

**ACADEMICAL LEARNING
IN THE DISSENTERS'
PRIVATE ACADEMIES,
1660-1720**

**A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

**Mark Burden
English Department
Queen Mary, University of London
2012**

Abstract

Previous assessments of the early academies of Protestant dissenters in England and Wales (1660-1720) have celebrated their tutors' achievements in defying the Act of Uniformity and the Test Acts, and have argued that they pioneered a modern curriculum. Despite these views, there has been little scholarly investigation into the academies. This thesis evaluates the available sources for the first time, examining the political, philosophical, and theological controversies in which the academies were involved, as well as examining the lives and careers of their tutors and students in greater detail than has hitherto been possible.

The introduction explores the reception of the academies from the late seventeenth century until the present day, exposing the paucity of evidence and the abundance of polemic which have characterised previous accounts. Chapter 1 provides a detailed examination of academies operated by nonconformists prior to the Toleration Act, reassessing the contribution of ejected university tutors, surveying attempted prosecutions, and highlighting political controversies. The second chapter extends the narrative to academies run by Protestant dissenters from the Toleration Act (1689) to the repeal of the Schism Act (1719); it contains the first-ever detailed analysis of the minutes of the London-based denominational Fund Boards, and a survey of the careers of former academy students. Chapter 3 re-evaluates the teaching of philosophy in the dissenters' earliest academies, using newly-identified manuscript works by tutors and students to explore the study of logic, natural philosophy, and ethics. Chapter 4 uses a combination of printed and manuscript sources to examine the teaching of religious subjects at the academies, including preaching, religious history, Jewish antiquities, pneumatology, and theology; it concludes with a survey of the contribution of dissenting tutors and students to debates in the 1710s concerning subscription to an agreed form of words on the Trinity.

Declaration:

I declare this thesis to be entirely my own work.

Table of Contents

Abstract	2
Table of Contents	3
Acknowledgments	5
List of Abbreviations	6

ACADEMICAL LEARNING IN THE DISSENTERS' PRIVATE ACADEMIES, 1660-1720

Introduction Writing the history of the dissenters' academies, 1693-2011	10
Samuel Wesley and the history of the dissenters' academies	10
Edmund Calamy's accounts of tutors	13
Table: Calamy's descriptions of tutors	15
Eighteenth-century antiquarianism and the history of the dissenters' academies	16
David Bogue and James Bennett, <i>History of Dissenters</i> (1808-14)	18
Walter Wilson's <i>Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses, in London</i> (1808-12)	20
Joshua Toulmin's <i>Historical View</i> (1814)	23
Nineteenth-century antiquarians: Joshua Wilson and Joseph Hunter	27
Nineteenth and early twentieth-century county histories	30
Francis Nicholson, Ernest Axon, and Alexander Gordon	33
Irene Parker	36
Herbert McLachlan	38
J. W. Ashley Smith	39
Writing the history of the academies: 1954-2011	
Chapter 1 Nonconformists and their academies, 1660-89	44
Nonconformist tutors and the Restoration religious settlements, 1659-1673	45
The earliest of the nonconformists' academies: 1667-1673	54
The growth of the nonconformists' academies, c. 1673-c. 1690	61
The prosecution of nonconformist tutors, 1662-90	81
The Stamford Oath	91
Conclusion: the decline of the nonconformists' academies, 1679-1702	100
Chapter 2 The dissenters' private academies, from the Toleration Act (1689) to the repeal of the Schism Act (1719)	102
Introduction	102
The Dissenters' Academies after the Toleration Act, 1689-1719	103
Financing students: the denominational fund boards, 1690-1720	107
The dissenters' academies and political controversies, 1702-1719	125
Conclusion: dissenting tutors and their students, 1689-1719	138

Chapter 3	Philosophy at the dissenters' private academies	144
	The subjects studied	145
	Diagram 1: Charles Morton's prefatory scheme of learning	147
	Table 1: list of subjects taught at the dissenters' early academies	154
	Teaching methods	155
	Logic: the instrumental science	165
	The speculative sciences: physics and mathematics	180
	The practical sciences: politics and ethics	193
	Conclusion	202

Chapter 4	Religious subjects at the dissenters' private academies	204
	Church history and controversy	205
	Jewish antiquities	213
	Pneumatology	220
	Religious instruction: preaching and theology	228
	Systems of theology: Thomas Doolittle and Stephen James	236
	The dissenters' academies and the subscription controversy, 1713-19	244
	Conclusion: the interaction of social and intellectual forces at the dissenters' private academies, 1660-1720	252

Appendices

Appendix 1	Locations and dates of the dissenters' private academies, 1660-c. 1720	256
Appendix 2	Allowances to tutors and students by the Common Fund, Congregational Fund Board, and Presbyterian Fund Board, 1690-1751	263
Appendix 3	Students at the dissenters' private academies, c. 1660-c. 1720	272
Appendix 4	Education of ministers in the Common Fund Survey (1690-2)	294

Bibliography

1	List of manuscripts	299
2(a)	Printed primary sources	309
2(b)	Printed secondary sources	328

Acknowledgments

A project such as this, in which an important objective has been to uncover many more sources than were previously known, incurs a great many debts. The research was funded by a grant from the Religion and Society Programme at the Arts and Humanities Research Council, and a bursary from Dr Williams's Trust. Much of the primary research was undertaken in the British Library and the Bodleian Library, and I owe the librarians at both a very great deal. I have spent many happy hours at Harris Manchester College Library, Oxford, and at Bristol Baptist College Library; the librarians and archivists at both colleges receive my thanks for their kindness and generosity. I would also like to express my gratitude to the staff at John Rylands University Library (Manchester), Birmingham University Library, Harvard College Library, Senate House Library, and Queen Mary, University of London. I received warm welcome and encouragement at Lambeth Palace Library, the Royal Society Library and Archives, and the Wellcome Library. This thesis includes materials from Cheshire and Chester Archives, Devon Record Office (Exeter Branch), Gloucestershire Archives, Northumberland Record Office, Nottinghamshire Archives, Shropshire Archives, Suffolk Record Office (Ipswich Branch), Warwickshire Record Office, and the National Archives; I am grateful to everyone who works at these record offices, and at the numerous other archives which I have visited. Particular thanks must go to all the staff at Dr Williams's Library and the Congregational Library, for their tireless academic endeavours and companionship over the last four years; together we have discovered more about the early academies than could ever have been hoped. In the last three years, four post-doctoral students have been at work on the eighteenth-century dissenting academies: the amount that I have learnt from Dr Simon Dixon, Dr Inga Jones, Dr Rosemary Dixon, and Dr Kyle Roberts is incalculable. My research has overlapped with that of three other PhD students who have been working in related areas: I am hugely indebted to Dr Tessa Whitehouse, Dr Stephen Burley, and Dr Simon Mills for sharing their skills, good sense, and friendship. From the 'Dissenting Academies Project', special thanks must go to Professor M. A. Stewart for his advice on logic, Dr David Bellhouse for reading an early draft of the section on mathematics, Professor John Gascoigne for his comments on dissenters' science, and Professor Françoise Deconinck-Broissard for her thoughts on pedagogy. Dr Rick Kennedy has my gratitude for his assistance on the life and writings of Charles Morton. I would also like to thank my examiners Dr Mark Goldie and Dr Stephen Clucas. Above all, this project could not have been completed without the boundless knowledge, energy, enthusiasm, and time afforded to it (and me) by my supervisors, Professor Isabel Rivers and Dr David L. Wykes.

List of Abbreviations

- Ashley Smith J. W. Ashley Smith, *The Birth of Modern Education. The Contribution of the Dissenting Academies, 1660-1800* (London, 1954)
- Bogue and Bennett David Bogue and James Bennett, *History of Dissenters, from the Revolution in 1688, to the Year 1808*, 4 vols. (London, 1808-12)
- Brockett, *Exeter Assembly* *The Exeter Assembly: The Minutes of the Assemblies of the United Brethren of Devon and Cornwall, 1691-1717*, ed. Allan Brockett (Torquay, 1963)
- Calamy, *Account* Edmund Calamy, *An Abridgement of Mr. Baxter's History of his Life and Times. With an Account of the Ministers, &c. who were Ejected after the Restauration, of King Charles II*, 2 vols. (London, 1713), vol. 2
- Calamy, *Continuation* Edmund Calamy, *A Continuation of the Account of the Ministers, Lecturers, Masters and Fellows of Colleges, and Schoolmasters, who were Ejected and Silenced after the Restoration in 1660, By or Before the Act for Uniformity*, 2 vols. (London, 1727)
- Calamy, *Own Life* Edmund Calamy, *An Historical Account of My Own Life, with Some Reflections on the Times I have Lived in, 1671-1731*, ed. J. T. Rutt, 2 vols. (London, 1829)
- Clegg, *Diary* James Clegg, *Extracts from the Diary and Autobiography of the Rev. James Clegg*, ed. Henry Kirke (Buxton, 1899)
- Clegg, *John Ashe* James Clegg, *Assistance in Preparing for Death and Judgment. A Discourse Occasion'd by the Sudden Death of the Reverend Mr. John Ashe, of Ashford in the Peak* (London, 1736)
- CR A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised* (Oxford, 1934)
- CSPD *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 41 vols. (1860-1947)
- Emlyn, *Works* Thomas Emlyn, *The Works of Mr. Thomas Emlyn*, ed. Sollom Emlyn, 3 vols. (London, 1746)
- Fox, 'Memoirs' John Fox, 'Memoirs of Himself, by Mr. John Fox, of Plymouth: with Biographical Sketches of some of his Contemporaries; and some unpublished Letters from Archbishop Secker and Dr. Samuel Chandler', *The*

- Monthly Repository*, 16 (1821), 129-35, 193-200, 221-4, 257-62, 270-6, 325-31, 441-7, 505-7, 569-74, 633-5, 697-8, 721-7; 17 (1822), 219-20
- Gibbons, *Watts* Thomas Gibbons, *Memoirs of the Rev. Isaac Watts* (London, 1780)
- Gordon, *Cheshire Classis* Alexander Gordon, *Cheshire Classis Minutes 1691-1745* (London, 1919)
- Gordon, *FAE* Alexander Gordon, *Freedom After Ejection: A Review, 1690-1692, of Presbyterian and Congregational Nonconformity in England and Wales* (Manchester, 1917)
- Heywood, *Diaries* Oliver Heywood, *The Rev. Oliver Heywood, B.A., 1630-1702: His Autobiography, Diaries, Anecdote and Event Books*, ed. J. Horsfall Turner, 4 vols. (Brighouse, 1881-5)
- LJ* *Journal of the House of Lords*, 64 vols. (London, 1767-1832)
- McLachlan Herbert McLachlan, *English Education under the Test Acts: Being the History of the Non-Conformist Academies, 1662-1820* (Manchester, 1931)
- Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal* Francis Nicholson and Ernest Axon, *The Older Nonconformity in Kendal* (Kendal, 1915)
- Nonconformist Register* *The Nonconformist Register of Baptisms, Marriages and Deaths, Compiled by ... O. Heywood & T. Dickenson*, ed. J. Horsfall Turner (Brighouse, 1881)
- ODNB* *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Colin Matthew and Brian Harrison, 60 vols. (Oxford, 2004); online at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/>
- Owen, *Life of Owen* Charles Owen, *Some Account of the Life and Writings of the Late Pious and Learned Mr. James Owen* (London, 1709)
- Palmer, *Defence* Samuel Palmer, *A Defence of the Dissenters Education in their Private Academies* (London, 1703)
- Palmer, *Vindication* Samuel Palmer, *A Vindication of the Learning, Loyalty, Morals, and most Christian Behaviour of the Dissenters toward the Church of England* (London, 1705)
- Palmer, *Nonconformist's Memorial* Samuel Palmer, *The Nonconformist's Memorial*, 2 vols. (London, 1775)

- Parker Irene Parker, *Dissenting Academies in England* (Cambridge, 1914)
- TCHS* *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*, 20 vols. (1901-70)
- Toulmin, *Historical View* Joshua Toulmin, *An Historical View of the State of the Protestant Dissenters in England* (Bath, 1814)
- Walter Wilson, *Dissenting Churches* Walter Wilson, *The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses, in London, Westminster, and Southwark*, 4 vols. (London, 1808-14)
- Wesley, *Defence* Samuel Wesley, *A Defence of a Letter concerning the Education of Dissenters in their Private Academies* (London, 1704)
- Wesley, *Letter* Samuel Wesley, *A Letter from a Country Divine to his Friend in London. Concerning the Education of the Dissenters, in their Private Academies* (London, 1703)
- Wesley, *Reply* Samuel Wesley, *A Reply to Mr. Palmer's Vindication of the Learning, Loyalty, Morals, and Christian Behaviour of the Dissenters towards the Church of England* (London, 1707)

Libraries and Archives

The following abbreviations are used for the libraries and archives mentioned in the text and footnotes.

BBCL	Bristol Baptist College Library
BL	British Library, London
Bod.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
BUL	Birmingham University Library
Cong. Lib.	Congregational Library, London
DRO	Devon Record Office
DWL	Dr Williams's Library, London
HMC	Harris Manchester College, Oxford
JRUL	John Rylands University Library, Manchester
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library
NCL	New College Library, held in Dr Williams's Library, London
SHL	Senate House Library, London
TNA: PRO	The National Archives: Public Records Office, London

INTRODUCTION

Writing the History of the Dissenters' Academies, 1693-2011

It has been widely recognised that the three standard works on the dissenters' private academies, Irene Parker's *Dissenting Academies in England* (Cambridge, 1914), Herbert McLachlan's *English Education under the Test Acts* (Manchester, 1931), and J. W. Ashley Smith's *The Birth of Modern Education* (London, 1954), need replacing. Yet their central claim that the academies helped to usher in fundamental changes to English education has proved resilient, despite considerable evidence to the contrary. Very little investigation has been undertaken into the origins and development of the beliefs dissenters themselves held for centuries about the contribution of their academies to British intellectual, social, and political life. Such a study, which is outlined in this introduction, allows the claim itself to be assessed, through an investigation of the beliefs and methods of dissenting historians from the eighteenth to the twenty-first century.

Samuel Wesley and the History of the Dissenters' Academies

In 1693 Samuel Wesley, the future father of John and Charles Wesley, met some of his former acquaintances in a house in or near Leadenhall Street. In the 1680s Wesley had been a student of the dissenters Edward Veal and Charles Morton, but had decided on conformity to the Church of England shortly afterwards. The men he met on that night were all dissenters, except one. According to Wesley, their discourse became 'so fulsomly *lewd* and *profane*, that I could not endure it; but went to the other side of the Room with a *Doctor of Physic*', who was also a former pupil of Morton. A little while later they all went to supper, where 'they fell a railing at *Monarchy*, blaspheming the memory of King *Charles the Martyr*', and discoursing of the Calves' Head Club. Wesley was so disgusted that he returned to his lodgings and wrote overnight a lengthy letter to an acquaintance in the Church of England, finishing it between four and five o' clock in the morning and hiding it under his pillow. In his letter Wesley gave an account of his education, together with an exposition of his view that the academies fomented seditious, treasonable, republican opinions among students. According to his own account of the text's genesis, when Wesley woke the following morning, he found that the letter had been taken by a dissenter who lived in the same house. Wesley retrieved the letter, but was begged

by the same person not to give it to the intended recipient. Nevertheless, Wesley sent it on to his acquaintance, who ‘kept it by him several years’, but eventually printed it in 1703, ‘without my *Consent* or *Knowledg*’.¹

The printed version of Wesley’s letter was published to coincide with parliamentary debates on a Bill to prevent occasional conformity. Occasional conformity was the practice whereby dissenters attended Church of England services with varying degrees of regularity and frequency, sometimes in order to take communion; in so doing dissenters could qualify for public office in parliament or local government, a situation which many on both sides (conformist and dissenting) found intolerable. In passing Wesley’s letter to the printer, who added a note to the title page offering the text ‘to the Consideration of the Grand Committee of PARLIAMENT for RELIGION’, Wesley’s acquaintance sought to persuade the nation that dissenters were a threat to the monarchy and the government. The text was published one year after the first edition of Edmund Calamy’s *Abridgment* of the life of Richard Baxter, in which Calamy had provided a list of ejected ministers and tutors.² Wesley’s text was in part a response to Calamy’s more sympathetic view of dissenters as persecuted moderates. It elicited a reply from Samuel Palmer, himself a former academy student, entitled *A Defence of the Dissenters Education in their Private Academies* (1703); in this text Palmer, who later conformed, defended his own tutor, John Ker, as a man of moderate political and educational principles. Wesley then issued *A Defence of a Letter concerning the Education of Dissenters in their Private Academies* (1704), in which he sought to explain the circumstances behind his composition of the letter, and used comments by a former student of Thomas Cole at Nettlebed, James Bonnell, to bolster his argument. Palmer’s response, *A Vindication of the Learning, Loyalty, Morals, and most Christian Behaviour of the Dissenters* (1705), contained a lengthy defence of the behaviour of puritans during and after the Civil Wars, and a justification of the legality of their academies. Wesley’s final salvo, a lengthy text entitled *A Reply to Mr. Palmer’s Vindication* (1707), sought to expose the origin of Palmer’s arguments in the supposedly seditious comments of dissenting tutors themselves, and contained a further historical excursus against nonconformity.

¹ Wesley, *Defence*, pp. 4-5.

² Edmund Calamy, *An Abridgment of Mr. Baxter’s History of his Life and Times* (London, 1702), pp. 183-497.

Despite their considerable bias and vitriol, Wesley's three pamphlets remain some of the most important surviving sources for the early academies, providing accounts of his experiences under Charles Morton which are unparalleled in their detail, and making passing reference to a large number of other tutors who would otherwise be barely known. In his first *Letter* Wesley recalls that his father died when he was almost ready to attend university, and that he was sent (apparently not at his mother's direction) to London to attend the academy of Theophilus Gale. Wesley arrived on 8 March 1679 to find Gale dead, and continued for a little longer at a grammar school, where the master procured for him a subsistence to go to university; but the dissenters offered his relatives 'greater advantages' and he was sent by them to Edward Veal's academy in Stepney, with an exhibition of £30 per annum. There Wesley remained for about two years, and was read courses in logic and ethics, but Veal then closed his academy, being prosecuted by the neighbouring justices. Shortly after this Wesley received a further £10 per annum, distributed by the leading Independent minister John Owen, who encouraged Wesley in his studies, but made it a condition of his exhibition, 'when Conveniency would permit, to get my self entred at one of the Universities'. When Veal stopped teaching, Wesley was recommended to Charles Morton, at whose academy in Newington Green Wesley remained for another two years. Wesley describes Morton as a 'Good, tho mistaken man', but asserts that the students 'entertained a Mortal Aversion to the EPISCOPAL ORDER', and that the 'KING-KILLING Doctrines were generally received and defended' by them. After enumerating the roguish actions of Morton's students, Wesley describes Morton's academy as 'the most Considerable, having annexed a fine Garden, Bowling Green, Fish-pond, and within a Laboratory, and some not inconsiderable Rarities, with Air Pumps, Thermometers, and all sorts of Mathematical Instruments.' Wesley had seen a list of several hundred students of the academy, and describes witheringly the 'sort of Democratical Government' operating among the students, 'Our Tutors having no power'.³ In his second reply to Palmer, he lists in capital letters the locations of a large number of the dissenters' academies:

³ Wesley, *Letter*, pp. 4-8.

DURHAM, RAUTHMILL, ALTERCLIFF, NATLAND, CARKMELL
Sands, SOUTH-CAVE, TAUNTON, NETTLEBED, STEPNEY,
NEWINGTON-TOWN, NEWINGTON GREEN, BEDNAL-GREEN,
HODSDON SLAKE, HACKNEY, ISLINGTON, LONDON, BISHOPS-
STORTFORD, &c. &c. &c.⁴

Wesley's purpose was to create the illusion of an extensive network of illegal, private academies, educating hundreds of dissenting ministerial students in the dark arts of sedition and heterodoxy. Despite the fact that his pamphlets relied on hearsay, insinuation, and polemic, Wesley's claims swiftly became part of Tory folklore, generating a procession of hysterical comments from high church controversialists and political officials. Within only a few years, a widespread myth had emerged that the dissenters had established large numbers of academies almost immediately after the Act of Uniformity of 1662, systematically perpetuating schism and disseminating the revolutionary principles of the 'Good Old Cause' for half a century. Accordingly, the Tory-dominated government of 1710-14, assisted by a power struggle between the parliamentarians Robert Harley and Henry St John, Viscount Bolingbroke, looked for ways to close the dissenters' schools and academies; through the passage of the Schism Act in 1714 it very nearly succeeded.⁵

Edmund Calamy's Accounts of Tutors

However, in 1702 it was less obvious that the picture painted by Wesley reflected the reality of dissenting education. A more sanguine impression of the dissenters' academies was provided by the dissenting historian Edmund Calamy the third (1671-1732), the son of one ejected minister and the grandson of another. Calamy's catalogues and biographical sketches of ministers ejected between 1660 and 1662 contained accounts of over two hundred nonconforming university tutors and school teachers, and dozens of former ministers who took up teaching after their ejection. Calamy's autobiography included a detailed account of his education.⁶ However, Calamy's chief significance for the history of the academies lies in his portraits of tutors in his greatly edited version of Richard Baxter's memoirs. Baxter's papers had

⁴ Wesley, *Reply*, p. 35.

⁵ See Chapter 2.

⁶ Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, pp. 131-7; BL MSS Add. 50958-9.

been edited and published by Matthew Sylvester as *Reliquiae Baxterianae* (1696). This text contains disappointingly little information about academies, in part because Baxter was ambivalent about their value. The first edition of Edmund Calamy's *An Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's History of his Life and Times* (1702) similarly contains relatively little of substance on the dissenters' earliest academies. However, the lives of dissenting ministers in Calamy's greatly expanded second edition contained much more information. The second volume of this second edition proclaimed itself *An Account of the Ministers, Lecturers, Masters and Fellows of Colleges and Schoolmasters, who were Ejected or Silenced after the Restoration in 1660* (1713). Following the publication of Calamy's *Account*, it soon became clear that much remained to be said about many of the ejected ministers and tutors whom he had described, and over the next fourteen years, Calamy continued to collect anecdotal and printed evidence about the 1660-2 generation. These labours led to the production of his two-volume *Continuation of the Account* (1727); this text was also in part a defence of his earlier work against John Walker, whose *An Attempt towards Recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England* (1714) detailed the experiences of episcopalians under the various regimes of the 1640s and 1650s.

Calamy's *Account* and *Continuation* serve as a warning to modern scholars seeking to establish the nature and location of the dissenters' earliest academies. Unlike Wesley, Calamy uses the term 'academy' rarely in his *Account* and *Continuation*, in relation to the tutors Richard Frankland, Samuel Jones of Wales, Thomas Goodwin junior, Theophilus Gale, Samuel Beresford, William Lorimer, and Ralph Button. Frequently, Calamy uses the term 'Academical Learning' to refer to the activities of nonconformist tutors, including Henry Langley, John Troughton, John Reyner, Charles Morton, John Flavell, and Samuel Jones of Wales.⁷ He also uses the expressions 'tutor', 'education for the ministry', and 'university learning':

⁷ Calamy, *Account*, pp. 59, 68, 84, 145, 221, 721.

Calamy's Description	Tutor
Private academy	Frankland, Jones, Goodwin, Gale, Beresford, Lorimer, ⁸ Button
Academical learning	Langley, Troughton, Reyner, Morton, Flavell, Jones
Tutor to young men in his house	Button, Cole, Cradock
Education for the ministry	Shuttlewood, Warren
University learning	Veal, Doolittle

In the past, scholars have made no distinction between Calamy's different descriptors, and they have been unsystematic in their collection of data relating to his descriptions of nonconformist tutors. Yet these phrases should not be used interchangeably: not all nonconformist tutors educated students for the ministry, and not every instance of the term 'private academy' suggests a large-scale endeavour. Furthermore, Calamy's language is suggestive of the attitudes of dissenters themselves towards their academies: they considered them to be a private alternative to the 'public' academies (i.e. the universities); they specialised in academical learning (i.e. university subjects, not grammar learning); they involved tutors, who initially probably occupied a similar position in the student's life to a university tutor, guiding reading, and ensuring the student's welfare; and most of them were situated in the tutor's house, or in the private dwelling of one of their friends: they did not necessarily involve the building or procurement of separate premises. Calamy's evidence suggests that these were small, informal, and in many cases temporary societies, serving a local constituency of students; they were neither highly organised establishments, nor widespread networks of learning, and there was no centrally-agreed course of study or governing political principle behind them.

By the time that Calamy completed his extensive *Continuation* of 1727, Whig dominance of the national government meant that the work of the early academies had become less politically controversial, and it was possible for Calamy to explore their significance in greater detail. The text begins with a treatise-length dedication, 'To all those who have enter'd into the Work and Office of the MINISTRY, amongst the PROTESTANT DISSENTERS, since we have been

⁸ Calamy describes him as an examiner, not a tutor.

favour'd with a LEGAL TOLERATION'. In this dedication, Calamy recalls that the nonconformists of the generation of 1660-2 'generally had their Education in our two Celebrated Universities', and had the benefit of conversing with persons of significance and distinction in church and state. Calamy's generation, on the other hand, had mostly 'been bred more privately', and some had been favoured with 'conversing with Men of Letters in foreign Parts'; these new methods, although not as beneficial as those available to a previous generation, meant that students had 'attained such ministerial Furniture and Accomplishments, as are not despicable, nor likely to discredit the Work and Office' of the ministry.⁹ Calamy explains that the pressure to train ministers had resulted from the need for sacred ordinances to be kept up among dissenters; without students taking the pains to acquire qualifications, dissenters 'in all Probability would have chosen some not so well fitted'. He is at pains to point out that training ministers was 'highly needful': properly trained ministers had been required to save dissenters from 'Extreams', and keep them out of the hands of those who would 'run them into endless Divisions, and encourage them in furious Bigotry'; ministers therefore needed to be such 'as were furnished with Learning, and were of Temper and Moderation, and ... Charity' towards conformists, and not 'Illiterate Mechanicks'.¹⁰ Here, then, is an elegant response to the high church attack on the academies which had been provoked by Wesley's pamphlets. Yet this more moderate account of the dissenters' aims and principles in setting up their academies has become largely lost from the historiographical record. In order to understand why, it is necessary to explore the ways in which dissenters themselves attempted to write the history of their academies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Eighteenth-Century Antiquarianism and the History of the Dissenters'

Academies

It is unlikely that either Wesley or Calamy had a very clear sense of how many 'private academies' or 'dissenting academies' there were in the country, or which former societies merited the title. The absence of a complete list of academies or tutors either in manuscript or print from the early eighteenth century raises problems for modern scholars attempting to determine the number, locations, and longevity of

⁹ Calamy, *Continuation*, vol. 1, 'Dedication', p. ix.

¹⁰ Calamy, *Continuation*, vol. 1, 'Dedication', pp. xvii-xviii.

such academies. The earliest such list to have survived exists in a manuscript probably compiled in the 1770s, with the title ‘An Account of The Dissenting Academies from the Restoration of Charles the second’. The manuscript, which was owned and may have been commissioned by the dissenting historian and polemicist Josiah Thompson,¹¹ also passed through the hands of his friend Joshua Toulmin; it was purchased in the early nineteenth century, together with the bulk of Toulmin’s library, by the minister John Kentish, who then loaned it to the dissenting antiquarian Joshua Wilson. The degree of mis-spelling of family and Christian names suggests that the text is a copy of earlier materials by a scribe lacking knowledge in the subject; Kentish himself wrote to Wilson that the manuscript was ‘unauthenticated’, ‘imperfect’, and ‘incorrect’, and that it was mostly in the handwriting of an ‘illiterate amanuensis’.¹² Nevertheless, many copies were made of the list’s contents, most notably by Noah Jones and William Scott, Joshua Wilson, and the historian of the public records Joseph Hunter.¹³ It was through this text, which was known to be ‘far from complete & accurate’, that nineteenth-century dissenters sought to write the history of their early academies, and it was a renewal of interest in the manuscript and other existing copies which led to the publication of articles on the dissenting academies in the *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society (TCHS)* in the early twentieth century. These articles in turn enabled Irene Parker to construct lists of academies for her book, *Dissenting Academies in England*.¹⁴ Parker’s list was adopted with very minor changes by Herbert McLachlan in his book *English Education under the Test Acts*,¹⁵ which was in turn expanded, not always reliably, by J. W. Ashley Smith in *The Birth of Modern Education*,¹⁶ and by Mark Goldie, in his work on *The Entering Book of Roger Morrice*.¹⁷ It can be argued, then, that almost all previous investigation into the dissenters’ earliest academies may be traced in a direct line back to this incomplete and inaccurate manuscript.

The text consists of a series of entries, one for each academy; each entry provides a brief headnote outlining the history and method of the academy and its

¹¹ Referred to as ‘Thompson’s manuscript’ in this thesis.

¹² NCL MS L54/3/3.

¹³ DWL MS 24.59, NCL MSS L54/1-4, BUL XMS 281, and BBCL MS G93a y.h.33; BL MS Add. 24442; extracts from the manuscripts were printed in *TCHS* 3-6 (1907-14).

¹⁴ Parker, pp. 137-42.

¹⁵ McLachlan, pp. 6-15.

¹⁶ Ashley Smith, pp. 293-7.

¹⁷ Roger Morrice, *The Entering Book of Roger Morrice*, ed. Mark Goldie, 7 vols. (Woodbridge, 2007-9), vol. 1, pp. 505-7.

most significant tutors, followed by a list of students; the number of students mentioned per academy varies from half a dozen to over three hundred. Kentish, writing to Wilson, asserted that the ‘narrative of the several modes of education is evidently taken from printed books, with which most of us are familiar’, and although the manuscript itself provides few indications of sources, most of the accounts of academies and tutors can indeed be traced to printed works. In particular the compilers paraphrased passages from Calamy’s *Account and Continuation*, perhaps drawn from Samuel Palmer’s *Nonconformist’s Memorial* of 1775, together with funeral sermons and other biographical notices of eminent tutors and students. However, in doing so, they chose to systematise the terminology which they adopted, subtly altering the prevailing seventeenth-century notion of a nonconformist ‘tutor’ into the mid-eighteenth-century notion of a dissenting ‘academy’. The result was to create an image of the earliest academies as institutions, and to make them an integral part of the history and development of Restoration dissent.

The trustworthiness of the lists of students in the manuscript is, as Kentish recognised, open to severe doubt. Where the compilers’ sources are identifiable, as in the case of the students of John Moore of Bridgwater and Richard Frankland of Rathmell, they are demonstrably unreliable. In other instances, the means by which the information was gathered, nearly a century after the event, remains unknown. There is no reason to believe that the manuscript provides an accurate picture of the numbers of students at any academy, or that the names recorded are accurate. Yet it has frequently been invoked to provide misleading comments on the relative size and significance of individual academies, and the student lists have even found their way into political history, resulting in false claims being made about the education of eminent figures. In order to understand how this happened it is important to explore the use of the manuscript and its contents by Toulmin and his successors; but first, the reliability and ideological trajectories may be considered of other early histories of the academies by David Bogue and James Bennett, and by Walter Wilson.

David Bogue and James Bennett, *History of Dissenters* (1808-14)

Between 1808 and 1814 David Bogue, tutor at a dissenting academy in Gosport, and James Bennett, a Congregational minister, published a history of dissent which contained substantial sections on the early academies. Their comments were informed by a polemical view of dissenters, which articulated a narrative of their

progress from persecution under the later Stuarts, to their integration into English society as prophets of English liberty. Bogue and Bennett divided the history of dissenters into three periods: the reigns of William and Anne (1688-1714), the reigns of George I and George II (1714-60), and the period from the accession of George III until 1808. Bogue and Bennett devoted the most attention to the first period (1688-1714). Their introduction and first four chapters surveyed the history of Christianity in Britain prior to 1688, summarised the beliefs of various groups of dissenters, and outlined political controversies in which they were involved.¹⁸ In chapter five, Bogue and Bennett described the academies as ‘seminaries’, linking them to the schools of the Old Testament prophets, and the Alexandrian school of Pantaenus, Origen and Cyril.¹⁹ Significantly, the writers noted that ‘the limits, which the extent of our work constrains us to’ allow ‘only a rapid glance and a brief notice of the respectable tutors’; in other words, Bogue and Bennett did not really seek to provide a history of early academies at all, but a history of tutors.²⁰

Failure to recognise this distinction between academies and tutors has confounded later critics using Bogue and Bennett’s text as a source. For example, careless readers have noted their discussion of the ministers Francis Tallents and John Bryan at Shrewsbury, and have used this evidence to fabricate the existence of an early ‘Shrewsbury Academy’.²¹ However, Bogue and Bennett make no claim that either of these men taught at an academy, and are clear it was only ‘brought into full effect and form’ under James Owen.²² Furthermore, they do not suggest, as is often stated, that Philip Henry, John Flavell, and Edward Reyner ran academies, but that they ‘either occasionally superintended the instruction of individuals, or prepared them for regular seminaries, or completed their education’.²³ Similarly, the authors’ inclusion of Henry Newcome in their discussion of the Manchester academy has misled many into assuming that Newcome was an academy tutor, but nowhere does the text state this, and there is no evidence that it was the case.²⁴ In other cases, Bogue and Bennett were not only misleading, but factually inaccurate. No evidence is currently known to justify their assertion that John Bryan, Obadiah Grew, Samuel

¹⁸ Bogue and Bennett, vol. 1, pp. 1-435.

