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The Life and Works of John Newton, 1725-1807

A STUDY IN FIVE PARTS

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(*Rector of Howick and Vicar of Longhoughton*)

PART IV

THE MINISTRY AT ST. MARY, WOOLNOTH

AT the end of December, 1779, Newton entered on what may be termed the fourth stage of his career—when he was instituted to the interesting and important parish of St. Mary, Woolnoth—where he was to exercise his ministry for the next 27 years, till his death on December 21st, 1807, in his eighty-third year. Although perhaps the matter is of no great moment, it is perhaps worth noting that this day—St. Thomas' Day—was a fitting day for this aged servant of Christ to pass to his rest. John Newton throughout all his ministerial career insisted on the sin of unbelief and the absolute necessity of belief.

He himself must be numbered in a very special way among those who not having seen, yet have believed. His hymn, "Begone unbelief," is a transcript of real personal experience.

His opening sermon was preached on December 19th, 1779, apparently before he was instituted. This was printed and sent round to his parishioners. He called it "The subject and temper of the Gospel ministry" and based the sermon on Eph. 4. 15, "Speaking the Truth in Love." This sermon, though written 160 years ago, still bears reading and reveals a high ideal. It must have been a singularly interesting scene. The little man (Newton was of small stature) standing in the pulpit, clad in full-sleeved preacher's gown, wig, and bands, and looking down with strong, but kindly, face on his hearers. The Church would be packed with an expectant congregation. Many of them would know the story of Newton's early days—and doubtless Newton would think of the contrast between his sojourn on the coast of Sierra Leone and his present position.

He was now 55 years of age, and he held this important London living for nearly a quarter of a century. St. Mary's was in the heart of the city—close to the Royal Exchange and the Bank of England—and was looked upon as one of the important churches in London. Personages like the Lord Mayor would be among his parishioners. Although London was very small as compared with what it is now—it was still a metropolis.

Although the actual city was, as it is now, comparatively small, London and its suburbs in 1801 contained some 960,000 persons. Woolnoth was very different from Olney. Newton attracted the poor at once; and the manner in which St. Mary's filled up caused some

embarrassment to his more wealthy parishioners—many of whom lived over their businesses. Newton—as at Olney—was exceedingly hospitable, and at one time, besides providing for his aged servants, took in some poor blind. Doubtless he remembered John Thornton's remarkable generosity to himself. In London he opened his house to visitors every Tuesday and Saturday, and carried on a real ministry through the medium of his vicarage. He arranged breakfast parties. In this way he soon gained the reputation of a spiritual counsellor and exercised a powerful influence in the lives of many eminent persons in Church and State in the England of 1780—1810.

Among those who came directly or indirectly under Newton's influence and guidance were William Wilberforce, Claudius Buchanan, Daniel Wilson, Richard Johnson; we have already referred to Thomas Scott.

The historian, Lecky, in his well-known work on the Eighteenth Century, describes Newton as "one of the purest and most unselfish of saints." Again Lecky writes, "he acquired by indomitable perseverance the attainments requisite for a clergyman and continued for the space of forty-four years one of the most devoted and single-hearted of Christian ministers."

It is somewhat strange that when such signal praise comes from a so-called "secular historian," many ecclesiastical historians pay scant attention to his life and character. Even in the Birkbeck Lectures on Church and State in the eighteenth century already referred to, John Newton is not even mentioned, though quite a considerable section is devoted to Thomas Newton, who complained strongly about the penury of the see of Bristol.

Another historical tribute to Newton's influence is given by Dr. Coupland in his "Life of Wilberforce." There the historian clearly proves that Newton had much to do with helping Wilberforce to go on with his decision to start his campaign against the slave trade. It was in December, 1784, after a good deal of debate with himself that he decided to ask the rector of St. Mary's for spiritual advice. From then onwards he formed a real friendship with this elderly minister. During the years 1784-1787, no one was more intimate with Wilberforce than Newton. None knew better what torments the young penitent had lately passed through, and what vows he had made to prove himself worthier of grace. Is it not likely that the old pastor seized the opportunity, and spoke long and earnestly to Wilberforce of the field in which, as he knew so well, a great redeeming work was crying to be done?

