theology/, is devoted to the acquisition of biblical knowledge." Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., III, 267.

the inspiration and divine authority of the different books of the Old and New Testament, the manner of composition, the civil customs of the Hebrews, their religious rites, government, and history, the chronology and geography of the Scriptures, the rules of interpretation and canons of sacred criticism.¹

In the Old Testament phase of this subject the works of Johannes Franz Buddaeus, whom Bogue considered one of the ablest Lutherans,² and those of Johann Gottlob Carpzovius (Carpzov)³ were widely used. Other books the students went to often were Pool's Synopsis Criticorum,⁴ Jonathan Edwards' Scripture, Saurin's Discourses, Calmet's Dissertation, Gray's Key, Vitringa's Types, and the commentaries of Symon Patrick, and Matthew Henry. Of the latter's commentary Bogue wrote, "Among popular commentaries on the whole of the sacred volume, adapted to the bulk of the Christian world, none can for a moment vie with that of Matthew Henry."⁵

In the New Testament division of the course, the commentaries of John Guyse,⁶ Philip Doddridge, George Campbell, and

¹Ibid., III, 267, 268.

²"In the systems of Buddeus and Weismannus, the students will perceive the manner in which divine truths are stated by the ablest divines in the Lutheran church." Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., 267 footnote.

³His Introduction and History are often cited in the lectures. See Frey, op. cit., I, 13-359.

⁴Hugh Evans, another tutor, lists this book in his Catalogue of a Few Useful Books with the following comment, "most especially". Smith, op. cit., p. 282.

⁵Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., IV, 501, 502.

⁶"If profound and accurate knowledge of theology and biblical criticism gives a claim to the literary honours conferred on a divine, John Guyse could prefer that claim...." Ibid., IV, 440.

Samuel Cradock were praised.¹ Also used, but with reservations, were Lardner's Credibility of the Gospel History, George Benson's Life of Christ and History of the Church of Christ.² The Introductions of the German scholars, Johannes David Michaelis and Johannes Christopher Wolfius, were recommended for critical studies.³

It is interesting to note that most of the works used extensively at Gosport are included on the list of recommended books for "some young preachers" which Doddridge sent to John Wesley.⁴ Bogue would also have agreed with Doddridge's added comment,

...I dare say, Sir, you will not by any means imagine that I intend to recommend the particular notions of all the writers I here mention, which may, indeed, sufficiently appear from their absolute contrariety to each other in a multitude of instances; but I think that, in order to defend the truth, it is very proper that a young minister should know the chief strength of error.⁵

"Next in importance," continued Dr. Bogue, "to the student of divinity, is the knowledge of what relates to preaching the Gospel."⁶ In this area of logic, metaphysics, rhetoric,

¹Ibid., II, 61, 62; IV, 502.

²Ibid., IV, 400, 401. Concerning Dr. Benson, Bogue wrote, "...But he had not the talents of his predecessors: he was an impenetrably dull man." Ibid., IV, 400.

³There are repeated references to them in Bogue's list of sources. Frey, op. cit., I, 13-359.

⁴Quoted in Smith, op. cit., p. 279.

⁵Ibid., p. 282.

⁶Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., III, 268.

eloquence and preaching, the students were recommended to use Blair's Lectures and Sermon Canon of Scripture, Charles Rollin's Belles Lettres,¹ John Ward's A System of Oratory,² Campbell's Rhetoric, and Quintilian.³ In the course relating to the pastoral office Doddridge's Preaching Lectures,⁴ John Mason's Student and Pastor,⁵ and Bishop Burnet's Pastoral Care were followed.⁶

Church History, which in Bogue's philosophy of education should receive attention if "the course of studies is long enough to afford sufficient leisure",⁷ was treated in fifty lectures at Gosport.⁸ In the first division, Jewish Antiquities, David Jennings' Jewish Antiquities,⁹ Thomas Godwin's Moses and

¹Also used at Bristol, Smith, op. cit., p. 214, and at Newport Pagnel, McLachlan, op. cit., p. 243.

²Priestley acknowledged obligations to Dr. Ward; also used at Hoxton by Dr. Kippis. McLachlan, op. cit., pp. 304, 305.

³This Latin work was used at Sheriffhales, Homerton, and Hackney. Ibid., pp. 46, 182, 250.

⁴Doddridge's lectures on preaching were used widely even before they were in published form. Ibid., p. 284. See also Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., IV, 306, 307.

⁵Bogue said of this work, "...Fit to be the companion of Baxter, Burnet, Mather and Watts on the pastoral care." Ibid., IV, 403.

⁶J. Eames, who wrote View of the Gospel Ministry, and Osterwald are also referred to frequently. Frey, op. cit., II, 696-798.

⁷Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., III, 270.

⁸There were 29 lectures in Church History (Christian centuries), 7 in Jewish Antiquities and 14 in Sacred Geography. Frey, op. cit., I, x, xi.

⁹This book was based upon Godwin's Moses and Aaron, McLachlan, op. cit., p. 299.

Aaron,¹ Owen's Hebrews,² Lampe's Epitome of Ecclesiastical History³ and Prideaux's Connection of the Old and New Testament were studied. For the Christian Centuries, the students were dependent upon the histories of Mosheim,⁴ Lampe, Spanheim, Millar,⁵ Weisman, and Jabulonsky. Reland's Palestine Illustrated and Vitringa's Sacred Geography acquainted the students with the Holy Land.⁶ Pinkerton's Geography was the text in the geography phase of the astronomy-geography course.⁷

Concerning the text books used in the courses not included in Bogue's theological lectures,⁸ scattered sources revealed bits of information. Twenty-eight of the thirty-five missionary lectures the tutor delivered at Gosport are preserved

¹This book was used in many academies including Kibworth and Hoxton. Ibid., p. 303.

²"No work on a single book of Scripture is equal to Dr. Owen's Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews." Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., IV, 502.

³Doddridge said of this work, "...And, in a few words, comprehensive, as well as faithful sketch of ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, beyond all compare, Lampe". Quoted in Smith, op. cit., p. 279.

⁴Newton considered this work the best in the field. Ibid., p. 231.

⁵See the footnote on page 71 of this chapter.

⁶Both of these works are included in Doddridge's recommended list. Smith, op. cit., pp. 279, 282.

⁷L.M.S. Board Minutes, Oct. 27, 1806.

⁸The Lectures do not include the language courses, the missionary lectures, and the orientation course.

in a manuscript which Robert Moffat transcribed.¹ The references² cited in the lectures are Bockin's Preliminary Discourse to the Danish Missionaries, the History of the Danish Mission, Wither-
spoon's Works, Brainerd's Life,³ and Edwards on Redemption.

Before Bogue was tutor to the London Society's candidates he recommended reading material for the outgoing missionaries.⁴ Among the works thought profitable were the lives of Elliot and Brainerd, the periodicals relating to missions by the United Brethren and the Baptists, and all other suitable material on mission undertakings, such as those in Greenland and North America.⁵ Bogue presented to those who sailed in 1796 Crantz's History of Greenland,⁶ La Trobe's Translation of Loskiel's History of the Moravian Mission in North America, and other writings of a similar nature.⁷ Other publications, familiar to Bogue and

¹This copy is in the archives of the L.M.S.

²References are cited only after the first few lectures in Moffat's copy. It is believed he copied the material from Kitchingman. Letter from Miss Irene Fletcher, L.M.S. Librarian and Archivist, Sept. 23, 1958.

³Bogue, like most of the people influential in the Missionary Awakening, thought highly of this work. Each student was given a copy. L.M.S. Candidate Committee Minutes, May 26, 1817.

⁴L.M.S. Board Minutes, Oct. 1, 1795.

⁵Ibid., June 11, 1798.

⁶Bogue wrote of this book, "...One of the most interesting and improving works in ecclesiastical literature". Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., IV, 384.

⁷The Evangelical Magazine, Sept., 1796, p. 384.

undoubtedly used in his lectures, were those cited in his 1792 missionary sermon. They are Mather's History of New England, Millar's History of the Propagation of Christianity,¹ Sermons before the S.P.G.F.P., Brainerd's Life and Journal, the Christian Monthly History, and Dr. Coke's Journal.²

Bogue's recommendation of Dr. Ashworth's Grammar makes it appear that his text book was used in Hebrew.³ It has already been noted that Virgil, Horace, Caesar, Tacitus, Livy and Ovid were read in Latin, and Demosthenes, Homer and Xenophon in Greek.⁴ The grammars used in these and other language courses are not known.

VI. THE GOSPORT ACADEMY: REPUTATION

Although Bogue's views on religious and political liberty will be treated later,⁵ something should be said at this point regarding the politics of the Gosport Academy. Because Bogue's loyalty was questioned, Robert Haldane was persuaded to

¹Millar is referred to by Dr. John Foster as the "Latourette of two and a quarter centuries ago". The International Review of Missions, Vol. XXXVII, No. 146, p. 139.

²A Sermon preached at Salters-Hall, March 30th, 1792....., 1793, pp. 20, 21.

³Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., IV, 502. Most of the books cited in this section on Sacred Literature are found on the students' reference list.

⁴See page 40 of this chapter.

⁵In Chapter X.

cancel his arrangement to send Scottish students to the Hants school.¹ Gosport and Bogue were not the only academy and tutor to be brought under suspicion.² Most of the nonconformists, because their very existence depended upon government policies, were loyal to the principles of the revolution of 1688, the Hanover regime, and the Whig party; and their dissenting children, carrying this sentiment further, sympathized with the American battle for independence and the French Revolution. The earlier academies had run from the hand of the law for their very existence. The later ones grew up with this in their memories, and were alert to oppose any measure which further handicapped them, and conversely were ready to welcome any trend toward constitutional government and the liberties of the subject.³ This attitude brought reproach from the Church and the State during these nervous years when the very foundations of civilization seemed threatened.⁴ Perspective has shown that most of those under suspicion were not king-haters and republicans, but loyal citizens who absolutely could not afford to disassociate religion

¹Greville Ewing, Facts and Documents...., 1809, p. 27 and footnote.

²McLachlan, op. cit., pp. 39, 40.

³After McLachlan, ibid., p. 39.

⁴For example, Wm. Porteous and George Hill wrote letters to Lord Dundas about the excitement of the times. Porteous singled out Bogue for his blasts. See their letters written from Jan. 24, 1797 through Feb. 21, 1798. Laing MSS., II, No. 501 in the Strong Room of the University of Edinburgh Library.

and politics.¹ The dissenter's faith, his life, depended upon the attitude of the Crown and the party controlling Parliament. He was forced to stand up for his religious and political rights or die.

The academies of the eighteenth century are still being compared with the English universities of that era.² The conclusions reached are not always the same,³ but there are some findings obvious to all. In libraries and equipment the academies were handicapped indeed.⁴ Also, generally, the tutors were teaching too wide a range of subjects; but, to their credit, they were aware of this weakness and were seeking a solution.⁵ In examinations, on the other hand, the academies excelled.⁶ At Gosport the same diligence in testing the students, for which the academies were noted, was found. The Deputation group from London, which came yearly for a three-day stay, listed as their first and second duties: "To examine what proficiency each

¹See the review of Bennett's David Bogue in The Eclectic Review, 1828, Vol. XXX, 103ff.

²Compare Smith's Modern Education, 1954, with Hans' New Trends in Education, 1951.

³"Now we come to the most difficult part of our task and shall attempt to prove that the two ancient Universities were not as moribund in the eighteenth century as general opinion affirms." Hans, op. cit., p. 41; cf. Smith, op. cit., pp. 237ff, and McLachlan, op. cit., p. 16.

⁴McLachlan, op. cit., p. 42; Smith, op. cit., p. 14.

⁵McLachlan, op. cit., p. 40; see also Chapter IV of this thesis, page 134.

⁶McLachlan, op. cit., p. 41.

student has made in the study of the languages"; "To enquire into their Theological¹ knowledge".² In the classical examinations they read, as noted before, from the Latin and Greek classics. In Hebrew they were tested in Old Testament passages.³ Examinations were given in the evidences of Christianity, the leading doctrines of revelation, and Biblical criticism.⁴ An example of the questions asked in this field was the one given in 1805 to Thomas Adams. He was asked for an essay on the nature, ground, and evidence of justification.⁵ The universities were undoubtedly not as fast asleep as generally supposed,⁶ nevertheless, it is doubtful whether their students and faculty were as serious in their pursuit of learning as the academies'.⁷

The greatest contribution the Gosport academy made was in sending out young men thoroughly trained in the Scriptures. The students had read widely and were acquainted with the different theological systems. The classroom method of presenting an outline and having the students fill it out, forced the students to

¹This included more than just theology proper. See footnote No. 8 on p. 69.

²Hints to the Deputation Group, March 17, 1825.

³Ibid.

⁴L.M.S. Candidate Committee Minutes, May 15, 1815.

⁵Ibid., July 29, 1805.

⁶See Hans, New Trends, pp. 54ff., for a rebuttal to Parker's and McLachlan's views.

⁷Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., III, 311; IV, 305, 306; also McLachlan, op. cit., p. 41.

think for themselves. Bogue's procedure of having the students lecture in his presence, and of then questioning them kept the freedom within the bounds he desired. Not one of the more than two hundred he trained for the ministry¹ departed from the orthodox tradition. This must mean that the students arrived at their position without feeling compulsion, or else there would have been a certain number who would have rebelled, and, in this reaction, would have sought refuge in another theological position. Bogue's accomplishment in this respect compares favorably with the labors of Doddridge. He educated approximately two hundred students, and of the one hundred and twenty who became ministers, not a few were lost to the Evangelical cause.²

John Angell James and his biographer, R.W. Dale, present Bogue's Academy through eyes too much enamored with the rapid development of educational institutions toward the middle of the nineteenth century. This prevents them from giving a fair historical picture of Gosport's contribution. Kennedy, in his recent thesis on James, acknowledged that his subject's usefulness was in his plain preaching and writing.³ Plain useful ministers was Bogue's aim. He was interested, above all else,

¹Bennett, David Bogue, p. 101.

²Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., III, 297, 479ff.

³Kennedy, op. cit., pp. 137ff. When Kennedy wrote, "...one could wish that the scholastic training at Gosport had been better....", he was probably being influenced by the attitude mentioned above. Ibid., p. 19.

in training men who would make a contribution to the common man. He knew three years would not allow for every course desired, especially for those students who, like James, came without a general educational background. Forced to choose where the emphasis should be, Bogue chose theology.¹ Gosport students were noted for their superior theological knowledge.² As has been noted Bogue did not neglect the original languages of the Scripture, nor was Latin taken lightly. Practical theology, necessary for the communicating of God's Word, was given its rightful place. History was emphasized more than in most academies. Science and mathematics were not thought useless, but there had to be pruning, so they were trimmed in favor of subjects thought more fruitful for the ministry.³

Bogue probably recognized the limits of the academies more than any other tutor. Early in his teaching experience, he presented and promoted plans for remedying the shortcomings of dissenting education. As will be noticed in chapter four, the plans included a grammar school designed to give a good secondary education, and a university for the higher branches of languages, science and other fields included in a liberal education.⁴

¹Smith in Modern Education recognized the Bible as the core of the Gosport curricula. P. 192.

²Bennett, David Bogue, pp. 123, 124.

³Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., III, 264-272; IV, 307.

⁴See Chapter IV for a full account.

CHAPTER III

DAVID BOGUE: THE MAN

I. FAMILY BACKGROUND

The mark of usefulness made upon those who left the Gosport Academy came from its tutor. David Bogue was a Scotsman. He was born on March 1, 1750, in Berwickshire at Dowlau, in the parish of Coldingham.¹ The family tradition is that the original Bogue came over from Friesland, the northern part of Holland.² There the name was Boog meaning "the bow". The present spelling, Bogue, appears to be the form it took when it crossed into French-speaking Belgium where Boog could not be pronounced. The branch of the family which later came to Britain had passed on to Normandy, and then across the channel in about the year 1475. These immigrants were twelve generations removed from David Bogue.³

David was the fourth son, the sixth of twelve children, of John and Margaret Swanson Bogue. In the family there was a long history of religious fervor. John's great-grandfather was

¹James Bennett, Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. David Bogue, D.D., 1827, pp. 5, 6.

²Traditions and Genealogies of Some Members of the Families of Boog, Heron, Leishman, Ross, Watson, collected by Chas. B. Boog Watson, 1908, p. 8.

³Virgil Bogue, Bogue and Allied Families, 1944, p. 16. This book gives David Bogue's family tree on pages 15-18.

obliged, in the reign of James I, to flee to Berwick for his religion. John's grandfather, William Bogue, was engaged in fighting for his Christian faith and often sought refuge from the enemy in the caves along the seaside. John Bogue, David's grandfather, who first settled in Dowlau, was also known to be an exemplary Christian. David's maternal great-grandfather, Colonel David Crooks, was one of Oliver Cromwell's officers, and was imprisoned for his faith. David Bogue's ancestors were among those who, when forced to go and hear the Episcopal curate, put wool in their ears that they might not hear what he said.¹

From such a heritage sprang David Bogue. His godly mother and father trained all their children in the Scripture and the Assembly's Catechism. In later years David said that all that should be done for children by parents had been done for him.²

David had five sisters and six brothers. John, the eldest, was a Writer to the Signet in Edinburgh. James, the third boy, died at Lagoa at the age of twenty-nine. George, the name of the fifth child, was a surgeon aboard a ship. Patrick, next younger than David, entered the trades. Joseph, the tenth child, was the only brother to outlive David; Jacob, the youngest, died in 1818. Of the girls, Elizabeth, Agnes, Allison, Margaret and Ann, only Allison was alive at the time of David's death.³ We

¹Bennett, op. cit., p. 4.

²Ibid., p. 7.

³Ibid., p. 5.

hear of one other in the family, Allison's son, John, who entered the ministry.¹

II. EDUCATION

In his earliest years David received the rudiments of classical literature at the grammar school of Eyemouth, not far from his home. Later, he was educated at Duns where Mr. Cruickshanks, who had a reputation for producing some of the best known scholars of that area, presided. His chief acquisition here seems to have been his mastering of Latin.²

At the age of twelve David was sent to the University of Edinburgh to prepare for the ministry. His reticence in speaking of his own life and conversion experience prevents a full account of his spiritual state at this time. However, during his grammar school days he was a member of a small band, a fellowship meeting, which gathered for prayer. He received so much help from this group that through life he corresponded with its members. In the band was Alexander Dickson, a blacksmith, to whom Bogue always sent his regards, and a poor mechanic to whom he was in the habit of sending small sums of money to relieve his poverty. From Bogue's diary of later years we would assume that it was not until he was in the late twenties and an established

¹Virgil Bogue, op. cit., p. 18.

²Bennett, op. cit., pp. 7, 8.

teacher that he gained assurance of his acceptance with God.¹ He probably was like many evangelical dissenters of this period who though thoroughly orthodox, believing in justification by faith and the necessity of the new birth, had no assurance of and joy in salvation. The Methodist revival, with its emphasis on the Holy Spirit, later gave to such groups the assurance they needed.²

It was undoubtedly to David Bogue's advantage that he lived north of the Tweed and was directed to one of the Scottish Universities. Some of his friends attended Oxford and Cambridge. Men like Thomas Haweis and Rowland Hill had a very difficult time. These universities were not friendly toward prospective evangelical students, and those who were permitted to enter found that some were expelled for too much religion, while those who had too little - indulging in drinking, gambling, bad talk, and general licentiousness - went unchecked.³ Those who did earn their degree later found a further obstacle in seeking orders from unsympathetic bishops.⁴ For those admitted for preparation for the

¹Ibid., pp. 9-12, 60.

²"The Evangelical Revival in the Georgian Era, and its Effect on the Development of the Free Church Principle" by A. Mackennal in Jubilee Lectures: A Historical Series Delivered on the Occasion of The Jubilee of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, 1882, Vol. I, 110-114.

³John Stoughton, Religion in England under Queen Anne and the Georges, 1878, II, 113-116.

⁴A.S. Wood, Thomas Haweis: 1734-1820, 1957, p. 54. Haweis, an Anglican, was educated in the English Universities. Wood's biography reveals the difficulties he had in obtaining an education.

Church there was no specific theological training. Above all the Anglican clergyman must be a gentleman, so he matriculated in the same courses with future business men and members of parliament.¹ Even these courses, in most cases, were only a farce. Professors made no pretence of teaching, and degrees were granted in answer to questions made public in advance, the answers to which were passed from one candidate to the next.²

At Edinburgh David Bogue entered into the course subscribed by that University. The records show that in his first year he matriculated in humanity, or Latin, under Professor George Stewart; the second in Greek under Professor Robert Hunter. The third year has no record, but the fourth has him matriculating for two courses, moral philosophy with Adam Ferguson, and natural philosophy under James Russell. The students only matriculated for one class each year, so moral philosophy was probably his third year course, followed by natural philosophy his fourth, for this was the usual order at Edinburgh.³ In addition to these courses Bogue had logic under John Stevenson; mathematics with Matthew Stewart; from James Robertson, Hebrew; and theology with Dr. Robert Hamilton. Near the end of March, 1771, he received

¹ Elie Halévy, A History of the English People in 1815, (2nd Edition), 1949, pp. 392ff.

² Basil Willey, The Eighteenth Century Background, 1940, p. 185.

³ Halévy, op. cit., (2nd Edition), 1949, p. 538.

the degree of Master of Arts.¹

If David did not learn his frugal habits at the university, they were further developed there. In later years, Bogue kept a very minute account of all expenses, much to an extreme in his biographer's opinion,² and was very cost-conscious in his managing of the academy.³ The Scottish students did not set the extravagant example that was followed at Oxford and Cambridge where most were interested in "the art of spending money."⁴ All of them boarded in the city, often having produce brought in from the country for their needs. All went home for the six months yearly vacation.⁵

At the university Bogue was a member of one of the debating societies and from correspondence with one of his colleagues, John Allan, we learn that Hair, George More, Colquhoun, Davidson, Little, Ebenezer Russel, Johnstone, Simpson, Cowan, Nicol, Ramsay, and Alexander Hunter were some of his university friends.⁶

¹Bennett, op. cit., pp. 13-17. Bennett in these pages records the information that he was able to procure from the University of Edinburgh on the academic career of Bogue.

²Ibid., pp. 97, 114, 388.

³Waugh's letter re. the Seminary, 1817, reveals Bogue's policy on finance. In this particular case he suggests that he continue to handle the students' finances because this would be a saving for the Society.

⁴Halevy, op. cit., 1949, p. 550.

⁵Halevy on pages 538 to 543 has a summary of student life on the Scottish Universities' campus. Op. cit.

⁶Bennett, op. cit., pp. 20-29.

In the same correspondence we receive a good insight into Bogue's reaction to most ministers' ambition in that day of patronage. Following are some excerpts:

'Give me cash, and I will come to your kirk,' seems to be the all-prevailing maxim now-a-days.¹

Who is to succeed him is not known. Athanasius would not accept, though he had the offer, but has recommended one Snodgrass. It is said Dr. Blenchall, from Dundee, is standing as a candidate. The poor heathenish thing Logan is making all the interest he can. There are twelve in all. What a push for a popular church!²

Every one is pushing his way in the world; some taking one road, some another. Most of our companions are taking the start; we must lag behind.³

For the opening in South Leith there was a long list of candidates who are described by Allan as so many race horses running for a plate while their patrons are represented as the riders. Among the riders are Principal Robertson, whose livery is labelled "majority", and Dr. Erskine who is described as the black prince with his livery "the purity of the Gospel."⁴

With his mind already prejudiced against this system which often forced upon congregations men who were not fit to give spiritual guidance, it is natural that David concurred with his father in not asking for the living of Coldingham from Lord Marchmont, the patron. John Bogue had previously quarreled with

¹Ibid., p. 22.

²Ibid., p. 25.

³Ibid., p. 27.

⁴Ibid., p. 26.

the patron over a choice for the parish, so rather than request the living for his son, he advised him to go to London. David Bogue, like many, would not stoop to political intrigue as a means of obtaining a pulpit, and rather than enter another profession as some did, he turned his back for the time on the Church for which he had been trained.¹ When he was in his fourth year in the university it was stated at the General Assembly that there were already 120 meeting-houses and 100,000 communicants who were formerly of the communion of the Church of Scotland. Every time an unworthy pastor was forced upon a church, or there was a conflict between the patron and the members of the parish, a new dissenting congregation was established, or an old one increased.² David Bogue followed this trend and left the Established Church.

III. TUTORING IN LONDON

In April, Bogue received from Mr. William Anderson of London a reply to his enquiry concerning the prospect of his finding an opening in the metropolis. He was advised to pass trials at the presbytery, preach once or twice in public, and then come to London with a recommendation to some minister. He stated that most of Scottish cloth made good, and he should too, for there were many openings. He discouraged David's enquiry of getting into a family as a tutor, as well as his interest in

¹Ibid., p. 18.

²W.L. Mathieson, The Awakening of Scotland: A History from 1747 to 1797, 1910, pp. 165, 176.

becoming an assistant in an academy. Of the former he said the English are sending their children to academies, and the latter is known to be a troublesome position.¹

In the late summer of the same year Bogue, as a licensed preacher of the Church of Scotland, arrived in London, and against the advice of his friend, he went to Edmonton, Middlesex as an assistant teacher in an academy. His friend, Allan, back in Edinburgh, was shocked at the move and wrote,

I could not believe what you wrote. But after further consideration, I was led to think there was some truth in it. I must say that you are possessed of no small fortitude.

Your courage has induced you to do what I durst not have ventured upon, unless I had plenty of money in my pocket, and was not very anxious whether I succeeded or not, which, perhaps, was the case with you.²

From Edmonton Bogue moved to Hampstead and within the year, because of the death of the tutor, on to Chelsea, in each place in the same capacity. Although many, like Allan, looked upon his position during these years as beneath his powers, he applied himself with diligence. The schedules at the academies gave him much time for study and comments in his diary show that he considered himself making progress in this endeavor.³

This profitableness he was realizing, compared to the poor usefulness of being a pastor of a Scottish congregation in

¹Bennett, op. cit., pp. 18, 19. In these pages Bennett quotes from Anderson's letter.

²Ibid., p. 28.

³Ibid., pp. 50, 53.

Amsterdam, was the reason he declined an offer in 1776 from that church. There had been other offers during these years in London, the details of which are not known, but it is known that David Bogue stayed on as an assistant teacher, improving and preparing himself, in God's providence, for the labors of the future.¹

It was during his five years with Mr. Smith at Chelsea that the young Scot won a complete victory over his northern accent. Here, also, he preached for the first time. Later, he regularly assisted Mr. Smith in his lecture at Silver-street, London, and at Camberwell.²

Although laboring in England, Bogue in his correspondence shows his continued interest in what was happening back in Scotland. University friends, George More and Colquhoun, Mr. Jolley, the pastor at Coldingham, kept him informed of church proceedings. These letters show Bogue's tendency toward Congregational polity and disagreement with his Presbyterian friends. Colquhoun writes,

Write me your sentiments now of independency. I dare say it is your present situation that disposes you to fall in with it, rather than that your fixed judgment approves of it. I could wish we had you at Kendal, with a vacant congregation in our communion.³

¹There are quotations from letters of friends advising Bogue's acceptance of the Amsterdam opening as well as advice from ministers already in Holland. Ibid., pp. 60-65.

²Walter Wilson, The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Houses, etc., Four Volumes, III, 114, 115.

³Bennett, op. cit., p. 42.

Similarly Mr. Jolley replies, "I dislike much your formalities of admission to church membership; because I see no sort of authority for them."¹

During the years of his residence with the Smith family an insight is gained into the habits of the young assistant. Through life he was exceedingly diligent about his study hours, and most careful about his thoughts and conversation. Following are his resolutions during these early years, resolutions which came to be established practices in his life:

1. Endeavour to spend an hour in the morning, before school, in prayer, examination, and pious reading.
2. At or after breakfast, in conversation on literature.
3. Before or after dinner, in recreation, reading, writing letters, and study.
4. After half-past seven, prayer, recollections, and self-examination.
5. Immediately after supper, retire to study; and go to bed at twelve.

For my Thoughts

1. Propose to myself every day some subject in divinity for meditation.
2. Carefully watch over every thought that springs up in my soul.
3. Instantly strive to check those that are sinful and vain.

Under this denomination may be classed those that are fretful and discontented - anxious and apprehensive - angry and wrathful - malignant and revengeful - silly, trifling, and unseasonable - wild and extravagant - romantic and chimerical - impure and lascivious - profane and blasphemous.

4. To invite and encourage good and profitable thoughts, and strive to influence my heart and affections by them; and for this purpose strive to keep my heart from wandering.

¹Ibid., p. 43. See Chapter VII, page 198 for a fuller discussion of Bogue's view on church polity.

For my Conversation

I resolve, through divine grace, without which all my resolutions will be vain,

1. Not to speak too much; for in the multitude of words there wanteth not sin.

2. That my conversation be blameless and inoffensive; not backbiting, not meddling, not satirical.

3. To endeavour, on all proper occasions, especially in the company of Christians, to introduce and discourse on religious subjects.

4. At other times, and when religion cannot be introduced, to bring in something on science or history, or some other topics that may be useful and instructive, that precious time may not be lost.

5. That my conversation be grave and manly, and yet pleasant and engaging; always remembering my station in the church, and the dignity of the christian character. Let me not be trifling and silly, nor timorous, but endeavouring to allure men, especially the young, by an obliging way of speaking. I would seek to have a cheerful freedom, a generous friendship, and an innocent bliss, speaking in the countenance.

6. Let my conversation be with self-denial and meekness, free from pride and passion, and heat in argument. Let me answer ill-nature by gentle words, using all meekness towards all men.¹

IV. CALL TO THE GOSPORT INDEPENDENT CHURCH

The Smiths took David Bogue into their family and his response was equally warm and friendly. Except for a short visit with family and friends in Scotland in the summer of 1774 he was content to remain with them for these five years. In the autumn of 1776 Bogue received an invitation to candidate for the Independent church of Gosport, Hampshire. He had an aversion to the term "candidate" because it seemed to defeat its own purpose

¹Ibid., pp. 54-56.

by hindering the minister from preaching normally, and encouraging the congregation to listen as they were not supposed to, as a corporation of electors, rather than as a worshipping body. He answered, therefore, that he was very happily settled and had no desire for a change, so could not appear before them as a candidate. He added that he was to be in the vicinity of Gosport visiting a relative and would be glad to fill their pulpit on Sunday. They accepted his offer and so began an intercourse which lasted until his death. The Gosport congregation was so pleased with his Sunday sermons that they prevailed upon him to stay an extra day.¹

As he made known to his friends this speaking engagement, advice came discouraging his acceptance if a call should come. Somerville wrote,

So you expect a call from Gosport. Might I presume to advise, I would not hesitate a moment to bid you refuse it. They are a tumultuous, divided people, among whom you are likely to do little good.... Weigh the matter seriously, I beseech you, and be not rash in bringing yourself under a yoke which the hardened veteran in bustle and controversy alone can bear. Who knows but a year or two more may bring you to labour in that vineyard from whence you yourself were transplanted, and where I still think true religion is once more to thrive?

Though you do get a call, I think you should beware of accepting it; and, to avoid disagreeable consequences, could you get them diverted from it, it would be better.²

On the twenty-eighth of January, 1777, he received a unanimous invitation to become their pastor. It was the unanimous

¹Ibid., pp. 71-73

²Ibid., pp. 73, 74.

phase of the call which caused the assistant tutor to think seriously about Gosport. He had written in his diary during the time he filled their pulpit, "without the design of being settled there."¹ He had not sought this opening; in fact, he had turned from it, but yet it had followed him. Now from a church divided with factions came this unanimous call. After seriously weighing this matter for a month, he decided that God's hand was in this and, when God directed, he dare not refuse.

On the eighteenth of April, 1777, David Bogue took up his residence at 5 High Street, Gosport,² succeeding the Reverend James Watson as pastor of the local Independent church. In the month of June he was ordained, with his friend of Edinburgh days, Dr. Hunter, giving both the ordination prayer and the charge. The seriousness of the young man now nearing thirty as he accepted this pastorate, is seen in that he spent the entire day previous to his ordination in prayer and meditation. His papers reveal a signed covenant made that day with God. Part of it bears quoting,

And as thou hast, in thy providence, called me to the exercise of the holy ministry in this place, I will make it my chief employment to prosecute thy glory, and the salvation of the souls of men. For this purpose,

I will endeavour, in the composition of sermons, to have such thoughts, methods, and expressions, as will tend most to

¹ Ibid., p. 73.

² Hampshire Telegraph, July 6, 1945; see also Walter Wilson, op. cit., III, 114, 115.

the good of souls, and the credit of religion.

I will endeavour, in public exercises, always to consider how Christ would have spoken in the same case, and to preach with earnestness and zeal, - to pray with spirituality, and deep recollection of soul, and to read the Scriptures as under an awful sense of their divine authority, and to have my heart in heaven while I am in God's house.

I will endeavour to take every proper opportunity of conversing with my congregation on religious subjects, for the benefit of their souls, and never to go out of company without speaking something of and for God.¹

There are several more resolutions concerning study and conversation similar to those he had made in London some years before, and a concluding paragraph of dedication followed by his signature and the date.²

One of the first, but not the least, of the young minister's accomplishments was the bringing about of a reunion with a seceding group. Part of the congregation had not been satisfied with Mr. Watson's ministry and had been meeting in the Long Room over the Stables in Star Yard with the Reverend Thomas English as their pastor.³ Soon after Mr. Bogue's coming, Rev. English told his congregation that the cause for their withdrawal had now been remedied, and recommended they return to their former church. To encourage this move, Mr. English resigned. Then followed an invitation from the mother church asking the others

¹Bennett, op. cit., pp. 85, 86.

²Ibid.

³The Congregational Magazine, Jan., 1826, pp. 2, 3; see also The Constitution and Bye-Laws of the Gosport Congregational Church, Approved July 1954: With Chronology of the Church, p. 13.

back to their former communion. The minor difficulties which stood in the way of their return were soon removed and the re-union was consummated.¹

It appears that David Bogue's predecessor at Gosport imbibed the spirit of the day. In the Established Church of England the average clergyman was most worldly. Many were far more interested in the social life and the prospects for hunting in a parish, than an opportunity to bring people to Christ. John Wesley could only mention ten clergymen whom he believed to be Evangelical ministers,² and although the number had now increased, nevertheless it was still only a very small minority. The leading passion of most clergymen was preferment, the watching for a stall, the hope of a deanery, or the desire of a diocese. Curates who did most of the work in the parish barely managed to eke out a living, while their superiors held several livings, were non-resident in some of them, and received up to £15,000 a year.³

Those in the Gosport church who had been attracted by the levity of Mr. Watson found a person of a different stamp in Mr. Bogue. Lack of spirituality not only emptied the Established Church, but also played havoc with Dissenting congregations. To remedy a situation of this nature, David Bogue now turned. Like

¹Bennett, op. cit., pp. 91-93

²W.L. Mathieson, England in Transition, 1789-1832, 1920, p. 33.

³Halévy, op. cit., 1949, pp. 396-399.

most Scotsmen he fed his people with expository preaching. His sermons were not delivered to attract attention to a large vocabulary or an elegant style. He pleased best those who desired to hear the Word of God expounded. If there is one word which describes his ministry it is "useful". He aimed at usefulness. He sought usefulness at any price. Early in his ministry he became convinced that plainness was essential to this objective, so more than ever he dropped adornment from his sermons.¹

As a pastor Bogue greatly valued visitation in the homes of his congregation. He recognized that people needed and appreciated attention. He was especially pleased when his calls resulted in the establishing of family prayers. He advocated that infidelity in Britain had its roots in parental neglect.² Like most dissenters he saw in the home the place for evangelism and the growth of the church. Perhaps this is one of the reasons he failed to appreciate John Wesley, because his emphasis was upon instantaneous conversion as a result of preaching. Nevertheless, Bogue was influenced by the Wesleyan movement. He recognized that their preachers had a better audience contact, and this led to a more lively delivery on his part. He came to see that the Christian home and the church did not reach vast numbers of the

¹After Bennett, op. cit., pp. 126, 127, 378ff.

²David Bogue, An Essay on the Divine Authority of the New Testament, 1820, (5th Edition), pp. x, xi.

unchurched, consequently he made plans to go to them with lay-preachers and open-air meetings.¹

Gosport and vicinity responded to Bogue's efforts. Most things toward which he directed his energies had to respond, so unyielding was his force of duty. He was fond of Johnson's phrase, "we must go doggedly at it", and in his faithful diligence was to be found his success.² He was not an intellectual genius; he wrote no poetry. He was not even blessed with a good memory. For every thing he gained he worked hard, but he was willing to pay the price. His master faculty was his understanding. He was adept in analyzing a situation and immediately grasped the true and the useful and harnessed them.³ So untiring were his efforts that the Gosport church grew, not spectacularly, but as you would expect under this man, consistently. After some years a larger building was needed, and, in 1785, he guided his people in the erection of their new edifice.⁴

V. FAMILY LIFE

In August, 1787, David Bogue married Charlotte Uffington of London. Twelve years previously, while in London, he had been

¹Bennett, op. cit., pp. 136, 137. See also Chapter VII, page 201 where the various modes for reaching the Hampshire area are discussed.

²Bennett, op. cit., p. 381.

³Ibid., p. 378.

⁴Ibid., p. 103.

interested in a young lady but the intervention of friends had halted that courtship. In this most important decision, we find him, as in lesser affairs, seeking above all the guidance of God. About this time his papers contain this paragraph:

What qualities do I wish for in my wife? Unfeigned and ardent piety; prudence; a good disposition; modesty and meekness; superiority to the slavery of fashion and the ways of the world; an example to my flock in humility; not aiming at great things in this world, from which I feel myself more weaned of late than formerly. Lord, continue this disposition, and give me such a one as will cherish it. Grant in love, or refuse in love; grant not in anger, nor refuse in anger.¹

Before his marriage Mr. Bogue used to discuss with his students the type of woman a young minister should marry. The tutor contended that "the woman must be agreeable to my eye at least, or she cannot be suitable for my wife."² James Bennett, then a student, used to argue against this position, maintaining that high mental qualities might offset any personal deformity. The tutor would rebut by recommending that Bennett marry a one-eyed wife.

In Charlotte Uffington, Bogue found a woman agreeable to both eye and mind. She had delicate features, and her well-bred manners made her most engaging. She was definitely feminine in taste, her mind bordering on the sentimental and romantic. Nevertheless, she entered into her husband's life of self-sacrifice with no self-pity. She admired him greatly and sought to accommodate herself to his great mission in life. She set more value

¹Ibid., pp. 112, 113.

²Ibid., p. 329.

on his study than on their drawing room. Her tall, finely-built husband, whose appearance reminded one of iron strength, responded wholeheartedly to her affections. This manly servant of God with majestic step and countenance, whose prematurely gray hair, powerful voice and commanding presence made one feel that he was independent of all human support, was intended by nature to be a husband. He relied much upon his wife; her advice and sound judgment he always sought. He often said that he could face anything, if only his dear Charlotte was spared.¹

Into this home were born seven children: four boys and three girls.² Because Mrs. Bogue distrusted boarding schools, to a great measure the education of the children was her work. Each day commenced with religious study for the family, followed by the pursuits of secular knowledge. This task must have had its difficult moments for she was a poor disciplinarian. Besides the education of the family, she found time to be her husband's help-mate. She gave her time to the members of the church and the students of the academy.³ Her letter to Mary Smith's mother on the occasion of this young lady's departure for Africa to become the bride of Robert Moffat, in which she enters into the mother's

¹After Bennett, op. cit., pp. 325-329.

²All of the children were baptized by Dr. Winters. Congregational Magazine, Feb., 1826, p. 61.

³Bennett, op. cit., pp. 325, 326.

feeling and encourages her by saying that no sacrifice we make for God is too great, is an example of her solicitude.¹ The esteem in which most people held her is exemplified in the Reverend William Bull's reference to her, "Mrs. Bogue, a most excellent woman."²

The love between Charlotte and David Bogue was deepened by many family sorrows. Three of their children preceded them to the grave. Their first grief was the loss of their little daughter, Mary Margaret, in 1804. Just a month previous to this, Mrs. Bogue's mother had died, and within twelve months David lost his father. The year 1814 was one mingled with joy and sorrow for the household. In July their eldest daughter married the Reverend David Parker, a minister in America, who had been under Mr. Bogue's tuition for a time. But, in November, their gladness was turned to tears when Thomas their second son, who was studying for commerce, was brought to the grave by consumption. Their youngest son, an invalid, studying for law, died of pneumonia in the autumn of 1822. Left to the stricken father and mother were Louise, David and John. John, the eldest son, was married and lived elsewhere. Louise was never robust, but the parents did have the joy of her company at home. David, who has been previously mentioned as assisting his father in the academy,

¹J.S. Moffat, The Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat, 1885, pp. 60, 61. See also Chapter I, pages 18, 19.

²J. Bull, Memorials of the Rev. William Bull of Newport Pagnel, 1864, p. 343.

later took up the study of law. He appears to have been his father's favorite. In Mr. Bogue's papers is this comment about David, Jr., "Had great talents, had made extensive acquirements, possessed excellent principles...."¹ He was probably most like his father being very studious, a good classical scholar and fond of languages and books.²

The peculiar gentleness and humility which developed in David Bogue in these latter years was unknown to most observers. His heavy brow, his massive frame, his deep-toned voice, his awesome bearing made him appear stern. Those who saw him in action were struck by his relentless drive. However, behind this austere appearance and zeal for duty, he was constitutionally timid. His boldness and courage were by principle, not by nature.³

VI. AS OTHERS SAW HIM

If there was ever a man too prudent, it was David Bogue. Some were suspicious of his reserve and felt that he had something to hide. Whenever the subject of conversation turned to himself, he would endeavor to change it, saying there was something better

¹Bennett, op. cit., p. 331. Chapter V of Bennett's biography of Bogue treats the illnesses and deaths which brought sorrow to the family; see especially pages 253 through 317. Dr. and Mrs. David Bogue's illness and death will be considered in Chapter XI.

²Ibid., pp. 332-336.

³Ibid., p. 387; see also the review of Bennett's David Bogue in the Eclectic Review, July-December, 1828, Vol. XXX, 103-121; especially notice pages 117, 118.

to talk about. Greater frankness on his part would have given him the honor which was duly his, and would have avoided the censure which he suffered in silence.¹

Because of his extreme reserve, his appearance which suggested severity, and his great drive which consumed every obstacle in the way, he probably made an unfavorable impression on many people. He was seen at a distance by far more than could know him at close hand. Few would believe that David Bogue was one of the most humble of men, distinguished by tenderness of heart, softness of manner, extreme forbearance, great candor and unaffected modesty. These opposite qualities in the man are recognized by a reviewer of his biography:

It is not unnatural, philosophically considered, that these virtues should, in certain characters, be found co-existing with the appearance, and at times, perhaps, with something of the reality of the opposite qualities. Independent and decided minds, inspired with great purpose, will often appear repulsive to general observers. Bent on the accomplishment of their object, perceiving it with the plainness of demonstration, and pursuing it with passionate intensity, they are apt to despise the objections, scarcely to conceal contempt for the little scruples and limited views of ordinary minds. Prompted by feeling, or impelled by principle to lead, they may forget that others are to be subjugated to their use by the influence of reason, and not by the dictates of power; and hence, they are in danger of displaying a spirit that shall exhibit anything but the amiable; of exciting hostility where they might secure co-operation, and of provoking censure where they might command respect. Unable to sympathize with ignorance, apathy, indecision, or sloth, they are prone to express their impatience in no palatable way, so as to leave a very erroneous impression of their real character

¹Bennett, David Bogue, pp. 337, 338.

as a whole, which may present the union of apparently opposite qualities.¹

This relentless drive of David Bogue was dedicated toward one end: Christ and his kingdom. As a pastor and a tutor he endeavored to bring his life into subjection and make it count in this great cause. He often stayed in his study until the early hours of the morning. The key to that all-important room he kept in his pocket. Frequently when called from his desk, he appeared in the living room with a pen in his mouth, a reminder that there was work to be done.²

His dual office in the classroom and the pulpit prevented him from writing extensively. Most of his publications concerned the immediate objectives which he was pioneering in his era: missions, education and religious liberty. The History of Dissenters, however, of which he and James Bennett were co-authors, is until today a standard work.³ His Essay on the New Testament and his Millennium were also very popular for many years.⁴

¹Eclectic Review, July-December, 1828, Vol. XXX, 117, 118.

²Bennett, op. cit., pp. 409-411.

³For example, see Halévy's comment in his bibliography of his England in 1815, (2nd Edition), 1949, p. 632: "Remains the standard authority."

⁴See Chapter VIII, pages 245ff. for the popularity of the Essay. His Millennium was used by the L.M.S. for some time as a gift to all of the missionaries on the field. See the L.M.S. Board Minutes of May 25, 1818. For Bogue's other works see the bibliography of this work, or Bennett, op. cit., pp. 423-445.

So wholehearted was David Bogue in his stand for religious and civil liberty that his manner toward the Church of England¹ sometimes became quite harsh. In discussing them, the "persecuting party",² in the History of Dissenters he forgot at times his high standard in writing which was "to defend the gospel in its own spirit."³ To his credit he later expressed regret for this, and desired such passages to be deleted from a future edition.⁴

David Bogue, as has been mentioned, was often misunderstood. However, for all the judgment passed upon him, those closest to him never knew him to hold malice or an unforgiving spirit. Often censured he never retaliated in kind.⁵ His religion was too large for such low thoughts. A man of prayer, who knew the Father's forgiveness, he forgave. A man of one book, he thought upon those things which were true, lovely and of good report.

¹ He had excellent relationship with many Anglicans. Dr. Claudius Buchanan was a close friend. Haldane, Robert and James Haldane, p. 137. Dr. Haweis was a frequent guest in his pulpit. Campbell, John, Maritime Discovery and Christian Missions, 1840, p. 262.

² Bogue uses this term in the History of Dissenters in speaking of the Established Church of England, passim.

³ Bogue mentions this spirit in writing to be the proper one. Bogue, Essay, 1820, p. ix. Italics are in the original.

⁴ Congregational Magazine, Feb. 1826, p. 60.

⁵ Bennett, op. cit., pp. 406-408.

David Bogue possessed that moral sublimity which far surpasses intellectual greatness. This sublimity of character came from his intense appreciation and undeviating pursuit of a great object. That object was not the desire of the world's applause, but rather the "well done" of the world's Maker. This was why he left an impression behind him "such as shall convey his name and perpetuate the influence of his character to remote posterity."¹

He /David Bogue/ not only saw the speculative sublimity of this great aim, but he practically obeyed it. And, by thus acting for so many years, he exerted, on the vast number of minds that came into private or public contact with his, an agency and an influence seldom equalled. Hence, it is impossible to calculate the sum of holy and benevolent stimulus which he was the means of communicating to others; and, when we reflect upon the imperishable nature of such influence, its continued activity and constant re-production, who can estimate the number of human spirits who directly or remotely may own their salvation, under God, to the existence and agency of this one man? If this be not true greatness, we know not what is.²

¹Eclectic Review, July-December, 1828, Vol. XXX, 119.

²Ibid., p. 120.

MISSIONARY LECTURES

By DAVID BOGUE DD

Tutor of the Missionary Seminary

GOSPORT

Transcribed by ROBERT MOFFAT

1817

By the establishment of churches among heathen.

1. When such an convert from among heathen: then the nation

for their edification ought to be observed.

1. Christ is King & Head of the church.

2. In every Kingdom there is a monarchy.

3. Laws & regulations are necessary for the maintenance of this order.

4. The welfare of the Kingdom or community depends on the good order

of the laws & the due observance of them.

5. Christ has exercised over in his Kingdom beneath laws & ordinances

for effecting governing &c.

6. Ordinances should apply, that laws & regulations for the government

of those who are called by his grace have become subjects of his Kingdom.

II. Some penal regulations respecting the Kingdom of Christ should

may be collected from the New Testament.

1. That persons convert in a heathen town should be formed into

a society or church

2. That such as are called by grace from heathenism such should

be added to the church

3. That the persons who convert the church of Christ should work

as becometh the Gospel

4. That they should have spiritual regard to the edification & welfare

of each other both as brethren.

5. That such as work gracefully should offer helpful warnings in season

to separate from the society of believers.

6. That all ornaments of worship should be regularly observed

even in church.

Lecture. 21.

CHAPTER IV

DAVID BOGUE: PIONEER IN EDUCATION

I. INTRODUCTION

David Bogue, from the years of his own elementary training to the close of his life, was involved in education. His formal schooling was completed at the age of twenty-one, and was followed by six years of teaching in academies in the London area. His removal, in 1777, to Gosport as a pastor did not take him away from the training of youth. Within six months of his ordination there, we find him again tutoring. His efforts in training assumed the status of an academy in 1789, and, from 1800, the training of missionary candidates was his main task.¹

Whatever David Bogue set his hand to do, he did thoroughly. He did not spend his years as a teacher merely in the conveying of knowledge. The whole realm of education, its purpose, methods, and all other ramifications of the subject were pondered.

The phases of education he spoke of and wrote about fall under the following headings: 1. Education of candidates for the foreign mission field; 2. Education on the foreign field; 3. Education for dissenters in Britain. These matters will be considered in the above order.

¹ Refer back to Chapter II for Bogue's activities in education while at Gosport.

II. EDUCATION FOR THE FOREIGN FIELD

In the early years of the last decade of the eighteenth century David Bogue's thoughts and interest turned more and more to missions. His speech before the Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge in the Highlands and the Islands in 1792 show how thoroughly this subject had been thought through.¹ Two years later the general public again heard him make an appeal on behalf of the unevangelized, this time in an article in the Evangelical Magazine. This appears to be the first time he publicly set forth the need for special education for missionary candidates. He wrote,

It is highly probable that some zealous men would present themselves, who are well qualified to go immediately on a mission among the Heathen. But in general they will require some previous instruction; and therefore it will be necessary to found a Seminary for training up persons for the work. An able and eminently pious minister in a central situation must be sought for to superintend it. And as the education of a missionary must be in many respects widely different from that of those who preach in Christian countries, it may be expected that every man of talents will unite his endeavours to render the plan of instruction as well adapted to answer the end in view, and in every respect as complete as possible.²

The founding of the London Missionary Society and Bogue's general contribution to its on-going will be handled in

¹David Bogue, A Sermon Preached at Salters-Hall, March 30th, 1792, 1793. This sermon is well documented and shows a grasp of the subject.

²Evangelical Magazine, Sept., 1794, pp. 378-380. The title of the article is, "To the Evangelical Dissenters Who Practise Infant Baptism".

the next chapter. However, at present this theme of missionary education will be traced through the early years of the Society's affairs.