¹⁹ Bogue and Bennett, vol. 2, pp. 1-14.

²⁰ Bogue and Bennett, vol. 2, pp. 15-71.

²¹ Bogue and Bennett, vol. 2, p. 24.

²² Bogue and Bennett, vol. 2, pp. 24-7.

²³ Bogue and Bennett, vol. 2, pp. 68-9.

²⁴ Bogue and Bennett, vol. 2, pp. 38-9.

Bassnet, and Thomas Shewell ran an academy in Coventry.²⁵ Similarly puzzling are their references to John Whitlock and Edward Reynolds of Nottingham, and Hugh Owen, Marmaduke Matthews, and Peregrine Philips of Wales.²⁶ Like Thompson and Toulmin, Bogue and Bennett relied on funeral sermons relating to tutors and students, and on Calamy's *Account* and *Continuation*, but they did not use these materials carefully. Many slips are discernible: Richard Frankland was not 'succeeded by the reverend Timothy Jollie', since several of Frankland's pupils went to John Chorlton in Manchester, and Jollie's academy appears to have been established on a separate impulse.²⁷ Their argument that Stephen James was Matthew Warren's 'successor in the theological chair' imposed a terminology onto the early academies which it is highly doubtful they would have recognised.²⁸ The notion that Isaac Chauncey's ministerial brethren 'appointed him to that office' of being a tutor similarly indicates a degree of formality, systematisation, and institutionalisation for which there is no contemporary warrant. Bogue and Bennett's history of the early academies, then, helped to generate a new language with which to discuss the academies, but it was one which concealed what could still be identified about their original character. On the one hand, they produced a history of tutors rather than academies; on the other, they constructed a narrative of persecution in the fight for liberty, using a combination of imaginative terminology and speculative argument.

Walter Wilson's *Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses, in London (1808-12)*

The second four-volume history of dissent which appeared from 1808 was *The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses, in London, Westminster, and Southwark* (1808-14), by Walter Wilson (1781-1847). Wilson trained at the Inner Temple, was a bookseller for a firm specialising in law books, and owned a bookshop at Mewsgate, Charing Cross, from 1806. He undertook his work on the history of dissenting congregations in London when he was a young man in his twenties, compiling systematic and extensive lists of ministers and churches in a series of thin folio and quarto notebooks. These drafts contain notes on congregations across the country, with copies of printed sources, collections of

²⁵ Bogue and Bennett, vol. 2, pp. 41-2.

²⁶ Bogue and Bennett, vol. 2, pp. 68, 70-1.

²⁷ Bogue and Bennett, vol. 2, p. 19.

²⁸ Bogue and Bennett, vol. 2, p. 23.

anecdotes, topographical indices, and extracts from church books.²⁹ One folio volume displays Wilson's attempts to produce lists of students at dissenting academies, based on funeral sermons and a version of Thompson's manuscript. Wilson divides each page into three columns, writing the names of students in the left hand column, beginning with those studying with Richard Frankland. On the first nine pages, the three columns read 'Students', 'Places', and 'Time of Entrance', but the final two pages of his notes on Frankland's students only contain notes of the student's 'Name' and 'Date of entrance', and leave the third column blank.³⁰ Wilson was using a catalogue of Frankland's students appended to Ebenezer Latham's printed funeral sermon for Daniel Madock.³¹ Latham's list provides names of students and dates of attendance, and Wilson made little attempt in his manuscript volume to establish the background or careers of the students. Neither does he appear to have consulted the manuscript list of Frankland's students found in the papers of Oliver Heywood, which provides different entry dates for many students.³²

When drawing up the printed version of his *Dissenting Churches*, Wilson focused on providing biographical memorials of the most significant ministers attached to congregations in London, Westminster, and Southwark. One plan for the work suggests that he intended to relegate Methodist ministers and congregations to the final volume, but he finally decided to use a strictly topographical model, mapping out the history of 24 congregations in East London, 17 in South London, 52 in the Northern Division, 12 in the West, 26 in Westminster, and 44 in Southwark.³³ His notes on each congregation begin with a topographical note, and usually proceed to describe each minister in chronological order, providing as much material as Wilson could glean from printed sources. In a large number of instances, Wilson describes the minister's education, giving his readers considerable information about early academies. For instance, in his second volume, he provides details of 32 ministers trained by 23 tutors at 18 early academies.³⁴ These notices were a major source for Herbert McLachlan as he wrote *English Education under the Test Acts* in the 1920s, but Wilson's own sources have rarely been considered. As is evident from Wilson's notebooks, he consulted relatively few manuscripts, and relied extensively

²⁹ DWL MSS Wilson A1-15, C1-5, F1-3, I1-5, K1-8.

³⁰ DWL MS Wilson D*, pp. 10-11.

³¹ Ebenezer Latham, *Preparation for Death, and Fitness for Heaven* (London, 1745), pp. 35-46.

³² Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 2; BL MSS Add. 45974-5.

³³ DWL MSS Wilson E, B1-6.

³⁴ Walter Wilson, *Dissenting Churches*, vol. 2.

on printed funeral sermons for the ministers whose lives he chose to narrate. In almost every case, the account of the minister's education provided in the second volume of *Dissenting Churches* originates from a funeral sermon, an early printed biography, or a biographical notice prefaced to the minister's collected sermons. In many cases, Wilson adopts the hagiographic tone and much of the phraseology of his inherited sources as if they were straightforward factual accounts; this method suits his largely sympathetic stance towards these ministers as heroic remnants of a persecutory age which was slowly fading. For instance, in his funeral sermon for Samuel Wright of 1746, Obadiah Hughes described the deceased minister's education from the age of sixteen thus:

This was the time, I suppose, when he was placed under the tuition of the reverend Mr. *Timothy Jollie*, who kept an academy at *Attercliffe*, and was the happy instrument of training up many eminent ministers, who have been greatly useful in the world, and whose praises are in the churches of CHRIST; he at first boarded in a private family for two or three years, though afterwards he went to live in Mr. *Jollie's* house.³⁵

Similarly, Wilson writes:

At sixteen years of age, he began to study philosophy, and other branches of academical learning, at *Attercliffe*, under the eminent Mr. *Timothy Jollie*, under whom were trained many valuable ministers. For the first two or three years, Mr. Wright boarded in a private family; but then removed entirely into Mr. *Jollie's* house.³⁶

This adoption of the general contours of expression and argument of his sources, combined with a critical simplification of nuance and a penchant for hyperbolic adjectives (such as 'eminent' and 'valuable') is entirely typical of Wilson's method. Wilson's rhetoric exaggerates the significance afforded to early dissenting tutors in their own day, and sheds little light on the nature of academy teaching. At times, his method creates severe problems at the level of fact. He refers to a nonexistent list of

³⁵ Obadiah Hughes, *Simeon's Prayer, for Leave to Die, Considered and Improved* (London, 1746), p. 38.

³⁶ Walter Wilson, *Dissenting Churches*, vol. 2, p. 139.

Charles Morton's students (supposedly in Samuel Palmer's *A Defence of the Dissenters Education of 1703*), deduces incorrectly from Timothy Rogers's funeral sermon for Robert Linager that Rogers 'lived for sometime in the house of Mr. Edward Veal', displays confusion as to whether John Ker taught grammar learning or academical subjects, and infers without evidence that Samuel Newman's education in London included time at the academy of John Eames and Thomas Ridgley.³⁷ In relation to three ministers, Thomas Newman, Thomas Charlton, and Peter Goodwin, Wilson frankly acknowledges that he has guessed their tutors (supposing them respectively to have been John Ker, Thomas Ridgley, and Isaac Chauncey).³⁸ That many of Wilson's remarks found their way into McLachlan's *English Education* without comment, reflects McLachlan's own tendency to shortcut research by failing to engage critically with some of his sources.³⁹

Joshua Toulmin's *Historical View* (1814)

Few texts have exerted a greater influence over the historiography of the early academies than Joshua Toulmin's *An Historical View of the State of the Protestant Dissenters in England* (1814). Toulmin (1740-1815) was born in London and trained for the ministry under David Jennings and Samuel Morton Savage at Wellclose Square, the heirs to Thomas Ridgley's and John Eames's Moorfields academy. Subsequently he moved to the important Presbyterian congregation at Colyton in Devon, where his unorthodox theological opinions and opposition to infant baptism received a mixed response. In March 1765 he moved to the General Baptist Chapel at Taunton, where he took pupils and wrote tracts in support of Socinus and Unitarianism. One of his most significant achievements was the publication of a revised edition of Daniel Neal's *History of the Puritans*.⁴⁰ In this text, Toulmin had expressed his desire to write a sequel, continuing the history of the dissenters from the Revolution of 1688 to his own times, 'in such detached parts as would correspond to the periods, into which, in his judgment, it would naturally divide itself'.⁴¹ Toulmin's project received encouragement from Josiah Thompson and Calamy's editor Samuel Palmer, but in the event he only managed to achieve the

³⁷ Palmer, *Defence*; Timothy Rogers, *Early Religion: Or, the Way for a Young Man to Remember his Creator* (London, 1683); John Barker, *The End of Created Perfection* (London, 1735), p. 23.

³⁸ Walter Wilson, *Dissenting Churches*, vol. 2, pp. 147, 530, 545.

³⁹ McLachlan, pp. 50-1, 75, 118-19, 133.

⁴⁰ Daniel Neal, *The History of the Puritans*, ed. Joshua Toulmin, 5 vols. (Bath, 1793-7).

⁴¹ Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. xv.

first volume, covering the history of the dissenters from 1688 to the death of Queen Anne in 1714. By the time it appeared in print, both Thompson and Palmer were dead, and the standard history of nonconformity had been written by David Bogue and James Bennett. The structure of Toulmin's volume contains some similarities with the work of Bogue and Bennett. It begins with a general history of the period, drawn in part from Gilbert Burnet's *History of his Own Time* (1724-34), and proceeds to outline the religious controversies of the period 1690-1720. The third chapter discusses the general history of academies and particular seminaries, before outlining the views of the major sects of the period, including the Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Quakers. The fifth appendix contains lists of the pupils of John Woodhouse, Matthew Warren, Charles Morton, Richard Frankland, Thomas Doolittle, John Shuttlewood, and Samuel Cradock, with biographical notes on each student.

For Toulmin, the dominant narrative in the history of eighteenth-century dissent was 'the Progress of Free Enquiry and Religious Liberty'. The circulation of Toulmin's text across England and Wales may be judged from the list of around 750 subscribers attached to the work's 'Preface'.⁴² These readers received evidence of the persecution of dissenting tutors from the opening chapter, in which Toulmin describes the proceedings against Joshua Oldfield and Richard Frankland, 'for keeping academical seminaries'.⁴³ Toulmin explains that Oldfield 'complied with the requisitions of the law' with a formal declaration against popery, a subscription to the Church of England Articles, and by taking the Oath of Allegiance; but 'these evidences of his protestantism and loyalty did not protect him from the spirit of intolerance'. On 6 October 1696 Oldfield was cited to appear before the Lichfield ecclesiastical court for teaching without a licence, but (writes Toulmin), he 'removed the cause to Westminster-Hall, and obtained a *noli prosequi* from the Court of King's-Bench'.⁴⁴ Toulmin's glee at this defeat of the forces of intolerance is mixed with his sense of the injustice with which Frankland was 'harrassed ... notwithstanding the protection and security which the Toleration Act offered'; the treatment afforded to dissenters for 'opening schools and diffusing knowledge' was

⁴² Toulmin, *Historical View*, pp. iii-iv.

⁴³ Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 117.

⁴⁴ Toulmin, *Historical View*, pp. 118-19.

‘more suitable to the age of Gothic barbarism, than to times like those of the Revolution’, when ‘the day-star of light and liberty was rising on mankind’.⁴⁵

When Toulmin turns to consider the history of the academies in more detail in his third chapter, he develops the same themes. He writes that the Act of Uniformity of 1662 ‘ejected from the church men of the first learning in the age’, such as Richard Baxter, John Owen, Theophilus Gale, and Samuel Cradock; however, ‘the edict that deprived them of their livings could not despoil them of their erudition’.⁴⁶ The literary tastes which they had acquired at the universities qualified them for the instruction of youth, while their straitened circumstances obliged them to apply their talents to the provision of education, either in private families, or in schools or in academies. The statute designed to secure the national establishment hence had the opposite effect: it created a class of dissidents whose families required education, especially those who desired to enter the law, the ministry, or medicine. The dissenters’ seminaries were ‘viewed with fear and jealousy’, and ‘aspersions were cast on those who taught University learning’; proceedings were begun against theological seminaries, and tutors were censured for breaking their university oaths.⁴⁷ Toulmin is in no doubt that such interpretation of the university oaths was unmerited, and devotes six pages to explaining why more ‘mild and liberal’ interpretations were valid.⁴⁸ His sources here are two discussions of the Stamford Oath by Charles Morton and Samuel Palmer, as printed by Calamy in his *Continuation*.⁴⁹ Toulmin makes no attempt to achieve a balanced conclusion, but sides with the dissenting cause as if its innate value were an inevitable cause of the progress of liberty within English society.

Toulmin’s descriptions of individual academies and tutors have been similarly influential. He singles out John Woodhouse, Matthew Warren, Charles Morton, Richard Frankland, Thomas Doolittle, John Shuttlewood, and Samuel Cradock as worthy of individual subheadings.⁵⁰ Then he outlines the careers of a further eighteen tutors, frequently with accounts of their best-known students. Unlike Bogue and Bennett, and Walter Wilson, Toulmin sought access to a range of important manuscripts, not all of which are currently extant. This means that in at

⁴⁵ Toulmin, *Historical View*, pp. 119-20.

⁴⁶ Toulmin, *Historical View*, pp. 215-16.

⁴⁷ Toulmin, *Historical View*, pp. 216-18.

⁴⁸ Toulmin, *Historical View*, pp. 218-23.

⁴⁹ Calamy, *Continuation*, vol. 1, pp. 177-97; vol. 2, pp. 732-5. Discussed in Chapter 1.

⁵⁰ Toulmin, *Historical View*, pp. 225-30, 230-2, 232-5, 235-7, 237-8, 238-9, 239-41.

least one instance, his comments provide the only available evidence about a tutor's teaching. The sources for his account of Woodhouse's life and students are relatively easy to locate, since it is based on Palmer's *Nonconformist's Memorial* and Thompson's manuscript. However, his detailed account of Woodhouse's courses, texts, and methods claims to be based upon 'MS. papers with which John Woodhouse Crompton, esq; of Birmingham, favoured the author'.⁵¹ The current location of these Crompton/Woodhouse papers remains elusive, a frustrating state of affairs given the uniquely detailed account of Woodhouse's teaching which they seem to provide. Toulmin describes Woodhouse's lectures on logic, anatomy, and mathematics, followed by physics, ethics, and rhetoric, together with Greek and Hebrew. In an influential move, Toulmin speculates that Woodhouse also lectured on law and conducted pupils through a course of theological reading. In his commentary on Toulmin's account of Woodhouse, McLachlan chose to divide these subjects into an 'Arts, Science and Law course' (containing mathematics, natural philosophy, logic, rhetoric, metaphysics, ethics, geography, history, anatomy, and law) and a 'Theological Course' (containing natural theology, doctrine, Hebrew, and metaphysics).⁵² This is unwarranted: Toulmin's comments that a 'law lecture was read one day in the week to those who had entered the Inns of Court', and that 'they who were intended for the pulpit were conducted through a course of theological reading' do not quite ring true.⁵³ McLachlan seems not to have recognised that metaphysics could occupy the status of an undergraduate subject, or that Toulmin's categories do not in themselves indicate separate courses of lectures. Toulmin is frequently unclear as to which texts were read in lectures and which were studied privately by one or more students; it is also unclear exactly which courses were taken by students, and whether different groups of students took different courses; we cannot even ascertain whether Woodhouse's papers contain a scheme of academy learning or consist of a series of miscellaneous notes. Toulmin's notes on students, found mostly in the fifth appendix, are mostly drawn from Thompson's manuscript.⁵⁴ In many instances he manages to provide further details of their future ministerial careers, using a mixture of private information and funeral sermons. However, here he makes several influential errors, including his claim that Robert

⁵¹ Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 230.

⁵² McLachlan, pp. 46-7.

⁵³ Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 227.

⁵⁴ Toulmin, *Historical View*, pp. 559-92; DWL MS 24.59.

Harley attended Sheriffhales.⁵⁵ Even in the late twentieth century, Toulmin has rarely been read with a firm awareness of his political bias, the unreliability of his sources, or his limitations as an interpreter of them. Ironically, this situation has led to a perpetuation of the Tory myth that the academies were hotbeds of political rebellion: by the early nineteenth century the general contours of this narrative suited dissenters writing the history of liberty as well as high churchmen complaining about their schismatical brethren.

Nineteenth-Century Antiquarians: Joshua Wilson and Joseph Hunter

Although Palmer's *Nonconformist's Memorial*, Bogue and Bennett's *History of Dissenters* and Toulmin's *Historical View* remained the standard accounts of the academies throughout the nineteenth century, attempts were made to replace them. In February 1820 the minister Joseph Chadwick wrote to Joshua Wilson, the son of Thomas Wilson (a benefactor of Hoxton Academy), in encouragement of his 'intended publication, in vindication of the noble cause of Protestant Dissent from all ecclesiastical Establishm[en]ts'; Chadwick included a lengthy account of his education at John Lavington's academy in Ottery St Mary.⁵⁶ One month later, Joseph Kentish replied to Wilson's request for information with a somewhat dismissive description of Thompson's manuscript history of the academies; he urged Wilson to write his 'History of Dissenting Academies', but to plan it 'with care', and suggested that Wilson contact Joseph Stanton of Bath for his list of the seventeenth-century tutor Thomas Jollie's pupils, William Scott of Stourbridge for a list of students at Northampton and Daventry, and William Turner of Newcastle, who had supplied the Unitarian *Monthly Repository* magazine with valuable communications on dissenting academies.⁵⁷ However, Wilson's project soon encountered the twin problems of inadequate sources and a reluctance of other dissenters to share their family papers; James Manning, author of a biography of the tutor Micaiah Towgood, warned him that Calamy's great-grandson was reluctant to lend his manuscripts, 'as they contain a good deal of family & domestic Hist[or]y', and his attempts from April 1820 to

⁵⁵ Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 559.

⁵⁶ NCL MS L54/4/71.

⁵⁷ NCL MS L54/3/3; William Turner, 'Historical Account of Warrington Academy', *Monthly Repository*, 8 (1813), 1-5, 86-91, 161-72, 226-31, 287-94, 429-33, 576-9, 625-9.

trace Timothy Jollie's papers were still unsuccessful by November.⁵⁸ The former student Philip Taylor provided him with an account of Micaiah Towgood's Exeter academy, but recalled that he had 'nothing particularly interesting or pleasing' to say about it.⁵⁹ Of the Colyton tutor Matthew Towgood, Wilson discovered little except that he was 'a learned but imprudent man, that is in mere worldly affairs'.⁶⁰ John Kirkpatrick's Bedworth academy, he learned, had 'never more than three or four' ministerial students among its scholars and boarders.⁶¹ John Horsey, tutor at the Northampton academy, wrote Wilson a remarkably hostile letter, referring to the 'misrepresentations' and 'Calumnies' of earlier writings on academies as a reason for 'taking refuge in conscious integrity' and not providing him with information.⁶²

Wilson had greater luck tracing a copy of Thompson's manuscript by Noah Jones, which had passed to William Scott of Stourbridge from Jones's executor, Samuel Griffith. In 1801 Scott had transcribed Jones's manuscripts, adding a memoir of Jones, who had recently died, before returning them to the executor. Scott had subsequently supplemented his account, continuing it to cover more recent academies, and adding particulars from personal observation, reading, and oral testimony. By May 1822 Wilson had received Scott's manuscript, a thin folio of 178 pages, together with Scott's wishes that he might see 'concentrated in your Work, a variety of matter collected from various sources'; nevertheless, he thought it unlikely that Wilson would find out much concerning Thompson's own sources.⁶³ In August 1823 Scott encouraged Wilson to keep his manuscripts 'as long as they may be conducive' to his research, but warned him that he had 'sometimes experienced [the] disappointment' of being unable to produce complete lists of students. In the end, Wilson also accepted defeat: despite extensive correspondence into topics ranging from the location of Philip Doddridge's papers (then with John Doddridge Humphreys of Tewkesbury) to the shape of the lecture room at the Tewkesbury academy, and the production of dozens of lists of academy students, Wilson never produced his anticipated history of the academies. Instead, his notes fed only occasionally into an area which he found more germane: a series of historically-

⁵⁸ NCL MSS L54/3/14; L54/1, f. 2v; L54/1/51. The papers which Wilson was trying to trace are now in DWL MS 12.78.

⁵⁹ NCL MS L54/4/66.

⁶⁰ NCL MS L54/3/57.

⁶¹ NCL MS L54/4/84.

⁶² NCL MS L54/3/2.

⁶³ NCL MS L54/3/12; L54/3/13.

informed polemical defences of dissent which he wrote from the 1830s to the 1860s.⁶⁴

The most serious attempt to identify eighteenth-century academy students on the basis of versions of Thompson's manuscript was made by the antiquarian Joseph Hunter (1783-1861), and survives in the *Collectanea Hunteriana* manuscripts in the British Library. Hunter was born in Sheffield and raised by Joseph Evans, a local Presbyterian minister. He went to school in Attercliffe, and moved to Manchester College, York in 1805. From 1809 he was the minister to the Presbyterian congregation at Trim Street in Bath, and while there he joined the Bath Literary and Scientific Institution. Hunter became a subcommissioner of the public records, vice-president of the Society of Antiquaries, and acquired a deep knowledge of Derbyshire and Yorkshire genealogy. He also published several texts with relevance to the history of the academies, including *The Diary of Ralph Thoresby*, F. R. S. (1830), *Ecclesiastical Documents* (1840), *The Rise of the Old Dissent, Exemplified in the Life of Oliver Heywood* (1842), *Gens Sylvestrina* (1846), and the posthumously-published *Familiae minorum gentium* (1894).

Hunter's manuscript collections reveal much about the antiquarians' methods for studying the dissenters' early academies. A volume of notes for his history of Sheffield contains an 'account of the dissenters', including the tutors Timothy Jollie and John Wadsworth, as well as a brief family tree of the Jollie family.⁶⁵ Hunter ends his account with a copy of a 'highly curious and interesting fragment ... in the possession of Mr Jno Smith of Sheffield bookseller', which contains the names of the members of Jollie's church, including Jollie's student Thomas Secker.⁶⁶ A volume of miscellaneous genealogical notes by Hunter contains a copy of the baptismal register of Timothy Jollie's chapel from 1681 to 1704, providing information on the date of the baptism, the family of the child, and their place of residence.⁶⁷ In a series of notes on Yorkshire biography, Hunter copied passages from Oliver Heywood's manuscripts and church book, and from Thomas Dickenson's Northowram chapel registers.⁶⁸ Hunter also compiled two books of

⁶⁴ These included, among others, *An Appeal to Dissenters* (London, 1831), *An Historical Inquiry* (London, 1835), *English Presbyterian Chapels* (London, 1844), and *Calumnies Confuted* (London, 1863).

⁶⁵ BL MS Add. 24437, pp. 107-13, 126.

⁶⁶ BL MS Add. 24437, pp. 112-13.

⁶⁷ BL MS Add. 24436, fols. 77v-81r.

⁶⁸ BL MS Add. 24443, pp. 85-113, 120-41.

manuscript notes on the biographies of puritans and nonconformists.⁶⁹ Another volume, entitled ‘Memoirs to serve for a History of Protestant-Dissenters’, contains Hunter’s most extensive attempts to explore the tutors and students of the early academies. The volume opens with a long set of notes relating to Hunter’s own former academy, Manchester College, York.⁷⁰ Then he provides an account of the tutors and students of Warrington Academy, together with notes on some controversial pamphlets in the academy’s library. A single page listing the academies mentioned in Toulmin’s *Historical View* is followed by a long set of notes drawn mostly from a version of Thompson’s manuscript.⁷¹ Hunter follows the pattern laid out by Thompson’s manuscript very closely, beginning with a headnote about academies and tutors, and then providing lists of students. Much of the text is in shorthand. In the case of Manchester College, Warrington Academy, and the Coward Academy, Hunter is able to provide a couple of sentences of notes about most of the students. For some of the other academies, he made relatively few inroads into identifying the students. Either he found the subject uninteresting or, like Joshua Wilson, he simply found the task too challenging.

Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century County Histories

From the late nineteenth century, regional histories of nonconformity and dissent began appearing in large numbers. Although few were as comprehensive or systematic as Walter Wilson’s *Dissenting Churches*, they provide a useful insight into how dissenters viewed themselves and their academies during the period between the accession of Queen Victoria and the First World War. One of the earliest of these texts, which displays features common to many of them, is John Sibree and Moses Caston’s *Independency in Warwickshire* (1855). The first 120 pages of the 400-page text are devoted to an analysis of the history of the Independent churches in Coventry; a further 25 pages are set aside for Warwick, with 28 for Bedworth and 21 for Birmingham.⁷² Most (but not all) of the other

⁶⁹ BL MSS Add. 24484-5. The first volume contains notes on Thomas Amory, Samuel Benion, John Bryan of Coventry, his son John Bryan of Shrewsbury, John Coningham, John Flavell, Obadiah Grew, Timothy Jollie, Ebenezer Latham, George Long, John Reynolds, Thomas Shewell, Francis Tallents, William Tong, and John Wadsworth. The second volume discusses Samuel Cradock, Thomas Doolittle, Henry Hickman, Timothy Jollie, William Lorimer, Joshua Oldfield, Benjamin Robinson, William Tong, and William Wickens.

⁷⁰ BL MS Add. 24442, fols. 1-43.

⁷¹ BL MS Add. 24442, fols. 44-53.

⁷² Sibree and Caston, *Warwickshire*, pp. 1-120, 121-45, 146-73, 174-90.

regions receive less extensive treatment, with more attention paid to those churches and chapels established the earliest. The account of Coventry begins with a lengthy quotation from William Tong's dedication to John Warren's funeral sermon for Joshua Merrell.⁷³ The authors then provide a summary of the state of religion in Coventry from the rise of the Wycliffites to the development of sixteenth-century puritanism. They give biographical notices of the major puritan and nonconforming ministers, including the tutors Obadiah Grew, John Bryan, Thomas Shewell, and Joshua Oldfield,⁷⁴ and include a digression about Philip Doddridge's association with the town.⁷⁵ Then the authors describe the history of each church in Coventry in turn, including quotations from the tutor Julius Saunders's church book.⁷⁶ In almost every case, Sibree and Caston make passing reference to each minister's teaching, although their comments are very limited.⁷⁷

Further county histories of dissent and the established churches followed, such as those of Kent, Surrey, Yorkshire, Norfolk and Suffolk, Shropshire, Dorset, and Berkshire.⁷⁸ Most of these relied on Calamy for their accounts of the first generation of nonconformist ministers, and made few attempts to consult local sources systematically, with the exception of the most easily accessible church books. Their comments on dissenting tutors are similarly vague, usually adapted from standard printed works, such as Palmer's *Nonconformist's Memorial*, or Bogue and Bennett's *History of Dissenters*. Knowledge of the early academies among most historians of dissent in the late nineteenth century appears to have been minimal. However, a few texts made a more substantial contribution to the early history of dissent. T. W. Davids helped to set the standard for regional histories, with his

⁷³ Sibree and Caston, *Warwickshire*, pp. 3-8.

⁷⁴ Sibree and Caston, *Warwickshire*, pp. 26-35.

⁷⁵ Sibree and Caston, *Warwickshire*, pp. 37-42.

⁷⁶ Sibree and Caston, *Warwickshire*, pp.50-7. A further account of the church book, with more extracts, is provided on pp. 148-61. Saunders's church book is now in the Warwickshire County Record Office, MS CR802.

⁷⁷ This lack of elaboration may help to explain subsequent confusion of the 'Coventry Academy': as I have shown, there is no clear evidence that Bryan, Grew, or Shewell ran one.

⁷⁸ Thomas Timpson, *Church History of Kent* (London, 1859); John Waddington, *Surrey Congregational History* (London, 1866); James G. Miall, *Congregationalism in Yorkshire* (London, 1868), superseded not entirely successfully by Bryan Dale, *Yorkshire Puritanism and Early Nonconformity* (Bradford, 1909); John Browne, *History of Congregationalism and Memorials of the Churches in Norfolk and Suffolk* (London, 1877); Ernest Eliot, *A History of Congregationalism in Shropshire* (Oswestry, c. 1896); W. Densham and J. Ogle, *The Story of the Congregational Churches of Dorset* (Bournemouth, 1899); W. H. Summers, *History of the Congregational Churches in the Berks, South Oxon and South Bucks Association* (Newbury, 1905); Edward E. Cleal, *The Story of Congregationalism in Surrey* (London, 1908). A. G. Matthews's *The Congregational Churches of Staffordshire* (London, 1924) may be seen as a comparatively late text in a similar mould.

Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in the County of Essex (1863), although the best examples are William Urwick's books on Cheshire and Hertfordshire.⁷⁹ All three of these works make use of a considerable array of local and national manuscript sources, printed texts, denominational journals, and local folklore; they contain extensive and careful footnotes, describing their sources, and providing a wealth of extra detail. Although they added little information about dissenting tutors which did not appear in either Thompson's manuscript, Bogue and Bennett, or Toulmin's *Historical View*, they included considerable detail about the careers of academy students, and frequently made reference to their education. Somewhat above the generally unscholarly level of these texts are the works of Robert Halley on Lancashire, and of B. Nightingale on Lancashire, and Cumberland and Westmorland.⁸⁰ These texts remain the most densely-packed and factually-detailed accounts of nonconformity in Lancashire and Cumberland, and are frequently still consulted. Nightingale's six-volume history of dissenters in Lancashire in particular contains many references to dissenting tutors, hundreds of references to their students, and biographies of Henry Newcome (once thought to be a tutor) and Thomas Risley. Nightingale was very familiar with local sources, and quotes from them extensively. Like Urwick and Davids, Halley and Nightingale uncovered considerable local evidence on dissenters and their academies.

Late nineteenth-century readers were also exposed to the lives of tutors through the publication of dissenting church registers and the papers of ministers. Among the best-known of these were J. Horsfall Turner's four-volume edition of Oliver Heywood's papers,⁸¹ and his valuable edition of the church registers of Oliver Heywood and Thomas Dickenson.⁸² Both contained ample references to the dissenters' academies, tutors and students. Accounts of individual churches and chapels from this period, and most similar twentieth-century accounts, added very little to knowledge of the academies, although Mark Pearson's history of

⁷⁹ William Urwick, *Historical Sketches of Nonconformity in the County Palatine of Chester* (London, 1864), and *Nonconformity in Herts.* (London, 1884).

⁸⁰ Robert Halley, *Lancashire: Its Puritanism and Nonconformity*, 2 vols. (Manchester, 1869); B. Nightingale, *Lancashire Nonconformity*, 6 vols. (Manchester, 1890-3); *The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland*, 2 vols. (Manchester, 1911).

⁸¹ *The Rev. Oliver Heywood, B. A., 1630-1702: His Autobiography, Diaries, Anecdote and Event Books*, ed. J. Horsfall Turner, 4 vols. (Bridghouse, 1882-5). Upon completing the project, Horsfall Turner wrote that 'The dream of my boyhood is now fairly realized' (vol. 4, p. 5).

⁸² *The Nonconformist Register of Baptisms, Marriages, and Deaths*, ed. J. Horsfall Turner (Bridghouse, 1881).

Northowram, J. E. Manning's account of the Upper Chapel, Sheffield, and H. D. Roberts's history of Matthew Henry and his chapel discussed several previously uninvestigated sources.⁸³ Thomas Rees's *History of Protestant Nonconformity in Wales* included a hugely influential account of the Welsh dissenting academies, claiming they descended from the work of the ejected minister Samuel Jones.⁸⁴ Among the most important national accounts of English dissent in this period were the writings of T. S. James and George Eyre Evans.⁸⁵ James's work contained the first ever printed edition of the early eighteenth-century lists of congregations and ministers by John Evans, together with a summary of the rise of heterodoxy in dissenting congregations in the eighteenth century.⁸⁶ Here, with some patience, nineteenth-century readers could unpick the history of nonconformity region by region, and gain a sense of the contribution of dissenting tutors to British intellectual and social life; however, it is debatable as to whether many readers made the effort. George Eyre Evans's *Vestiges of Protestant Dissent* contained a more digestible map of congregations across England, providing lists of ministers, dates of chapels, and inventories of silverware. Unfortunately, G. E. Evans tended to confuse and conflate the known dates of a minister's activity with the dates of his formal calling, and where he was uncertain of either, he was not averse to guessing. These tendencies made his lists highly unreliable, not least for the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, when the membership of many congregations and conventicles was fluid, with no settled pastor or meeting-place. Nevertheless, G. E. Evans's dates frequently found their way into late twentieth-century research via Charles Surman's extraordinary index of 30,000 nonconformist ministers.⁸⁷

Francis Nicholson, Ernest Axon, and Alexander Gordon

As the examples of James and G. E. Evans show, the impact of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century histories of dissent upon contemporary understanding of the

⁸³ Mark Pearson, *Northowram: its History and Antiquities, with a Life of Oliver Heywood* (Halifax, 1898); J. E. Manning, *A History of Upper Chapel, Sheffield* (Sheffield, 1900); H. D. Roberts, *Matthew Henry and his Chapel, 1662-1900* (Liverpool, 1901).