Coupland's words are very convincing, and we may hold it to be a fact that it was largely owing to Newton's influence that the great emancipator decided on his momentous step. Let it be said here that an aunt of Wilberforce and her brother, John Thornton, the banker, were already friends of Newton, and the young nephew would thus have known about him previously.

It is said that Wilberforce, while yet a boy, was introduced to Newton—and when he went to ask his advice, was told that ever since their first meeting Newton had never ceased to pray for him. In another way in later days we find a link between the two men. When in 1797, Wilberforce published his "Practical View of Religion,"

Newton wrote of this book, "I can scarcely talk or write without introducing Mr. Wilberforce's book. It revives my hope, that ripe as we seem for judgment, while the Lord raises up such witnesses for His truth, He will not give us up."

"The author's situation is such that his book must, and will be read by many in the higher circles to whom we little folk can get no access. If we preach, they will not hear us. If we write, they will not read; may the Lord make it useful to the great men both in the Church and State."

It is worth mentioning here that in the sixth edition of "The Practical View" the Preface of 74 pages is written by Bishop Daniel Wilson, of Calcutta. The book impressed Newton's pupil in the same lasting way.

Another (afterwards well known) personage who was set on his way by Newton, was Claudius Buchanan. He was a young Scotchman who had left his studies at Glasgow to set out to wander over Europe with his violin (like Goldsmith with his flute), but did not get further than England, and found himself in want in London. The story of his romantic career is fully told by his biographer, Pearson. When in London he used to address his parents who thought he was in Europe "as from Florence." In reality, he was in an obscure lodging where he had to sell clothes and books in order to live. One day he attended St. Mary's, heard Newton preach, and wrote an anonymous letter, begging for an interview. Newton gave notice in church stating that the unknown writer would be welcome if he called. The ultimate result was that, at the expense of Henry Thornton, the son of Newton's benefactor, Buchanan was sent to Queen's College, Cambridge, and afterwards through Simeon's influence as chaplain to India.

Again, Newton was used by Providence to influence the career of Daniel Wilson. In 1796 we find Wilson consulting Newton at two interviews. In October, 1832, Daniel Wilson stood on the banks of the Hoogly as Bishop of Calcutta.

Another worker for the church who was helped by Newton—one whose name is but little known—and yet was a pioneer in the Kingdom of God in those thrilling last years of the eighteenth century, was Richard Johnson, the first clergyman to go out to Botany Bay as a chaplain with the fleet. This first ordained minister to enter Australia is a missionary whose memory should be preserved more faithfully. His work was a particularly difficult one, and his name is somewhat overshadowed by that of Samuel Marsden.

In the church of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, just opposite the Mansion House Underground Station, is a tablet on the wall put up to his memory.

When Johnson started on his hazardous enterprise, Newton penned the following verses to his friend:

The Lord who sends thee hence will be thine aid,
 In vain at thee, the lion Danger roars;
 His arm and love shall keep thee undismayed
 On tempest-tossed seas and savage shores.

Go bear the Saviour's name to lands unknown,
 Tell to the Southern World His wondrous grace ;
 An energy Divine thy words shall own,
 And draw their untaught hearts to seek His face.

Many in quest of gold or empty fame
 Would compass earth—or venture near the poles,
 But how much nobler thy reward and aim,
 To spread His praise and win immortal souls.

This was in 1786. In the next year Mrs. Hannah More was added to the number of Newton's friends. But the most interesting instance of the friendships thus formed is found in the story of the origin and development of "The Eclectic Society." The story of this Society is one of much fascination, and also of primary importance to students of eighteenth-century ecclesiastical history. It was founded in the year 1783 by a few London clergy "for mutual intercourse and the investigation of religious truth." The first meeting was held on January 16th, in the Castle and Falcon Inn, and consisted of four members. John Newton, Henry Forster, Richard Cecil and a layman, Eli Bates. The numbers increased to about fourteen, besides country members and occasional visitors. The meetings were held once a fortnight in the vestry room of St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row. The Society included two or three dissenting ministers.

A great deal of valuable detailed information is known about this Society because from January 8th, 1798, till January 17th, 1814, detailed and careful notes were kept by Josiah Pratt.

It would be hard to find in religious annals of this kind more interesting details. Pratt records notes of the conversations and discussions of something like 300 subjects—dealing with matters which concerned the English Church and Nation in those momentous years, 1780-1820. Incidentally there is included in the notes, short, most valuable biographical sketches of both Newton and Cecil just after their deaths.