The founding of the Missionary Society has been likened by many to a second Pentecost. Persons from various walks of life and different communions united together in exuberant joy to launch this benevolent enterprise. In their desire to do good, there was no obstacle too great which could not be overcome. In their enthusiasm they forgot about ordinary means of accomplishing goals. In their ecstasy these routine methods appeared altogether too mundane. Candidates were sought; a ship was purchased; a captain hired; ordination and commissioning services were held; and yesterday's artisans, but today's missionaries, were off for the romantic South Seas.¹

This was not David Bogue's idea of missions. He wanted candidates taken out of the ranks, and at once proved, and then improved before sending them out.² While others were wild with enthusiasm, this Scotsman remained cool and collected. All through these early years of the Missionary Society, Dr. Bogue proved to be a good balance to the more enthusiastic group, not always to the increase of his popularity. He went and preached

¹For the early views on missionary training see Richard Lovett, The History of the London Missionary Society: 1795-1895, Two Volumes, 1899, I, 46-51.

²James Bennett, Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. David Bogue, D.D., 1827, pp. 217, 218.

aboard the "Duff" as she lay in harbor with a second contingent of missionary personnel for the South Seas. He desired to warn these inexperienced men of the realities of life, so that when difficulties did come, they would not fall into despondency, failure and disgrace, and bring reproach to the cause of Christianity. His warnings proved to be quite timely, for the "Duff" was captured, and the thirty prospective missionaries were all returned to England. Bogue trusted the capture of the "Duff" would teach another lesson, that of spirituality. He never approved of mixing the spreading of the gospel with business, and openly disapproved of the "Duff" carrying commercial cargo to offset the expense involved.¹

David Bogue's objection to the sending of unqualified people to the field was soon heard. Entered in the Missionary Society's Board minutes are his pleas: May 12, 1797, "the Reverend Mr. Bogue read a Memoir, recommending the erection of Seminaries to the Missionary Society"; July 10, 1797, "An Essay by the Reverend Mr. Bogue, on the best mode of conveying Instructions, to Persons, who offer themselves for the service of the Heathen to the Missionary Society was read"; May 11, 1798, records that Bogue was on a committee regarding finding and qualifying missionaries; July 9, 1798, Bogue sends in a letter about tutors of missionary candidates.²

¹ Ibid., p. 217.

² See the unpublished L.M.S. Board of Directors' Minutes of these dates.

The Board of Directors, however, was still influenced by those who believed the rank and file could go and teach the heathen, especially those who, like the South Sea islanders, were uncivilized. The failure of two missionaries in 1797 to occupy their stations in the Pacific; the desertion of Tahiti by the majority of the missionaries the following year; the marriage of three of the missionaries to pagan island women; the quitting of the Society of twenty-three of thirty missionaries who were returned to England after the capture of the "Duff"; and the total unfitness of some missionaries in the first African mission soon convinced the Board of Directors that something was radically wrong in their selection and training of missionaries.¹

The first remedy was in the form of a London Committee, appointed to instruct the missionaries in theology, grammar and geography, to be augmented by ministers in the country who were to take under their care persons in their own or neighboring congregations who were approved for the work.² Under this plan Bogue received a few young men.

The Mission Board's Minutes of April 28, 1800, state that Robert Haldane of Airthrey and Mr. Speer of Manchester

¹ Lovett, op. cit., I, 64-66.

² Board Minutes, May 11, 1798; Feb. 17, 1800.

offered £500 toward a Seminary for the training of missionaries.¹ This offer of £500 caused the Board to appoint a committee to draw up a plan for a missionary institution. From then on the minutes show that things moved rapidly: May 5, £500 was appropriated for such an institution; July 21, it was decided that Mr. Bogue should be invited to be the tutor; August 4, "A letter from the Rev. Mr. Bogue was read, stating his willingness to accept the office of Tutor to the Missionary Seminary in consequence of the invitation of the Committee."²

At Gosport, Mr. Bogue now busied himself in drawing up appropriate courses of lectures for the missionary candidates. The Board's Committee on a Seminary plan had made these general recommendations regarding instruction at the proposed school. There should be the communication of Scriptural knowledge, not that pertaining to criticism and controversial issues, rather that of sound judgment and thorough grasp of the principles of Holy Writ. The students should attend especially to missionary subjects; the lectures and their reading should always be directed

¹Loco. cit.; Mr. Haldane, with a group of ministers including David Bogue, had hoped to go to India to start a seminary, but this plan had not received the approval of the East India Company. See Chapter VIII, page

²Board Minutes, loco. cit. Previous to Bogue's letter of acceptance he had replied that he could not at that time accept the offer. He mentioned that a repeated application was being made to the East India Company relative to a proposed mission to India, and while that project was undecided he could not think of another. Bennett, op. cit., p. 219.

with this in mind. Above all, care should be given to the development of the inner life. Other institutions rightfully centered their curricula in logic, rhetoric, the classics and sciences, but

in ours, the instructions must chiefly refer to the heart, and, instead of cherishing the desire of shining in the world by distinguished talents, must aim at subduing every elating thought, and at mortifying the vain propensities of our nature.... When he leaves his native country and friends, and goes forth to seek the salvation of the untutored heathen, he is to take this for his motto; 'I am crucified to the world, and the world is crucified to me;' and therefore the great scope and tendency of the instruction he is to receive are to impress upon his heart the self-denying principle, as it relates to temporal things and animates the springs of faith and hope in respect to the future world. Thus he may be expected to unite great activity with great meekness, faith with patience, and at length, we trust, great success with humility and praise.¹

Although there was still a minority in the Missionary Society which did not vote for a Missionary Seminary,² but favored instruction in carpentry and gardening, it was the group with David Bogue as their champion which now moulded the Society's educational policy. Bogue "was deeply convinced that Christ, instead of sending his apostles to learn to catch fish, called them away from ships and nets, to follow him, and learn to become fishers of men."³

The Gosport Academy, where Bogue presided, was the first

¹Board Minutes, May 5, 1800.

²John Morison, The Fathers and Founders of the London Missionary Society, n.d., I, 521.

³Bennett, op. cit., p. 220.

school for the training of missionary candidates in the modern missionary movement.¹ Myklebust, in his two volume work on The Study of Missions in Theological Education, restricted himself "to theological institutions of the Western Protestant type which prepare students for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity or its equivalents".² By not including the academies' work as "equivalent," Myklebust, with one stroke, cut off the main center of missionary activity in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century.³ This was a most lamentable restriction, because the academies "were the greatest schools of their day...the real centres of higher education in England,"⁴ and they were the only schools open to the Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Methodists who were, in turn, the denominations most alert to the

¹Bogue's statement at the Annual Meeting of the L.M.S. Evangelical Magazine, June, 1824, p. 369.

²Olav Guttorm Myklebust, The Study of Missions in Theological Education, Two Volumes, 1955, I, 19.

³He used the word "equivalent" because British, Continental and American universities used different terminologies in granting degrees which were basically the same. He does not study the curricula, length of study, examinations, etc. of academies to determine if they equaled the universities. Ibid., I, 30.

⁴Basil Willey, The Eighteenth Century Background, 1940, p. 185.

needs of the foreign mission field.¹

At this pioneering Missionary Seminary, Dr. Bogue's missionary lectures, which had been prepared for the Society's candidates, had these subpoints on the office and qualifications of a missionary:

As to knowledge.

1. He should have a very accurate knowledge of the christian system.
2. He should well understand the method of conveying instruction to the mind of the heathen.
3. He should be well acquainted with the nature of languages and of universal grammar.
4. He should have an intimate knowledge of the human heart.
5. He should have an accurate knowledge of the people among whom he labours; - their national character, dispositions, manners and religion.²

¹The Baptists by 1792 had organized their Society which, in the following year, sent out William Carey and others. The L.M.S. (1795) was not limited to Congregationalists, but the greater interest was shown by Dissenters, and of that group the Congregationalists were the most numerous. The Methodists, active from 1786 but not organized until 1813-18, were also busy in reaching people outside of Great Britain. The first missionaries of the C.M.S. (1799), the low-church Society, and many of the associate workers of the L.M.S. came from German schools which would not qualify as giving B.D. degrees. Also excluded would be those of the Moravian and Danish-Halle group who received their training in pietistic centers similar to the academies. For dates see Payne's The Church Awakes, pp. 33, 34. Lovett, op. cit., I, 96-100, mentions the early continental missionaries employed by the L.M.S. Warneck, History of Protestant Missions, 1901, speaking of the C.M.S. writes, "Out of this misfortune they were helped by having missionaries provided from two German mission seminaries; that of Jänicke in Berlin, and later Basle, to the number, as time went on, of 120 in all...." p. 90. Warneck, in the same work, treats the Moravians and pietistical movements on pages 54 ff, 64, 65, 116, 117.

²David Bogue's Missionary Lectures, unpublished, p. 1.

The Gosport Academy's thoroughness in theological training, already discussed in Chapter II, was the tutor's attempt to fulfil qualifications numbers 1. and 4. above. Bogue felt that the missionary's knowledge of the Christian system should be even more complete than the local pastor's, because his teaching would most likely mould the thought of an entire people, and if errors of false doctrine were introduced it would be felt for thousands of years.¹

Mr. Bogue in his missionary lectures dealt with the following means of conveying this knowledge of God to the unevangelized: preaching, reasoning, conversing, catechizing, writing and publishing books, and schools. Because he made the knowledge of the indigenous language a prerequisite of all of these, that subject will be treated first.

In his sermon at the founding of the Missionary Society, Bogue dealt with some of the obstacles of foreign missions. At that time he recognized that learning the language of the people was no little task.² However, he was convinced that it was a necessary duty, and later stated the same in no uncertain terms, "The person who cannot apply to learn the language of the heathen

¹David Bogue, "Objections against a Mission to the Heathen, Stated and Considered." 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, 1795, pp. 139, 140.

²Ibid., pp. 141, 142.

people, has not the talents requisite for a missionary."¹ In approaching the acquisition of languages, the stolid Scot made the observation that it was not probable that present day missionaries would have the gift of tongues, like the Apostles, to aid in the furtherance of the gospel, and then went on to the ordinary ways of learning a language. Under that heading we find:

Means of acquiring the knowledge of the language.

1. A knowledge of the nature of language in general.
2. The formation of a grammar, if not already in the language; - a vocabulary or dictionary.
3. Conversing frequently with the natives, and acquiring a knowledge of their words and phrases.
4. Writing what has been learned and fixing it in the memory.
5. Daily application.
6. Habitual labour and assiduity, morning, noon and evening.
7. Speaking the language of the natives, as much as possible and receiving their instructions.
8. Writing frequent exercises, and translating them out of the foreign language into his own and out of his own into the foreign.
9. Earnest prayer to God for his blessing.²

He encouraged the recruits by reminding them that there was a capacity in man for learning a foreign language as evidenced by students everywhere, traders, beachcombers, and some former and present day missionaries. You would expect him to have added this as one of his points: "There is nothing great or eminently valuable in life that cannot be obtained without great and

¹Bogue, Missionary Lectures, p. 3.

²Ibid., p. 2.

persevering labours."¹

To assist the students in meeting these specific linguistic qualifications, the Gosport Academy offered Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldean, Universal Grammar and Rhetoric.² When David Bogue, Junior, joined the Gosport staff he handled the classical studies which previously had been taught by his father. Later when his son left the school, Bogue replaced him with Theophilus Eastman. When the Deputation Committee from the London Missionary Society made their annual visit to Gosport, examinations were given in these fields of study. The Committee made repeated requests that different works be chosen for the study of Latin, and that the Septuagint and the Greek New Testament be used more in Greek, but Bogue held to his use of the classics, undoubtedly to the students' advantage in acquiring a broad basis in these ancient languages.³

Students felt rhetoric was well handled at Gosport.⁴ Bogue was well read in the subject and his lectures helped the students in the arranging and expressing of their thoughts.

¹Ibid., p. 3.

²Candidate Committee Minutes, May 15, 1815; also see the Report of the Deputation team of the L.M.S., 1825.

³Deputation team report, 1825.

⁴Bennett, op. cit., p. 125; see also R.W. Dale, The Life and Letters of John Angell James: Including an Unfinished Autobiography, (2nd Edition), 1861, p. 55.

Universal grammar treated both oral languages and those reduced to writing. It classified kinds of writing used in language, alphabets, material for writing, and the necessary parts of language or universal grammar. Under ancient languages it considered quite thoroughly the origin, derivation, structure, form, sounds, word order of Hebrew, Greek and Latin, and treated with like thoroughness the Oriental and European languages.¹ When due consideration is given to the limitation of the Gosport library, the shortness of the course the students undertook, and the smallness of the staff, it is felt that the missionary students left for the foreign field with quite adequate tools for learning a language and conveying Christian knowledge.

With the learning of the language given its rightful priority in the first years of the missionary's term, Bogue goes on to the now-trained missionary's overtures to the natives. If there was one principle which guided the tutor's outlook it was apostolic precedent. Without it, to him, divines, fathers, councils became "tinkling cymbals". Preaching was a mode used by Christ and followed by the apostles, consequently legitimate for missionaries! "How shall they hear without a preacher?"

The doctrine to be preached was the whole of Christianity in its purity and primitiveness. It was to be

¹The Theological Lectures of the Late Rev. David Bogue, D.D., edited by the Rev. Joseph Samuel C.F. Frey, Two Volumes, 1849, II, 652-655.

without any distinguishing terms and tenets of modern sects. Without any regard to modern controversy. Without intimating the diversity of sects and parties in the world.¹

The subjects of the missionaries' sermons should deal oftenest with a description, illustration and display of the infinite love of God through Christ, even to the most degraded sinner. In their order and connection all of the truths of Christianity should be presented, repeating most often those which are most necessary. There should frequently be a description of the ways and means of a sinner's conversion to God, with singled-out instances of conversion, such as the prodigal son or the Philip-pian jailor.

Bogue cites the church of Rome, the Danish, American, and Moravian missionaries' order of subjects for preaching, but rather than taking Rome's heaven and hell, death and judgment, or the Moravians' nature and perfection of God, he recommends the Apostles' subjects of the passion and resurrection of Jesus Christ, repentance and faith. He was not dogmatic on what should be the first subject, only that the pure truth be preached with single-ness of aim, that is,

to bring sinners to know a saviour - With whatever truth they begin their design is to lead to Christ - may go from cause to effect and from effect to cause, from principle to consequence, etc.²

¹Bogue, Missionary Lectures, p. 4.

²Ibid., p. 5.

The tutor who aimed, above all else, at usefulness recommended that in the composition of sermons there should be the qualities of simplicity, plainness, and perspicuity, with illustrations drawn from nature and objects obvious to the natives and subjects understood by them. He recognized that there might be difficulty in expressing oneself in a limited indigenous vocabulary, and should a heathen word already in use be retained to express a Christian concept, a new word be coined, or the original word from the Scripture transcribed, care should be taken that the real meaning be conveyed.¹

In the missionary's attitude toward the pagan religion, Bogue suggests that the fort be carried "by sapping rather than by storm",² that is, by indirect condemnation. However, he does mention that there may be times when a direct attack is best, for example, at the time of idolatrous festivals, or when challenged by a pagan to make a comparison of the religions. His concluding points show an unusual insight into the problem:

7. A frequent insisting on the superstitions of the heathen will irritate them and perhaps lead them to conceive an aversion of idolatry to be nearly the whole of religion.

8. Disputing and quarrelsome preachers either in a Christian or heathen land, have never been found the most successful.

9. The Christian religion is truth, love and peace.

¹Ibid., p. 6.

²Ibid., p. 7.

10. It is very necessary to inform the heathen that there are idols in their hearts as dangerous as in their temples.¹

In his third lecture on preaching as an employment of a missionary, Mr. Bogue asked that the students, bearing in mind the previous material, prepare a sermon suitable for an unevangelized audience. He asked them to keep in mind that their audience would be utterly ignorant of Christianity, unacquainted with many of the first principles of religion, irreverent. For these reasons the sermon must be plain, entertaining and not too long. He encouraged them to keep a pagan before them and to write as they would speak to him. Their subject could be any of a number on the basic truths of Christianity.²

Besides these specific lectures dealing with preaching to pagans, the Academy offered the more usual courses in composition and delivery of sermons.³ Although already mentioned in the second chapter, it is appropriate to repeat here, that the students had, in addition to this theoretical work, preaching engagements in the neighborhood of Gosport at least twice a month. Bogue believed in the Gospel, so made provision for the effective preaching of it in distant lands as well as at home.

Also in the curriculum at Gosport were lectures in logic

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 8.

³Candidate Committee Minutes, May 15, 1815.

and the evidences of Christianity.¹ Some contended that a missionary should never dispute with the heathen. The prophets and apostles reasoned with pagans, and the early church acting upon this precedent had her apologists, so David Bogue prepared the students under his tuition for the same.

Bogue recognized that the most backward of peoples as well as the more civilized heathen raised subtle objections to Christianity, while defending with ingenuity their own systems. Because man is an intellectual creature his objections must be answered with reasoning. If no answer is given, Christianity loses prestige as having no answer, and its emissaries will be treated with contempt. An answer must be given! But what answer? The tutor suggests that after the missionary has made himself acquainted with the chief objections to Christianity, he will find that there are some questions which man cannot answer, and that by pointing to some of the principles and facts acknowledged by the heathen themselves, he will be able to help them to understand this. The answers to those objections which can be refuted are to be found in two sources: first in Scripture itself, but chiefly in the analogy between revealed and natural religion, since difficulties similar to those found in the former are found in the latter, especially in the creation and government of the world.²

¹Ibid.

²Bogue, *Missionary Lectures*, pp. 9, 10.

The tutor is quick to add that the "missionary should be very far from a disputing turn of mind as there is much danger of it hurting his frame of soul."¹ Whatever answer is made should be given in humility, in calmness of temper without heat and passion, in the spirit of love, for his final end is the salvation of their souls, and not a victory in debate. Bogue advises as suitable a book composed by the missionary containing the chief objections to Christianity and answers to the same.

In concluding the subject of reasoning as a method of conveying knowledge to the heathen, it is not presumptuous to assume that the tutor who was referred to as a "thinking machine",² and whose own publication on the Evidences of Christianity was reviewed as being the essence of all that former authors had written on the subject,³ gave a most satisfactory preparation for this phase of mission work.

The third means of conveying Christian knowledge to the heathen is conversation. The training at the Academy which equipped the candidates for preaching and reasoning would also prepare them for ordinary conversation. Bogue felt that many times the missionaries would find that because of their insensibility to the divine institution and the ordinance of preaching,

¹Ibid., p. 10.

²Bennett, op. cit., p. 377.

³See Chapter VIII, page 246.

the pagans would not leave their ordinary pursuits to listen to a sermon. This is one of the reasons conversation on spiritual subjects must be attempted. Moreover, those who do not have the talent for preaching may find conversation an excellent way to present the gospel. Again many who will scoff in a crowd, will listen intently alone. This manner of approach also gives the advantage of bearing on the particular difficulties, wants and desires of the individual, and in many instances is an excellent follow-up to preaching. The missionary should use judgment, to press the issue when the hearer is eager, to postpone his conversing if the person seems uninterested, and always to stop before the individual becomes weary. Special care should be taken that the conversation always ends well, so that the inquirer will wish to see the missionary again. Much good has been done through this channel by missionaries, so the new recruit should saturate his attempts with prayer that the results of his efforts may likewise be profitable.¹

The next method Bogue recommended for accomplishing the missionary's task was catechizing. The preparation of catechisms, two in number, which would present the principles of Christianity in a plain, summary fashion in the first instance, and give a résumé of the teaching and demands of the gospel in the second, would throw the missionary candidates back upon their

¹Bogue, *Missionary Lectures*, pp. 12, 13.

theological knowledge. The unusually thought-provoking method used by the tutor in teaching,¹ and the necessity of the students making themselves a copy of the theological lectures would well qualify them for this task. Bogue viewed catechizing as a means of conversion, a foundation labor, benefits of which might be reaped years later. Interestingly enough, apostolic precedent is not definitely cited for this practice, although he mentions it as a very ancient method, used in the primitive church and by the best modern-day missionaries. He encouraged occasional sermons on the catechism's subjects, the memorizing of the questions and answers, and as an incentive, he recommended rewards, preferably books. If there was a staff of any size on a station, one or two could profitably be set aside for this work which demanded steadiness and perseverance.²

The fifth method given for imparting Christian truth on the mission field was the writing and publishing of books. In Bogue's thinking this was what gave modern missionaries the advantage over their predecessors. This phase of the missionary's labor was dependent upon his grasp of the language, his theological knowledge, and his ability to communicate. In the written

¹Knill used Bogue's system in India. "Mr. Bogue's plan was adopted, which to his students has proved a very efficient one, though, I believe, it is not adopted by any other academy." Charles M. Birrell, The Life of the Rev. Richard Knill, 1859, p. 75.

²Bogue, Missionary Lectures, pp. 14, 15.

page, the apostles' epistles serving as an inspired example, the tutor saw these peculiar excellencies:

1. It leads to more accurate views of divine truth.
2. It preserves truth in its purity better.
3. It preserves truth in a country if the missionaries are driven out of it.
4. It spreads truth more extensively - Books may be spread far and wide and carried where missionaries cannot go.¹

Suggested for publication was the Bible, in part where the whole was not possible. Also there should be books on Christian doctrines, and Bible history; books of inspirational and devotional character; and translations of the best books extant. The foundation for this more concrete phase of missionary labor must have been well laid at Gosport. The basis for this appraisal is not only the course of study offered, but the works which came from the pens of Gosport-educated missionaries, e.g. William Ellis, Charles Pitman, John Williams, Aaron Buzacott, David Griffiths, David Johns, Robert Morrison, William Milne, Samuel Dyer, C.H. Thomsen, Samuel Milton, Thomas Beighton and John Ince.²

The last method of imparting knowledge on the mission

¹Ibid., p. 16.

²In the index of Lovett's two volumes, under "Bible, the translation of" and "Printing" the work of this nature done by the missionaries can be found. Lovett, op. cit., I, II. At the Annual Meetings of the L.M.S., Dr. Bogue customarily accepted the reports from the field with a long spirited speech. When Morrison and Milne had completed the Chinese Scriptures he was especially jubilant. Having emphasized the importance of translation work at the Seminary, he was grateful for each achievement which gave people the Word of God in their native tongue. See the Evangelical Magazine, June, 1817, p. 242; and June, 1824, p. 369.

field mentioned by David Bogue was schools. Because the second main division in this chapter concerns education on the mission field we shall treat the subject of schools then.

The persons responding to these various overtures of the gospel which the missionary makes should, according to Bogue, be formed into a society, a church. This church has the authority to add to its number, to excommunicate the unruly, to administer all of the ordinances of worship, to have qualified members set apart as pastors, and deacons. Mr. Bogue further recommended to his students that when these churches have been planted, they should be visited by the missionary from time to time. The government of these churches should be as simple as possible, and extraordinary care should be taken that all officers of the church be men well qualified. The tutor believed that

As there were in the Apostolical Churches extraordinary gifts bestowed on men for the work of the Ministry it will now require a much longer time before persons be qualified for offices in the Church, than in that age.¹

To this point we have been concerned with Mr. Bogue's ideas as to what the missionary should know academically in order to be qualified for his work, and how the Gosport Academy endeavored to impart this knowledge. However, it was not only in the realm of knowledge where past missionaries failed. There were also the matters of natural dispositions, spiritual qualities, principles of and motives for mission work. We recall, also,

¹Bogue, Missionary Lectures, p. 48.

that the Committee for the bringing forward of the plan for the proposed seminary was above all concerned with this training of the inner man.

Dr. Bogue, in his desire to call men out of the ranks, prove and then improve them, strongly believed that the candidate should be faced with all of the facts. Not just sanguine hopes of success should be held before his eyes, but the temptations, difficulties, oppositions, and discouragements which awaited him should also be foreseen. Under this heading comes the missionary's own study. If the language is to be learned, sermons prepared, books written, there must be time devoted to study. If the missionary is not to become rusty and barren, and go backward, his mind and heart must be cultivated daily. Study will be difficult because of the multiplicity of duties, the adverse climate and conditions which the missionary constantly faces.

There will be, however, more direct attacks upon his usefulness, although, perhaps, not more devastating. From the leaders of the pagan religion, the native philosophers, the local civil rulers, individuals financially dependent upon the old system, the multitudes so easily stirred up, the foreigner protecting his interest, and even from unsympathetic persons in the home countries there will come direct opposition which, according to the tutor, may take these forms:

1. In false views of the character of missionaries.
 2. In misrepresentations in their designs.
 3. In reproachfully speaking of them.
 4. In unkind behaviour.
-

5. In stripping them of their goods.
6. In imprisonment.
7. In drawing them from the country.
8. In putting them to death.¹

The good doctor believed that it was a dangerous thing for the missionary to go to the field not expecting to meet difficulties. Not only would there be these attacks from the outside, but there would be the trials connected with his own labors. Besides the difficulty of the language there would be the strange culture of the people, their disgusting manners, the different climate, the unpalatable food, and poor housing. In the attempt to proclaim the gospel there would be the native's prejudices made more severe by the depravity of his own nature, and the self-denying character of the message preached. When converts were made, many of them would prove to be most unstable, and the heathen would constantly be busy trying to undo all of the progress.²

The grayhaired teacher gave words of wisdom to the candidates on how among colleagues on the field, an association from which comfort and encouragement should be forthcoming, instead there sometimes would spring forth jealousy, envy, bitterness and contempt which tend to retard the success of the mission. All of these discouragements will tempt the missionary to quit the field and return to his own country.³

¹Ibid., p. 28.

²Ibid., pp. 26-31.

³Ibid., pp. 35, 36; 52-55.

The missionary seminary soon revealed the caliber of the students. A few showed love of ease, one or two poor morals, a handful a disputing frame of mind, or a lack of application in studies. It culled the John Marks from the Pauls and Barnabases. This had been Dr. Bogue's contention from the foundation of the Missionary Society. It is no wonder he repeatedly emphasized to the Candidate Committee that they be very selective, and send only to Gosport those who had had a definite spiritual experience and were convinced that they had been called to the work.¹

In preparing these young men for the difficulties which lay before them, Dr. Bogue would not be speaking of areas of hardships he had not himself faced. For when in his forties he had offered himself as a candidate to India, he had weighed all of the decisions involved.²

The students at Gosport had a high regard of the sanctity of the work they were entering. Their souls entered vicariously into the sacrifices of the field each time they devoted a morning to prayer and then accompanied their departing classmate to the place where he took leave of them, wondering if they would ever see his face again.³ Here at the missionary seminary Dr. Bogue balanced the academic with the spiritual. The young men's

¹For example see the L.M.S. Board Minutes of Feb. 10, 1817.

²Bennett, *op. cit.*, pp. 208-212.

³See Chapter I, page 12.

knowledge of Christianity was broadened and deepened, and the ability to communicate that knowledge sharpened. But accompanying this knowledge was a new realization of the hardships involved, and the needed new sense of dedication to the advancement of God's kingdom.

III. EDUCATION ON THE FOREIGN FIELD

The thoughts of Dr. Bogue on education could not be confined to the walls of the Gosport Academy. In spirit he followed his students to the South Seas, Africa, the West Indies, Madagascar, India, China and formulated plans for the carrying out of their mission. In these stations, schools should be established. Especially would they be necessary among the uncivilized peoples whose language had not previously been reduced to writing. Here the people must be taught to read and write, and Mr. Bogue suggests, to sing.

The lower level of school has for its objective: to do away with superstition, to diminish the influence of the pagan religion, to implant habits of application to the mind, to render the mind more rational, to prepare for more knowledge of religion, and to establish better relations between the people and the missionaries. He recognized that this type of labor was not as direct as preaching to the accomplishing of the missionary's purpose, but that it was a foundation for future advances. It was

suggested that a younger missionary could do this work, assisted by the children of missionaries, and soon by some of the first native scholars.¹

Of supreme importance in Mr. Bogue's thinking, but, in his opinion, greatly neglected in modern missions was the training of the most hopeful of the native converts to become preachers of the gospel. For this reason a seminary should be established in every mission, and if needs be in every station. Here the ablest converts should be trained to become catechists, exhorters and evangelists. Those in the seminaries who showed the greatest promise should be given further training, so as to be qualified for the most important offices. In turn, they should be recommended to train up young men to be their successors. If these methods were followed, Mr. Bogue was convinced that soon missionaries would no longer be needed.²

It is fitting here to mention a few of Dr. Bogue's basic thoughts on missions which he included in his lectures for they indirectly affect his views on education. He believed that the Scriptures taught that the civilized countries should receive the first attention of the missionary. Paul and the apostles had by-passed some of the provinces where local languages and customs were observed in favor of those which were Hellenized. For this

¹Bogue, *Missionary Lectures*, pp. 18, 19.

²Ibid., pp. 51; 56-58.

reason, and not because of England's colonializing program,¹ he favored establishing missions first in China, India and other civilized nations of Asia. These were to be his Ephesus, Philippi and Corinth from which the gospel could sound out into the other areas of the world. He summarized his preference thus:

1. They contain a greater number of souls.
2. Civilized and mental improvement and habits of application are of advantage to understanding the Gospel.
3. If Christianity takes root, there is a prospect of its spreading over the whole country.
4. From the intercourse among civilized nations, there is a fair prospect of its being made known to all the nations round about it.
5. As civilized nations have great influence over the barbarous tribes which are near them there is every reason to expect that the Gospel would be conveyed to them by their civilized neighbours.
6. The printing of the Sacred Scriptures in a civilized nation gives a stability to the Christian Doctrine, which nothing else possibly can.
7. Among civilized people, natives as Missionaries and preachers are likely to be soon found that will spread the gospel through the country.²

A second principle involved was the duration of the mission. Bogue's apostolic pattern was that the youngest of the apostles could not have labored over fifty or sixty years in their field. Yet the missions of the following generation were carried on by their converts in places where the gospel was yet unknown.

¹Haweis thought Bogue favored the countries which had the protection of the English government. A.S. Wood, Thomas Haweis: 1734-1820, 1957, p. 237.

²Bogue, Missionary Lectures, pp. 23, 24.

It appears then that the space of little more than fifty years was requisite for planting the Gospel in the first ages of Christianity and that it afterwards spread more fully in those countries by the labours of its own inhabitants.¹

What was possible then is possible now, Bogue contends. The gospel is the same, the promises of the Holy Spirit the same, besides there is the advantage of printing! The reason that past missions were not completed in this time, he argues, is that apostolic precedent was not followed in the training of indigenous leaders, in the selection of proper fields, and in the methods of propagating the gospel.²

There seems to be, on this issue, some inconsistency on the tutor's part. In his lectures on the planting of the church on the mission field he stated that extraordinary gifts which enabled men in the Apostolic church to be qualified in a short time for office are no longer enjoyed. Because of this present-day deficiency, he adds, it takes a much longer time for persons to be qualified. It would seem that any measure which curtailed the converts from becoming a church with full power would also prevent the mission from becoming self-dependent, self-propagating and self-supporting. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy how modern yet ancient was David Bogue's concept of missions. His lectures

¹Ibid., p. 56.

²Ibid., pp. 59-62.

anticipated Roland Allen's plea by a century,¹ and it is to our great loss that for so many years these apostolic or Pauline principles were neglected.

Dr. Bogue also believed that there was apostolic precedent for the number in a mission to any given field. He saw no example in Scripture of a person going alone on a distant mission, nor of there being more than five or six in the party. In having more than one he saw the advantage of assistance, Christian fellowship and worship, counsel, encouragement and consolation. He cited examples of large parties on a field being a waste of strength and funds, and having so many confined to a small area also led to disunity and quarrels.²

Another principle on which the tutor lectured was that, if at all possible, the Missionary Society should assume full support of their personnel. It may be legitimate to blend other employment with missionary labors, he asserts, when there is no other means of support. Dr. Bogue, however, saw the disadvantages involved in mixing the secular with the spiritual. There is the danger of the natives becoming jealous and considering the missionary his rival in business, and questioning his motives for being on the field. Needless to say, it means the missionary

¹R. Allen, Missionary Methods, St. Paul's or Ours. A Study of the Church in the Four Provinces, 1912, passim.

²Bogue, Missionary Lectures, pp. 41-43.

must curtail his mission efforts, and there is always the question of proper emphasis on the spiritual. There have been cases of missionaries dropping their first calling and taking up worldly pursuits.¹

As reports came back to the Missionary Society from the fields, Bogue especially rejoiced in his students' faithfulness in carrying out these educational policies. The Anglo-Chinese College started by Morrison and Milne was heralded as the first of its kind on any Protestant mission field.² At the same time a plea went up from the Doctor that Africa and the South Seas should follow this example.³ How pleased he would have been had he lived to hear of the establishment of the school described in the following paragraph.

On the island of Rarotonga in the Cook Group of the South Pacific islands, there is a theological institution. It was built in 1839 by Aaron Buzacott who was at Gosport until the tutor's death. In a letter to the London Missionary Society, Mr. Buzacott tells of the beginning of the seminary:

I have purchased a piece of ground for 150 dollars, and have had a stone wall built around it, part of which is plastered with lime. I have also had four stone cottages built, measuring 20 feet by 16 feet. Each will accommodate a man and his wife, or two single men. I have five young men now under my instruction who have devoted themselves to the work of the Lord. Three of them are married, and their wives are being instructed by Mrs. Buzacott in

¹Ibid., pp. 44-46

²Evangelical Magazine, June, 1824, p. 369.

³Ibid., June, 1819, p. 258.

needlework, writing, and arithmetic. They all attend the schools, both students and wives, either as superintendents or teachers. The schools occupy their time till 9 o'clock on each day. From 9 to 11 is devoted to their mental improvement. Mondays and Fridays, lectures are given on Divinity; Tuesdays, reading the New Testament in Rarotongan; and Thursday, reading the Old Testament in Tahitian; Wednesdays, composition, a sermon, and plans of sermons, with essays on the lectures they have received.¹

The courses mentioned here remind one of the curricula at Gosport. However, there were further similarities than this plan of courses. The lectures in theology were Dr. Bogue's which Buzacott had translated into Rarotongan. Each student had to write out a copy for himself, until in 1853, the lectures were run off on the Mission Press.²

Through the years this seminary has trained hundreds of workers and many of them have gone as missionaries to Samoa, the Loyalty Group, the New Hebrides and New Guinea, not a few falling as martyrs to the cause of Christ.³ Since 1940, the London Missionary Society has had only one resident missionary in the Cook Islands, the bulk of the responsibilities being carried by the indigenous people.⁴

¹ A. Buzacott, Mission Life in the Islands of the Pacific, 1866, p. 133.

² The work was continuous from 1853 to 1857. Ibid., p. 134.

³ Lovett, op. cit., I, 353.

⁴ Norman Goodall, A History of the London Missionary Society: 1895-1945, 1954, p. 398.

IV. EDUCATION FOR DISSENTERS IN BRITAIN

Dr. Bogue's acknowledgment that there were gaps in the dissenters' educational program has been referred to previously.¹ The academies, in Bogue's thought, were for ministerial training. Theology and closely related courses, he reasoned, must have definite priority if useful pastors and missionaries are to be trained.² The preference shown, however, did not minimize the value to Bogue of the classics, science and other areas of learning which had to be curtailed in the academies. He thought they should be taught, but at other levels.³ He recognized that Oxford and Cambridge owed their classical reputation to the foundation laid at Eton, Winchester, Westminster and other preparatory schools.⁴ Grammar schools on this level, open to all, were needed so that classical and general knowledge could be acquired early in one's youth.⁵ There should also be a university, again open to all, which should teach the higher branches of languages and science.⁶ This institution could be attended by those finishing

¹See Chapter II, page 76.

²Bogue and Bennett, History of Dissenters, Four Volumes, 1808-1812, IV, 298 ff.

³Ibid., pp. 303, 307-310

⁴Ibid., p. 303.

⁵Ibid., pp. 303, 307.

⁶Ibid., pp. 308-310: see also the Congregational Magazine, May, 1820, pp. 254-256.

the grammar schools, and by some graduates of the seminaries who had acquired a taste for learning, and desired advanced study in some field.¹ The more usual for the theological student, however, would be for him to acquire his general learning first at the university, and then proceed to the seminary.² Institutions on these two levels, Bogue proposed, would help to remedy the weakness of the educational system of those excluded from the established schools.³

Bogue's interest in local education made him an "advocate and counsellor" for the Mill-Hill Grammar School.⁴ This school was first financed by voluntary contributions, and annual sermons were preached to create and maintain support.⁵ The first of these addresses, on January 14, 1808, ten days before the school was to be officially opened,⁶ was delivered by Dr. Bogue.⁷ This school, which was open to all, was founded on the liberal

¹Congregational Magazine, May, 1820, pp. 254-256.

²Ibid.

³Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., IV, 298-310.

⁴Eclectic Review, May, 1808, p. 463.

⁵Bennett, Dissenters, to 1838, 1839, p. 193.

⁶Evangelical Magazine, Nov., 1807, p. 529.

⁷Eclectic Review, May, 1808, p. 463.

views urged by the Gosport tutor.¹ Its staff, headed by John Atkinson of Hoxton,² was comprised of well-qualified people.³ Its curriculum was an embodiment of the ideals set forth in Dr. Bogue's plan.⁴ English grammar, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, mathematics, and the Greek and Roman classics were taught. There was a French teacher available for those who had mastered the ancient languages.⁵ The students were to be examined publicly every year by competent scholars, and to encourage devotional life, there was a chaplain.⁶

Bogue's address, "The Nature and Importance of a Good Education",⁷ was based on the text, "A wise son maketh a glad

¹The school "is not intended either to exclude all but the children of Protestant Dissenters, or to attempt making proselytes of such children as shall be sent thither from another community". Quoted from the Founder's statement, Ibid., pp. 462, 463. See Bogue's views on education, Congregational Magazine, May, 1820, pp. 254-256.

²H. McLachlan, English Education Under the Test Acts, 1931, p. 239.

³Maurice Phillips became head in 1811, Ibid., p. 200. McLachlan in the cited references speaks highly of their qualifications. See also the Evangelical Magazine, Nov., 1807, p. 529.

⁴Cf. Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., III, 264ff; IV, 298ff. where Bogue's ideas are set forth with the above curriculum. See also The Nature and Importance of a Good Education, 1808, Bogue's published address.

⁵Evangelical Magazine, Nov., 1807, p. 529. These subjects seem usual enough today but the study of English, mathematics, geography, history and French were just being introduced in the latter half of the 18th century. McLachlan, op. cit., pp. 26-36.

⁶Bennett, Dissenters, pp. 193, 194.

⁷Published in 1808 by Conder.

father."¹ The sermon set forth his ideas of a good education.² The speaker also showed how those, who were often termed "Methodists" and "rigid puritans", because of their evangelical doctrine and regulated lives, could make a greater contribution in influencing public opinion, promoting religion and God's glory, by combining true learning with good principles.³

Bogue's remedy on this, the grammar school, level was most effective, if Mill-Hill may be taken as an example of the schools established of this type.⁴ In 1827, fifteen months after Bogue's death,⁵ it could be said that "more than 800 young men have been educated at it, some of whom have already distinguished themselves both as scholars and as ministers."⁶

In the fourth volume of the History of Dissenters, Dr. Bogue set forth a plan for a university.⁷ Smith, in his recent book on academies, speaks of this as:

¹Proverbs 10: 1.

²Eclectic Review, May, 1808, p. 463. See also Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., IV, 303, 307; and the published sermon.

³Eclectic Review, May, 1808, pp. 463, 464.

⁴There were others beside Mill-Hill, Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., IV, 307.

⁵Bogue died October 25, 1825, and this account was published in January, 1827. See Evangelical Magazine, Nov., 1825, p. 492 for dates.

⁶Congregational Magazine, Jan., 1827, p. 52.

⁷Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., IV, 308-310.

a central dissenters' university in which ministerial education would include in addition to Biblical studies and theology, lectures on the humanities (i.e. the higher Greek and Latin classics), the activities of professors of oriental languages and of mathematics and natural philosophy, and lectures on logic, metaphysics, moral philosophy, rhetoric, elocution and history (civil and ecclesiastical).¹

Smith's account is correct with the exception that there were to be no courses in religion at all. In Dr. Bogue's plan, the university was not to "infringe on or injure"² the theological seminaries. In his opinion they were "well adapted to their professed design".³ Their design was ministerial training.⁴ The university was to "secure to the students a liberal education"⁵ without distinction to Jew or Gentile, dissenter or conformist, consequently religion must be excluded.⁶

Dr. Hugh Bellot in his monumental history of the University College, London, recognizes the part the Dissenters, led by Bogue, had in establishing that institution.⁷ He says,

¹Smith, Modern Education, 1954, p. 188.

²Congregational Magazine, May, 1820, p. 254.

³Ibid., pp. 254, 255.

⁴Bogue by supporting the University plan helped to accelerate the trend toward exclusive ministerial training in the academies. See McLachlan, op. cit., p. 5.

⁵Congregational Magazine, May, 1820, p. 254.

⁶Ibid., pp. 254-256; see also Bennett, Dissenters, to 1838, p. 85.

⁷H.H. Bellot, University College London: 1826-1926, 1929, p. 24. "The adherence of the Dissenters was important" because they were well organized and numerous, especially in the London area. Ibid.

"David Bogue had made the proposal as early as 1812",¹ and "at a later date Bogue circulated a plan for a Dissenting University."² The plan circulated in 1820 through the medium of the Congregational Magazine³ was quite similar to the one outlined in the History of Dissenters in 1812.⁴ Because it contains most of the ideas later carried out in the University College, it is submitted in full:

Plan of a Dissenting College

First.- Professors.

1. For Languages. - The higher departments of Latin and Greek, and the Hebrew.
2. For Logic, Metaphysics, and Rhetoric.
3. For Moral Philosophy, Philosophy of History, and General principles of Law.
4. For Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.
5. For Botany, Chemistry and Natural History.

Secondly.- Salaries of Professors, not less than £400. a year.

1. Partly from the subscriptions of the public:
2. Partly by fees from the students, from £6. to £10. a year each.

Thirdly.- Qualifications of the Professors.

1. Men of unfeigned piety, of high moral character, and of liberal sentiments.
2. Men of first rate qualifications in their department.

¹Ibid., p. 20.

²Ibid., p. 21.

³Loco. cit., May, 1820, pp. 254-256; see also Bennett, David Bogue, p. 444.

⁴The basic plan is the same. However, the later one is much more in detail.

3. Men who have no other employment, and who will devote themselves wholly to the duties of their profession.

4. Men who will be endeavouring to improve themselves from year to year in the knowledge of what belongs to their department..

Fourthly.- Length of the Session.

1. The Session to commence in the middle of September, and conclude in the end of May.

2. Ten days relaxation at Christmas, and a week at Easter.

3. The length of the whole course of studies to be three or four years.

Fifthly.- Students.

1. All will be welcome who are of good character, and wish for improvement in useful knowledge.

2. No impediment will arise from difference of religious denomination.

3. Many of the sons of opulent Dissenters may be expected to attend the college.

4. Many of the Methodists may likewise be expected to encourage the institution by sending their children for education.

5. Some Jewish youths may wish to embrace the opportunity of acquiring a liberal education here.

6. Young men of property designed for the Christian ministry may choose to spend some years in this institution, before they enter on a course of theological study in a seminary.

7. Many theological students, after finishing their course in the seminaries will wish to spend a year at the college, before they become candidates for the pastoral office. These young gentlemen would be exceedingly useful in the college as patterns of good conduct, and diligence in study, and by their inspection, influence, and lessons, assisting the juniors in their literary pursuits.

8. Gentlemen of leisure might wish to enjoy the benefits of this institution. At the Scottish universities, officers who have served in the army and navy, mercantile men, and country gentlemen attend courses of lectures for their entertainment and improvement.

Sixthly.- Mode of Instruction

1. The University of Glasgow, it is conceived, forms the best model of any public institution in the kingdom, in this respect; as combining,

- (1) Public lectures by the professors;
- (2) Careful examination of the students on these lectures, and
- (3) Frequent themes in writing on the subject of their lectures.

2. If any improvement can be made on this method of teaching, it will be adopted, as the professors will not be shackled by old statutes to follow inferior modes.

Seventhly.- Place and Accommodations.

1. As to the place.

- (1) A healthy and a central situation is extremely desirable for the seat of the college.
- (2) It is desirable that there should be in the town where the college may be established, congregations of different denominations, for the convenience of the students attending on public worship.
- (3) Reading or Northampton would combine these different advantages.

2. Accommodations.

- (1) It will be wise not to incur expense in building till the college be established: it is not elegant structures, but eminent and laborious professors, that will be the glory and stability of the institution.
 - (2) If convenient rooms cannot be rented, the professors, as is the case in some of the Dutch universities, at first can instruct the students in their own houses.
 - (3) The students will find lodgings in the town, as is the practice in the Scottish and Dutch universities, and, if it should be necessary, boarding houses could be provided for them.
 - (4) The professors might be willing to accommodate with board and lodging such students as their parents choose to be peculiarly under their eye.
 - (5) Should the college prosper, necessary buildings could then be erected, as well as additional professors introduced; but much money should not be spent in buildings.
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Eighthly.- Discipline and Government.

1. It should be liberal.
2. It should be strictly observed.
3. It should consider good moral conduct as absolutely necessary.
4. It should render the college incompatible with the abode of idlers.

When the institution has arrived at a state of maturity, and the professors consider it advantageous to confer literary honours on those students who distinguish themselves, the liberal and free government of Great Britain cannot refuse to grant authority for that purpose to a college designed for the learned of so numerous, so respectable, and so enlightened a body as the Protestant Dissenters of England, who by the severe and illiberal laws of the universities and other public seminaries, are precluded from obtaining the advantages, and sharing the honours of these institutions.¹

The Congregational Magazine, which promoted Bogue's university scheme, in its January issue, 1826, carried a memoir of the late Dr. Bogue,² and the following report:

Our readers will participate in the satisfaction which all liberal minds must feel, that the establishment of a University in the metropolis of the³ empire, on the most liberal principles, is now secured.

The next number of the magazine continued the memoir:

Dr. Bogue's mind was ever engaged with some important plan of usefulness. In May, 1820, he favoured this Magazine, and several other religious miscellanies, with an important 'Proposal for establishing a University for Dissenters', which excited much discussion in private circles, and in the pages of our work; and which, doubtless, contributed much to prepare the minds of opulent Dissenters to unite in the

¹Congregational Magazine, May, 1820, pp. 255, 256.

²Loco. cit., pp. 1-5.

³Ibid., p. 55.

establishment of that University which, we hope, will ere long grace this metropolis.¹

Bogue's plan had brought forth much discussion, and already in its early stages, London had been suggested as a site.² Bogue, it has been observed, unlike the Dissenters who lived to carry out the actual founding of the University College,³ did not insist on theological chairs. Also to be noted are his ideas for non-resident accommodations,⁴ length of term,⁵ mode of teaching and examination,⁶ system of finance,⁷ and the overall liberality⁸ - all of them anticipating the actual policy the University took. However, he did not foresee the difficulty they would have in getting a charter.⁹

¹Ibid., Feb., 1826, p. 61.

²Ibid., April, 1821, p. 190; Nov., 1821, p. 582. In these references the discussions on Bogue's proposal can be found. See index of succeeding years for full information.

³For example, the Rev. F.A. Cox, the Rev. Edward Irving and others argued long against a secular system. Bellot, op. cit., pp. 21-25.

⁴This plan was adopted. Ibid., p. 55.

⁵"...nine months, with short vacations at Christmas and Easter." Ibid., p. 51.

⁶Ibid., p. 52.

⁷Ibid., pp. 32ff.

⁸"London University was to be open and cheap...." Ibid., p. 47. Compare all of the policies mentioned from footnote four to the present one with Bogue's plan set forth on pages 139ff., and his original scheme found in Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., IV, 308-310.

⁹For full details see Chapter VII, "Incorporation" in Bellot, op. cit., pp. 215-248: also see Bennett, Dissenter, to 1838, pp. 86, 87.

Dr. Mathieson, in speaking of the first design to form the London University, recognized William Frend's suggestion was prior to that of Thomas Campbell.¹ Prior to both was David Bogue's plan. His plea "that gentlemen in the metropolis would stand forward, and, soliciting the co-operation of friends to the cause in every part of the country, mature a plan, and begin to carry it into execution"² aroused interest although he personally, because of his out-of-the-way country location, stood in the background. Three years after Bogue's death, classes began in the University,³ in buildings, and in scope even greater than he had dared to visualize in his attempt to give dissent a complete educational system.⁴

V. CONCLUSION

The Gosport Academy was the first school in the modern missionary awakening to have a curriculum especially planned for missionary education. Most of the other missionary societies

¹Mathieson, England in Transition, 1789-1834, 1920, p. 206.

²Congregational Magazine, May, 1820, p. 255. Notice that in Chapter V, page 156 Dr. Bogue calls upon gentlemen in the metropolis to step forward and begin a missionary society.

³Bellot, op. cit., pp. 75, 76. Classes began in October in the medical school. Ibid.

⁴A contract for £107,000 was accepted for the erection of the first building; the number of professors and the breadth of the curriculum exceeded Bogue's plan. Ibid., pp. 35; 37-47.

soon followed this example and established similar programs of their own.¹ Gosport, in addition to having a priority in time, also taught its candidates content and methods which are being re-emphasized in the twentieth century. The lectures were Biblically centered and the application was from a Biblical approach, therefore, the pertinency of the material for all generations.

The London Missionary Society discovered that soon after they inaugurated their Missionary Seminary their personnel problems were lessened. Now they could acclaim the low percentage of withdrawals from the Society, and the accomplishments of their personnel. Whereas, previously, they were embarrassed by the number who quit the field.²

Because of Gosport's stress upon schools on the field for the training of indigenous leaders, its graduates founded the first of these seminaries for the education of native ministers.

The tutor, his mind pregnant with ideas for foreign missions, also pioneered educational movements at home. His plan

¹Evangelical Magazine, June, 1824, p. 369; see also Ibid., June, 1825, p. 258.

²Bogue mentioned in one of his annual speeches at the L.M.S. that few missionaries were now forsaking the field. The speeches given in receiving the report from the fields at the Annual Meetings show how enthusiastic the L.M.S. was over the accomplishments of their personnel. For Bogue's remarks see the Evangelical Magazine, June, 1825, p. 258. For early personnel failures see Lovett, op. cit., I, 62-66.

of education for dissent, which included, besides the seminary academies, the grammar school and the university, was equally as productive as those for mission work. The Mill-Hill grammar school and the London University, like the Anglo-Chinese College of Malacca and the Seminary at Rarotonga, are indebted to the vision of this man.