⁸⁴ Thomas Rees, *History of Protestant Nonconformity in Wales, from its Rise to the Present Time* (London, 1861), pp. 259-68.

⁸⁵ For example, T. S. James, *The History of the Litigation and Legislation respecting Presbyterian Chapels and Charities in England and Ireland between 1816 and 1849* (London, 1867), and George Eyre Evans, *Vestiges of Protestant Dissent* (Liverpool, 1897).

⁸⁶ James, *Chapels and Charities*, pp. 9-209, 643-96.

⁸⁷ The card index exists at Dr Williams's Library, but in 2009 was turned into an online database: *The Surman Index Online*.

academies was mixed, varying from the marginal to the misleading. These texts helped to keep knowledge of the dissenters' early academies alive, although few of their authors looked in detail at those sources which shed the most light on the earliest tutors, and the interests of those who did so were chiefly in the ministerial careers of these men, and not in their teaching. The two notable exceptions are the account by Francis Nicholson and Ernest Axon of nonconformity in Kendal, and the historical works of the Unitarian tutor Alexander Gordon.⁸⁸ Nicholson and Axon were both experienced local historians, who plumbed the depths of the available sources to an almost exhaustive degree. The result was a lengthy book which devoted nearly one fifth of its six hundred pages to a biography of Richard Frankland, and a further 100-page appendix to a blow-by-blow account of his three hundred students. For their biography of Frankland, Nicholson and Axon perused local registers and court records, together with letters from local dignitaries and a large range of printed sources. The basic contours of Frankland's life are fleshed out with manifold references to Frankland and his students from Oliver Heywood's papers.⁸⁹ In their account of Frankland's students, they provide a brief paragraph summarising the life and career of each one, together with the varying dates of 'admission' to the academy provided by Latham and Heywood.⁹⁰ Similarly detailed is their biography of Caleb Rotheram, which includes an account of his academy and substantial notes on his students.⁹¹ Although the writings of Parker and McLachlan are better known, Nicholson and Axon undertook much more detailed research, revealing what it was possible to achieve in the way of investigation into early academies in the early twentieth century.

The historical works of Alexander Gordon (1841-1931), Principal of the Home Missionary College, Manchester, are peppered extensively with references to the dissenters' academies. Gordon's diplomatic transcription of the 1690-3 survey of dissenters undertaken by their London Common Fund, and his similar edition of the minutes of the Cheshire Classis, 1691-1745, contain remarkably detailed notes on the education and careers of over 1,000 ministers; he was also one of the first historians to peruse the detailed minutes of the Presbyterian and Congregational Fund Boards, both of which stretched back to the 1690s. Gordon's *Addresses*

⁸⁸ Francis Nicholson and Ernest Axon, *The Older Nonconformity in Kendal* (Kendal, 1915).

⁸⁹ Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, pp. 113-201.

⁹⁰ Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, pp. 532-612.

⁹¹ Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, pp. 292-319, 613-34.

Biographical and Historical included essays on Philip Doddridge, Joseph Priestley's friend Theophilus Lindsey, Thomas Belsham, and the Salters' Hall debates of 1719; his essay on 'Early Nonconformity and Education' contained an influential if spurious theory that the term 'academy' was derived from Calvin's Geneva 'Academia', and a view that the academies encouraged 'Choice of systems' and 'freedom of discussion' among students.⁹² Gordon's notes and drafts for his *Dictionary of National Biography* articles on dissenting tutors have not been studied before. These notes display his tendency to aggrandise many of the early academies; he wrote that John Chorlton, 'with great spirit, resolved to continue the northern academy' of Richard Frankland,⁹³ and deleted his statement that 'the names of only four' of James Coningham's students were known.⁹⁴ His drafts see him considering, and then rejecting the characterisation of Thomas Dixon's assistant John Barclay as 'a good sensible man ... a great mathematician'. Similarly, he crossed through a passage describing Henry Grove as a man of 'self contained and placid nature', with 'neither the quick vivacity nor the missionary spirit' of Philip Doddridge.⁹⁵ Following Bogue and Bennett, Gordon gave Grove, Stephen James, and Robert Darch the spurious titles of 'tutor in ethics and "pneumatology"', 'tutor in mathematics and physics', and 'divinity tutor', and referred to the Taunton academy as 'the chief seat of culture for the Dissenters of the West'.⁹⁶ Gordon's interpretations of early dissenting theology were frequently confused:⁹⁷ his characterisation of the tutor Thomas Rowe as 'the first to desert the traditional textbooks', and as 'a Cartesian at a time when the Aristotelian philosophy was dominant' is as wrong-headed as it has been influential.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, Gordon's writings on the academies exercised a profound influence on the next generation of dissenting historians, not least upon his biographer, Herbert McLachlan.⁹⁹ Even Geoffrey F. Nuttall's copious annotations to Gordon's entries in the *Dictionary of National Biography* were respectful, in stark contrast to the dismissive marginal notes in his copy of McLachlan's *English Education*.¹⁰⁰

⁹² Alexander Gordon, *Addresses Biographical and Historical* (London, 1922) pp. 71, 81, 82.

⁹³ JRUL MSS GOR/1/7; GOR/1/128.

⁹⁴ JRUL MS GOR/1/141.

⁹⁵ JRUL MS GOR/1/167; GOR/1/255.

⁹⁶ JRUL MS GOR/1/255.

⁹⁷ JRUL MSS GOR/1/478, GOR/1/498.

⁹⁸ JRUL MS GOR/1/502; Alexander Gordon, 'Rowe, Thomas (1657-1705)', *DNB*.

⁹⁹ Herbert McLachlan, *Alexander Gordon* (Manchester, 1932).

¹⁰⁰ DWL Geoffrey F. Nuttall library (currently being listed).

Irene Parker

While Gordon was the preeminent Unitarian voice regarding the early academies in the early twentieth century, the newly-established *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society (TCHS)* produced its own series of anonymous articles between 1907 and 1913 on ‘Early Nonconformist Academies’.¹⁰¹ These articles continued the nineteenth-century antiquarian tradition of summarising the lives of eminent tutors and transcribing Thompson’s and Scott’s lists of students. The year after the final *TCHS* article appeared, Irene Parker published the first book-length study of the dissenters’ academies, with the title *Dissenting Academies in England* (1914). Yet Parker herself noted that while on the one hand it was ‘difficult to understand why the contribution made to Education by Puritanism and Dissent has not yet been fully investigated’, on the other hand ‘No one can realize more clearly than I how totally inadequate is the account here given’. Parker, who was a tutor and lecturer in the history of education at Cherwell Hall in Oxford, was writing for an audience comprised partly of those with an interest in dissent, and partly of those interested in the history of education. She undertook very little primary research, and her list of primary sources is minimal.¹⁰² Aside from Gordon, her chief secondary sources are, inevitably, antiquarian.¹⁰³

Parker’s text consists of three essays and six brief appendices. The first essay is a general account of the ‘development of realism’ in education in England. Here, she argues that the puritan recognition of the worth of the individual encouraged the exercise of reason in religion, and a conviction of the need for universal, ‘reformed’ education. For Parker, this trend may be witnessed in the writings of Samuel Hartlib, Jan Amos Comenius, William Petty, John Dury, and John Milton. It follows that ‘no event in English history has had so far-reaching and disastrous an effect upon education as the Restoration’. Parker’s second essay charts the ‘rise and progress of the dissenting academies’. She begins by stating that the academies, ‘diverging from the main stream of education, drained off more and more of its life’: they were ‘the

¹⁰¹ *TCHS* 3-6 (1907-14).

¹⁰² Her only sources relevant to the early academies are the writings of Edmund Calamy, James Clegg, Daniel Defoe, Matthew Henry, Oliver Heywood, Matthew Poole, Joseph Priestley, Gilbert Wakefield, and Anthony Wood; other sources relate to debates of the 1640s and 1650s with a tenuous relationship to the academies.

¹⁰³ For instance, the writings of R. W. Dale and Joseph Hunter, William Turner’s *Lives of Eminent Unitarians*, and Wilson’s *Dissenting Churches*.

greatest schools of their day', thoroughly 'alive and active' in a period when the universities were 'sterile'.¹⁰⁴ Echoing Toulmin, she writes that the dissenting academies were created by the repressive legislation of the 1660s, and draws a sharp distinction between the 'orthodox State schools' and the 'unorthodox Dissenting schools'.¹⁰⁵ Parker incorrectly assumes that the Five Mile Act of 1665 relates to tutors, and then compounds her error by arguing that this increase of legislation meant 'only one thing – that Dissenting Academies were even then becoming important'.¹⁰⁶ She argues misleadingly that nonconformists 'would not allow their sons to go to the universities', that 'the ejected teachers were among the most efficient and progressive', and that Anglicans sent their sons to the academies to attain 'the best education'.¹⁰⁷ She is on stronger ground when she argues that the term 'Academy' was considered 'synonymous with university', but then unpicks her own argument with a deeply flawed comparison of the academies with Calvin's Geneva and with Hartlib's 'realistic type' of education.¹⁰⁸

One of Parker's most influential moves is to divide the academies into three classes: (1) the first period, 1663-c. 1690, 'founded by ejected ministers in which, as a rule there was only one tutor'; (2) a second period, 1691-1750, in which there were several tutors and which were more "public" than the early ones; and (3) those founded about 1750, 'which gave, in addition to a professional training, a good general education to youths going into business.'¹⁰⁹ The academies of the first period, she writes, were private, with usually about twenty or thirty students, and one tutor,¹¹⁰ yet she illustrates her point with a consideration of only the most easily-available accounts of the academies of Charles Morton, John Ker, Richard Frankland, and John Woodhouse.¹¹¹ Similarly, her history of the 'second period' consists of little more than case studies of the academies of John Jennings and Philip Doddridge.¹¹² She then turns to Samuel Jones's Tewkesbury academy, for which she relies almost exclusively on a letter from Thomas Secker to Isaac Watts, describing

¹⁰⁴ Parker, p. 45.

¹⁰⁵ Parker, p. 47. She quotes Toulmin's *Historical View* on pp. 50-1.

¹⁰⁶ Parker, pp. 47-8.

¹⁰⁷ Parker, pp. 48-9.

¹⁰⁸ Parker, pp. 50-4.

¹⁰⁹ Parker, pp. 57-8.

¹¹⁰ Parker, p. 58.

¹¹¹ Parker, pp. 58-72.

¹¹² Parker, pp. 75-96.

his experiences.¹¹³ Throughout these descriptions of the academies, Parker offers little in the way of analysis, and treats her sources with a credulity which very few of them merit. Her occasional forays into commentary are both naive and unsubstantiated. In particular, her claim that the first period academies (1662-90) were ‘classical’ whereas the second period (1690-1750) were ‘classical-modern’ contributed to a growing but misleading view that the academies played a pivotal role in the development of ‘modern’ education.¹¹⁴ Parker’s text is muddled both in details and in fundamentals.

Herbert McLachlan

Like Alexander Gordon, his predecessor as Principal of the Unitarian Home Missionary College in Manchester, Herbert McLachlan devoted much of his academic life to studying the dissenters’ academies. His publications on the subject varied from a celebratory portrait of the Warrington Academy to accounts of the Unitarian Home Missionary College’s library.¹¹⁵ As a Unitarian, McLachlan had particular interests in the rise of Socinianism; these interests provoked him to write densely-packed articles on the tutors Thomas Dixon and Ebenezer Latham, and to edit the letters of Joseph Priestley’s friend Theophilus Lindsey.¹¹⁶ When McLachlan’s history of the dissenting academies appeared as *English Education under the Test Acts* (1931), a reviewer for the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society of England (JPHSE)* pronounced the subject to be ‘nearly exhausted’.¹¹⁷ McLachlan’s most significant contribution was to locate around forty sets of ‘lecture notes’ from eighteenth-century academies, including those in Dr Williams’s Library, Bristol Baptist College Library, and Manchester College, Oxford (now Harris Manchester College). Although McLachlan frequently misunderstood their contents, his lists of manuscript notebooks have never received the attention they deserve.¹¹⁸ However, his accounts of individual academies consisted of little more than

¹¹³ Parker, pp. 96-101.

¹¹⁴ Parker, p. 58.

¹¹⁵ Herbert McLachlan, *Warrington Academy* (Manchester, 1943), *The Unitarian Home Missionary College, 1854-1914* (London, 1913), *Unitarian College, Manchester: Register of Students, 1854-1929* (Manchester, 1929), *The Unitarian College Library* (Manchester, 1939).

¹¹⁶ McLachlan, *Essays and Addresses* (Manchester, 1950), *Letters of Theophilus Lindsey* (Manchester, 1926); see also his son H. John McLachlan’s *Socinianism in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1951).

¹¹⁷ J. H. C., ‘English Education under the Test Acts’, in *JPHSE*, 5 (1932-5), 41-3.

¹¹⁸ Many of them are explored in Chapters 3 and 4.

biographical notices of tutors, together with brief lists of eminent students; in writing these, he relied heavily on Gordon, Parker, and the *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*. His book entrenched the common view of the academies as geographically-fixed institutions, and he commonly referred to them by their locations (Sheriffhales Academy) rather than their tutors (Woodhouse's academy). His introduction, which recognised the small scale of many of the early academies, and the reliance of their courses upon university texts and methods, marked a considerable advance upon Parker's assertions; however in attempting to summarise the work of the academies over two hundred years in the space of forty pages, he resorted to broad and misleading generalisations about the importance attached to experimental science, and the moribund state of the eighteenth-century universities. The dates provided in McLachlan's list of academies were, like those of Parker, frequently speculative, and he provided little evidence to justify his inclusion of some tutors and not others. His notes on student funding were adapted from the work of Gordon. In *English Education*, McLachlan reveals himself to be the heir to the nineteenth-century antiquarians.

J. W. Ashley Smith

Over the next twenty years, no new general account of the dissenters' academies appeared. A. G. Matthews uncovered considerable new information about the tutors mentioned in Calamy's *Account and Continuation*, and Charles Surman provided details about the education of many of the ministers mentioned in his card index; but Matthews was relatively uninterested in the academies, and the *Surman Index* was constructed from county and chapel histories and denominational magazines rather than original research. The next history of the academies was published in 1954; based upon the MA thesis of its author, the Congregational minister J. W. Ashley Smith, it provided the clearest delineation of the thesis that the academies initiated *The Birth of Modern Education*. The book was in part an intervention into the debate about the 'adverse criticism' facing the university and sixth-form curricula in the twentieth century when, as he admits, 'various reforms are being discussed and tried out'.¹¹⁹ Ashley Smith himself later served on the Congregational Federation's

¹¹⁹ Ashley Smith, p. 2.

Training Board.¹²⁰ The purpose of his book was to investigate the justice of the claim that the dissenting academies initiated ‘large changes in the content and treatment of the university curriculum’, by ‘detailing their actual curricula’ and showing the factors which caused tutors to introduce innovations.¹²¹ He noted that, strictly speaking, dissenting tutors did not introduce innovations at all, but ‘nevertheless departed strikingly from the university pattern’. The Clarendon Code produced an ‘irreducible chaos’ in the early stages of the history of the academies, and so the attempts of Bogue and Bennett and Parker to classify the academies ‘represent efforts to impose a semblance of order where none exists’. Ashley Smith adopted a tripartite classification of tutors, considering those with experience of Oxford or Cambridge; those without such experience who nevertheless appeared to be continuing that tradition (this second group nevertheless departed from the tradition in notable ways); and those who tried to ‘construct the ideal curriculum, with necessary consideration of, but no unnecessary deference to, the traditional ideas’.¹²²

Although there is some merit in these distinctions, there is little discernible logic behind Ashley Smith’s subcategories (such as ‘Cambridge Platonists’, ‘Innovators’, and ‘Exeter Assembly Tutors’).¹²³ He showed little awareness of the differences between the tutorial work of his three exemplary early Presbyterians (Richard Frankland, Philip Henry, and Thomas Doolittle), failed to show how tutors with comparable publications illuminated each others’ teaching, and included in his lists of tutors a large number of spurious or questionable names. Ashley Smith’s errors of fact, unsystematic classifications, and misleading comparisons continue during his discussions of academy courses of study. He drew unwarranted conclusions about academy teaching from the libraries of former students, dismissed manuscript notebooks in favour of the printed academic works of tutors, and quoted uncritically from earlier Whig and dissenting histories, including Toulmin’s *Historical View*, and Walter Wilson’s biography of Daniel Defoe.¹²⁴

Ashley Smith’s approach to the history of the dissenting academies was accretive rather than discriminative. He was happy to quote previous secondary literature as if it had attained the status of inviolable fact. In Appendix A, ‘Original

¹²⁰ Alan Argent, *Serving the Saints* (Nottingham, 2010).

¹²¹ Ashley Smith, p. 1.

¹²² Ashley Smith, pp. 1-5.

¹²³ Ashley Smith, pp. 17-61.

¹²⁴ Ashley Smith, pp. 20-36.

Accounts of Academies and Text-Book Lists', he copied without comment McLachlan's list of Renald Tetlaw's books as evidence of Frankland's teaching, and adopted Toulmin's list of 'text-books used under Woodhouse' without any critique.¹²⁵ Even more alarmingly, he extracted from Wesley's anti-academy polemic a speculative 'incomplete list of books probably used', including neglecting to mention any of Morton's manuscript systems of science, a far more reliable guide to his teaching.¹²⁶ Appendix B consists of a table of 'Tutors Not Considered in the Body of the Book'. Here, he listed thirty-eight tutors who belonged to his first category (educated at the universities) and a further forty-two tutors who belonged to either his second or third category (he does not discriminate between them here). Ashley Smith's desire to be as comprehensive as possible was fuelled by his knowledge of secondary sources. Each tutor appeared with a list of sources, dates and locations of his activities, his 'antecedents' as a tutor, and general remarks, frequently attempting to outline theological principles, and subjects taught. However, his reliance on secondary materials makes this list extremely unreliable, and there seem few principles on the basis of which tutors have been included. It would be wrong to interpret this list as a list of academy tutors, as it is frequently assumed to be: rather, it is a list of dissenters who engaged in tutoring of one kind or another. Ashley Smith's failure to discriminate adequately between primary and secondary evidence, his confusion between manuscript and printed evidence, and his lack of rationale for identifying and categorising tutors, greatly limited the usefulness of his book for later researchers.

Writing the History of the Academies: 1954-2011

For fifty years after Ashley Smith's book, there was little sustained interest in the dissenters' academies among scholars. Christopher Hill polemically argued for a 'cultural split between Anglican universities and middle-class Dissenting Academies', embodied in a 'rigid distinction between the arts and the sciences'; Richard L. Greaves focused on the more immediately appealing topic of the educational principles of the 1640s revolutionaries.¹²⁷ Biographers of dissenting students, including Daniel Defoe and Thomas Secker, generally repeated the

¹²⁵ Ashley Smith, pp. 269-73; McLachlan, pp. 68-9. Tetlaw had been a student of Frankland.

¹²⁶ Ashley Smith, p. 274.

¹²⁷ Christopher Hill, *The Century of Revolution 1603-1714*, 2nd edition (London, 1968), p. 251; Richard L. Greaves, *The Puritan Revolution and Educational Thought* (New Brunswick, 1965).

standard narrative that the academies were engines of intellectual change.¹²⁸ Standard works on dissent, the Church of England, English education, and the English universities, failed to shed new light on the picture drawn by Parker, McLachlan, and Ashley Smith.¹²⁹ Dissenting tutors have been mentioned in a handful of monographs and university theses, and there has been considerable research into the careers of some later tutors, such as Philip Doddridge and Joseph Priestley.¹³⁰ The contribution of the early academies to logic, science, and theology has occasionally been recognised.¹³¹ Nevertheless, revisionist historians working on the later Stuart period have paid scant regard to the intellectual or social consequences of the academies, prompting Mark Goldie to claim that a ‘new study of the academies is needed’.¹³² The first steps towards such a project were taken by David L. Wykes and Isabel Rivers. Wykes’s account of ‘The Contribution of the Dissenting Academies to the Emergence of Rational Dissent’ established a new political framework for analysing the academies; his articles on dissenting tutors for the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* combined an extensive archival knowledge with a sensitive understanding of the currents of nineteenth-century antiquarianism. Rivers’s Friends of Dr Williams’s Library Lecture of 2002, *The Defence of Truth through the Knowledge of Error*, encouraged scholars to re-examine the methods employed by early academy tutors, through a careful study of available manuscripts and printed editions of lectures. Their investigations led to the initiation in 2006 of a project on dissenting academies at Dr Williams’s Centre for Dissenting Studies, and the Sussex Centre for Intellectual History. Since then, a

¹²⁸ Maximillian Novak, *Daniel Defoe: Master of Fictions* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 32-50; Robert G. Ingram, *Religion, Reform and Modernity in the Eighteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 19-44.

¹²⁹ Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters: From the Reformation to the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 368-71; Ernest Gordon Rupp, *Religion in England, 1688-1791* (Oxford, 1986), p. 172; Nicholas Hans, *New Trends in Education in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1951); Nicholas Tyacke (ed.), *The History of the University of Oxford IV: Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, (Oxford, 1987).

¹³⁰ Geoffrey F. Nuttall (ed.), *Philip Doddridge, 1702-51* (London, 1951); Nuttall, *Calendar of the Correspondence of Philip Doddridge* (Northampton, 1979); Malcolm Deacon, *Philip Doddridge of Northampton, 1702-51* (Northampton, 1980); Johannes van den Berg, *Philip Doddridge (1702-1751) and the Netherlands* (Leiden, 1987); Lester Kieft and Bennett R. Willeford, Jr. (eds), *Joseph Priestley: Scientist, Theologian, and Metaphysician* (Lewisburg, PA, 1980); John Ruskin Clark, *Joseph Priestley, a Comet in the System* (San Diego, CA, 1990); Isabel Rivers and David L. Wykes (eds), *Joseph Priestley, Scientist, Philosopher, and Theologian* (London, 2008); Joseph Priestley, *The Letters of Joseph Priestley to Theophilus Lindsey 1769-1794*, ed. Simon Mills, <http://www.english.qmul.ac.uk/drwilliams/pubs/JP%20letters.html> .

¹³¹ Rick Kennedy, *Aristotelian and Cartesian Logic at Harvard* (Boston, 1995); David A. Reid, ‘A Science for Polite Society’, *History of Universities*, 21/2 (2006), 119-58; Paul Wood, *Science and Dissent in England, 1688-1945* (Aldershot, 1988); Alan P. F. Sell, *Philosophy, Dissent and Nonconformity* (Cambridge, 2004).

¹³² Morrice, *Entring Book*, ed. Goldie, vol. 1, p. 505.

number of major resources have been produced, meaning that the resources available for studying the academies are now greater than at any point in their history.¹³³

The following thesis grew out of a desire to replace the antiquarian histories of the dissenters' earliest academies, from Thompson to McLachlan, with a study which explored their significance for twenty-first century political and intellectual history. It can now be stated with confidence that all previous studies of the academies have relied heavily upon an unscholarly accretion, assimilation, and adaptation of unreliable manuscript lists of students, together with biased or ill-informed printed memoirs of tutors. One purpose of this thesis is to set the earliest sources relating to the academies within their political, social, and intellectual contexts, exploring the attitudes which they reveal towards the academies rather than relying upon them as factual accounts. However, a more significant objective is to explore for the first time the surprising number of manuscript sources for the dissenters' earliest academies which have recently become available. This project has involved a study of the careers of over one hundred early dissenting tutors, and over one thousand academy students. It has required investigation into a wide range of pamphlets contributing to the political and religious controversies of the later Stuart period, and the analysis of the minutes of several dissenting institutions, including regional assemblies and funding boards. As a consequence, it is now possible to produce the first detailed account of the dissenters' early academies for over fifty years. The first two chapters assess the contribution of the academies to the political and social life of later Stuart England, discussing their origins, growth, and development, and showing how their fortunes varied under different political conditions; chapters three and four then provide an account of the education they offered to students, based upon the first ever detailed examination of manuscript lectures and notebooks on philosophical and religious subjects.

¹³³ Simon Mills, 'Joseph Priestley and the intellectual Culture of Rational Dissent, 1752-1796', unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2009; Tessa Whitehouse, 'Isaac Watts and Philip Doddridge: Letters, Lectures and Lives in Eighteenth-century Dissenting Culture', unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2011; Stephen Burley, 'Hazlitt the Dissenter: Religion, Philosophy, and Politics, 1766-1816', unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2010; *Dissenting Education and the Legacy of John Jennings*, ed. Tessa Whitehouse, [http://www.english.qmul.ac.uk/drwilliams/pubs/jennings %20legacy.html](http://www.english.qmul.ac.uk/drwilliams/pubs/jennings%20legacy.html); *Dissenting Academies Online: Virtual Library System*, ed. Rosemary Dixon and Kyle Roberts, <http://vls.english.qmul.ac.uk/>; *Dissenting Academies Online: Database and Encyclopedia*, ed. Simon Dixon and Inga Jones, <http://dissacad.english.qmul.ac.uk/>; Mark Burden, *A Biographical Dictionary of Tutors at the Dissenters' Private Academies, 1660-1720* (forthcoming); Isabel Rivers, David L. Wykes, and Richard Whatmore (eds), *A History of the Dissenting Academies in the British Isles, 1660-1860* (Cambridge, forthcoming).

CHAPTER ONE

Nonconformists and their Academies, 1660-89

The birth and development of the private academies run by nonconformists has become firmly tied in the historical imagination to the ejection of ministers on St Bartholomew's Day 1662, and to the various Test Acts which followed, both in the Restoration settlements of the 1660s, and in the 1670s. It has been argued that these Acts restricted the rights of dissenters to freedom of education, in a similar manner to the way in which they restricted dissenters' rights of worship. It has been assumed that ministers and university tutors who lost their livings in the early 1660s swiftly established a network of academies designed to train a new generation of ministers loyal to puritan principles of reformed church government; liberated by their exposure to a progressive curriculum untrammelled by the requirements of the Anglican universities, their 'modern' values nevertheless incurred the wrath of both lawmakers and law enforcers. A subtler but no less general narrative argues that the provisions against nonconformists' schools and academies generated by the Clarendon Code and subsequent legislation were not repealed by the Toleration Act of 1689, and that tutors continued to be persecuted across the reign of William III; during Queen Anne's reign the Schism Bill was an attempt by the recently resurgent Tory party to exterminate dissenters' schools and academies, and its passage into law in 1714 marked a period of intense persecution which ended only with the repeal of the Schism Act in 1719. This repeal provided some respite to beleaguered dissenting tutors, but their legal status remained dubious until the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in the nineteenth century.

This general narrative has never been subjected to detailed scrutiny. On the one hand, the standard model suffers from an impressionistic rather than an empirical study of the nature of nonconformist education during the 1660s and 1670s when most of the key laws affecting protestant dissenters were passed. On the other, there has been no detailed survey of the prosecution of nonconformist tutors during the reigns of Charles II and James II. Furthermore, there remains considerable confusion about the nature and functions of the nonconformists' academies, and little careful consideration has been given to their origins or early development. The purpose of this chapter is to address these problems, through a discussion of the

significance of the Restoration religious settlement for nonconformist tutors and their students, an account of the emergence of the academies in the late 1660s, a description of the nature and function of the academies, and a survey of attempts across the period to prosecute their tutors. The following chapter extends the discussion from 1690 to 1720, considering the political, social, and intellectual consequences of the Toleration Act on the development of dissenting education.

Nonconformist Tutors and the Restoration Religious Settlements, 1659-1673

It would be incorrect to assume that it was the ejection of tutors from the universities in the early years of the Restoration which played the defining role in the growth of private academies in the 1660s and 1670s. Nor can it be assumed that all of the ejected tutors were puritan ‘radicals’, disaffected by the return of the monarch and the re-imposition of the Book of Common Prayer. Plans for restoring ministers and fellows ejected from their positions at the universities in the 1640s began even before Charles II returned to England.¹ The result was that, at Oxford University, 8 heads of colleges and halls, at least 25 fellows, and 3 chaplains were removed prior to the passage of the Act of Uniformity in 1662;² at Cambridge University the numbers were 6 principals and at least 17 fellows.³ The attempts to rid the universities of the intruded fellows and ministers were given a tighter legal basis by the Act for the Confirming and Restoring of Ministers, which passed into law in September 1660.⁴ In general histories of puritanism, nonconformity, and dissent, the significance of this statute tends to be downplayed in relation to the much better-

¹ R. A. Beddard, ‘Restoration Oxford and the Remaking of the Protestant Establishment’, in *History of the University of Oxford IV*, pp. 803-62; *LJ*, vol. 11, pp. 31, 34.

² Daniel Greenwood, Edmund Staunton, Tobias Garbrand, Philip Stephens, Francis Howell, Thomas Goodwin the elder, Thankful Owen, and Thomas Cole (principals); John Panton, ‘Mr Stafford’, William Woodward, John Sayer, John Hoppin, John Curteyne, George Hitchcock, William Sprigg, Robert Wood, James Ashurst, Richard Avery, John Brett, George Cowper, Joshua Cross, Thomas Cruttenden, Theophilus Gale, Humphrey Gunter, Henry Hickman, Zachary Mayne, ‘Mr Sprint’, Stephen Charnock, John Johnson, William Stoughton, Thomas Brace, and John Whitwick (fellows); Ralph Button, Henry Cornish, Henry Langley, George Porter, John Poynter, and Henry Wilkinson (canons); John Gipps, James Kentish, and Nicholas Sherwill (chaplains). Figures based on *CR*.

³ William Dell, John Sadler, William Moses, Lazarus Seaman, Anthony Tuckney, and John Bond (principals); James Wheeler, Francis Holcroft, Joseph Hill, Thomas More, Henry Sampson, George Barker, William Green, John Broadgate, John Davis, William Disney, John Hutchinson, George Long, Edmund Moore, Joseph Oddy, John Pratt, John Ray, and Thomas Senior (fellows).

⁴ *The Statutes of the Realm*, 11 vols. (London, 1810-28), vol. 5, pp. 242-6.

known Act of Uniformity;⁵ yet the number of ministers and teachers who left their posts as a consequence of this piece of legislation was little less than in 1662. The Act claimed to ensure that every ecclesiastical person ordained before 25 December 1659 was to continue the lawful incumbent of any church living which had become void by death, voluntary resignation, or surrender. However, it also provided that every ecclesiastical person or minister formerly sequestered or ejected who had not been involved with regicide, or declared himself against infant baptism, should be restored to his living by 25 December. These provisions led to a huge number of petitions by sequestered Caroline ministers and their patrons, which were processed by a series of parliamentary commissions. Large numbers of ministers and teachers given preferment during the civil wars and protectorate were ejected from their positions. Some individuals were targeted specifically by the legislation; Ewelme rectory was restored to Robert Saunderson, the Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford following a proviso in the Act which denied the confirmation of the rectory to the future academy tutor Thomas Cole. Another proviso restored Somersham rectory to Anthony Tuckney, the Regius Professor at Cambridge, and others provided similar measures in relation to Kidlington, Garsington, Castor, Cudsden, and Acton.⁶ However, it is important to recognise that the Act laid an emphasis upon the loyalty of the sequestered previous officeholders, not the disloyalty of the current incumbents. Neither is it the case that the ejected men took to teaching academical learning in any great numbers: only five of them are known to have set up private academies offering university subjects.⁷

Similarly, the case for arguing that the nonconformists' earliest academies relied upon a supply of university tutors ejected under the 1662 Act of Uniformity is surprisingly weak. Scholarly investigation into the Act's impact upon Restoration education remains negligible.⁸ It is best-known for instating the revised Book of Common Prayer and requiring use of the liturgy in all places of worship. The five

⁵ But see I. M. Green, *The Re-establishment of the Church of England* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 37-60; J. R. Jones, 'Political Groups and Tactics in the Convention of 1660', *Historical Journal*, 6 (1963), 159-77.

⁶ *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 5, pp. 242-6. From 1682 the declarations relating to the Solemn League and Covenant (points 4 and 5) were to be omitted.

⁷ They were Thomas Cole, Theophilus Gale, Henry Hickman, Ralph Button, and Henry Langley.