Among the members are found the names of J. Venn, R. Cecil, T. Scott, Dykes of Hull, Charles Simeon, Charles Grant and occasional visitors like Henry Martyn and R. Johnson and Samuel Marsden.

It was through the influence of this Society and arising out of one of the discussions, that on Friday, April 12th, 1799, the Church Missionary Society was founded. Three times at meetings of the "Eclectic" the question of "Missions" was brought forward. In 1786, when "the best method of planting and propagating the Gospel in Botany Bay was talked over. In 1789 they again turned their minds to consider the East Indies and in 1791 Africa was thought about. But in 1796 Charles Simeon went further and propounded the question, "With what propriety, and in what mode can a mission be attempted to the heathen from the Established Church."

No longer Botany Bay, the East Indies, or simply Africa are thought of—the evangelization of the whole world, however remotely, is contemplated.

Moreover the phrase "Established Church" shows that the brethren felt the Church of England should have its own missions. Only three out of the seventeen present were favourable to a definite attempt.

The majority were afraid to interfere with the S.P.C.K. and S.P.G. But their fears were groundless. There was room in the Church of England for all three societies. The C.M.S. came into being and now 142 years afterwards continues to be one of the largest Missionary Societies in Christendom. As was stated, the notes of the Eclectic Society do not begin until 1798, hence we have no record (in those particular notes) of the three meetings where "Missions" were discussed, but we may be sure that John Newton would have thrown in all his influence on the side of promoting the missionary cause.

It makes quite an instructive exercise to go through all these voluminous notes in Pratt's volume and pick out the contributions made by Newton. We should recollect that at the time the notes begin Newton was 73 and could not therefore contribute to the discussion with the vigour of a younger mind.

At this same date Scott was 51, Cecil 50, and Pratt 29. Cecil has been described as "the one clerical genius of the Evangelical Party." Pratt linked up the two centuries, and lived on till past the days of the Oxford Movement.

We find then John Newton a prominent and much trusted member of an influential group of evangelical clergy and laity, who took a big share in the upholding of the Christian faith in England at the end of the eighteenth century. And these years, 1770-1820, were indeed thrilling years in English History both in Church and State. They were the years of the French Revolution, the foundation of the U.S.A., the Industrial Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. The group of Christian believers known as the "Later Evangelical Fathers" were certainly called upon to do their particular work in exciting times. It was surely an act of supreme courage and imagination to have founded the C.M.S. in such a year as 1799.

Newton was fully alive to the greatness of the age in which he lived, witness his sermon preached on February 21st, 1781, "The Day appointed for a General Fast," when he took as his text Amos iii. 8, "The Lion hath roared, who will not fear."

Like many of his fellow evangelicals he did not always appreciate the work of the Holy Spirit in other spheres of action besides those of religion. For instance, he preached a long series of sermons on the words of scripture made use of in Handel's Messiah.

In 1784, Handel's great Oratorio was all the rage in London and Newton felt strongly that Londoners went to hear it simply to enjoy a musical entertainment (which no doubt was quite true in the case of many). On the other hand he did not realize how God speaks sometimes to the soul through the medium of musical compositions—and one wonders what Newton would have said to Dr. Söderblom when he describes Bach's Passion Music as a fifth Gospel.

We must not omit to mention the genuine humility of Newton's character. When offered a D.D. by an American University he refused the offer on the score that he was not a learned enough person to be given it. The story of this offer is referred to in his "Letter on Political Debate."

There remains still to be discussed Newton's place as a writer of religious literature, which subject will be left for the final part of this study.

PART V

NEWTON'S CONTRIBUTION TO ENGLISH RELIGIOUS LITERATURE

Newton the man was greater than his writings, but nevertheless it is through his writings that his influence was and is most widely felt. This last study will be concerned with Newton's merits and talents as a writer.

His hymns have already been referred to, and as stated above, he set to work on a Review of Ecclesiastical History which inspired Milner to write his "Church History." This work, though out of date, is still valuable for the full extracts from the Early Fathers incorporated in it. The book had much influence on Cardinal Newman.