CHAPTER V

DAVID BOGUE: A FOUNDER OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY

I. INTRODUCTION

David Bogue was most extensively known and most honorably distinguished as an advocate of the London Missionary Society. As he made appearances in all parts of Britain and in Europe on behalf of the Society he was identified with its existence, its name and its anniversaries. "His life became one continued series of labours, bearing, immediately or remotely, on this object."¹ His position as tutor of the Missionary Seminary gave him a permanent place of respect with the religious public. Recognized also was Dr. Bogue's prominent part in the founding of the Society, and it is this phase of his contribution that is now considered.

In 1792 the modern missionary movement began. The man to focus public attention on the needs of the heathen was William Carey. Thus 1792 is known as the beginning of this benevolent era, because that year the Missionary Society, which Carey brought into being and which later sponsored him, was founded.

After the Reformation there appeared to be a dearth of interest in missions on the part of the Protestants, which

¹The Eclectic Review, July-December, 1828, p. 110. This article, which is a review of Bennett's biography of David Bogue, is very well done.

resulted in the Roman Church accusing them of indifference. At the height of their zeal the Reformers were absorbed in the problems of Europe, and by the time the turbid elements had cleared away, the zeal was also gone. Another factor was that Protestant countries during this period did not control the sea, and consequently had little opportunity for propagating their faith abroad.¹ In one instance, when there was an opening for work in Brazil, Geneva was quick to respond with missionaries.² Later, the Dutch, in the early part of the seventeenth century, established missions in the East Indies;³ in the same century, the English were reaching some of the Indians of North America, and personnel in this area was soon increased by the exertions of the Scottish Society.⁴ However, dead orthodoxy controlled the church

¹K.S. Latourette in A History of Christianity cites three reasons for the Roman Catholic's preponderance in foreign missions during this period: (1) Expansion was predominantly by Spain and Portugal; (2) The Counter Reformation coincided with the planting of these countries' colonies; (3) Their monastic orders gave them both the tradition and the instrument for propagating the faith. Op. cit., 1955, pp. 924-926.

²This mission was from 1556 to 1558. It met with defeat when Villegagnon, the director of the Brazilian colony, returned to Roman Catholicism and persecuted the missionaries he had asked for. John Morison, The Fathers and Founders of the London Missionary Society; with a Brief Sketch of Methodism, and Historical Notices of the Several Protestant Missions, from 1556 to 1839, Two Volumes, n.d., I, 57-65.

³George P. Fisher, History of The Christian Church, 1894, p. 584. In Chapter VII of Period IX, pages 582-598, Fisher has a summary account of Christian Missions.

⁴The English society was The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; the Scottish, the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge in the Highlands and Islands. Morison, op. cit., I, 130, 162-172.

for the next few decades, and real revival of interest in missions awaited a living Christianity.

The pietist movement in Germany produced the Danish-Halle Society with missions in India by 1704. This group received support from Denmark, Germany, England and most countries of Europe. Spener and Francke also had their influence upon the Moravian Church, and, by 1732, this group had two missionaries in both the West Indies and Greenland, and, by the end of the century, had twenty-six settlements in the heathen world manned by one hundred and thirty-seven missionaries with a constituency of 23,000.¹

The Evangelical Revival, centered around the Wesleys and Whitefield, was a culmination of religious stirrings in America, Scotland and England as well as in Germany. The world seemed to be desirous of shaking off the deadness of the century, and coinciding with the spiritual awakenings were political upheavals, all destined to bring in an era appreciative of the worth of every individual. The Methodists, like the Reformers in their day, were busy at home, and although Coke had preached to the Negro slaves in Nova Scotia as early as 1786, there were too many meeting houses to be built and too much missionary work to be done in Great Britain to concentrate on foreign missions.²

Often overlooked is the fact that there was an

¹The Missionary Magazine, May, 1797, p. 244.

²Johannes Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, 1956, pp. 88-91.

evangelical movement paralleling the Wesleyan revival which had a more direct bearing upon the Missionary Awakening than the Methodists had.¹ Jonathan Edwards in America, a large group in Scotland including Thomas Gillespie and John Erskine, were some of the persons² who were concerned about a spiritual quickening, and through their correspondence and publications exerted an influence which reached beyond America and Scotland into England and directly affected those who brought the missionary societies into existence.³

It was, therefore, Carey and the Calvinistic Baptists who brought the subject of missions to the attention of the religious public. William Carey, as early as 1781, had on the walls of his shop a map of the world on which he jotted the latest

¹John Wesley was a bit disturbed that Dr. Coke was picking the choicest of their young men for the foreign field. It seems as if Wesley may have, in his great concern for England, lost some of his vision for the world which he had when he went as a missionary to the American Indians. Van Den Berg, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-91.

²Others in Scotland were Robe, Laclaurin, Willison and M'Culloch. John Foster, "The Bicentenary of Jonathan Edwards' 'Humble Attempt'", The International Review of Missions, Vol. XXXVII, Oct. 1948, p. 377.

³Edwards' Life of Brainerd and his Humble Attempt had a great influence on Rylands, Sucliff, Carey and other Baptists. John Foster, *op. cit.*, pp. 375-381; also E.A. Payne's article "The Evangelical Revival and the Beginnings of the Modern Missionary Movement" in the Congregational Quarterly, Vol. XXI, July, 1943, pp. 223-236. Wesley's Arminian theology lessened his influence in Calvinistic circles such as the Particular Baptist and London Missionary Societies. Observe Edwards' influence on Bogue in Chapter II, page 44.

significant religious and political facts. He was greatly stirred by the reports of the expeditions of Captain Cook. When he became a pastor he pressed the claims of missions on his neighboring ministers who replied that the dispensation of such work had not yet been given by God. William Carey, however, was not a man easily discouraged. Again and again he urged the issue. In 1791, at a ministers' association meeting, he proposed for discussion this question, "Whether it were not practicable, and our bounden duty to attempt somewhat towards spreading the Gospel in the Heathen world?"¹ He was then requested to publish an article he had written on the subject, and at the close of the association meeting in 1792, he seized Andrew Fuller by the arm and in a pleading tone, asked, "And are you, after all, going again to do nothing?"² This plea had its effect, and, on the second of October of that year, the Particular Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen was founded.

A surgeon, John Thomas, who had been in India, was at that time endeavoring to raise funds in London for a mission to that Asiatic country. He had preached to the Indians during his previous assignment and was convinced that much good might be done there. Thomas was a Particular Baptist; that group had just organized a Missionary Society; consequently, by 1793, he was on

¹Quarterly Review, Article XVII, Feb., 1809, p. 196.

²Fisher, op. cit., p. 586.

his way back to India accompanied by Carey and his family. The Baptists had launched their well-known mission.¹

II. 1794 APPEAL FOR A MISSIONARY SOCIETY

It was most appropriate that the article which stood in immediate connection with the rise of the London Missionary Society was stimulated by a report of William Carey on the work in India.² The Reverend Mr. David Bogue was supplying the pulpit of the Whitefield-erected tabernacle in Bristol. During his visit he was taken by the manager of the tabernacle, Mr. H.O. Wells, to the home of John Rylands to hear an interesting letter which had just come from Mr. Carey. Also guests of the Rylands that evening were Mr. Steven of London, and Mr. Hey of Bristol, both ministers. Later Bogue, Stevens and Hey met together in the parlor of the tabernacle for prayer and discussion on the most effective way to arouse the religious public on this pertinent question. An immediate and direct result was the article on missions submitted to the Evangelical Magazine by Bogue and published in September, 1794.³

This article, "To the Evangelical Dissenters who practice Infant Baptism", by the title, does not appear to be an

¹Quarterly Review, op. cit., pp. 196, 197.

²Richard Lovett, The History of the London Missionary Society: 1795-1895, Two Volumes, 1899, I, Appendix II, 802.

³James Bennett, Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. David Bogue, D.D., 1827, p. 170; also Lovett, op. cit., I, 5, 6, 802.

appeal for missions. However, Mr. Bogue, a Congregationalist, was especially trying to stir into action his fellow Independents who were the only group not active in this cause.¹ In this appeal he exhibited the hopeless estate of the many heathen outside of Christ; he enquired as to the cause of their misery and hopelessness; he enumerated the motives which should bring a response to their need; and outlined God's means of bringing them into salvation, in the following stirring words:

Christian Brethren,

God has favoured us with the knowledge of the way of salvation through a crucified Redeemer. Our obligations to Him on this account are inexpressible; and, I trust, we are often prompted from the fulness of our hearts to ask, What shall we render unto the Lord for all His benefits? If in many things we are anxious to make a suitable return, there is one thing with respect to which, if weighed in the balance of the sanctuary, we shall be found wanting. A survey of the state of the world presents to us more than one-half of the human race destitute of the knowledge of the Gospel, and sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death. Their deplorable condition it is utterly impossible for words to describe! And what have we done for their salvation? There are hundreds of millions of poor Pagans ignorant of the true God, and falling down before stocks and stones. There are hundreds of millions more blinded by the delusions of Mahomet, and unacquainted with Jesus, as the only mediator between God and man, whom to know is eternal life. If we have never thought of these things, there is much reason to lament our criminal unconcern for the honour of God, and for the salvation of the perishing souls of men. If they have been the subject of our serious consideration; with such a scene before our eyes, what methods have we employed that all these myriads of Pagans and Mahometans might be delivered from the power of darkness, and translated into the kingdom of God's dear Son?

While we are forced to acknowledge that we have as a body done nothing, we may justly reflect we are under the strongest

¹"It is clear, that Dr. Bogue and the men of Warwick contemplated a Congregational Society...." John Campbell, Maritime Discovery and Christian Missions, Considered in Their Mutual Relations, 1840, p. 174. Cf. Morison, op. cit., I, 207, 208.

obligations to do everything in our power. We all know that it is the supreme end of our existence to glorify God. But can we suppose that though we endeavour personally to live to His honour, our obligations are fulfilled, while we have employed no methods as a Christian body to lead our brethren in Pagan lands to glorify Him also, by making them acquainted with His nature, government, and grace? We profess 'to love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.' But are we not bound thereby 'to shed abroad the sweet odour of His name in every place,' till it be diffused throughout all the dark paths of the earth, the habitations of ignorance and cruelty? We are commanded 'to love our neighbour as ourselves'; and Christ has taught us that every man is our neighbour. But do we display this love while we allow gross darkness to cover the Pagan and Mahometan nations, and are at no pains to send to them the glad tidings of salvation through the sufferings and death of the Son of God? Perhaps we have not considered our duty resulting from that command which was directed from the supreme authority to every follower of the Lamb: Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature. That has not yet been done. It ought to be done without delay; and every Christian is called upon to act his part, and cannot without criminality withhold his exertions towards procuring obedience to the command of his Redeemer and his Lord. Gratitude calls loudly to us to be active instruments in the hands of Christ, in proclaiming to the most distant parts of the earth that grace of which we hope we have ourselves been made partakers. Justice too unites her strong and imperious voice, and cries, 'Ye were once Pagans, living in cruel and abominable idolatry. The servants of Jesus came from other lands, and preached His Gospel among you. Hence your knowledge of salvation. And ought ye not, as an equitable compensation for their kindness, to send messengers to the nations which are in like condition with yourselves of old, to entreat them that they turn from their dumb idols to serve the living God, and to wait for His Son from heaven? Verily their debtors ye are.'

But it may be asked, 'Why are we in particular called on to exert ourselves in this work?' Will it satisfy you if I answer, that I am one of you, and think myself on this account obliged to speak more immediately to you? A connection with a society or denomination of Christians should certainly influence us to seek the welfare of that society, and authorizes us to invite all members to discharge the duties incumbent on them. Besides, all other bodies of

professing Christians have done, and are doing, something for the conversion of the Heathen. The labours of the Church of Rome have been far more abundant than those of all other sects whatever. O that they had but conveyed Christianity pure to the blinded Pagans! The Church of England has a society of considerable standing, for the propagation of the Gospel. The Kirk of Scotland supports a similar institution. The Moravian Brethren have, if we consider their numbers and their substance, excelled in this respect the whole Christian world. Of late the Methodists have exerted themselves with a most commendable zeal. An association is just formed by the Baptists for this benevolent purpose; and their first missionaries have already entered on the work. We alone are idle. There is not a body of Christians in the country, except ourselves, but have put their hand to the plough. We alone (and it must be spoken to our shame) have not sent messengers to the Heathen to proclaim the riches of redeeming love. It is surely full time that we had begun. We are able. Our number is great. The wealth of many thousands of individuals is considerable. I am confident that very many among us are willing, nay desirous, to see such a work set on foot, and will contribute liberally of their substance for its support. Nothing is wanting but for some persons to stand forward, and to begin.

We have the greatest encouragement, Brethren, to engage in this work of love. The sacred Scripture is full of promises, that the knowledge of Christ shall cover the earth, as the waters cover the channel of the sea; and every promise is a call and a motive to enter on the service without delay. It is the cause of God, and will prevail. Should we even fail in the attempt, we shall not lose our labours; for though the heathen should not be gathered by our means, 'yet we shall be glorious in the eyes of God.' But we have no reason to expect such an issue. For all who are engaged have met with such success, as to animate others to unite their vigorous endeavours. In no one place have pious and persevering missionaries laboured in vain.

Some perhaps may ask, what can we do? We are willing to assist; but how can our assistance avail? Need I say, Brethren, that our duty is to use the means of divine appointment? In every age of the Church, the propagation of the Gospel has been by the preaching of the ministers of Jesus Christ. By the same method are we to propagate the Gospel now. It is highly probable that some zealous men would present themselves, who are well qualified to go immediately on a mission among the heathen. But in general they will require some previous instruction; and therefore it will be necessary to found a Seminary for training up

persons for the work. An able and eminently pious minister in a central situation must be sought for to superintend it. And as the education of a missionary must be in many respects widely different from that of those who preach in Christian countries, it may be expected that every man of talents will unite his endeavours to render the plan of instruction as well adapted to answer the end in view, and in every respect as complete as possible. For the support of the seminary, and of the missionaries, funds must be provided. And I do not think I am too sanguine in my expectations when I say I am fully persuaded, that in every congregation among us annual subscribers will be found, and annual collection granted; and that the produce of these, aided by occasional donations, and by legacies from the lovers of our Lord Jesus Christ, will be sufficient for maintaining at least twenty or thirty missionaries among the heathen. What pleasing and glorious effects may result from their labours, it is impossible for the human mind to calculate.

With objects before us so grand, and prospects so delightful, I conjure you, Brethren, to exert yourselves in the cause of your Redeemer, and of perishing souls. An insulated individual, and not having an opportunity of consulting with others, I take this method of recommending the subject to your serious attention. Think of it in your most pious moments. Let it be the matter of prayer before God; and make it the topic of your conversation one with another. As it is the duty of pastors of the Church 'to be forward to every good work,' I call upon the ministers of the metropolis to consult together on this important subject, and without loss of time to propose some plan for the accomplishment of this most desirable end; that 'our Lord Jesus Christ may have the Heathen for His inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for His possession.'¹

Bogue, because of his country location, challenged the metropolitan pastors who responded almost immediately. Soon London ministers John Eyre and Matthew Wilks, their interest aroused by Scottish ministers Waugh, Love and Steven, invited others to pray and read Scripture on the subject.² Only two

¹Evangelical Magazine, Sept., 1794, pp. 378-380. Italics are in the text.

²Lovett, op. cit., I, 12.

months after the article appeared, on November 4, 1794, at Baker's Coffee House, Change Alley, Cornhill, the first formal meeting convened for the express purpose of carrying out Mr. Bogue's proposal. David Bogue, Joseph Brooksbank, John Eyre, John Love, John Reynolds, James Steven, Matthew Wilks and John Townsend, ministers of various denominations, were in attendance.¹ Here it was decided to invite other clergymen to their future meetings, and under the date of December 1, 1794, there is a letter soliciting interest in the cause of missions. The letter begins,

The Address which appeared in the Magazine of last September, on the subject of sending Missionaries to preach the Gospel among Pagan nations, seems to have awakened considerable attention

That something may be done with effect, it is hoped that not only Evangelical Dissenters and Methodists will be found generally disposed to unite in instituting a Society for this express purpose, but that many members of the established Church, of evangelical sentiments, and of lively zeal for the cause of Christ, will also favour us with their kind co-operation. Indeed, the promotion of union and friendly intercourse, among Christians of different denominations, at home, is one of the happy effects which will immediately flow from an institution of this nature.²

It appears that David Bogue had in mind a Society exclusively for Independents when he penned his appeal in the Evangelical Magazine.³ If this was the case, it is worthy of note

¹Ibid., I, 13.

²Evangelical Magazine, Jan., 1795, p. 11. Italics are are in the text.

³Campbell, op. cit., p. 174. Morison thought Bogue had in mind the Congregationalists and the Calvinistic Methodists. Op. cit., I, 207, 208. By the title of the article he could also have included the English Presbyterians.

how soon his vision broadened to include all Evangelical Dissenters, Methodists and the Evangelicals among the Churchmen.

III. BRINGING THE SOCIETY FORWARD

Following the November meeting and the invitation which issued from that gathering there was increased response, resulting in regular meetings once a fortnight. Mr. Bogue, because of Gosport's inaccessibility to London, did not attend these meetings. Additional appeals were sent to ministers everywhere in the country asking them to arouse their congregations' interest, to encourage their neighboring fellow-ministers' participation, to promote prayer for the project, and to enlist subscriptions, thus preparing for the general meeting scheduled for the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th of September. As the date for this meeting approached, final letters were addressed to ministers and interested lay people.¹

In a postscript to the letter to the clergy there was a notice of a preliminary meeting on the evening of the twenty-first of September. A goodly number of ministers and interested individuals responded to this appeal and met at six o'clock in the evening at the Castle and Falcon, Aldersgate-Street. After reviewing the steps which had previously been taken to bring matters to their present state, and reading letters from interested persons

¹Sermons, 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., 1795. pp. vii-xxi.

in England and Scotland, a raising of hands showed a unanimous desire on the part of this body to found a missionary organization, and the following resolution was passed,

It is the opinion of this meeting, that the establishment of a society for sending Missionaries to heathen and other unenlightened countries, is highly desirable.¹

On the following day, a plan, which had been drawn up in the preparatory meetings, was submitted to a committee comprised of Haweis, Hill, Eyre, Greathead, Hey, Lambert, Bogue, Steven, Waugh, Reynolds, Love, Saltern and Kingsbury.² The committee, after making a few alterations, presented the plan to the General Meeting. This plan or constitution, which had seven articles under the headings of, the name, the object, the members, general meetings, the direction, the funds, the salaries, was then adopted.³

The General Meeting continued through Friday, the twenty-fifth of September. The last day, like the first, was a business meeting at the Castle and Falcon. During these sessions the committee mentioned above, which brought forward the plan of the society, also made nominations for the Board of Directors. Mr. Joseph Hardcastle was chosen treasurer, and the diversified duties of a secretary were considered. Subscriptions were opened; finances were discussed; prospective missionary candidates cited;

¹Sermons, Preached in London, p. xxx.

²Lovett, op. cit., I, 30.

³Sermons, Preached in London, pp. xxii, xxiii.

and the South Seas were selected as the first sphere of operation.¹

Interspersed with the business of these meetings were inspirational services, at which six sermons were preached. Mr. Bogue gave the last of these addresses, speaking on Haggai 1:2, "Thus speaketh the Lord of Hosts, saying, 'This people say, the time is not come, the time that the Lord's house should be built.'" Many people were as yet very sceptical of this missionary enthusiasm and prophesied that the bubble would soon burst. Mr. Bogue's sermon was aimed at the pessimism of these critics. He mentioned the following ten objections to missions:

1. The work itself is so very arduous that success cannot be hoped for.
2. The time for the conversion of the heathen is not yet come, because the millennium is still at the distance of some hundred years.
3. What is there in the state of the Christian Church at present that flatters with peculiar hopes of success for a mission to the heathen? Many ages have elapsed and little has been done; what makes the time now so favourable? Are we better than our fathers?
4. The governments of the world will oppose the execution of the Society's plans, and defeat its design.
5. The present state of the heathen world is so unfavourable with respect to religion that little hope can be entertained of success.
6. How and where shall we find proper persons to undertake the arduous work of missionaries to the heathen?
7. Whence will the Society and the missionaries be able to find support?
8. There is no door opened by Providence for the entrance of the Gospel. We should wait till such an event takes place, and then diligently improve it.
9. What right have we to interfere with the religion of

¹Ibid., pp. xxiii-xxvi.

others?

10. We have heathen enough at home, let us convert them first before we go abroad.¹

One of Bogue's chief contributions to the Missionary Society, both in this its founding, and in its later development, was the sane balance he furnished to the unbounded enthusiasm of some of the Directors. This sermon is an example of his readiness to face reality. He knew the task they faced was not easy. To bring a heathen from his ignorant idolatry into a true knowledge of God is unspeakably difficult. There were to be considered the obstacles to conversion in the caste system of India, the absurdities prevalent in Islam, and the polytheism of the most backward heathen. Where were missionaries to be found? Who could hope to learn the difficult languages? Bogue felt that Satan would oppose any endeavor to bring the gospel into the countries he now controlled, and this meant difficulties of all kinds would be faced.²

However, to Dr. Bogue, God was also a reality, and "here is the foundation of our hope. Christ has all power both in heaven and in earth."³ If man were the source of strength there would be failure, "But they /missions/ are the work of God who has

¹Lovett, op. cit., I, 34, 35; see also Sermons, Preached in London, pp. 122-151.

²Sermons, Preached in London, pp. 118-158, contains Bogue's sermon "Objections against a Mission to the Heathen, stated and considered."

³Ibid., p. 124.

promised to perform them: and then I say, why are ye cast down, ye timid souls, and why are your unbelieving hearts disquieted within you...."¹

Dr. Bogue rejoiced in the diversity of the Society's sponsors. To him this ecumenicity approached the "all of one heart, and of one mind" of the Apostolic age, and was a harbinger of success. He said,

We have now before us a pleasing spectacle, Christians of different denominations, although differing in points of church government, united in forming a society for propagating the gospel among the heathen. This is a new thing in the Christian church. Some former societies have accepted donations from men of different denominations; but the government was confined to one. But here are Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Independents, all united in one society, all joining to form its laws, to regulate its institutions, and manage its various concerns.²

Joy in this new sense of unity was not limited to Mr. Bogue. As he concluded the above portion of his sermon the whole congregation could scarcely hold back a shout of joy. There was such a marked sense of God's presence through all of these days that it was agreed, "This is a new Pentecost."³ At times those taking part in the business could not proceed for tears of joy. When the hymn "O'er those gloomy hills of darkness" was given out in one of the services many broke out in sobs.⁴ "The ordinary

¹Ibid., p. 125.

²Ibid., pp. 130, 131.

³Evangelical Magazine, Oct., 1795, p. 425.

⁴Lovett, op. cit., I, 26.

modes of salutation were too cold for the exuberance of joy which all seemed to share: the Revs. David Bogue and John Eyre, when they met at the chapel house, rushed into each other's arms...."¹

David Bogue, being chosen one of the Directors, remained in London for the first meetings, scheduled for September 28th, 29th, and October 1st. Here John Love and William Shrubsole were chosen secretaries, and rules for examination of missionaries were adopted. Attitudes toward two of these rules revealed that disagreement was possible among these men who had been proceeding with such unanimity. The rules were,

2. It is not necessary that every missionary should be a learned man; but he must possess a competent measure of that kind of knowledge which the object of the mission requires.

3. Godly men who understand mechanic arts may be of signal use to this undertaking as missionaries, especially in the South Sea Islands, Africa, and other uncivilized parts of the world.²

A minority, it is to be recalled, headed by Mr. Bogue favored much more rigid spiritual and intellectual qualifications. However, for the present, this group had to be satisfied with Bogue's appointment "to draw up a Memorial on the most useful mode of employing Missionaries in the interval between their approbation and embarkment, and during their Passage."³ The majority's sentiments, on the other hand, were heralded abroad in such terms,

¹William Ellis, The History of the London Missionary Society, Vol. I, 1844, 25.

²Lovett, op. cit., I, 43, 44.

³L.M.S. Board Minutes, October 1, 1795.

Blacksmiths, whitesmiths, carpenters, gardeners, rope-makers, boat-builders, persons skilled in pottery and earthen-ware, and such as understand the smelting or fusing /of/ iron, might therefore, provided they have the gift of communicating religious knowledge by their good conversation, be eminently useful.¹

Mr. Bogue's memorial apparently produced some results. In the September, 1796, Evangelical Magazine we read of the missionaries' activities while aboard the "Duff",

To preserve on their minds a lively sense of the nature and importance of the missionary service, all are to assemble, at certain parts of every day; when the best qualified are to read the life of Brainerd, Crantz's History of Greenland, La Trobe's Translation of Loskiel's History of the Moravian Missions in North America, and other writings of a similar tendency. Little societies are formed, both among the missionaries and sailors, for the purpose of social prayer, and the strengthening /of/ each other's hands, by mutually relating their Christian experiences.²

At the first meeting of the Directors various committees were appointed. Bogue along with Steven and Love were asked to draw up two circular letters seeking friends for the Society. One was to go to ministers and lay people in Scotland; the second, to Foreign Protestant Churches.³ Thus David Bogue became involved in a series of labors on behalf of the London Missionary Society which were to continue throughout his life.

¹Evangelical Magazine, December, 1795, p. 509.

²Ibid., September, 1796, p. 384.

³Lovett, op. cit., I, 44.

IV. CONTRIBUTORS TO THE MISSIONARY AWAKENING

Paralleling and even preceding Bogue's public appeal for missions was Thomas Haweis' concern for the heathen. Years before Carey sailed for India, Haweis had planned a mission to the South Seas.¹ There were also other early efforts on behalf of the unevangelized. In Warwickshire, there was an association of ministers much interested in missions. In 1793, this group sent out a letter to all Independent Associations of ministers in all the counties of England and Wales, endeavoring to pass on to others their concern for the heathen.² Also, at this time, the Reverend Melville Horne, home from Sierra Leone, published his letters to Christians in Britain, challenging all believers of all denominations to rally to the cause of the neglected pagans.³ All of the above-mentioned persons and groups helped to prepare the religious public for Bogue's appeal for the establishment of a missionary society.

When David Bogue's thoughts first turned to missions is not clear. However, that he had thought upon that subject before his 1794 article is evident from the address he gave before the Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge in the

¹A.S. Wood, Thomas Haweis, 1784-1820, 1957, pp. 170, 171.

²Evangelical Magazine, December 1794, pp. 509-511.

³A review of his letters is in the November issue of the Evangelical Magazine for 1794, pages 476-478.

Highlands and the Islands in Salters-Hall in 1792. It is to be remembered that this sermon was preached while multitudes were involved in political speculations regarding France. This gave Bogue occasion to impress upon his audience the opportunities that this time offered for spreading the gospel. He also depicted the miserable state in which the heathen and Mohammedans were, as observed by fellow mankind and as described in the Scriptures. He blamed their condition on the negligence of Protestant peoples who had sent mariners, traders, and soldiers to the corners of the earth, but had converted no tribe of pagans. The early church had been missionary, but today there was no concern. An effort on the part of the Christian church now would help to hasten the coming of Christ's kingdom on earth. The success with which past and present missions had met was a great incentive to follow in their footsteps. If this was done, great happiness and honor would come to its supporters. Furthermore, Bogue reasoned, it is only equity to give to others what has been given to us. If England would set the example, others would follow and there would be general exertion for the good of mankind. When this missionary speaker at Salters-Hall said, "I confess to you that I am anxious to promote it; and I appear here this day before you as an advocate for the heathen tribes in

America, Africa, and in Asia",¹ he was speaking not of a passing fancy, but of a subject which had long been cultivated in his study and prayer closet.² This sermon which has been called "a specimen of a missionary sermon which has never been surpassed",³ is so extensive in its outlook, and so broad in its documentation that it could not have been the product of a few days' preparation, but rather came from a soul absorbed in the subject.

William Brown in his history of missions refers to David Bogue as the father and founder of the London Missionary Society.⁴ James Bennett, Bogue's contemporary and biographer, states that the public gave to Bogue the title of the father of the Society.⁵ At the Jubilee Services of the Society, Thomas Raffles and William Lindsay Alexander, two of the preachers of the day, made these remarks, respectively,

...the late venerable David Bogue secured to himself the imperishable glory of being the Founder, or at least the

¹David Bogue, A Sermon Preached at Salters-Hall, March 30th, 1792, before The Correspondent Board in London of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge in the Highlands and Islands, 1793, p. 35.

²Dr. Robert Winter said of Bogue, "His mind was directed to that subject long before the exertions of the religious public were actively called forth." Winters, The Christian Minister, 1825, p. 35.

³Campbell, op. cit., p. 164.

⁴W. Brown, History of the Propagation of Christianity among the Heathen since the Reformation, 1854, II, footnote on p. 98.

⁵Bennett, David Bogue, pp. 192, 193.

first amongst the Founders, of the London Missionary Society.¹

...and that distinguished and excellent man who, by way of eminence, may be called the founder, Dr. Bogue.²

The objection made to statements like Brown's,³ could not be brought against David Bogue himself, because he never claimed to be the sole founder of the Society.⁴ However, that his article in the Evangelical Magazine first suggested the Missionary Society, the Society itself acknowledged in its publications.⁵

From 1795 until his death, David Bogue was, with the exception of two years, a member of the Society's Board of Directors. He attended twenty-nine of the thirty anniversary services, missing the one time because of illness.⁶ Yearly he went on collecting tours for the Society. He crisscrossed England, visiting auxiliaries of the parent society. He traveled to Scotland, Ireland, Holland, Belgium, Germany and

¹The Jubilee Services of the L.M.S., 1844, p. 52.

²Ibid., pp. 122, 123.

³"...But we cannot agree...in designating him /Bogue/ as its father and founder." Wood, op. cit., p. 194.

⁴Bennett, David Bogue, p. 194.

⁵"It will be gratifying to those...to be directed to the first publication which stood in immediate connection with the rise of the society. This was an Address to Professors of the Gospel, by the Rev. Mr. Bogue, of Gosport; published in the Evangelical Magazine, for September 1794...." Sermons, Preached in London, p. iii.

⁶Evangelical Magazine, June, 1823, p. 260.

France on mission business. It has already been noticed that the Society turned to him when a tutor was needed for the Missionary Seminary. It shall be seen that he was asked to write on the divine authority of the New Testament when the Missionary Society thought such a work should serve as an introduction to a French New Testament.¹ They were confident of his sincerity because he alone, among the older ministers closely associated with the Society, offered his services for the foreign field.² When one has perused the manuscripts in the London Missionary Society's archives and noted the number of committees David Bogue served on, how often he made valuable suggestions, how frequently his advice was sought on Society affairs, exception cannot be taken to Richard Lovett's comment on Bogue's contribution. Lovett, the historian of the London Missionary Society, said, "On October 25, 1825, Dr. Bogue, the father and founder to whom, perhaps, the Society owed more than to any other single helper, died." ³

¹See Chapter VIII, page 237.

²Lovett, op. cit., I, 54.

³Lovett, op. cit., II, 643.

CHAPTER VI

DAVID BOGUE: HIS INFLUENCE IN RELATED RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

I. INTRODUCTION

In his address before the Scottish Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, David Bogue challenged the audience by saying that their example might be the means of stimulating the zeal of others. He said,

...And it appears to me highly probable, that our exertions will kindle the zeal of many to the same benevolent work. When they hear of our labours and success, they will be led to say, 'Why should not we be employed in the same godlike office? Are not we under equal obligations to the God of mercy, and to the Saviour of sinners? And shall not we testify our regard and our gratitude by the same means? Ought not the sight of our fellow creatures in the most deplorable state of darkness and iniquity, to rouse us to action, and make us exert ourselves to rescue them from misery?' Thus will they either join themselves to us,¹ or form other societies to advance the same noble cause.

These words were prophetic of the spirit of the next thirty-five years.² Christendom seemed to awaken from her sleep, and make exertions in every direction for doing good. During this last decade of the eighteenth century the institution with the most catholic principles and widest vision was the London Missionary

¹David Bogue, A Sermon Preached at Salters-Hall, March 30th, 1792, 1793, p. 28.

²For an excellent account of the fervor of this era see E.A. Payne's The Church Awakes, 1942, and his The Growth of the World Church, 1955.

Society. Christians of all denominations were instrumental in laying the plans of the Society, and her field was the world. In this sphere as a liberal organization she set an example of philanthropy which, in turn, produced several other religious societies. David Bogue played a prominent part in the birth of many of these related societies. To give a complete picture of the chain of events which, in interacting upon each other, brought forth these organizations, a step backward must first be taken.

II. THE EVANGELICAL MAGAZINE

In July of 1793, the Evangelical Magazine was begun. Impressed by the power and influence, for good or bad, of periodicals, a group of ministers of the Established Church and of Dissent, headed by John Eyre, started this publication. They recognized that at the time there were in Britain three hundred thousand Calvinists as potential readers. To them they directed this magazine which purposed to present a non-sectarian Evangelical Christianity, to review impartially religious books, to refute objections to Christian religion, to encourage liberal catholic sentiments, and to present the progress of the gospel throughout the kingdom. The editors made their contributions gratis, with all profits going to worthy widows and to orphans.¹

One year and three months after the Evangelical

¹Evangelical Magazine, July, 1793, pp. 1-5.

Magazine's first publication, David Bogue's article which challenged those not yet active in missionary work was printed. Two months later, in November, 1794, appeared Haweis' review of Horne's Letters on Missions. In December, followed the Warwickshire Association's announcement of their desire to spread the gospel, and their concurrence with Mr. Bogue's suggestion that a missionary society be formed. The editors inserted after this last article a notice that two meetings had already been held in London for this very purpose, and that their January, 1795 issue would carry an address from this London group. From then until the October number, which gave the story of the founding of the Missionary Society, there were no less than fifteen articles, notices, reviews and poems on the subject of missions.¹

The Evangelical Magazine is thus seen as an important link in a chain of philanthropic societies which were to spring up in the next three decades. To emphasize its contribution, one had only to notice that its chief editor, John Eyre, and his coadjutor, David Bogue,² are considered two of the founders of the Missionary Society; an editor, William Shrubsole, was chosen one of the secretaries; and ten of the twenty-four ministers who

¹Ibid., see the index of the magazine for the years, 1794 and 1795.

²"In the same connexion it may be mentioned that he was one of the founders and first editors of the EVANGELICAL MAGAZINE." John Morison, The Fathers and Founders of the London Missionary Society; etc., Vol. I, n.d., I, 546.

started the Magazine were members of the first Board of Directors.¹

III. THE RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY

As the Christian public came every May to London for the anniversary services of the London Missionary Society, they pored over the business of missions and many relevant subjects. In the report for the year 1799, which the Missionary Society sent to the Evangelical Magazine, the official medium for publicizing their proceedings,² we find this item included:

Religious Tract Society

Another measure of great importance was brought forward, and cordially approved. It is well known, that societies and individuals in various parts of the kingdom have been in the habit of printing and dispersing small religious tracts, which have been the instrument of much good, and have proved a powerful antidote to the spread of infidelity. But it is evident, that if these efforts could be combined, a much greater advantage might be expected, and much more good be done at a cheaper rate. After consultation on this subject, it was resolved, (the Rev. R. Hill in the Chair) that a Society be formed for this purpose, and called The Religious Tract Society, the particulars of which will be laid before our readers.

¹For a list of the twenty-four ministers who started the Evangelical Magazine see the title page of their first issue, in July, 1793. A list of the first Directors of the Missionary Society is found in the Evangelical Magazine, Nov., 1795, p. 468. Among the twenty-four editors of the Evangelical Magazine were Andrew Fuller and John Rylands, who were already active in the Baptist Missionary Society.

²"We are authorized by the Directors to say, that they intend to make the Evangelical Magazine the medium of information to the members and friends of the institution...." Ibid., Nov., 1795, p. 469.

Jos. Reyner, Esq., of Duck's-foot lane, was appointed Treasurer; and the Rev. Jos. Hughes, of Battersea, Secretary; by whom subscriptions in aid of this benevolent purpose, will be thankfully received.

The ministers and brethren, who met on this occasion, breakfasted together, both on the Thursday and Friday mornings.¹

It is significant that the Missionary Society in reporting this beginning of the Religious Tract Society included the article in its own account of proceedings, thus considering it as part of their missionary business.² This was altogether natural for the founders of the Tract Society were members of the Missionary Society, and the time of its founding was during the General Annual Meetings of the Missionary Society. To trace the interaction further back, it is most interesting to notice that nine of the members of the first committee for the Tract Society were among the twenty-four founding editors of the Evangelical Magazine.³

Among those assembled on the ninth and tenth of May at St. Paul's Coffee House to form the Religious Tract Society was David Bogue. He was also named as a member of its first committee.⁴ The first minute book of the Society has been partially

¹Ibid., June, 1799, p. 263. Italics are in the text.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., July, 1799, p. 308. On this page are listed the members of the R.T.S. committee. Compare this list with the names of the Magazine's editors which are given in the July, 1793 edition.

⁴R.T.S. Minutes of that date.

destroyed by fire, but under the heading of May 9, 1799, there is an entry mentioning Bogue as a member of a committee to pre... (charred by fire). This was undoubtedly the first committee which brought forth a plan including committees in London and country for selecting tracts, soliciting subscriptions, and attending to copyrights and sales.¹

The Religious Tract Society, like its parent, the Missionary Society, was promoted by the Evangelical Magazine. In the September, 1799 number appeared "An Address to Christians, recommending the Distribution of Cheap Religious Tracts."² This address, or tract, had been prepared by Mr. Bogue, and from the May 19, 1799 Minutes of the Society we learn that he had been asked to print it.³ It appears to have been an introduction to the general public of the work the Tract Society was undertaking. It is to be found in the Society's series of publications as their first tract,⁴ and is outlined in the centennial history of the Society under the heading of their statement of principles and methods. It is mentioned that this seven-fold program outlined by Bogue "has outlasted the hundred years. As a guide to the

¹Ibid.; inserted in the book is this note, "First Minute Book (1799-1801) of R.T.S. damaged by fire from enemy action, May, 1941."

²Loco. cit., pp. 377-384.

³Loco. cit.

⁴The Publications of the Religious Tract Society, 4 Volumes, 1812, I, 63-80.

Tract-writer, a touchstone for the Tract-critic, and a help to the Tract-distributor, there could be scarcely anything better."¹

The outline of Bogue's tract follows:

First then: The Tract should contain pure truth, flowing from the fountain of the New Testament, uncontaminated with error, undisturbed with human systems; clear as crystal, like the river of life.

2. There should be some account of the way of a sinner's salvation in every Tract; so that, if a person were to see but one, and never had an opportunity of seeing another book, he might plainly perceive that, in order to his salvation, he must be born again of the Spirit, and justified by faith in the obedience unto death. A Tract without this is very defective indeed.

3. It should be plain; according to the rhetorician's rule, 'that the meaning shall be not only so plain that it may be understood, but so plain that it cannot possibly be misunderstood.'

4. It should be striking; should have strong, pithy expressions, lively representations of truth, and pathetic addresses.

5. It should be entertaining. A plain, didactic essay on a religious subject may be read by a Christian with much pleasure; but the persons for whom these Tracts are chiefly designed will fall asleep over it. This will not do; it is throwing money and labour away. Narrative, dialogue, and other methods which ingenuity will suggest must be employed to give an agreeable relish to truth, and to season it so as to whet the appetite of the reader.

6. It should be full of ideas. In the Tract, truth should be compressed. The motto of every Tract should be multum in parvo; and if the foregoing qualities be attended to, there is no danger of compressing too much. Sermons may indeed be diffuse, having to be heard only once, but the printed Tract may be read again and again until fully comprehended.

7. Finally, Tracts should be adapted to various situations and conditions: for the young and for the aged, for the children of prosperity and of affliction, for careless and for awakened sinners, and for entering into the reasonings,

¹S.G. Green, The Story of the Religious Tract Society, 1899, p. 7.

excuses, temptations, and duties of each, and pointing out to them the way of the Lord.¹

Besides this first tract of the Society, Bogue made other contributions, including number thirty-four in their first volume of published tracts; it is entitled, "Instruction of the Rising Generation in the Principles of the Christian Religion recommended."²

In 1800, another Society was formed, "The Society for distributing Evangelical Tracts gratis." Because the two organizations were so close in purpose, a sub-committee was appointed by the Religious Tract Society to consider a union of the two groups. This committee, of which Bogue was a member, was successful.³ The sole object of the combined Society was the spreading of divine truth, by means of small cheap tracts on subjects purely religious, calculated to alarm the profane, to awaken the inattentive, to instruct the ignorant, and to assist the plan of education in Sunday schools and the benevolent exertion of societies for visiting the sick.⁴

Mr. Bogue was requested to preach the anniversary sermon of the Tract Society on Sunday, May 18, 1800, in Dr. Hunter's

¹Ibid., pp. 6, 7. Italics are in the text.

²Publications of the R.T.S., I, 453-479.

³R.T.S. Minutes, May 13, 1800.

⁴Bogue, The Diffusion of Divine Truth, 1800, passim.

pulpit. He responded with a sermon of "superior excellence"¹ entitled, "The Diffusion of Divine Truth." In this message he asked three questions: What is truth? How is it to be spread abroad? Why should it be spread abroad? He answered by showing that the gospel of salvation in Jesus Christ is God's revealed truth, which is to be spread by preaching, writing and printing. This message should be spread because it is of such intrinsic worth, and, by its very nature, is intended to be shared with others. This sharing produced wonderful results. Bogue concluded his sermon by explaining the manner in which the Tract Society circulated the gospel, and asked the audience to support it in these endeavors. By the size of the offering it may be concluded that his sermon, besides being eloquent, was most effective.²

Until the close of his life Dr. Bogue continued a supporter of this Society. Its anniversaries, like its beginning, were in conjunction with the Missionary Society's annual May sessions. At these meetings Bogue would always be found, considered by all a friend and parent of the Society.³

¹Missionary Magazine, August, 1801, p. 334.

²Evangelical Magazine, June 1800, p. 257; Sept., 1800, p. 375.

³James Bennett, Memoirs of the Life of The Rev. David Bogue, D.D., 1827, p. 201. Morison also refers to Bogue as "one of the originators of RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY,..." Op. cit., I, 546.

As the general public gave Bogue the title of founder of the London Missionary Society, it favored George Burder with the same in relation to the Religious Tract Society.¹ However, similarly as the Missionary Society had many parallel influences assisting its founding, so it appears with the Tract Society. The people hailed Burder, but the Society itself recognized that many had a share in its beginning, and referred to Burder "as one of the founders of the Institution...."²

IV. THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY

Another product of the spirit of catholicity of the time was the British and Foreign Bible Society. Rightfully speaking it was a grandchild of the Missionary Society, for it was planned in the meetings of the Tract Society.³ A study of the period, however, reveals that both societies helped to bring it into existence.

Matthew Wilks, Joseph Hardcastle and David Bogue, in September, 1802, during the interval between the war with France, made a trip to that country on behalf of the Missionary Society.

¹This society is now part of the United Society for Christian Literature.

²H.F. Burder, Memoir of the Rev. George Burder, 1833, p. 364. Green, op. cit., p. 4, and John Waddington, Congregational History, Continuation to 1850, 1878, p. 163, cite Burder as the founder, or instigator of the R.T.S.

³Green, op. cit., pp. 20-24.

The purpose of their visit was to facilitate the publication of a French New Testament and an essay on its divine authority which was to serve as the preface to the New Testament. They were also to investigate the state of religion in the country and report to the Directors, so that means could be taken to promote Christianity in that torn land. The Deputation group searched four days in Paris before they could find a single Bible. They reported that when a bookseller heard of the intention of publishing the Scriptures he immediately, though a Roman Catholic, applied for 1500 copies. Upon their return to England this committee recommended six resolutions to the Directors; among these was the confirmation to proceed on the 2000 New Testaments and the accompanying essay, and a request that 5000 Bibles and Testaments be printed.¹

The three gentlemen who made this trip as Directors of the Missionary Society were also members of the Religious Tract Committee. Shortly after their return, while the scarcity of the Scriptures must have been foremost in their thinking, the Rev. Thomas Charles of Bala, Wales, a country member of the Committee, presented to the Tract Society the need for Bibles in Welsh. He told the pathetic account of sixteen-year old Mary Jones walking twenty-eight miles to Bala to buy a Bible from him. When he

¹See the report of the Deputation Committee in the November issue of the Evangelical Magazine, 1802, pp. 462-467.

told her there were none available she broke down in tears. Through his own tears Mr. Charles vowed that he would not rest until this condition was remedied. He presented this challenge to the Tract Society, because the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge had decided that they would not publish another edition of the Welsh Scriptures. To this challenge, Mr. Hughes, the secretary of the Society, had replied, "If for Wales, why not also for the Empire and the world?"¹

Though the Committee had it "in their hearts" on the seventh of December, 1802, the actual founding of the Bible Society was to wait several months. Mr. Charles attended three more meetings in December, and at the last a resolution was made concerning the object of the intended Society, i.e.,

To promote the circulation of the Holy Scriptures in Foreign Countries, and in those parts of the British Dominions for which adequate provision is not yet made; it being understood that no English Translation of the Scripture will be gratuitously circulated by the Society in Great Britain.²

Through the entire next year the subject came up at Tract Society committee meetings, addresses regarding the Scriptures were circulated, plans were drawn up, and inquiries were made into the scarcity of Scriptures on the continent. However, it was not until January 10, 1804, that these resolutions were made,

¹Green, op. cit., p. 21. See also William Canton, A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1904, I, 5-10. For a full account of Mary Jones see Appendix I, 465-470, in Canton's first volume.

²Green, op. cit., p. 22.

(1) that the title of the Society be the BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY; agreeably to the suggestion of the Secretary, (2) That a Circular Letter on the subject be prepared by the Secretary of the Tract Society against next Tuesday.¹

On March 7, 1804, the proposed meeting was held and the British and Foreign Bible Society was at last officially organized. Albert Peel, in A Hundred Eminent Congregationalists, mentions Bogue as one who took part in the formation of the Bible Society.² Residing in Gosport, he could not attend all of the meetings of the Tract Society in London during the fifteen months that the subject of the Bible Society was being weighed. Bogue's relationship to the actual founding was similar to that of another prominent Missionary Society and Tract Society promoter, George Burder, who wrote,

Memorable day! The British and Foreign Bible Society founded. I and others, belonging to the Tract Society, had long had it in view; and after much preparation, in which we did not publicly appear, a meeting was called at the London Tavern, and that Society began with a very few...."³

The Committee of the Bible Society consisted of thirty-six lay members, so Bogue, Burder, Wilks and others who were so active in the founding and ongoing of the Evangelical Magazine, the London Missionary Society, and the Religious Tract Society, could not play a conspicuous part in the Bible Society.

¹Ibid.

²Albert Peel, loco. cit., 1927, p. 67.

³Burder, op. cit., p. 234.

Nevertheless, March 7, 1804, was a memorable day to Dr. Bogue. In his speech for the moving of the first resolution in the twenty-fifth annual meeting of the Missionary Society, he said,

How great are our obligations to the Bible Society, which so amply aids every effort for the translation of the Scriptures by our Missionaries! Long may that noble Society live, for what a blank would the loss of it make in the religious world! But may it continue, until the dawn of the Millennial day shall render that Institution needless; for then shall there be no need to say to any man, 'Know the Lord; for all shall know him from the least to the greatest.'¹

V. THE LONDON SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIANITY AMONGST THE JEWS

The circumstance which led the awakened church to exert itself on behalf of the Jews was the coming to England of Joseph Samuel Christian Frederick Frey, a converted Jew. Becoming a Christian in 1798, Frey offered himself to the London Missionary Society three years later as a missionary to Africa. He attended for a time the Missionary Seminary in Berlin under Rev. Jaenicke, but, in 1802, was assigned to the Gosport Academy.² He remained at Gosport under Dr. Bogue's tuition for three years, and while at seminary, he asked that his future assignment be work among his Jewish kinsfolk in London. Mr. Bogue presented this request to the Directors of the Missionary Society³ who consented, and

¹Evangelical Magazine, June, 1820, p. 261.

²Ibid., Jan., 1806, pp. 3-7. In this article a brief summary is given of Frey's life and conversion.

³L.M.S. Board Minutes, Dec. 21, 1801.

Mr. Frey, on the ninth of July, 1805, began to preach to the Jews in Jewry Street.¹

In February of 1805, the Missionary Society outlined in thirteen resolutions their interest and plan on behalf of the Jews. To this end they asked Mr. Bogue to give an address at the coming anniversary services of the Society "recommending to the religious public to bear upon their minds in their private devotions and especially in public worship the state of the Jews, and this effort for their conversion."² Whether the good will of the Society was being directed toward France, prisoners, the South Seas, or the Jews, they, without exception, left no stone unturned in exploring all possibilities for promoting their cause.

Mr. Bogue's sermon before the many friends of the Missionary Society considered the great antiquity and celebrity of this race which, though fallen from their peculiar position, shall be restored. He asked the Christians to show Abraham's descendants gratitude, because, after all, salvation was of the Jews. He also pled, from the bases of equity and justice, that Christians should give the gospel back to those who have suffered so much from the hands of the Gentiles. Accompanying and motivating the preaching of the gospel should be a Christian

¹Evangelical Magazine, Dec., 1805, p. 573.

²L.M.S. Board Minutes, May 13, 1805.

attitude of love, of prayer, and of desire to meet the Jews' spiritual and material needs.¹

In January, 1807, a school was opened exclusively for Jewish boys and girls. However, the watchful eye of a local rabbi kept the school from being overcrowded.² Though converts were few and the preaching services were not attended by large groups, Mr. Frey labored on in the various aspects of the work. In the fall of the year practically a new society was drawn up for the Jewish effort, and a chapel in Artillery Street was secured for Mr. Frey's use.³

However, Mr. Frey's difficulties were not limited to a zealous rabbi and a scarcity of hearers. The Directors felt there was too much money being expended for material aid.⁴ It appears that Mr. Frey's constituency was more interested in receiving pecuniary help than spiritual advice. The Directors also disagreed with Mr. Frey's plan to take the poor among the Jewish young children from their parents and give them a Christian

¹Evangelical Magazine, Oct., 1806, p. 465.

²Reports of the Missionary Society, from its Formation, in the Year 1795, to 1814, inclusive, n.d., pp. 266, 267.

³Richard Lovett, The History of the London Missionary Society: 1795-1895, Two Volumes, 1899, I, 97.