⁸ The standard account of the passage of the act is in Paul Seaward, *The Cavalier Parliament and the Reconstruction of the Old Regime, 1661-1667* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 162-80, but Seaward makes no mention of its significance for university tutors or schoolmasters; W. T. Whitley, 'Private Schools, 1660-1689', *TCHS*, 12 (1933-6), 172-85, is incomplete and contains many errors.

declarations required by ecclesiastical officeholders under the Act were: that it was not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the King; that he (or she) abhorred the ‘traiterous’ position of taking arms by the King’s authority against his person or against those commissioned by him; that he would conform to the liturgy of the Church of England by law established; that there lay no obligation upon himself or any other person from the Solemn League and Covenant to endeavour any change or alteration of government either in Church or State; and that the Solemn League and Covenant was an unlawful oath and imposed upon subjects against the known laws and liberties of the Kingdom. These, then, were political as much as religious declarations, and it is unsurprising that they were also demanded from masters, heads, fellows, chaplains, and tutors of every college hall, house of learning, or hospital; every public professor and reader in the universities and other public colleges, including Westminster, Winchester, and Eton; every schoolmaster keeping any public or private school; and every person instructing youth in any house or private family as tutor or schoolmaster. University college tutors and chaplains were to subscribe before their vice chancellor, and all other persons, including schoolmasters, were to deliver the declarations before their archbishop, bishop or ordinary, on pain of deprivation. If any schoolmaster or tutor were to instruct youth in any private house or family before obtaining a licence from his archbishop, bishop, or ordinary (at a cost of twelve pence), and before subscribing to these declarations, he would be imprisoned for three months without bail for a first offence, and imprisoned for three months and fined five pounds for subsequent offences.⁹ The purging of the universities between 1660 and 1662 meant that relatively few university fellows and tutors were ejected as a consequence of their failure to subscribe to these declarations: 3 principals, 8 fellows, and 7 other scholars are recorded as being ejected from Oxford University after the Act of Uniformity;¹⁰ a further 12 fellows, 3 students, and the master of Emmanuel College were removed from posts at Cambridge.¹¹ Perhaps only two of these men later opened academies as

⁹ *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 5, pp. 364-70.

¹⁰ Henry Wilkinson, Christopher Rogers, and maybe Francis Johnson (principals); Thomas Adams, Thomas Brounker, Richard Inglett, Richard Whiteway, Robert Speere, James Allen, Thomas Risley, and John Troughton (fellows); John Gay, William Conway, John Cudmore, Thomas Cawton, Stephen Charman, John Harris, and John Herring (students). Figures based on *CR*.

¹¹ William Dillingham (master); John Wildbore, Samuel Chapman, Robert Brinsley, Edward Hulse, John Reyner, Edmund Hough, William Duncumbe, John Wood, Alexander Green, Jonathan Tuckney,

nonconformists: John Troughton is said by Edmund Calamy to have taught ‘academical learning’, and one of Thomas Risley’s students received an allowance from the dissenters’ Common Fund (1693); in neither instance is there reason to believe that their students were many.¹² George Long appears in the minutes of the Common Fund (1690) as a tutor to his son, but probably took no other ministerial students.¹³

There is even less evidence that ejected schoolmasters took to teaching university learning after 1662. Edmund Calamy, in his *Account* of ejected ministers and tutors, includes a list of 39 schoolteachers ejected between 1659 and 1662. There were undoubtedly more.¹⁴ Teachers were ejected from many of the most famous public and private schools in England and Wales, including Eton College, and long-established schools at Newbury, Macclesfield, Derby, Dorchester, Canterbury, Shrewsbury, and Oswestry.¹⁵ Many of these men were not ejected as a consequence of the Act of Uniformity, but either because their appointment by Cromwell and his regime was considered illegal, or (a related but not identical reason) because the previous incumbent sought restitution after the Restoration. Among these teachers were Thomas Gerrard of Reading, appointed 1656 and dismissed 1659, Thomas Singleton of Eton, dismissed in 1660, John Whiting of Dedham, ejected 1661, and Henry Montague of Canterbury, also ejected 1661.¹⁶ In the absence of comprehensive records of schoolteachers for the early 1660s, the precise dates of departure of many teachers and tutors are not known, but those who fell foul of the Act of Uniformity probably included John Woodbridge of Newbury, Henry Crosdale of Macclesfield, Richard Lawrence of Yarmouth, Richard Pigot of Shrewsbury,

John Wood, Augustine Plumstead (fellows); Daniel Evans, Anthony Fido, and Thomas Lock (students).

¹² Calamy, *Account*, p. 68, *Continuation*, vol. 1, p. 101; DWL MS OD67, f. 111. Samuel Birch, formerly chaplain at St Mary Hall, Oxford, is often said to have been running an academy at Shifnal in the 1660s; however he was actually teaching grammar subjects to sons of the gentry: Calamy, *Account*, p. 541, *Continuation*, vol. 2, p. 707.

¹³ DWL MS OD67, f. 26.

¹⁴ For example, Calamy only mentions one tutor from Eton College (Thomas Singleton), whereas a further five teachers were ejected (John Boncle, John Oxenbridge, and Richard Penwarden, fellows, Paul Hobson, chaplain, and Nicholas Lockyer, provost); his list also fails to include William Thomas, schoolmaster and ministerial tutor at Bristol, John Kerridge of Lyme Regis, and Charles Sagar of Blackburn.

¹⁵ *CR*, pp. 34, 63, 269, 326, 377, 386, 444 (Eton); 20, 543 (Newbury); 68, 148 (Macclesfield); 51, 142, 471, 509 (Derby); 47, 244, 540 (Dorchester); 173, 352, 392, 477, 502 (Canterbury); 83, 256, 320, 389, 474 (Shrewsbury); 185, 362 (Oswestry).

¹⁶ *CR*, pp. 219, 444, 527, 352.

Thomas Waterhouse of Ipswich, William Hunt of Salisbury, and John Garnet of Leeds.¹⁷ Some of the men ejected in 1662, including Woodbridge and Waterhouse, had only taken up posts as schoolmasters following their ejection from livings under the Act for Confirming and Restoring Ministers.¹⁸

Many of these ejected schoolmasters continued to teach grammar learning privately. Owen Price, the ejected master of a free school near Magdalen College, Oxford, later taught school in Devon, before returning to Oxfordshire; Thomas Ireland (ejected from Wallingford) was reported by an episcopal visitation of c. 1665 as teaching with unknown authority at Cholsey; Noah Ward of Derby taught in private families and became the master at a school in Ashby; William Hunt of Salisbury taught school at Ilminster; John Evans of Oswestry opened his house to teach 'School Learning' for gentlemen's sons.¹⁹ Thomas Singleton, former master of Eton, opened a school at Clerkenwell which catered for 300 pupils, and he also taught at Hoxton.²⁰ However, the only schoolteachers known to have dabbled (probably briefly) in teaching academical subjects are William Hunt and John Evans. Neither man left evidence of his teaching, or of his students, but they appear to have been operating grammar schools rather than university-level academies.²¹

In order to understand the growth of the nonconformists' private academies it is important to recognise that teaching was a very widespread practice among ejected ministers as well as ejected tutors. Many ministers were employed as private chaplains in the households of sympathetic gentry families; very often, teaching the family's children was an important part of their duties.²² Other ministers continued to preach to their sympathisers at illegal, private, but frequently well-represented gatherings known as conventicles; however, the payments they received for doing so were often small and provided irregularly. Such ministers often supplemented their greatly-reduced incomes by operating private schools; these included, among many others, William Baker (Bath), Jeremiah Butt (Stroud), Thomas Carter (place unknown), Thomas Doolittle (London), and John Langston (London).²³ Teaching

¹⁷ *CR*, pp. 543, 148, 317, 389, 512-3, 285, 217.

¹⁸ *CR*, pp. 543, 512.

¹⁹ *CR*, pp. 398, 289, 509, 285, 185.

²⁰ *CR*, p. 444.

²¹ *CR*, pp. 285, 185.

²² J. T. Cliffe, *The Puritan Gentry Besieged* (London, 1993), pp. 123-35, 147-61.

²³ *CR*, pp. 24, 94-5, 102.

had long been seen as a stop-gap for ministerial candidates, prior to them receiving a sufficiently well-paid benefice.²⁴ In the case of many ejected ministers, there can have been little expectation that teaching would occupy the remainder of their careers, and many of the schools operated were small, informally organised, or temporary. For many ejected ministers, hopes of a change in the law allowing them to return to a Church of England benefice mitigated the need for their schools to acquire a permanent status; for others, the illegality of their teaching encouraged small-scale, informal endeavours. In the meantime, tutors took teaching work where they could find it, and stopped when there was no longer any demand; in many cases, this meant pausing or quitting entirely when harassment against nonconformists and their puritan sympathisers increased at a local level. It is against this background that the nonconformists' earliest academies need to be viewed: many of them were perceived as informal and temporary, a response to local demand for a university-level education, and an extension of the teaching duties and practices undertaken by nonconformist ministers, rather than a direct consequence of the unemployment of university tutors. Out of 23 nonconformists who opened private academies offering university subjects, 17 were ejected ministers, not tutors.²⁵

Nonconformist private tutors and schoolteachers were affected by a range of laws passed in the 1660s. The 1664 Conventicle Act was directed against 'Seditious Sectaryes and other disloyall persons who under pretence of Tender Consciences doe at their Meetings contrive Insurrections'. Coming into effect from 1 July 1664, it enabled the imprisoning or fining of any person aged 16 or over, present at any assembly of five or more people 'over and above those of the same Household', under pretence of any exercise of religion not allowed by the liturgy or practice of the Church of England.²⁶ The severity of the Act led to the disruption of numerous conventicles, many of which were presided over by nonconformist tutors. Small academies in which the students were integrated into the tutor's household were technically not in breach, but there was no escape for larger schools and academies offering religious as well as philosophical instruction.

²⁴ John Morgan, *Godly Learning* (Cambridge, 1986).

²⁵ Ames Short, John Billingsley, Charles Morton, John Woodhouse, Samuel Jones, James Forbes, Samuel Beresford, Richard Frankland, Thomas Doolittle, Isaac Chauncey, John Shuttlewood, Thomas Brand, John Ker, William Lorimer, Matthew Warren, John Langston, and Edward Veal.

²⁶ *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 5, pp. 516-20.

The 1665 Act for Restraining Non-Conformists from Inhabiting in Corporations, better known as the Five Mile Act or the Oxford Act, also hampered the work of nonconformist tutors. It was conceived as a supplement to the Act of Uniformity, in response to claims that nonconformists were instilling principles of schism and rebellion by preaching in unlawful assemblies, conventicles, or meetings. Those nonconformists who had not subscribed to the oath outlined in the 1662 Act were required to do so, although the parts of the Declaration referring to the Solemn League and Covenant were omitted; this Declaration became known as the ‘Oxford Oath’. After 24 May 1665, all persons preaching in unlawful assemblies were forbidden to come within five miles of any city, corporate town, or borough sending an MP, or within five miles of any parish where they had been a preacher since the Act of Oblivion, until they had taken the oath, upon forfeiture of £40. All persons in breach of the Act were forbidden on pain of £40 to teach in any public or private school, or to take any boarders who would be taught or instructed by him or her.²⁷ The full effects of these measures on nonconformists who were teaching during the period are hard to judge. Some tutors simply took the Oxford Oath, such as John Wildbore, the former fellow of Clare College in Cambridge.²⁸ Other tutors left the area. Henry Cornish, another Christ Church Canon, remained at Oxford until the passing of the Five Mile Act, when he moved to Stanton Harcourt, residence of the puritan sympathiser Sir Philip Harcourt. Anthony Tuckney, the former master of St John’s, Cambridge, moved from London to Nottinghamshire during the Plague and did not return for several years. Other tutors were defiant. John Hoppin, former fellow of Exeter, signed a petition of Devon ministers refusing the Oxford Oath in 1666.²⁹ Charles Sagar, former schoolmaster at Blackburn, was cited at the Lancashire Sessions.³⁰ Samuel Corbyn, former conduct of Trinity, was imprisoned in July 1665 as the head and leader of conventicles, and for refusing the oath of allegiance.³¹ Nicholas Sherwill, former chaplain of Magdalen College Oxford was imprisoned with Obadiah Hughes and John Quick at Plymouth, from 6 October 1665

²⁷ *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 5, pp. 575.

²⁸ *CR*, p. 530; Richard Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, ed. Matthew Sylvester (London, 1696), part 3, p. 13.

²⁹ *CR*, pp.137, 276.

³⁰ *CR*, p. 423; Benjamin Nightingale, *Early Stages of the Quaker Movement in Lancashire* (London, 1921), p. 76.

³¹ *CR*, pp. 496, 137.

until 30 March 1666.³² Ralph Button, former Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, suffered great loss in his estate, and was in gaol for about six months, for teaching ‘Two Knights Sons, who perswaded him to it, in his House, having not taken the Oxford-Oath’.³³ Nevertheless, the Five Mile Act was not entirely successful in preventing nonconformist tutors and schoolmasters from preaching. The episcopal returns for 1669³⁴ reveal that the ejected fellows Francis Holcroft, Joseph Oddy, Samuel Corbyn and Thomas Lock were still preaching by turns in Cambridgeshire conventicles, and that Ralph Button, Henry Cornish, Henry Langley and John Troughton were preaching by turns at Bicester, Cogges, Tubney and Kingston in Oxfordshire. Although they record little evidence that these tutors continued teaching, the returns demonstrate that these men remained extremely active in the cause of puritanism nearly a decade after their ejection.

The Second Conventicle Act of 1670 was expressly designed as a remedy against such ‘Seditious Sectaries’ and ‘disloyall Persons’. The measures increased the potency of the First Conventicle Act of 1664; they specified the illegality of five or more persons assembling in a house or field, and enabled their prosecution by a single JP. A first offence was punishable by a fine of 5 shillings, which rose to 10 shillings for any further offence; the money was distributed equally to the Crown, to informers, and as poor relief. Convicted conventicle preachers and householders were to forfeit £20 upon a first offence, with preachers subject to £40 for every subsequent offence. If a convicted offender fled to another county or corporation, the prosecuting JP or magistrate was required to inform the officials of that county or corporation, who were then required to levy the penalties upon the person’s goods and chattels.³⁵ The Test Act of 1673 required every person bearing a civil or military office or place of trust from the King, either then or in the future, to take Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, take the Church of England sacrament, and make a declaration against transubstantiation. Those who refused were to be deemed ‘incapable’, and disabled in law from occupying the office.³⁶ Both of these Acts

³² CR, p. 438; Edward Pearse, *The Conformist’s Fourth Plea for the Nonconformists* (London, 1683), p. 65.

³³ CR, p. 95. One of the JPs involved was a Scot named Ross, who was a library-keeper at Westminster: *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, part 3, pp. 36, 96.

³⁴ LPL MS Tenison 639; the manuscript also contains a handful of returns for 1665.

³⁵ *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 5, pp. 648-51.

³⁶ *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 5, p. 782.

affected nonconformist tutors severely, chiefly through disrupting their ministerial activities. Prosecutions for preaching under the Acts in the 1670s and 1680s led to several tutors closing their schools and academies temporarily, giving up teaching entirely, or moving to a new location.

In 1672 Charles II issued a declaration of indulgence to nonconformist ministers, enabling them to be licensed as Presbyterian, Congregational, or 'Anabaptist' preachers.³⁷ A careful comparison of the petitions for licences³⁸ with Calamy's lists of the nonconformists of 1660-2 indicates that a small number of conventicle preachers received their education in the 1660s.³⁹ According to Calamy's lists as revised by A. G. Matthews, some 2360 ministers were ejected or silenced in England, 1660-3.⁴⁰ Around 1460 ministers in England and 48 in Wales successfully applied for licences in 1672.⁴¹ Of these 1508 ministers, more than 1,100 are in Calamy's and Matthews's lists. This leaves some 396 preachers who received licences but were not ejected ministers: 26% (approximately 1/4) of the total. However, it should not be concluded that the majority of these ministers received their education in private academies. Firstly, it has to be remembered that during the 1650s a substantial number of Congregational and Baptist ministers preached to gathered churches outside of the parochial system, and therefore do not appear in Calamy's or Matthews's lists. Furthermore, attitudes towards an educated ministry were much more divergent among the Congregational and Baptist churches than among the Presbyterians, and so many ministers probably sought licences as Congregational or Anabaptist preachers in 1672 without undergoing much formal training. In the absence of definitive lists of Independent churches during the 1650s it is very difficult to know how many of the men listed as Congregational or Baptist ministers in the 1672 licence applications had been preachers prior to the Restoration, but the number is probably very high; the exact numbers of Independent and Baptist ministers who were educated during the 1660s is very hard to fathom.

³⁷ Frank Bate, *The Declaration of Indulgence, 1672* (London, 1908), pp. 76-8.

³⁸ Complete lists of the licences have been compiled from *CSPD 1672-3*; George Lyon Turner, *Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence*, 3 vols. (London, 1911); and Bate, *Indulgence*.

³⁹ The resulting survey is not complete: by definition, the data only includes information on conventicle preachers who were prepared to be licensed.

⁴⁰ Figure based on the number of names in *CR*, not Matthews's own figures. The number of ministers ejected from parishes is probably slightly lower than this figure.

⁴¹ Figures based on the lists of applicants in Bate, *Indulgence*, pp. xv-lix; other licences were issued for places: Bate, *Indulgence*, pp. lix-lxxxiv.

The names of 103 Presbyterians who applied for licences in 1672 do not appear in Calamy's or Matthews's lists. Several of these ministers had been educated at the English universities either before or immediately after the Restoration, sometimes opting not to take a degree. Others attended the Scottish or Dutch universities. Some of them have names suggesting that they may have migrated across the borders from Scotland and Wales. A further 50 share their surnames with members of the ejected clergy in the same or a nearby county: many of these are likely to have received much of their education from their relatives; as their relatives got older, they may have acted as assistants at their conventicles, taking on ministerial responsibilities. Noticeably, a large number of the 103 names do not appear in surveys of dissenting ministers from the 1690s, suggesting that many of their ministries were informal, or short-lived. While there may have been a handful of ministerial students receiving their education at any one time during the late 1660s, the licences provide no evidence for a national network of ministerial academies prior to 1672: there was neither the demand from students and their parents, nor the necessity from congregations, nor the motivation from nonconformist tutors.

The Earliest of the Nonconformists' Academies: 1667-1673

On current evidence, the only academies known to have been operating prior to the withdrawal of the indulgence in 1673 are those of Thomas Cole at Nettlebed (1667 or before until *c.* 1674), Henry Hickman at Dusthorp (from 1668 or 1669 until 1672), Richard Frankland (from 1670), and Theophilus Gale (from 1673).⁴² Although Hickman and Frankland were educating a small number of the sons of ministers by 1672, this claim cannot be made with certainty of Cole's academy: the only students currently identifiable are the future government official James Bonnell, and a son of Philip, Lord Wharton. Previous optimistic assessments of the evidence, based on the assumption that a gap in the known activities of nonconformist ministers indicates that they had started teaching university learning, have concluded that many other nonconformist academies training ministerial students were set up in the 1660s; tutors sometimes credited with teaching university learning during this period include Charles Morton at Newington Green, Ralph Button at Islington, Samuel

⁴² Bod. MSS Rawl. Lrs. 50-1; Heywood, *Diaries*; Thomas Reynolds, *A Sermon Preach'd on the Death of the Reverend Mr. John Ashwood* (London, 1707), pp. 60-1.

Beresford at Shrewsbury, Henry Langley at Tubney, John Troughton in Oxfordshire, and Samuel Jones at Brynllwarch in South Wales.⁴³ These claims rest on evidence of dubious authority. If Edmund Calamy's statement in 1702 that Morton was teaching for twenty years before his emigration to America is to be taken at face value, it is possible that his academy began *c.* 1666, when he moved to London after the Great Fire, but there are no contemporaneous sources to verify Calamy's claim.⁴⁴ By the time of his death in 1680 Button had several pupils studying academical learning, but it is unknown how many years prior to this date he had been taking students.⁴⁵ No students of Beresford, Langley, Troughton, and Jones may be dated to the 1660s. The lack of evidence for ministerial students during the 1660s is mirrored by the small number of identifiable private academies of university learning during the period.

This finding is hardly surprising: in the years immediately following the Restoration the most obvious routes for unemployed ministers included becoming tutors to sons and daughters of the gentry, or even running private grammar schools, whereas the concept of a ministerial academy for dissenters was yet to be formulated. There can have been little recognition of the need for ministerial academies in the years immediately subsequent to 1662, when the majority of nonconformists were either coming to terms with the consequences of their ejection, or seeking a change in the law in favour of their comprehension within the Church of England. The recognition that dissenting conventicles and congregations would require regular pastors, and that many of them would outlive the heroic endeavours of the ejected clergy, took a while to permeate the fractured nonconformist communities of the 1660s. There were several further preconditions for the growth of ministerial academies. Nonconformists needed to recognise that conventicles required educated ministers, that the shrinking number of ministers was becoming insufficient to meet the needs of those conventicles, that the universities were an inadequate means to generate new ministers, that the sons of ejected clergy and others with aspirations to the ministry lacked an adequate means of education, and that funds were necessary in order to pay for the creation and maintenance of private academies; all these premises took time to take hold among dissenters. Given the

⁴³ Parker, pp. 137-42; McLachlan, pp. 6-15.

⁴⁴ Calamy, *Account*, pp. 144-5.

⁴⁵ *CSPD* 1682, p. 551.

considerable ideological shift required, the distance of seven years between the Act of Uniformity and the earliest record of Henry Hickman's academy does not seem too great.

Several of the academy tutors of the 1670s, 80s, and 90s spent the first few years subsequent to their ejection as domestic chaplains or grammar school teachers; these included Edward Veal, Ralph Button, Thomas Doolittle and John Langston.⁴⁶ The best-documented example is that of Theophilus Gale, whose academy operated in Newington Green during the 1670s.⁴⁷ In the mid 1640s Gale had been a commoner of Magdalen Hall and a demy of Magdalen College, Oxford. In late 1649 he had graduated BA as a 'a young man of pregnant hopes'. From 1650 Gale had been a fellow at Magdalen; after proceeding MA in 1652 he was a lecturer in logic, and both a junior and senior dean of arts (1657-8); his students had included Ezekiel Hopkins, the future Bishop of Derry. From November 1657 he had been a preacher at Winchester Cathedral, and he had attended meetings held by the Independent Thomas Goodwin at Oxford.⁴⁸ Gale was officially ejected from both his university and preaching positions in 1660 as a consequence of the Act for the Confirming and Restoring of Ministers. Initially, he remained in Oxford, writing to Philip Lord Wharton from Magdalen Hall on 23 January 1662. One of Wharton's agents, Gilbert, informed Gale of Wharton's desire that his sons should be under Gale's tuition, 'in order to their intended travel' to France. Wharton's offer provided Gale with an opportunity to leave the university and travel abroad with a modest stipend. In a letter to Wharton dated 6 February 1662 Gale requested an annual fee of £50 'besides the discharge of all other my expences for Diet, travelling &c.'⁴⁹ The following week Wharton offered Gale £40 besides diet and travelling expenses, with the addition of £10 more when his sons entered 'into a more publick condition & quality'; Gale found this salary to be 'below expectation', but acquiesced, to 'shew my chearful readiness to serve'; however, he had reservations about having Wharton's daughters as his charges, 'that being a thing as much beyond my capacity,

⁴⁶ Calamy, *Account*, pp. 57, 60, 52 660-1; *Continuation*, vol. 1, pp. 81-5, 90, 75-6.

⁴⁷ Reynolds, *John Ashwood*, pp. 60-1.

⁴⁸ *CR*, p. 216; Dewey D. Wallace, jun., 'Gale, Theophilus (1628-79)', *ODNB*; LPL MSS COMM. II/728, III/6; Bod. MSS Rawl. Lrs. 49-54; John Prince, *Worthies of Devon* (Exeter, 1701), pp. 349-50; *The Register of the Visitors of the University of Oxford, from A.D. 1647 to A.D. 1658*, ed. Montagu Burrows (London, 1881), pp. 516, 565; *Register of the Members of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford*, ed. W. D. Macray, 7 vols. (London, 1894-1915), vol. 4, p. 86.

⁴⁹ Bod. MS Rawl. Lrs. 49, f. 32.

as profession'. He also noted that he had 'some goods to sell, & my bookes to dispose of, as also my schollars to provide for, & the stating their accounts'. Despite being ejected from his Magdalen fellowship, Gale was still tutoring there, although he believed that he would be able to sort out his private affairs in the space of three weeks. By 11 June 1662 Wharton's sons Thomas and Goodwin were with Gale in Woburn, Bedfordshire, preparing to go to Saumur. On 22 July Gale wrote to Wharton with news of an episcopal visitation 'about the end of this weeke'; among the many articles which the churchwardens had to investigate, was one asking 'What private schooles there are in their parishes? &c.' Gale was anxious to move from the area, writing that 'I should not care how soon your Honour would \put us/ into a capacity of not being obnoxious unto such guilts & punishments'. He was clearly worried that he would be mistaken for a private schoolmaster.⁵⁰

On 27 July Gale and his charges were still in England, but by mid August they were in Caen. During this period, the instruction of the Wharton children was not generally at a university level. Gale sought to dissuade Wharton from entering his sons in logic at Saumur, recommending that they continue in grammar learning, oratory and 'other parts of humanity'; they were also taught music, arithmetic, and geography. Gale's projected scheme was that they should pray and read their grammars before 7 o' clock; dance or fence 'according to the season' from 7 until 8; then have breakfast and study music or French until 9; study humanities from 9 until 11.30; mathematics or music from 1.30 until 2.30 (Wharton urged 'no musique' during this period); studies in the humanities from 2.30 until 5, and between 5 and 6 geography and arithmetic.⁵¹

Gale, then, had moved almost seamlessly from being a university tutor to being a private tutor, overseeing the education of children whose capacities were not as developed as their father wanted to believe. He returned to England by 1665, having proved incapable of managing the unruly Wharton children. However, there is no evidence prior to 1673 relating to his academy. From that date he tutored the future Independent minister and Monmouth rebel John Ashwood of Axminster in his house, probably with several other students. Thomas Reynolds, in his biography of Ashwood, wrote that Ashwood was 'received into the Family, and pursu'd his

⁵⁰ Bod. MS Rawl. Lrs. 49, fols. 36, 44, 52, 60, 64.

⁵¹ Bod. MS Rawl. Lrs. 49, fols. 63-4.

Academical Studies', under the tuition of 'that exact Philologist and accurate Philosopher, the learned Mr. *Gale*'; in Gale's house, he 'made so great an Improvement, that he was afterwards judg'd capable to be an Instructor to Youth in those Studies'. Reynolds writes that Ashwood later 'delighted in Philology' including Greek and Latin, and 'was acquainted with the most useful parts of Learning, as Chronology, History, Philosophy, Mathematicks', and 'Physick' (medicine), but bent his main strength to 'the Study of Divinity'.⁵² Gale's academy was still operating at the time of his death, when Samuel Wesley moved to London to attend it. Wesley writes that he was at a 'Country School, and almost fit for the University', when he was 'taken Notice of' by the dissenters, and 'without my Mothers Application or Charges, Sent by their Direction to *London*, in order to my being Entred at one of their private Academies, and so for their Ministry. Dr. *G.* who then lived somewhere near the Town, and had the Care of One of the most Considerable of those Seminaries, had promised me my tuition'; however, when Wesley arrived at London on 8 March 1679, he found that Gale had died. Wesley then continued 'for some time Longer at a Grammar School' before attending Edward Veal's academy in Stepney.⁵³ Gale's other students included the future tutor Thomas Rowe and his cousin Benoni Rowe, both of whom were Independents; Thomas Rowe later used Gale's published works in his own lectures. Two other possible students of Gale were also Independents: the tutor Timothy Jollie, who left Frankland's academy in 1677 for London, and his brother, Thomas Jollie; upon Gale's death in 1679 their father, Thomas Jollie the elder, noted that he in particular had been indebted to Gale 'upon the account of my two sons'.⁵⁴ Gale's predestinarian theology, if not his teaching, incurred the enmity of a number of dissenters: in a manuscript treatise of 1678 attacking Gale's views on predetermination, Richard Baxter provocatively invoked Gale's 'schooleboies': even they, he suggested, 'must hisse ye conclusion' of his arguments.⁵⁵ The manner of Gale's teaching, then, responded to political circumstances, the most likely sources of income, his academic interests, and the capacities of his students; however, there

⁵² Reynolds, *John Ashwood*, pp. 60-1.

⁵³ Wesley, *Letter*, pp. 4-5.

⁵⁴ Thomas Jollie, *The Note Book of the Rev. T. Jolly, A.D. 1671-1693*, ed. H. Fishwick (Manchester, 1895), p. 36.

⁵⁵ DWL MS 61.14, vol. 18 part 2, f. 104r.

is no evidence that he educated Congregational students for the ministry prior to the 1670s.

Before the 1672 indulgence, and for many years after, there was no dominant model to indicate the purpose and functions of the nonconformists' academies. Surviving accounts of the teaching of Thomas Cole and Henry Hickman indicate that their two early academies were very different in character. Writing in 1703 of Cole's academy, William Hamilton described it not as a ministerial academy, but as a 'Private Philosophy School'.⁵⁶ Hamilton was perhaps not well-informed about the nature of the academy, probably relying upon a description of it by James Bonnell, whose biography he was writing. However, Bonnell himself had written that he had been sent 'to a Private House, for fear of being Corrupted at the University'; Cole had read '*Aristotles Philosophy, and Instructed us in the Classics and Oratory*'.⁵⁷ There is no indication that Cole taught theological subjects; rather, the indication is that Bonnell's family hoped that he would be 'more out of the way of Temptation' in rural Oxfordshire and that they had resolved 'not to expose him to the Infectious Dangers of a great City, and numerous Acquaintance'.⁵⁸

The story of Adam Martindale's son, one of Hickman's students, provides an example of the factors determining the growth in demand for private ministerial academies by the late 1660s. In 1667 Mr Wickens, master of a free school in Manchester, told Martindale that his son was 'fully ripe for the University', and advised Martindale to send him there. Martindale resolved that his son 'should be no stranger to academicall learning', but felt that 'how this [could be] done needed consideration'. Martindale would not permit his son to 'engage in such oaths, subscriptions, or practices as I could not downe with myselfe'. Although he determined not to tie his son to his own opinions 'when he was once a man of competent yeares and abilities to choose', he desired that his son 'might be a good scholar without being involved in what he understood not'. Martindale's solution was to send his son to Cambridge University, where subscription was not required to attend lectures, and had him entered at Trinity College. However, Martindale junior came down almost immediately, and instead 'learned some logicke in the countrey'. His father then sent him to Oxford, where he was tabled in a private house;

⁵⁶ William Hamilton, *The Life and Character of James Bonnel Esq* (Dublin, 1703), p. 11.

⁵⁷ Hamilton, *Bonnel*, pp. 11-12.

⁵⁸ Hamilton, *Bonnel*, p. 11.

Martindale's friend Sir Peter Brooke persuaded a gentleman of Brazenose College to provide him with 'tuition in his chamber'. The younger Martindale was permitted to attend disputations in the university 'school', but could not attend disputations in the college hall. Here, he 'profited well', but became 'wearied out with his pragmaticall old schoole-fellowes' who continually asked him why he did not formally enter a university college.⁵⁹

Martindale then went to visit his son, 'taking Mr. Hickman's house in my way ... whom I found readie and willing to receive him'. The next step was to take his son to London, where Martindale found 'noble friends willing to assist me as to the charge' of attending Hickman's academy, including Peter Brooke, and a member of the Foley family. This family had strong links with many of the nonconformist clergy, and several of its members attended their academies from the 1670s onwards.⁶⁰ The younger Martindale stayed with Hickman for two years, and Martindale believed that he 'had a deare respect for him, and brought him clearly through the whole bodie of philosophie'.⁶¹ Not all of Hickman's students were complimentary, however: another student from Wickens's Manchester school who proceeded to Hickman's private academy was Thomas Cotton; according to a memorial of Cotton by Samuel Wright, Hickman was 'so disabled by age' that Cotton made 'a very short stay there; and was removed from thence to Mr. Frankland's in Westmoreland'.⁶² There may have been other reasons why Hickman stopped teaching after such a short time. Hickman's personal circumstances during this period were such that he had a 'good free time' with the law, but (as Martindale states), he was later involved in 'great sutes and troubles'.⁶³

The experiences of Martindale and Cotton allow several factors to be identified which explain the growing demand for private academies. Martindale's circumstances as a nonconformist forced him to explore a range of traditional options for the education of his son, all of which proved problematic. His inability to allow his son to subscribe to university and church oaths for reasons of conscience

⁵⁹ Adam Martindale, *The Life of Adam Martindale: Written by Himself*, ed. Richard Parkinson (Manchester, 1845), pp. 187-9.

⁶⁰ BL MSS Add. 70226-7; DWL MS 24.59.

⁶¹ Martindale, *Life*, pp. 187-9.

⁶² Samuel Wright, *A Sermon Occasion'd by the Death of the Late Reverend Mr. Thomas Cotton* (London, 1730), p. 27.