Newton wrote a life of Grimshaw, the eccentric, but none the less very effective Vicar of Haworth. The profits of this work were characteristically devoted to the use of the Society for the Relief of the Poor Clergy. He wrote the book apparently in 1798 in his leisure time away from home, but he had commenced the book two years before. And again his treatise entitled "Reflections on the Slave Trade" is a most convincing piece of literature on the iniquity of that great evil. Coming as it did from an ex-captain of a slaving ship, it must have carried much weight with those who took evidence.

This treatise is printed in full in the sixth volume of Newton's works and is a convincing statement of plain facts: "The ship left the coast with 218 slaves on board." "I find by my journal of that voyage (now before me) that we buried 62 on our passage to South Carolina exclusive of those who died before we left the coast." He thinks that the English ships purchased some 60,000 slaves annually upon the whole extent of the coast and that the annual loss of lives could not have been less than 15,000. Again he describes how one mate in a long boat, angered because a child about a year old was crying, tore the child from the mother and threw it into the sea. When the mother could not be silenced in this way in her agony, the mate considered her too valuable to be thrown overboard, and transferred her to the ship. There can be few more realistic descriptions of the conditions of life on the ships than this "Thoughts upon the African Slave trade." Where the slaves were packed "close to each other like books on a shelf." The above is only the briefest extract from an evidential document which must have helped on greatly the efforts of Wilberforce and his friends in one of the greatest and grandest humanitarian and political struggles in English history.

Another interesting example of Newton's literary powers is "A letter on Political Debate printed in the year 1793 to the Rev. D—W—." This reveals clearly Newton's attitude towards politics. He was first and foremost a minister of religion—and although doubtless a patriot he was interested most in the spiritual condition of his fellow countrymen, and how the nation should be viewed in the sight of God, and in God's judgment.

"Shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?"

He greatly admires Pitt. "I cannot but think that the Providence of God raised up Mr. Pitt for the good of these kingdoms and that no

man could do what he has done unless a blessing from on high had been upon his counsels and his measures." But speaking of himself as a minister and of his ministerial calling he writes, "The Lord has not called me to set nations to right, but to preach the gospel, to proclaim the glory of His Name, and to endeavour to win souls." This threefold description of the ministerial office might well be recollected in ministerial circles in the different churches even in the twentieth century. On the other hand, Newton did not lay sufficient stress on the reality of the vocation of every true servant of the State whether in a great or small work: and the derogatory language in this treatise against politicians is somewhat extravagant. But Newton's chief contribution to English religious literature is found in his collection of letters. In that eighteenth-century age of famous letter writers, Newton, like his friend Cowper, takes no small place. He published "Letters to a Wife" as well as 41 letters under the signature of Omieron, and the still more important collection known as "Cardiphonia." Josiah Bull had in his possession a large number of further letters, but these will not be considered in this study.

"Cardiphonia" is Newton's best known work. The title "Utterances of the Heart" was suggested to him by Cowper. It was published in 1780, but the letters were written on and off during the eighteen previous years. The book consists of 158 letters written to twenty-five correspondents between the years 1762 and 1780, and as Dr. Alexander Whyte stated in the preface to the latest edition, "is an English classic of rare excellence." Newton's distinctive office in the evangelical revival was to be a writer of spiritual letters—and "Cardiphonia" is full of passages of genuine beauty. The author wrote to the different recipients of these letters and asked their permission to publish. It says something for Newton's reputation that they complied and sent them. The names of the recipients were not published, and no indication was given of the circumstances under which they had been composed. Josiah Bull, writing in 1868, felt at liberty so long afterwards to reveal the names of the different correspondents; among these were several well-known characters in the evangelical world such as Thomas Scott, Mrs. Wilberforce, Mrs. Thornton and many others. The first twenty-six were addressed to a nobleman who was the Earl of Dartmouth; he is the earl immortalised by Cowper in the lines, "We boast some rich ones whom the gospel sways, and one who wears a coronet and prays."

He advocated the evangelical cause both among the nobility and court, and used his influence to aid the evangelical clergy.

He was so polished a Christian gentleman that Richardson said, "he would have realized his own idea of Sir Charles Grandison if he had not been a Methodist."

"Cardiphonia," although indeed "a religious classic of rare excellence," would in our day be considered dull reading, and perhaps not many laymen would read the book unless they had a keen taste for perusing letters confined to religious subjects. But as Lacey May has written: "Certainly a small devotional and practical manual for clergy might be compiled from 'Cardiphonia.'" The letters do create a real atmosphere.