⁴Bogue in his correspondence said, "...Mr. Frey is apt to think that it is as easy for people to give money as for him to receive it." Bennett, op. cit., p. 243.

education in charity schools.¹

The Jewish mission was separated from the Missionary Society in 1808 in an attempt to remedy the financial difficulty, but the lack of unanimity proved too much of an obstacle for Mr. Frey, who handed in his resignation in January, 1809. Just one month later, on February fifteenth, Frey helped to organize the London Society for promoting Christianity amongst the Jews.²

The fact that the Missionary Society labored among the Jews when their primary interest was the heathen is noteworthy. David Bogue's encouragement of Mr. Frey, his promoting of the cause of the Jewish work in the Society seems to have stemmed partially from the place the Jews occupied in his eschatology. Though Bogue's motives in mission activities will be discussed later,³ it is relevant to mention here that the Missionary Society also appeared to be influenced by the prevalent views of eschatology. Upon Mr. Frey's completion of his Gosport studies, the Society anticipated his labors in these terms:

The degree of success which may ultimately arise out of this endeavour to promote their conversion, we cheerfully refer to Him whose wise and sovereign purpose has connected the salvation of Israel with the fulness of the Gentiles; and thus

¹Lovett, op. cit., I, 97, 98.

²Ibid., I, 98. For a brief account of the background of the Society, with a prejudice against interdenominational cooperation, see W.T. Gidney, The History of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, from 1809 to 1908, 1908.

³See Chapter IX on Bogue's theology of missions.

held out the encouraging intimation that the extensive communication of the gospel to the heathen, is the signal which invites the exertions of Christians in favour of the Jews also.¹

The London Missionary Society's involvement in so many diversified interests shows its eagerness to grasp every opportunity for doing good. And as Richard Lovett remarks, it was usually David Bogue who took the initiative in these humanitarian enterprises.² Religious tracts, Bibles and work among the Jews were all a part of their early activity, until in the providence of God, organizations with these particular interests as their sole objective were brought into existence.³

VI. THE HIBERNIAN SOCIETY

In the July, 1805 number of the Evangelical Magazine was an article signed by "Hibernicus" addressed to the friends of religion. It was a plea on behalf of Ireland. "Hibernicus" asked that the zeal shown toward the heathen also be directed toward this part of the British empire, "many parts of which are

¹Reports of the Missionary Society, p. 215.

²Lovett, op. cit., I, 94.

³The L.M.S. yearly reports show that they continued doing Jewish work, after Frey's resignation, until 1812. Latterly their work was primarily the distributing of Greville Ewing's essays directed to the Jews. However, for a while, they continued Sunday sermons for the adults and the school for the children. See the Reports of the Missionary Society for these years.

as dark and benighted as the heathen world with respect to the gospel; and many thousands remain in as much ignorance and superstition as the very Indians."¹ The article recommended immediate circulation of Bibles and Testaments as only one-fourth of the poor Protestants possessed them, and among the Romanists only one family in three hundred. Christians were asked to donate spare Bibles or Testaments even though worn. The article told the readers that the editors of the Evangelical Magazine could assure of correct distribution. The concluding paragraph gave a list of places where the Bibles could be deposited.²

This appeal, the Evangelical Magazine did not allow to die. Six notices, articles, or condensations of letters on the subject appeared during the next four months. The last, in their supplement, was,

IRELAND

Early in the Month of January, a Public Meeting will be called, of which due notice will be given, for the purpose of establishing a Society to diffuse the Knowledge of the Gospel in Ireland. Numerous as are the claims on British Liberality, we doubt not, that this will meet with ample support.³

The February number of 1806 reports on the meeting of January 15, in New London Tavern and the formation of the

¹ Loco. cit., p. 329.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., Supplement, 1805, p. 614.

Hibernian Society for the Diffusion of Religious Knowledge in Ireland. The purpose of the Society was to spread the gospel "by the dispersion of the Holy Scriptures and Religious Tracts, by the formation and support of schools, and by every other lawful and prudent measure, calculated to promote pure Religion, Morality, and Loyalty."¹

The Committee of the new Society was to be comprised of nine clergymen, and fifteen laymen. The list of committee men appears to be a duplicate of the roster of the editors of the Evangelical Magazine, the Directors of the London Missionary Society, the Committee of the Tract Society, and the Committee of the Bible Society. Five of the nine members were editors of the Evangelical Magazine, all of them were or had been directors of the Missionary Society, nine of the fourteen lay-members were on the Committee of the Bible Society for that year, and an equally large representation was from the Tract Society.²

David Bogue, living in Hampshire, could not be an officer of the Hibernian Society, because all of the Committee had to reside in London, or vicinity. However, on the twenty-fourth of July of the next year, he with Mr. Hughes of the Bible,

¹Evangelical Magazine, Feb., 1806, p. 87.

²See February's Evangelical Magazine, 1806, pp. 87, 88, for a history of the founding of the Hibernian Society. The first Committee included: Burder, Clayton, Hill, Hughes, Nicol, Smith, Townsend, Waugh, Wilks: all ministers. The laymen were Lea, Alers, Benwell, Brett, Butterworth, Cowie, Dobbs, Hardcastle, Harding, Hollingsworth, Lane, Meyer, Maitland, Shrubsole and Steven. Ibid., p. 88.

and Tract Societies, Mr. Charles, also active in these two organizations, and Mr. Mills, the treasurer of the Hibernian Society, set sail for Ireland.¹ The Society had gained through correspondence much information relating to the spiritual state of Ireland, but now desired an eye-witness account of conditions. The deputation group journeyed through Dublin, Clonmell, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Sligo and Armagh, preaching in these and other places. Data was gathered on the state of religion among the Roman Catholics and all Protestant denominations. Notice was taken of the need of Bibles, and of itinerant schools as a partial solution of the low spiritual ebb of the people.²

Again, in 1809, Bogue visited Ireland, this time for the purpose of encouraging the spreading of the gospel through preaching. The trip was confined mostly to Dublin.³

The Hibernian Society, during its first few years, did not "meet with ample support"⁴ as did the other societies. Their 1806 report complains of only £364 being received from British Christians the previous year.⁵ Despite a small budget

¹Ibid., Supplement, 1807, p. 608.

²Canton, op. cit., I, 109, 110.

³Bennett, op. cit., pp. 232, 233.

⁴See the notice of the public meeting for the establishing of the Society. Page 188.

⁵The Seventh Annual Report of the Hibernian Society, for the Diffusion of Religious Knowledge in Ireland, 1813, p. 4.

the Society did an excellent work. With thirteen years they could report 529 schools in operation with 58,202 scholars.¹ During the years finances came in more readily with many supporters coming from the Church of England group which were active in the Bible Society.²

VII. CONCLUSION

The chain of events we have traced in the founding of these societies centered around a small community of evangelical ministers and laymen of all denominations. Reference has already been made to the fact that these imaginative individuals were active in most of the altruistic activities of their time. Mr. Bogue, in spite of the fact that he lived so far from London where all these organizations had their headquarters and was occupied as a pastor and a tutor, was one of the foremost in initiating, developing and guiding these societies.³

The contribution made was not ephemeral. The majority of these institutions have blessed society to the present generation; others have been incorporated into organizations which

¹Canton, op. cit., I, 111.

²See the Eighteenth Annual Report of the Hibernian Society, 1824, p. 8.

³A check of the list of the subscribers to these organizations reveals that Bogue contributed throughout his lifetime to the Evangelical Magazine, the L.M.S. and the R.T.S.

still serve mankind; a few are no longer in existence, fading away when their specific objective had been accomplished. We shall ever be grateful to these few men, who, during the days of war, threat of invasion and political collapse, had a keen vision and a strong faith in God, and, as a result, have bequeathed to Great Britain, the Continent and America so much lasting good.¹

¹Popular religious magazines, Missionary Societies, Tract and Bible Societies sprang up all over Europe as in America, following the example set by the organizations described in this chapter. See Bogue's statement in the Evangelical Magazine, June, 1824, p. 369. For a more recent account see E.A. Payne's The Church Awakes, passim.

CHAPTER VII

DAVID BOGUE: HIS LABORS AT HOME

A. HAMPSHIRE

I. INTRODUCTION

On the fifth of April, 1797, David Bogue, though not entirely recovered, arose from his sick bed and took part in the ordination of his former pupil, James Bennett.¹ This service, held at Romsey, Hampshire, brought together most of the members of the Association of Protestant Dissenting Ministers of Southern England.² To this group Mr. Bogue presented "A Plan for Promoting the Knowledge of the Gospel in Hampshire".³

This plan was presented just one year after Bogue volunteered to go to India as a missionary. In fact, the enterprise had not yet been dropped.⁴ Two years before the suggestion for evangelizing his own county of Hampshire, he had delivered the apologetic for missions at the founding of the London

¹James Bennett, Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. David Bogue, D.D., 1827, pp. 201, 202.

²E.W. Giles, Nonconformity in the South: an Historical Sketch of the Hampshire Association, 1847, p. 10.

³Missionary Magazine, June, 1797, p. 257.

⁴The offer, in 1800, to be the tutor of the Missionary Society's seminary was first turned down because the India project was still pending. Bennett, David Bogue, p. 219.

Missionary Society. The last of the ten objections to foreign missions which he raised and answered was, "We have Heathens enough at home, let us convert them first before we go abroad."¹

In 1814 Walter Wilson taking up this familiar complaint wrote:

The immense sums that have been consumed in equipping missionaries to the South Seas, without any useful results, would have civilized all the inhabitants in the vast parish of St. Giles's, and have provided them with food, clothing,² and religious instruction for the remainder of their lives.

Mr. Wilson is long dead, but his children are still with us. L.B. Wright and M.I. Fry, in Puritans in the South Seas, written in 1936, pictured the founders of the London Missionary Society concerned "over the plight of a handful of heathen in the South Pacific who were going to perdition right merrily without benefit of clergy"³ while the cry of "misery, suffering, and depravity of the English working classes"⁴ was only faintly heard. They continued:

English depravity and wickedness were commonplace; some even doubted whether the blessings of salvation were vouchsafed to such sinners as were to be found among the working classes of Birmingham, Liverpool, London, and elsewhere in England where laborers sweated, starved, squandered their

¹David Bogue, "Objections against a Mission to the Heathen, Stated and Considered." Sermons, Preached in London, at the Formation of the Missionary Society, etc., 1795, p. 151.

²Walter Wilson, The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses, etc., (Four Volumes), 1814, IV, 552.

³Loco. cit., p. 2.

⁴Ibid., p. 2.

wages on gin, and blasphemed against the Holy Ghost. But far away in the Pacific was another race of men, untainted by European iniquities, only waiting for Christianity to make them the perfect creatures about whom philosophers had dreamed.¹

R.W. Dale was right when he retorted,

But Dr. Bogue and his friends were not open to the charge implied in Mr. Wilson's disparagement of their enthusiasm. While they were endeavouring to send the Christian gospel to 'the savage hottentot' and 'the untutored islander,' they were the most earnest and most vigorous leaders of every movement for evangelising their own countrymen. At the very time that they were forming the Missionary Society for the conversion of the heathen abroad, they were creating new organisations for rescuing from irreligion the neglected towns and villages of England.²

David Bogue's own attitude toward various areas of labor is seen in one of his sermons. He wrote:

With a Minister of the Gospel, the order is the same /as with any Christian/. The salvation of his own soul must be his first concern. After that, the flock which he is called to feed, must be the object of his highest regard and constant solicitude. As the influence of his piety and zeal will be particularly felt in the county or vicinity in which he dwells, and where his public services have been most frequently bestowed, that vicinity may justly challenge the next exertion of his Christian benevolence. His country will always be the object of his filial affection; and whatever can be done to promote religion throughout its whole extent, a sense of duty will influence him to do. But in addition to these, if he has the true spirit of his office, he will be alive to the interest of the universal church on earth; and feel himself constrained by the love of Christ, to use every means in his power, that all the kingdoms of the

¹Ibid., pp. 2, 3. For the same sentiment see also Wright's Religion and Empire.

²R.W. Dale, History of English Congregationalism, 1907, p. 603.

world may become the kingdom of God and of his Christ.¹

Bogue's faithfulness to these convictions is revealed in Waddington's comments regarding him:

His grand aim was to secure a wider and more active dissemination of the gospel. Whilst stimulating Christian effort at home and on the Continent, he proposed plans of operation limited only by the extent of the globe and the entire mass of its population. He reminded the churches of the words of the Divine Redeemer, 'The field is the world,' and of His last command.²

II. HAMPSHIRE ASSOCIATION OF CHURCHES

The period between 1780 and 1810, which saw the formation of Associations of Churches in most of the counties of England,³ was also the time an association came into existence in Hampshire. It developed out of a similar organization, begun in 1781, of dissenting ministers of that part of England.⁴ Independents

were discovering that the autonomy of the individual church, however valuable, did not necessarily mean selfish isolation, and that union for mutual help and common action was quite compatible with the hardly-won and jealously-guarded freedom.⁵

"Mutual help" and "common action" truly were among the causes for

¹David Bogue, Discourses on the Millennium, 1818, p. 2.

²John Waddington, Congregational History. Continuation to 1850, 1878, p. 59.

³R.W. Dale, Congregational History, p. 603.

⁴Giles, op. cit., p. 10.

⁵W.B. Selbie, Congregationalism, 1927, p. 132.

the Hampshire Association. E.W. Giles, who had written a history of the group, said,

To promote the intercommunion of churches, to maintain brotherly love, and, by Christian sympathy, converse and prayer, to strengthen the things which were ready to die, in that age of deadness and depression, seems to have been the professed design of their organization.¹

David Bogue, who moved to Gosport in 1777, was, according to the Rev. John Griffin, his neighboring minister at Portsea, the principal instigator of the Hampshire Association.² At its birth there were ten affiliated churches in Hants: Poole, Wimborne, Swanage, Ringwood, Romsey, Sarum, Southampton, Christchurch, Gosport and Portsmouth Common.³

The meetings of the Association must have been most invigorating. It had been decided that on one part of the day there were to be sermons on subjects which together would compose a system of theological truth. Such subjects as "the insufficiency of reason and the necessity of divine revelation" and "the evidence and excellence of the christian religion" were among the first assigned.⁴ Bogue's sermon, the third in this series, was entitled

¹Op. cit., p. 10.

²Congregational Magazine, Feb., 1826, p. 61. This is verified by Giles in his history: "To the interests of the Hampshire Association, of which he /Bogue/ was the principal founder...." Op. cit., p. 35.

³Giles, op. cit., pp. 10, 11.

⁴Bennett, David Bogue, p. 423.

"The Great Importance of having Right Sentiments in Religion".¹ Even a hasty glimpse at this sermon shows why Bogue made no comment in his diary after hearing John Wesley,² whose credo was "that right opinion is a slender part of religion or no part of it at all."³ Yet these men were not bigots. Though they rejected Wesley's Arminianism, on the 21st of April, 1790, the following question was proposed for the next meeting:

What useful lessons may be learned from the mode of preaching among the old Nonconformists, what from the Methodists, what from the awakened clergy, and what from the present dissenters to assist us in our practice? And what are the faults in each of them that we ought to avoid?⁴

Bogue's sermon, which the Association members unanimously requested to be published,⁵ further established him as the foremost minister in the county.

III. SOCIETY FOR PROPAGATING THE GOSPEL IN HAMPSHIRE

In 1796 Bogue tutored Richard Densham, an itinerant, working in Hampshire under the Rev. John Eyre, Bogue's close friend in the Evangelical Magazine and the Missionary Society. This association with itinerancy appears to have started Bogue's

¹Bogue published this sermon under the same title in 1789.

²Bennett, David Bogue, p. 98.

³Quoted in W.L. Mathieson, The Awakening of Scotland, 1747-1797, 1910, p. 230.

⁴Giles, op. cit., p. 11.

⁵Bennett, David Bogue, p. 423.

thinking regarding a Hampshire-wide evangelistic movement.¹ As was his usual procedure when he submitted an idea, it was not given in generalities, but complete to the last detail.² Following is the plan he proposed during the interval of services at James Bennett's ordination:

I.

1. The design is to make the Gospel known in those towns and villages which are at present destitute of it, by opening places for worship, and introducing the preaching of the word.
2. All the different congregations which are associated, shall unite for this purpose.
3. It shall be supported by annual subscriptions or collections among the friends of every denomination.
4. Every subscriber shall be a member of this Society.

II.

1. Three persons or more, and the Minister, shall be chosen out of each congregation to manage the business of the Institution.
2. They shall have their general County Meetings at the time of the Association of the Ministers.
3. They shall chuse annually a Treasurer to act as Secretary to the Society.
4. The business of the general Meeting shall be,
 - (1) To deliberate on general plans of Service.
 - (2) To fix on places to be opened,
 - (3) To consider of general modes of Supply.
 - (4) To take cognizance of the proceedings of the Committees of the districts and congregations.
 - (5) To audit Accounts.

¹Waddington, Congregational History, to 1850, pp. 72, 78.

²When Bogue first submitted his plan for a university, the editor of the Congregational Magazine apologized for its length and detail. May, 1820, p. 254 footnote.

III.

1. The County shall be divided into four districts, viz.
 - (1) EASTERN - comprehending Havant, Portsea, Gosport, Fareham, and Petersfield.
 - (2) NORTHERN - Alton, Odium, Whitchurch, Basingstoke, Andover and Tadley. Odium probably Adiham/.
 - (3) WESTERN - Winchester, Southampton, Romsey and Salisbury.¹
 - (4) SOUTHERN - Fortingbridge, Ringwood, Christchurch, Lymington, and Newport.
2. The Members of the different Committees within a district shall manage the affairs of the district.
 - (1) They shall procure and license places of worship.
 - (2) They shall provide the supplies.
 - (3) They shall disburse all necessary expenses.
3. When matters are to be transacted which do not require the attendance of all the members of the Committees, each Committee shall chuse one of their number to meet and manage the business.
4. Each district shall annually chuse a Treasurer, who shall act as Secretary in corresponding with the treasurer of the Society.

IV.

1. The Committee of each congregation shall have the places opened near it, committed to its care.
2. The Members of the Committee shall aid and countenance by their presence the meetings for the worship of God, etc.
3. They shall see that supplies be provided.
4. They shall give all necessary help in worship.
5. They shall set up prayer-meetings, and conferences, and establish Societies among the people.
6. They shall circulate good books among them as extensively as possible; and it is recommended to each church to have a library for this purpose.
7. They shall endeavour to procure what assistance they can, from the people who attend the place that is opened.
8. They shall appoint one of their number to collect the subscriptions of the congregation, and account for it to the treasurer of the district.
9. The members of the Committee shall be chosen by the members of the Society in the congregation, and shall continue in office for a year.

¹Not in Hampshire, but desired to participate in this Society as its minister was a member of the Hampshire Association of Ministers. See the Evangelical Magazine, June, 1797, p. 254 footnote.

V.

The following modes of supply are recommended, and may be hoped for, to carry the plan into execution.

1. The labours of neighbouring ministers.
 2. Missionary labours of ministers through the county.
- It is recommended to every minister to make a missionary tour in the course of the year.
3. Itinerant preachers if they can be obtained.
 4. Gifted brethren in the different churches, to pray, read the Scriptures and give a word of exhortation.
 5. Prayer meetings and conferences, in which the people will be assisted by the neighbouring churches.

An account of the proceedings of the Society to be published every year.¹

The Hampshire Association of Ministers upon hearing Bogue's plea for the many areas in spiritual darkness in their county and his admonition that it was their duty to reach these benighted ones, unanimously resolved to form themselves into a society for such a purpose.² From that date on, every six months, when the Hampshire Association of Ministers met for their meeting, there was also a meeting of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in the County of Hampshire.³

Responses to Mr. Bogue's plan were immediately forthcoming. A gentleman in London offered to defray the expenses of two itinerants in places in the county where the gospel was not preached. At the same time a request came for the gospel

¹Ibid., June, 1797, pp. 253-255.

²Ibid., p. 253.

³The members of the Ministers Association who formed the Society gave it this name. Ibid., Feb., 1800, pp. 83, 84.

to be preached in Petersfield.¹ The Evangelical Magazine, which was the mouthpiece for every kind of benevolence of that day, soon carried in its Religious Intelligence department announcements of chapels being built in Hythe,² Rowland's Castle,³ and Basingstoke.⁴ This Society for evangelizing Hampshire was extremely active. When the Ministers Association met for their semi-annual session in autumn in 1799, four meetings of the new Society had to be called.⁵

When Dr. Bogue's plan for evangelizing Hampshire was presented in the Missionary Magazine in Edinburgh, the magazine's editor, the Rev. Greville Ewing, introduced it with these remarks,

We insert the following Plan as a recent specimen of the active zeal of our fellow Christians in the southern part of the kingdom, and as a means of exciting others to imitation.⁶

Mr. Ewing's suggestion of imitation was not unheeded. Soon Scotland had a Home Society for propagating the gospel as a result of the Haldanes' consultation with Dr. Bogue.⁷ In London, Olney,

¹ Giles, op. cit., pp. 16, 17.

² Loco. cit., August, 1798, p. 337.

³ Ibid., November, 1798, pp. 476, 477.

⁴ Ibid., Oct., 1801, p. 415.

⁵ Ibid., Feb., 1800, pp. 83, 84.

⁶ Loco. cit., June, 1797, p. 257.

⁷ See the second part of this chapter where Scotland's plan is discussed more fully.

Leeds, in many other areas, itinerancies and lay-preaching sprang from this example in Hampshire.¹ Dr. Bogue traveled throughout Scotland and England encouraging home missions. One week found him in London participating in the opening of a chapel at High-bury;² another, in Wiltshire stimulating their county association.³ Nor was his zeal limited to Congregational efforts. He was anxious that people should come under the hearing of the gospel, no matter the denomination. Sandwiched between his High-bury and Wiltshire engagements was his participation at Portsea in the ordination of a Baptist minister at the White's Row church.⁴ Some accused Bogue of being happy only when surrounded by his own Gosport graduates,⁵ but the same page in the Evangelical Magazine which carried the account of the opening of the chapel at Basingstoke mentioned above, recorded his participation in the installation of a Hoxton Academy alumnus at nearby Poole.⁶

Associations for the propagation of the gospel in

¹Missionary Magazine, June, 1797, pp. 257ff.; see also pp. 548-550 of the December issue of the same year.

²Evangelical Magazine, July, 1799, p. 305.

³Ibid., Oct., 1799, p. 436.

⁴Ibid., Nov., 1799, p. 482.

⁵Bennett, Bogue's former student and biographer, states some felt this to be the case. Bennett, David Bogue, p. 250.

⁶Loco. cit., Oct., 1801, p. 415.

various counties of England originated in rapid succession.¹ Hampshire, having set the good example, continued to set the pace. Giles, the historian of the Association wrote, "The places are not few that can testify to the utility of it. Soon a missionary was sent to the Channel Islands, Guernsey and Jersey."² He records that Petersfield's call was met; that a chapel was built at Titchfield; and that a meeting house was erected at Ryde.³ By the time of Bogue's death in 1825, the Rev. John Griffin of Portsea could say that,

Twenty-one new chapels had been erected and three buildings fitted for places of worship within the county or on its borders, either by the benevolence of individuals, the contribution of congregations, or the direct arrangements of the Society in towns or villages where the gospel had not been previously introduced. In eleven of the places alluded to, a church has been formed and regularly constituted, and in seven of those places there is a resident ordained⁴ minister supported almost solely by the congregation.

It is true that Bogue was surrounded by many of his former pupils. However, this was altogether natural because the Hampshire Association was supporting that part of the academy

¹Notice under "associations" or "society" in the index of the Evangelical Magazine following the publication of the Hampshire plan, i.e. from July, 1797.

²Loco. cit., p. 18.

³Ibid., pp. 18, 19.

⁴Giles is quoting from Mr. Griffin's funeral sermon for Bogue. Giles, op. cit., p. 19.

which produced ministers for the home field.¹ Bogue, however, did not limit student deputation in the vicinity of Gosport only to those preparing for the home ministry. Seven sailors, condemned to die because of mutiny and in jail at Portsmouth, "became truly converted to God, by the zealous efforts of the missionary students at Gosport."² This is not an isolated incident, but rather a representative account of the contributions the seminary students made. Some of the missionary candidates complained of their busy weekend activities, thinking their own studies suffered as a result.³ Bogue, in answering this complaint before the London Missionary Society Deputation Committee, reported that the students preached twice a month and were gone from Saturday afternoon until Monday morning.⁴ Bogue was not deliberately aiding Hampshire at the expense of the Missionary Society, as some thought, but was mixing the practical with the theoretical.⁵ He felt that nothing stimulated one's purpose in studying for full-time Christian work more than preaching the gospel and mixing with people who had spiritual needs.

¹Bogue and Bennett, History of Dissenters, (Four Volumes), 1812, IV, 281.

²R. Philip, The Life, Times, and Missionary Enterprises of the Rev. John Campbell, 1841, p. 316. Bogue related the incident in Campbell's presence at a Missionary Society lunch. Ibid.

³Waugh's letter regarding the Seminary, 1817.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

David Bogue believed in teaching his students to become fishers of men. Whether their future was in Hampshire or the New Hebrides the fundamental task was the same: reconciling men to God through Jesus Christ. They must early in their Christian experience and training be brought face to face with this reality. So to the needy areas of neighboring Hampshire went the Gosport students, two by two, to proclaim Jesus Christ. Improvement was not altogether forgotten in this service, because the second student went as an observer as well as a companion and upon his return reported to the tutor.¹ Bennett, who had himself been engaged in the same field-work, said of the reports:

These criticisms were so managed as to avoid all unpleasant altercations between the students, and to afford much improvement, both to the preacher and to his censors.²

Dr. Bogue saw sixteen young men, graduates of his academy, settle in Hampshire pastorates.³ Not all of them, as in the case of James Bennett, Thomas Loader, John Hunt and others, stayed on in Hampshire. As calls came to more useful places of service they accepted,⁴ and, in many instances, their vacant

¹Bennett, David Bogue. See Mr. Bogue's attitude toward the field-work on pages 135, 136; 201-203; 249-251 of this biography.

²Ibid., p. 136.

³They were James Bennett, Thomas Loader, Robert Ayliffe, J.R. Cooper, John Flower, Thomas Guyer, Charles Howell, John Hunt, Clement and Francis Perrot, Wm. Scamp, James Wills, R. Davies, T. Eastman, Alex. Steill, and Lewis Winchester. See Appendix A.

⁴Bennett accepted the call to Rotherham Academy; Loader went to Monmouth; Hunt to Sussex. See Appendix A.

pulpits were filled by younger Gosport alumni.¹

The Society for evangelizing Hampshire also installed French-speaking pastors where that language was the medium. The Perrot brothers in Guernsey and Jersey, the Rev. Pierre Dex in the island of Sark, were among those placed.² All of these labors of love were taking place while the Revolution was raging across the channel, and hate for the French was supposed to be a sign of loyalty to the British throne.³

IV. HAMPSHIRE CHURCHES

In 1814 there was held at Gosport the most interesting meeting of the associated churches of Hampshire which David Bogue had witnessed. In a time of depression nearly £100 was collected for home missions. This thrilled Bogue.⁴ Not only was he the founder, strengthener, and invigorator of the Society for evangelism, but his church constantly set the example for the others. In the first year of the London Missionary Society, Gosport was among the leaders in contributions to that Society,⁵ and continued

¹For example, John Flower later took the Titchfield church where Hunt had been. See Appendix A.

²Evangelical Magazine, Nov., 1803, p. 507. Also see Appendix A.

³From 1803 these men were being installed in the Channel Islands.

⁴Bennett, David Bogue, pp. 249, 250.

⁵Report of the Missionary Society, 1796, p. 113.

in that position.¹ His students, having caught the tutor's spirit,² settled in Hampshire pastorates and with other ministers of Hampshire churches followed the Gosport example.³ The Evan-gelical Magazine of 1812 reported for the previous year that Hampshire had given one-third of all that was collected in the counties of England toward the London Missionary Society's program.⁴ When early in the history of the missionary movement Hampshire was noticed for its missionary spirit, it was remarked, "That may be naturally accounted for from its being the residence of David Bogue."⁵

¹See the subsequent reports of the Society. For example in 1816 the Gosport church contributed £145.15s.6d. (page xxxvii); in 1817, £109.13s.3d. (page xxxiii).

²Bennett says of Bogue's zeal for missions: "The spirit with which he pursued this object was so infectious, that few came within his reach and escaped its influence. That he almost invariably communicated it to his students, it is scarcely necessary to assert. As I was among them at the formation of the society, I can never forget how constantly the master mind of my tutor recurred to his darling theme, how his countenance lighted up at the prospect of rousing the churches to efficient co-operation, and how fondly he courted that conversation which suggested or promised any valuable hints for maturing the noble scheme." David Bogue, pp. 195, 196.

³James Bennett, himself a pastor in Hampshire, said, "With the neighbouring ministers the pastor of Gosport was living on such terms, that he found little difficulty in engaging their active co-operation. Endued with a kindred spirit, they soon caught the generous ardour, and by their private conversations and official labours called forth the zeal and liberality of their flocks." Ibid., p. 196.

⁴Loco. cit., June, p. 238.

⁵Quoted in Bennett's David Bogue, p. 196.

Some of the older Independents kept aloof from the new modes being employed in these years of awakening.¹ Not so Bogue! By 1787 Gosport had a Sunday school, an institution which Robert Raikes had introduced to the public just four years previously.² Early in his ministry at Gosport Bogue encouraged "Gifted brethren /lay people/ in the different churches, to pray, read the Scriptures and give a word of exhortation."³ Soon he was found preaching out-of-doors, bringing the gospel to those who did not frequent the church.⁴ One who knew him best commented that the coldness and reserve which he brought with him from Presbyterian Scotland was most happily counteracted by his acquaintance with Independents and Methodists.⁵

Fittingly, on the day of Dr. Bogue's death, the last and most benighted town in the Hampshire district, Alresford, opened a church with an evangelical pastor.⁶ He, who was the founder of the Society for evangelism, and whose attention to its

¹For example Walter Wilson. See his History of Dissenting Churches.

²W.L. Mathieson, England in Transition, 1789-1832, 1920, p. 44.

³See page 201 of this chapter. Even earlier than this Bogue was encouraging laymen to preach in neglected areas. See the account in the Evangelical Magazine of Nov., 1797, p. 446, of Mr. J. Mouncher, whom Bogue had urged to preach at Elson.

⁴Bennett, David Bogue, pp. 213-215.

⁵Ibid., pp. 136, 137.

⁶Congregational Magazine, Feb., 1826, pp. 61 ff.

ongoing was described as "constant and unremitting,"¹ lived to know that the last corner of darkness in the county was receiving the light of the glorious gospel.

A neighboring minister at Romsey stated that Bogue "cherished the association of Hampshire Ministers with paternal care".² In spite of the difficult travel,³ and the regularity of the meetings, he never missed. Besides the stimulating papers by the ministers,⁴ the Lord's supper was a part of the program. Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists united with the Congregationalists on these occasions.⁵ In commenting on these meetings, Bogue described them as "days of heaven".⁶

V. CONGREGATIONAL UNION

Undoubtedly because of the good he saw accomplished in the county associations and of the fellowship he enjoyed, Dr. Bogue recognized the wisdom of an overall union of Congregational churches in England. Such an attempt was made in 1806 and this endeavor, in the words of Albert Peel, "had the powerful support

¹Giles, op. cit., p. 35.

²Bennett, David Bogue, p. 250.

³Giles, op. cit., p. 11.

⁴See page 197 of this chapter for some of their topics of study.

⁵Evangelical Magazine, Feb., 1800, p. 83.

⁶Bogue, Millennium, p. 205.

of David Bogue from Hampshire".¹

In reality the county associations had served as the outlet for home missions for the Congregationalists, because the other dissenters who were in the organizations were in a definite minority. The London Missionary Society was their agent for foreign enterprise. This Society also substantially became a Congregational Union,² as, in time, the Anglicans, Methodists and others developed their own denominational missionary societies.³ These efforts in evangelizing, both at home and abroad, had so absorbed the Congregationalists that they had paid little attention to denominational unity.⁴

As might have been expected it was at the time of one of the London Missionary Society's gatherings that the idea of denominational union was introduced.⁵ At this meeting the following benefits were to be considered:

¹Albert Peel, These Hundred Years, 1931, p. 34.

²Ibid., p. 11. A check of the Hampshire Association meetings held semi-annually, April and September, as recorded in the Evangelical Magazine, reveals that most of the ministers participating in the meetings were Congregationalists, so Peel's statement could certainly apply to that County's Association.

³The Society which eventually became the Church Missionary Society was formed by Anglicans in 1799. 1813 saw the Wesleyan Methodists organize their mission work. E.A. Payne, The Church Awakes, 1942, pp. 33, 34.

⁴Peel, These Hundred Years, pp. 11ff.

⁵Evangelical Magazine, May, 1806, p.234.

It is perceived, that by the sanction and aid of such a Union, were it wisely and firmly established, such great objects as the following might be more easily and extensively promoted: Newly-raised congregations might receive pecuniary assistance, until they should be able to maintain a settled minister: -advice might be given to such congregations, as to the proper manner of making deeds of trust, and other difficulties attending the establishment of new interests; -encouragement might be afforded to young men possessing gifts for the ministry, in order to their being introduced, at a proper time, into our evangelical academies; -a mode might be adopted for a free communication between the County Associations and that formed by the regular churches in the metropolis; -an Annual Conference might be held in London, and the other principal cities in the kingdom.¹

The many Congregational ministers who, on May 17, 1806, attended the meeting to investigate the advisability of a union unanimously resolved that such a Union was desirable, and that the London Board of Congregational Ministers should draw up a plan.²

The following year the plan was presented and a Committee chosen with authority to carry the plan into immediate effect, the main objective of the plan being,

to combine the influence and give great energy to the exertions of this denomination of Dissenters, in the great object of enlarging and establishing the Redeemer's kingdom.³

The Committee asked, in a circular address to county ministers, for further advice and information. Some, friendly toward the Union, responded with positive criticisms; others became alarmed

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., July, 1806, p. 334.

³Ibid., June, 1807, p. 286.

and gave expression to their fears.¹

David Bogue did not live to see the actual establishing of the Congregational Union. He preached for the annual meeting of the group which was attempting union in 1809,² but the effort was meeting with continued obstacles. Among those opposing the project were the anti-nonconformist blocs which looked upon the uniting of several Independent associations as "democratic", accusing them of Jacobin sentiments behind a religious cloak.³ Others, within dissent, feared that certain measures interfered with the autonomous rights of the church.⁴ It was left to John Angell James, one of Bogue's first students, in 1831, to give the necessary stimulus to bring the Union into permanent existence.⁵

¹Ibid., Jan., 1808, p. 34 and March, 1808, p. 141.

"The Committee have been grieved, however, to observe, that any misapprehension of their plan, or any parts of it which may hereafter be rescinded or improved, should have raised alarm, or procured the disapprobation of any of the churches." Ibid., March, 1808, p. 141.

²Peel, These Hundred Years, p. 32.

³See Waddington, Congregational History, to 1850, pp. 218, 219, for an example of this type of opposition.

⁴Peel, op. cit., pp. 31ff.

⁵James wrote, "...whatever importance attaches to the Congregational Union, I was one of its original projectors. When some of my seniors felt grave objections to this confederation, as containing a germ of mischief in the way of an organised controlling body, I thought their fears groundless, and went into the association with my whole heart. I well remember that excellent and wise man, Mr. Griffin, of Portsea, taking me aside at one of its first meetings to discuss the project, and saying to me, 'I see you will have much influence in the formation and guidance of this Union, I hope you will be very careful what you do.'" R.W. Dale, The Life and Letters of John Angell James, (2nd Edition), 1861, p. 197.

It has previously been stated that many Gosport-trained men took pastorates in Hampshire, and from that county branched into various spheres of labor all over England. Some, like James, went directly to other parts of Britain.¹ Though this section treats Bogue's contributions at home, to trace the labors of all these men is not within the scope of this work. There is one area, however, Scotland, where Bogue's influence both through students, personal visits, consultations and correspondence will be noted.

B. SCOTLAND

I. INTRODUCTION

David Bogue was a Scot who had gone south of the border. Although his actual residence was in Hampshire, he had strong ties with his native land. While his father and mother were alive he made frequent trips to Berwickshire² and often, from there, on up to Edinburgh to renew acquaintances of university days.³ To include Bogue's influence in Scotland in the chapter

¹Dale, John Angell James, pp. 40-82. James went directly to Birmingham while yet in his teens and ministered there until the end of his life.

²Bennett, David Bogue, pp. 51, 99.

³Ibid., pp. 51, 52. In a letter William Smith shows Bogue's itinerary included Dalkeith and Edinburgh. See also Bogue's diary. Ibid., p. 99.

relating to his activities at home, consequently is appropriate.

In leaving their homeland, Scots did not lose touch with home affairs, or with fellow emigrants. We find the evangelicals within the established church kept up correspondence with men of like persuasion in England and on the Continent.¹ Among those in England, there was close association. Into this circle of kinsmen Bogue entered when he arrived in London from Berwickshire. Most of the years he spent in the metropolis as a tutor were with the Rev. William Smith of Chelsea, a fellow-countryman.² He preached his first sermon in Wapping for Mr. Muir, who was a clergyman of the established Church of Scotland.³ In 1776 he was invited to become a candidate for a Scottish church in Amsterdam and corresponded regarding the invitation with Mr. Somerville, a junior Scottish minister at Rotterdam.⁴ A year later, upon moving to Gosport, Mr. Bogue requested Dr. Winter, another Scot, to give his ordination prayer, the charge and the sermon. Dr. Winter later dedicated Bogue's new church building⁵ and baptized

¹John Erskine also included Baptists in Northamptonshire among his correspondents. See John Foster's "The Bicentenary of Jonathan Edwards' 'Humble Attempt'" in The International Review of Missions, (XXXVII), Oct., 1948, p. 381.

²Bennett, David Bogue, p. 71.

³Ibid., p. 34.

⁴There is one letter and extracts from another written by Bogue. Ibid., pp. 60-62.

⁵Ibid., pp. 88, 104.

all of his seven children.¹ John Love, Alexander Waugh, William Stevens, all ministers of kindred blood, were among his closest friends.²

We previously noticed that David Bogue, in his days at the University of Edinburgh, felt close kinship with the Evangelical group which was opposed to the patronage and pluralities of the Moderates.³ In fact, his entire emphasis upon the conversion experience through the efficacy of the Holy Spirit, and the central place the death and resurrection of Christ should have in the pulpit set him against the moral lectures of the predominant group in the church.⁴ Some, like Bogue and others mentioned above, hoped to find lesser evils below the Tweed; while others, basically opposed to prevailing policies, nevertheless stayed within the church waiting for and working toward better days.⁵ The latter group always welcomed the former into their pulpits.⁶

¹Congregational Magazine, Feb., 1826, p. 61.

²See the histories of the L.M.S. (Lovett, Ellis, or Horne) where these men labored together.

³See Chapter III, page 83.

⁴Bogue's covenant before his ordination shows these strong evangelical sentiments. Bennett, David Bogue, pp. 83-87.

⁵So his friend Somerville: "Who knows but a year or two more may bring you to labour in that vineyard from whence you yourself were transplanted, and where I still think true religion is once more to thrive?" Quoted in Bennett, David Bogue, pp. 73, 74.

⁶That is until 1799 when the General Assembly restricted the pulpits. See Cunningham, Church of Scotland, II, 573-577.

It was most natural then that, when, in 1779, Bogue made one of his journeys back to his home country, his diary should mention that he filled the pulpits of Mr. Walker, Dr. Erskine, Mr. Jones, and Dr. Hunter in Edinburgh. This tour also took him to the west: Whitburn, Glasgow, Paisley and Bathgate, and to the south: Coldstream, Eyemouth and Newcastle. In all these places he had continued opportunity to minister.¹ Although, beginning two decades later and continuing through his life time, he made other tours through Scotland as a representative of the London Missionary Society, Bogue's most distinctive contribution to his own country was not through his preaching, but through various other phases of his ministry.

II. ROBERT AND JAMES HALDANE

One of the deepest impressions David Bogue made upon Scotland was through the Haldane brothers. Between 1779 and 1787 Gosport was the home of Colonel Duncan.² It was at his home that Bogue met the Colonel's two nephews, Robert and James Haldane.³ Both were on sea duty, Robert, the elder, in the Royal Navy and James with the East India Company.⁴ The biographer

¹ Bennett, David Bogue, p. 99.

² A. Haldane, The Lives of Robert Haldane of Airthrey and of His Brother James Alexander Haldane, 1853, (3rd Edition), p. 32.

³ Ibid., pp. 32, 33.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 28, 46.

of the two brothers writes of their uncle's situation at Gosport:

These circumstances are to be numbered amongst the providential links in the history of both the brothers, for it was thus that they were both brought much into contact with Dr. Bogue, to whom they became warmly attached. They attended his ministry, and by him they were directed in their course of reading and in their choice of books, both on shore and at sea.¹

The brothers had lost their parents while young, but not before they were both deeply affected religiously.² It was Bogue's watering and cultivating of the seed already sown which attached the young men to him.

Robert's navy career closed in 1783, but he stayed in Gosport for some months as a student of Mr. Bogue.³ The following year he and another student at Gosport accompanied their tutor on a tour of France and Flanders.⁴

James' tour of duty at sea lasted longer than Robert's and included four trips to India. Before sailing he would visit Mr. Bogue. His son tells his purpose:

He had also been furnished with a valuable store of books, consisting of the most useful histories of ancient and modern times, besides a good selection of the poets, dramatists, and writers on general literature. These books, which filled a large sea-chest, and afterwards

¹Ibid., p. 33.

²It was solely the mother's influence in the case of James. His father died before his birth. Ibid., pp. 13-15.

³Ibid., p. 39.

⁴Bennett, David Bogue, p. 102.

occupied a considerable space in his library, were chosen by the discriminating taste of Dr. Bogue, of Gosport, who also took care to add a few well selected useful religious works, amongst which was Doddridge's "Rise and Progress."¹

These books and Mr. Bogue's continued ministry through the pulpit and counselling had their effect. James' manuscript, "Dealings of God with my Soul", reads:

At length some impression seemed to be made on my mind that all was not right, and knowing that the Lord's supper was to be dispensed, I was desirous of being admitted, and went and spoke with Dr. Bogue on the subject. He placed some books in my hand on the nature of the ordinance, which I read, and was more regular in prayer and attending public worship.²

This meeting was the one which undoubtedly caused Anderson to write of James, "An intimacy with David Bogue of Gosport altered his entire life...."³

Soon afterward James had an earnest desire that the spiritual should prevail in his life, and felt that this could not be attained while he remained in his present occupation.⁴ Upon the advice of his brother and Mr. Bogue⁵ he quit the sea, and the same year he joined his wife in Scotland. This was in 1794.⁶

¹A. Haldane, op. cit., p. 48. James wrote later, "On my first voyage I was brought under more than common concern, by 'Doddridge's Rise and Progress'..." Ibid., p. 51.

²J. Beattie, Memoir of Robert Haldane, and James Alexander Haldane, 1874, p. 46.

³W.P. Anderson, Silences That Speak, 1931, p. 85.

⁴Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen, edited by R. Chambers, 1875, Vol. II, 191.

⁵Ibid., p. 191.

⁶A. Haldane, op. cit., pp. 72, 73.

While his brother was still at sea, Robert, in Airthrey, was busy with landscape gardening and planting. It was during this period of his life that his politics came under public scrutiny.¹ He had learned from Bogue, most likely during their trip through France, to consider despotic types of government on the Continent to be enemies of religious liberty. Therefore, when the French Revolution broke out a few years later, he, like Bogue, rejoiced in the prospects of a new era. They both imbibed the spirit without the madness of the times; they caught the enthusiasm, but changed the object, and were distinguished by applying their zeal toward benevolent pursuits.²

Robert's first outlet for doing good was directed toward India. The new interest in missions in England had its effect upon Scotland. John Campbell, a close associate of the Haldanes, wrote:

The formation of the London Missionary Society for extending the knowledge of the glorious gospel to all ends of the earth, and the Society being composed of Christians of all denominations, had a most electrifying effect on the Christians of the north. 'We were like men who dreamed.'³

¹Ibid., pp. 81ff.

²See Kirkland's thesis on "The Impact of the French Revolution on Scottish Religious Life", 1950, University of Edinburgh, p. 89. He writes: "The influence of Dr. Bogue on Haldane must have been considerable.... He /Bogue/ appealed to Christians to launch a great world-embracing enterprise on this rising tide of revolutionary social and political change."

³R. Philip, John Campbell, p. 160. Italics in the text.

Robert's specific interest in India appears to have been aroused by reading William Carey's reports of the Baptist work in Bengal. Also, James, now back in Scotland and kindling the spiritual flame of his brother through his own new-found confidence in the faith, encouraged the mission to this land he had often visited.¹

The brothers' confidence in and respect for David Bogue was shown in Robert's trip to Gosport in May of 1796 to consult their spiritual advisor, and to ask his participation in this proposed mission.² The ramifications arising out of their request to enter India, and the East India Company's refusal is dealt with at length in the next chapter.

When foreign missions had been proposed there had been the same objection raised in Scotland as in England, namely, that there was enough to do at home.³ With the door closed to India, the Haldanes now centered their attention on their own country. Knowing of Mr. Bogue's plan for evangelizing Hampshire, Robert consulted him on a similar scheme for Scotland.⁴ To be included were modes already in use in Hants, such as tract and Bible

¹D.E. Wallace, "The Life and Work of James Alexander Haldane", a University of Edinburgh thesis, 1955, pp. 28ff.

²A. Haldane, op. cit., pp. 100, 101.

³James Haldane was present when the General Assembly in 1796 had the debate on foreign missions with the opposition headed by Mr. Hamilton, and the Evangelicals championed by Dr. John Erskine. Wallace, op. cit., p. 33.

⁴E. Beattie, op. cit., p. 96; also A. Haldane, op. cit., p. 193.

distribution, Sunday schools and open-air meetings, itinerants and lay-preachers. The purpose was to give the gospel to out-of-the-way places and to bring about a revival of vital personal religion.¹

The need for workers for the above project and the advisability of erecting large tabernacles similar to the one in London was the purpose of the next trip Robert made to Gosport.² Knowing the Gosport Academy first-hand he asked that Bogue take twenty students from Scotland. From the correspondence between Robert Haldane and Greville Ewing we learn that arrangements progressed even to the agreeing upon finances pertaining to the students.³ However, the Scottish students went to Glasgow under Mr. Ewing, rather than to Gosport. Robert later accused Ewing of diverting his plans.⁴ Ewing passed the blame to Garie, whom

¹See the Missionary Magazine, June, 1797, pp. 257ff. for Bogue's complete plan for Hampshire. Part I. 1. reads, "The design is to make the Gospel known in those towns and villages, which are at present destitute of it, by opening places for worship, and introducing the preaching of the word." The Scottish pattern is set forth in An Account of the Proceedings of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home, etc., 1799.

²A. Haldane, op. cit., p. 225.

³"The number of students I intended to send to Mr. Bogue was twenty. The length of the course of their education was to be fifteen months, and I was to pay him £200 per annum for his tuition during the course." R. Haldane, Letters to Mr. Ewing Respecting the Tabernacle at Glasgow, etc., 1809, p. 27.

⁴Ibid., p. 24.

he said made the first objection. The gist of the objection to Gosport was Bogue's supposed liberal politics, and the prejudice the Scottish populace would have to their sons being trained in England.¹ Later, Robert expressed his loyalty to Bogue by financing the tuition of ten students at Gosport.²

The tabernacle enterprise, the other item of discussion between Robert and Dr. Bogue, produced buildings of that style at Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Elgin, Dumfries, Perth, Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Helensburgh, Thurso, and Wick.³

While young men were being educated at Glasgow there was an immediate need for itinerants, and supplies in the tabernacles. Again, because the Church of Scotland was not friendly, Robert Haldane turned to England and Mr. Bogue for assistance.⁴

The journals published in defense of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home show to what an extent Dr. Bogue came to the aid of the Scottish movement. The regular itinerants listed, whose journals were printed, were William Ballantine, John Cleghorn, and Joseph Rate, all Gosport-trained ministers.

¹G. Ewing, Facts and Documents Respecting the Connections Which have Subsisted between Robert Haldane, Esq., and Greville Ewing, etc., 1809, p. 27.

²Bennett, David Bogue, p. 133.

³Wallace, op. cit., pp. 121, 122.

⁴Waddington, Congregational History, to 1850, p. 101.

Also printed are the short itinerancies of James Bennett and Thomas Loader, likewise Bogue's protégés.¹ Mr. Ewing, who had just left the Church of Scotland, also made a short tour and accompanying him was the Gosport tutor himself.²

III. SCOTTISH CONGREGATIONALISM

The churches established as a result of the itinerants and the new tabernacles, which were erected in the larger cities, eventually became Congregational churches.³ How much influence did David Bogue exert in these decisions of church polity? Himself an Independent by choice, did he lead others to that persuasion?

In his History of Congregational Independency in Scotland, James Ross lists four originating causes of the Independency of the late eighteenth century. First, he gives a church at Annan which was formed, not from contributing factors of other religious groups in Scotland, but by the Rev. Andrew Carnson, an Irishman. A second class are those churches formed by the "narrow and somewhat tyrannical action of some of the Presbyterian

¹An Account...Gospel at Home. Pages 20 through 64 contain the records of these five men's travels.

²Kinniburgh MSS., "General Account of Congregationalism in Scotland from 1798 to 1848, and Particular Accounts Referring to Separate Counties," 1848, Section XII, p. 39. These MSS. are in the library of the Scottish Congregational College, Edinburgh.

³J. Ross, A History of Congregational Independency in Scotland, 1900, p. 42.

church courts,"¹ which forced the people to seek liberty denied them. Ross mentions that these groups adopted Congregational principles at a later period. Among this category are Huntly, Perth, and Paisley. A third type was started by individuals who personally studied the Scriptures and concluded that Congregational polity was most in accord with the New Testament. To this group belong the church in Belmont Street, Aberdeen, and the church at Montrose. The fourth group, by far the largest of all, was due to the evangelistic efforts headed by the Haldane brothers.²

The first category included only one church, that at Annan, and seeing that it collapsed within two years,³ no space will be devoted to it. Because groups two and four were influenced by the same company of men, they will be considered together.

Robert Kinniburgh, who ministered to the Dunkeld church in 1809-10, mentioned in his manuscript that Messrs. Bogue and Ewing were the first itinerants in this place where a Congregational church was formed.⁴ This is the only instance of direct,

¹Ibid., p. 42.

²Ibid., p. 42.

³J. Bulloch, Centenary Memorials of the First Congregational Church in Aberdeen, 1898, p. 172.