⁶³ Martindale, *Life*, p. 189.

affected his son's standing with his college acquaintances, as well as making it impossible for him to undertake the examinations required for the award of a degree. However, the value which Martindale placed on education is evident from the fact that he deemed private logic instruction insufficient. Attendance at Hickman's academy was too expensive for him to afford, and in the absence of an established system of grants and scholarships for nonconformists, Martindale junior was reliant upon private funding from a sympathetic wealthy family. As the case of Thomas Cotton reveals, by the early 1670s there was a growing sense that many of the most significant nonconformist intellectuals were becoming elderly: not only was there likely to be a shortage of ministers, but also of teachers. Nevertheless, the small number of private academies had already become an established feature of the life of nonconformists by the early 1670s; when the minister Oliver Heywood sent his sons John and Eliezer 'abroad for learning' in May 1673 it was not to the university, but to Hickman's academy, where he left them 'in convenient chambers', in hope rather than expectation that they would receive an adequate education.⁶⁴

The Growth of the Nonconformists' Academies, c. 1673-c. 1690

Although there was nothing linear about the growth of the nonconformists' academies, both their number and size tended to increase between the 1672 indulgence and the Exclusion Crisis of 1679-81. Writing in the 1690s of his experiences at Charles Morton's private academy in the early 1680s, Samuel Wesley listed the academies of Thomas Doolittle and Thomas Rowe (London), Samuel Cradock (near Newmarket), John Woodhouse (Sheriffhales), Richard Burthogge (in the west of England), Matthew Warren (Taunton), and an unnamed tutor near Salisbury; since the Revolution, he had become aware of the existence of other academies, including those of John Short (near Bethnal Green, by 1693) and Timothy Jollie (Attercliffe, by 1698).⁶⁵ Different sources reveal other academies operating around 1680, including those of Robert Ferguson (Islington), Richard Frankland (Attercliffe), John Shuttlewood (Northamptonshire), and maybe Samuel Jones (Brynlllywarch).⁶⁶ The total numbers of tutors and students at the

⁶⁴ Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 1, pp. 204, 297, 334; vol. 3, pp. 155, 158.

⁶⁵ Wesley, *Letter*, pp. 8-9, 14.

⁶⁶ John Dryden and Nahum Tate, *The Second Part of Absalom and Achitophel* (London, 1682); Ebenezer Latham, *Preparation for Death, and Fitness for Heaven* (London, 1745); Emlyn, *Works*,

nonconformists' academies by the time of the Exclusion Crisis will never be known, but both figures were considerably in excess of those for 1672. When the political situation turned acidic for nonconformists in the early 1680s, renewed pressure on them to quit their ministries translated into attempts to disrupt their teaching. However, despite intermittent closure and relocation as a result of prosecutions and attempted prosecutions, many of the academies operating in 1680 survived nearly a decade of pressure and continued into the 1690s.⁶⁷

The London academies of Charles Morton, Ralph Button, Theophilus Gale, Thomas Doolittle, and Edward Veal, were among the earliest to be formed; these academies convened in areas which had seen large numbers of nonconforming ministers in 1660-2. Morton and Gale ran their academies at Newington Green, whereas Button and Doolittle operated at Islington, and Edward Veal in Stepney.⁶⁸ The growth of these academies near London in the 1670s can be seen in part as a consequence of the development of the region as a centre for puritans and nonconformists in the early years of the Restoration. Morton and Gale, for instance, had arrived after sustaining losses in the Great Fire, and Veal had moved to Stepney from Ireland.⁶⁹ All of these men opened their academies several years after ejection, having acquired experience of other private teaching, and their motivation is likely to have been financial as well as ideological. Gale, as we have seen, was tutor to the Wharton family prior to 1666, and Button was a tutor to the two sons of a knight before he opened his academy in Islington. Veal was chaplain to William Waller, 1662-8, and then preached to a meeting in Wapping, where he opened his academy, probably in the 1670s; Doolittle opened a private grammar school on top of a busy ministry in the 1660s, before it developed into an academy teaching both grammar learning and academical subjects in the 1670s. Morton, according to Calamy, was

vol. 1, p. vi; D. R. L. Jones, 'Fame and Obscurity: Samuel Jones of Brynlllywarch', *Journal of Welsh Religious History*, 1 (1993), 41-65.

⁶⁷ These included the academies of Doolittle, Rowe, Woodhouse, Warren, Frankland, and Jones: DWL MS OD67-8.

⁶⁸ Calamy, *Account*, pp. 144-5, 60, 64-6, 52, 57; *Continuation*, vol. 1, pp. 177-211, 90, 97-8, 75-6, 81-5.

⁶⁹ Calamy, *Account*, pp. 64-6; *Continuation*, vol. 1, pp. 97-8. *Account*, p. 145, also claims that Morton had been teaching for twenty years prior to his departure for New England in 1685-6. However, although Wesley's *Letter*, pp. 7-8, demonstrates that Morton's academy operated for several years prior to 1680, there is no evidence to prove its existence in the late 1660s.

simply prevailed upon by friends to ‘undertake the instructing of Youth in Academical Learning’ after a period of heavy financial losses.⁷⁰

The story of the major academies outside London is in general one of an uncertain beginning in the 1670s, followed by growing recognition and consistency of aims in the 1680s. The number of academies outside London which may be confidently dated to the 1670s is small; aside from the academies of Hickman and Cole, absolute certainty is only possible for those of Samuel Cradock of Wickhambrook, Henry Langley of Tubney, Matthew Warren of Taunton, Richard Frankland of Natland and Attercliffe, John Woodhouse of Sherifffhales, and (by 1679) John Shuttlewood of Northamptonshire.⁷¹ Woodhouse and Warren were described by Calamy as ‘silenced’ rather than ejected ministers; this circumstance may have initially made it easier for them to undertake private teaching without incurring the notice of local officials. Woodhouse and Cradock both inherited sizeable estates, enabling them to provide suitable facilities for wealthy gentlemen, as well as the sons of nonconformist ministers. Langley’s capacity for teaching was proven by his tutorial work at Pembroke College and Christ Church College in Oxford from 1647, and Frankland’s academic credentials are evident from his association with an aborted project to open a new university college at Durham during the 1650s.⁷² Unfortunately, however, lack of evidence makes the early history of these academies impossible to trace. It is tempting to speculate that some of them opened as a consequence of the 1672 declaration, and began by providing a general undergraduate education, only later taking on the responsibility of training dissenting ministers. However, the absence of evidence makes such theories impossible to demonstrate.

Divergent readings of the very limited sources can lead to considerably different impressions of the political and social significance of the academies. For instance, the academy of John Woodhouse at Sherifffhales is usually dated from 1670 or earlier, but Woodhouse was not licensed as a grammar teacher until 1675, and

⁷⁰ Calamy, *Account*, p. 145.

⁷¹ Bod. MS Rawl, Lrs. 51, fols. 87, 92, 102, 114, 204, 347; Daniel Mayo, *A Funeral Sermon on the Death of the Late Pious and Reverend Mr. James Waters* (London, 1725); William Tong, *Some Memoirs of the Life and Death of the Reverend Mr. John Shower* (London, 1716), pp. 6-9; Latham, *Preparation for Death*; Emlyn, *Works*, vol. 1, p. vi.

⁷² David L. Wykes, ‘Woodhouse, John (c. 1627-1700)’, *ODNB*; *LJ*, vol. 8, p. 486; *LJ*, vol. 9, pp. 407, 489; *LJ*, vol. 10, p. 87; Calamy, *Account*, pp. 284-7; Joseph Thomas Fowler, *Durham University, Earlier Foundations and Present Colleges* (London, 1904), p. 17.

there is no positive evidence for students attending the academy to study university learning prior to 1680.⁷³ The old notion that Woodhouse was training ministers from the 1660s has given a misleading impression that Presbyterians were seeking to perpetuate their *de facto* separation from the Church of England from a very early date. However, it is equally possible (although similarly indemonstrable) that Woodhouse's academy was initially designed chiefly to serve the interests of puritan and nonconformist families with conscientious scruples about sending their children to the universities. It could have been several years before Woodhouse's education of the sons of nonconforming ministers developed into a systematic strategy to educate future dissenting ministers.

Not all tutors achieved a national reputation among the puritan gentry, but there was probably a sizeable lay element at the academies of John Woodhouse, Thomas Cole, Samuel Cradock, Charles Morton, and Richard Frankland. Woodhouse's students included the future MPs Thomas Foley and Henry Ashurst; an unreliable eighteenth-century report also mentions Nicholas Lechmere and Henry Bolingbroke.⁷⁴ Among Cole's students were the future government official James Bonnell and one of Lord Wharton's children.⁷⁵ Cradock's student Edmund Calamy described his society as 'a private academy' at Wickhambrook, in which Cradock had 'a number of young gentlemen under his tuition, in a house of his own', including Sir Francis Bickley, Charles Lord Fitzwalter, and Henry Ashurst.⁷⁶ Among Morton's students were Edward Harley, brother of the future first minister Robert Harley.⁷⁷ Frankland educated a number of local worthies, including Samuel Hallows of Dethick, Alexander and Thomas Rokeby, John Hardware, Sir Charles Dukinfield, Joseph Ashurst, and Henry Hardaker.⁷⁸ However, the majority of academy students prior to 1690 whose names are known entered the ministry. These include at least 16 of the 20 names recorded by Calamy at Thomas Doolittle's academy, 171 out of 308 students of Richard Frankland, and 11 out of 23 known students of Charles

⁷³ Wykes, 'Woodhouse', *ODNB*; Daniel Neal, *A Funeral Sermon Occasioned by the Much Lamented Death of the Late Reverend Mr. Matthew Clarke* (London, 1726), p. 34.

⁷⁴ BL MSS Add. 70226-7; DWL MS 24.59.

⁷⁵ Wesley, *Defence*, pp. 43-4; Bod. MSS Rawl. Lrs. 50-1.

⁷⁶ Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, pp. 132-5.

⁷⁷ BL MS Add. 70013, fols. 79-85.

⁷⁸ Figures based on Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, pp. 532-612.

Morton.⁷⁹ Many other students whose careers have not been identified probably entered or were intended for the ministry. Several students conformed and became ministers in the Church of England; these included Samuel Wesley, Samuel Cradock's student Timothy Goodwin (the future bishop of Cashel), and at least 20 of Frankland's students. A few others opted for careers in the law, business, or teaching.⁸⁰

A tendency to over-read the fragmentary surviving evidence relating to the academies in the 1670s has often led to an unwarranted celebration of tutors whose impact may have been marginal for much of the decade. Antiquarian histories of Samuel Jones's academy at Brynllwarch, often with a heady nationalist or denominational bias, have confidently asserted that it opened in the early 1670s, and was therefore the first dissenting academy in Wales.⁸¹ Certainly the future tutor James Owen went to Brynllwarch at this time for 'Instruction in Academical Learning,' having 'finish'd his Classick Studies'. Unfortunately, no other students of Jones are known before the 1680s, and it is impossible to prove whether he was running a ministerial academy for more than a couple of years before the 1688 Revolution.⁸² For instance, Jones's tutoring of the son of Sir Edward Mansel, who matriculated at Oxford aged 17, might equally indicate he was operating as a private tutor to gentry families rather than operating a ministerial academy in the 1680s.⁸³ Even after the Revolution, when several of Jones's ministerial students were funded by the London Common Fund, Presbyterian Fund, and Congregational Fund, he was also teaching the sons of Humphrey Edwin, later a mayor of London.⁸⁴ Calamy believed that Jones was 'a great Philosopher, and a considerable Master of the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues, and a pretty good Orientalist', but this statement tells us nothing except that Jones was adept at biblical languages and philosophy.⁸⁵ The case of Jones's teaching serves as a reminder of the importance of not overemphasising the

⁷⁹ Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, pp. 105-8; Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, pp. 532-612; figures for Morton based on funeral sermons of his students, Bod. MS Rawl. C406, fols. 105-9, and Daniel Defoe, *The Present State of the Parties in Great Britain* (London, 1712), p. 319.

⁸⁰ Wesley, *Letter*, pp. 10-13; Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, p. 134; Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, pp. 532-612.

⁸¹ H. P. Roberts, 'Nonconformist Academies in Wales', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1 (1930), 13-14.

⁸² Owen, *Life of Owen*, pp. 5-6.

⁸³ Jones, 'Samuel Jones'.

⁸⁴ DWL MSS OD67-8, OD401.

⁸⁵ Calamy, *Account*, pp. 721-9.

antiquity or scale of earlier academies, especially in instances when almost nothing can be reliably said about them.

Even the Taunton academy, celebrated in the eighteenth century as a ministerial seminary, may have been a comparatively small society for much of its early history. Joshua Bayes, writing of the education of Christopher Taylor, considered its tutor Matthew Warren ‘very successful’ in educating ‘many persons of note, both in the ministry and in other stations’.⁸⁶ By the time that Daniel Defoe visited Taunton, Warren had been styled ‘the Father of the Faithful’ by one of his students, and had educated over seventy ministers.⁸⁷ However, over a period of twenty years, this would amount to a fairly small annual intake of only perhaps four or five students. Warren’s academy was operating from the early 1670s, when John Shower was placed under his instruction, aged about 14, having been furnished with grammar learning in Exeter. By 1675 Shower was in London under the instruction of Charles Morton, but not before he had become ‘very much beloved by his Tutor, and esteemed by his Fellow-Students’, having made ‘a very good Progress in Rational Learning’, with ‘Industry, Gravity and Seriousness’. Clearly, then, Warren had several students at this date, but it is equally obvious that Shower did not pursue a full undergraduate course of philosophy with him. Warren’s academy acquired a reputation for heroically opposing a tyrannical state; William Tong, who wrote memoirs of Shower in the early eighteenth century, believed Warren and Frankland ‘were the first that run the Risque of much Trouble and Persecution’, that they might train a new generation of ministers ‘in those Principles and Ways which they themselves had suffered for’.⁸⁸ However, Warren’s academy is not mentioned in relation to any of the major political controversies of the 1670s and 1680s, and it is not clear that he played any part in the Monmouth Rebellion or the 1688 Revolution.

On the other hand, the early London tutors were often associated by their enemies with sedition, born of an attachment to the regime of the 1650s. The most severe aspersions were cast on Ralph Button, who was maliciously labelled Charles I’s executioner, and who was gaoled for teaching ‘Two Knights Sons ... having not

⁸⁶ Joshua Bayes, *A Funeral Sermon Occasioned by the Death of the Late Reverend Mr. Christopher Taylor* (London, 1723), pp. 32-3; John Sprint, *A Funeral Sermon for the Reverend Mr. Hartford* (London, 1707) and *A Funeral Sermon for the Reverend Mr. Warren* (London, 1707).

⁸⁷ Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Thro’ the Whole Island of Great Britain*, 3 vols. (London, 1724), vol. 2, pp. 21-2.

⁸⁸ Tong, *John Shower*, pp. 6-7.

taken the Oxford Oath'. His academy probably opened several years later, when he became a 'Tutor to Young Men in his own House' at Islington; here he reportedly had among his students a 'Mr. Williams', supposedly Cromwell's grandson. Button's reputation infected Charles Morton's academy in the early 1680s, when Morton acquired many of Button's students. An informer reported in 1682 that Morton's house having become too small, he now made use of a greater; his account points to Button's continuing capacity to taint other nonconformists by association and a growing sense, as yet poorly articulated, that the nonconformists' academies were a threat to both church and state.⁸⁹

The Baxterian Presbyterian Thomas Doolittle was particularly susceptible to prosecution. According to the biography appended to his posthumously published *A Complete Body of Practical Divinity* (1723), Doolittle opened his house for boarders at Moorfields at some point after his ejection in 1662, and 'had so many desirous to have their children with him for instruction' that he needed to hire a larger house in Bunhill Fields. When the Plague broke out, he moved to Woodford Bridge, by Epping Forest, leaving Thomas Vincent in his house, who was 'of great use to many in the general calamity'. He returned to his house after the Plague, and a meeting house was erected for him in Bunhill Fields after the Fire, and then at Monkwell Street, where he was frequently harassed by the authorities. Up until this time he was probably only taking students for grammar learning, but after he was licensed in 1672 and resumed his work as a preacher, he took 'a large house at *Islington*, set up an academy, and as a tutor fitted several young men for the ministry'. Nevertheless, he continued to teach grammar learning, as well as history and philosophy. None of Doolittle's students prior to 1679 have been identified, but it is clear that in the early 1680s Doolittle's academy suffered severe disruption from the London-based Hilton gang, and he moved from Islington to Battersea, Clapham, Clerkenwell, and then back to Islington.⁹⁰ The sense of dislocation engendered by frequent removal is

⁸⁹ Calamy, *Account*, p. 60; *Continuation*, vol. 1, p. 90; CSPD 1682, p. 551; Thomas Reynolds, *A Funeral Sermon for the Late Reverend and Pious Mr. Samuel Pomfret* (London, 1722).

⁹⁰ Doolittle, *Complete Body*, pp. ix-xx; Edmund Calamy, *A Funeral Sermon for the Late Reverend Mr. John Mottershed* (London, 1729), p. 35; Matthew Henry, *An Account of the Life and Death of Mr. Philip Henry* (London, 1698), pp. 125, 143-4, 274; James Waters, *The Christian's Life, a Hidden Life* (London, 1717), p. 30; Daniel Williams, *Christian Sincerity: Described in a Funeral Sermon ... Occasion'd by the Death of ... Mr. Thomas Doolittle* (London, 1707); Daniel Williams, *A Funeral Sermon upon Occasion of the Death of the Reverend Mr. Matthew Henry* (London, 1714), p. 30; James Wood, *The Returning our Spirits to Him that Gave Them* (London, 1733), p. 35.

evident from the memoirs of Edmund Calamy. In 1682, aged eleven, Calamy applied himself to grammar learning under Doolittle and his son, Samuel Doolittle. Calamy records that Doolittle was forced ‘to break up house at Islington, and remove to Battersea, in Surrey, whither I did not follow him’. Shortly afterwards, Calamy enrolled at the Merchant Taylors’ School. In 1685 Calamy was invited to travel with Charles Morton to New England, but his mother forbade it. After he had gone through a ‘course of philosophy’ at Samuel Cradock’s academy, Calamy returned to Doolittle, ‘that my studies might not be discontinued, (while the method I should farther pursue was under consideration)’.⁹¹ The minister John Howe then recommended that he continue his studies in Utrecht, and Calamy moved to the Netherlands.⁹² Despite his family’s efforts, Calamy’s education was a patchwork of experiences.

The educational effectiveness of the academies was also limited by their relatively small scale and resources. Calamy states that John Shuttlewood ‘bred up some few for the Ministry, who proved valuable and useful Men’ in Northamptonshire.⁹³ According to a memorandum in Shuttlewood’s pocket almanac, a mere six students were added to his academy in one year. Samuel Palmer, in the *Nonconformist’s Memorial*, lists among Shuttlewood’s students the ministers Julius Saunders, John and William Sheffield, Matthew Clark, Joshua Oldfield, Wilson (father of Samuel Wilson of London), and Thomas Emyln.⁹⁴ Emyln studied with Shuttlewood at Sulby near Welford in 1678; in 1679 he took a journey to Cambridge and was admitted to Emanuel College, but he returned again to Shuttlewood, with whom he remained until 1682. Sollom Emyln, Thomas Emyln’s son, describes the Sulby society as a ‘private obscure Academy’ which ‘did not well suit’ with his father’s taste and inclination, because ‘here he could see but very few books and them chiefly of one sort,’ so that ‘he was kept a stranger to what passed in the learned world’; these circumstances ‘did by no means gratify his inquisitive mind

⁹¹ Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, pp. 108-9, 139. Previous writers on Doolittle have assumed that Calamy’s mention of ‘St. John’s-court, near Clerkenwell’ implies that Doolittle’s academy had moved there. While this is probably correct, another interpretation of Calamy’s narrative would suggest that Calamy moved to Clerkenwell after this brief spell with Doolittle, and that it was Calamy, not Doolittle, who ‘had much conversation with the Dissenting ministers about the town’.

⁹² Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, pp. 108-9, 131-9.

⁹³ Calamy, *Continuation*, vol. 2, p. 587.

⁹⁴ Palmer, *Nonconformist’s Memorial*, vol. 2, pp. 123-8; William Harris, *The Love of Christ’s Appearance, the Character of a Sincere Christian* (London, 1730), pp. 33-44.

and eager thirst after knowledge.’⁹⁵ The reliability of these much-quoted comments is severely circumscribed by their existence in a document written by the son of a student some sixty years after Emlyn’s education, when academy libraries and educational methods were very different, and by Emlyn’s dismissive attitude in general towards an education in conflict with his later Unitarian beliefs; nevertheless the notion of a small-scale venture with few resources and a far from comprehensive course of study rings true in relation to the other academies of the period.

Dissenters themselves were of the opinion that the tutor’s personal views and capacities could dramatically affect the quality of education provided. In August 1682 Emlyn moved from Shuttlewood’s academy to Doolittle’s academy in Islington, later travelling with it to Clapham, then Battersea. According to Sollom Emlyn, while with Doolittle his father ‘had the opportunity of perusing variety of books, and of conversing with learned men of all sorts, by which and the strength of his own genius he made much greater improvements than by the instructions of his tutor’. Sollom Emlyn writes that Doolittle was ‘a very worthy and diligent divine, yet was not eminent for compass of knowledge or depth of thought’. Emlyn ‘soon soared above the low lessons of that Academy’, and his ‘enlarged mind’ could not ‘submit to be cramped by the narrow schemes of systematical divinity’.⁹⁶ Once again, Sollom Emlyn takes the opportunity to argue polemically for his father’s intellectual superiority over his associates; however, Doolittle’s existing systems of learning tend to confirm the view that his students received a narrow and somewhat old-fashioned education.⁹⁷

The costs associated with attending an academy were very considerable. Samuel Wesley had an exhibition worth £30 a year to attend Veal’s academy in Stepney, raised by subscriptions at a dissenting congregation; he later supplemented this sum with one of ten exhibitions of £10 per annum from an unknown source, administered by the leading Independent John Owen.⁹⁸ However, scholarships raised by subscription often failed during periods of increased prosecution, leaving students reliant upon exhibitions resulting from bequests by wealthy dissenters and

⁹⁵ Emlyn, *Works*, vol. 1, p. vi. See also Edmund Calamy, *A Funeral Sermon for the Late Reverend Mr. John Sheffield* (London, 1726), pp. 33–4.

⁹⁶ Emlyn, *Works*, vol. 1, p. vii.

⁹⁷ DWL MS 28.5; Bod. MS Lat. Th. E27.

⁹⁸ Wesley, *Letter*, p. 5.

nonconformist ministers.⁹⁹ In order to make the academies financially viable, it became frequent practice to charge greater sums to gentlemen, in order to subsidise the education of ministers' sons. Charles Morton 'valued it not' if he had little payment from some ministerial students, since he had 'several Gentlemen of Estates who paid well'.¹⁰⁰ This strategy left a hefty bill for the academies' wealthier patrons. On 5 May 1674 the tutor Samuel Cradock wrote to Edward Terry, an agent of Philip Lord Wharton and Thomas Foley, agreeing to take on one of Wharton's sons. At this time, Cradock was ordinarily charging lay students about £20 per annum, and was employing his nephew 'Jorden', who taught the young men at the academy Greek and Latin for £2 a year extra per student. However, Cradock had recently been offered £26 per annum by one young gentleman, '& might have had more of another, but fearing he was something wilde I durst not take him'. Cradock was prepared to take on Wharton's son for the same sum that Wharton had paid to Thomas Cole, but not less, since 'things are now much dearer then they were the last year'. A note attached to the letter indicates that Wharton probably agreed to pay Cradock £24 for his son's education and board.¹⁰¹

A high proportion of the cost of attending an academy came in board and lodging. Cradock insisted that the young Wharton should only attend if he would 'be content wth such accom[m]odations as we can furnish him wth'. The young Wharton would be expected to pay 3s 4d per quarter to the upholsterer for the hire of a bed; he needed to bring with him 'one pair of sheets 2 pillow Cases, a dozen od napkins, half a dozen towels & a silver spoon'.¹⁰² In 1680 Matthew Henry joined Thomas Doolittle's academy while it was at Islington, lodging in Doolittle's house with his friend and relative Robert Bosier. Prior to joining the academy, Bosier and Henry went to Islington and saw 'the place we are like to abide in, and do perceive our rooms are likely to be very straight and little'. Matthew's father Philip Henry later recalled that 'Their Bed, Bedstead, Bed-clothes, &c. cost in all £5.13.10 – for wch yey payd equally'.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ Wesley, *Letter*, pp. 8-9; TNA: PRO, PROB 11/360, sig. 70; Morrice, *Entring Book*, ed. Goldie, vol. 1, pp. 327-35.

¹⁰⁰ Wesley, *Letter*, p. 9.

¹⁰¹ Bod. MS Rawl. Lrs. 51, fols. 87, 92, 102, 114.

¹⁰² Bod. MS Rawl, Lrs. 51, f. 87.

¹⁰³ G. F. Nuttall, 'Philip Henry and London', *Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society*, 5.5 (1994), 264.

Tutors encouraged students to attend meetings and services presided over by the most respected preachers in the area. In 1690 it was recorded that Samuel Beresford, an ‘eminent Minister’, had ‘left off preaching except very rarely for mr Woodhouse’ at Sheriffhales.¹⁰⁴ Oliver Heywood delivered sermons to Richard Frankland’s students in the 1670s. Joshua Sagar, while a student of Frankland in the 1680s, took notes of sermons by a number of local preachers who came to Natland, including Timothy Jollie.¹⁰⁵ While under Edward Veal’s instruction in the late 1670s, Joseph Boyse attended the ministries of ‘many *able divines*’, both conformists and nonconformists, including John Tillotson, Benjamin Calamy, Edward Stillingfleet, Stephen Charnock, Richard Baxter, and John Howe.¹⁰⁶ Veal’s students also benefited from their proximity to the famous preacher Timothy Rogers, who ‘tho he was not formally a *Pupil* to Mr. *Veal*, yet liv’d in the House with him’.¹⁰⁷ While at Veal’s academy John Shower and Nathaniel Taylor met often ‘to assist one another in preparing for Publick Service, some Years before we began to preach’; they also received the advice of minister Stephen Charnock, whose meetings they attended.¹⁰⁸ In a manuscript letter addressed to his ministerial students, Charles Morton urged them to be ‘diligent in hearing the most pious and practical Preachers, and such as you see do most prevail with the Hearts of Men’.¹⁰⁹ In mid July 1680, Philip and Matthew Henry and Bosier visited London; his father went to Islington on the first Saturday of their visit, presumably to arrange terms with Doolittle. Shortly afterwards, the three of them travelled to Doolittle’s meetinghouse: ‘his church, I may call it; for I believe there is many a church that will not hold so many people.’ Henry described its ‘several galleries’ and pews, and ‘brave pulpit, a great height above the people’. The service began between nine and ten, and included the singing of a psalm, after which Doolittle prayed, then preached from Jer. 17.9. In the afternoon Philip Henry preached there on Lam. 3.22. In the evening, Bosier and Matthew Henry heard what Henry called ‘a piece of another’

¹⁰⁴ Gordon, *FAE*, p. 90.

¹⁰⁵ BL MS Add. 54185.

¹⁰⁶ Richard Choppin, *A Funeral Sermon Occasion’d by the Much Lamented Death of the Revd. Mr. Joseph Boyse* (Dublin, 1728), pp. 38-9.

¹⁰⁷ Palmer, *Vindication*, p. 98.

¹⁰⁸ John Shower, *A Funeral Sermon, Occasion’d by the Sudden Death of the Reverend Mr. Nathanael Taylor* (London, 1702), p. 27. Veal also wrote the preface to Rogers’s funeral sermon for Robert Linager, who may have been Veal’s pupil: Timothy Rogers, *Early Religion: or, The Way for a Young Man to Remember his Creator* (London, 1683).

¹⁰⁹ Calamy, *Continuation*, vol. 1, p. 205.

sermon by John Shower, in a venue ‘so crowded’ that there was ‘scarce ... any room’.¹¹⁰

The close working relationship between students often resulted in lifelong friendships. Samuel Chandler, later a minister at Bath, writes of there being ‘near thirty pupils’ at Doolittle’s academy in the early 1680s, a figure also used of Doolittle’s academy by Samuel Wesley. Chandler noted that his friend Matthew Henry was ‘universally beloved by all the house’ for ‘serious piety, and the most obliging behaviour’.¹¹¹ While at Doolittle’s academy Henry also formed a friendship with Samuel Bury, subsequently a dissenting minister at Bristol, who later wrote that ‘I was never better pleased when I was at Mr. Doolittle’s, than when in young Mr. Henry’s company’; Bury recalled that the young Henry was ‘diffusive of all Knowledge, so ready in the Scripture ... so full and clear in all his Performances’, and that he had an almost ‘unimaginable Quickness of Speech’.¹¹² Edmund Calamy joined Doolittle’s academy in 1682, having previously attended a school in Winchester Street near Pinner’s Hall run by Robert Tatnal, the silenced minister of St John Evangelist. His ‘only companion’ at Doolittle’s academy as a grammar student was Ebenezer Chandler, later a pastor at Bedford; the others were either ‘students of philosophy’ or ‘students of divinity’. Nevertheless, Calamy noted that it was ‘some advantage to both of us, to have, from day to day, free liberty of conversing with those who in age and knowledge were so much our superiors’. As well as Bury, Chandler and Emlyn, these more advanced students included Samuel Clarke, the son of the biblical critic, James Waters, later a tutor at Uxbridge, and John Mottershed, future minister at Ratcliffe.¹¹³ At Samuel Cradock’s academy Calamy became ‘pretty intimate’ with Timothy Goodwin, the future Archbishop of Cashel; Goodwin was a good Greek scholar, and the pair spent winter evenings together ‘reading over some or other Greek author’. They kept up their acquaintance

¹¹⁰ John Bickerton Williams, *Memoirs of the Life, Character, and Writings of the Rev. Matthew Henry* (London, 1828), pp. 9-13, 203.

¹¹¹ William Tong, *An Account of the Life and Death of Mr. Matthew Henry* (London, 1716), p. 27.

¹¹² Tong, *Life of Henry*, p. 27.

¹¹³ Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, pp. 77, 106-8.

after Goodwin came to London a few years later.¹¹⁴ When a minister died, it was often one of his student friends who delivered his funeral sermon.¹¹⁵

On the other hand, illness was a common feature of student life at the academies; accidental deaths are also recorded. Despite the high youth mortality rates in seventeenth-century England, illness and death were sometimes associated with gruelling programmes of reading, writing, and discussion, or the emotional pressures of preparing for life in the ministry. At least 11 of Frankland's students died within 4 years of joining his academy. These included Joseph Lister, who died of a prolonged fever, Samuel Dawson and James Halstead, who died of consumption, Ralph Butler and Thomas Davie, who drowned, the tutor's relative John Frankland, following 'a strain got with leaping', and John Root, following a bout of depression after his father started to wear a surplice.¹¹⁶ Shortly after joining Doolittle's academy, in a letter to his father Philip Henry, and another to his mother, Matthew Henry revealed that he was both very busy and very unwell. His father's stoical response of 16 August 1680 included his hope that Henry might 'have health to ply the work you came about' and 'serve the will of God in your generation'. In a letter of 28 August, Philip wrote to Henry's cousin Bosier of his delight that Bosier was being 'put upon the exercise of your gifts, which is the ready way to increase, and add to them'. Despite falling ill himself, Bosier had asked Philip to send him a concordance (presumably either biblical or linguistic) and some notes upon the Galatians. Among a substantial list of advices he gave to Bosier, Philip instructed him not to 'over-tire yourself with study, especially by candle'. Matthew was now so ill that his father had 'freely given him up' to the Lord, and had requested that he 'hasten home' if he is 'willing and able'. However, in the event it was Bosier who died shortly afterwards, whereas Henry survived.¹¹⁷

Frequently, the fondness or otherwise with which a tutor was remembered by his former students determined his subsequent reputation. Funeral sermons for ministers swiftly developed a conventional language for describing their education at

¹¹⁴ Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, p. 134.

¹¹⁵ Calamy, *John Mottershed*; Abraham Taylor, *Of the Happiness of Believers in their Death* (London, 1731).

¹¹⁶ Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, pp. 548, 587, Clegg, *John Ashe*, pp. 53-62; Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 2, p. 264, vol. 4, p. 263; Clegg, *Diary*, p. 22; *Nonconformist Register*, p. 71; Calamy, *Continuation*, vol. 2, p. 959.

¹¹⁷ Williams, *Matthew Henry*, pp. 9-13, 203.

an academy; tutors were ‘Ingenious’, ‘Learned’, and ‘successful’, whereas students worked with ‘great Diligence, Application and Sobriety’.¹¹⁸ Such statements reveal little about the nature of tutors or their students, particularly since in very many cases there is no evidence that the minister delivering the sermon knew the tutor concerned. Instead these sermons, and subsequent biographical notices derived from them in denominational magazines and encyclopedias, reveal the regard in which the early academies were being held by later generations, and the temptation to view nonconformist tutors in the same light as their mid-eighteenth-century successors. The concerted attempts by Samuel Palmer, Edmund Calamy, Matthew Henry, Thomas Reynolds, Abraham Taylor, James Wood, and Daniel Defoe to preserve Charles Morton’s reputation came in the light of the blackening of his academy by Samuel Wesley.¹¹⁹

Defoe’s comments on Morton’s academy have frequently been quoted by his biographers as if they provided a straightforward factual account of his teaching. However, Defoe’s ideas are never those of an impartial observer, and his thoughts concerning the dissenters’ academies need to be viewed as rhetorical contributions to specific debates, rather than attempts at faithful reminiscence. When pointing out in 1726 that all the lectures, systems of philosophy and divinity, declamations, and dissertations at Morton’s academy were in English, Defoe articulated a persistent narrative of his academy as the engine of progress, choosing not to dwell on the Latin texts which Wesley claims the students read.¹²⁰ By revealing that some of Morton’s students had been among the ‘*Western Martyrs*’ of Monmouth’s rebellion, Defoe sought to provoke sympathy for the loss of ‘extraordinary Men’ and to show that Morton’s students were appropriately anti-Catholic.¹²¹ On another occasion Defoe tells the story of a tutor’s maid, Betty, whose mop inspired her master to perfect his explanation of the sun’s rotation. It hardly matters whether the story pertains to Morton or not, since its significance is contextual and rhetorical: Defoe

¹¹⁸ Edmund Calamy, *A Funeral Sermon for the Late Reverend Mr. Joseph Bennet* (London, 1726), p. 37; Neal, *Matthew Clarke*, p. 34; Bayes, *Christopher Taylor*, p. 33.