Although William Law, being a notable genius from his youth up,

was a far greater writer and deeper thinker than Newton, there is in the style of "Cardiphonia" something that reminds the reader of the immortal "Serious Call," the famous classic which influenced three such diverse minds as John Wesley, Dr. Johnson and Cardinal Newman.

As with Law's book, so Newton's letters carry the reader on from page to page. Three ever-recurring subjects come before us in the book and constitute Newton's main message to his age—and his contribution to permanent religious literature :

- (1) The natural depravity of the human heart ;
- (2) The all-sufficiency of Jesus Christ to restore the fallen nature of man ; and
- (3) The truth that lies behind the Doctrine of a Particular Providence.

In a brief survey of this kind it is not intended to enlarge on the way Newton deals with these three most profound truths. It would only be tedious to reproduce the somewhat long sentences and quotations on these matters in "Omieron," "Cardiphonia" and "Letters to a Wife" found in six volumes of his published works.

It is, however, worth remarking that in the year 1808 the publishers of religious literature in that year—in this case "Hamilton, Adams and Co."—thought it worth while to print for the public John Newton's life and works in six volumes, each running to some 700 pages of the most perfect type. It says something again for Newton's fame that this very long six-volume work ran into a third edition.

These writings are by no means out of date, and it was given to Newton to write much that is of permanent value. He used emphatic, often one-sided, but always vivid and scriptural language in discussing the above-mentioned truths. We should not now use the linguistic and verbal expressions Newton used. But it may well be that the three theological truths : the fact of sin ; the reality of grace ; and the truth of a particular providence—are precisely the theological truths that need re-preaching in the year 1942 in time of war. And the times are in so many ways similiar to the years 1780-1810. Like Newton, ministers in all the churches would do well to proclaim more plainly the fact of sin.

There is an interesting story of Mr. Gladstone in the latter years of his life. A friend asked him what he thought was the great need of his age. Mr. Gladstone paused, and replied slowly, "The sense of sin, that is the great need of the age." Newton possessed in a signal degree all through his life, this "sense of sin." He felt keenly the fact, like so many of his evangelical contemporaries, that "all men are from their birth prone to sin."

The words of the Revised Baptismal Office in the Deposited Prayer Book of 1928 may be less severe than expressions in use in the eighteenth century religious phraseology—indeed, the words are less severe than those in the original Prayer Book phrase—but the words convey the same idea ; the fact of sin in the nature of man.

In Newton's uncompromising descriptions of the sinfulness of the human heart and the reality of redemption it is not the phraseology that matters so much as the *ideas* conveyed. "The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life."

Since Newton lived his long and unique life, the world of theological,

philosophical and religious thought has changed. And we should express the truths he proclaimed somewhat differently, *but we need to express them all the same.*

To use the word "unique" is no exaggeration. In the year 1800 there were probably rather more than 10,000 clergy in the Church of England alone—no other clergyman among them had passed through the same experience as he had. Newton, one can safely say, was the only ordained minister in the Church of England who had once been the captain of a slave trader. Newton was like Fox, "an original, no man's copy," and it is not surprising people went to hear him preach at St. Mary's. Moreover he was the particular clergyman chosen by Providence to befriend Cowper; it was not by chance the two hymn writers met.

In studying Newton's writings therefore we need to read them against the background of the countless religious publications that fill up the gap between his time and ours.

It is always a difficult problem for both readers and writers of religious literature to decide the precise value of the relationship between "the old and the new," which the Lord of all literature bade "the wise scribe" to bring forth out of his treasure.

This is certain, Newton wrote certain sentences which no one else has written either before or after him. Here are a few brief instances :

In that eighteenth century age of place-hunting in Church and State alike—and preferment seeking among bishops and clergy alike—it was Newton who wrote the following letter of congratulation to a friend who had been appointed to a living: "I congratulate you, likewise upon your accession to—, not because it is a good living in a genteel neighbourhood and a fine country, but because I believe the Lord sends you there for fulfilling the desires He has given you of being useful to souls. Church preferment in any other view is dreadful, and I would as soon congratulate a man upon seeing a millstone tied about his neck to sink him in the depths of the sea, as upon his obtaining what is called 'a good living'—except I thought him determined to spend and be spent in the cause of the Gospel.