⁴Kinniburgh MSS., Section XII, p. 39.

on-the-spot influence by Bogue mentioned in the manuscripts. However, this tour of Bogue's in 1798 included other places besides Dunkeld. He had also had speaking engagements in Scotland the previous year,¹ and it was during this period that most of the churches came into existence.²

Kinniburgh also mentions that Bogue made a tour through the Inverness-shire area. Later correspondence with some of these deputation groups brought the church at Inverness into existence.³ Bogue's known willingness to correspond with groups interested in the Congregational polity makes him a possible contributor here.⁴ Far greater, however, than any influence by personal visits was Bogue's indirect contribution through the Haldanes, Ewing and his former students.

After only a few years in England, Bogue was already expressing to his Scottish friends his preference for Congregationalism.⁵ It was during his early years in Gosport that he received

¹Missionary Magazine, August, 1797, p. 387.

²See Ross, op. cit., "Most of the churches of this order came into existence within the short period of four years from 1794 to 1798...." p. 42.

³Kinniburgh MSS., Section VII, p. 6.

⁴Reference is made to the Aberdeen group which sought correspondents among the Congregationalists in England and found no one so anxious to help as Bogue. See page 228 of this chapter.

⁵Mr. Jolly, the clergyman of his native parish answers, "I dislike much your formalities of admission to church membership...." Quoted in Bennett's David Bogue, p. 43.

but declined the invitation to return to Presbyterianism, being offered St. Cuthbert's in Edinburgh through Lord Dundas, the patron.¹ Robert Haldane is mentioned as having "his bias directed in favour of Independency" by Bogue.² Cleghorn and Ballantine, both formerly of the Relief Church,³ adopted Congregational principles while with Bogue in the academy and were ordained by him.⁴ Loader and especially Bennett, two of Bogue's earliest pupils and itinerants in Scotland, were convinced Independents.⁵ Greville Ewing's daughter, Mrs. Matheson, singles out Dr. Bogue as one who through his correspondence and friendship led Ewing toward a more liberal church polity.⁶ Nor must Joseph Rate be forgotten. This companion of James Haldane in the northern tours, a college friend of Cleghorn and Ballantine at Gosport, is included among "the founders of Scottish Independency" by Robert Kinniburgh,⁷ his contemporary. These were the men who visited

¹Congregational Magazine, June, 1826, p. 3.

²Eminent Scotsmen, II, 193.

³Kinniburgh MSS., Section III, p. 4.

⁴Ibid., Section X, p. 7; see also the Missionary Magazine, April, 1798, pp. 158-163.

⁵Bulloch, op. cit., pp. 17, 18. "Dr. Bennett, before setting out, is careful to impress on the friends that 'The Church of Christ is not a worldly institution, composed of the common mass of the people; not made up of the world, but chosen out of the world.'" Ibid., p. 17.

⁶J.J. Matheson, Memoir of Greville Ewing, 1843, pp. 170, 171.

⁷Kinniburgh MSS., Section XIV, p. 2.

the outer islands, toured the northern counties, preached in the border country, managed the tabernacles and planted the churches.

The third category suggested by Ross included the first church of Congregational polity in Aberdeen. This group, like the Bereans, searched the Scriptures and then sought further advice from Independents in England. In writing to John Morison, the leaders of the Aberdeen group, George Moir and Alexander Innes, described their procedure:

Accordingly, in the month of October, 1797, we formed ourselves into a society for this purpose (to promote the principles of love and mutual concord), and wrote letters to several Independent ministers and tutors requesting their advice and influence. Without going into a full detail of particulars, suffice it to say, that they all advised us to preserve our fellowship, and promised to befriend the design; but none seemed more anxious for our success than the Rev. David Bogue, an Independent minister and tutor at Gosport. Being himself a Scotsman, he seemed to retain a regard for our countrymen.¹

Later Bogue advised the immediate erection of a chapel and encouraged them to build it large enough to seat 1000. He also urged them to communicate with James Haldane.² Both suggestions were carried into effect. When time came for the dedication of the building an invitation was sent to Bogue, but he, being unable to accept, recommended James Bennett.³ Bennett not

¹Waddington, Congregational History, to 1850, p. 93. The quoted letter is found in this volume. Italics are in the text.

²Bulloch, op. cit., p. 12.

³Ibid., pp. 16, 17.

only accepted that invitation, but also itinerated on his way up to Aberdeen,¹ and in the Aberdeen area.² He was followed by Thomas Loader, another Gosport recommendation, who helped the struggling new church for two months.³

John Campbell, a co-worker with the Haldanes in the evangelistic movements, mentions the influence the supplies, whom Bogue was sending up, had in Edinburgh, the Haldane's headquarters:

Rowland (Hill) was succeeded by a number of Independent ministers from England. Some of these preached on the nature of a Church of Christ; the materials of which it was composed; its statute-book, or laws, by which it was governed, viz., the New Testament. Such discourse led us to entertain Independent views of a church, and church government....⁴

To all of these indirect influences can be added Bogue's part in the exciting new missionary activity. Being a Scot, he had been asked by the London Missionary Society to communicate with the churches and private individuals of Scotland entreating their co-operation in the foreign enterprise.⁵

¹An Account of the Proceedings of the Society, etc., p. 61. Bennett, on his way up to Aberdeen for the opening of the new chapel, was approached, when he stopped in Edinburgh, by the Society and requested "to preach in the principal towns on his way to that city...." Ibid., p. 61.

²Matheson, Greville Ewing, p. 182; see also the footnote on that page.

³Bulloch, op. cit., p. 40. Both Loader and Bennett were located near Bogue in Hampshire: the former in Fordingbridge; the latter at Romsey. See Appendix A.

⁴R. Philip, John Campbell, p. 281. Italics are in the text.

⁵L.M.S. Board Minutes, Sept. 29, 1795.

Scotland had responded enthusiastically and missionary societies had sprung up all over, in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Huntly, Stirling, Kelso, Paisley, Greenock and Perth.¹ Besides these societies, some of which were auxiliary to the London Society and others co-operating, there were praying societies on the missionary plan all over the north, in Aberdeen, Clola, Grange, Keith, Elgin, Nairn and Inverness.² Dr. Bogue, from the founding of the Missionary Society until his death, spent his summers traveling on behalf of missions. Because of his background, not a few of these tours took him through the counties of Scotland.³ As Ross notices, the missionary emphasis of the time, coupled with the evangelistic efforts at home, had a great effect upon the people during the short period, from 1794 to 1798, when most of the Congregational Churches were being formed.⁴ Dissatisfied with the established church, and finding no refuge in a narrow Presbyterian dissent, many were readily influenced by a man whose name was associated with the very founding of the Missionary Society, and whose dedication to the cause was known to them through his articles in the Evangelical Magazine and the Missionary Magazine, and especially through his desire to go as

¹Missionary Magazine, July, 1796, p. 45.

²Ibid., Oct., 1797, p. 449.

³Kinniburgh MSS., Section VII, p. 6; see also the Missionary Magazine, August, 1797, p. 387.

⁴Ross, op. cit., pp. 44, 45.

a missionary to India.¹

Congregationalism in Scotland originated in these evangelistic and missionary movements.² We might add - almost by accident. The Haldanes were members of the established church, and wished to parallel its services with efforts to reach the unreached, and to bring the church into a more vital religious experience.³ The Church of Scotland took offense, partly because of the lack of charity on the part of the Haldanes and their cohorts when associating with the Church and its clergy,⁴ partly because of lay-preaching,⁵ but, mostly because the movement was contrary to the spirit of moderation which was carrying the day.⁶ This offense caused the Haldanes to look elsewhere for sympathy, especially to Dr. Bogue who was regarded with almost filial respect.⁷ His response naturally was with men of his own stamp,

¹See Chapter VIII, page 253.

²Ross, op. cit., p. 45.

³The services at the beginning were held so as not to conflict with the hours of worship at the Established Church. Most of the congregation continued to partake of the Lord's Supper at the Church of Scotland. Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen, II, 195, 196.

⁴J. Cunningham, The Church History of Scotland, 1859, 2 volumes, II, 573.

⁵Wallace, op. cit., p. 79.

⁶Ross, op. cit., pp. 43, 276-278.

⁷A. Haldane, op. cit., p. 245; see also Waddington, Congregational History, to 1850, p. 101.

and these, his Independent colleagues and former students, left, in turn, their Congregational impression upon the movement.¹

The Haldanes were evangelists. Some historians think they have been much underrated.² Those who have studied their lives most carefully say they reached more men for Christ in Scotland than any other minister or evangelist up to their time.³ Some go as far as to say, "What the Wesleys did for England, that the Haldanes did for Scotland."⁴ All must admire their sense of duty and their willingness to sacrifice. Robert invested upwards of £70,000 in the home efforts alone.⁵ Ebenezer Henderson is a choice example of the people they reached. Influenced deeply by the distributed tracts, the Sunday School, and itinerant preaching, he was won to Christ. Later, after receiving his education in one of Haldane's seminaries, he became one of the movement's first missionaries.⁶

The Haldanes were not churchmen. Neither did they have John Wesley's organizing ability. As a result the Congregational Church, as a denomination, suffered. Their congregations

¹Philip, John Campbell, p. 281.

²H. Macpherson, Scotland's Battles for Spiritual Independence, 1905, p. 177.

³Wallace, op. cit., p. 318; see also Thompson, op. cit., p. 119.

⁴Bulloch, op. cit., p. 165.

⁵Evangelical Repository, No. XI, March, 1885, p. 155.

⁶J.H. Glassman, "Ebenezer Henderson"; a University of Edinburgh thesis, 1958, pp. 13, 21.

in the eighty-five churches established by 1807¹ were later depleted when many of the converts of the Haldanes followed the two brothers into Baptist circles. Others took even more seriously the issues which were causing the disunity, and followed the principles of social worship and plurality of elders further, eventually ending among the Plymouth Brethren.²

In the eyes of the Church of Scotland the evangelistic and missionary movement of this era undoubtedly appeared too much divorced from the church. The 1796 vote which barely rejected the overtures from Fife and Moray,³ did not necessarily reject missions per se, but rather the voluntary-principled missionary societies. There had been open-air preaching before the Haldanes, but here was something not stemming from the church. This made it distasteful. Though the church could not sanction these principles, nevertheless, it was this voluntary movement which strengthened the hands of the Evangelical party within the church causing the Moderates to lose their control, and eventually led the Church of Scotland, as a church, to become more interested in their own neglected areas and in the unevangelized peoples.⁴

Sixty years after David Bogue's death it was said of

¹Kinniburgh MSS., Section I, p. 26.

²Selbie, Congregationalism, p. 151.

³Cunningham, op. cit., II, 568-570.

⁴Ibid., II, 599-607.

him:

There is no man who can be named to-day within the compass of English Congregationalism who wields a greater influence than this distinguished divine did at the close of the last century.¹

From a small, unimportant town in southern England, he challenged those in London to form a missionary society² and, later, a university.³ He gave assistance in bringing into being the Tract Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society.⁴ Here in his Gosport vestry he trained young men to spread the gospel in all of the continents and many islands of the sea.⁵ From here he carried on a correspondence which was almost unbelievable for its breadth.⁶ David Bogue, however, was no fool whose eyes were only on the ends of the earth. He also had time for those who were closest to him, his neighbors in Hampshire and his kinsmen according to the flesh.

¹Evangelical Repository, No. IX, Sept., 1884, p. 6.

²See Chapter V, page 156.

³See Chapter IV, pages 137-144.

⁴See Chapter VI, pages 173, 179.

⁵See Chapter I, page 18, and Chapter II, pages 58ff.

⁶See Chapter I, page 17.

CHAPTER VIII

DAVID BOGUE: HIS CONTRIBUTION ABROAD

I. FRANCE

In the autumn of 1784 David Bogue made his second trip¹ to the continent of Europe. Accompanying him were two young men who had been under his tuition.² This tour of Flanders and France gave Bogue an opportunity to see the deplorable spiritual conditions, especially those prevailing in France where the Protestant Church was in a lamentable condition.³ Upon his return he wrote in his diary, "It was not good for my soul. I bless God that my lot is cast in a land of gospel light".⁴

This picture of the miserable lot of neighboring nations, time⁵ could not erase from his memory. On March 20, 1799, he wrote to the London Missionary Society about opportunities

¹The first was in 1776. James Bennett, Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. David Bogue, D.D., 1827, pp. 60, 61.

²Ibid., p. 102; see also John Morison, The Fathers and Founders of the London Missionary Society, etc., Vol. I, n.d., 485.

³Morrison, op. cit., I, 486.

⁴Bennett, op. cit., p. 102.

⁵Bogue had some contact with the foreign churches before this. He was on the L.M.S. committee to correspond with Foreign Protestant Churches, and the L.M.S. pertinent material including his 1795 sermon had been translated into Dutch, German and Swedish. L.M.S. Board Minutes, Sept. 29, 1795; Jan. 22, 1798.

for evangelism, especially on the continent.¹ Again, on the seventh of April, 1800, he sent into the Directors² of the Society a plan "for promoting Christian Religion in France by circulating the New Testament, with a preliminary dissertation on the Evidences of Christianity."³ Conditions between France and England were such that the press was the most feasible medium for promoting the gospel.⁴ These were days of opportunity indeed, because, according to Bogue, "we see the power of Rome...falling into decay".⁵ Not only was Rome, "that great antichrist foretold in the Apocalypse," falling, but the tyranny of civil governments, another formidable and "successful engine against the religion of Jesus Christ", was being rapidly removed.⁶ The revolution in Europe, to Bogue, was not an occasion for alarm to warrant a cry that the church and the crown were in danger, but rather a signal to diffuse the light of the gospel, and hasten

¹ See Bogue's letter of this date to the L.M.S. on file in their archives.

² Bogue was out of the Directorship by lot that year. L.M.S. Board Minutes, May 6, 1799.

³ Ibid., April 7, 1800.

⁴ Richard Lovett, The History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895. Two Volumes, 1899, I, 93, 94.

⁵ David Bogue, A Sermon Preached at Salters-Hall, March 30th, 1792, 1793, p. 19.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 19, 46.

the coming of God's kingdom.¹

The London Missionary Society also considered the situation abroad "as a providential arrangement"² and, on May 15, 1800, passed Bogue's plan for the French New Testament and introduction.³ Four days later they requested Bogue to prepare the preface to the proposed New Testament.⁴

Although busy with the preparation of the preface,⁵ Bogue did not let immediate opportunities for promoting the spiritual benefit of the needy foreigners slip by. On the twenty-first of July it is reported that Bogue's committee on the French New Testament were also considering tracts for the French,⁶ and Dutch prisoners.⁷ A short time later he recommended Mr. Cadoret, a French prisoner, as a person to be employed by the Society, and also presented a plan for introducing the

¹Ibid., pp. 51, 52.

²Lovett, op. cit., I, 93.

³L.M.S. Board Minutes, May 15, 1800.

⁴Ibid., May 19, 1800.

⁵He had also just accepted the invitation to become the Society's tutor of missionary candidates. Ibid., August 4, 1800.

⁶Ibid., July 21, 1800.

⁷This report shows that Dutch were included among the prisoners receiving spiritual attention. Ibid., May 14, 1801.

gospel into France.¹

Bogue asked and received permission to print the preface to the New Testament first in English.² Friends had recommended this procedure thinking the preface useful for Britain, and it also gave Bogue opportunity to submit it first to the friends of the gospel whose remarks would render the work more fit for translation into French.³

In the winter of 1801, Bogue presented the Directors with the first copy of the preface.⁴ He had reasoned that a preface to a French New Testament was needful, because in France deism reigned. If the public's prejudice against the Scriptures could be answered, then a reading of God's Word could be expected.⁵

Consequently, to the deists, who argued that there was no divine revelation, Bogue presented this preface entitled, An Essay on the Divine Authority of the New Testament. His procedure in the Essay was based upon the reader's lack of familiarity with the Scriptures and thus he began with principles within

¹Ibid., October 26, 1801.

²Ibid., April 13, 1801.

³David Bogue, An Essay on the Divine Authority of the New Testament, 1820, (5th Edition), pp. xiv, xv.

⁴L.M.S. Board Minutes, Nov. 16, 1801.

⁵Bogue, Essay, 1820, pp. iii, iv.

the New Testament which were evidences of its divine nature.¹ He followed with matters suggested by the content of the New Testament,² and the testimony of the apostles.³ Further considerations pertaining to the twelve, miracles, prophecy, and the success of the gospel were considered next in that order.⁴ These matters, he claimed, all testified of and confirmed the divine nature of the New Testament. He proceeded by answering fifteen common objections raised against the divine authority of the New Testament,⁵ and closed with a practical comparison of the deist's seriousness toward his religion with that of a Christian toward his faith.⁶

In endeavoring to help the French, Bogue did not choose the approach of hurling furious invectives at them. He recognized that their antipathy to the gospel came from their inability

¹This first chapter is much like the main section of Bogue's 1788 sermon on right sentiments in religion. This published sermon was against Socinianism. The character of God, of Jesus Christ, the delineation of human nature, etc. are considered. Ibid., pp. 13ff.

²Ibid., pp. 60ff.

³Ibid., pp. 93ff.

⁴Ibid., pp. 134-181.

⁵These objections written in 1801 still have a modern ring. E.g. "Christianity is the Friend of Despotism, and the Enemy of Liberty." Ibid., p. 211. For all the objections see pages 203 to 251.

⁶There are following this section some miscellaneous matters and a final statement. Ibid., 254ff.

to distinguish true Christianity from Popery. In discarding the latter, they thought it necessary to reject the former. Not only had true doctrines not been taught, but the church's conduct had not coincided with her profession. Conscious of the church's failure, Bogue, with humility and love, pled for open-mindedness in considering God's revelation in the Scriptures. He was cognizant of the danger of the Deist's position, and would have all Christians alert, - alert but not fearful. He was convinced that the church of Christ was founded upon a rock and had stood its ground in all ages, and would continue to wear out all hammers of opposition which would strike against its permanency.¹

While the Essay on the Divine Authority was circulating in Britain, Bogue did not allow the Missionary Society to forget about the needs of the continent. On the twenty-third of November, 1801, he read them a letter telling of the state of religion in France and Italy.² During the following spring, the Directors were kept well supplied with reading material: all letters regarding France which Bogue brought with him to the Committee meetings.³

The Society's records show that on the seventeenth of

¹After Bogue's Essay, 1820, pp. ii-xi; see also Bennett, David Bogue, pp. 225-227.

²L.M.S. Board Minutes, Nov. 23, 1801.

³See for example the Board Minutes of March 29, 1802.

May, 1802, a committee was appointed to go to France to forward the New Testament plans,¹ and to procure information on the actual state of religion in that country, so that the Society might know how to proceed in promoting Christianity.² Lovett, in his history of the London Missionary Society, made no understatement when he commented, "Mr. Bogue, in this as in so many of the early movements of the Society.../took/ the initiative...."³

The treaty of Amiens being completed, Dr. Bogue, Joseph Hardcastle, Alexander Waugh, and Matthew Wilks, representatives of the Missionary Society,⁴ set out for France to seek the best means of building "on the ruins of the Papacy, the divine edifice of pure Christianity".⁵ During the month's visit, the group preached where opportunity afforded,⁶ interviewed persons of rank and influence, and were greatly encouraged by the approval of the French of their proposed benevolent work, and by their desire to help promote it.⁷ The deputation group found there was a need

¹ Ibid., May 17, 1802.

² Evangelical Magazine, Nov., 1802, p. 462. A report of the deputation team is included in the November issue.

³ Lovett, op. cit., I, 94.

⁴ Bennett, David Bogue, p. 227.

⁵ This is the way the Ninth Report of the Missionary Society put it, 1803, p. 154.

⁶ Bogue preached in the Protestant temple of St. Thomas de Louvres in Paris, and in Amiens. Bennett, op. cit., p. 228.

⁷ Evangelical Magazine, Nov., 1802, pp. 462ff.

for their New Testaments as is evidenced in their report:

In Paris, it required a search among the booksellers, of four days, to find a single Bible: - we fear this is also the awful situation of the greater part of France, and other countries formerly connected with the See of Rome.¹

Though the Word of God was scarce, the Committee found a hunger for it. A bookseller applied for hundreds of copies as soon as the Society could furnish them.² From persons of all walks of life, they received co-operation. A member of the legislature, Mr. Denon,³ voluntarily offered his services to translate the Essay into French.⁴ An Italian Bishop, "feeling strongly on account of the abominations of Popery," offered to translate the Essay for his people in order "to diffuse the purer principles of the Protestant faith."⁵ A member of the legislative body asked if six devoted and spiritual young men from France could be sent to England to be educated for the ministry.⁶ The scattered Protestants are said to have taken courage from the Committee's visit and showed new zeal to unify their long persecuted constituency.⁷ Government officials "strongly

¹Ibid., p. 463.

²Ibid.

³James Hay and Henry Belfrage, Memoir of the Rev. Alexander Waugh, 1839, p. 176.

⁴Evangelical Magazine, Nov., 1802, p. 462.

⁵Ibid., p. 463.

⁶Ibid., Nov., 1802, p. 463.

⁷Ibid., p. 465.

recommended the Protestants to exert themselves, and promised them a church and a house".¹ Other Frenchmen asked for missionaries and religious books in their language.² It was understandable that the group reported on their return to England: "It is extremely manifest, that a wide door is opened for the Gospel".³

The Missionary Society's Directors, upon hearing the report and the recommendations of the France deputation group, passed unanimously all of the resolutions recommended.⁴ They included the printing of the New Testament and Bogue's Essay in French and Italian, the printing of Watts' and the Assembly's catechism in French, and

3. That a Committee be formed for taking into Consideration the best means by which a Periodical Publication, similar to the Evangelical Magazine, could be formed and conducted in France.

4. That an Application be made for Six Suitable Persons to be sent over to England, to receive Instructions under the patronage of our Society, with a view to the Exercise of the Protestant Ministry in France.

5. That an Address from our Society to the Protestants in France, tending to call forth their Exertions in the

¹The Deputation reported, "The Protestant cause is considered by the present government of France to be favourable to its stability". Ibid., p. 464.

²Ibid., pp. 464, 465.

³Ibid., p. 465.

⁴Following the report of the Deputation Group to France there is a statement to this effect. Ibid., p. 467.

Cause of the Redeemer, be formed by the Committee of Correspondence.

6. That the Rev. Samuel Tracy be appointed the Agent of our Society in Paris, for six months to come; and that he be considered as having acted in that capacity from the commencement of his arrival in that city.¹

The break out of war after a peace of just a few months did not allow the Missionary Society opportunity to carry out all of these resolutions. Mr. Cadoret, who had been translating material for his people,² was forced to return to France.³ Dr. Bogue showed his great concern in a letter to Alexander Waugh:

I wish I could but cut out the tongues of the half of your ministers in Scotland, and put French ones in their place, and send them instantly to Amiens, Bourdeaux, Nismes, Paris, where the harvest is so great, and the labourers almost none.⁴

With preaching and other direct mission work now impossible, Bogue once again turned to the press. He recommended to the Society the translating and printing of Doddridge's Rise and Progress, and Boston's Four-fold State.⁵ To give the English a more intelligent understanding of the conditions in France under Napoleon, he obtained the translation of Bonaparte's Catechism for the Use of All the Churches in the French Empire, and gave it

¹Ibid., pp. 466, 467.

²L.M.S. Board Minutes, July 19, 1802.

³Ibid., Sept., 19, 1803.

⁴Hay and Belfrage, Waugh, p. 172.

⁵L.M.S. Board Minutes, Dec. 22, 1806.

to the public with an introduction and notes.¹

Dr. Bogue's literary effort on behalf of Europe, especially his Essay, accomplished much. To hear it said of the Essay on the Divine Authority of the New Testament, "that no work of a religious character, with the possible exception of 'Pilgrim's Progress', was ever so popular or enjoyed so wide a circulation",² seems like an exaggeration. However, in France it went through three editions,³ in England five,⁴ two in Italy,⁵ Germany⁶ and the United States,⁷ and was also translated into Dutch, Spanish,⁸ and Armeno-Turkish.⁹ It was later included

¹See the work, published by Williams and Smith, 1807. The Eclectic Review, Feb. 1807, pp. 151-156, gives a review of it.

²Bogue, Virgil, Bogue and Allied Families, p. 20; see also the article on David Bogue in the Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen, I, 155, 156.

³Bogue, Essay, 1820, pp. xv, xvi. By 1814 it had gone through three printings: 1803, 1812, 1814; see also the title page of the 3rd French Edition, Essai sur La Divine Autorité du Nouveau Testament.

⁴Bogue, Essay, 1820, p. xvii. The 4th edition was published in Malacca, by William Milne. Ibid.

⁵Bogue, Saggio sulla Divina Autorità del Nuovo Testamento, (2nd Edition), 1814. On the title page of this second Spanish edition, the dates of the two editions are given: 1803, 1814.

⁶One edition was translated by Dr. Blumhardt of the Basle Missionary College. See Bogue, Essay, 1820, p. xvii.

⁷Letter from the Library of the Yale University Divinity School, Nov. 21, 1958, to Dr. J. Leslie Dunstan.

⁸James Bennett, History of Dissenters, 1808-1838, 1839, p. 145.

⁹Copy in the New College Library, Edinburgh. Published in Smyrna, 1847.

in the Christian Library,¹ the New Family Library,² and the Biblical Family Library.³

When the Essay first appeared in English it was recognized as an "ingenious and valuable work".⁴ The reviewers thought a book of 300 pages a bit too long for a preface to the New Testament and also suggested that for the French edition Bogue "relinquish any attempt to reconcile the precepts of Scripture with the maxims of the French Revolution."⁵

Mr. Denon's translation of the work into French was excellently done.⁶ In his introductory remarks which recommended the Essay to his people, he spoke highly of Mr. Bogue, the author:

His Essay may be regarded as the essence of all that former authors have written on this subject;

One thing which distinguished this Essay, and which ought to increase the number of its readers, is the spirit of gentleness, affection, and philanthropy, which it breathes throughout. David Bogue appears to have been animated

¹Christian Library, XVIII, pp. 5-252.

²New Family Library, III, pp. 150-312.

³Biblical Family Library.

⁴So the reviewers in the Evangelical Magazine, May, 1802, p. 179.

⁵Ibid., p. 180.

⁶"But with the character of a translation, the work before us, has the air of an original. For the translator...has evidently that knowledge of our language, and that command of his own, which are requisite to produce a translation at once faithful and elegant." Eclectic Review, Jan., 1813, p. 83.

solely by the desire of doing good to his fellow-creatures; and of leading them into the true path of wisdom, virtue, and happiness.¹

It is interesting to note that Bogue heeded the advice of English critics and when referring to rulers and subjects wrote that his own attitude was "that Christ taught his disciples not to reform their country by violence and force, not to break the peace of society, and to make use of no other weapons than truth and love."²

Dr. Bogue said that he

received the highest rewards for his labours which could be given, and that is the knowledge that in numerous instances both at home and abroad, in different quarters of the world, the book has been the means, under divine influence, of convincing deists of the evil and danger of their religious system, and of bringing them to the belief and profession of the Christian Faith.³

Among those reached for Christianity through it were people of

¹Evangelical Magazine, Feb., 1805, p. 83. The translation from the French is given in this article.

²Ibid., p. 84. The Eclectic Review said of the French edition, "A Modern Work in the French language, on the most important subject that can occupy the mind, pure in principle, convincing in argument, and warm with the glow of Christian benevolence, is unhappily, a great rarity. To such a work, therefore, we call the attention of our readers with peculiar satisfaction." Jan., 1813, p. 82.

³Bogue, Essay, 1820, pp. xvii, xviii. Another reward is appreciation. The Directors of the L.M.S. who asked Bogue to undertake the work remarked, "The Directors congratulate the Society, that the assiduous and benevolent labours of their esteemed and reverend brother have so ably and honourably terminated; and that a work of such appropriate and distinguished excellence, has, at once, dignified the conduct, and increased the efficiency of this institution." Report of the Missionary Society, 1802, pp. 148, 149.

all ranks. The testimony reached the author of an eminent German nobleman who was "converted from a keen determined infidel, to a devoted, zealous, and active disciple of Jesus Christ."¹ A letter came from a Frenchman at a depot saying, "but I declare with sincerity, that without your Essay, I should never have opened this Bible",² and then he went on to tell of his new found faith in Christ. While exiled on St. Helena, Napoleon was sent a copy of the Essay which was found at his death well annotated.³

II. HOLLAND, BELGIUM, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Of all the countries of Europe, Dr. Bogue took the greatest interest in France.⁴ His interest, however, was not limited to that country. In 1816 he made his second trip⁵ to the Netherlands. The purpose of the visit was to confer with their Missionary Society.⁶ Dr. Bogue was well known to the Dutch. Their missionary organization had sprung up as a result

¹Bogue, Essay, 1820, p. xviii.

²Evangelical Magazine, Dec., 1813, p. 469.

³Morison, L.M.S. Fathers, I, 524; see also William Canton, A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1904, I, 132.

⁴Was it their deep need, or could it have been his Dutch-French extraction?

⁵The first was in 1776 when he considered a call to a church. Bennett, David Bogue, pp. 60, 61.

⁶Bennett, op. cit., p. 287.

of the London Missionary Society and its circulated reports.¹ Students from the continent had been enrolled in the Gosport missionary seminary.² Besides having Bogue's masterful missionary apology in their language, they had the Essay on the New Testament.³ Bogue's party encouraged the Dutch Society: to start a seminary for the training of their future personnel; to reach Belgium with the gospel as well as to canvass their own country; and to consider their eastern colonies and Irkutsk as possible mission fields.⁴

In addition to meeting with the Netherlands Society, the delegation had been asked to inspect conditions in Belgium which had recently become a part of Holland. They toured Antwerp, Malines, Brussels, Ghent and Bruges, and were disheartened by the superstitions of the people under the influence of Rome.⁵ Upon return to England, Bogue recommended to the Society that they begin work in Belgium.⁶

¹In the Feb., 1798 issue of the Missionary Magazine, there is a letter from Dr. Vanderkemp explaining the beginning of the Dutch Society, pp. 88, 89.

²See Chapter II, page 59.

³See page 245 of this Chapter. Bogue's sermon on "Universal Peace" has also been translated into Dutch. Letter from Dr. Johannes Van Den Berg to the author, Feb. 19, 1959.

⁴Bennett, op. cit., pp. 287-292.

⁵Ibid., pp. 292-297.

⁶L.M.S. Board Minutes, May 19, 1817.

Scattered throughout the Missionary Society's records are further accounts which bear witness to David Bogue's wide missionary vision. His interest and influence were not limited to Europe and the east. He, who rejoiced in the independence of the colonies,¹ was well known and respected in America. Although he never set foot on its soil, his sermons, Essay, theological lectures and students² found their way to those distant shores.

It was through the missionary reports³ from England which reached the States that the Williams' college students, Samuel Mills and companions, became interested in the heathen and proposed a mission.⁴ Later, the students' approach to the General Association of Massachusetts asking for support of the churches led to the formation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the first foreign missionary society in America.⁵ In the meantime the missionary-volunteer students

¹The Theological Lectures of the Late Rev. David Bogue, edited by Joseph Samuel C.F. Frey, Two Volumes, 1849, II, 590, 591.

²S. Blatchford, J.S.C.F. Frey, David Parker, and Wm. Ballantine went to America. See Appendix A.

³"I believe all the missionary societies lately formed in America owe their rise to those formed in England, and their extraordinary exertions." A letter from Dr. Hopkins of Newport to Andrew Fuller, dated Oct., 1799. Quoted in Stoughton, 18th Century, II, 349; see also John Waddington, Congregational History: 1700-1800, where the letter is quoted, pp. 708-711.

⁴K.S. Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity, Vol. IV, 78-81.

⁵Ibid., 81; see also Joseph Tracy, History of the A.B.C.F.M., 1842, pp. 25ff.

from Williams went on to the newly-founded divinity college, Andover.¹ Here in 1811, in support of their Society of inquiry on the subject of missions, they printed Bogue's missionary apologetic sermon.² The same year Adoniram Judson, a cohort of Mills, wrote to Dr. Bogue asking if two or three married students might come to England and be accepted at the Gosport Academy on probation.³ As a follow-up of this correspondence Judson came over to England to confer with the Missionary Society.⁴ However, the American Board was not entirely satisfied with the arrangements proposed by London, so eventually ventured forth with a mission manned and supported from their side of the Atlantic.⁵ Then again, relationship between the two countries was being strained by the factors which brought on the war of 1812.⁶

In addition to the missionary sermon of 1795 and the Essay, Dr. Bogue's two sermons: "Universal Peace"; "the Voice of God to the churches"; and his theological lectures were published

¹Latourette, op. cit., p. 81

²Printed by Hilliard & Metcalf, Cambridge, Mass., 1811.

³L.M.S. Board Minutes, June 25, 1810.

⁴Most of the time in England he spent at Gosport with Dr. Bogue. Waddington, Congregational History, to 1850, pp. 227, 228.

⁵Latourette, op. cit., IV, 82.

⁶See Chapter I, p. 18, footnote 2.

in America.¹ The last-mentioned work was recommended by Professors G.P. Williams and A. Ten Brook of the University of Michigan in the following manner:

The name of Dr. Bogue is so well known to the churches, both in Europe and in this country that little needs be said respecting himself, in this short notice. His extensive knowledge as a Scholar and Divine; his eminent piety as a Christian and Minister; his unbounded zeal and unremitting efforts to spread the gospel, both among the heathen and Jews; his superior talents and success in the education of several hundred Ministers and Missionaries, without assistance, are seldom found united in any one person.²

In recognition of Dr. Bogue's contribution to the cause of Christ in America and throughout the world, Yale College, in 1815, conferred on him the Doctor of Divinity degree.³ However, honors were not of interest to David Bogue.⁴ He was interested and involved at about this time in an endeavor to send a mission to another part of the world. The mission was to begin in Northern Europe, proceed beyond Moscow, and enter into Asia.⁵

¹The first at New Vienna, Ohio by the Peace Association of Friends in America, 1869. The second in 1811 at Boston, by Samuel T. Armstrong. For the latter see Chapter II, page 62.

²Frey, *op. cit.*, I. The recommendations are inside the front cover. A group of ministers from the following churches concurred in the recommendations: Reformed Dutch Church, Presbyterian, Associate Reformed Presbyterian, Congregational and Baptist.

³Morison, *L.M.S. Fathers*, I, 528; see also Bennett, *David Bogue*, pp. 251, 252.

⁴He declined the degree saying that he was not worthy of it. Bennett, *op. cit.*, pp. 251, 252.

⁵L.M.S. Board Minutes, May 16, 1814.

III. ASIA: INDIA AND CHINA

In considering Dr. Bogue's interest in Asia it is necessary to begin the study during the early years of the London Missionary Society. At their first anniversary meetings in May, 1796, Dr. Bogue presented a memoir on a mission to Surat, the Malabar coast, and the West Indies islands.¹ Mr. Bogue was a vocal advocate of missions to civilized peoples. His reasons for this preference of Asia compared with the islands of the South Seas and Africa have already been considered.²

Also attending the May meetings was a young man from Scotland, Robert Haldane.³ He must have been exceedingly pleased when Mr. Bogue presented his memorial, because one of the reasons for his coming to England was to confer with Mr. Bogue about a proposed mission to India.⁴ A few days after the London meetings, at Gosport, Mr. Haldane made his plan known. Although in his forty-seventh year Bogue immediately agreed to accompany the mission.⁵

¹Ibid., May 13, 1796.

²See Chapter IV, page 128.

³J. Haldane, Lives of Robert and James Haldane, 1853, pp. 100, 101.

⁴Ibid., p. 101.

⁵Ibid.

In addition to Haldane and Bogue, Greville Ewing and William Innes, both ministers of the Church of Scotland, were to be the principal figures.¹ In Benares there was to be set up a theological school for the training of converts to reach unevangelized areas.² The Scriptures were to be translated into the Hindu language and printed on the field. To man the schools and the press, catechists³ and printers⁴ were to be included in the mission. Including the wives, the project was to involve thirty people.⁵

To finance the endeavor Robert Haldane intended to sell his large estate at Airthrey. £25,000 was to be put in a trust to guarantee the undertaking in case of his death. £3500 was to be given each participant, so as to assure their future financial security. In addition, the expense of transporting the group to the field was to be met.⁶

¹Ibid., pp. 100, 101.

²Bennett, David Bogue, p. 204.

³John Campbell was approached to go in this category. Leaving it to the Clapham group to decide for him, he declined the invitation. Robert Philip, The Life, Times, and Missionary Enterprises of the Rev. John Campbell, 1841, pp. 258-263.

⁴John Ritchie, an Edinburgh printer, had agreed to accompany the mission as a printer. Haldane, op. cit., p. 101.

⁵Quoted in Matheson's, Greville Ewing, p. 107, from the Missionary Magazine. If his wife's health permitted James Haldane was also to be included in the group. Haldane, op. cit., p. 103.

⁶Haldane, op. cit., p. 102.

Having acquired the consent of the parties involved in the undertaking, Haldane and Bogue made their approach to the East India Company to seek permission to enter their proposed field of labor.¹ Here was a party well known in the British Kingdom, and no quiet, unnoticeable entrance into India such as William Carey and Thomas made on a Danish ship could be attempted.²

In 1793 a vague statement concerning religious improvement had been passed regarding the Indian people. A bill assuring chaplains and school masters for that land had, in the same year, been defeated.³ Burke's statement as to the kind of monument England had built in that land of 12,000,000 inhabitants in thirty years was a sad but true commentary. He said:

England has erected no churches, no hospitals, no palaces, no schools. England has built no bridges, made no high roads, cut no navigations, dug out no reservoirs. Every other conqueror, of every other description, has left some monument, either of state or beneficence, behind him. Were we to be driven out of India this day, nothing would remain to tell that it had been possessed during the inglorious period of our dominion by anything better than the ourang-outang /sic/, or the tiger.⁴

Haldane and Bogue went for permission to enter their

¹Bennett, op. cit., p. 204.

²E.A. Payne, The Church Awakes, 1942, pp. 109-111; see also Matheson, Greville Ewing, pp. 106, 107.

³Haldane, op. cit., p. 105.

⁴Ibid. Burke's speech is included in this work.

proposed mission area to Lord Dundas, the head of the board of control for the affairs of India. Mr. Dundas was a distant relative of Mr. Haldane, and knew of Mr. Bogue.¹ It is doubtful, therefore, whether he took the same attitude toward the two men which Wilberforce seems to have taken. The latter, whose help the group sought in obtaining permission from the Government, recorded in his diary that the men were "perfect democrats" and, therefore, safer in the backwoods than in society.²

Notwithstanding Wilberforce's views, the matter was not decided on the basis of supposed democratic politics. In 1793, and again in 1813, the East India Company opposed opening the door of India to the gospel.³ These twenty-four merchants were interested in the financial resources of that land, and any threat to this monetary gain was vigorously opposed.

¹Dundas was a cousin to Mr. Haldane's grandfather, and related by marriage to Robert's uncle, Lord Duncan. He knew of Bogue through the Duncans and had offered him the living of St. Cuthbert's. Haldane, op. cit., p. 115.

²Ibid., pp. 110-112. Waddington, in Congregational History, 1700-1800, pp. 716, 717, says, "From a thorough examination of the minutes at the East India House, and original letters in the British Museum, and in other collections, we find that the Clapham party - Charles Grant, John Newton, and the rest - laboured most assiduously to thwart the intended mission of Haldane, Bogue and Ewing, and to supersede all other missionary plans in the East by the introduction of chaplains or missionaries in connection with the Church of England."

³Payne, op. cit., pp. 108ff.

To this caliber of men, Haldane, Bogue and party presented their official request in December, 1796.¹ In support of their letter, they asked religious societies and interested ministers to send to the Directors of the East India Company petitions showing their sentiments in the matter.² Many organizations and individuals, including the London Missionary Society, complied with this request.³ Three weeks later, on the 12th of January, they received an answer from the Company denying them permission to enter India.⁴ The first reaction of the group was to make an immediate appeal, but, later, understanding that there was to be an election of new Directors in April, it was decided to wait until the Company had a change of personnel.⁵

In the meantime Dr. Bogue laid the matter before the public in three successive articles submitted to sympathizing periodicals. The first, "An Inquiry, Whether the People of Great Britain have not Contracted Much Guilt, in Neglecting to send the

¹Matheson, op. cit., p. 96. Wilberforce himself was involved in the 1793 and 1813 struggle and it was not against his liberal politics that the East India Company fought.

²Waddington, Congregational History, to 1850, pp. 78, 79. On these pages there is a copy of such a letter.

³Included is a letter of the L.M.S. In the minutes of the East India Company of January 11, 1797 several groups are mentioned as having sent in correspondence. Ibid., pp. 80, 81.

⁴A copy of the letter is included in Waddington, Ibid., p. 81.

⁵Matheson, op. cit., p. 96 has a letter which the group of ministers wrote concerning an appeal.

Gospel to Bengal", placed the blame of neglecting millions of souls through an entire generation squarely upon Christians' lack of consideration.¹ The nation at large was guilty, but what could be expected from men who neglected their own souls? Christians, who knew the value of immortal souls, who had experienced the gospel's salvation, who knew of the apostles' proclamation of the gospel to the heathen, they were responsible! Mr. Bogue pointed out that in a free country people have the right and duty to petition the government for those things to which they are convinced they have a claim.² He continued:

The friends of humanity conceived they performed a duty when they exercised their right by petitioning for the abolition of the slave trade. On the present occasion you are within the acknowledged limits of your own province; and you perform a high duty when you exercise the right of making a respectful application to the Rulers of India for leave to introduce the Gospel into Bengal. Civil governors are fully employed in attending to the affairs of the world, and are then in their proper sphere. It is from his own disciples that Christ looks for the advancement of his cause, and the prosperity of his kingdom.³

Bogue knew that the first refusal came suddenly without the Directors entering into the merits of the petition, and without them giving any reason for their decision.⁴ So with cutting,

¹Missionary Magazine, Supplement, 1796, pp. 322ff; Evangelical Magazine, Feb., 1797, pp. 74-83.

²Evangelical Magazine, Feb., 1797, pp. 78-80.

³Ibid., pp. 79, 80.

⁴See Robert Cowie's letter in Waddington, Congregational History, to 1850, pp. 82, 83.

but true, statements he showed that if lay-Christians were guilty, how much more blame fell upon the ministers of the gospel who by their very call claimed to be public-spirited men, but yet neglected to rouse their people to take action on behalf of India.¹ Bogue had not expected immediate success in the petition to the East India Company,² but he reasoned that if the Christian public could give a fair statement and full representation of their sentiments on the matter, then the Board of Control would be forced to listen and probably would be convinced of the propriety and reasonableness of the request.³

The second article from Bogue's pen, "The Peculiar Advantages of Bengal, as a Field for Missions from Great Britain" followed immediately.⁴ It summarized the reasons for preferring a civilized nation as a most proper field.⁵ Of this matter, as in the request to the East India Company, all Christians were not fully convinced. It is interesting that Bogue's article on

¹Evangelical Magazine, Feb., 1797, pp. 80-83.

²"We do not expect immediate success...." See his letter in Bennett, David Bogue, p. 206.

³Evangelical Magazine, Feb., 1797, p. 80.

⁴It appeared in the January issue of the Missionary Magazine, 1797. In the Evangelical Magazine it also appeared in the January issue, while the "Inquiry..." followed in the February number.

⁵See Chapter IV for Bogue's view on this subject. For the article see pages 18-23 in the January number of the Evangelical Magazine, 1797.

on Bengal is followed in the Evangelical Magazine by one on "Curious Traditions, among the Inhabitants of Otaheite."¹ The two authors, David Bogue and Thomas Haweis, were the champions of opposite opinions on proper spheres of labor in the London Missionary Society. Haweis accused Bogue of seeking an area protected by the colonial government,² while Bogue felt it was not wise to send so many missionaries to the South Seas and South Africa when the more populous regions of the east were receiving so little attention.³ To Bogue the number of people within reach of the missionary himself and the ability of the reached, through native ingenuity, political and geographical situation, to further evangelize, were arguments supported by apostolic

¹Ibid., pp. 23-25.

²Haweis believed Bogue diverted every missionary sent to the Gosport academy. It has been noted that Bogue directed Morrison's attention from Africa to China (see Chapter I, page 4) and did teach that there was wisdom in choosing a proper sphere of labor (Chapter IV, page 128). However, he did not divert people from the missionary call to work in the dissenting churches. Contrariwise, there are records of many who entered Gosport designated for the home ministry and later volunteered their services to the L.M.S. For Haweis' views see Wood, Thomas Haweis, pp. 237, 238. For an example of students changing to the missionary seminary see the L.M.S. Candidate Committee Minutes of May 20, 1812.

³"I have also endeavoured to oppose what I conceive an unreasonable fondness for the South Sea Islands and South Africa." Bogue pled for the 700,000,000 in Asia rather than for the 300,000 in the two above-named fields which already had a number of missionaries. See Dale, John A. James, pp. 137-139, where Bogue expresses his opinion in a letter to James.

precedent and common sense.¹ These two arguments are set forth in this article supported by lesser factors.² David Bogue did feel that when, under providence, a nation was responsible for another country's government and economy, the governing people were accountable in a special way, under God, for the colony's spiritual needs.³

The third article, which followed at once, was entitled, "On the Warrant of a Minister of the Gospel to become a Missionary."⁴ This was an answer to those, such as John Newton,⁵ who strove to keep ministers of the gospel at home on the ground that they were already occupied in an important and influential position.⁶ Bogue's own view is set forth clearly in a personal letter,

¹Evangelical Magazine, Jan., 1797, pp. 18-23. See also Chapter IV, page 128.

²Such as the breakdown of the ancient systems of religion in India, and the protection which could be expected from the civil government. Ibid., pp. 20, 21.

³Ibid., p. 19: also the February issue of the same periodical, page 79.

⁴Missionary Magazine, Jan., 1797, pp. 29-33; see also Matheson, Greville Ewing, pp. 98, 99.

⁵Newton was the one who discouraged John Campbell from joining the India team, and apparently used the same tactics on Greville Ewing. Philip, John Campbell, p. 259.

⁶Matheson, op. cit., p. 99. Bogue knew some of the other Evangelical clergymen were outright opponents of the mission. See his letter in Waddington, Congregational History, to 1850, pp. 83, 84.

The plan of sending out young men unaccustomed to the task of religious instruction never appeared to me calculated to produce the end we had in view. I always thought it the duty of more experienced men /ministers, like himself/ to lead the way, and offer themselves for the service of the heathen....¹

At the same time another anonymous article² appeared in the Evangelical Magazine addressed to the Missionary Society and entitled, "Thoughts on Obtaining Missionaries."³ The gist of the article is seen in the first paragraph:

When means are procured to send the Gospel to the heathen, and the invitation given, to men of piety and ability, to carry the message of peace to distant climes, one would naturally conclude that, at least, many able ministers of the New Testament, as well as private characters, would make a voluntary sacrifice of themselves to be the instruments of establishing Christ's kingdom in heathen lands. Upon a cursory view of the subject, this is no more than what might be expected from those, whose ardent prayer is that the heathen may be given to Jesus for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession; and not only so, but who are straining every nerve by associations, contributions, writings, sermons, and influence in their own land, to pave the way of the Lord to heathen nations. Are we to call this an hypocritical farce, or something worse, as the enemies of this cause often do? or, are we to conclude that there are almost none who have either piety, ability, or courage to undertake so glorious an enterprise?⁴

¹Quoted in Bennett, David Bogue, p. 205.

²All of the above articles by Bogue appeared without his signature, but Ewing, who was editor of the Missionary Magazine, shows that they were Bogue's. Matheson, Greville Ewing, pp. 96ff. Of the present article we are not sure who the author was.

³Op. cit., May, 1797, pp. 177-185.

⁴Ibid., p. 177. Italics are in the text.

It is to the credit of David Bogue that he was the only one intimately associated with the Missionary Society who offered himself for service on the foreign field.¹

In the month of February, 1797, David Bogue turned from magazine articles to a circular letter to people all over the three kingdoms of Ireland, Scotland, and England.² The group felt it their duty to do all within their power and right to set the matter before the populace, so that public opinion, in turn, might express itself to the Directors of the Company. One of their previous circulars had stated the situation in the following terms:

When we consider that the question is not whether a few individuals shall be allowed to go to India to propagate the religion of this country, but whether twenty-four merchants are to exclude the gospel of Jesus Christ from ten millions of our fellow-subjects, we are persuaded you and your brethren will feel the most lively concern in the business, and that nothing further need be said to stimulate your zeal.³

The response to the appeal in the circular letter was tremendous. Referring to the letters before the India Directors written on behalf of Bogue's and Haldane's second request, Robert Cowie wrote:

...the memorial of our friends was not presented until May last, seconded by that from the reverend Board /Board of

¹ Lovett, op. cit., I, 54, 55.

² See the copy in the Laing MSS., II, 501, in the Edinburgh University Library. It was sent in to Lord Dundas by George Hill.

³ Waddington, Congregational History, to 1850, pp. 78, 79. Quoted from a circular letter sent out in December, 1796. Italics are in the text.

Dissenting Ministers/... and a very great number of petitions, memorials, letters from various Synods and Presbyters in Scotland, all the Missionary secretaries of that country, and from associations of ministers in many towns and countries in England, also from the ministers in Dublin.¹

Waddington said that "Congregational, Baptist, Presbyterian, and Wesleyan associations in every part of the country" supported their application.² It is no wonder that John Newton wrote to John Campbell, "But my heart goes a pit-a-pat when I think of the possible consequences of attempting to make such a general stir throughout the nation."³

The second memorial of the Haldane group was very straightforward and undoubtedly caused a stir in itself. They wrote to the Directors of the East India Company:

If it should appear to you that we have stated these things strongly, do not, we beseech you, consider us as guilty of disrespect to your Honourable Court. Nothing is farther from our thoughts. It is our wish to state what we conceive to be truth, and important truth, with all frankness and simplicity. But while we use not flattering words, we should be much grieved, if you were to accuse us of treating you with rudeness. Regard us as men of integrity speaking plainly what we strongly feel, on a subject of the greatest moment. It is vain to entertain a hope, that if leave be refused, it will prevent every future application, and silence the importunity of your petitioners. The certain consequence of a refusal will be a contest with the friends of religion, who must feel that they are called on to exert themselves with persevering firmness, in order to attain their benevolent object. In this contest you will labour under many disadvantages. The numbers against

¹Ibid., p. 82

²Waddington, Congregational History, 1700-1800, pp. 716, 717.