¹¹⁹ Wesley, *Letter and Defence*; Palmer, *Defence and Vindication*; Calamy, *Continuation*, vol. 1, pp. 177-211; Matthew Henry, *A Sermon Preach’d at the Funeral of Mr. Samuel Lawrence* (London, 1712), p. 39; Thomas Reynolds, *A Sermon Preach’d on the Death of the Reverend Mr. William Hocker* (London, 1722), p. 39; Taylor, *Of the Happiness of Believers*, p. 46; James Wood, *Consciousness to his Sincerity, the Christian’s Rejoicing* (London, 1727), p. 32.

¹²⁰ Daniel Defoe, *Present State*, p. 319; Wesley, *Letter*, pp. 14-15.

¹²¹ Defoe, *Present State*, p. 319.

has composed a parable designed to persuade young traders to learn even from their inferiors in business.¹²² In Defoe's most famous description of a tutor, probably Morton, he describes a man of 'unquestion'd reputation for learning', who was a 'critic in the learned languages', but who set up an 'English Academy'. Here, he taught all the parts of academic learning, except medicine and surgery. Being conscious that young gentlemen could not write elegantly in their mother tongue, he held a class for eloquence, and taught his pupils to write in a 'masculine and manly stile', polite, free, and plain, without flourishes or bombast. The students composed letters by pretending to be ambassadors or government ministers, and several of them later had careers in Parliament.¹²³ The basic contours of Defoe's account certainly fit Morton's academy, but the details are more questionable. If ministerial students had composed no Latin exercises at the academy they would have been at a considerable disadvantage when preparing for their ordination; if Morton gave his pupils drafts of the works of Isaac Newton he acquired them from a source which will remain unknown; if he taught civil history, this was probably unique for an academy of the 1680s. Defoe's account is at best misleading, and may be factually inaccurate. It was part of a campaign to safeguard the reputation of Morton's academy, and to suggest a model for other academies to follow. Here, as elsewhere, Defoe's thinly-disguised attempts to persuade other dissenters to follow his educational prejudices fell on deaf ears.

The best-documented nonconformist academy during the period 1670 to 1690 is that of Richard Frankland, who had been the minister of Giggleswick in Yorkshire until his ejection in 1662. After that point, Frankland lived on his estate in Rathmell where, from 8 March 1670, he 'was persuaded to set up a private Academy in his own House'.¹²⁴ Over the next 28 years he taught over 300 pupils, most of whom became dissenting ministers. However, in the early years the success of Frankland's academy was not assured, and on 22 July 1672 he took advantage of the indulgence by acquiring a licence to preach as a Presbyterian in his house. After the withdrawal of the indulgence in 1673, he took a call to be the minister of a dissenting society in Natland, near Kendal in Westmorland, moving his academy there between 20 February and 26 May 1674. Another reason for his move may have been the

¹²² Daniel Defoe, *The Compleat English Gentleman* (London, 1890), pp. 218-20.

¹²³ Daniel Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesman* (London, 1725), pp. 52-3.

¹²⁴ Calamy, *Account*, pp. 286-7.

threat of legal proceedings: Oliver Heywood hinted in his diary on 30 January 1674 that there were ‘some things amisse’ at the academy, and considered ordering his sons home.¹²⁵ In Natland, Frankland continued to be monitored by the Westmorland authorities. On 29 July 1674, Heywood spent part of the day in prayer on behalf of his sons, Frankland being ‘much threatened and opposed in his work both of teaching and preaching’; on 5 August he recorded a letter from his son Eliezer, reporting that the Justices required Frankland to remain quiet until the Michaelmas quarter sessions, and then take a house five miles from Kendal.¹²⁶ When bad feeling towards his ministry and academy intensified in the early 1680s, his academy moved its location several times: to Calton (after 24 October 1682 but before 9 June 1683), then to Dawson Fold and Hartbarrow (between 18 July 1683 and 3 May 1684), and then to Attercliffe (between 6 February 1685 and 8 November 1686). Here he remained until the summer of 1689, when the academy returned to Rathmell, where it continued until Frankland’s death in 1698.¹²⁷

The earliest surviving lists of Frankland’s students were drawn up by the minister Oliver Heywood (by 1702) and the tutor Ebenezer Latham (1745).¹²⁸ Heywood’s list also records the names of a number of students who predeceased Heywood, who died in 1702. It was Latham’s list which was better known in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and versions of it appear with various degrees of annotation in a number of manuscripts, including those of Walter Wilson and Joseph Hunter.¹²⁹ Latham and Heywood record different dates for the presence of many students to the academy, meaning that their accounts need to be considered in parallel. The clustering of several lists of names around a particular date or group of dates is suggestive of the formation of classes, but it is unclear how students whose names are recorded between these ‘clusters’ were assimilated into existing classes. In general, the number of students at the academy was in inverse proportion to the intensity of disruption Frankland faced from the authorities. Across the 1670s the academy grew, particularly while at Natland (1674-82), when 78 students came

¹²⁵ Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 3, p. 161.

¹²⁶ Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 3, p. 161.

¹²⁷ Latham, *Preparation for Death*, pp. 35-46.

¹²⁸ Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 2; Latham, *Preparation for Death*, pp. 35-46. The most comprehensive account of Frankland’s students may be found in an eighty-page appendix to Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, pp. 532-611.

¹²⁹ DWL MS 24.59, BBCL MS G93a y.h.33, DWL MS Wilson A3, BL MS Add. 24442.

through its doors; however it did not contain more than 20 students at any one time until 1675 at the earliest, and probably not until after that date. During the mid 1680s the number of new students, and probably the total student population, tailed off dramatically; however, from 1687 the academy began to grow in size to an extraordinary degree. The precise number of students at any one time is impossible to measure, since students did not spend any fixed amount of time at the academy; however, the population may have been at a record level at the time the Toleration Act was passed, since Heywood and Latham give no fewer than 63 students a date of 1687, 1688, or 1689. A further 38 students are recorded with a date of 1690-2, another 44 across 1693-5, and 51 in 1696-8. These numbers tend to confirm the widely-held belief that Frankland's academy was the largest in the North of England.

However, in the first few years, the academy contained few students. Frankland's first pupil was George Liddell, the son of Sir Thomas Liddell of Ravensworth, a kinsman of Frankland's wife; others joining in 1670 included Thomas Whitaker, minister by 1676 of a Congregational church at Leeds, and Thomas Elston, Congregational minister at Woodchurch, Tinglaw, Topcliffe, and Chesterfield *c.* 1684-1712. In 1672 Liddell entered Christ's College, Cambridge under the tuition of Ralph Widdrington; Whitaker and Elston laured MA at Edinburgh University in 1674. Frankland's tuition was clearly sufficient to equip students for MA courses, but in the first few years none of his students began their ministry without supplementary education at a university. Notably, at least four of the six students Frankland acquired in 1670 had left his tuition before he took new students from February 1673. Over the next eight months he acquired eight new students, seven between 29 July and 12 September; one of these students had already attended Christ's College, Cambridge, and another entered the same college in 1674; two others laured MA at Edinburgh in 1676 and 1677.¹³⁰ These dates suggest that some members of Frankland's second class may have stayed under his tuition for only a few months, perhaps leaving the academy before it moved to Natland in 1674.

Frankland's first students at Natland were inherited from Henry Hickman's academy in Dusthorp following Hickman's decision to quit teaching in 1674; among this class were Oliver Heywood's sons John and Eliezer Heywood, and their friends

¹³⁰ Figures based on Nicholson and Axon's identifications.

Thomas Cotton and Christopher Richardson.¹³¹ Oliver Heywood's involvement with the academy changed its character considerably. On 17 December 1674 Eliezer wrote to Oliver Heywood that Frankland 'according to your desire ... puts us upon meeting together to pray, every sabbath day night after he hath done preaching, we meet in our chamber'. Eliezer's comments suggest that under Oliver Heywood's careful eye, Frankland's tuition was relatively traditional: Eliezer explained how 'Every Saturday we chuse 12 or 13 divinity questions out of Amesius and dispute them pro and con before him on Munday morning'. However, on 14 January 1675 Heywood was disturbed by a letter from Frankland, 'who seems to complain of discouragements in his work from friends as wel as opposition from enemys', and who had 'grown remisse and careles' of his students.¹³² Another student who was disappointed with Frankland's tuition was the young Timothy Jollie, later an important tutor, who had entered the academy in 1673, as part of the second class at Rathmell; according to his father Jollie suffered 'discouragement ... in his place' in February 1675.¹³³ Nevertheless, when Oliver Heywood preached at Natland on Sunday 18 April 1675 he found that he had 'a considerable auditory'. In the evening he went to his son's chamber door and heard the students 'at prayer together', and the following day he 'heard their logick disputes, saw their proficiency to my great satisfaction, as to humane learning'. However, despite Frankland and his wife's good opinion of the students' character, one of Heywood's sons soon ran into debt, to the sum of £8. Of this, £6 had been paid to fellow student Thomas Cotton, 'to pay for bookes he had bought'.¹³⁴ As a consequence, Heywood took another visit to Natland in April 1676, paying off his son's debts, and providing Frankland with £6 'quarterage' for his two sons, a figure which suggests that boarding at Frankland's academy may have been around £12 a year per student.¹³⁵ Other early calamities at the academy included the deaths of several students.¹³⁶ Despite these financial and personal setbacks, the academy started to grow in size from the mid 1670s, and Frankland began teaching several classes at once.

¹³¹ Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 1, p. 334; Wright, *Thomas Cotton*, p. 27.

¹³² Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 3, p. 164.

¹³³ Jollie, *Note Book*, pp. 19, 30.

¹³⁴ Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 3, p. 172.

¹³⁵ Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 3, p. 144. This figure compares favourably with the sums paid by lay students at other academies.

¹³⁶ Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 4, p. 263; vol. 2, p. 264; vol. 4, p. 164; vol. 1, p. 204; Joseph Lister, *An Historical Narrative of the Life of Joseph Lister* (Wakefield, c. 1800), p. 27.

Analysis of enrolment dates cannot provide a reliable account of the membership of each of Frankland's classes, but it can suggest how such organisation was possible during a period in which there were no fixed annual entry days. At Natland, Frankland took a second group of at least three students in April and May 1675 and a third set of at least five students in February and March of 1676. Two more students attended the academy from August of that year, but the next significant group of six joined between March and May of 1677. Between April and June 1678 a further eight students came under Frankland's tuition; no pattern is discernible for 1679, but in March and April 1680 eight students joined, with a further six starting in June or July 1680, three in April and four in June 1681, and four in April and three in October 1682. Other students, such as Henry Latham (5 October 1677) and Thomas Kinaston (12 September 1681) joined the academy separately from the other clusters, perhaps joining a pre-existing class. The figures suggest that during his time at Natland Frankland was able to take on one or two classes a year, each of which tended to contain around half a dozen students.

It is very difficult to judge how long students spent at Frankland's academy, but it is certain that very many students, probably the majority, did not undergo the full course of 4 years, and that it was entirely typical for students to spend only 1 or 2 years at his academy. Of the 28 Natland students for whom an estimate is possible, about 7 stayed at the academy for 1 year or less and about 8 stayed for around 2 years, with approximately 7 staying for 3 years, and perhaps 5 staying for 4 years. Applying these proportions to the 41 students who joined the academy between 1679 and 1682 would suggest that there were approximately 24 students at the academy by the end of 1682;¹³⁷ this may be an underestimate, but the absolute upper limit is 37, since 4 are recorded as having left before that date. At least 12 of the 78 Natland students went on to Edinburgh University to study for their MA, with a further 5 or more attending Cambridge University either before or after receiving instruction from Frankland, and probably 5 others going to the University of Leiden. At least 43 became ministers, with several also becoming teachers or physicians; 7 conformed to the Church of England, and at least 16 were dead by 1702.

The earliest recorded ordinations of Natland students took place in 1678, involving John Issot, and 1681, involving John and Eliezer Heywood and John

¹³⁷ $5/28 \times 8 + 12/28 \times 14 + 21/28 \times 10 + 9 = 1.43 + 6 + 7.5 + 9 = \text{approx. } 24.$

Billingsley (aged approximately 25, 24, and 24); these, however were exceptional circumstances. The rest of the recorded ordinations took place between 1687 and 1694; the candidates were aged between 23 and 33, and tended to be ordained after periods of between 6 and 14 years from their enrolment at the academy. In part this highlights the length of time which many students spent as ministerial candidates or assistants to ministers subsequent to their education at an academy, as well as the seriousness with which ordination was taken among Presbyterians and Independents; however it also reflects the fact that, as Heywood recognised, few ordinations took place prior to James II's indulgence to nonconformists of 1687.¹³⁸ The period prior to ordination fell as the political situation improved: Frankland's Natland students (1674-82) were ordained on average 9 years after entering his academy, and for his students at Calton, Dawson Fold, Hartbarrow, and Attercliffe (1683-9) it took an average of 8 years; for Frankland's Rathmell pupils (1689-98) the average was 6 years, and most were ordained between the ages of 22 and 26. Students entering the academy during the troubled 1680s could have held few expectations of a swift ordination, but by the late 1690s students might hope to be ordained some 2-4 years after completing their academy education.

The case of Frankland's academy reveals the extent to which the aims of nonconformist tutors developed as the academies grew from being an unanticipated to a widely recognised feature of the lives of nonconformists and dissenters. At first, Frankland's role was primarily to prepare the sons of ministers to take an MA at the University of Edinburgh, and the number of his students was small. His academy changed its manner of philosophical and religious instruction in response to the demands of its most influential patrons, most notably Oliver Heywood. Frankland was also forced to respond to changing political circumstances, moving his academy on several occasions, and suffering loss of students and income during periods when he was threatened with legal proceedings. During the 1680s, the number of ordinations in which he or his students participated was small, but the aftermath of the Toleration Act made the prospect of ordination less hazardous. By this time, the academy had become recognised as the most important seminary for dissenting ministers in the north of England.

¹³⁸Nottinghamshire Archives, MS M362, pp. 1-37.

The most potent problem for Frankland's academy was the threat of prosecution. Successful proceedings could lead to loss of income, as well as fines and imprisonment, as pupils left the academy and sought other tutors. No tutors were immune from this threat. The patterns of prosecution for nonconformist tutors were similar to those for nonconformist ministers, peaking in the 1660s and early 1680s. The following detailed survey of proceedings against nonconformist tutors reveals that Frankland's difficulties were by no means exceptional, and provides further evidence that the growth of the nonconformists' academies was by no means linear, or predictable.

The Prosecution of Nonconformist Tutors, 1662-90

Even before opening their academies, many tutors had experienced legal proceedings, fines, or imprisonment, on account of preaching or attending conventicles. The Andover churchwardens presented Isaac Chauncey for absence from church in 1664, and in 1669 he was reported in Archbishop Sheldon's survey as preaching at Andover, and having been 'presented to the Assizes as a seditious person'.¹³⁹ In the same survey John Troughton was recorded as preaching with others at Bicester and Cogges in Oxfordshire. By 31 December Peter Mews, the Bishop of Oxford, had suppressed Troughton's conventicle in Oxford. At the Oxford assizes on 4 March 1670 Troughton and others were indicted for unlawful assembly; he pleaded not guilty and was bailed, but ordered to attend the following assizes.¹⁴⁰ In May 1670 Theophilus Gale was fined 5 shillings for attending an illegal meeting in London.¹⁴¹ In the same year Edward Veal's meeting near Globe Alley in Wapping was reported in the State Papers, having been 'disturb'd and orders given to be lockt up'.¹⁴² At Easter 1683 Julius Saunders was presented for nonattendance at church, and at Trinity sessions, Saunders was committed to gaol, for a period of about three years.¹⁴³ Also in 1683 Timothy Jollie was arrested under the Five Mile Act and fined £20; he refused to take an oath of good behaviour and was imprisoned in York

¹³⁹ *CR*, p. 112.

¹⁴⁰ *CR*, p. 494.

¹⁴¹ *CR*, p. 216.

¹⁴² *SP* 29/227/3.

¹⁴³ *Warwick County Records: Quarter Sessions Records: Trinity, 1682, to Epiphany, 1690*, ed. H. C. Johnson (Warwick, 1953), pp. 31, 53; Warwickshire RO, MS CR802.

Castle for six months, where he was visited by Oliver Heywood.¹⁴⁴ Other ejected ministers were threatened or prosecuted on account of their private teaching. After his ejection in 1660, John Langston convened a private grammar school near Spitalfields, where he taught for two years before temporarily closing it, following opposition from local people in 1662. Nearby, Ralph Button of Brainford was prosecuted for teaching by a JP named Ross, the Scottish Library-Keeper at Westminster.¹⁴⁵

Proceedings were often begun against prominent tutors and ministers on the grounds of political sedition, as well as schism. Ralph Button was taunted by a disgruntled brother with the false charge of being the executioner of Charles I, despite the fact that ‘his Friends who know him, know no man of his Rank yt more detested it’, and that he ‘never did, or durst draw Sword in his Life’.¹⁴⁶ On 26 March 1666, while he was in the Netherlands, Henry Hickman’s name appeared on a list of English subjects required to return to England to face trial for their activities during the 1650s.¹⁴⁷ During the 1680s the Congregational tutor Thomas Rowe was reportedly lodging in a certain ‘Bowse’s House, who was executed in West’s &c. Plott, for high Treason’; here his pupils came daily ‘& he read to them as well as afterwards in other parts of the Town’.¹⁴⁸ In 1682 Samuel Jones of Brynllwarch was reported as receiving large sums of money collected by John Arnold of Llanvihangel Crucorney from ‘many ill-affected persons’, designed ‘to promote their designs against the present government’.¹⁴⁹ Charles Morton’s students were even accused on the information of their bookbinder of voting illegally in support of Dubois and Papillon during the London shrieval elections of 1681.¹⁵⁰ James Forbes was imprisoned twice at Gloucester in the early 1660s for preaching, but arrested again in London in October 1664 for the possession of supposedly subversive texts.¹⁵¹ In the early 1680s Forbes was again imprisoned for six months, but the Earl of Anglesey wrote to the Mayor of Gloucester to seek assurances that it would never happen again. According to a report by Robert Frampton, Bishop of Gloucester from 1681 to

¹⁴⁴ Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 4, p. 92.

¹⁴⁵ Calamy, *Account*, pp. 660-1; *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, part 3, pp. 36, 96.

¹⁴⁶ BL MS Add. 22548, f. 79.

¹⁴⁷ Stephen Wright, ‘Hickman, Henry (*bap.* 1629, *d.* 1692)’, *ODNB*.

¹⁴⁸ Bod. MS Rawl. C406, f. 106.

¹⁴⁹ Jones, ‘Samuel Jones’, 58-9.

¹⁵⁰ *CPSD* 1682, p. 551.

¹⁵¹ *CSPD* 1663-4, pp. 28, 446.

1691, Forbes was ‘once a Presbyterian, afterwards an Independent, but always a sectary, in Cromwell’s time and ever since’; Frampton described him as ‘the source of all the schisms that we have had in and about Gloucester’.¹⁵² Many of these rumours were probably exaggerated, the mischievous recollections of unscrupulous informers and polemicists. Nevertheless, they reinforced in the minds of the authorities a connection between the academies and political as well as religious rebellion.

Upon occasions, the attempted prosecution of ministers and tutors could threaten to upset the balance of power in corporations and county constituencies. The Independent minister Ames Short was first bound over to appear at Dorset assizes during the winter of 1663-4, but another order was made for his arrest on 17 January 1665, this time from Whitehall. On 24 April of that year Seth Ward, the Bishop of Exeter, wrote to Archbishop Sheldon about Short’s ‘excursions into severall parts’ of the diocese, and his gathered church at Lyme. On 9 July 1669 there was an Order of Council summoning Edward Edwards, the Mayor of Lyme, to appear for failing to suppress a conventicle in Short’s house. There followed a warrant for Short’s arrest on the same day, and a letter to the assize Judges on 12 July, requesting that they inquire into Short’s ‘Written Covenant and Combination’. On 8 December a message was read before Council that a messenger had been sent to arrest Short; having applied to Solomon Andrewes, a local justice, he was told that Short had been warned by Sir Thomas Clifford, and had gone to Exeter as a prelude to escaping to London. When Clifford denied this, Andrewes was brought before the Council on the last day of 1669, and a public meeting was ordered to be held at Lyme, for Clifford to make it clear that he had not warned Short of his imminent arrest.¹⁵³

Several tutors went to considerable lengths to avoid prosecution. On one occasion John Flavell was forced to flee while preaching in a wood near Exeter; those of his hearers who were not arrested travelled with him to another wood where he continued his sermon, returning to Exeter in the evening. On another occasion, he narrowly escaped arrest while preaching with a Mr Jenkins at Moorfields. However, ministers’ sense of loyalty to their congregations often meant that they risked arrest rather than moving to a new location. Late in 1684 Flavell returned to Dartmouth,

¹⁵² Bod. MS Tanner 36, f. 251.

¹⁵³ *CR*, p. 441; *CSPD* 1665, pp. 172, 329; BL MS Egerton 2982, f. 65.

where he had ministered during the 1650s; here he was arrested and confined to his house. In 1685 his effigy was burned in the streets of the town, but Flavell continued to preach in his house, despite offers of a ministry in London.¹⁵⁴

Nonconformist ministers and tutors often represented the misfortunes of their opponents as examples of divine justice. The great enemy of the tutor John Shuttlewood was a Mr. Gibbons, who ‘made it his Business to give him and others in those Parts, Disturbance’. After getting drunk at Lutterworth, late at night, Gibbons’s friends discouraged him from returning to Kimcote, two miles off, but he insisted on going; the following morning he was found dead in a shallow stream, a circumstance which Calamy attributed to a remarkable ‘Divine Vengeance’.¹⁵⁵ Although Shuttlewood’s academy may not have been long-lived, his ministry continued into 1687, when people were attending his meetings at Sulby, ‘often in the night, till 1. or 2. in the morning’.¹⁵⁶ According to Samuel Wesley, in the early 1680s the tutor Charles Morton was excommunicated, and a *capias* was issued against him; but while he was in custody, the officer in whose house he lay died accidentally, and Morton returned home, attributing his deliverance to a particular providence.¹⁵⁷

For some ministers and tutors, the threat of prosecution was often very real, although actual proceedings were most frequent during the periods 1662-72 and 1680-7. At Romford Sessions, on 26 April 1666, Thomas Doolittle was presented as having lately come from St. Giles, Cripplegate, to the house of a husbandman in Romford, intending to settle with his wife and six small children: they were immediately made the subject of a removal order.¹⁵⁸ After opening a meeting-house in Monkwell Street, Doolittle was summoned to meet the Lord Mayor, who unsuccessfully attempted to dissuade him from preaching. The following Saturday, soldiers were sent to arrest him, and broke down the meeting-house door, but he had already departed. He suffered considerable subsequent harassment, and at one point his chapel was confiscated for use by the Mayor.¹⁵⁹ A further attempt to surprise him

¹⁵⁴ John Flavell, *The Whole Works*, 2 vols. (London, 1701), vol. 1, pp. vii-xiii.

¹⁵⁵ Edward Pearce, *The Conformists Plea for the Nonconformists* (London, 1681); Calamy, *Account*, p. 424.

¹⁵⁶ BL MS Egerton 2570, fols. 128-9.

¹⁵⁷ Wesley, *Letter*, p. 10.

¹⁵⁸ J. William Black, ‘Doolittle, Thomas (1630/1633?-1707)’, *ODNB*.

¹⁵⁹ Doolittle, *Complete Body*, pp. ix-xx.

when preaching in May 1670 failed.¹⁶⁰ During the early 1680s Doolittle's ministry and academy suffered the scorn of the Hilton gang of informers, and his name frequently appeared in John Hilton's news sheet, the *Conventicle Courant*.¹⁶¹ At the Guildhall Sessions, 16 November 1682, Doolittle was convicted for preaching on 15 September at his meeting-house in Monkwell Street and fined £40; in April 1683, for the same offence repeated on three occasions, he was fined £100 as of Battersea in Surrey.¹⁶² Although no prosecutions of Doolittle for teaching have yet come to light, it is clear that his students had to follow him on his peregrinations from Islington (1680), to Battersea, Clapham, and Clerkenwell, and then back to Islington (by 1689).¹⁶³

The situation was little different in Wales. Samuel Jones of Brynllwarch was imprisoned for preaching during the episcopate of Francis Davies at Llandaff.¹⁶⁴ While at Swansea, James Owen's ministry attracted the unwanted attentions of the ecclesiastical courts. On the advice of Henry Maurice (*d.* 1682), he moved to North Wales, settling at Bodfel near Pwllheli in Caernarvonshire. After nine months, threats of harassment returned and so he moved to Bronclydwr in Merioneth, where he became the assistant to Hugh Owen (*d.* 1699). Various attempts were made to prosecute him, including attempts to outfox him in learning, interrupt his meetings, and trap him into seditious expressions. On one occasion, he was gaoled for three weeks, even though the prosecution were unable to understand his supposedly perilous Latin notes; his imprisonment was soon deemed illegal, following the intervention of John Evans, minister of Wrexham and his lawyer. After 1689, Owen moved his monthly lecture to Denbigh, and set up others at the house of John Griffiths of Llanfyllin in Montgomeryshire, and at Wrexham in Denbighshire. He struggled to get these meeting-places registered and the harassment continued.¹⁶⁵

Despite the considerable degree of disruption of their ministries, there is little evidence of the prosecution of tutors for running academies prior to the 1680s. According to William Tong, Matthew Warren and Richard Frankland were the first

¹⁶⁰ *CSPD* 1670, pp. 209, 240, 283.

¹⁶¹ Hilton, *Conventicle Courant* (1682-3); Mark Goldie, 'The Hilton Gang and the Purge of London in the 1680s', in Howard Nenner (ed.), *Politics and the Political Imagination in Later Stuart Britain* (Rochester, N.Y., 1998), 43-73.

¹⁶² Black, 'Doolittle', *ODNB*.

¹⁶³ Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, pp. 44, 105-8.

¹⁶⁴ Calamy, *Account*, p. 713.

¹⁶⁵ Owen, *Life of Owen*, pp. 14-37.

who ran the risk of ‘much Trouble and Persecution, that they might train up a rising Generation of Ministers in those Principles and Ways which themselves had suffered for’, but he provides no details of proceedings against them.¹⁶⁶ Samuel Wesley writes that Edward Veal’s academy temporarily closed around 1680, that and after a subsequent prosecution he ‘broke up his House & quitted that Employ’.¹⁶⁷ After returning home following the death of his custody officer, Morton was threatened with a second *capias*, but received the promise of favour and protection from ‘Lady R.’ and ‘My Lord of L.’ if he would stop teaching. Morton then quit his academy for some time, leaving the senior pupils to instruct the junior.¹⁶⁸ Eventually, he was ‘so infested with Processes from the Bishop’s Court, that he was forc’d to desist’ from teaching.¹⁶⁹

In several instances, the distinctions between unlicensed teaching, sedition, and schismatical preaching were porous. During the early 1680s, John Woodhouse was closely monitored by the government after claims that he was a ‘creature of Shaftesbury’.¹⁷⁰ In November 1683 he moved in the king’s bench for a prohibition upon his excommunication. In 1684 he was arrested upon another *capias* and sent to Shrewsbury gaol. He was gaoled again in June 1685 at Chester Castle, following Monmouth’s rebellion.¹⁷¹ When Ames Short was arrested under the Conventicle Act at John Starr’s house in Exeter on 2 October 1682 it was for his work as a tutor rather than a preacher.¹⁷² It was argued that he had been teaching philosophy and other university learning, even though he was himself unlearned and could not have passed his university examinations unless his fellow students had stood behind and prompted him. Four of his students from this period are known, three of them from prominent Exeter families: Gregory Brewen, Benjamin, the son of Paul Draper, and Bernard, the son of John Starr: according to an informer ‘this Starre he hath so well instructed in his seditious ways, that he hath severall tymes preached att Lyme in his conventicle there.’ Short also tutored Samuel, the son of John Atkins, a nonconformist preacher in Lyme; Samuel Atkins then preached in his father’s

¹⁶⁶ Tong, *John Shower*, pp. 6-7.

¹⁶⁷ Bod. MS Rawl. C406, f. 104.

¹⁶⁸ Wesley, *Letter*, p. 10.

¹⁶⁹ Calamy, *Account*, p. 145.

¹⁷⁰ *CSPD* 1683, pp. 427, 429.

¹⁷¹ *CR*, p. 544; Wykes, ‘Woodhouse’, *ODNB*.

¹⁷² Bod. MS Tanner 35, fols. 63, 118.

conventicle before moving to London.¹⁷³ Short's teaching led to his imprisonment for six months. He was again arrested in 1685 and sent to Dorchester goal for five months. When Monmouth landed at Lyme, he and others were removed from the gaol and sent to Portsmouth (presumably to Southsea Castle). According to Edward Calamy, Short was 'For a long Time summon'd to appear at every Assize, and at last outlaw'd'.¹⁷⁴

Nonconformist tutors were also accused of attempting to educate a new generation of Presbyterian MPs and government officials. The almost hysterical fear surrounding this possibility in the 1680s and the equally sensationalist rhetoric about it during the reign of Queen Anne has deceived several historians into believing that large numbers of future Whig politicians had been trained in the academies during the Restoration period. However, there is surprisingly little evidence to support this claim. Several puritan gentlemen attended Samuel Birch's private grammar school at Shifnal, and a small number also went to the academies of John Woodhouse, Samuel Cradock, and Charles Morton. Robert Harley, contrary to eighteenth-century reports, probably was not tutored by Woodhouse or Morton,¹⁷⁵ but instead attended a gentleman's academy near the Haymarket in London, run by the Huguenot Monsieur Foubert, at which his father expected him to learn 'riding, fencing, dancing, handling arms, and mathematics'.¹⁷⁶ On the other hand, Robert knew the academy tutor John Woodhouse and possibly Morton personally;¹⁷⁷ his brother Edward and at least one of his cousins were designed for Morton's academy, although conclusive evidence that they attended is lacking.¹⁷⁸ The stories that the MPs Nicholas Lechmere and Henry St John, Viscount Bolingbroke attended Woodhouse's academy rest on

¹⁷³ Bod. MS Tanner 129, f. 88.

¹⁷⁴ Calamy, *Account*, p. 266, *Continuation*, vol. 1, pp. 416-20; *CR*, pp. 440-1.

¹⁷⁵ This story, which appears in Toulmin's *Historical View*, is the result of a confusion of three quite separate matters. Firstly, Harley attended Shifnal school as a grammar school boy: it was run by the dissenter Samuel Birch: see BL Add. 70012 and *CR*, pp. 56-57. Secondly, Harley and Woodhouse probably corresponded with each other in the late 1680s, when Harley was beginning his political career: BL MS Add. 70227 (unfoliated): Foley junior to Robert Harley, Sheriffhales, 23 February 1688/9; thirdly, Harley was frequently reminded of his dissenting education in the row over the Schism Act: Abel Boyer, *The Life of Queen Anne* (London, 1714), p. 137.

¹⁷⁶ BL MS Add. 70013 f. 39. Robert was there in 1681 and 1682, but his fellow students had a very low opinion of the place: see especially the thoughts of Edmund Nicholas, a student there in 1682-3 in his letter to Robert of 9 January 1683: BL Add. 70013, f. 137. An academy run by another Foubert ('Henry'), was teaching the children of the Duke and Duchess of Malborough in the 1720s: BL Add. 61445, ff. 70, 107, 119, 121.

¹⁷⁷ BL MSS Add. 70012, f. 77; 70013 f. 85; 70227 (unfoliated): Foley junior to Robert Harley, Sheriffhales, 23 February 1688/9.