"A parish is an awful millstone indeed to those who see nothing valuable in the flock but the fleece, but the Lord has impressed your heart with a sense of the glory and importance of His truth and the worth of souls, and animated your zeal by the most powerful motive, the knowledge of His constraining love."

Again, as Lacey May has written "English literature can show few lines more inspiring to the fisher of men than his exhortation"—

"Remember your high calling, you are a minister and ambassador of Christ, you are entrusted with the most honourable and important employment that can engage and animate the heart of man. Filled and fired with a constraining sense of the love of Jesus and the worth of souls; impressed with an ardour to carry war into Satan's Kingdom—to storm his strongholds and rescue his captives, you will have little leisure to think of anything else. How does the love of glory stimulate the soldier—make him forget and forego a thousand personal tendernesses and prompt him to cross oceans, to traverse deserts, to scale mountains, and plunge into the greatest hardships and the thickest dangers? They do it for a corruptible crown, a puff of smoke,

an empty fame. We likewise are soldiers, we have a Captain and a Prince Who deserves our all."

Again Newton writes to a curate, "Preferment is not necessary either to our peace or our usefulness."

Then, further, in an age when so many churchmen disliked dissenters and so many dissenters disliked churchmen, and both disliked the Roman Catholics; in an age when promoters of the Unity of Christendom and those who stood for friendship between the Churches in England were frowned upon, it was Newton who could write thus to his friend, Mr. Bull:

"Send me the Way to Christ. I am willing to be a debtor to the wise and unwise, to doctors and shoemakers, if I can get a hint or a 'nota bene' from any one without respect for parties. When a house is on fire, Churchmen, Dissenters, Methodists, Papists, Moravians, Mystics, are all welcome to bring water. At such times nobody asks, Pray friend, whom do you hear? or what do you think of the five points?"

The foregoing pages are not intended to provide a fresh biography of John Newton. A full and long biography was written in 1868 by Josiah Bull, based on long extracts from Newton's unpublished diary.

Hence Bull's "life" is based on essentially first-hand documents. But these pages are intended to be a fresh study of this eighteenth-century clergyman, and to stimulate interest anew in a unique Christian character.

John Newton was not a genius, as Josiah Bull puts it: "We do not think that his talents were of the highest order, but they were far above mediocrity and he had the invaluable faculty of always turning them to the best account."

He was not, for instance, of the same mental and intellectual calibre as John Wesley or Charles Simeon. But he was a minister "who counted" in his age. And in any estimate of the state of the Christian religion in England in the eighteenth century, Newton's life cannot be left out. Perhaps he counts for more than we think, in that exceedingly interesting period of ecclesiastical and religious history. He served his generation faithfully according to the will of God. The last entry in Newton's journal, consisting of two lines entered on March 21st, "the day of his great deliverance," is characteristic of his whole life: "Not well able to write, but I endeavour to observe the return of this day with humiliation, prayer and praise."

One can hardly improve on the words of W. E. H. Lecky, already quoted: "One of the purest and most unselfish of saints, he acquired by indomitable perseverance the attainments requisite for a clergyman, and continued for the space of forty-four years one of the most devoted and single-hearted of Christian ministers."

For a further study of the life of Newton the following books are recommended:

- (1) The works of John Newton, in six volumes, edited by Richard Cecil. Third Edition, 1824 (indispensable).
- (2) "John Newton," by Josiah Bull (R.T.S.), 1868. Compiled chiefly from his diary (indispensable).
- (3) "Some Eighteenth-Century Churchmen (Fourth Essay) by C.L. May, 1920 (S.P.C.K.) (A delightful and learned book on the eighteenth century and full of good things).

- (4) "The Later Evangelical Fathers," M. Seeley (Second Edition, 1913).
 - (5) "Short Sketches of Newton in different Church Histories," by Overton, Balleine, Carter, Binns, etc.
 - (6) "John Newton Centenary Memorials," edited by John Collis, 1908.
 - (7) "William Cowper and the Eighteenth Century," Gilbert Thomas, 1935. Most valuable for an unbiased and convincing view of Newton's friendship with Cowper.
 - (8) Biographies of Wilberforce, Venn, Buchanan, Daniel Wilson, Cecil, Scott, and other contemporaries of Newton.
 - (9) "The Last Years of the English Slave Trade," by A. Mackenzie-Grieve.
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