³Philip, John Campbell, p. 261.

you, perhaps you are not aware of. Some millions are not to be despised.... As to the final issue of the business, we entertain not a single doubt. The success of the friends of Christianity may be considered as absolutely certain. In an age of darkness, when a subject is imperfectly understood, or when it is not sought on principle, or when it is the cause but of a few, it may be opposed with efficacy. But the case here is widely different. It is an age of light; the subject has been under the consideration of religious people for some years past; they are sensible of its importance; it is espoused by multitudes which will increase with the investigation; and it is pursued by them from a sense of duty.¹

The Directors handled the spirited memorial in their own way; they stalled for time.² Robert Cowie wrote,

We understand that the subject has been under discussion, and they have requested one gentleman of their own body, who has for some years been endeavouring to obtain free admission for ministers of the gospel to their territories in India, to arrange his sentiments on the subject in a general point of view, and print them for the use and consideration of the Directors.³

The group had received no reply after eleven months, and upon the advice of his close and trusted friend, Joseph Hardcastle, Bogue agreed to suspend the design "to apply to the House of Lords, and to the King, and the House of Commons, and then to lay the whole before the public...."⁴

¹Quoted in Matheson, Greville Ewing, pp. 631-633. Italics are in the text.

²Waddington, Congregational History, to 1850, pp. 83, 84.

³Ibid., p. 83. Italics are in the text.

⁴Bogue's letter of July 5, 1797, to George Burder. Waddington, op. cit., pp. 83, 84.

The issue was not laid down in defeat.¹ It is true that when a massacre of Europeans later occurred at Benares, the very place where they hoped to labor, the would-be missionary group saw in the matter the hand of God.² However, the case of India had been blazed so far abroad that when the time came for the renewal of the East India Company's charter in 1813, public opinion was too strong for the merchants.³

A less direct attack than waged by Bogue and associates was attempted by Wilberforce in 1813, but the East India Company fought the issue as before.⁴ It is alleged that at one time one of their Directors said that he would rather see a band of devils than a band of missionaries.⁵ However, Bogue's words to the Directors were prophetic, the "multitudes.../did/ increase with the investigation".⁶ Churchmen now joined Baptists,

¹This is shown by Bogue's refusal to accept the first offer of the L.M.S. to become the tutor of their missionary seminary. This was some time after his letter to Mr. Hardcastle (April 27, 1798) saying that he and Mr. Haldane were willing to wait for some time. Waddington, ibid., p. 34; see also Bennett, op. cit., p. 219.

²Haldane, Robert and James Haldane, p. 123.

³R.W. Dale, History of English Congregationalism, 1907, p. 578.

⁴Ibid., see also Haldane, op. cit., p. 119.

⁵This statement was made during the 1796-98 appeal. Bennett, David Bogue, p. 209.

⁶See page 265 of this chapter.

Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Methodists, and together they forced a clause to be inserted into the new charter which allowed "facilities to persons who desired to preach the Christian Gospel to the people of India and to establish schools for their children".¹

To David Bogue and his companions, according to Lovett, the Missionary Society historian, go much of the credit for forcing the door of India open to the gospel.² This 1813 decision, which gave freedom to preach the gospel, probably accomplished more for the ultimate good of India than had the group, avoiding the head-on conflict, gone out under heavy restrictions.

The populous east continued to receive the attention of David Bogue, if not of the Missionary Society.³ In his estimation not only was India a proper field of labor, but also high on the priority list was China. His question on the placement of the Missionary Society's personnel was a difficult one to answer. He queried:

What will the intelligent part of mankind think of a great society, more than one-half of whose missionaries are

¹Dale, op. cit., p. 578.

²Lovett, op. cit., I, 55, 56.

³In a letter to James, Bogue remarks that he has pled with the Society for the East, "but my remonstrances are in vain". Dale, John Angell James, pp. 138, 139.

employed about three hundred thousand people,¹ when there are, perhaps, more than seven hundred millions perishing for lack of knowledge, and calling to them to come over and help them.²

As a direct result of the stir caused by Bogue's periodical articles and circular letters, Nathaniel Forsyth was moved to offer himself for India,³ and later went out as the first London Missionary Society missionary to that land.⁴ After this Bogue sought for an opening in China. During the Missionary Society's annual meetings in 1802, he took John Campbell aside and challenged him to be the first Protestant missionary to China.⁵ This not materializing, he presented Robert Morrison, his student at Gosport, with the same challenge. Morrison wrote to a friend on June 9, 1804,

My future destination is altogether unknown to me. It is in agitation to send a mission to China. Mr. Bogue seems quite fond of it. I have had some thoughts of going

¹He refers to the populations of the South Seas and South Africa. Ibid., pp. 138, 139.

²Ibid., p. 139.

³C. Silvester Horne, The Story of the L.M.S.: 1795-1895, 1895, p. 92.

⁴Lovett, op. cit., I, 102, 103.

⁵Bogue did this in Drs. Haweis' and Mason's presence. Philips wrote, "This step was pressed upon him by others. 'Dr. Bogue was seconded,' he says, 'but it does not at present appear to me eligible.'" Philip never heard Campbell mention this fact. Philip, John Campbell, p. 320.

into the interior of Africa, to Timbuctoo. I give up my concerns to the Lord.¹

To Dr. Bogue it was the Lord who ultimately led Mr. Morrison as the first Protestant missionary to that land of teeming millions.

David Bogue was well aware of the world-wide influence the London Missionary Society was exerting in this era of awakening. He said:

How many societies have sprung up since ours! We have stirred up the spirit of Christians abroad - In Holland, in Switzerland, in Germany, and above all in America! And how many have been stirred up at home? One denomination and class has been establishing a Missionary Society after another....²

Not only were there missionary societies being started as a result of the example of the London Society, but other organizations which have blessed mankind until the present hour were being called into existence. In these accomplishments David Bogue rejoiced:

That spirit of benevolence, which gave birth to this Society, has extended itself to Bible Societies, Tract Societies, and various other means of diffusing Divine truth: to none perhaps more extensively than the schools for instructing the rising generation in the principles of religion.³

France, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, the United States of America, India, China: these are some of the countries which felt the influence of the London Missionary

¹E. Morrison, Memoirs of Dr. Morrison, Two Volumes, 1839, I, 60, 61.

²Evangelical Magazine, June, 1818, p. 265.

³Ibid., June, 1817, p. 241.

Society and David Bogue, their champion. His influence through the missionary students he trained could be traced to all of the continents and to most of the islands of the sea.¹ Truly it was said of him:

...David Bogue - a man to whom the world is more amply indebted, so far as exertions for the spreading of the gospel are concerned, than any person now alive, who had the sagacity to perceive, that society was ripe for a grand moral revolution, and the decision which was necessary for seizing the glorious opportunity which was presented of setting it agoing, and who has lived to see even his own most sanguine hopes more than realized.²

¹Notice the spheres of the students' labors in Appendix A. They went to North America, South America, Africa, Europe, Asia and to many of the islands of the sea.

²Congregational Magazine, October, 1825, p. 551.

CHAPTER IX

DAVID BOGUE: HIS MOTIVES FOR MISSIONS

I. INTRODUCTION

What compels a man to interest himself in humanity? Mr. Denon, the translator of Bogue's Essay, thought Bogue acted on behalf of the French solely from a desire to do good to his fellow-creatures.¹ Mr. George More of Aberdeen felt Bogue took an interest in Scotland because he retained a regard for his countrymen.² Both of these factors played a part in David Bogue's deep concern for the needs of the human race. However, an examination of his total message concerning missions reveals motives more basic and dynamic than this humanitarian interest.

Mr. Johannes Van Den Berg in his recent book, Constrained by Jesus' Love, undertook a study of the motives of the missionary awakening in Great Britain in the period between 1698 and 1815. This work is by far the most serious attempt to date to discover the theology of missions during this all-important historical era. In his chapter on the period from 1793 to 1813, when there was a "great break-through of the missionary idea",³ Van Den Berg studied

¹See Chapter VIII, pp. 246, 247.

²See Chapter VII, p. 228.

³Johannes Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love: An Inquiry into the Motives of the Missionary Awakening in Great Britain in the Period between 1698 and 1815, 1956, p. 106.

the activities of the Baptist, Anglican, London and Scottish Missionary Societies, and of various other religious organizations in England in the light of the general aspects of the entire awakening.¹ He endeavored to disentangle from these movements the motives which stimulated the missionary action, and, in turn, to classify these motives in a systematic way.² His classifications are as follows: political, humanitarian-cultural, ascetic, debt, romantic, theocentric, love and compassion, ecclesiological, eschatological and the command of Christ.³ In his categorizing of motives Van Den Berg recognized that the distinctions he made "sometimes forced an artificial separation between motives essentially belonging together".⁴ He wrote,

Time and again we saw that the boundary between the various motives was fluid, and more than once we had to point to the integral unity which existed between motives that our method of treatment required us to deal with separately.⁵

This overlapping of motives is recognized by many who attempt to speak on the theology of missions.⁶

One advantage the present study has over Van Den Berg's

¹Ibid., pp. 122-144.

²Ibid., p. 166

³Ibid., pp. 144-166.

⁴Ibid., p. 166.

⁵Ibid.

⁶For example notice Chapter I in James S. Stewart's Thine is the Kingdom, 1956, pp. 11-15.

is that it is limited to the motives of one man. Bogue's motive for missions was a result of his basic view of God, man and the world. In other words, the source of his interest in and action on behalf of missions was his theology. The study and classification of his motives will therefore follow the pattern of his theology.

His basic theological views were first set forth in a treatise in 1788,¹ and were expanded and expounded in his later sermons and publications.² God, man, Jesus Christ, and restoration to the divine favor, in this order, were the subjects³ of his first doctrinal statement, and because the author feels that Bogue's theology of missions can best be set forth in Bogue's own framework, that order will here be followed. However, because a man's theology is a unit, it must be recognized that in this approach, as in others, no one motive will stand entirely separated from the others.

II. GOD

"Thy Kingdom come" was the subject of Bogue's first

¹David Bogue, The Great Importance of Having Right Sentiments in Religion: A Sermon Preached before an Association of Ministers at Ringwood, Hants, on Tuesday, the 29th of July, 1788.

²Especially in The Theological Lectures of the Late Rev. David Bogue, D.D.: Never before Published. Edited by the Rev. Joseph Samuel C.F. Frey, (Two Volumes), 1849.

³Bogue, Right Sentiments, pp. 13-15.

published missionary sermon.¹ In the introduction of this address he said:

If we have brought with us this day the true spirit of the subjects of Jesus Christ, we are animated with the purest loyalty for our divine sovereign, with the most ardent zeal for the glory of God....²

"To glorify God, and fully to enjoy him for ever" is, according to the Westminster Catechism, man's first duty.³ It is evident that David Bogue, trained in Scottish Presbyterianism, accepted this Calvinistic attitude and made missions theocentric. Christ's first aim in his mission was, in Bogue's words, "to promote his Father's glory."⁴ In the 1794 Evangelical Magazine article, which called into being the L.M.S.,⁵ Bogue wrote,

We all know that it is the supreme end of our existence to glorify God. But can we suppose that though we endeavour personally to live to his honour, our obligations are fulfilled, while we have employed no methods as a Christian body to lead our brethren in pagan lands to glorify him also, by making them acquainted with his nature, government, and grace?⁶

To Christ, said Bogue, "the Father has given the heathen

¹David Bogue, A Sermon Preached at Salters-Hall, March 30th, 1792, before the Correspondent Board in London of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge in the Highlands and Islands, 1792, p. 1.

²Ibid., p. 2.

³Quoted in Van Den Berg, op. cit., p. 155.

⁴David Bogue, Unpublished Missionary Lectures, p. 65.

⁵See Chapter V, p. 152.

⁶Evangelical Magazine, Sept., 1794, p. 379. The italics are in the text.

for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession."¹ The object of all Bogue's missionary endeavors was to "enlarge the boundaries of his Christ's kingdom, and to increase the number of his subjects."² To fail to exert oneself on behalf of the heathen was to Bogue evidence that there was "want of concern for the glory of God",³ and to him this was the blackest of all iniquities.⁴

Man's part in carrying out God's program, however, did not make missions anthropocentric. Bogue recognized that God qualified men "for every employment in his church, even the most difficult; and...it is his office, and will be his delight to fit missionaries for...extending the kingdom of the Redeemer".⁵ Yet the issue did not ultimately depend upon man. God had said that "'in Christ all the families of the earth shall be blessed'"⁶ and to Bogue this promise settled the final outcome.

To man, Bogue reasoned, all was not perceptible. This

¹Ibid., Feb., 1797, p. 81.

²Bogue, Salters-Hall Sermon, p. 1.

³Evangelical Magazine, Feb., 1797, p. 76. Italics are in the text.

⁴This "want" stood at the head of the list of sins of omission in Bogue's article on India. Ibid.

⁵David Bogue, "Objections against a Mission to the Heathen, Stated and Considered." Sermon VI. Preached at Tottenham Court Chapel before the Founders of the Missionary Society, on Thursday the 24th September, 1795, 1795, p. 143.

⁶Ibid., p. 126.

was because God accomplished His will in His "place, and time and way," and when God gives success "it is where and when, and in a manner we did not expect."¹ Bogue emphasized the importance of remembering that God "worketh not as man worketh, and he accomplishes his plans in a way peculiar to himself."²

God, whose ways are above the ways of man, is also the providential God. He is active in the affairs of men. "God in his providence," wrote Bogue, "has discovered these nations /America, Africa/ to us, and given us intercourse with them, that a door might thereby be opened for the entrance of the gospel."³ In regard to India, he said, "When God in his providence places a heathen nation in subjection to one professing Christianity, it is evidently designed for their highest good."⁴ When Tahitian mission work, which had been most discouraging, showed evidence of success he remarked:

But when God said, 'Let there be light, there was light'; the truth extended into the mind of one, and of another, until about 50 of them felt the influence of the gospel. In Africa by the exercise of the same sovereignty, hundreds had been converted.⁵

Of China he said:

¹Ibid., p. 157.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 146.

⁴Evangelical Magazine, Feb., 1797, p. 79. Italics are in the text.

⁵Ibid., June, 1815, p. 255.

I have no doubt China will be opened to us. God has promised his Son 'the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession;' and do you not think He will open this world of souls to the gospel, in his own time and way?¹

Though the attempt to spread the gospel might fail, in man's estimation, there was no reason for grief. Paganism, infidelity might abound, but for David Bogue there was no ground for fear. "The church is founded on a rock," he reasoned, "and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."² He continued:

There is just as much reason to fear that the contentions of the potentates of Europe may pluck the sun from his sphere, and leave the world in darkness, as that they can endanger the removal of the gospel from the earth. 'Jehovah hath sworn by himself, the word is gone out of his mouth in righteousness, and shall not return, that unto Jesus every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear.'³

Bogue recognized that Satan, who severed men from God, would do all in his power to defeat God's purpose of reclaiming men. He said:

Will Satan suffer his kingdom to fall without a struggle? No, he will rouse all hell to arms against us; and his instruments on earth uniting themselves to the Host from beneath, will do everything in their power to prevent the progress of the gospel of the Redeemer.⁴

However, Satan's attempt to keep men in darkness would be

¹ Ibid., June, 1821, p. 260.

² David Bogue, An Essay on the Divine Authority of the New Testament, 1801, p. xiii.

³ Ibid., pp. xiii, xiv.

⁴ Bogue, Sermons, Preached in London, pp. 123, 124.

defeated. The foundation of Bogue's hope was that "Christ has all power both in heaven and in earth. He is infinitely mightier than his opposers, and all his enemies shall be made his footstool...."¹ Even though governments might oppose the spread of God's kingdom, Bogue encouraged Christians to remember "That all human governments are under the dominion of the great Head of the church, who turneth the hearts of kings as he doth the rivers of water...."²

"It is from his own disciples," said Bogue, "that Christ looks for the advancement of his cause, and the prosperity of his kingdom."³ In Bogue's opinion government officials, when attending to the affairs of the world, were in their proper sphere.⁴ Bogue's theocentric motive for missions never took the form of the corpus Christianum. To him the government and Christianity had different areas of operation. The actual historical picture had also changed. The period of the First Empire had passed and the American colonies were free. The government now was very skeptical of missions, thinking them a destabilizing influence in their colonial policy.⁵ The Evangelicals continued to be wary of too close co-operation between Church and State, and felt free

¹Ibid., p. 124.

²Ibid., p. 133.

³Evangelical Magazine, Feb., 1797, p. 80.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Van Den Berg, op. cit., pp. 144, 145; see also Chapter II, pages 71-73.

to speak out against both.¹

Van Den Berg stated that the Evangelicals' freedom from the political motive was not intentionally thought out.² However, Bogue's sermon at the formation of the L.M.S. showed his awareness of the relation of the church to the state. He said:

In the present century, the nature of the church of Christ, as a spiritual kingdom, and not of the world, has been better understood than it ever was since the days of Constantine.....³

Bogue's independence of political power was again expressed when he said,

And I frankly acknowledge that it would give me infinitely more delight to hear of a few solitary missionaries crossing the Ghauts, than a well-appointed English army....⁴

David Bogue felt it was the Christian's duty to speak out against any injustice in the government.⁵ He recognized only God's kingdom as perfect.⁶ It, in turn, must judge all human forms of society. He questioned the government's colonial policies in several nations. In 1792 he called England to

¹Van Den Berg, op. cit., pp. 144, 145.

²Ibid., p. 146.

³Bogue, Sermons, Preached in London, p. 130.

⁴Bogue, Salters-Hall Sermon, p. 37.

⁵Evangelical Magazine, Feb., 1797, p. 79.

⁶David Bogue, Reasons for Seeking a Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, Submitted to the Consideration of the Candid and Impartial, 1790, p. 14.

repentance because countries had been discovered -

where we have planted colonies to cultivate the soil; countries where we carry on with the natives an extensive commerce; countries which our armies have overrun, and which we have seized as our own; countries which our troops are now wetting with the tears and with the blood of the innocent inhabitants; countries from which we have for a long course of years been dragging the wretched natives into worse than Egyptian bondage. But where is the country, which we have exerted our zeal to rescue from pagan darkness or Mahometan delusion, and to bring to the knowledge and consolations of the gospel? What tribes of pagans have been converted by our missionaries?¹

Bogue came into direct conflict with the government and the East India Company over their refusal to allow missionaries into India.² He reminded his fellow-citizens that America was not discovered so

that those inhuman ruffians who first landed on her shores, might rob the inhabitants of their country, murder them by millions, and send the few that remained into the bowels of the earth to dig for gold to allay the cravings of their accursed avarice.³

Although Bogue sharply criticized the colonializing policy of his government, and did not resort to political means of promoting missions, he did recognize and point out to the government the usefulness of missions. Christianity makes people good citizens. It has found people, he said, "mere drones in society, the prey of sloth and indolence; and it has taught them useful

¹Bogue, Salters-Hall Sermon, pp. 14, 15.

²See Chapter VIII, pp. 257ff.

³Bogue, Sermons, Preached in London, p. 145.

arts and the habits of labour and industry."¹ This same utilitarian motive is seen in his 1795 sermon when he said:

Christianity is a system of divine truth, highly favourable to the peace, virtue, and happiness of civil society; gives by its moral principles the greatest stability to government; binds together the body politic in the strongest and closest bonds; and forms the surest barrier against those sentiments and vices which loosen the bands of social union, and endanger a country's welfare.²

III. MAN

When a young man David Bogue read of the voyages of Captain Cook in the South Pacific.³ In 1792, when he delivered his first published missionary address, he spoke of "the mild inhabitants of the Pelew islands".⁴ However, for David Bogue, the reality of sin did not allow him to have a romantic view of missions. The second main point in his sermon on the Importance of Right Sentiments in Religion was that theology represents "human nature, in its fallen state, to be in a very deplorable condition."⁵ He emphasized that Christ said "'That which is born of the flesh is flesh....'"⁶ To him the apostles stressed the same teaching

¹Bogue, Salters-Hall Sermon, p. 34.

²Bogue, Sermons, Preached in London, p. 133.

³Evangelical Magazine, June, 1821, p. 259.

⁴Bogue, Salters-Hall Sermon, p. 37.

⁵Bogue, Right Sentiments, p. 13.

⁶Ibid.

when they said, "'We are by nature children of wrath; and the whole world is guilty before God.'"¹ History corroborated Scripture, according to Bogue, showing "the depravity, guilt, and wretchedness of the human race...."²

In his speech at the formation of the L.M.S. Bogue spoke of the type of personnel which would be needed. He said a missionary needed, besides knowledge, zeal which would burn continually "unabated by all the difficulties and discouragements which from time to time set themselves in array against him."³ Bogue, unlike many in the Missionary Society, was not captivated by a fanciful conception of missions. He felt many who sailed on the second trip of the "Duff" had been attracted to the South Seas by the flattering accounts of the first contingents.⁴ Fearing that those who sailed because of inferior motives had failed to face reality, Bogue went aboard the "Duff" and preached:

Some will tell you that you are in no danger of shipwreck, because you carry Christ and the gospel; and Jesus holds the winds in his fist, and walks upon the waters to the aid of his disciples. But you know a certain old missionary, who said, 'thrice have I suffered shipwreck; a night and a

¹Ibid., pp. 13, 14.

²Ibid., p. 14.

³Bogue, Sermons, Preached in London, p. 140.

⁴James Bennett, Memoirs of the Life of The Rev. David Bogue, D.D., 1827, p. 217.

day have I been in the deep'.¹

David Bogue felt that the missionary or promoter of missions "who does not expect difficulties, has estimated the matter unwisely. Difficulties, the most tremendous difficulties are to be looked for."² "Were it not bad, it would not require our aid" was his reasoning concerning the state of the heathen world.³

In 1797 Bogue wrote on the favorable position of India as a field for missions. In listing its advantages he said:

There are many common principles received among the inhabitants of Bengal, which will enable Christians to reason with them to greater advantage. Of these the Hindoos have not a few. Their sacred books contain many excellent things concerning the perfections of the Deity; And they believe in the existence of moral evil; the necessity of the expiation of sin; the obligations of virtue; and a state of rewards and punishments.... A still greater number of these common principles the Mahometans hold.⁴

This appears to be a theologia naturalis which often coincided with a romantic idea of missions.⁵ However, Bogue, because of his underlying conviction of the total depravity of man, added that these principles were found "amidst a vast heap of idolatrous rubbish and impure superstition.../and/ are defiled with unhallowed mixtures...."⁶ David Bogue did not believe that the

¹ Ibid., p. 216.

² Bogue, Sermons, Preached in London, p. 123.

³ Ibid., p. 134.

⁴ Evangelical Magazine, Jan., 1797, p. 20.

⁵ Van Den Berg, op. cit., p. 154.

⁶ Evangelical Magazine, Jan., 1797, p. 20.

religions of pagan nations were sufficient even when the worshippers were sincere.¹ In his lectures to his missionary students he said, "The hearers are to be considered as being utterly ignorant of Christianity".² He felt Christians had a basis and a duty to interfere with other religions because of the commission of Matthew 28: 19.³

In his 1792 challenge to the Scottish Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, Bogue included among his barbs to stimulate the Society to greater good the following motive:

Ye who are men of humanity should you be so happy as to disregard religion, I can plead with you from the principles of humanity. Your hearts bleed at the tale of woe. You are anxious to banish distress wherever it appears, be it near or at a distance; and you say with one of old, Homo sum, et nil humani a me alienum puto.⁴

In the same address he urged them to action in the Highlands on the basis "that the Scotch are particularly attached to their countrymen",⁵ and that they who had

the blood of ancient heroes in their veins, ought certainly to be eminent for their humanity and benevolence, and to be forward in relieving the distresses of the miserable, and in contributing to make them good and useful members of society.⁶

¹Bogue, Sermons, Preached in London, p. 148.

²Bogue, Unpublished Missionary Lectures, p. 8.

³Bogue, Sermons, Preached in London, p. 149.

⁴Bogue, Salters-Hall Sermon, pp. 39, 40.

⁵Ibid., p. 45.

⁶Ibid., p. 45.

In Bogue's sermon at the founding of the L.M.S. he also alluded to the humanitarian motive:

Benevolence teaches us to do good, both to the bodies and souls of man; and the numerous distresses, and miseries, which overspread the earth, are loud calls to every Christian's benevolence for relief, and to his utmost exertions if possible, to lessen or remove them.¹

In his article concerning the closed door of India he sounded the same note. He wrote:

The friends of humanity conceived they performed a duty when they exercised their right by petitioning for the abolition of the slave trade. On the present occasion you are within the acknowledged limits of your own province; and you perform a high duty when you exercise the right of making a respectful application to the Rulers of India for leave to introduce the Gospel into Bengal.²

Writing on the use of religious literature Bogue called to the attention of his readers that their efforts would withhold people "from vices and from crimes."³ He continued:

To take away from the mass of vice though but a small portion, and to add to the sum of virtue but a single grain, will, by the philosopher and the moralist, be neither overlooked nor despised.⁴

A few years later while addressing the Missionary Society at their annual meeting on the subject of the Jew, he urged consideration because of "compassion for their suffering".⁵

¹Bogue, Sermons, Preached in London, p. 150.

²Evangelical Magazine, Feb., 1797, pp. 79, 80.

³Ibid., Sept., 1799, p. 384.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., Oct., 1806, p. 465.

A humanitarian interest often is mixed with a feeling of cultural superiority.¹ Bogue said that the British administration was "beyond comparison the most equitable, the mildest, and the best in India."² He also recognized that Christian missionaries were sometimes received "as a superior race of beings, on account of their eminent skill in arts and sciences...,"³ but he concluded, "I lay no stress on it [i.e. the superiority of the race/".⁴ He cited that the heathen who venerated Paul and Barnabas soon stoned them as the vilest of men.⁵

When David Bogue appealed to humanitarian interest in his endeavor to arouse action on behalf of mankind, he recognized that there was a "still higher and nobler" end to be attained, and this was "that many may be hereby led to the saving knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus."⁶ "Concern for the souls of others" was Bogue's primary interest and he knew this could not be accomplished by "the nation at large...who know not God.../and who/ have no regard for their own souls,"⁷ but by Christians who, in

¹Van Den Berg, op. cit., p. 153. A shallow love soon becomes pity; and pity is often shown by a superior to an inferior.

²Evangelical Magazine, Jan., 1797, p. 21.

³Bogue, Sermons, Preached in London, p. 138.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Evangelical Magazine, Sept., 1799, p. 384.

⁷Ibid., Feb., 1797, p. 78.

addition to philanthropy, have "a fervent zeal and a deep concern for the salvation of the souls of others."¹

IV. JESUS CHRIST

Jesus Christ was a missionary sent by the Father. His design was to promote the glory of the Father.² This view of the mission of Christ, expressed by Bogue, reminds us that although we pass on to a third heading, that of Christ, we are still involved in the first, God and His kingdom and the glory due His name. It was also evident that while endeavoring to confine our study to God the Father it was necessary to speak of Christ, who, within the kingdom, is, in the terminology of Bogue, "King and Head of the Church."³

God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself. Christ's incarnation, His humiliation, Bogue felt was "the most wonderful event that ever did or ever will take place."⁴ In it he saw "the infinite love of God in sending his Son to save sinners".⁵ The place of saving and reconciling sinners, to Bogue, was the Cross.⁶ A result of this reconciliation was a "fervent

¹Bogue, Right Sentiments, p. 18.

²Bogue, Unpublished Missionary Lectures, p. 65.

³Ibid.

⁴Bogue, Right Sentiments, p. 14.

⁵Ibid., p. 22.

⁶Ibid., p. 23.

zeal and a deep concern for the salvation of the souls of others."¹ What is needed, he said, is "to go and stand at the foot of the cross, and look up, and see in the death of Jesus the value of immortal souls".²

At an annual meeting of the L.M.S., which he had helped to found, David Bogue spoke on the missionary spirit shown during the various stages of the Society's existence. He commented,

It was said at first, that it is only a short pang of zeal for the heathen; it would soon die away. I said it would not. To convert the heathen, is the duty of Christians and the more that duty is explained, the better it is understood, the more powerfully it is felt, the more will the missionary spirit increase; because the missionary spirit arises out of that great commandment of the law, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' And in the gospel, the great principle of love to Christ constrains us to live to him who died for us, and rose again. Herein consists the great strength of the Missionary Society - the spirit of love to souls.³

Again and again David Bogue stressed this motive of love Christians have for God and others because of Christ's constraining love within them. In his Essay written to reach the French for Christ he listed in the section on the motive of the gospel GOD IS LOVE in double capitals.⁴ To his missionary students he gave the advice that they preach "oftenest of all.../on/ the infinite love of God through Christ..." with the aim - "all true missionaries

¹Ibid., p. 18.

²Evangelical Magazine, Sept., 1799, p. 377.

³Ibid., June, 1817, p. 241.

⁴Bogue, Essay, p. 43.

aim at the same thing - to bring sinners to know a saviour".¹

The eighteenth century Evangelicals' motive of love and compassion was not the Erasmian humanitarianism of the previous century. Its source, in Bogue's words, was in "the suffering and death of the Son of God"² and its end was to bring one "from the love of the world, to a supreme love of God as his Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier."³ In Bogue's understanding, the apostles preached "Jesus Christ and him crucified", and nothing short of this message was sufficient to turn people from darkness to light.⁴ Therefore, under the cross he took his stand. "Salvation by a crucified Redeemer"; "through the efficacy of that precious blood which made atonement for the sins of men": he proclaimed in 1792.⁵ "The way of salvation through a crucified Redeemer" he wrote two years later.⁶ In launching the L.M.S. he sounded the same chord: "the glad tidings of salvation through the blood of the cross...."⁷

Van Den Berg's statement that the theocentric motive is

¹Bogue, Unpublished Missionary Lectures, pp. 4, 5.

²Evangelical Magazine, Sept., 1794, p. 379.

³Bogue, Sermons, Preached in London, p. 125.

⁴Bogue, Essay, p. 182; see also his Sermons, Preached in London, p. 122.

⁵Bogue, Salters-Hall Sermon, pp. 3, 17, 18.

⁶Evangelical Magazine, Sept., 1794, p. 378.

⁷Bogue, Sermons, Preached in London, p. 122.

usually integrated with the soteriological motive in the theology of the eighteenth century Evangelicals¹ is borne out in Bogue's message. In 1795 he spoke of missionaries needing a "pure, ardent, persevering zeal for the glory of God, and the salvation of man...."² In addressing the Scottish Society he spoke of being animated "with the most ardent zeal for the glory of God, and with a sacred anxiety for the eternal happiness of the souls of men."³ Bogue showed the relationship between God's glory and man's salvation when he wrote regarding zeal to reach people with the gospel "that Christ might see of the travail of his soul, and be satisfied; and that the heathens there /in Bengal/ might bow down before him, and do him homage".⁴

Love and zeal for Christ sometimes take an ascetic form.⁵ Bogue recognized that Christianity in its very nature is "a self-denying religion."⁶ He taught his students that one of the pleasures of a missionary was "in being entirely detached from the world."⁷ He encouraged these same students by showing them

¹Van Den Berg, op. cit., p. 156.

²Bogue, Sermons, Preached in London, p. 140.

³Bogue, Salters-Hall Sermon, p. 2.

⁴Evangelical Magazine, Feb., 1797, p. 76.

⁵See Van Den Berg, op. cit., pp. 149, 150.

⁶Bogue, Unpublished Missionary Lectures, p. 30.

⁷Ibid., p. 33.

that "the labours and privations and persecutions of the few years of life will be succeeded by the sweetest delights of the heavenly societies for ever and ever."¹ In addressing the Missionary Society on the qualifications of missionaries he said, "Self denial is of indispensable necessity."² It is said that on the occasion of the death of three of his missionary students his sermon bore the souls of his audience "to lofty disdain of the present world, and to a martyr's preference for eternal things."³

However, the ascetic motive of David Bogue never bordered on the doctrine of the meritoriousness of good works. To one who wrote that "the righteousness flowing from the obedience and death of Christ is the only meritorious cause of our acceptance with God..."⁴ such a position was incredible. Rather, Bogue's emphasis on self-denial sprang from the call to imitate Christ. He, who bore a cross, has asked His followers to take up their cross and follow Him. "A spirit of martyrdom", Bogue told his students, is one of the qualifications of a missionary.⁵

Another motive closely related to the personal sacrifice

¹Ibid.

²Bogue, Sermons, Preached in London, p. 141.

³Bennett, David Bogue, p. 439.

⁴Bogue, Right Sentiments, p. 23.

⁵Bogue, Unpublished Missionary Lectures, p. 1.

one makes because of Christ's constraining love is that of the debt which a group feels because of their past sins.¹ Bogue, like many in his generation, was sensitive to the faults of the first empire's policy in America and Africa, and felt Britain had an obligation toward those wronged. He wrote:

Pity wretched Africa; feel for the wrongs of her children; and endeavour to compensate for the injuries that have been done her. Millions of tears have been shed by mothers who refused to be comforted, for their sons and daughters, torn from their country, and from their kindred, and from their father's house, and dragged into a land of cruel bondage, in order to provide food for our luxury. Millions of groans of oppressed slaves agonizing under the lashes of their unfeeling masters, have reached the throne of a righteous God; and the blood of millions murdered in their native soil, and in the land of their bondage, cries aloud to Heaven for vengeance against those who shed it; and their cries have entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. An adequate compensation we can never render; but let us give what is in our power. Let us endeavour to convey the gospel to them, and thus to secure both their present and their eternal happiness.²

This same motive of debt was one of many used by Bogue in appealing for help for the Jews and the Indians. The gospel should be given to the former group "on account of the injuries they have received from us".³ He hinted at compensation toward the Indians when he said:

The Hindoos are allied to us, not merely as men, but as fellow-subjects, living under the same government. The fruits of their labour, and the efforts of their skill, we have long received and enjoyed; and by their toils have we been enriched.⁴

¹Van Den Berg, op. cit., p. 150.

²Bogue, Salters-Hall Sermon, pp. 35, 36.

³Evangelical Magazine, Sept., 1806, p. 465.

⁴Ibid., Feb., 1797, p. 77.

Was escapism ever a subconscious part of Evangelicals' motivation? Wright and Fry have pictured the founders of the L.M.S. dreaming of the South Seas¹ and "countless Englishmen of all classes...longing to escape into distant realms of romance of faraway Utopias."² Before William Carey had sailed for India, and the missionary era had been set in operation, David Bogue spoke to the Scottish Society for Propagating the Gospel in the following terms:

Let none say that I am endeavouring to draw the Society from their first object. I am not. It was the design of the Society that their charity should begin at home; but not that it should end there. When I plead for the heathens, I am pleading for the first object of the Society in our isle; for I am desirous that the fund of the Society may be so much increased, that besides a sufficiency for carrying on their purposes at home, it may be able to extend its views to the remote corners of the world, which are the habitations of ignorance and cruelty.³

Bogue was a realist. Sin and Satan were real whether one labored abroad or in Britain. He was made to face the rigors of the mission field when he offered his own services for India.⁴ When he was forced to remain at home, he fought injustice and sought to rescue his neighbors from the grip of vice.⁵ His own illustration of areas of labor was Christ sending forth his disciples, fishers of men, to make a catch:

¹Louis B. Wright and Mary Isabel Fry, Puritans in the South Seas, 1936, p. 1.

²Ibid., p. 5.

³Bogue, Salters-Hall Sermon, p. 35.

⁴See Chapter VIII, p. 253.

⁵See Chapter VII, pp. 193-210.

And where would fishermen go? Would they go to a small shoal of 50 or 100 fishes? or would they go where they knew there were 50 or 60 millions of them? There might be a boat or two sent to enclose the small shoal; but they would say, Let the mass of the fleet go where there are 50 or 60 millions.¹

Closely related to all of the motives which have been discussed is that of the command of Christ. God the Father sent the Son in order that glory might be rendered to Himself through the reconciliation of mankind. The incarnate Son accomplished this reconciliation at the Cross, and the love which redeemed man also constrains him to live for his Redeemer. Man becomes, in Christ's stead, an ambassador to bring about the reconciliation of his fellow man. Man's duty to be an ambassador comes from his Lord and Saviour, and the Lord's command reminds man of his duty. The great commission as a motive appears to be employed by Bogue in instances where he is endeavoring to awaken Christians to their missionary responsibility. In encouraging the formation of a missionary society he wrote to his fellow-Christians:

Perhaps we have not considered our duty resulting from that command which was directed from the supreme authority to every follower of the Lamb: Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature. That has not yet been done. It ought to be done without delay; and every Christian is called upon to act his part, and cannot without criminality withhold his exertions towards procuring obedience to the command of his Redeemer and his Lord.²

Later, answering those whose wrongly-applied eschatology had kept them from exerting themselves for the lost, he said, "We

¹Evangelical Magazine, June, 1821, p. 260.

²Ibid., Sept., 1794, p. 379.

are to be guided by what God enjoins as a duty, not by what he delivered as a prediction."¹ In answering those who questioned interfering with other peoples' religion, Bogue replied that the Great Commission demands interference because it includes all nations when it says:

'Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you, and, lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world, Amen.'²

The following year, Bogue, in his endeavor to stir up the British Christian populace from their state of lethargy concerning India, resorted to the same motive, the commands of Christ. He wrote:

For a long course of years they may be reposing in easy slumbers, while the voice of God calls them to active exertions; but in vain: At length, being roused from their security, and prevailed on to examine their conduct, they are astonished that they could possibly have acted in a manner so contrary to the injunctions, as well as to the spirit of the Gospel.³

Later in the same article he returns to the idea of the "voice of God" and "injunctions" when he lists the accusations against negligent Christianity and includes in that list: disobedience to Christ's commands.⁴ In this last instance and in many other

¹Bogue, Sermons, Preached in London, p. 126.

²Ibid., p. 149.

³Evangelical Magazine, Feb., 1797, pp. 74, 75.

⁴Ibid., p. 76.

cases, the command of Christ for Bogue is not limited to the Great Commission, but is rather that of the Second Commandment: loving our neighbor as ourselves.¹

V. RESTORATION TO THE DIVINE FAVOR

The fourth point in David Bogue's doctrinal statement is that "Right sentiments ascribe our restoration to the divine favour entirely to the grace of God, to the death of Christ, and to the power of the Holy Ghost."² When Bogue spoke of God's activity in missions there was likewise recognition that each person in the Trinity participated in the carrying out of the Divine plan of salvation. The Father had sent the Son. The Son, in turn, glorified the Father in His act of reconciling and redeeming mankind. In the work of redemption, it is the office of the Holy Spirit "to enlighten the understanding and to renew the soul",³ and, in accomplishing this, the Holy Spirit glorifies the Son. The ingathering of souls, whether individually or collectively, was dependent upon the Holy Spirit. Bogue wrote of a person's experience:

But to love the Lord supremely, and his neighbour as himself; to make it his grand aim to please God, to hate sin with his whole heart, and to live by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, - this, which is the religion of the sacred Scriptures, - this must spring from the operation of the Holy Ghost.⁴

¹Ibid.; see also the same magazine, June, 1817, p. 241.

²Bogue, Right Sentiments, p. 15.

³Ibid., p. 23.

⁴David Bogue, Discourses on the Millennium, 1818, p. 318.

Likewise in considering the needs of nations his plea was the same:

There is one thing I ardently wish for, and that is, a more abundant effusion of the Spirit of God, to accompany every missionary labour among the heathen. We still want, how much shall I say? of that sacred unction which accompanied the labours of the Apostles. Far would I be from despising 'the day of small things;' I rejoice at what has been done in Otaheite, South Africa, and other places; but I wish to see more. Let the Christians be more in prayer, relying on the promises and faithfulness of God, and we may expect far greater things than we have yet seen. What a great thing it will be, when God pours out upon the millions of Hindoostan, the healthful spirit of his grace!¹

Bogue's longing for a greater turning to God continued through his closing days to be associated with a greater outpouring of God's Spirit. His last speech before the Annual Meeting of the Missionary Society included this query: "'Has there been that wrestling with God in prayer for the outpouring of the Spirit, that ought to mark all the disciples of Jesus Christ?'"²

VI. THE ESCHATOLOGICAL PATTERN FOR MISSION

To conclude from Bogue's statement that "we are to be guided by what God enjoins as a duty, not by what he delivered as a prediction"³ that he had no eschatological pattern for missions is wrong. He, like most of the evangelicals of the awakening,

¹Evangelical Magazine, June, 1820, p. 261.

²Ibid., June, 1825, p. 258.

³Bogue, Sermons, Preached in London, p. 126.

was strongly influenced by the doctrine of future events.¹ One whom he highly respected, Jonathan Edwards, was the proponent of a detailed system of eschatology.² Bogue was well acquainted with Edwards' works, including his teaching on the millennium, and later published his own volume on the subject.³

Bogue was convinced that the Scriptures, Old and New Testament alike, predicted "the glory of the latter days, 'when the knowledge of Christ shall cover the sea.'"⁴ In the spirit of unity shown among Christians in the missionary efforts, and in the purity of the gospel proclaimed, he saw two harbingers of this millennial age when the knowledge of Christ should be universal.⁵ He also interpreted the good-will shown by Englishmen, in the past in abolishing slavery and now in wishing well to the French and the Spanish, as another advancement toward the millennial dawn.⁶ He said:

And does not such a state of things remind us of better days; nay, does it not prepare the way of the Lord, and portend the approaches of that time, when 'They shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into

¹Van Den Berg, op. cit., pp. 160ff.

²Notice, for example, Edwards' A History of the Work of Redemption: Comprising an Outline of Church History, n.d., passim.

³Bogue, Millennium, 1818.

⁴Bogue, Salters-Hall Sermon, p. 18.

⁵Bogue, Sermons, Preached in London, pp. 130, 131.

⁶Bogue, Salters-Hall Sermon, pp. 49-51.

pruning-hooks, and when they shall learn the art of war no more?"¹

In fact, "every change in the moral world", was to be viewed "as connected with the progress of religion".² He saw in the overthrow of the French monarchy "a mortal wound" inflicted upon despotic governments.³ While promoting the cause of missions Bogue said:

A more formidable and a more successful engine against the religion of Jesus Christ, Satan, the great adversary of God and man, has⁴ not employed, than the tyranny of civil governments.

Those despotic governments, which prevented the spread of the Reformation and continued to curb religious liberties, must be overthrown, Bogue reasoned, before the gospel can become universal.⁵

Another sign of the times, to Bogue, was Rome's plight:

When we see the power of Rome, whose depraved and tyrannical system of ecclesiastical policy is certainly that great anti-christ foretold in the Apocalypse, falling into decay, and consider that the diffusion of the gospel is represented as a contemporary event, and that in proportion as antichrist shall decrease, the kingdom of Christ shall increase, this should have its weight on our minds, and excite us to the most spirited exertions.⁶

When summarizing the effect of these two opponents of Christianity, Bogue wrote:

¹ Ibid., p. 51.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., p. 48.

⁴ Ibid., p. 46.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 46, 47.

⁶ Ibid., p. 19.

What is more probable than that, when the temporal anti-christs of arbitrary power shall be destroyed, as well as the spiritual antichrist of religious usurpation and tyranny, our Redeemer will take to himself his great power and reign, and pour out of his Spirit and revive the face of the earth, and make the wilderness and the solitary place to blossom as the rose?¹

In order to usher in the millennium, according to Bogue's eschatology, besides the downfall of antichrist, both temporal and spiritual, there had to be a great turning to Christ. Infidels, Mahometans, the heathen, and Jews must be reached with the gospel. Already there were movements in the tree tops. The spirit of unity, the gospel of purity, and the sentiments of good-will were in operation and a missionary era had been launched. The one thing needful was a greater effusion of the Holy Spirit. However, the Holy Spirit would be poured out as man worked faithfully at the ordinary means. In this realm Bogue wrote:

The means too have been specified, by which this glorious work will be accomplished, and the Millennium introduced. The preaching of the everlasting Gospel: - the reading of the sacred Scriptures; - the holy example and zealous exertions of private Christians; - the pious attention of parents and heads of families, to the salvation of their households; - the affectionate concern of the teachers of youth for the spiritual welfare of the rising generation; - and the enlightened patronage granted to the cause of pure religion by the rulers of the world, who having felt its influence, become anxious for its propagation and success: - these are the moral means by which the Millennium will be introduced.²

When man responded faithfully, then God in his own time would act from heaven. Besides the outpouring of the Holy Spirit,

¹Ibid., p. 49.

²Bogue, Millennium, p. 348.

there would be judgments measured out on the world.¹ These supernatural events, accompanying the moral means, would bring about the great turning to God.²

Bogue's eschatology affected his exertions toward all mankind. He urged the reaching of the Roman Catholics with the pure gospel, and was much exercised about Ireland, France and Belgium.³ He encouraged sharing the gospel with deists, the infidels of the eighteenth century, and spearheaded the move himself by giving the New Testament to them with an introductory section on the evidences of Christianity.⁴ He pled for mission work among the Mohametans,⁵ and suggested an Arabic translation of the Scriptures.⁶ He was constantly pleading the cause of the heathen, and, at the age of 47 volunteered to go to India.⁷ When this did not materialize he devoted the rest of his life to educating young men for the mission field, and when the school was not in session he was crisscrossing Britain promoting the cause of the Missionary

¹Ibid., pp. 278ff.

²Ibid., p. 348.

³See Chapter VI, pp. 188-191 and Chapter VIII, pp. 235-249.

⁴Chapter VIII, p. 236.

⁵Bogue, Millennium, pp. 487, 498.

⁶Ibid., p. 499.

⁷Chapter VIII, p. 253.

Society.¹ He fostered work among the Jews,² and it was one of his pupils who started the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews.³ When it was thought necessary to devote an annual sermon to the cause of Israel, it was Bogue who was approached to plead for the Jews.⁴

All of this activity on the behalf of his fellow man was carried out by Bogue in the belief that this would assist in the gradual approach of the millennial state.⁵ He set no dates;⁶ he was not dogmatic as to where the glorious event would begin.⁷ He preached, "'It is not for you,' said Christ to his disciples, on a certain occasion, 'to know the times and the seasons which the Father has reserved in his own hands.'"⁸ Rather, he acted upon the following verse which said, "You shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto

¹Chapter V, p. 168.

²Chapter VI, pp. 183-187.

³Chapter VI, p. 186.

⁴Chapter VI, p. 184.

⁵Bogue, Salters-Hall Sermon, p. 19; see also his "Objections", pp. 127ff., and Millennium, p. 606. "Our Lord's representation of the progress of his Gospel by the vegetation of the grain of mustard seed, leads us to form the idea of a gradual growth." Millennium, p. 606.

⁶Bogue, Sermons, Preached in London, p. 126.

⁷Bogue, Millennium, p. 385. However, Bogue did believe that it was highly probable that the millennial glory would begin either in Great Britain or the United States of America. Ibid.

⁸Bogue, Sermons, Preached in London, p. 126.

the uttermost part of the world".¹ As he labored he felt he saw in the success of the missionary venture,² and in the wars, and civil convulsions on the continent the approach of the millennial age.³

Bogue's pacifistic views should here be mentioned. So strongly did he feel that unity among Christians and good-will toward all men were products of Christ's constraining love, and principles necessary for the bringing in of Christ's kingdom that he took a definite stand against all war.⁴ His sermon, "On Universal Peace", the sixth in the series which comprised his volume on the Millennium, was used in part by the London Peace Society⁵ and by the Peace Association of Friends in America⁶ in promoting their cause. In 1813, when he gave the above-mentioned sermon, he made the following positive suggestion for the settlement of international disputes:

¹ Acts 1: 8.

² "The moral world, I think, is advancing by more rapid steps than it ever did before. Year after year the motion is accelerated, and indicates the approach of the millennial glory...." Evangelical Magazine, June, 1819, p. 258.

³ "From these considerations it appears almost certain that the dispensations of Providence for the last twenty-five years, form a part of those awful events which are connected with the introduction of the Millennium." Bogue, Millennium, p. 306.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 143ff.

⁵ Bennett, David Bogue, p. 443.

⁶ Letter of Barbara T. Parker to Dr. J. Leslie Dunstan, Nov. 21. 1958.

If on some occasions the most peaceable /nations/ are obliged to have recourse to the decision of the law, for the redress of a grievance, why could not a council of modern Amphycions be established in Europe, to settle national disputes? Surely the benign spirit of the gospel should long ere now have taught Christendom to adopt an institution, of which the pagan wisdom of ancient Greece set them so charming and instructive an example.¹

VII. THE RELATION OF THE CHURCH TO MISSION

Bogue, in promoting the cause of missions, assumed that witness was of the very essence of the church. He wrote:

Since the day of Pentecost when the Spirit was poured out from on high upon the apostles, an hour has not elapsed, in which it² was not the duty of Christians to spread abroad the Gospel.

The end and design of the church is "God's glory, Christ's honour, and man's salvation."³ Bogue's terminology, however, when he spoke of the church, is not that of the twentieth century. In his theological outlines he treats the subject under the heading of "Christ's Kingly Office."⁴ The era of the Christian church is spoken of as a second period of the history of Christ's kingdom. Its beginning was at the Incarnation and it continues to the end of the world. It is preceded by the Old Testament church which had its beginning immediately after the fall of man.

¹Bogue, Millennium, p. 162.

²Ibid., p. 310.

³Frey, Bogue's Theological Lectures, Vol. I, 157.

⁴Ibid., pp. 156-162.

The Christian church is to be followed by a third period when Christ shall judge the world and deliver up the kingdom to the Father. All three periods are a part of "the history of Christ's kingdom in its origin and progress to perfection."¹

In explaining the New Testament phase of Christ's kingdom Bogue wrote:

Christ's ascension into Heaven forms a very remarkable era in the history of his kingdom. Then was a solemn coronation. The Gentiles were admitted along with the Jews into the kingdom of Christ. His kingdom was now more extensive. Subjects more numerous. Constitution made more complete, and Christ appears more fully in his character as Mediator. Acts 2:36; Eph. 4:8.²

Bogue treats all believers, both of Old and New Testament times, as Christ's subjects. These subjects "love their king"³ and "seek to promote his honour and the welfare of their fellow subjects."⁴ The extent of Christ's kingdom, i.e. the regnum potentiae, "comprehends the universe, all creatures in it, and all things /are/ subject to him".⁵ The regnum gratiae, according to Bogue, "comprehends all that are his willing, true, and faithful subjects."⁶

Bogue, in outlining the regal acts of Christ, lists the following first in order: "Act of royalty consists in bringing

¹Ibid., p. 160.

²Ibid., p. 161.

³Ibid., p. 161.

⁴Ibid., p. 162.

⁵Ibid., p. 157.