¹⁷⁸ BL MSS Add. 70012, f. 77; 70013, f. 85.

eighteenth-century report rather than concrete evidence. However, a small quantity of future politicians certainly did attend one or more of the nonconformist academies. Thomas Foley's father initially intended him to reside with the dissenting tutor Joshua Oldfield in Coventry, but soon decided to send him to Woodhouse.¹⁷⁹ At Sheriffhales, Foley read 'Logick, naturall Philosophy, and some of the Mathematicks', but was dissatisfied with Woodhouse's skills in the latter. He believed ethics and metaphysics in particular to be 'not ... very necessary' to his status as a gentleman, and read anatomy reluctantly, believing that he 'should have better advantages at London, with seeing the most renowned books, and conversing with Physicians.'¹⁸⁰ Foley was equally damning about Woodhouse's decision to allow his son 'to teach the little boys' grammar: this circumstance caused him to urge his father not to send his younger brothers to the academy.¹⁸¹ When Foley's friends Ashurst and Hunt left Sheriffhales for one of the London academies, Foley once again implored his father to let him go too, promising to study for '6 or 7 hours every day \at least/'.¹⁸² While under Woodhouse's instruction, Foley maintained a correspondence with Robert Harley about political events, taking notes of letters relating to parliamentary bills, expressing relief at the forthcoming adjournment of Parliament, and recommending one of his father's neighbours to the post of Deputy Lieutenant.¹⁸³ All the while, he was moaning about being 'tyed by the clogs in the country', when 'London is most pleasant'.¹⁸⁴ Eventually, his father allowed him to leave Sheriffhales for Utrecht, where he heard de Vries lecture on politics, and where he studied French, fencing, vaulting, and lectures in natural law and eloquence.¹⁸⁵ Foley was unimpressed with his experiences under Woodhouse, and in 1711 he decided to send his son to Cambridge rather than to a dissenting academy.¹⁸⁶ His political activities as a student were shaped more by his correspondence with Harley than by Woodhouse's teaching.

Nevertheless, the known and imagined associations between the academies and the puritan gentry only encouraged the merciless attacks against them in Tory

¹⁷⁹ BL MS Add. 70226 (unfoliated): Thomas Foley to Robert Harley, 17 December 1687.

¹⁸⁰ BL MS Add. 70227 (unfoliated): Thomas Foley to Robert Harley, 23 February 1688/9.

¹⁸¹ BL MS Add. 70226 (unfoliated): Thomas Foley to Robert Harley, 30 March 1689.

¹⁸² BL MS Add. 70226 (unfoliated): Thomas Foley to Robert Harley, 26 February 1689.

¹⁸³ BL MS Add. 70226 (unfoliated): Thomas Foley to Secretary Harley, 20 May 1689.

¹⁸⁴ BL MS Add. 70226 (unfoliated): Thomas Foley to Secretary Harley, 21 December 1689.

¹⁸⁵ BL MS Add. 70226 (unfoliated): Thomas Foley Robert Harley, 26 December 1689.

¹⁸⁶ BL MS Add. 70226 (unfoliated): Thomas Foley to unknown recipient, 20 August 1711.

newspapers and pamphlets during the early 1680s. John Hilton's *Conventicle Courant* gleefully described the harassment of nonconformist tutors; Roger L'Estrange's *Observer* berated the 'School-Divinity, and Politiques' of the 'universities' of Wapping and Billingsgate; and Thomas Baker lambasted the academies as places 'where those that design the painfull-preaching-Ministry are brought up as the Dutch Physicians'.¹⁸⁷ Tories were keen to point out the continued preaching and teaching of the Cromwellian university tutors, and associated the rise of the academies with that 'University canker-worm' John Owen, the two-faced Independent who would 'willingly creep into the Vice-Chancellors Scarlet, or the Deanery of *Christ-church*'.¹⁸⁸ The execution of Lord Russell provided one of many opportunities for pamphleteers to attack the 'Godly Educations' of the 'Diabolical Sect', whose students deserved 'to be beg'd for a Fool, or hang'd for a Villain.'¹⁸⁹ In 1684, the future non-juror George Hickes criticised those who educated their children in the hateful belief that the Church of England was the 'genuine daughter' of the Church of Rome; these people, he said, were the same opponents of the succession who wished for 'none ... to inherit the Crown, but a *Presbyterian*'.¹⁹⁰ A broadside ballad of 1687 by Samuel Colvil portrayed the tutor Robert Ferguson and his supporters as Euclid-quoting horse-bound mock-heroes in the mould of Don Quixote and Hudibras.¹⁹¹ In one of a series of fictional dialogues between the 'Pope' and a 'Phanatick', the Phanatick decries '*Obedience to [University] Statutes*', and praises the '*Private Gymnasia*' to which his friends send their sons: these are, he says, '*Seminaries, [in which] we Read to our Youth the Politicks and Divinity of Geneva*', alongside 'the *Natural Philosophy, and all the Liberal Arts and Sciences of Sedition, and Rebellion.*' The Pope responds by describing them as '*Spiritual Artillery-Grounds*' for the management of a '*Mouth-granado*' and the '*Pulpit-drum*' in order to '*Vndermine a Throne, and Sap the walls of a Cathedral*' with the

¹⁸⁷ *Conventicle Courant*, ed. John Hilton, various issues; *The Observer in Dialogue*, ed. Roger L'Estrange, Thursday 3 January 1684; Thomas Baker, *The Head of Nile* (London, 1681), p.12; Goodlove Freeman, *A Dialogue between Hodge and Heraclitus* (London, 1682), p. 3.

¹⁸⁸ *Sphinx Lvgdvno-Genevensis, sive, reformatore proteus* (London, 1683), p. 2.

¹⁸⁹ *A Word to the True Blew Protestants* (London, 1683), p. 4.

¹⁹⁰ George Hickes, *The Judgment of an Anonymous Writer* (London, 1684), p. 6.

¹⁹¹ Samuel Colvil, *Whiggs Supplication* (London, 1687), pp. 12, 16-20. Such comments reflected a more widespread tradition which viewed the typical Cromwellian puritan as a 'Spiritual Dragoon of the Army-Colledge', beating out a 'Polemical Drumming-Divinity': Charles Woolley, *The Decency and Order of Church and State as Now Established* (London, 1684), p. 31.

‘*Algebra of Algernon [Sidney]*’.¹⁹² In the wake of the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis, the mere association with a nonconformist tutor was sufficient to merit opprobrium. The informer William Smith was shocked to discover that a local vicar buried one of Ferguson’s boarders ‘without a Word of the *Liturgy*’ and that another priest had sent his only son to that ‘*Gamaliel*’ to be instructed.¹⁹³

There were other ways in which Tories sought to encourage and exploit the growing hostility towards the nonconformists’ academies. In response to the discontent voiced by Whigs against the licensing laws for schoolmasters, their opponents accused them of hypocrisy, citing a parliamentary declaration of 1655, which had demanded that no delinquents should keep in their houses as chaplains or schoolmasters ‘any sequestred or ejected Minister, Fellow of a colledg or Schoolmaster’, and that no minister ejected for delinquency or scandal should ‘keep any School, either publick or private’.¹⁹⁴ Others recalled how ‘very unlearned, and very unfit men’, including John Owen and the Triers, had been sent during the protectorate to ‘Visit, judge, and reform’ the universities, almost destroying them in the process.¹⁹⁵ Following William, Lord Russell’s execution in 1683 for alleged involvement in a plot to assassinate Charles II, a story circulated that Russell had been instructed in the 1650s at the school of the intruded minister at Tottenham High Cross, one Mr Lewis. The story told that Lewis had composed a barbaric play in which a dog named Charles Stuart was ‘arraigned, tryed, condemned and executed by cutting off his head’, with all the formalities of a High Court. Such practices, wrote John Shaw, had their successors in the serpentine and subtle teaching methods of Robert Ferguson, John Owen, Stephen Lobb, and Richard Baxter.¹⁹⁶ The implication of such anecdotes was obvious: nonconformist tutors deserved to be apprehended and prosecuted, not merely because they had broken the law, but also

¹⁹² *A Third Dialogue between the Pope and a Phanatick, concerning Affairs in England* (London, 1684), pp. 35-37.

¹⁹³ William Smith, *Contrivances of the Fanatical Conspirators* (London, 1685), p. 3.

¹⁹⁴ William Cave, *A Serious Exhortation, with Some Important Advices, Relating to the Late Cases about Conformity* (London, 1683), pp. 40-41; *Seasonable and Honest Advice to the Nobility, Clergy, Gentry, Souldiery* (London, 1688), p. 4.

¹⁹⁵ R. W., *Two Letters to a Friend, concerning the Distempers of the Present Times* (London, 1686), p. 24.

¹⁹⁶ John Shaw, *No Reformation of the Established Reformation* (London, 1685), p. 195; Thomas Long, *A Compendious History of all the Popish & Fanatical Plots and Conspiracies against the Established Government in Church & State* (London, 1684), p. 186; Matthew Hale, *The Judgment of the late Lord Chief Justice Sir Matthew Hale* (London, 1684), p. 11.

because they had been directly responsible for a repressive, republican, and utterly destructive system of education during the 1650s.

The Stamford Oath

The most sustained discussion about the legality of the nonconformists' academies centred on a statement delivered upon university graduation which had become known as the Stamford Oath. Since all nonconformist ministers and tutors had graduated at a university, it was argued, they were all in breach of the oath.

Comments on the Stamford Oath in previous works of history have typically been brief, vague, unenlightening, or inept.¹⁹⁷ Interpretations of the oath have been varied.

Norman Sykes, writing of Tillotson's advice to Sharp on how to deal with Richard Frankland's 'school', argues that it was 'a diplomatic, if perhaps somewhat unworthy, *ruse de guerre* to invoke the Stamford Oath of 1334, by which graduates bound themselves not to lecture *tamquam in universitate* outside Oxford and Cambridge, in order to avoid the appearance of violating the Toleration Act'.

Quoting Joshua Toulmin, Paula Backscheider states that the oath 'forbad graduates ... to teach "as in a University" without the approval of their alma mater'; she continues that it 'set up an exclusive claim to the privilege of giving a university education and to label those dissenters who set up academies "perjurors"'. Rick Kennedy describes it as 'nit-picking legal persecution ... cynical and superficial'.¹⁹⁸

To some extent, these differing views reflect the ambiguity of the original oath. Retained in the Laudian Statutes, which were continued in part through the 1640s and 1650s, and restored in the 1660s, the Oxford version of the oath appears as part of a lengthy description of the role of the Regent Masters' Congregations.¹⁹⁹ The role of the Regent Masters was to propose and grant the graces and supplications of persons advancing to degrees, to consider petitions for dispensations, to present and admit persons for degrees, and to incorporate members of other universities. They also examined all persons taking degrees in arts and law before their inception

¹⁹⁷ Parker, p. 66; McLachlan, pp. 76-7; Olive M. Griffiths, *Religion and Learning* (Cambridge, 1935), p. 29; Rupp, *Religion in England*, p. 172; Dorothy Brown, *Evangelicals and Education in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Madison, 1992), p. 27; Thomas P. Miller, *The Formation of College English: Rhetoric and Belles Lettres in the British Cultural Provinces* (Pittsburgh, 1997), p. 63.

¹⁹⁸ Norman Sykes, *From Sheldon to Secker* (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 93-4. Paula Backscheider, *Daniel Defoe: His Life* (Baltimore, 1989), p. 14; Kennedy, *Logic*, p. 72.

¹⁹⁹ *Oxford University Statutes*, ed. George Ward and James Heywood, 2 vols. (London, 1845-51), vol. 1, pp. 81-131.

in philosophy and philology. Persons intending to graduate were presented to the Vice-Chancellor and the senior and junior proctors on the eve of the presentation ceremony. On the presentation day, the persons presented were obliged to subscribe to the Articles of Faith and Religion and the three Articles of the 36th Canon. After the presentation, the junior proctor exacted a series of oaths from the most senior presentee. These included a promise to observe the statutes of the University, not to disturb the peace of the University, and not to inflame disputes at the University.²⁰⁰ Then followed a series of commitments relating to the resumption on lectures; collectively, these have become known as the Stamford Oath, although at Oxford only one of the three elements directly related to Stamford, and at Cambridge there was no immediate reference to Stamford in the oath. Afterwards followed an oath of admission to the university's public library, and a promise to observe all the oaths. The other presentees then took the same oaths.²⁰¹ Calamy, who was not himself university educated, interpreted the oath to require 'not teaching either at Stamford or any where else, but either in Oxford or Cambridge, as in an University'.²⁰²

It is unclear what proceedings could be taken upon violation of the Stamford Oath. Initially, jurisdiction for breaking university regulations lay with the university courts. At Oxford, the Vice-Chancellor or his deputy, with the assistance of two proctors, met once a week to consider such matters. Defendants were summoned by a bedell to appear at trial; if the person accused could not be found, a citation was posted on the door of his college chamber and house, and if he did not appear subsequently, he suffered the penalty of imprisonment or excommunication, distraint of goods (after three months), or expulsion (following three prior offences against the university). Unfortunately, these measures did not lend themselves to punishing academy tutors, who no longer resided at the university. Persons who would not

²⁰⁰ *Oxford University Statutes*, vol. 1, pp. 82-6, 106-10.

²⁰¹ At Oxford, the words were: '*Jurabis etiam quod in ista Facultate alibi in Anglia quam hic & Catabrigiae, Lectiones tuas solenniter, tanquam in Universitate non resumes, nec in aliqua Facultate sicut in Universitate solenniter incipies: nec consenties ut aliquis hic pro Magistro in illa Facultate habeatur. Item jurabis quod non leges aut Stamfordiae tanquam in Universitate, Studio, vel Collegio Generali*': *Oxford University Statutes*, vol. 1, pp. 111-12, and quoted in Calamy, *Continuation*, vol. 2, p. 732. Ward and Heywood translate the Oath in *Oxford University Statutes*, vol. 1, pp. 110-11. At Cambridge, the equivalent section of the oath was: '*Jurabis quod nusquam, praeterquam Oxoniae Lectiones tuas solenniter resumes, nec consenties ut aliquis alibi in Anglia incipiens hic pro Magistro vel Doctore in illa Facultate habeatur*': Calamy, *Continuation*, vol. 2, p. 732. 'For you will swear never except at Oxford to resume your solemn lectures, nor consent that another being an inceptor elsewhere in England may be a teacher or doctor in this faculty' (my translation).

²⁰² Calamy, *Continuation*, vol. 1, 'Preface', p. iv.

suffer justice by the university courts could be banished; more significantly, those in orders who withdrew to any place beyond the university had their names transmitted to the diocesan of the place where they dwelt, so that proceedings could be taken against them by the ecclesiastical courts. There was certainly some doubt as to whether ejected clergy who had not submitted to episcopal ordination (or, in their eyes, re-ordination) were ‘in orders’, or even whether students educated during the protectorate retained their degrees,²⁰³ but the principle of ecclesiastical censure was probably widely accepted. Furthermore, the universities themselves guarded against the practice of ‘tumultuary assemblies of men’, especially for the purpose of ‘keeping up or kindling sedition or faction in the University ... that is derogatory to or dissentient from the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England’; this was a charge to which several nonconformist tutors were vulnerable.²⁰⁴

There are remarkably few known instances in which the Stamford Oath was invoked to prosecute nonconformist tutors; it may have been viewed as a moral requirement as much as a legally binding one. When legal proceedings against Richard Frankland were renewed in 1692, the question of the Stamford Oath was raised, although it was probably not as central to the argument as Sykes implies. A formal petition from the clergy of Craven in 1692 to Archbishop Sharp of York requested the suppression of Frankland’s academy. Sharp contacted John Tillotson, the Archbishop of Canterbury for advice, and received a response from Tillotson, dated 14 June 1692, in which Tillotson advised Sharp not ‘in this matter [to] consider him at all a Dissenter’. Tillotson counselled Sharp to send for Frankland and tell him that Sharp would ‘never do any thing to infringe the Act of Toleration’, but that he did not believe Frankland’s case fell within it. Though he were ‘in all things conformable to the Church of England’, he was punishable for ‘setting up a school where a free-school is already established, and then, his instructing of young men in so public a manner in university learning, which is contrary to his [university] oath’.²⁰⁵ Frankland described his subsequent meetings with Sharp in a letter to Ralph Thoresby, dated 6 November 1694. At the first of these meetings, Sharp insisted that they met alone, and was ‘somewhat hot’; but Frankland told him to exercise his severity ‘at home’, i.e. among his own clergy, and to ‘endeavour

²⁰³ Calamy, *Continuation*, vol. 1, p. 194.

²⁰⁴ *Oxford University Statutes*, vol. 1, pp. 217-29.

²⁰⁵ Thomas Birch, *The Life of the most Reverend Dr. John Tillotson* (London, 1752), p. 290.

union and agreement among good men'. Sharp apparently agreed and became more moderate in his discourse. Their second meeting took place at Sharp's house at Bishopthorpe. Sharp refused to allow Frankland to discuss points of controversy between them; instead, he insisted Frankland 'must view his library, take a pipe of tobacco with him, and drink some of his wine bottles'; in the event, they settled for sherry. As Frankland was leaving, Sharp asked his advice about admittance to sacraments.²⁰⁶ It is clear, then, that the most important frames of reference for Tillotson, Sharp, the Westmorland clergy, and Frankland, were the terms of the Toleration Act, and the clauses relating to school teaching in the Act of Uniformity; the university oath was merely one of several subjects of debate.

Nonconformist tutors were happy to exploit the weaknesses of the oath, both as to its meaning and enforcement. Two of them, Samuel Cradock and Charles Morton, drew up papers defending their right to teach university learning, and arguing that the Oath did not apply to their work. These manuscripts circulated among dissenters, and were often read by students; they were both printed by Calamy, in his 1727 *Continuation*.²⁰⁷ Calamy, who was a student of Cradock, writes somewhat vaguely that Cradock's paper was composed during the reign of Charles II, 'in Vindication of himself and others who kept private Academies', but makes no suggestion that Cradock was threatened with legal proceedings on this basis. Cradock argues that a right understanding of the oath must be premised on its occasion: the pretence of Stamford to be a university conferring degrees and appointing solemn readings. The phrase *solennes Lectiones* in the Oxford and Cambridge Statutes refers to the 'solemn Exercises to be perform'd by those who commence'. The Stamford Oath, then, enjoins that no-one shall '*resumere Lectiones*, that is solemnly read again for a Degree, or engage themselves so to do, in any Part of this Nation.'²⁰⁸ Cradock provides six reasons why the oath does not forbid 'the Instruction of Youth in a private Family, in Logick and Philosophy'. Firstly, *resumere Lectiones* intimates performing such exercises as all who have commenced have done before; but not all who commence have been tutors, reading lectures to scholars privately in their chambers in logic and philosophy, so the phrase does not

²⁰⁶ Ralph Thoresby, *Letters of Eminent Men*, 2 vols. (London, 1832), vol. 1, pp. 171, 175; Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, pp. 166-70.

²⁰⁷ Calamy, *Continuation*, vol. 2, pp. 731-5, 177-211.

²⁰⁸ Calamy, *Continuation*, vol. 2, pp. 732-3.

forbid such lectures, but rather the *solemnnes Lectiones* in order to a degree. Secondly, the word *solemniter* signifies that ‘solemn’ university lectures are forbidden, not instructions in a private family. Thirdly, the Oxford oath does not import the reading of a tutor or professor. Fourthly, the subsequent words of the oath, ‘ut aliquis alibi in Anglia incipiens ...’ means simply that if any shall take a degree in any other place, no consent will be given that he will be accounted a graduate at Cambridge or Oxford. Fifthly, if the oath forbade all private instructions and readings, it would be unlawful for a tutor to read lectures to his pupils in the country during a plague, or for parents to communicate their university learning to their children: it would rather be the duty of every person ‘to make it his Study to forget’ his university learning. Sixthly, men of approved skill and integrity never took the oath to forbid instruction in logic or philosophy in the country; Cradock knew a man who had a ‘whole System of Logick’ read over to him by a bishop, and two ‘now living, who enjoy Dignities’, who had trained up several gentlemen in university learning: those who attacked nonconformist tutors for perjury needed to be careful that ‘they do not wound their Friends’ by attacking their perceived enemies.²⁰⁹

Morton’s manuscript account of the oath was also drawn up during Charles II’s reign; Calamy writes that it was transcribed by most of his pupils.²¹⁰ Again, there is no clear evidence as to its intended function. Early commentators agree that ‘the Iniquity of the Times forc’d Mr. *Moreton* to break up his Academy’,²¹¹ that he was ‘so infested with Processes from the Bishop’s Court, that he was forc’d to desist’,²¹² and that he was ‘imprison’d for non-conformity, and so was forc’d to break up his academy’.²¹³ Calamy states that Morton drew up his ‘Vindication of himself, and his Brethren’ after having been ‘reflected on for teaching University-Learning, and represented as thereby breaking his Oath’.²¹⁴ Wesley writes that Morton was excommunicated, and had a *capias* issued against him, but that while in custody the officer in whose house he lay accidentally died, and Morton returned home, attributing the event to a particular providence. A second *capias* was issued,

²⁰⁹ Calamy, *Continuation*, vol. 2, pp. 723-5.

²¹⁰ Calamy, *Continuation*, vol. 1, p. 197.

²¹¹ Henry, *Samuel Lawrence*, p. 39; James Wood, *The Believer’s Committing of his Soul to Christ Considered* (London, 1729), p. 30; Wood, *Consciousness to his Sincerity*, p. 32.

²¹² Calamy, *Account*, p. 145, paraphrased by Reynolds, *William Hocker*, p. 41.

²¹³ Taylor, *Of the Happiness of Believers*, p. 46.

²¹⁴ Calamy, *Continuation*, vol. 1, p. 177.

but Morton was promised reasonable treatment by Henry Compton, the Bishop of London, ‘if he’d leave that place, and Employment, which he cou’d not suffer him in, so much to the Detriment and prejudice of the Established Church, and affront to the Laws and Universities’. Morton then absented himself from the academy for a time, leaving the senior pupils to instruct the junior. Wesley also insinuates that when Compton was suspended by the Court of High Commission in 1686 several of Morton’s friends and pupils called it ‘a just Judgment of God upon him, for having been formerly so Cruel and Unkind to that Good Man.’²¹⁵ In Wesley’s account, then, Morton’s affront to the universities is distinguished from his affront to the laws of the land, and there is no indication that the Stamford Oath was the primary instrument with which to order Morton’s arrest: it is far more likely to have been his contravention of the Act of Uniformity for teaching without licence.

In his ‘Vindication’, Morton argued that there were two interpretations of the Stamford Oath: one advanced by ‘some Prelatical Men to serve a Purpose’, and another by ‘the Generality’. The angry prelates taught that no man who had taken an MA might lawfully instruct anywhere but at the universities in any art or science publicly professed there, even in private. This doctrine served the double purpose of drawing people to conform with their ‘Questionable Modes’, while blasting ‘such *Non Cons* as have or do instruct privately’ in academical learning, making them look like ‘Monsters of Men, who boggle at Indifferences ... but scruple not Perjury’.²¹⁶ Morton defended his own view using a historical method, drawing on Thomas Fuller’s *Church-History of Britain* (1655) and histories of Oxford by Twyne and Wood.²¹⁷ Morton noted Jeremy Taylor’s argument that the oath was antiquated, void, and null, even regarding public reading.²¹⁸ It was possible, he claimed, that the word *audies* referred not to being instructed, but to hearing degree exercises. Furthermore, the phrase *tanquam in universitate* referred to the formalities of university exercises, not to their content. Morton reminded his readers that episcopalians themselves privately read university learning to sons of the nobility and gentry during the 1640s and 1650s, and that reading outside the university was done publicly at Gresham

²¹⁵ Wesley, *Letter*, pp. 10, 14.

²¹⁶ Calamy, *Continuation*, vol. 1, pp. 178-9.

²¹⁷ Calamy, *Continuation*, vol. 1, pp. 179-82.

²¹⁸ Jeremy Taylor, *Ductor dubitantium* (London, 1671), Book 3, Chapter 6, pp. 731-3.

College and Sion College, and was allowed and endowed at other places.²¹⁹ Private reading in university subjects such as logic, mathematics, geometry, and music, were common features of private schools, and other university subjects were taught to the nobility by private instructors. If the oath were taken to forbid such public and private instruction, it would oblige men to sin by hiding their talents, not providing for their own houses, and educating their children in a manner contrary to their own consciences. Furthermore, private reading of lectures did not lead to faction and schism, since academical exercises were more likely to ‘bolt out the Truth from the Bran of Prejudices’.²²⁰

Samuel Wesley interpreted the oath to be an engagement ‘not to take Pupils, read Lectures, &c.’ He claimed to have a copy of Morton’s ‘Defence’, which he said had been ‘handed about amongst us in Explication of this Oath’.²²¹ Those who sought a more liberal interpretation of the oath, he suggested, tended to accuse the universities of perjury, and – by extension – the greatest part of the Lords, Commons, and gentry. Furthermore they were hypocritical: when John Owen had been vice-chancellor, ‘the same *Oaths* for *substance* were required’. The oath was best interpreted, in his view, by the power that imposed it and knew its extent, and he referred to the punishments described in the Oxford statutes.²²² If dissenters were permitted by natural right and common justice to educate their children, the same case would apply to papists; the academies could be restrained merely on the grounds that they *appeared* to be dangerous to Church and State. Wesley quoted approvingly a motion agreed by the Convocation of the Church of Ireland on 2 June 1705, that ‘*Schools* and *Seminaries* for the Education of Youth in Principles contrary to those of the *Establish’d Church*’ served only ‘to widen the unhappy *Schisms* and *Divisions* of the Nation.’ He argued that it was both prudent and charitable to expect ecclesiastical persons to subscribe to conformity with the laws of the land, especially in the aftermath of the separatism of the 1640s and 1650s.²²³ The oaths imposed during the 1640s and 1650s, including the Covenant, were imposed by men without civil power, using the military rather than law and reason to oblige their acceptance

²¹⁹ Calamy, *Continuation*, vol. 1, pp. 182-7.

²²⁰ Calamy, *Continuation*, vol. 1, pp. 187-97.

²²¹ Wesley, *Letter*, pp. 9-10; Bod. MS Rawl. C406, p. 106.

²²² Wesley, *Defence*, pp. 15-16.

²²³ Wesley, *Reply*, pp. 7-10.

by the universities. The Toleration Act may have removed some penalties for non-observance of the Act of Uniformity, but this situation rather confirmed the rest of them: any plea that the dissenters' seminaries were only private schools actually made them subject to the earlier Act.²²⁴ Wesley highlighted an inconsistency between some dissenters' objection to the universities (their tutors disagreed in matters of religion) and a common defence of academies (their tutors cannot predict the future religion of their students). The preservation of discipline and distinction by university statutes, requiring oaths, was no small matter.²²⁵

Wesley's antagonist Samuel Palmer responded by arguing that dissenters had always cultivated a 'just Esteem' of the English universities, as 'Honourable Societies', but could not be educated in them because the oaths required were 'impossible to be kept'. He pointed out that John Owen himself had hoped that there would come a time when a conscientious man might be received there without committing the sin of perjury.²²⁶ For parents or guardians to be compelled to oblige their children by oath to do that which they considered unlawful, was to oblige dissenters to become learned against their conscience, or remain ignorant: to embrace the dictates of a party, and measure their judgment by other men's consciences.²²⁷ The Act of Uniformity, concerning schools, was confined in Palmer's view to ecclesiastical persons, having no influence upon dissenters, who were legally members of the laity. As a consequence of the Toleration Act, people were no longer liable for funding the education of youth, especially when the tutors could not know whether the pupil would in future be for or against the established church. Furthermore, trained ministers were an essential element of dissent,²²⁸ and dissenters' schools of learning served to preserve and support the established church, by securing her from the violence and fury of ignorant sectaries. It was the fault of the Church of England that dissenters were excluded from the public schools and universities, by imposing oaths upon youths, and not explaining which university statutes were in force and which were not. It was easy to open the university door wide enough for every honest man to enter without leaving his conscience behind

²²⁴ Wesley, *Reply*, pp. 14-15.

²²⁵ Wesley, *Reply*, pp. 15-21.

²²⁶ Palmer, *Defence*, pp. 9-10.

²²⁷ Palmer, *Vindication*, p. 5.

²²⁸ Palmer, *Vindication*, pp. 8-9.

him.²²⁹ Dissenters accepted the just prerogatives of the Crown, but university grants did not prevent people from reading philosophy at home. The arts and sciences dissenters pursued in their academies were liberal, and would ‘not be chained to a Post’: though a university might teach men to be slaves, the sciences cherished and supported liberty. A private school was not a nuisance in the law, and licensed private schoolmasters could read grammar, rhetoric, and all the parts of philosophy without affronting the Crown: the same could be done by a tutor in a gentleman’s house.²³⁰

The debate about the Stamford Oath continued long after the death of the last nonconformist tutors. In writing the history of Stamford in 1727, Francis Peck noted that whereas Anthony Wood had considered the oath defunct, ‘some members of that university did formerly (if none do now) seem to dissent from [Wood’s] judgment.’²³¹ Calamy, responding to Peck, urged him to read over the two short discourses by Morton and Cradock to understand the real plea of the nonconformists, and ‘sensibly perceive, that in condemning them, he will condemn some of the most eminent Casuists and able Divines in his own Church.’²³² The continuation of the controversy highlights that it was as much a war of words as it was a successful Tory strategy to close academies. As such, it was typical of the debates surrounding the academies from the 1680s onwards. The lack of legal clarity about the status of the academies made it very difficult for their opponents to prosecute nonconformist tutors. It was easier to prosecute nonconformists for their ministries than to attack their teaching, and the rhetorical campaign to undermine them was only successful during periods such as the early 1680s when other political factors caused opinion to shift away from the toleration of nonconformists and dissenters. In the absence of other evidence, these debates have proved pivotal in defining attitudes towards the academies. Yet they need to be viewed as weapons of different political and religious groups, not as intellectual debates which may be mined for reliable information.

²²⁹ Palmer, *Vindication*, pp. 9-13.

²³⁰ Palmer, *Vindication*, pp. 14-16.

²³¹ Francis Peck, *Academia tertia Anglicana; or, the Antiquarian Annals of Stanford* (London, 1727), Part 11, pp. 201. ‘Stanford’ was a very common alternative spelling.

²³² Calamy, *Continuation*, vol. 1, ‘Preface’, pp. iv-v.

Conclusion: the Decline of the Nonconformists' Academies, 1679-1702

The term 'nonconformist academy', used strictly, refers to the private academies opened by ministers and tutors who departed from their livings between 1660 and 1662. In 1679, on the eve of the Exclusion Crisis, the age of nonconformist academy tutors varied from 37 (Matthew Warren) to *c.* 68 (Henry Langley and Ralph Button), although the majority were in their late forties and fifties. By the time the Toleration Act was passed in 1689 many of the first generation of academy tutors had died; these men included Henry Langley (d. 1679), Theophilus Gale (d. 1679), Ralph Button (d. 1680), John Troughton (d. 1681), John Billingsley (d. 1683), and John Shuttlewood (d. 1688). Other prominent educators among the nonconformists died during the reign of William III, including John Flavell (1691), Thomas Brand (1691), Henry Hickman (1692), Philip Henry (1696), Ames Short (1697), Thomas Cole (1697), Samuel Jones (1697), Charles Morton (1698), Richard Frankland (1698), and John Woodhouse (d. 1700). Although several nonconformist tutors survived into Queen Anne's reign,²³³ the only members of the 1662 generation known to have taught at academies during this period were John Langston (d. 1704), Matthew Warren (d. 1706), John Ker (d. 1708), Isaac Chauncey (d. 1712), and William Lorimer (d. 1722). The period between the Popish Plot (1679) and the death of William III (1702) marked the slow decline of the nonconformists' academies.

Parallel to this movement is the equally slow and uncertain rise of the dissenters' private academies. The word 'dissenter' became used with increasing frequency during the last years of the seventeenth century to refer to Protestants who attended chapels and conventicles for worship outside the Church of England.²³⁴ The term included the ageing nonconformists but, more importantly, a new generation of ministers and hearers who were too young to recall the revolutionary years of the 1640s and 1650s, had never considered themselves members of the Church of England, had not attended one of the English universities, and had grown up under the long shadow of the reigns of Charles II and James II. The earliest example of a non-university-educated dissenter running an academy is Thomas Rowe, who began taking students shortly after the death of Theophilus Gale in 1679. All of Rowe's

²³³ These included Samuel Cradock (d. 1706), Thomas Doolittle (d. 1707), and Edward Veal (d. 1708).

²³⁴ N. H. Keeble, *The Literary Culture of Nonconformity in Later Seventeenth-Century England* (Leicester, 1987), pp. 41-5.

known students were candidates for the ministry, mostly Congregational, and his sympathies as a young Independent probably lay with the moves to tolerate dissenting worship, rather than with those to encourage a policy of comprehension. Instead of acquiring university texts and methods, Rowe adapted the writings of Gale, who had been his tutor, adopted elements of the Port Royal logic, taught much of his course in English, and gained a reputation, not entirely deserved, for encouraging ‘free inquiry’ among his students.²³⁵ His, then, was a different type of academy, one run without immediate indebtedness to the universities, embracing the *de facto* separatism of dissenters, expressly designed to train a new generation of ministers, and operating largely along denominational lines. By 1702 many other dissenters of Rowe’s generation had opened academies, including James Owen, William Tong, Joshua Oldfield, and Samuel Benion (Presbyterian), and Thomas Goodwin the younger, Timothy Jollie, and Rice Price (Congregational).