⁶Ibid., p. 157.

men into a state of subjection to him."¹ In administering these regal acts, Bogue adds, Christ "invites men into his kingdom by the preaching of the Gospel."² This invitation, in fact, all the administration and affairs of Christ's kingdom, is promoted by the following ministers and means:

1. The Holy Ghost. 2. Angels. 3. Ministers of the Gospel.... 4. Private Christians. 5. Enemies of Christ who promote the welfare of his kingdom without inclination or design.... 6. Christ's kingdom is likewise advanced by moral means. /i.e./ (1) By the word of God and ordinances of the Gospel. (2) By the dispensations of Divine Providence.³

It is with this nomenclature in mind that we must examine Bogue's message. Then, it is obvious that when he appeals for the extension of Christ's kingdom he is speaking of the church. His whole emphasis upon glorifying God, likewise, cannot be divorced from God's King and His kingdom, the church. God's acts of providence, of which he speaks, are to be interpreted as means of inviting men into the church. Satan and his emissaries cannot prevail against the church. The church, which is spiritual and not of this world, is not to "use" politics, because it has its own arms which are not carnal.⁴ These arms or weapons are centered in love, the constraining love of Christ. The Church's task is not to sit and wonder when the kingdom is to

¹ Ibid., p. 159.

² Ibid., p. 159.

³ Ibid., p. 160.

⁴ II Corinthians 10: 4.

be perfected,¹ but to witness to the constraining love of Christ, and thus bring men as subjects into the kingdom, the church. Use the means Christ has appointed, he urged, and bring about the day (not of Christ's coronation for that has already been accomplished) when God's kingdom shall be established on earth, as it is in heaven.

At other times Bogue used terms more familiar to modern ears. The result of the extension of the kingdom through our missionary preaching, he said in his first missionary publication, is that "we may hope soon to hear that churches are planted in the heathen lands...."² In his sermon at the formation of the L.M.S., he recognized that the apostles, whose example he was always most concerned to imitate, "made converts, and formed them into a church...."³ He recognized the interdenominational aspect of the Society's church-planting in saying, "We send not our Missionaries to establish any one sect or denomination, but to form their converts according to that method they think most agreeable to the word of God."⁴ Speaking to his missionary students he said, "A minister's business is to water and increase churches: a missionary's to plant them."⁵ "In forming Churches of Christ

¹Cf. Acts 1: 6.

²Bogue, Salters-Hall Sermon, p. 43.

³Bogue, Sermons, Preached in London, p. 152.

⁴Evangelical Magazine, June, 1818, p. 265.

⁵Bogue, Unpublished Missionary Lectures, p. 1.

where there were none before and dispensing ordinances to converted heathen"¹ was to Bogue one of the pleasures his missionary students had before them. To these same L.M.S. candidates he gave lectures on the "Establishment of Churches among the Heathen" and on the "Method of Extending a Mission when successful".² The latter lecture had as its aim that the missionaries "might see a Christian Church planted in every town in the country and supplied with native teachers."³

To David Bogue the spirit of unity shown among Christians in the formation and ongoing of the L.M.S. was one of the marvels of the century. Often used are his words:

But here are Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Independents, all united in one society, all joining to form its laws, to regulate its institutions, and manage its various concerns. Behold us here assembled with one accord to attend the funeral of bigotry: And may she be buried so deep that not a particle of her dust may ever be thrown up on the face of the earth.⁴

It is seldom recognized, however, that he was here emphasizing that this spirit of unity was one of the favorable aspects of the era for the proclamation of the gospel. This co-operating spirit reminded him that "at first believers were all of one heart, and of one mind",⁵ and that as first century Christians accomplished

¹Ibid., p. 33.

²Ibid., pp. 47, 50.

³Ibid.

⁴Bogue, Sermons, Preached in London, p. 130.

⁵Ibid., p. 129.

much, so they of that generation might expect great things as a result of their unity. Bogue never wearied of reminding the supporters of missions of this oneness. This theme is found in most of his speeches given at the Annual Meetings of the Missionary Society.¹ His words at the last of these meetings he attended are a fit representation of his sentiment:

The peculiar constitution of the Society, by uniting all evangelical denominations, excited the public attention. This was by some regarded as a speculation, but the experiment, by the Divine blessing, has admirably succeeded. The Society has combined Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Lutherans, and many other denominations; but there has been no seceding division. Thus an important fact has been established, that Christians, who differ as to forms of Church government, may continue to act together in sending the pure gospel of Christ to the heathen. It is comparatively of small moment, that external forms and modes of worship should be the same in each congregation; if Jesus Christ be at the head, that is enough. Let there then be communion among Ministers preaching for each other and communion of Christians at the Lord's table.²

Bogue's concept of unity is not identical to twentieth-century ecumenicity. He saw all activities of different denominations as "auxiliary regiments with different colours, but all co-operating to promote the same general cause."³ He continued:

Some might say, What a beautiful thing it would be in a country, if all the inhabitants were of one denomination:

¹ See his anniversary speeches as recorded in the Evangelical Magazine for the following years: June, 1817, p. 241; June, 1820, p. 261; June, 1822, p. 250; and August 1824, p. 369.

² Evangelical Magazine, June, 1825, p. 257.

³ Ibid., June, 1822, p. 251.

but I will venture to assert that in a country where there is but one denomination, there will be found but little religion; and in countries where there are many denominations, religion has prevailed. Spain never had but one denomination - the Roman Catholic. What was the consequence? England, and the United States, have a multitude of denominations, and there is more religion in them than in any other countries whatever. These different denominations agree in the same great truths of the Gospel, which are the means of converting sinners and preparing souls for eternity....¹

For David Bogue there had to be coupled with the spirit of unity the purity of the gospel. In other words, true unity did not overlook unity of sentiments, "being of the same mind".² Without the accompanying purity there was the danger of "that bastard liberality which springs out of indifference for principles".³ This extreme, as well as the other, which magnifies "small differences into essentials in religion",⁴ was to be avoided.

Bogue, however, felt the church of his generation possessed both of these qualities, unity and purity, and for this reason it was equal to the task it faced.⁵ In fact, he looked upon his era as a period comparable to the days of the Apostolic and Reformation Churches.⁶

¹Ibid.

²See his Millennium, p. 102; also Sermons, Preached in London, pp. 130, 131.

³Bogue, Millennium, p. 115.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Bogue, Sermons, Preached in London, pp. 130, 131.

⁶Evangelical Magazine, June 1821, pp. 260, 261.

VIII. EVALUATION OF DAVID BOGUE'S MOTIVES FOR MISSIONS

There perhaps is no subject today more relevant to the church than that of the theology of missions. The World Missionary Conference held at Willingen in 1952 brought to the limelight this subject which had been growing in importance since the first missionary gathering in Edinburgh in 1910. That which was hinted at in Jerusalem, further emphasized at Tambaram, and became the center of interest at Willingen, has, since 1952, been widely discussed.¹

Any discussion of this nature naturally will examine the theology prevalent at the times of the great missionary awakenings. It is needless to repeat here the importance of the place occupied by David Bogue in the great missionary revival of the late eighteenth century. Any person so influential in the lives of the missionaries of that era, and in the spread of the missionary spirit through the British Isles, Europe and America must be taken seriously in any consideration of the subject of missions today.

However, though we are forced to respect and admire the great good done at this particular time in history, we must recognize that the work of Bogue and his contemporaries is but one

¹For an excellent review of the World Missionary Conferences and their discussions see Wilhelm Andersen's Towards a Theology of Mission: A Study of the Encounter between the Missionary Enterprise and the Church and Its Theology, 1955. It is I.M.C.'s Research Pamphlet No. 2.

of many pictures we have of the church witnessing to her Lord. The church has acted through nearly twenty centuries and by examining her actions and the motives for the same throughout her entire history we gain insight into her strength and weakness. The church is composed and always has been composed of human beings. The body of Christ is made up of earthen vessels. This is to say that the church is not free from human errors. How are we then, as members of the twentieth-century church, to evaluate another century's activities? Naturally we must avoid the extreme of judging them strictly by a twentieth-century standard. What must our standard be? Eventually we must decide this issue. Perhaps a majority today would immediately answer that the standard is the Word of God. The church is always the ekklesia theou¹ and her actions must be weighed in God's scale.

Bogue himself subjected all creeds, systems and human statements to the judgment of the Word of God and because he urged that only that which "appears agreeable to the divine will"² be embraced, we feel justified in examining his theology of missions in the light of Holy Scripture. "Biblical realism",³ moreover,

¹Bishop Lesslie Newbigin in The Household of God: Lectures on the Nature of the Church, 1955, p. 27 emphasizes that ecclesia never stands by itself. The church is that ecclesia gathered in response to God's call.

²David Bogue and James Bennett, History of Dissenters from the Revolution in 1688, to the Year 1808, (Four Volumes), 1808, I, 298.

³This term was used by H. Kraemer in his The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World, 1938.

since Madras, is being taken more seriously by the church; consequently, contemporary thinking also justifies the use of this standard in evaluating Bogue's message.

Willigen's approach to a theology of missions, according to Wilhelm Andersen, was trinitarian in character.¹ This appears to be the Biblical approach. God so loved the world that He sent His Son; the Son's mission was pleasing to the Father; after the Ascension and Pentecost the Holy Spirit carries into effect the work of reconciliation brought about by the Son. This theocentric motive, it has been observed, was basic in Bogue's theology. Extending the boundaries of Christ's kingdom, bringing the heathen to glorify God, depending upon the greater effusion of the Holy Spirit to accomplish all - these were the keynotes of David Bogue's message.

Bogue often coupled the soteriological with the theocentric motive. The Son who was sent by the Father went to the cross. In the cross we see the constraining love of Christ at its apex. At the cross sin was judged and Christ arose the victor. He, now ascended, the King upon the holy hill of Zion, will draw all people to himself. His is the Kingdom, and through the message of the cross man's rebellion shall be judged, and in repentance he shall kiss the Son. The cross stands at the center of the biblical message. Forsyth recognized this and made

¹Wilhelm Andersen, op. cit., p. 47.

mission rise or fall as it was related to the cross.¹ Willingen's report is rightly entitled Missions under the Cross.² It was this emphasis upon the cross which kept Bogue's compassion for humanity from becoming a mere pity, and, in turn, an attitude of superiority. It was the depth of the love he emphasized which gave his vision such breadth. Again it was the reality of judgment as seen in the cross that gave his message urgency.

Bogue's soteriological motive was, on the other hand, balanced by his eschatological outlook. For this reason his interest never became one of merely saving individual souls. This did not mean that individuals did not have to be reborn, but rather that God's decree had been declared: The heathen were Christ's inheritance, and the uttermost part of the earth His possession. In Him all the families of the earth were to be blessed. His eschatology was not apocalyptic in any measure, but yet he avoided the pitfalls of many who have emphasized the gradual approach of the kingdom. He was not so impressed with the "is now" that he forgot the "not yet". His emphasis upon the permeating effect of Christianity never led him to lay greater emphasis upon the social implications of the gospel than on the gospel itself.

¹See Douglas Webster's article in The International Review of Missions, (Vol. XLIV), April, 1955 entitled "P.T. Forsyth's Theology of Missions", passim., pp. 173-181.

²Missions under the Cross: Addresses Delivered at the Enlarged Meeting of the Committee of the International Missionary Council at Willingen, in Germany, 1952; with Statements Issued by the Meeting. Edited by Norman Goodall, 1953.

There are some things in Bogue's eschatology which repel one. Our first reaction is similar to John Foster's when he was examining Jonathan Edwards' Humble Attempt. We become disappointed and almost impatient. However, Foster then came to a calmer appraisal. He wrote:

Miscalculations like this can be seen all down Christian history, starting from the New Testament itself. To say this is not to show irreverence to the Apostles, since the greatest of them owns, 'We know in part and we prophesy in part...we see in a mirror darkly'.¹

Another way to say it is that future events, because they are so essentially a part of the biblical message, loom prominently before the eyes of all Christians. Since biblical times until today they are a high mountain peak on the horizon. It is always right there before the eyes - imminent; in our historical perspective it is seen that there were valleys and lesser heights between our forefathers and the summit itself.

Bogue, like Edwards, interpreted the signs of the times, i.e. some of these valleys and higher ridges, as the gradual ascent to the very mountain itself, namely, the blessed hope of the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ. Today we recognize their mistake. But thanks to the renewal of emphasis upon eschatology their mistake is seen as an error in the right direction. They would not have been found sleeping nor with their talent buried if the Husbandman had

¹John Foster, "The Bicentenary of Jonathan Edwards' 'Humble Attempt'", The International Review of Missions, (Vol. XXXVII), Oct., 1948, p. 380.

returned. Neither did they become panicky and build wildly without a thought of permanency because their eyes were filled with hope. The preaching of the gospel to all the world, the gathering of the "other sheep", was to Bogue the God-given duty of all Christians until the kingdom should be completed. It was also a sign-post along the Christian's highway that the mountain was closer than when the journey was first undertaken.

It was this emphasis upon the kingdom which kept Bogue's conception of the church properly balanced between anstalt and ereignis.¹ The church to him was an institution with a community of believers, gathered about the Word and the Sacraments, with a ministry called by the Head of the church. It was that; however, it was more than that. It was a phase of the kingdom: there was an eschatological aspect as well.

The missionary societies, which sprang into existence in the late seventeen hundreds, are accused of preaching in their early years "a Gospel without a Church".² Over against such an accusation there is Max Warren's statement that one of the achievements of the missionary societies was that they established the church.³ The very nature of the L.M.S. prevented its missionaries

¹These terms are used to indicate the institutional and the eschatological aspects of the church.

²Quoted in Van Den Berg, op. cit., p. 159.

³Max Warren, The Christian Mission, 1951, p. 97. Warren adds, "the missionary societies did not go out to establish themselves." Ibid.

from establishing one particular church polity. This does not mean, however, that this interdenominational society's missionaries entirely ignored the church as anstalt. Their first and largest field was the island world. Here most of their missionaries were Presbyterian and Congregational. In the South Seas, churches were established which combined these polities.¹ In these churches the sacraments were observed; an indigenous leadership was trained; the Bible was translated.² Within twenty-five years, in some instances, these island churches had been the means of planting the church in outlying islands.³ Some paid the supreme cost in witnessing. They have their book of martyrs. This does not sound like a gospel without a church, especially if it is true that missions are to the church what flame is to the fire.⁴

The younger churches of today are a result of the missionary societies. The societies extended the church. The more recent endeavor to relate mission more directly to the church is good. The missionary societies, perhaps, can be looked upon as God's means of bearing witness when the church as an institution was not cognizant of her need to witness. The missionary

¹Norman Goodall, A History of the London Missionary Society: 1895-1945, 1954, p. 367.

²Ibid., p. 353.

³Ibid., p. 353.

⁴This statement is attributed to Emil Brunner.

societies served a transitory period. They were called into being by the "spiritual athletes"¹ of the day, and the remainder of the church was left outside their fellowship. Now that the entire church sees her need to witness, mission can proceed directly from the church. The church, however, must not be amazed if even today she finds a minority within her ranks carry the brunt of the burden. This must always be the case when the church contains, that which Warren calls, the "mixed multitude".² The spiritual athletes are interested in mission. Their interest explains not only the missionary societies, but the higher ratio per capita in missionary giving of the smaller denominations which generally exclude all but spiritual athletes from their membership.

The L.M.S. was not only a missionary society standing outside of the church; it stood outside of denominational bounds. Often this interdenominational aspect of the Society is viewed as an additional handicap. It should be remembered, however, that Bogue's article in the 1794 issue of the Evangelical Magazine was directed toward Congregationalists in particular. John Campbell said his intention was to establish a denominational society.³ Does censure rest upon those early fathers because they yielded

¹By that part of the membership of the church which is actively interested in carrying out the will of God. See Warren, op. cit., pp. 82ff., for a discussion of the church and its members.

²Ibid., p. 82.

³See Chapter IV, p. 106 and Chapter V, pp. 157, 158.

to that which they felt was God's leading and embraced Christians of all denominations in this great undertaking? If Newbigin's statement is true that it is not by accident that the ecumenical movement came from the mission field, because the essence of the church is to witness,¹ could it not also be true that the very contemplation of witness led the church into this interdenominational effort?

There is a danger which our present day theology of missions must avoid. The emphasis upon the doctrine of the church could continue to dominate our thinking without a corresponding growth in Christology.

It must always be remembered that Israel, the Old Testament church, was very conscious of her position as God's chosen instrument (anstalt). However, that in itself was not enough. She needed a faith in God in order that she might have a message to share with neighboring nations. Because Israel lost her faith, she also lost her motive to witness as well as her message, eventually losing her position as the witnessing body.

This is the danger to be avoided. The church must not lose her faith. She, like Israel, stands by faith. Faith, the faith by which the church stands, is based upon fact; not the fact that the church exists, but that GOD IS; upon the fact that He has revealed Himself in Jesus Christ who on the cross dealt

¹Newbigin, op. cit., p. 151.

with sin and reconciled the world to God; upon the fact that Jesus was raised from the dead and declared to be Lord of all. Faith in God: this is the basis for mission. This is the essence of the church: to declare that Jesus whom God raised from the dead is God's anointed King. Adjustment toward this message has begotten again men and women, the church, unto a lively hope which now she must share with others.

Hoekendijk has sounded a warning regarding the present-day emphasis upon the church in missiology. It is his contention that "keen ecclesiological interest has, almost without exception, been a sign of spiritual decadence; ecclesiology has been a subject of major concern only in the 'second generation'; in the 'first generation', in periods of revival, reformation or missionary advance, our interest was absorbed by Christology, thought patterns were determined by eschatology...."¹

When the institutional church has become decadent, lacking motive and message and thus failing to witness to her risen Lord, then God, in His providence, works through other channels. Is not this where the great orders of the Roman church and the missionary societies fit in?² Often they sprang up alongside of the church, and, in some cases, in spite of the opposition

¹J.C. Hoekendijk, "The Church in Missionary Thinking", The International Review of Missions, (Vol. XLI), July, 1952, pp. 324-336. The quotation is found on page 325.

²See Warren's The Christian Mission, pp. 91, 92, for his attitude toward the Roman orders and the missionary societies.

of the church.

At the present time one of the great concerns of the ecumenical church is the large number of missionary organizations and their personnel which are not co-operating with the International Missionary Council. Most of these non-co-operating groups are from the "gathered church" tradition. However, it appears to be theology rather than church polity which prevents these churches from joining the Missionary Council.¹ Their fear is to some extent similar to Hoekendijk's: that the ecumenical movement, with its emphasis upon church and unity, has not given corresponding emphasis to faith in the great traditional truths of the Bible. Whether these fears are justified cannot be discussed here. We must, however, face this issue, because the group concerned represents more than one-third of all Protestant missionaries and is growing more rapidly than the churches within the Missionary Council.²

David Bogue faced this same problem in the Great Missionary Awakening. He was enthusiastic about the catholicity shown

¹For a discussion of the question, see Harold Lindsell's "An Appraisal of Agencies not Co-operating with the International Missionary Council Grouping", in the International Review of Missions, (Vol. XLVII), April, 1958, pp. 202-209. Norman Goodall has in the same number of the periodical, pp. 210-215, an article "'Evangelicals' and WCC-IMC."

²Bishop Newbigin's concept of the church being composed of the Credal, the Catholic, and the Pentecostal types of communion and his conclusion that what is needed is, not a study of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, but, a fellowship with that type of communion (i.e. those not co-operating in the IMC) is a hopeful indication of a more inclusive fellowship in the future. Newbigin, op.cit., pp. 108-110.

in the forming of the London Missionary Society and all of the organizations which grew out of this spirit of unity. To him, as to us today, this ecumenicity was one of the great blessings of the generation. However, Bogue was also deeply impressed with the importance of the central truths of historic Christianity. This, which he called purity of doctrine, was equally as vital and essential to the outbreak of missionary activity as the unity of believers.

We, too, must keep both emphases in sight, and, in so doing, be kept from extremes. An over-emphasis upon doctrine, creeds and traditional beliefs can lead to fossilization; a reaction to creeds can lead to a freedom which, not grounded in historic Christianity, has no boundaries. To guide his generation, and pertinent today, David Bogue wrote,

To conclude. Let us manifest a truly liberal spirit towards all the disciples of Christ. That bastard liberalism which springs out of indifference for principles, may we never possess: and may we be preserved from that ignorance and bigotry, which magnify small differences into essentials in religion. Let it ever be our endeavour to attain a soundness of judgment on divine subjects, which may discern things that differ, as to their real importance. Let us abound in the spirit of love; be ready to unite with all in every catholic plan, for the advancement of the Redeemer's glory; and thus hasten on the season, when this spirit shall be universal upon earth; - but especially let us seek to be prepared for heaven, where every difference shall for ever cease, and perfect order and union eternally reign.¹

DAVID BOGUE.

¹ David Bogue, Millennium, p. 115.

CHAPTER X

DAVID BOGUE: HIS VIEWS ON POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

I. INTRODUCTION

"Few men in England are greater lovers of political and civil liberty than I am...."¹ In this manner wrote David Bogue in 1813. The events of his life bear out the veracity of this statement. As a young man of twenty-one years of age, he left Scotland rather than submit to the patronage of their established church. Time and again in later life he dedicated his pulpit and his pen to defend the natural rights of man.

It was 1771 when David Bogue, finished with his formal education, left for England. From this time to the year of his death, 1825, much was happening in the world which forced a thinking person to attempt the construction of a political philosophy. Undoubtedly as a result of Locke's vindication of the Whig Revolution, America and France had staged a revolution. Basic to both these reactions was the declaration of the natural and inalienable rights of man.² While Englishmen were struggling to maintain their equilibrium on these issues, the Industrial Revolution was breaking up the pattern of the old order. All of this transition was taking place at a time when the church was at one of its lowest ebbs.

¹ James Bennett, Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. David Bogue, D.D., 1827, p. 241.

² Basil Willey, The Eighteenth Century Background, 1940, p. 17.

The House of Hanover was on the throne during this era. The dissenters had welcomed their ascendancy and were enjoying comparative freedom. There had been some tension during the American revolution because the dissenters, almost to the man, took a stand against Lord North's policy.¹ Dissenters had gained some toleration, some freedom, and they guarded it carefully and were ever alert for encroachments. A defeat of liberal policies across the Atlantic, to them, meant a possible future infringement on their hard-earned rights.²

Although the Georges desired toleration for all Protestants, the dissenters were under disabilities handed down from previous monarchs. Still on the statute books were the Conventicle Act, the Five-Mile Act, the Toleration Act, the Corporation and Test Acts. In spite of the fact that some of these laws were overlooked, and occasional conformity and the annual Indemnity Act took the sting out of others, dissent was working for total equality, and consequently for the repeal of all these laws.³

As early as 1727 the General Body of the Three Denominations was organized in London for the promoting of the Baptist,

¹ Bogue and Bennett, History of Dissenters, from the Revolution in 1688, to the Year 1808, Four Volumes, 1808-1812, IV, 148ff; also see Anthony Lincoln, Some Political & Social Ideas of English Dissent: 1763-1800, 1938, p. 25.

² Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., IV, 152.

³ W.B. Selbie, Congregationalism, 1927, pp. 119-133.

Independent and Presbyterian interests.¹ In 1732 the Dissenting Deputies were formed with the specific task of taking "care of the civil affairs of the Dissenters".² To the cause of religious liberty for the dissenters a few Whigs were committed;³ however, to the Tories, the dissenters were always suspect. Behind their longing for equal rights, the Tories reasoned, was there not a basic rebellious attitude? These dissenters, who had thrown off the established church, did they not also desire freedom from governmental restraint? Parliament's action, therefore, to the dissenters, was not a matter of disinterest. Later in 1811 it was from dissent's sensitiveness to a proposed bill that the Protestant Society for the Promotion of Religious Liberty arose.⁴ It is against this sort of background that David Bogue entered the arena.

II. FORMULATING HIS POSITION

Religious and political liberty were closely associated in David Bogue's thinking. He had said, "Where there is not political liberty in a country, religious liberty cannot exist",

¹Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., II, 143, 144.

²Selbie, op. cit., p. 115.

³Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., IV, 176, 180.

⁴James Bennett, The History of Dissenters, During the last Thirty Years (from 1808 to 1838), 1839, pp. 45-50.

and "I know that religion cannot flourish where religious liberty is not enjoyed".¹ This principle made it necessary for Bogue to examine carefully the legitimacy of an established religion. The exact time that he adopted his view on the separation of church and state is not known. Although he had left Scotland, he had been licensed by her national church.² His associations during the next several years were with ministers in good standing in that church.³ He kept up correspondence with young ministers of that persuasion. In 1773 he began to express his preference for Independency to his Scottish correspondents, but was not convinced of his position. This is evident in that three years later he made a trip to Holland to consider a call of the Scottish congregation in Amsterdam.⁴ The following year he accepted the unanimous call of the Gosport Independent church. However, after having been established a few years at Gosport, he was still thought a proper candidate for the living at St. Cuthbert's in Edinburgh.⁵

The first published statement of Bogue's sentiments on the relationship between politics and religion was made in 1790.

¹Bennett, David Bogue, p. 241.

²Ibid., p. 35.

³Ibid., pp. 34, 35.

⁴Ibid., pp. 60-65.

⁵Congregational Magazine, Jan., 1826, p. 3.

This was at a time when the dissenters, encouraged by their success in throwing off subscription to the greater part of the thirty-nine articles, were making a renewed effort to be relieved of the disabilities of the Corporation and Test Acts.¹ Bogue's pen was taken up anonymously on this issue.

The argument in this publication was built around the principle that man has certain inalienable rights, whether he be English, French, American or African.² No government should ever demand of its citizens passive obedience and non-resistance when these rights are being jeopardized.³ Governments were established for the good of all their citizens, and "every good citizen should have equal access to all civil offices of trust, honour, and profit, in the community of which he is a member."⁴

Bogue agreed with Bishop Burnet's quotation -

That he did not think the bulk of the people were born with saddles on their backs, and bridles in their mouths, and that a few were booted and spurred, with whips in their hands, to ride them.⁵

Bogue, at this time, also challenged the authority of the Pope to choose a religion for other people. He continued:

¹ Selbie, op. cit., p. 135.

² Reasons for Seeking a Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, Submitted to the Consideration of the Candid and Impartial. By a Dissenter /David Bogue/. 1790, pp. 14, 21, 22, 26; also the footnote on pages 16 and 17.

³ Ibid., pp. 4, 10, 14, 42.

⁴ Ibid., p. 12.

⁵ Ibid., p. 10.

But if the Pope have no right, who gave authority to a Bishop, or Archbishop, or Council of Bishops, in England, at Nice, or at any other place on earth, to assume his place. He who says, their decrees are binding, maintains Popery still, though under another name.¹

Having said this, it can be anticipated that he added:

Our congregations, like the assemblies of the primitive Christians till the days of Constantine, are entirely voluntary, composed of those who prefer our sentiments, mode of worship, and discipline. Our ministers, like those of the primitive church, are chosen by the voice of the people. - Their office is wholly confined to religious matters, to teach the principles of Christianity in public; and in private to instruct the ignorant, to comfort the afflicted, and to enforce by personal conversation, the doctrines and duties of religion. Their only weapons are prayers and reasoning: And they have no authority over us, but what they derive from our esteem of their learning, their piety, or their virtues. If a man appear and profess to be a Christian, we admit him into our communion, and he receives the sacrament with us. Should he afterwards deny the Lord that bought him, or be guilty of a crime, we exclude him. He may attend on public worship; but he is not allowed to sit down with us at the Lord's Table. This is all the injury he sustains. He suffers no civil disabilities, he is deprived of no civil rights. We wish him to endure no temporal loss or disadvantage, as a member of civil society, from acting in a manner unbecoming a Christian. We should esteem it impious to call on the magistrate to inflict the slightest punishment on him. 'Christ's kingdom is not of this world.' Its rewards and punishments are of a spiritual nature; and we leave it to him to dispense them according to his pleasure....²

Bogue's view on the separation of the church and the state are further expounded in the article. The state, he said:

considers men as rational creatures, united in society for enjoyment of social felicity. Its design and office is not to teach men the way to Heaven, but to enable them to live happily on earth. It has no concern with the salvation

¹Ibid., p. 8.

²Ibid., pp. 9, 10.

of men's souls; but is instituted to watch over their persons and properties, to preserve their bodies, goods, and reputation in safety, and to enable them to enjoy without molestation, the sweets of social life. In dispensing rewards and punishments, human government considers men's actions as they are hurtful or advantageous to the community. It punishes crimes as injurious to society; It rewards meritorious actions not as acceptable to God, but as beneficial to the state.¹

This did not mean that Bogue felt religion unimportant to society. He thought it absolutely necessary, but only in so far as, "Religion is the foundation of personal and social virtue."²

He was equally outspoken in stating his preference as to the form the government should take. "We prefer," he said, "the English constitution, as composed of King, Lords, and Commons, to all the Republics that now are, or that ever were in the world, since Tarquin was driven from Rome."³ To him England was the land of liberty. "The English constitution," he commented, "is founded on the principle of the natural equality of man, and it calls the lowest citizen to aspire by virtue and merit to opulence and honours."⁴ If the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts would endanger the constitution, Bogue said, "we would rather suffer many and great inconveniences than ask it."⁵

¹Ibid., pp. 12, 13.

²Ibid., p. 13.

³Ibid., p. 12.

⁴Ibid., p. 13.

⁵Ibid., p. 27.

The suspicion, which Bogue's name aroused in many circles, came from his attitude toward despotic governments. To him religious liberty was dependent upon political liberty. Where there was no religious liberty, true Christianity would be handicapped. He cited the lack of success of the Reformation in southern Europe as a recent proof of this principle.¹ Primarily interested in the spread of the Christian faith, he, therefore, rejoiced in the fall of despotism in France. The sixth article in their new declaration of rights, too, was an occasion for optimism because in it non-Roman Catholics had no disabilities. It said,

'That all citizens being equal in the sight of the community are equally eligible to all honours, places, and employments, according to their different abilities, without any other distinction than that which is created by their virtues and their talents.'²

In this context we must understand Bogue's enthusiastic remarks:

France used to be considered as the land of slaves. The people felt their bondage: They cried to God for help; and he diffused among them the spirit of liberty. To the joy of every lover of mankind, they have lately asserted their just rights: And it is with a pleasure which cannot be described, that we see our good neighbours pulling down the enchanted castle of despotism, where millions have groaned under the lashes of lawless tyranny, and speedily yet firmly erecting the venerable structure of liberty in its stead. Broad and strong are its foundations: High may it rise: Long as the world lasts, may it securely stand; and may all the people of that extensive kingdom find shelter beneath

¹ Ibid., pp. 23, 24; see also Bogue's sermon, A Sermon Preached at Salters-Hall, March 30th, 1792, 1793, pp. 46-49.

² Bogue, Corporation and Test Acts, p. 27.

its roof. We envy you not, but sincerely congratulate you as brethren on your noble acquisition, and cordially rejoice in your success.¹

Those who read these words and immediately cried "Republican" had forgotten all else that Bogue had said.² They, too, overlooked that he was a pacifist and how he had concluded his argument. He had written, "We are therefore determined to persevere, and in the use of every peaceable and constitutional method to seek relief."³

III. EXPOUNDING HIS CONVICTIONS

That which Bogue said or wrote on civil and religious liberty during the remaining thirty-five years of his life was based upon the principle set forth in this 1790 publication. In concluding a missionary address delivered two years later to the Scottish Society for the Propagating of Christian Knowledge, Bogue asked his audience to receive encouragement in considering "the aspect of Providence" in the affairs of the world.⁴ He went on to explain that,

¹Ibid., p. 21.

²See Some Strictures on a Late Publication, Entitled Reasons for Seeking a Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, By a Churchman, 1790, p. 21. "Let any Man read the twenty-first Page of the Dissenter's Pamphlet, and then say, whether it be defamatory or not to call him at least a Republican." Ibid. Italics are in the text.

³Bogue, Corporation and Test Acts, p. 42.

⁴Bogue, Salters-Hall Sermon, p. 46.

The moral world is big with great events, and is hastening on their accomplishment. Every pious mind looks forward to a more joyful state of things, when religion shall extend her triumph over the face of the earth...A more formidable and a more successful engine against the religion of Jesus Christ, Satan, the great adversary of God and man, has not employed, than the tyranny of civil governments. In reading the history of most of the countries in Europe, for a thousand years past, what do we behold? Despots and their viziers, and all their train of armed executioners, setting themselves against the Lord and his Anointed; and what they called government, as exercised by them, seems little else than a conspiracy, not only against the present happiness of man, but against religion and the cause of God. From the day that Christ was born, when Herod sought his death, to the present hour, when inquisitions exhibit their instruments of torture, has the tyranny of civil government been employed as an instrument of the devil, to bring to ruin the kingdom of the Redeemer.¹

After citing the history of Europe after the Reformation as one of many examples of this principle that "wherever there was any degree of liberty, the protestant religion prevailed",² Bogue dwelt on France in particular as a sufferer from the tyranny of human governments. He said,

Wherever there was any arbitrary power, by its sanguinary aid, popery kept its place. In so striking a manner has this been verified, that where the protestant religion gained ground in the days of liberty, tyranny succeeding drove it away. This was the case in a neighbouring country; tyranny, in the person of Louis XIV. banished the protestant religion from France; and it was in exile till returning liberty brought it back.³

The relationship between civil liberty and the advancement of true religion, to Bogue, was more close than commonly

¹Ibid., pp. 46, 47.

²Ibid., p. 47.

³Ibid., pp. 47, 48.

supposed. Because he believed this, and was one of the foremost promoters of Christianity in his generation he could speak with enthusiasm concerning the events on the Continent. In this mood he continued,

It must be then to the joy of every friend of human nature, that tyranny has received a mortal wound. It may be enraged, it may struggle, it may threaten, it may aim blows at those who are near; but die it must. And if we may judge from the appearance of things in the moral world, this generation shall not pass away before the expiring groans of arbitrary power are heard through every country in Europe; and the lovers of mankind are called on to rejoice over her, as the murderer of the witnesses of Jesus Christ. And when civil liberty is hailed by a thousand voices, as bringing in her train the most valuable temporal blessings, the Christian may welcome her as the harbinger of religion, sent to give notice of her approach. In another light, civil liberty is the scaffold on which the builders stand to erect the fabric of the church of Christ; and I cannot but consider the present zeal for liberty, which so generally prevails, as designed by the great Governor of the world as a preparatory step to the extending of the Redeemer's kingdom.¹

Like Bogue's early publication this sermon fell into the hands of diversified readers. Four years after it was delivered the Reverend William Porteous of Glasgow used selected portions of it to convince the Glasgow Missionary Society that they should not support the Haldane-Bogue missionary adventure in India. Feeling the compulsion of a good citizen to acquaint the government with everything which threatened its security, Porteous also sent extracts of the sermon to Lord Dundas who, in turn, would be the final authority on whether the above-mentioned party would receive

¹Ibid., pp. 48, 49.

permission to enter India. As a postscript to his letter Porteous added,

If Mr. B: were at Hindostan will it be possible for him to avoid politics? - Would he not sin against his own conscience if he were to avoid them? How could he rear the building without the scaffold? - Will he enter into a treaty with Antichrist?¹

This comment of Mr. Porteous was added just in case the Right Honorable Lord Advocate had failed to grasp the significance of his earlier letter. In this he had written,

Many of us have reason to believe that the whole of this missionary business grows from a democratical root, and that the intention of those who planted it was to get hold of the publick mind - and hereafter these societys /sic/ may employ its energy, as circumstances may direct -²

In this era when one of the Directors of the East India Company openly declared it his opinion "that if 30,000 Hindoos were converted from idolatry, it would be the most serious misfortune to the Company",³ and when Sunday schools at home were looked upon by many clergymen as "calculated to produce discontent, to foster an aversion to the present order of things, and to increase that portentuous fermentation in the minds of the people"⁴

¹Letter of William Porteous to the Lord Advocate, Feb. 20, 1797. Laing MSS. II, No. 501.

²William Porteous to the Lord Advocate, Jan. 24, 1797, Laing MSS. II, No. 501.

³In the Feb. 16, 1797 circular letter of the Haldane-Bogue party. A copy sent to the Rev. Dr. George Hill of St. Andrews is found in the Laing MSS. II, No. 501.

⁴William Porteous to the Lord Advocate, Feb. 21, 1798, Laing MSS. II, No. 501.

it is needless to say that dissenters' enthusiasm to reach India with the gospel was not appreciated by the East India Company, by the Established Churches of Scotland and England, nor by the Government which the fore-mentioned organizations strongly influenced.

To David Bogue the refusal to enter India was not a reason for despair, but a challenge. The proceedings which followed the first negative reply have already been discussed.¹ His tenacity in the matter was based upon his conviction that all governments are imperfect,² and therefore the inalienable rights which naturally belong to man are sometimes obscured. He was convinced that the English constitution stood for these natural rights, and that twenty-four merchants could not forever stand in the way of a fuller realization of these liberties as they applied to India. As has already been noted, his determination in this matter was most influential in changing the charter of the East India Company, and thus in bringing freedom to proclaim the gospel in India.

It was also at this time that the Haldane brothers, having been refused entrance into India, began their evangelistic efforts in Scotland. Their dependence upon David Bogue in this venture, as in the India mission, has already been observed.

¹See Chapter VIII.

²Bogue, Corporation and Test Acts, p. 14.

The Haldane movement in Scotland soon needed more leadership. It was natural for Robert and James Haldane to look to Bogue and his academy for assistance. Bogue had been influential in both of their lives, and Robert had, twelve years earlier, been his pupil. Plans for twenty Scottish students to enter Gosport had already been made when it was suggested to Robert Haldane that for Scottish students to go to England for training, especially under Bogue whose politics were suspected, would prejudice Scotland against the evangelistic movement.¹ Robert Haldane yielded to this persuasion, but later showed that the decision was one based on expediency, rather than on mistrust of Bogue's political loyalty, by financing students at the Gosport Academy.²

IV. APPRECIATING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Soon, that political action in France, which first appeared as a harbinger of the gospel, took on excesses and crimes. The government in England became alarmed, and not altogether without reason. Besides the followers of Burke, and of Fox, there was a third group in England which was more fully in sympathy with the revolutionary spirit.³ The secretary of the Scottish Society

¹Greville Ewing, Facts and Documents Respecting the Connections Which Have Subsisted between Robert Haldane, Esq. and Greville Ewing, etc., 1809, pp. 26-28.

²See Chapter VII.

³W.L. Mathieson, Church and Reform in Scotland: A History from 1797 to 1843, 1916, p. 9.

for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, the group which had heard Bogue's appraisal of continental events, wrote to Bogue that "Societies of the friends of the people, as they call themselves, are starting up everywhere."¹ One of these friends of the people in England was Thomas Hardy, according to Waddington, "a man having but a small stock of ideas".² "He wrote," continued Waddington,

As 'citizen' Hardy, to persons of eminence - amongst others to 'Citizen Napoleon'; and in the course of this restless correspondence he addressed a letter to Bogue, asking his opinion on the subject of reform, and desiring to know if he had taken an active part in the advancement of the cause.³

Bogue, in replying to this political shoemaker, asked if he had distributed Paine's works and was informed that he had secretly circulated some.⁴ That was the extent of Bogue's relationship to the man who, with others including Pitt,⁵ was arraigned for high treason.⁶ The charge of sedition against Bogue was dropped,⁷ but the attitude of many was not as easily altered as that of the government.

¹Bennett, David Bogue, p. 142.

²John Waddington, Congregational History, 1700-1800, 1876, p. 672.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Bennett, David Bogue, p. 143.

⁶Waddington, op. cit., p. 673.

⁷Bennett, op. cit., p. 143.

In a letter to his son William Bull wrote,

Mr. Newton says, all the Dissenters, even the orthodox not excepted, are republicans and enemies of Government, and he thinks it the duty of Government to watch over them all.... In his late journey to Southampton he met with Mr. Bogue of Gosport, who he thinks is a very pious man, but he says he is as bitter against Government as any Frenchman or republican in the world!¹

In 1813 David Bogue spoke at Stanstead House, the residence of Lewis Way. After Bogue's ministry there, some people reproached Mr. Way for having encouraged the labors of such a democrat. Mr. Way, in turn, wrote to Bogue informing him of the slander. We quote portions of the accused's reply:

I received your letter with great pleasure, and must cordially thank you for the frank and manly way in which you express yourself on the reports you have heard concerning me. Allow me, in return, to state to you with equal frankness my sentiments and my conduct.

.....
In respect to church government, I am on principle a dissenter. I prefer their simplicity of worship, and purity of communion, and entire freedom from all political arrangements of the rulers of this world, as best according with the nature and constitution of the christian church, and with the description given by its great head - 'My kingdom is not of this world,' and with its form and administration during the first centuries of the christian era.²

After Bogue had stated his views regarding despotic governments, political tyranny, and the resulting religious bondage, he continued:

Such, sir, are my sentiments as to liberty. I know they are not fashionable; but I account them important, and agreeable to the spirit of the word of God. When the French

¹Josiah Bull, Memorials of the Rev. William Bull, of Newport Pagnel, 1864, p. 221.

²Bennett, David Bogue, pp. 240, 241.

revolution began, it had not a stronger advocate than myself; because I conceived it would produce religious liberty in that country, and thereby lead to the propagation of the pure gospel in it. Those who are acquainted with the ecclesiastical history of France, know that within the last five hundred years more have lost their lives for the sake of religion, than in all the rest of Europe besides. I felt the more for France on that account. Every publication of note relating to the revolution I read with interest; and Paine's 'Rights of Man' among the rest. Many of the general principles of freedom I thought he stated with peculiar clearness, and some of the miseries of despotism he pointed out with singular force. The book was put into my hands, and after reading it, I dare say I gave it to others to read; but as to sending hundreds of copies around the country to be sold, it is destitute of truth.¹

Bogue then expressed to Mr. Way his attitude toward forms of government, and his satisfaction with the British constitution. His next statement showed his concern lest he, a minister of the gospel, should substitute political activity for spiritual concern:

And while I have earnestly desired the progress of freedom among mankind, I have considered myself as restrained by my office from every active interference in the subject: not only was I never present at any political meeting, public or private; but, to avoid all appearance of party, though I am entitled to vote for members for the county, I have forborne to avail myself of that privilege.²

The sentiments against Bogue were not expressed in a corner, consequently making him keenly aware of his reputation in some circles.³ This criticism, however, did not cause him to

¹Ibid., p. 242.

²Ibid., p. 243.

³Bogue's terminology was quite similar to Dr. Price's. "France is hastening the Millennium" Price had written in 1787, and it was his sentiments which caused Burke much uneasiness. See George Sampson, Reflections on the Revolution in France. By Edmund Burke. With an Introduction by George Sampson, n.d., pp. 9, 13, 33, etc. See also Waddington, op. cit., p. 642.

abandon his principles. He wrote to Mr. Way:

I am not surprised at your hearing such reports from the quarters you mention, for I have heard that several of them have said things against me of a similar kind, equally unfounded. If you inquire the reason, I imagine it is that they have had my principles and conduct misrepresented to them. I have never been backward to acknowledge myself a steadfast friend of the liberties of mankind. These they have misunderstood, and out of that misunderstanding all the rest has risen. I have a great respect for these gentlemen, as very pious ministers of Jesus Christ; but I have scarcely found one of them who had much information on this subject, or who was sensible of its importance to the propagation of the gospel in the world.¹

To what extent a Christian minister should become involved in secular events was a question David Bogue often faced. After a distasteful experience in 1789, he wrote in his diary, "Never again engage in such matters".² When, some years later, he was subpoenaed to give evidence in the Hardy case he was severely mortified.³ He wrote to Lewis Way that his profession prevented his active participation in politics.⁴

However, offsetting this desire to be free from the taint of meddling, was his conviction that religious liberty and advance was dependent upon political freedom. Consequently when

¹Bennett, David Bogue, p. 243. Bogue's leadership in the formation of the L.M.S. during this time of political uncertainty may have been a reason why "the conservative" Evangelicals in the Church of England did not feel at home and eventually started the Church Missionary Society.

²Ibid., p. 117.

³Ibid., p. 143.

⁴Ibid., p. 243.

he believed that the spiritual welfare of the French, Indians, English or Americans was at stake, because of political injustice, he felt it his duty under God to do all within his power to bring about reform.

Bogue's interest in France was religious. This is seen in his contribution to their spiritual welfare.¹ However, in removing their prejudice against Christianity, he felt it necessary in his Essay to answer a serious objection, namely, "Christianity is the Friend of Despotism, and the Enemy of Liberty."² Immediately, and that in 1800, he was involved in politics with the French, the "irreconcilable" enemy of the English people.³ To Bogue the issue was not one to be avoided. In removing the objection he was interested in only one question:

'What does the New Testament say, should be the character and conduct of rulers and subjects?' or in other words, 'What duties do rulers owe to subjects and subjects to rulers?'⁴

His answer was that the primary purpose of the New Testament is to teach religion.

What relates to civil institutions it notices only so far as moral obligation is concerned. Forms of government it

¹See Chapter VIII.

²David Bogue, An Essay on the Divine Authority of the New Testament, (Fifth edition), 1820, p. 211.

³W.L. Mathieson, The Awakening of Scotland: A History from 1747 to 1797, 1910, p. 115.

⁴Bogue, Essay, 1820, p. 211 (footnote).

leaves to the wisdom of men to regulate, and to nations to frame. But what the spirit of governments should be, it plainly dictates: and it authoritatively lays down the principles by which both governors and governed should regulate their conduct.

The foundation of civil government, the religion of Jesus lays in JUSTICE. It represents the human race as one great family, and all men as brethren.¹

Bogue expressed his opinion that the New Testament taught civil government to be an ordinance of divine institution. Men should live not in anarchy, but in societies regulated by laws. These laws are to be enforced by officers appointed for that specific duty. The officers of the law, he explained,

'are not a terror to good works but to evil. Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same: for he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, an avenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil.'²

After showing the reasonableness and beneficence of the subject's honor and obedience, for conscience's sake, to the divine ordinance, Bogue concludes his answer to the alleged objection in the following convincing manner:

Religion walks without fear into the palace of the king; she approaches him with dignity as he sits upon his throne; and she proclaims with the tone of authority, 'He that ruleth over man must be just, ruling in the fear of God!' 2 Sam. xxiii. 3. She goes from thence into the hall of judgment, and with the mien of a superior, addresses herself to the judges, as they sit on the tribunal: 'Ye shall not respect persons in judgment.' Deut. i. 17. 'Defend the poor and the fatherless: do justice to the afflicted and

¹Bogue, Essay, 1801, pp. 207, 208. Note the different editions.

²Ibid., p. 209.

needy: deliver the poor and needy: rid them out of the hand of the wicked.' Psalm lxxxii. 3, 4. From the courts of justice she goes out to the multitude of the people, and she proclaims through the streets of the city: 'Let every soul be subject to the higher powers.' Rom. xiii. 1. 'Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the king as supreme, or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and the praise of them that do well. For so is the will of God, that with well-doing you may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men.' 1 Pet. ii. 2, 13, 14, 15.¹

In 1801, when Bogue's Essay was first circulated in Britain, the above discussion raised a clamor in some circles. Even the friendly Evangelical Magazine suggested that in another edition he "relinquish any attempt to reconcile the precepts of Scripture with the maxims of the French Revolution."² To the next edition Bogue added a footnote explaining that the question which he was answering in removing the objection to Christianity was often confused with another question respecting civil government. The second question is, "'How far, according to the New Testament, and how long are subjects bound to obedience, supposing the rulers do not perform their duty, but act in direct opposition to it?'"³ Bogue continued,

The second lies entirely without the range of this essay, and it never entered the author's thoughts to discuss it. It involves a piece of casuistry of difficult discussion, according to the common sentiments of men, but not on the system of the author, who thinks that Christ taught his

¹ Ibid., pp. 210, 211.

² Evangelical Magazine, May, 1802, p. 180.

³ Bogue, Essay, 1820, p. 211 (footnote).

disciples not to reform their country by violence and force, not to break the peace of society, and to make use of no other weapons than truth and love.¹

Bogue's footnote and a few minor changes satisfied the Evangelical Magazine. Their review contained the following comment, "The section which, in the first edition, occasioned some strictures, unreasonably severe, is in this edition considerably altered...."²

Bogue's principles in both editions were the same, but obviously that which was "considerably altered" was the confusing of terms and principles in the minds of the religious public. Allow Bogue to speak for himself,

Two things, in the conduct and measures of the alarmist, gave inconceivable offence, and created the deepest disgust. They accused all the friends of the French revolution of approving all the extravagancies and cruelties which had taken place in France, and of a desire to introduce such scenes into their own country, and overturn the constitution and existing government. After this crimination, they thought themselves warranted to abuse them in the grossest manner, and to charge them with the blackest designs and the most odious crimes.

The other was still more displeasing as it was conceived to be more hostile to the happiness of mankind. In almost all the speeches, papers, pamphlets, and volumes of the ministerial party, in which liberty was not kept entirely out of view, it was spoken of in a way which would lead people to imagine that they must beware of it as a dangerous inmate. The mad deeds of the French were exposed in colours sufficiently glaring, but instead of considering these as a gross abuse of liberty, they were employed as weapons to destroy it, and an attack was by these means made against liberty itself. Despotism and slavery were represented as harmless, as almost blessings; and the force of the country

¹Ibid., pp. 211, 212 (footnote).

²Evangelical Magazine, Feb., 1805, p. 83.

was combined, in conjunction with the powers on the continent, to restore the old government in France.¹

In 1807 Bogue was again treading on explosive territory. He published with comments an English translation of Napoleon's Catechism for the Use of all the Churches in the French Empire. He cited the fact that at the present the Protestants in France were enjoying full liberty of conscience and worship, and were not restricted in witnessing to their faith. He reasoned that if this condition continued, Protestants could increase their numbers, because many would see through the sham of Roman Catholicism, recognizing it as being merely a tool in Napoleon's ambitious hands.² Considerable insight is seen in Bogue's next deduction. He said,

Should any alteration take place respecting the Protestants, and (should) they be abridged or deprived of the religious privileges they now enjoy, of which, however, well informed persons say, there is at present no appearance, then infidelity and Nothing-at-all-ism must overflow the land: for it is impossible that acute, intelligent people, as the French are, can swallow down the absurdities which the Catechism contains, and which the Catholic worship exhibits. As before the revolution, all the forms of Rome may prevail, while the mass who pay some regard to them, are infidels at heart: or what is more,³ likely, a disregard to all worship will generally prevail.

Five years later, Bogue, seeing the outcome in France, described the reactions of those like himself, who had a spirit of philanthropy as well as a zeal for liberty. He wrote,

¹Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., IV, 198, 199.

²Eclectic Review, Feb., 1807, pp. 155, 156

³Ibid., p. 156. Italics are in the text.

Those among the friends of liberty who were Christians, were more deeply affected than the rest with the state of things both at home and abroad, and with the gloomy prospect before them. Their minds took a wider range, and they viewed liberty in its connection with religion, and its influence on the propagation of the Gospel. When, therefore, they looked around, and saw a combination against the cause of liberty, they viewed it with unutterable horror, as conspiracy against the Lord and his anointed, to spread the triumphs of superstition and priestcraft, to bind the consciences of mankind in adamant fethers, to prevent the propagation of divine truth, and, in short, - to put the great clock of Europe back five hundred years.¹

David Bogue saw two effects in particular of the French revolution upon the cause of religious liberty in Britain.

First, people were now recognized more for their own worth, their character and conduct:

In consequence of this, stars, garters, and coronets lost considerably of their value. Ermine could no longer conceal from view a defect of talents and virtue, or procure the homage of the souls without them. The clergyman's gown and cassock, the presbyterian minister's Geneva cloak, and the methodist preacher's unpowdered head and lank hair lost more than nine-tenths of their former worth: the episcopal mitre, apron, and lawn sleeves suffered an equal depreciation. But this furnishes no cause for regret; for to seek to procure respect to a defect of excellence, by external ornaments, is an imposition on mankind.²

Secondly, the partialities and prejudices of people in respect to religion, especially among the lower classes, had been altered considerably. "It is now," Bogue observed, "a more common idea among them, that it is reasonable every one should judge for himself in matters of religion."³ To him, this second

¹Bogue and Bennett, *op. cit* , IV, 201.

²*Ibid.*, IV, 203.

³*Ibid.*, IV, 205.

effect meant that dissenters were now heard with openness, rather than being labelled immediately as king-haters.¹

V. CHOOSING A FREE CHURCH

During the years that revolution was raging on the Continent, David Bogue set down in a more detailed manner his ideas on religious liberty. One of the subjects he developed was the relation of church to state. He gave the following five reasons for his dissent: (1) "That Jesus Christ is the sole head of the church."² (2) "That the sacred Scriptures are the only rule of faith and practice."² (3) "The right of private judgment in all matters of religion."² (4) "That every man has a right to make a public profession of that religion which his private judgment dictates to be from God."² (5) "The declaration of the Saviour, 'my kingdom is not of this world.'²

The first, his fundamental principle, was in opposition to any man, or group making additions to, deletions from, or placing a different emphasis upon Christ's teaching concerning the constitution of the church of which He is the head. He felt no man should be called rabbi or acknowledged as master other than Christ Himself. Men, he argued, have ministerial power within

¹Ibid., IV, 189-205.

²Ibid., I, 292, 294, 299, 303, and 308 respectively.

the church, but no legislative authority over it.¹ Therefore, he concluded,

Can it possibly be imagined, that He, in whom are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, would give authority, either to civil or ecclesiastical governors, to undo what he has done, or contradict what his wisdom has enjoined.²

The second point set the Word of God over against the Nicene Creed, the decree of the Council of Trent, the articles of the Church of England, the confession of faith proceeding from Westminster, and the findings at Savoy. All of the latter statements, in his opinion, were human, not to be despised,³ but to be examined in the light of Sacred Scripture written by "holy men of God, who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost."⁴

Thirdly, David Bogue thought that neither religious nor civil authorities had the right to force upon an individual any particular religious belief. It could not be within the power of the local parish priest to dictate to his parishioner, because in giving him that authority, logically, the French Roman priest, the parish priest at Toledo, the imam of the mosque at Constantinople and the brahmin at Benares would have equal right to control a man's religion. Neither could the power be transferred to the supreme magistrate or the legislature. To allow men

¹Ibid., I, 292, 293.

²Ibid., I, 294.

³Ibid., I, 294-298.

⁴Ibid., I, 299.

without theological training to dictate to a man's conscience was, to him, a greater absurdity than the former error. If the business of religion is one of the prerogatives of the politician's office; then, reasoned Bogue, it belongs equally to the French emperor, the king of Spain, the emperor of China, and it belonged by the same right to Nero.¹ However, as Paul refused to give his religious opinion over into the hands of Nero, so a Christian today, concluded Bogue, "should judge for himself in matters of religion; and as he must give an account of himself unto God at last, so he must use his understanding to choose his religion, and decide for himself in a matter of the highest moment to his eternal felicity."² Bogue marveled that amid the shaking of the kingdoms of the world in his day there had sprung up this principle, "that liberty of conscience and of worship is the inalienable birth-right of man as a member of the social body".³

The fourth pillar of Bogue's system was derived from the third. Not only does the individual have the right to formulate his own religious beliefs, but he must also be at liberty to publicly profess them. Christianity, to David Bogue, was a religion of witness, and this phase of the Christian worship should never be hampered. Anglicans, for example, in residence in Spain, would

¹Ibid., I, 299-302.

²Ibid., I, 302.

³David Bogue, Discourses on the Millennium, 1818, p. 305.

expect this freedom, and to deny such liberty would be counter to the great commission of the Lord Jesus Christ, and criminal on the part of the Spanish government. Bogue felt that "such unbounded liberty"¹ would endanger no one. In fact, a lack of such toleration produced disorder and civil commotion. History has shown, continued Bogue, that lack of toleration for Protestants in France, Roman Catholics in England, Episcopalians in Scotland, infidels and atheists in any country, results in the heaviest calamities. He trusted that the convulsions in Europe would result in such Protestant countries as Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and some parts of Germany giving religious liberty to minority groups.² He wondered at the type of convulsion or judgment which would be necessary to bring the Roman Catholic church to a recognition of Christian liberty. Her use of the inquisition in the past, her recent request to Louis XVI "that there should be but one religion in that kingdom",³ and her general policy to refuse toleration except under pressure caused him to have little immediate hope for a change of policy from Rome, and were additional reasons for viewing her as the Antichrist.⁴

¹Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., I, 305.

²Bogue, Millennium, p. 371.

³Ibid., p. 402.

⁴Ibid., pp. 401, 402. "Persecution has been the constant attendant of the woman whom John the divine saw, 'drunk with the blood of the saints and of the martyrs of Jesus.'" Ibid., p. 402.

In concluding his reasons for dissent, Bogue cited Jesus' words concerning the spirituality of His kingdom: "my kingdom is not of this world."¹ Bogue continued,

The reading of the Scriptures, the preaching of the word, prayer, praise, baptism, and the Lord's supper are the moral instruments of the Mediator for the establishment of his dominion, and have no connexion with the world, no interference with temporal authority, but are all simple institutions of a spiritual nature, the tendency of which is to illuminate the minds of men with the knowledge of divine things, to purify the heart, and communicate spiritual delight.

The members of the church are persons who, professing to believe the Gospel, and to regulate their life by its dictates, unite in the observance of Christ's institutions for their spiritual improvement, the honour of God, and the benefit of others.²

The ministry, according to Bogue, should have no concern with civil affairs, "no temporal dominion, no power over men's bodies or estates".³ Ministers are related to the church on the basis of choice and compact. In this relationship they should be as pastors interested in the spiritual welfare of their flock, and examples to them, rather than lords over them. In regard to discipline, Bogue added,

If any member of the church act contrary to the rules of the Gospel, after intreaties, warnings, and reproofs employed without effect, he is to be excommunicated, that is, separated from the church, and disowned as a member. By this exclusion, he is deprived of the peculiar privileges of a member of the society; but it takes away from him none of his wealth, or temporal advantages; and it robs him of none of his civil privileges.⁴

¹Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., I, 308.

²Ibid., I, 308, 309.

³Ibid., I, 309.

⁴Ibid., I, 310.

For these five reasons Bogue did not join the Church of England, which owned the king as her head, the king and parliament as her creator and preserver, and sanctioned livings in the church to be purchased as a "man purchases a commission in the army for another."¹ Consequently he became an Independent, not because "he felt himself a child at home"² within its communion; rather, his choice was "the only safe retreat he knew from greater evils".³ Bogue was not enamored with the minutiae of any denomination. To many fellow Congregationalists he appeared very lukewarm. It was only when the natural rights of man were challenged that he was seen as a champion of his principles. He valued the Reformation as arresting many evil principles within the church. However, he did not feel that the reforming spirit in England took for a model the apostolic church, and this may have been one of the reasons why it soon lost a liberal and tolerant spirit. Bogue recognized that there was a tendency at all times for people to differ over trifles, and thus become schismatic. However, he saw so many principles sacrificed in the numerous vacillations of the Church of England during twenty-eight years, i.e. from the time of Henry VIII until the reign of Elizabeth, that he was convinced

¹Ibid., I, 354. There were other reasons, besides those of church polity, which Bogue cited as obstacles to his joining the Established Church. Ibid., I, 312-385.

²Bennett, David Bogue, p. 38.

³Ibid.

that unity had not been sacrificed by the nonconformists over differentia. Bogue followed in their heritage esteeming truth a principle which should never be forsaken in order to obtain an external unity.¹

VI. CONCLUSION

Within the activities of the dissenting churches of the late eighteenth century many means were employed which appeared to be revolutionary. The dissenters, like the political radicals, took advantage of cheap tracts to circulate their ideas. Itinerants, lay preachers, societies, auxiliary groups, gatherings in private homes, open-air meetings, free correspondence, and crowds of common folk, all seemed to point to the same conclusion: behind the cloak of Sunday schools, missionary endeavors and evangelism there was concealed an ulterior motive. David Bogue recognized that the organization of the London Missionary Society and other philanthropic organizations at this particular time in history naturally caused uneasiness, and, in turn, he was sincerely grateful to the British government and monarch that through these tempestuous times religious liberties continued unimpaired.²

There was something, however, in dissent which was more closely associated with civil liberty than these mere externals. The history of the Puritans and the nonconformists made their

¹Bogue and Bennett, op. cit., I, 286-291.

²Ibid., IV, 205-207.

dissenting children advocates of the principles of the glorious Revolution, the house of Hanover, and the Whig party.¹ Dissent was still endeavouring to free itself from disabilities, and every incident in current events which stressed the natural rights of man was viewed with approbation. Conversely, every alarm sounded in defense of the safety of the Church and the State was a possible encroachment upon their hard-won freedom. Some within dissent were radicals and extremists. The majority were not. David Bogue must be classed with the latter group. To him sin, not political tyranny, was the basic cause of all injustice. This does not mean that he approved of civil despots. He felt strongly that they were an effective tool in Satan's hand to prevent civil liberty and thus religious freedom. He opposed them with all of his might, yet recognizing that behind them was Satan and sin. Their abolition alone would not mean utopia.

Did Bogue act upon these his convictions of the social and civil implications of the gospel? Kirkland, in his thesis on the French Revolution, says,

Bogue is typical of the withdrawing type of Evangelicalism. So long as the Revolution could be fitted into the divine scheme of things, and so long as it did not involve him, as a Christian, in concrete political action, he could rejoice in it as 'an omen of better days for mankind'. Without even renouncing his principles, he withdrew when these principles were translated into action.²

¹Lincoln, English Dissent, p. 8.

²W.M. Kirkland, "The Impact of the French Revolution on Scottish Religious Life". Presented to the University of Edinburgh in 1950, p. 90.

Over against his statement is that of W.B. Selbie in his book on Congregationalism. In his chapter on "Liberty and Equality" he writes, "Among the Congregational Ministers who were active during this period were /sic/ Dr. David Bogue, of Gosport, head of an Academy there."¹ Bogue's diary and correspondence at times fits into Kirkland's pattern. "Never again engage in such /secular/ matters"; "I have considered myself constrained by my office from every active interference in the subject /principles of liberty/":² these sentiments sound like withdrawal. However, to conclude that this was Bogue's total and final attitude is to forget the tension there is in man over every real issue of life. Bogue, at times, said "no"; he probably recognized that those who had become involved in politics had sacrificed the spiritual.³ But when an issue arose which threatened man's basic rights, he said "yes". He became involved in the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, the principles of freedom in the French Revolution, the case against the East India Company and the government on the question of religious freedom in India, and in the Protestant Society for the Promotion of Religious rights.⁴ When pressed to

¹ Selbie, Congregationalism, p. 137.

² See pages 339 and 340 of this chapter.

³ Selbie said of Congregationalists, "as they were driven to become more political in their attitude, they tended to become less religious." Selbie, op. cit., p. 105.

⁴ Bogue was active in the Protestant Society mentioned in the text. See the Evangelical Magazine, 1811, p. 237; 1813, p. 274; 1820, pp. 299, 300; 1822, pp. 243, 244.

a decision on the mode of obtaining freedom, he felt he had to say "no" to the Christian's wielding of the sword. Nevertheless, while the majority of men accepted the miserable lot of the common man, he took up the mightier pen in their defense. His total attitude prevents him from being classified with those who say,

The task of the Christian is not directly to reform social conditions, but, individually, to save men (or the elect) out of the world; to re-orient the mind, so that this-worldly concerns will not matter.¹

David Bogue, though recognizing that man could give nothing in exchange for his soul, was not blind to the revolution taking place in his generation, and the import of guiding men's quest for civil liberty. He never lost sight of the basic principles involved in the French Revolution, even in the midst of bloodshed. He refused to become an alarmist and destroy a legitimate principle because it was accompanied by excesses. To him, the alarmist was to set the clock of Europe back 500 years. While striving for the rights of the French and the populace of India, he did not overlook the under-privileged in Hampshire. Sensing the meaning of the throbbing pulse of civilization and yet maintaining his insight in the midst of excesses, "imbibing the spirit without the madness of the times; - catching the enthusiasm, but changing the object,"² David Bogue directed his energies toward the welfare of mankind, far and near. If more

¹Kirkland, op. cit., p. 106.

²Eclectic Review, July-December, 1828, pp. 119, 120.

people had been able to emulate this action, it is doubtful whether Marxism would have found a place for birth in the nineteenth century.¹

However, perhaps that is asking too much for the eighteenth or even the twentieth century. Burke is long dead, but his progeny are still with us. France is out of the limelight, but China's quest for liberty is no dead issue. Napoleon's sword has rusted away, but nuclear power shows no sign of corrosion. Dissent moves quite freely in Britain, but there are still the enslaved of Italy, Spain, Columbia, and Russia. A note sounded nearly 150 years ago, still rings with encouragement in the midst of the twentieth century:

In a still and peaceful state of the world, mankind are apt to fall asleep; and feeling themselves at ease, to say, 'This is my rest, here will I stay; for I like it well.' The voice of God addresses them in vain. But when all things are shaking around them, when towers of strength are ready to fall, and uncertainty is written on every earthly object, the Christian is roused, and the men of the world are roused; - the preacher is alarmed, and the audience is alarmed; - and while God in the awful dispensations of his providence, makes the earth reel to and fro like a drunkard, his voice from the holy Scriptures penetrates the heart of the sinner, and he trembles at God's word.²

¹"'It can well be,' writes Father A.G. Hebert, 'that the Marxism that we know would never have arisen if Christians in the age of the Industrial Revolution had not exploited the poor, identified their Christianity with the privilege of a particular class and failed to realize that Communism which is demanded by the truth of the mystical Body of Christ.'" James S. Stewart, Thine is the Kingdom, 1956, p. 57.

²Bogue, Millennium, pp. 310, 311.

CHAPTER XI

DAVID BOGUE: HIS CONTRIBUTIONS REVIEWED

I. INTRODUCTION

On Tuesday, the twenty-fourth of October, 1825, Dr. David Bogue, attending the Sussex Auxiliary Missionary Society Meetings at Brighton, prayed,

'Thy Kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven: let all nations call the Saviour blessed, and the whole earth be filled with thy glory: Amen, and Amen. The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended.'¹

This prayer, with a note of the sublime, was the last in public by David Bogue. That evening he took ill, dying within a few days in the home of his host.

Bogue, for some time, was aware that his life was nearing its end, his conversation with his daughter almost daily turning to the subject of reunion with the departed loved ones.² His sermon topics also revealed where his heart was. The last time he addressed the Gosport congregation from his pulpit, his sermon was on the apostolic benediction, "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all."³ His last Sunday in Gosport, when the

¹James Bennett, Memoirs of the Life of The Rev. David Bogue, D.D., 1827, p. 355.

²Ibid., p. 354.

³Eclectic Review, July-December, 1828, p. 113. "One of the most aged members of the church, the daughter of his predecessor, on hearing this text, and marking her Pastor's spirit and manner, said, 'He will never preach in that pulpit again.' And he never did." Ibid. Italics are in the original text.

services were held in the vestry, he spoke in the morning on the text, "Enoch walked with God"; and in the evening on the remainder of the verse, "He was not, for God took him."¹ This dwelling on the glory and happiness of the heavenly state was likewise apparent in the other messages he delivered during the last month of his life. His topics were: "There is but a step between me and death";² "the transfiguration of Christ"; "Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection...";³ "Christ's life in heaven"; and "The Cup that my Father giveth me, shall I not drink it?"⁴

The latter years of David Bogue's life were filled with bereavement. Within months, he lost through death his sons, James and David;⁵ his brother, Peter, and sister, Anne;⁶ and his wife. The last sorrow was, wrote Bogue, "the heaviest affliction I was ever called to endure.... May it loosen me entirely from earth."⁷ And that it did. This loss, coupled with his illness after forty years of never missing a Lord's day service,⁸ weaned

¹Ibid., pp. 113, 114. Italics are in the original.

²Bennett, David Bogue, p. 345.

³Ibid., p. 346.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., pp. 319, 324.

⁶Ibid., pp. 329, 341.

⁷Ibid., p. 321.

⁸Ibid.

David Bogue from earth. The motto of his life, from that time on, could well be the words found in his diary, "My lease of life is expired; and it becomes me to be looking daily for the coming of Christ."¹

II. HIS LAST LABORS

This awareness of life's brevity did not divert Bogue from his abundant labors. Earlier, he had written, "Never, I hope, till our latest breath, shall we relax in forming plans for the propagation of the gospel, in every way which ingenuity can devise; and never relax in endeavouring to carry them into execution."² The hope of heaven in his heart rather gave him an ardor to do good, which was so restless and vigorous, that it appeared as if all he had thought, seen and read, was at once operating upon his mind with accumulated and concentrated force. During the last few months, in addition to his pastoral and tutorial duties at Gosport, there were included among his activities the Annual Meeting of the Missionary Society in London;³ speaking engagements on the islands of Jersey and Guernsey on behalf of the

¹ Ibid., p. 301.

² David Bogue, An Essay on the Divine Authority of the New Testament, 1801, pp. i, ii. Italics are in the text.

³ Bennett, David Bogue, p. 342.

Society;¹ a mission tour of Warwickshire;² an auxiliary missionary meeting at Brighton;³ and the services he was participating in at the time of his death. He gave his last breath in spreading the gospel. "He died as he had lived."⁴

III. HIS LIFE SUMMARIZED

The early years of David Bogue's life are, perhaps, best viewed as a preparation for his life's mission: the evangelization of the world. There was nothing spectacular regarding his student days; he was seeking a good education and that he obtained. His next six years as an assistant tutor in London and the first decade of his long stay at Gosport gave him additional time for serious study. With these preliminaries accomplished David Bogue was ready for his life's work. In the course of a few months several important steps were taken: he was married to Miss Charlotte Uffington; his doctrinal statement was published; his academy took on a more permanent status; and his views on political and religious liberty were expounded.

Bogue's marriage was a most happy one. His wife, though of a different temperament, entered wholeheartedly into his

¹Ibid., p. 330. From these meetings he was called because of the illness of his son, David, Junior. Ibid.

²Ibid., pp. 343, 344.

³Ibid., p. 340.

⁴Eclectic Review, July-December, 1828, p. 113.

spirit of self-sacrifice. In her, through his long years of public service, he found a true helpmate. Though their wedded life was marked with many sorrows, they used these crosses as means of dedicating themselves more fully to God and consequently to one another.¹

"The Great Importance of Having Right Sentiments in Religion" set forth Bogue's theological views. This sermon, a comparison of the Evangelical and Socinian positions, revealed his modified Calvinism.² It appears that his meditations on the perfection of God; the deplorable condition of man; the dignity, power and love of Christ; and the restoration of man to divine favor through the grace of God, the death of Christ, and the power of the Holy Spirit left him with a "deep concern for the salvation of others."³ It is undoubtedly at this time that Bogue began to formulate his thoughts on missions. His first published address on this subject, delivered three years later, was the result of the careful thought and serious study given to this first doctrinal statement.⁴

In 1789, George Welch, a London banker, became a patron

¹For an account of their married life see Chapter III.

²This sermon is dealt with more fully in Chapter IX.

³David Bogue, The Great Importance of Having Right Sentiments in Religion. A Sermon, Preached before an Association of Ministers, ... July, 1788, 1789, (2nd Edition), p. 18.

⁴For a discussion of this sermon, see Chapter IV, pages 165-167.

of the Gosport Academy. From that year the Academy grew steadily. Robert Haldane, the Hampshire Association of Churches, and, later, the London Missionary Society, deeply impressed with the ability of David Bogue as a tutor, sent students to this institution.¹

Also closely associated with the concept of missions were Bogue's views on the natural rights of man. These inalienable rights were often jeopardized by governments, resulting not only in the loss of political freedom, but also of religious freedom, thus curtailing the spread of the gospel. In David Bogue's experience, therefore, family life, theology, education and politics were related, finding their centralizing factor in missions.

In 1792, Bogue publicly launched his missionary appeal before the Scottish Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. This sermon was closely followed by two other associated acts. He helped to found the Evangelical Magazine, the mouthpiece for all subsequent Evangelical activity, and quickly inserted an article in the periodical calling for the founding of a missionary organization. The result was even beyond his expectation. Challenging the Independents, the only group not active in this philanthropy, Bogue found that the call crossed denominational barriers and that Evangelicals of all persuasions came forward to set in operation the London Missionary Society. This catholic

¹Pages 27-31 of Chapter II trace this growth of the Gosport Academy.

organization, in turn, was the means, through a small group of evangelicals which included Bogue, of bringing into existence missionary, tract, Bible and other altruistic societies in England, Scotland, continental Europe, and the United States of America.¹

Active in the establishing of the Missionary Society, Bogue was called upon to deliver one of the addresses at its formation. His response, an apologetic for missions, was translated into many languages, being considered a classic in missiology.² Soon, however, this man, eloquent on behalf of missions, offered himself for service in India, but this did not materialize. The East India Company, believing that missions destabilized colonial policies, opposed the project. Convinced that twenty-four merchants could not forever shut the door of a land to the gospel, Bogue, through periodical articles and circular letters, aroused the British Christian public who, in 1813, forced a revision of the Company's charter.

One of the points in Bogue's apologetic was the objection that there are too many heathen at home who should receive attention first. With the door closed to India, others, to quiet the critics, opened in Hampshire, England and Scotland. To the Hampshire Association of Ministers, a group which he had helped to

¹Chapters V and VI treat Bogue's part in the founding of the London Missionary Society and other related organizations.

²Pages 160-162 of Chapter V contain an outline and discussion of this sermon.

form, David Bogue presented a plan for the evangelization of the county. Spearheading this plan with his students' week-end deputations, the Gosport tutor lived to see arrangements made for the last corner of the county to be enlightened by an evangelical witness. Lay-preaching, field-evangelism, Sunday schools, tracts - the latest means - were used to spread the gospel, resulting in over a score of chapels being erected and nearly that number of Gosport alumni being settled in local pastorates.¹

This plan affected other parts of England, but had its greatest influence in Scotland. The Haldanes, Robert and James, likewise prevented from foreign service, looked for other areas of labor. Consulting with Dr. Bogue, whom he viewed with filial respect, Robert took the Hampshire plan back with him to Scotland. Needing itinerants for the Highlands and the Borders, the Haldanes were furnished with graduates from the Gosport Academy. Lacking pulpit supplies for their city tabernacles, they were sent Independent ministers from England. Through his students, counsel, correspondence and visits, David Bogue was very influential in the spiritual awakening and subsequent birth of Congregationalism in Scotland.²

These home activities were being carried out by the

¹The first section of Chapter VII is on Bogue's contribution to Hampshire.

²The latter half of Chapter VII discusses Bogue's contribution to Scotland.

Gosport tutor and pastor simultaneously with exertions for those overseas. As a result of the clamor regarding the East India Company, the Missionary Society had received an applicant and had opened work in India. For some time, Bogue was also endeavoring to interest the Society in education for their candidates. After shocking failures in the South Seas and South Africa, the Directors were convinced that something was radically wrong with their method of selecting and qualifying missionaries. They turned to Bogue for assistance, and the Missionary Seminary which was established at Gosport was the pioneer during the Missionary Awakening of specific missionary training.¹

First, Bogue asked that only those candidates with a definite spiritual experience be accepted. These young men, usually older than the average university student, were then given a Bible-centered training. Recognizing that the students usually came without formal educational background and that only three years were to be allowed for their schooling, he was forced to choose where the emphasis should be placed. His choice, a sound theological foundation, was supplemented with languages, history, Biblical content and practical theology. His aim was for plain men who would be useful vessels in conveying the Word of God.²

¹Bogue's suggestions to the L.M.S. regarding education are found on pages 103-110 of Chapter IV.

²For an appraisal of the Gosport Academy, see Chapter II, pages 73-76.

At Gosport more than two hundred young men were educated for the ministry. Of this large number, not one was known to have departed from the Evangelical tradition, a fact which speaks highly of the tutor's thought-provoking method of lecturing and exemplary life. Here, they imbibed a zeal for soul-winning, an ecumenical spirit and a deep respect for the Christian ministry. From this homely academy went forth one hundred and fifteen missionaries who served in all of the continents and many of the islands of the sea. Trained to follow apostolic precedent, they planted the church, built seminaries for the training of the indigenous leaders, and translated the Scriptures into the native tongues. Faced with the realities of the field while at seminary, these candidates brought much satisfaction to the Missionary Society. The percentage of withdrawals dropped sharply, and instead, men of the caliber of Robert Morrison, William Milne, Richard Knill, Carl Pacalt, John Wray and David Jones occupied the mission outposts.¹

At home Gosport-trained men, alert to the needs of evangelism, were the bulwarks of the newly-founded religious societies, their churches being recruiting stations for missionary personnel. Counterbalancing the outstanding men on the foreign field, were pastors and tutors of the quality of John Angell James, Timothy East and James Bennett.¹

¹For a cross section of the graduates of Gosport see Chapter I. Chapter IV, pages 103-127, contains a discussion of the education for the foreign field given by Bogue.

During these opening years of the Missionary Seminary, David Bogue, in addition to his pastoral and tutorial duties, was also directly involved in mission work overseas. His liberal views on religious and civil liberty allowed him to include France, at the time of the Revolution, among the nations whose welfare he sought. His contributions on behalf of the French, through his Essay on the Divine Authority of the New Testament, his many suggestions for their welfare to the Missionary Society, and his visits to that war-torn country, were considerable.¹

Also weighing heavily upon his mind was the need of China. To him, India, China and the other eastern countries, because of their great populations and advanced cultures, were ideal areas for mission work. From these civilized nations, he reasoned, Christianity could spread to the less-enlightened areas of the world. He first approached John Campbell regarding China; this failing, he convinced Robert Morrison of the advantages of this field, and, as a result, the London Missionary Society pioneered Protestant missions in the most populous of nations.²

Coinciding with this interest in France and China, was his concern for the Jews. Interpreting the Scripture to prophesy

¹ France is discussed in the first section of Chapter VIII.

² Bogue's interest in the eastern countries is considered in Chapter IV, pages 128, 129. Also see the section on Robert Morrison in Chapter I.

in general education. The Gosport tutor recommended improvements both below and above the academy level. The sermon on education at the opening of the Mill-Hill grammar school; the sections on academies in the History of Dissenters; and the article in the Congregational Magazine contain these recommendations for grammar schools and a university.¹

At the same time that he was giving thought to dissenter's education, Bogue was encouraging his own denomination to closer harmony. Cognizant of the value of county associations, he was a strong supporter of attempts at Congregational union on a national basis.²

The last several years of David Bogue's life were filled with sorrow. His family in Scotland, his own children, one by one succumbed to illness. With earth's hopes darkened, Bogue gave even more thought to that which was beyond the horizon. The result was evident in his mellowed manners, and in the product of his pen. His last large work, a volume on the millennium, appeared in 1818. Now revealed to the world was the source of this man's relentless drive and the pattern of his world-wide vision. Man's first end was to glorify his Maker. This chief purpose of mankind could be realized only through man's reconciliation to God. God, who had made man free, had provided a way of salvation

¹For a full discussion of this subject, see Chapter IV, pages 134ff.

²Section five of Chapter VII is on the Congregational Union.

for rebellious man through His Son, Jesus Christ. Coming to earth in an incarnate state, the Son found His mission to be the glorifying of the Father through a life of obedience which included the cross. Here at Calvary, God's mercy, love and justice had met and, in this great sacrifice, man found his place of reconciliation. Ascending to the Father, the risen Lord poured out His Spirit in His stead. The Holy Spirit, glorifying the Son, invites man to accept Christ's atoning work, indwelling those who do respond. Man, in turn, filled with this constraining love of Christ, becomes zealous for God's glory, compelling others to find life's meaning through peace with Christ. Confident that what God had declared would be accomplished, Bogue envisioned all nations being blessed in Christ. Satan, through the tools of despotic governments, false religions, infidelity, paganism and ignorance might oppose; however, the outcome was certain for the decree had been declared: the heathen were His inheritance.

Man was a vessel in God's plan; a vessel, no more. Man, basically corrupt, could find no sound ground for charity in himself; his purest searchings for God were insufficient; his noblest institutions were earthy. Thus Erasmian humanism, romanticism, ascetism, the theologia naturalis and the corpus Christianum were insufficient motives for missions. God had provided the means for witness; these, in themselves, were sufficient. He, through His people, the church, would make His plan of

salvation known. The church must remind itself of its great commission. During this dispensation, until the fulness of the Gentiles be completed, she must blaze abroad to Jews and Gentiles the Good News of salvation through Jesus Christ.¹

His own era, in Bogue's opinion, was, like the time of the Apostles and the Reformation, one of unusual opportunity. The great sense of unity, liberality and catholicity shown among Evangelical Christians, and their loyalty to the great traditional truths of the Bible, in spite of the prevalence of deism, unitarianism and atheism, made Bogue confident that this was the "ERA OF CHRISTIAN BENEVOLENCE."²

IV. HIS LIFE EVALUATED

It is understandable, when surveying his contributions, why it was said of David Bogue that he did more to spread the gospel than any other person during the Missionary Awakening. "...The venerated names of Buchanan and Coke, of Bogue and Carey, are justly inscribed on the stateliest columns of the Missionary temple...."³ This was the opinion of the religious public during

¹These two paragraphs are a condensation of Chapter IX, David Bogue: His Motives For Missions.

²David Bogue, "Objections against a Mission to the Heathen, Stated and Considered." Sermons, Preached in London, at the Formation of the Missionary Society,.... 1795, p. 158.

³Congregational Magazine, October, 1824, p. 514. The author of this article is discussing the contribution of Doddridge to missions. He says that if the usually acclaimed men rightfully have a place of recognition, a place should also be made for Doddridge. Ibid.

Bogue's own life time.

Most of the Christian public in the twentieth century have never even heard the name, David Bogue. A recent appraisal by one who had, classified him as a most obscure sort of a person whose influence was not very wide and who quickly disappeared from view.¹ This evaluation would not have offended Bogue. During his life he shunned the applause of man; he avoided the conspicuous and pre-eminent place. He was offered prominent pulpits in London and Edinburgh, but chose to remain in obscure Gosport. He was presented the tutorship of Rotherham,² choosing rather the less propitious facilities of his own academy. He was well educated, but refused to append the "M.A." to his name.³ He was honored with a Doctor of Divinity degree by Yale; however, in replying, he expressed his reluctance to accept the honor.⁴ Though highly esteemed by the populace, he remained unpretentious, a friend of the poor, the stranger and the outcast.⁵

¹This is the view of a historical theologian in one of America's theological seminaries. Conveyed to the author through a letter from Dr. J. Leslie Dunstan, an Associate Professor in Missions at Andover-Newton Seminary, November 20, 1958.

²John Waddington, Congregational History, Continuation to 1850, 1878, p. 21. In a letter quoted by Waddington is this statement, "Mr. Bogue, of Gosport, is not to be moved by any consideration."

³Bennett, David Bogue, p. 17.

⁴In a letter to the President of Yale College, Bogue wrote, "As yet, I feel myself unequal to the title of D.D." Ibid., p. 251.

⁵Ibid., pp. 9, 10, 389, 390.

Furthermore, David Bogue lacked other traits which often are associated with greatness. His theology, though well thought out, was not original; nor did his academy acquire the fame of Priestley's for innovations to accepted patterns. There were preachers far more eloquent than he; there were intellects which reasoned with more rapidity. He was not a man of great tact; he was, perhaps, too independent for most effective committee work. His political views were not always consistent; his eschatology is now out-dated.

There were, however, qualities in David Bogue which caused him to make an outstanding contribution to the world. His contemporaries, cognizant of this greatness, gave him wide acclaim. A rare ability to recognize the useful, a broad knowledge, a proper balance between the academic and the spiritual, a thought-provoking method of instruction, insight into the world's need and a deep consecration to God, enabled him as a teacher to mould the thinking of the many ministerial students he tutored. To have sat under his tuition was considered by his students one of their greatest blessings. To possess his lectures, said one pupil, was to make others envious of your fortune.¹ The great number he educated for the ministry, losing none to heterodoxy, compares most favorably with other tutors. The ratio of Gosport alumni

¹John Griffin, Memoirs and Remains of the Rev. John Griffin, Jun. etc., 1822, p. 222. "They all quite envy me, here, the possession of the Doctor's lectures." Ibid.

found in the Dictionary of National Biography, in comparison to other academies, reveals the caliber of men Bogue produced.¹

A sensitiveness to the populace's pulse, an objective of the greatest worth, a gift for organization and an ability to channel the then-rising energies of mankind, made him a pioneer in many philanthropic movements. His self-denying service included the interests of his county, Hampshire; the land of his adoption, England; his native country, Scotland; Ireland, France and other countries of Europe; India, China and scattered islands of the sea. In fact, "he proposed plans of operation limited only by the extent of the globe and the entire mass of its population."² Jews and Gentiles, deists and pagans, noblemen and outcasts, through preaching, tracts and Bibles - through every means ingenuity could devise - he sought for the kingdom of God. Furthermore, his enthusiasm for this, the noblest objective in life, was contagious. The numerous students, the Gosport parishioners, those who associated with him, caught something of his spirit. This effect, itself reproductive in nature, resulted in an influence which is immeasurable. When considering this imperishable contribution, one of his contemporaries wrote, "If

¹For details see the conclusion of Chapter I.

²John Waddington, Congregational History, Continuation to 1850, etc., 1878, p. 59.

this be not true greatness, we know not what is."¹

A thorough grasp of the Scriptures, with an accompanying faith in the plan presented, a humble dependence upon God and a dogged endurance, provided David Bogue with the means throughout his long life to lead the church of Jesus Christ in her mission of witness. Surely, no man in Congregationalism, then or for several decades after, was so influential.² Moreover, because of his broad-mindedness, he was most active in interdenominational efforts and these activities broadened his horizons, making the world his field. In endeavoring to reach the world for Christ, at the end of a century characterized by deadness, he led not only his own denomination, but the responsive, awakened church. His motives for witnessing, based upon the Scriptures, affected the London Missionary Society and many other movements springing from this, the most ecumenical organization of its day. His wide correspondence, frequent travels, and especially the deep impression he made upon his numerous students extended his influence still further, making him, for that era, the theologian of missions.

When allowances have been made for the extravagances

¹Eclectic Review, July-December, 1828, Vol. XXX, 120.

²"There is no man who can be named to-day within the compass of English Congregationalism who wields a greater influence than this distinguished divine did at the close of the last century." Evangelical Repository, No. IX, Sept., 1884, p. 6.

of obituaries and memorials, the generous expressions of reports and biographical accounts, and the enthusiasm of Gosport alumni, it is, nevertheless, evident that David Bogue made a contribution to missions, unequaled by any of his contemporaries of the Great Missionary Awakening, and relevant today as the church re-examines her calling to world-wide witness.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

ROSTER OF STUDENTS ATTENDING THE GOSPORT ACADEMY

Name of Student	Field of Service	Matriculation Date	Time of Ordination	Year of Death ¹
Adam, Matthew T. ²	Benares	1817	1819	(1830)
Adam, Thomas ²	Demerara	1805	1809	1836
Asa, Rabbi ²	Jewish Work	1809		
Atkinson, Theophilus ³	Africa	1825	1829	1870
Ayliffe, Robert ⁴	England			
Baillie, John ²	Africa	1825	1829	1872
Ballantyne, William ⁵	Scotland, U.S.A.	1796	1798	1836
Bannister, W. ⁶	England		1819	
Barker, George ²	Africa	1814	1814	1861
Beck, ⁷	Africa			
Beighton, Thomas ²	Malacca	1815	1817	1844
Bellot, Philip ²	France	1814	1815	(1821)
Bennett, James ⁶	England	1792	1796	1872
Berends, Moses ²		1807		
Bevan, Thomas ²	Madagascar	1816	1817	1819
Beynon, William ²	India	1824	1825	1878
Blackburn, Henry ²		1814		1814
Blatchford, Samuel ¹⁸	America	1796		
Blessley, Robert ⁴	England			
Bloomfield, Bezaleel ¹²	Malta	1809	1811	1813
Brain, Jonathan C. ²	Burma	1806	1809	1810
Bristow, John ⁹	England		1810	1852
Bruckner, Gottlob ²	Java	1812	1813	(1816)
Buzacott, Aaron ²	South Seas	1825	1827	1864
Cadoret, Louis ¹⁰	France	1804		
Caldwell, Henry ²		1816		
Campbell, William ²	Bangalore	1819	1823	1878
Canhan, John ⁴	Madagascar	1821		(1837)
Caston, Moses A. ⁶	England		1822	
Chambers, Hiram ²	Bellary	1817	1820	1826
Cleghorn, John ¹¹	Scotland	1796	1798	
Collie, David ²	Malaya	1818	1821	1828
Cooper, J. Ransom ⁶	England	1817	1819	
Cox, John ²	Canada	1810	1811	(1814)
Cox, John Hayter ¹²	England	1791	1793	
Cran, George ²	India	1801	1804	1809
Creighton, David H. ²	South America	1804	1806	(1806)
Crisp, Edmund ²	Madras	1818	1821	1877
Crisp, Henry ²	India	1824	1827	1831
Crow, George ⁴				
Crow, William ⁶	England	1818	1822	

Davies, John ²	Demerara	1805	1808	1827
Davies, John ^{13, 6}	England	1803	1805	
Davis, Robert ⁶	England		1818	
Dawson, James ²	India	1812	1814	1832
Densham, Richard ¹⁴	England	1799		
Des Granges, Augustus ²	India	1801	1804	1810
Dexter, Thomas ²	Trinidad	1820	1823	1823
Donaldson, John ²	India	1813	1816	1818
Durell, Henry ²	Ghent	1815	1816	(1823)
Dyer, Samuel ²	Hong Kong	1824	1827	1850
East, Timothy ⁶	England	1804	1807	
Eastman, Theophilus ¹⁵	England		1816	1863
Edmonds, John ²	India	1820	1824	1858
Edwards, James ¹⁶	England		1816	
Ekenstam, Professor ²		1817		
Elliot, Richard ²	Demerara	1805	1808	(1825)
Ellis, William ²	South Seas	1814	1815	1872
Evans, John ²	Africa	1814	1815	(1817)
Evison, John T. ²		1823		
de Faye, Fr. ¹⁷	England		1812	
Fleming, Robert ²	Malaya	1816	1818	(1821)
Flower, John ⁴	England		1810	
Forbes, Andrew ²	Bangalore	1816	1819	(1821)
Frey, J.S.C.F. ²	England, U.S.A.	1802	1805	(1809)
Fyvie, Alexander ²	Surat	1818	1821	1840
Fyvie, William ²	India	1812	1814	1863
Garcia, J. Andrew ²		1824		
Geater, Richard ¹⁸				
Goater, George ²		1806		
Gogerly, George ⁴	Calcutta			1877
Gordon, John ²	Calcutta	1804	1807	1828
Griffin, John ⁹	England	1816	1820	1822
Griffiths, David ²	Madagascar	1818	1820	1863
Guyer, Thomas S. ⁶	England	1817		
Haldane, Robert ¹⁹	Scotland	1782		1843
Hamilton, Robert ²	Africa	1814	1815	1851
Hampson, John ²	Calcutta	1815	1818	1820
Hands, John ²	Bangalore	1805	1809	1864
Heinekin, Thomas ²⁰	England	1782		
Hellmore, Thomas ⁶	England			
Hill, James ²	Calcutta	1818	1821	1870
Hill, Micaiah ²	Calcutta	1818	1821	1849
Hine, James Samuel ¹⁴				1866
Howell, Charles ²¹	England	1808	1811	1858
Humphreys, James ²	Malaya	1818	1821	1876
Hunt, John ⁶	England	1802	1806	1856
Hyde, William J. ²	Newfoundland	1811	1813	(1816)

Ince, John ²	Madras	1815	1818	1825
Ireland, ²				
Isaac, John ⁴	England	1815	1819	1840
James, John Angell ¹⁶	England	1802	1806	1859
Jennings, Robert ²	India	1823	1827	1831
Johns, David ²	Madagascar	1825	1826	1843
Jones, David ²	Madagascar	1815	1817	1841
Jones, Thomas ²	South Seas	1818	1821	(1826)
Judson, Adoniram ¹⁴	Burma	1810		
Kam, Joseph ²	Java	1812	1814	(1828)
Keith, James ²	Calcutta	1813	1816	1822
Kelly, John ⁶	England	1810	1816	
Kempton, John ²	Demerara	1812	1814	(1815)
Ketley, Joseph ²	Demerara	1825	1828	1875
Kidd, Samuel ²	Malaya	1820	1824	1843
Kitchingman, James ²	Africa	1815	1816	1848
Knight, John ¹²	England	1792	1793	
Knill, Richard ²	Travancore	1814	1815	1857
Laidler, Stephen ²	Bangalore	1816	1819	1873
Lawrie, James ²		1817		
Leach, W. Berkely ⁶	England		1814	1859
LeBrun, John ²	Mauritius	1812	1814	1865
Lee, William ²	Calcutta	1804	1807	(1818)
Legge, W. ²²	England			
Leike, Thomas ⁴				
Lillie, Adam ²	India	1823	1826	(1827)
Loader, Thomas ⁶	England	1792	1795	1858
Loveless, W. Chas. ²	Madras	1801	1804	1851
Lowndes, Isaac ²	Malta	1814	1815	(1844)
Luke, Thomas ⁶	England			
MacDonald, John ²		1801		
Martin, Thomas ⁴				
Maslen, Charles ²³	England	1804	1806	1829
Massie, James W. ²	Madras	1819	1822	1869
Mault, Charles ²	Nagercoil	1815	1818	1858
May, Robert ²	India	1806	1811	1818
McKewan, ¹⁸	Flanders	1805		
Mead, Charles ²	Travancore	1815	1816	1873
Medlicott ⁴		1817		
Messenger, F. ⁴				
Messenger, Philip ⁴	France		1816	1864
M'Gibbon, John ²⁴	England		1803	
Miller, William ²	Travancore	1824	1827	1838
Milne, William ²	China	1809	1812	1822
Milton, Samuel ²	Singapore	1815	1818	1849
Mitchell, Donald ⁴		1821		
Moll, ⁴		1812		
Morrison, Robert ²	China	1805	1807	1834
Mundy, George ²	India	1818	1819	1853
Murrell, Thomas ⁴	China			1864

Nicholson, Thomas ²	Madras	1817	1819	1822
Omer, William ²		1814	1814	1814
Orsmond, John M. ²	South Seas	1813	1815	1856
Owen,		1802		1805
Pacalt, Carl ²	Africa	1805	1809	1818
Paige, William ⁴	England			
Parker, David ²⁵	America	1814	1816	
Perrot, Clement ⁶	England			
Perrot, Francis ²⁵	England		1808	1848
Pidgeon, Edward ²	New Brunswick	1801	1804	(1818)
Piffard, Charles ²	Calcutta	1824	1825	1840
Pinnell, W. ²²	England			
Pitman, Charles ²	South Seas	1821	1824	1884
Portier, William ²	England	1815		
Potter, Walter ²	England	1819		
Pritchard, George ²	South Seas	1820	1824	1883
Pritchett, Edward ²	Burma	1806	1809	1820
Purkis, Isaac ²	Demerara	1806	1809	(1810)
Rate, Joseph ²⁶	Scotland	1795	1797	
Reeve, William ²	Bellary	1813	1816	1850
Render, Samuel ²	Madras	1813	1816	1864
Robertson, James ²	Benares	1822	1826	1833
Robson, Adam ²	Africa	1820	1823	1870
Rowlands, Samuel ¹²		1818		
Scamp, William ²⁷	England	1801	1803	1860
Schier, J. ¹⁷	England	1810	1812	
Simpson, Alexander ²	South Seas	1824	1827	(1850)
Skinner, James ²	India	1812	1814	1821
Slater, John ²	Malaya	1813	1816	(1823)
Smart, William ²	Canada	1808	1811	(1818)
Smedley, Joseph ²⁸	England	1816	1818	
Smith, John ²	India	1816	1819	(1824)
Spratt, George ²⁹	Quebec	1807	1811	(1818)
Stamper, Thomas G. ⁶	England		1825	1863
Steill, Alex. ¹²	England	1790	1793	1832
Stephens, John ²		1815	1816	1816
Stevenson, Robert ²	England			
Stowe, Quinton ⁶	England, Australia	1805		
Styles, Thomas ³⁰	England	1820		
Supper, John C. ²	Java	1812	1814	1816
Taylor, Dr. John ²	Surat	1803	1804	(1821)
Taylor, John ²	Africa	1813	1816	(1819)
Taylor, William ²	Madras	1819	1823	(1834)
Thom, George ²	Africa	1810	1812	(1818)
Thomas, John ⁴			1810	1830
Thompson, David ¹⁸	England	1816		
Thompson, John ²	Madras	1807	1811	1812
Thompson, James C. ³	Travancore	1825	1827	1850
Thomsen, Claudius H. ²	Malacca	1811	1814	(1834)
Threlkeld, Lancelot ²	South Seas	1814	1815	1859

Townley, Henry ³¹	Calcutta		1816	1861
Tracey, Samuel				
Walker ¹⁸	France	1800		
Traveller,				
Cornelius ²	Madras	1815	1818	1827
Trawin, Samuel ¹²	Calcutta	1815	1818	1827
Walker, John ²			1821	1821
Warden, Joseph B. ²	Calcutta	1818	1821	1826
Watts, ⁴	England			
Weston, James ¹²	England	1789	1792	1823
Wiesinger, John F. ²	Malta	1805	1808	(1811)
Wilkins, W. ²	England	1825		
Williams, Charles ⁴	England		1808	1860
Williams, John ²	England	1818		
Williams, Joseph ²	Africa		1814	1818
Wills, James ⁴	England		1821	
Wills, W. ³²	England			
Wilson, John ²		1816		
Wilson, Samuel S. ²	Malta	1815	1818	1866
Wimmer, Michael ²	Africa	1805	1809	1840
Winchester, Luke ⁶	England		1807	
Woodmans, W. Bathurst ²			1825	
Wray, John ²	Demerara	1805	1807	1837
Yuille, Robert ²	Siberia	1816	1819	(1838)
Zwaar, Christian G. ²		1805	1806	1806

¹When dates in this column are in parentheses, the year indicates when connections with the L.M.S. were severed.

²Information concerning these students may be found in the L.M.S. Candidate Committee minutes under the date given in the matriculation column.

³Information concerning Atkinson and Thompson may be found in Sibree, L.M.S. Register of Missionaries, pp. 39 and 28 respectively.

⁴Hints have been given that these students attended Gosport, but no definite documentation has been found.

⁵Wilson, Dissenting Churches, II, 521. After serving in Scotland, Ballantyne (Ballantine) also worked in England and America.

⁶These men are listed as having attended Gosport in a compilation of Congregational churches and ministers found in the Supplement of the Congregational Magazine, 1831, pp. 804-822.

⁷The L.M.S. Report of 1821, p. 77.

⁸Missionary Magazine, Feb., 1798, p. 89. Blatchford refers to Mr. B. Bogue and the academy in this letter.

⁹Bristow and Griffin are mentioned as students at Gosport in Griffin, John Griffin, pp. 228 and 194, 195 respectively.

¹⁰The 1804 financial report of the L.M.S. mentions Cadoret as having attended Gosport. He worked in England during the short peace between England and France. L.M.S. Board Minutes, July 19, 1802.

¹¹Matheson, Greville Ewing, pp. 163, 164.

¹²Evangelical Magazine, January 1794, p. 31. A footnote on this page mentions further Gosport graduates.

¹³Ibid., March and October, 1803, pp. 126 and 457 respectively; also June, 1805, p. 282.

¹⁴Waddington, Congregational History, to 1850, mentions Densham and Judson as having attended Gosport, pages 72 and 227 respectively.

¹⁵Evangelical Magazine, August, 1816, p. 317: Bennett, David Bogue, p. 135.

¹⁶Ibid., March, 1817, p. 152.

¹⁷The Evangelical Magazine of September, 1812 cites de Faye and Schier as Gosport men, page 367.

¹⁸Geater, McKewan, Thompson and Tracey are mentioned as Gosport students in the L.M.S. Board Minutes of March 24, 1806; November 25, 1805; October 25, 1816; and February 17, 1800, respectively.

¹⁹A. Haldane, Robert and James Haldane, p. 39.

²⁰McLachlan, English Education, p. 292; and Bennett, David Bogue, p. 102 have information on Heinekin.

- 21 Evangelical Magazine, October, 1859, p. 789.
- 22 Evangelical Magazine, September, 1853, p. 546.
- 23 Evangelical Magazine, August, 1806, p. 379.
- 24 Evangelical Magazine, February, 1810, p. 46.
- 25 David Parker and Francis Perrot are mentioned as students of Dr. Bogue in Bennett, David Bogue, pp. 249 and 298.
- 26 Evangelical Magazine, May 1801, p. 216.
- 27 Evangelical Magazine, June, 1803, p. 270.
- 28 Evangelical Magazine, December, 1818, p. 532.
- 29 Reports of the Missionary Society, 1809, p. 321.
- 30 Evangelical Magazine, Supplement, 1825, p. 562.
- 31 Choules and Smith, The Origin and History of Missions, 1851, I, 555.
- 32 Evangelical Magazine, February, 1822, p. 70.