A sharp distinction should not be drawn between the nonconformists’ academies and the academies of the next generation of dissenters. In both cases, there was great variety, and the development from nonconformity to dissent was much more gradual and less pronounced than the example of Rowe might suggest. At least one dissenting tutor (Oldfield) did attend an English university, and several of the Congregational tutors (including Jollie and Goodwin) had personal and intellectual reasons to remain close to the beliefs of their parents. At least one tutor (Benion) admitted that he had been influenced by the practices of the Scottish universities, and another (Oldfield) taught alongside nonconformist tutors.²³⁶ The increased prospects for organisation, funding, and open worship afforded by the Toleration Act affected nonconformists as well as younger dissenters, and both groups of tutors were subject to the same denominational regulators from the 1690s. Nevertheless, the Williamite revolution did lead to marked changes in the administration and function of the academies, allowing dissenters to create systems of funding and regulation that were to remain recognisable features of their existence across the eighteenth century. It is these structural changes, and the changes in attitudes which they provoked, which are considered in the next chapter.

²³⁵ BBCL MS G95; Isaac Watts, *Horae lyricae* (London, 1706), pp. 153-4.

²³⁶ Harris, *The Love of Christ’s Appearance*, p. 40; Matthew Henry, *Two Funeral Sermons: One on Dr. Samuel Benion, and the Other on the Reverend Mr. Francis Tallents* (London, 1709), p. 69.

CHAPTER TWO

The Dissenters' Private Academies, from the Toleration Act (1689) to the Repeal of the Schism Act (1719)

Introduction

The passage in 1689 of 'An Act for Exempting their Majestyes Protestant Subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the Penalties of certaine Lawes', better known as the Toleration Act, is often said to have brought immediate relief to Presbyterian and Congregational dissenters. However, historians are now increasingly aware of both the theoretical meanings and practical implications of 'toleration'.¹ Conditions had to be met for the licensing and use of meeting-houses,² and the provisions of the Corporation and Test Acts were not repealed. A planned bill to provide for the comprehension of moderate Presbyterians into the Church of England failed.³ The Toleration Act itself was often described in subsequent pamphlet controversies as a parliamentary 'indulgence' to match the royal indulgences periodically offered by Charles II and James II, and exemption from prosecution, rather than a repeal of the legal or moral objections to worship outside the established church.⁴ It was certainly not the purpose of the Act to allow the perceived schism within the English church between the episcopalians and the dissenters to be promulgated indefinitely, and the legal requirements under the Act of Uniformity for the licensing of schoolmasters remained.⁵ The dissenters' academies had no legal status under the Act of Uniformity, and no attempt was made to define them legally, or to write provisos relating to them in the Toleration Act. Dissenters themselves quickly became aware of this issue: in 1696 a ministerial assembly meeting at Bradford in Wiltshire wrote a letter to the Exeter Assembly, asking 'whether tis convenient to get an Act of Parliament in favour of our private

¹ Ole Grell, Jonathan Israel, and Nicholas Tyacke (eds), *From Persecution to Toleration* (Oxford, 1991); Ole Grell and Bob Scribner, *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation* (Cambridge, 1996); Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500-1700* (Manchester, 2006).

² *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 6, pp. 74-6.

³ David L. Wykes, 'Introduction', in *Parliament and Dissent*, ed. Stephen Taylor and David L. Wykes (Edinburgh, 2005), pp. 6-10.

⁴ For example, *Reasons for the Law, now Depending in Parliament, to Prevent the Further Growth of Schism* (London, 1714), p. 13; Paul Chamberlen, *An Impartial History of the Life and Reign of our Late most Gracious Sovereign Queen Anne* (London, 1738), pp. 497-9; Roger Laurence, *A Supplement to the First and Second Parts of Lay-Baptism Invalid* (London, 1714), p. xiv.

⁵ *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 6, pp. 74-6.

Academies', and scheduling a meeting at Sherborne in September to discuss the proposal; however the Exeter ministers declined, replying that 'we think it not convenient to make any such motion as yet'.⁶ As the years rolled by, dissenters were to rue such wasted opportunities to improve the standing of their academies. There was a growing sense among their enemies, particularly during the reign of Queen Anne, that the private academies were subject to the same clauses within the Act of Uniformity as dissenting private grammar schools. As a consequence, opposition to the dissenters' academies not merely continued but, particularly between 1702 and 1714, intensified. At the same time, dissenters found new ways to fund their students. From the 1690s dissenters set up regional and national ministerial associations which oversaw the funding of students. The London-based Common Fund, Presbyterian Fund Board, and Congregational Fund Board were instrumental in ensuring a continual supply of ministerial students to private academies and to the Scottish and Dutch universities. Both the heightened political climate and the increasing theological wrangling between different wings of the Presbyterians and Congregationalists made their mark on the academies in the period 1702-1719. This chapter concludes with a consideration of the extent to which academy tutors and students fell victim to these political and theological changes, and the extent to which they contributed to them.

The Dissenters' Academies after the Toleration Act, 1689-1719

Initially, it looked as though the Williamite revolution marked a turning point for dissenting tutors. Although attempted prosecutions continued, tutors were often dealt with leniently by latitudinarian clergy, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, John Tillotson, and the Bishop of Salisbury, Gilbert Burnet. One of the most long-standing controversies related to Richard Frankland's academy, now back in Rathmell, concerning which the Archbishop of York sought Tillotson's advice; he urged a moderate response.⁷ Other tutors were successfully prosecuted, but not imprisoned. John Moore, tutor at an academy in Bridgwater, Somerset was arrested during the reign of William III and fined £30. However it was not until the debates surrounding the dissenters' academies reached fever pitch at the close of Anne's reign in 1714 that the Bridgwater academy was forced to close. Even then, when the

⁶ Brockett, *Exeter Assembly*, p. 26.

⁷ See Chapter 1.

Schism Act proved ineffectual at a local level, the academy was reopened by his son, John Moore junior, under whom it thrived until the younger Moore's death in the 1740s.⁸

Under William's reign, a typical pattern was for a tutor to be cited in the ecclesiastical courts, and then to be given a respectful audience with the bishop. The purpose of such an audience was, nominally, to persuade the tutor to renounce both his academy and his nonconformity, but a more pragmatic outcome was to ensure the continuance of good relations between dissenters and the established church. At Findern, the future academy tutor Benjamin Robinson was cited in the court of the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, William Lloyd, for teaching school (probably grammar learning); however, his personal plea to Lloyd led to the charges being dropped. Instead, Lloyd and Robinson 'condescended to an amicable Debate' on Robinson's nonconformity, which lasted until two o'clock in the morning. Lloyd and Robinson then held a correspondence, which Robinson preserved until his death. At Hungerford, Robinson's academy resulted in him acquiring some enemies, who complained of him to the Bishop of Salisbury, Gilbert Burnet. Burnet sent for Robinson during one of his progresses, and Robinson waited upon him at his lodgings. Here, Robinson spoke of his nonconformity in such a manner 'as laid the Foundation of a good Understanding, and kind Intimacy between them every after'.⁹

There are hints that the attempted prosecution of academy tutors acquired the disapprobation of King William himself. Joshua Oldfield was arraigned before the ecclesiastical courts in October 1697 for teaching academical learning to young men in Coventry without a licence. Oldfield resisted the prosecution, which resulted in it being moved to Lichfield, where it was listed as teaching without licence, not subscribing to the whole of the Prayer Book or the Thirty-Nine Articles, and acting in contravention of the 77th canon. Oldfield demanded a hearing in the public courts in London, where the action reached the King's Bench, but was dropped, 'Not without intimation from his Majesty (upon his having the state of the case laid before him) that he was not pleased with such Prosecutions'.¹⁰ Such accounts cannot be verified, and may have served as convenient ammunition for those seeking to deny the association between the academies and political sedition. For instance, a similar

⁸ DWL MS 24.59, p. 65.

⁹ John Cumming, *A Funeral Sermon on Occasion of the Death of the Late Reverend and Learned Mr. Benjamin Robinson* (London, 1724), pp. 55-7.

¹⁰ Calamy, *Abridgment*, vol. 1, p. 553.

story even recounts a relatively amicable meeting between Richard Frankland and Charles II. Nevertheless, there is little reason to doubt that the impetus for closing academies and prosecuting tutors was substantially weakened in the years immediately following the Toleration Act.

The feverish debates about the ‘Church in Danger’ in the reign of Queen Anne led to a renewal of popular hostility and prosecutions against dissenting teachers, even when their schools and academies drew a student sympathetic to the Church of England. Samuel Jones, the tutor at the Tewkesbury academy which Joseph Butler and Thomas Secker attended, was presented in September 1712 at the ecclesiastical court for keeping a private unlicensed ‘school’. The terminology serves as a reminder that even at this time it was difficult to use the word ‘academy’ to initiate prosecutions. Like other tutors before him, Jones was accused (probably entirely falsely) of indoctrinating his students with ‘seditious and antimonarchical principles ... very prejudicial to the present Establishment in Church and State’.¹¹ While at Tewkesbury, the academy earned the unwelcome attention of a Jacobite crowd, which attacked it on the day of George I’s coronation.¹² A nineteenth-century account of the tutor Thomas Hill states that his academy was unpopular with the master of a local free school, who began a prosecution against him for boarding youth without a licence. Hill’s defence, apparently, was: ‘I board young men; I advise them what books to read; and when they apply to me for information on anything they do not understand, I inform them’.¹³ The source for these remarks is not known, and they may be apocryphal; nevertheless, they illustrate the continuing necessity for tutors to circumvent legal restrictions by categorising and defining their teaching duties as loosely as they could.

Tutors continued to be attacked in print for their nonconformity and for their ministry. William Tong, Joshua Oldfield’s former colleague in Coventry, preached in Cockshot chapel, sometimes using portions of the Book of Common Prayer, but he was forced to stop following complaints from the ecclesiastical court.¹⁴ In May 1693 James Waters accepted a call to minister at Uxbridge, although he had probably already been preaching there for several months. Almost immediately after his

¹¹ Gloucestershire Archives, MS GDR B4/1/1056: documents relating to Samuel Jones’s ‘school’.

¹² William Davies, *The Tewkesbury Academy; with Sketches of its Tutor and Students* (Tewkesbury, c. 1914).

¹³ NCL MS L54/2/2-5, 10.

¹⁴ John Newman, *A Funeral Sermon, Occasion’d by the Death of the Late Reverend Mr. William Tong* (London, 1727), p. 35.

arrival in late 1692, he found himself attacked for his nonconformity and the validity of his ministry denied by John Jacques, the incumbent minister at Uxbridge. Waters felt provoked into beginning a sharp exchange of letters with Jacques, in vindication of the ordination of dissenters.¹⁵

Despite these political, social, and intellectual pressures, several ministers brought up in the Church of England became dissenters, and at least two of these taught in an academy. John Moore was educated at Brasenose College, Oxford in the 1660s, before becoming the vicar of Long Burton, and curate at Holnest Chapel; he resigned in 1667 and was licensed as a Presbyterian in 1672, following Charles II's declaration of indulgence. By 1690 he had opened his academy at Bridgwater, Somerset, which was endorsed by the Exeter Assembly.¹⁶ John Lorimer took Church of England orders, and was curate at the Charterhouse, whose incumbent Lorimer 'often spoke of with much Respect'. He later held a vicarage in Sussex. However, within a year of his appointment, he was led to review his oath of canonical obedience to the bishop: 'being entirely dissatisfy'd with several of [the canons], he thought himself oblig'd to renounce his *Conformity*, and to quit his *Living*'; according to the minister James Anderson, Lorimer expressed his opinions concerning the oath of canonical obedience to Baxter, who was surprised by it, but later came to the same judgment. After his resignation, Lorimer travelled abroad, where he became 'much conversant with the *Protestant Churches of France* before the Persecution became violent, and he was famous among the *learned Men of their Universities*'. Shortly before his return to England, he engaged in a disputation at Paris with some Roman Catholic clergy, arguing '*That the Church of Rome was guilty of damnable Idolatry*', but his friends, fearing reprisals, importuned him to change his lodgings, and shortly afterwards to depart from France. Lorimer was invited in 1695 to take a chair in theology at St Andrew's University, only to find it closed on account of plague. Instead, he eventually became joint tutor with Joshua Oldfield to the academy in Redcross Street.¹⁷

¹⁵ James Waters, *Some Letters concerning the Validity of Ordination by Presbyters, between Mr. Jacques ... and James Waters* (London, 1703); Benjamin Gatton, *Letters concerning the Terms of Conformity Required by Law, between Mr James Waters ... and Benj. Gatton* (London, 1705).

¹⁶ *Brasenose College Register, 1509-1909*, 2 vols. (Oxford 1909), vol. 1, p. 206; Brockett, *Exeter Assembly*, pp. 18, 41, 74, 86, 94.

¹⁷ James Anderson, *The Happy Death. A Sermon Occasion'd by the Death of the Late Learned, Pious and Reverend William Lorimer, A. M.* (London, 1724), pp. 70-2.

The case of Lorimer highlights the continuing connections between academy tutors and other persecuted religious groups across Europe. Other accounts suggest that the eighteenth-century academies could provide a refuge for Huguenot scholars. Lorimer's contemporary as tutor at the academy was a certain 'Monsieur *Capell*', who had 'formerly been a professor of the Oriental languages at *Saumur*, in *France*, and was then an illustrious refugee, having fled with his wife and children, and a few books, (and that was all!) out of the reach of *popish* cruelty'.¹⁸ In 1712, prior to attending the Taunton academy under the tuition of Henry Grove, Micaiah Towgood and Thomas Amory received their grammar learning from Andre de Majendie, a schoolteacher of Huguenot ancestry.¹⁹ The strength of these connections should not be overstated, but they do represent a degree of cooperation between moderate dissenters and French Protestants.

Financing Students: The Denominational Fund Boards, 1690-1720

In a previously unanalysed section of his account of *The Present State of the Parties* (1712), Daniel Defoe noted that for some years past, the dissenters' ministers had been, generally speaking, 'bred up upon Charity', either through the patronage of an individual or congregation, or 'by what they call the *Fund*'. Defoe describes the Fund as 'a certain Sum of Money partly collected, either Annually or Quarterly, at the *Meeting-House* Doors, or prompted by the earnest Exhortation of the Ministers, and partly obtain'd by Gifts of well-dispos'd Persons, some by Yearly Allowance in their Lives, and others by Legacies at their Death'.²⁰ At another point he labels it 'the Bank or *Charity-Money*, for Education of Ministers'.²¹ Defoe defends the 'Schools' erected (he chiefly means academies), the methods used for instruction, and the learning acquired by students, noting that 'all the Complaints I have met with ... seem to me either very trivial, or ill prov'd', and recommending Samuel Palmer's *Reply to Samuel Wesley's Letter and Defence* as answering these charges 'very well'.²² However, he feels that the dissenters' education is simply a 'Thing ...

¹⁸ John Barker, *A Sermon Occasioned by the Death of the Reverend Benjamin Grosvenor, D.D.* (London, 1758), p. 29; William Harris, *The Love of Christ's Appearance*, p. 38.

¹⁹ James Manning, *A Sketch of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Micaiah Towgood* (Exeter, 1792), p. 5. He was the grandfather of Henry William Majendie (1764-1830), Bishop of Chester (1800-9) and Bangor (1809-30).

²⁰ Daniel Defoe, *The Present State of the Parties in Great Britain* (London, 1712), pp. 294-5.

²¹ Defoe, *The Present State of the Parties*, p. 297. Minutes of the Presbyterian and Congregational Fund Boards survive for most years of this period: DWL MSS OD67-8 and OD401-2.

²² Defoe, *Present State*, p. 295.

impossible in its own Nature,' since 'the Disadvantages of private Academies, being without Publick Libraries, without Polite Conversation, without Suited Authority, with Classes to check and examin one another, and, above all, without time given to finish the Youth in the Studies they apply to', are 'unavoidable'. Noting that an occasional youth 'bless'd with extraordinary Genius, strong Parts, and great Application', may 'Out-strip Others', he asks why they remain 'Second Rate Worthies?'²³ These inherent problems count against those enemies of the dissenters who wish to pull down their schools and academies: Defoe argues that the best way to destroy the dissenters is to let their academies stand; to pull them down would force dissenters to send their youth to fitter places. This was what happened, he suggests, in the early years of the Restoration before the dissenters' academies existed, when dissenting ministers were 'generally Educated Abroad, from whence they came much better finish'd, than they do now from our private Accademies'.²⁴

Defoe illustrates his case with a story he invents, telling of the fortunes of a destitute widow, whose deceased husband was a member of a congregation, perhaps a benefactor, 'a Good Man, Well-belov'd'. She is desolate, with a house full of children, and no provision for them. Not knowing how else to provide for her children, she declares herself willing that one or two of them should become dissenting ministers, and 'makes Friends to her Minister to get her Son into *the Fund*'. The congregation agrees out of respect for the dead father and compassion to the widow. These are very noble principles, states Defoe, but 'the Case alters' when consideration is paid to the requirements for 'a Minister of God's Word'. Firstly, no enquiry has been made into the genius, capacity, or inclination of the child, who might be 'a Native Blockhead ... of a Fiery Temper', with 'a Defect in his Speech ... Purblind, Squint-Eyed, Near-sighted'. As a consequence, dissenters have filled their ministry with 'the Lame and the Halt', and those lacking memory, application, morals, and learning. Parents and ministers should, therefore, 'study the Capacities, the Temper, the Inclination, and the Common Gifts of their Children'; a child with imperfect speech is no more suitable to be a minister than 'a *Cripple* to be a *Dancing-Master*'. Such a state of affairs injures the children themselves, who would

²³ Defoe, *Present State*, pp. 295-6.

²⁴ Defoe, *Present State*, p. 296. Defoe uses this argument to suggest that the third generation of dissenting ministers will be even less eminent than the second.

achieve much better livings if they were made ‘*Porters, Grooms, or any lawful Mechanick*’.²⁵

Defoe proceeds to consider hypothetically a boy accepted by the Fund who is ‘tolerably Capable, Diligent, Sober, Moral, *and the like*’. He attends an academy (Defoe also uses the term ‘school’ in this passage), where ‘he reads his *Logicks, Ethicks, Pneumaticks, &c.* ... looks a little into *Philosophy*, and at last to his *Divinity*’.²⁶ He acquires a black coat and bands, and behaves well. As soon as he appears ‘any Thing like’ ready, the ‘*Directors*’ of the ‘*Charity*’ think of removing him from the academy and prompting him to preach. With considerable irony, Defoe writes that this young man has ‘declaim’d a little in the Schools’, has an ‘*A, B, C, of Theologicks*’, can prepare a ‘formal Theme’ (thesis) with ‘some Study’, ‘set a Text on the Top of it’, and ‘read it in a Pulpit’, and therefore ‘has no more Business at the Schools’. He was hastily thrown in, and is now hastily thrown out to make room for another. His circumstances are hard, because he supports his elderly mother and sisters, he has no money for books or even bread, and he has no time to study at home. The first thing he must do is make the acquaintance of some ministers, which he achieves by going to the Salters’ Hall lecture every Tuesday, and to Hamlin’s Coffee-House, where he ‘sits at the Feet of *Gamaliel*’ and dines on coffee. Meanwhile, he must ‘ply in his Habit, as the Labourer, or the Porter’, supplying the place of sick ministers ‘at the shortest Warning’, keeping his pocket Bible about him, and a set of sermons ready written, which he reads over in order, and then reads again, for several years. This state of affairs, Defoe summarises, ‘calls for Lamentation, and immediate Redress’. The young ministers are daily plying for a pulpit which will give them ten shillings to live upon, and many are given so few opportunities that ‘they come to the utmost Extremity’.²⁷ Such a method, he surmises, is hardly likely to produce worthy successors to John Owen, Thomas Manton, Stephen Charnock, or David Clarkson:

²⁵ Defoe, *Present State*, pp. 297-9. Defoe proceeds to relate an anecdote concerning a young man of his acquaintance who gave up his ministerial education when he inherited an estate: the young man believed that his father had ‘*spoiled a good Porter*’ by trying to make him a ‘*good for nothing*’ preacher.

²⁶ Defoe, *Present State*, p. 301.

²⁷ Defoe, *Present State*, pp. 301-4.

Did they get their *Theologicks*, and *Metaphysicks*, in a Year or Two's Reading? Were they furnish'd with a Body of Divinity, suitable to the Work they did, and the Proofs they have left behind them, in being Three Years at an Accademy?'²⁸

Indeed, of all the gentlemen educated in or near London by the dissenters' Funds, there were very few who could be called eminent for any positive reason.²⁹ As a consequence, when vacancies came up in London, country ministers were plundered, leaving the Fund-bred men in London 'Starving and Playing as before'.³⁰ The dissenters' solution, to join three or four young men together and set up an evening lecture, 'and, once a month, to beg their Bread of the Hearers as an Alms', he found a scandalous and mean exercise: people were thereby persuaded to contribute to the maintenance of lecturers regardless of their merit. It was further evidence of the sinking of preaching into 'Coldness, Meanness, Dull Fashionable Reading, &c.'³¹

Defoe's comments were designed to encourage reform of the academies, by reforming their funding and regulatory bodies. One of his main complaints was that students spent too little time at academies, and were often ill chosen.³² Defoe's criticism of the Fund was that it spread its meagre sums too thinly, resulting in a glut of badly trained and financially impoverished ministerial candidates; it was therefore no wonder that so many ministers such as Samuel Wesley and Samuel Palmer had gone over to the Church of England and written against the academies.³³ Defoe's solution was that the Fund should be run on the grounds of a business, involving a careful calculation of stock, and the provision of grants to 'no more than they can *Maintain*'. This maintenance, for Defoe, needed to include both their schooling and their period as a probationer prior to their settlement, and might necessitate educating merely 'one Fifth of the Number you now take in' for a period of twelve years. These select few would then become the Clarksons and Charnocks of their day.³⁴

²⁸ Defoe, *Present State*, p. 304.

²⁹ Defoe, *Present State*, p. 306.

³⁰ Defoe, *Present State*, p. 307.

³¹ Defoe, *Present State*, pp. 304-5.

³² Defoe, *Present State*, p. 334.

³³ Defoe, *Present State*, pp. 330-1.

³⁴ Defoe, *Present State*, pp. 334-5.

In 1720 the Presbyterian Fund came under further criticism from Joseph Stedman, a dissenting minister at Lindfield in Sussex. Stedman had run a charity school for a number of months prior to the Schism Act, and had been accused by other London ministers of fraudulently trying to reclaim money which had been used to build his school. As a consequence the Fund managers tried to block his ministry at Lindfield in 1717, by attempting to finance another candidate. Stedman felt that the blame lay firmly with the London ministers, including the academy tutors William Tong, Joshua Oldfield, and Benjamin Robinson, whom he accused of ‘Presbyterian priestcraft’ in trying to blacken his character. He noted that when he came to London to Salters’ Hall to argue his case, many of the persons present had allowances from the Fund, and that two of them were directors or managers, meaning that there was a great risk of partiality in their judgment.³⁵

The ‘Fund’ mentioned by Defoe and Stedman originated in London as a result of the Happy Union of Presbyterians and Congregationalists in the early 1690s. A project to unite the two groups had been formed in 1682 but had fallen victim to the Tory reaction against dissenters following the Exclusion Crisis.³⁶ The scheme received a new lease of life when regional assemblies, comprising both Presbyterian and Congregational ministers, were established following the Toleration Act. In 1690 the ministers of Somerset, Wiltshire and Gloucestershire agreed upon a set of mutual principles, which they described as an ‘accommodation’; from roughly the same time meetings were held by ministers in Cheshire, Lancashire, and Yorkshire; the ministers of Devon and Cornwall started meeting regularly from March 1691.³⁷ Many of the leading members of these assemblies, including James Forbes, John Moore, Timothy Jollie, Richard Frankland, and John Flavell, were already taking ministerial students.³⁸ In London, dissenting ministers adopted a scheme probably mostly drawn up by the Presbyterian John Howe, published in May 1691 as the ‘Heads of Agreement’, based upon the principles of the 1682 scheme. It was in this climate of interdenominational cooperation that the

³⁵ Joseph Stedman, *Presbyterian Priest-Craft* (London, 1720), pp. 12, 44-5, 62, 107-9, 133.

³⁶ DWL MS 12.78: Timothy Jollie’s Papers; Roger Thomas, *An Essay of Accommodation* (London, 1957).

³⁷ DWL MS 12.78, pp. 209-73; Brockett, *Exeter Assembly*, especially pp. 7-9. The original minutes of the Exeter Assembly, 1691-1717, are in DWL MS 38.24; minutes from the 1720s exist in Devon Record Office (Exeter Branch), MSS 3542D-O-/M1/1-4, and a partial transcription for 1721-8 dating from the nineteenth century is in DWL MS 38.28.

³⁸ For Flavell, see *The Whole Works*, 2 vols. (London, 1701), vol. 1, pp. ii, viii, and Brockett, *Exeter Assembly*, pp. 4-5, 8. The other tutors are described below.

Common Fund was established in 1690, designed to provide money to necessitous ministers and students across the country.

This initial Fund was short-lived. From May 1692 both the Happy Union and the Common Fund came under pressure as the result of theological wrangling between leading Presbyterian and Congregational ministers in London. In essence the controversy revolved around the divergent theologies of Richard Baxter and John Owen. When the Presbyterian Daniel Williams wrote in support of Baxter's belief in the importance of repentance and obedience to conversion, he was accused by Owen's disciples of neonomianism. These followers of Owen, who included the Congregational tutors Isaac Chauncey and Stephen Lobb, were in their turn accused by the Presbyterians of defending the antinomian belief that good works were irrelevant to salvation. As a consequence, several of the Congregationalists left the Fund, including Chauncey and Lobb. By the summer of 1693 the controversy had begun to affect the running of the Fund, and no minutes have survived for the period between 26 June 1693 and the beginning of 1695. After that, two separate funds operated: the direct descendant of the Common Fund, using the same style of minutes, terminology, and principles, was the Presbyterian Fund Board which had its first meeting on 5 February 1695; the Congregational Fund Board first met on 17 December 1695, adopting a less systematic and more collegiate approach to the financing of ministers and students, and replacing the Common Fund 'Managers' with a group of Congregational 'Messengers'. Both of these Funds continued to give considerable sums of money to academy students.³⁹ So, too, did funds set up by regional ministerial associations, such as the Exeter Assembly.⁴⁰

The primary purposes of the short-lived Common Fund were to mitigate the perceived poverty of the dissenting ministers, the inability of many places to afford them a subsistence, and the necessity of providing fit persons to succeed the increasingly aged generation of nonconformists of 1660-2. A group of fourteen

³⁹ Gordon, *FAE*, pp. 151-8, 183-4; DWL MS 12.78, pp. 209-87; Thomas, *Accommodation*; Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters: From the Reformation to the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 289-97. The early Fund Board minutes themselves survive as DWL MSS OD67 (Common Fund: CF, 1690-3), OD68 (Presbyterian Fund Board: PFB, 1695-1722), OD69 (PFB, 1722-51), OD401 (Congregational Fund Board: CFB, 1695-9), and OD402 (CFB, 1700-4); the next surviving minute book for the Congregational Fund picks up the minutes from 1737. Early treasury books for the Presbyterian Fund Board survive as DWL MSS OD103 (1695-1705) and OD104 (1706-18).

⁴⁰ Brockett, *Exeter Assembly*; Alexander Gordon, *Cheshire Classis Minutes 1691-1745* (London, 1919). The original minutes of the Cheshire Classis are at Cheshire and Chester Archives, MS EUC 9/4458/1.

ministers, seven each from the Presbyterians and Congregationalists, met to agree on six objectives: to assist poor ministers, to provide ministers in areas where there were no fixed dissenting preachers, to apply funds impartially, to assist only those for whom the ministry was their sole employment, to encourage ‘some hopefull young men’ to the ministry (in particular sons of dissenting ministers), and to find private gentlemen to concur with the project. These ministers and gentlemen shortly afterwards agreed twelve propositions, setting up a system of managers (no more than fourteen ministers and thirty gentlemen), including a treasurer and book-keeper.⁴¹ In the early stages, money was added to the Fund fairly rapidly, through subscriptions from congregations, and donations from wealthy dissenters.⁴²

On 14 July 1690 a nationwide survey of dissenting congregations was commissioned by the Common Fund managers, seeking the names of all nonconforming and dissenting ministers, and the location of settled congregations and assemblies. The main purposes of the survey were to establish the income and wealth of ministers, and to decide upon grants to needy students. The letter requesting information was sent out to each county, to which one or more managers were assigned. The survey was probably completed by or during 1693; although the returns for students were not gathered as systematically as those for ministers, the surviving copy of the survey provides considerable information on the state of ministerial students immediately following the Toleration Act.⁴³

The survey is organised by county, and each county is organised under a number of headings, including ‘ministers that have a competent supply’, ‘ministers that want supply’, ‘persons contributing’ to the Fund, ‘places that had and where there may be opportunity for religious assemblies’, ‘persons qualified for the ministry and not fixed’, ‘persons qualifying for the ministry’, and ‘proposals’ for consideration by the Fund Board. In total, the names of twelve tutors and eighty-two students across twenty-four counties were recorded.⁴⁴ Of these students, the largest

⁴¹ DWL MS OD67, fols. 1-3; the original managers included the future tutor Isaac Chauncey. The original six objectives were copied into the first volume of the Presbyterian Fund Board minutes: DWL MS OD68, f. 1.

⁴² DWL MS OD67, fols. 5-6.

⁴³ Gordon, *FAE*, pp. 1-150.

⁴⁴ The tutors were Thomas Doolittle (London); ‘Bethnal Green’ (probably Thomas Brand); John Ker (also of Bethnal Green); Thomas Rowe (London); James Forbes (Gloucestershire); Richard Frankland; John Woodhouse; John Langston (Ipswich), Timothy Jollie; Samuel Jones (South Wales); and Philip Henry and James Owen, working together. The survey also mentions a student desiring education at Glasgow University. See also Gordon, *FAE*, pp. 180-3.

numbers were recorded in Yorkshire (15), London (14), and South Wales (12), although sizeable groups were listed for Gloucestershire (5), Northamptonshire (5), and Shropshire (5). Several students are mentioned as under the tuition of Thomas Brand or John Ker (11), Richard Frankland (6), and Samuel Jones of South Wales (4), with smaller numbers under the tuition of Thomas Doolittle (3), Timothy Jollie (2, perhaps 3), and Thomas Rowe (2). None of these figures should be taken as a reliable indication of the size of each academy; the numbers are both too small and too contingent upon the variability with which the information was collected to allow any statistical analysis. No doubt other students whose tutors are not identified in the minutes were also resident with the tutors listed, and it is highly likely that a large number of ministerial students with a competent maintenance were simply not recorded in the survey. Nevertheless, the minutes confirm the importance of the academies at Bethnal Green, Rathmell, and Brynllwarch to the training of ministers in the years immediately prior and subsequent to the Toleration Act; significantly, all three academies were conducted by Presbyterians, which suggests that the academies were not necessarily viewed as separatist by dissenters themselves, and points to the intellectual and numerical dominance of the Presbyterians in comparison to the Independents in the early 1690s.

It is also possible to use the survey to make a number of surmises about the education of dissenting ministers prior to 1690. Out of around 900 ministers mentioned, approximately 470 had been educated at English, Scottish, or Dutch universities before the Restoration; another 25 had studied at the universities after the Restoration.⁴⁵ 26 had been students of Frankland.⁴⁶ A further 26 can be identified as having been educated at a particular academy.⁴⁷ Adding the 82 names of students listed by the survey provides a total of 144 academy students whose tutor is known.⁴⁸ The education of around 250 ministers in the survey is not known. It should not be assumed that all of these ministers were educated in private ministerial academies.

⁴⁵ Figures based on Gordon's notes in *F&E*, pp. 198-393. The exact number of ministers mentioned is hard to judge, since many appear only as surnames; there are 1085 entries for ministers in the survey, but perhaps as many as 200 are double-counted (my investigations suggest an upper limit of 215).

⁴⁶ Frankland's previous students in the 1690-2 survey are: Birch, Irlam, Keniston, Anderton, Whitworth, Finch, Punchion, Gorwood, Holland, Jones, Lea, Angier, Chorlton, Eliezer and Nathaniel Heywood, Naylor, Scholes, Billingsley, Dawson, Elston, Holdsworth, Issot, Priestly, Sagar, Whitaker, Wright, Whaley, Kershaw: Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, pp. 534-89.

⁴⁷ See Appendix 4.

⁴⁸ These include students of Brand and Ker, Cradock, Doolittle, Frankland, Gale, Jones, Morton, Rowe, Warren, and Woodhouse.

Many were sons of ministers, and some of these were educated or trained for the ministry by their fathers; others received their education outside England and Wales, at the Scottish, Irish, or continental universities. Given that there was no universal standard for educating, training, or appointing ministers, many of these men may have had very little formal training at all, and may not have attended any university or private academy. Furthermore, records of ordinations prior to 1690 are relatively few, and even after 1690 many ministers preached without ordination as ministerial candidates for several years. However, lists of students at the dissenters' private academies are so incomplete, especially for the period before 1690, that it is likely that a high proportion of these 250 students did attend, at an unknown time and with an unidentified tutor. Nothing more can be said on the matter without speculation; however, it should be noted that, if these students attended academies for an average of three years, and were all educated between 1670 and 1690, they would still only account for around 40 students in academies nationwide at any one time.⁴⁹ Adding the 150 or so for whom education at an academy is demonstrable brings the total number to about 55 at any one time: almost certainly an underestimate of the number of ministerial students in academies in the 1680s, but a clear indication that previous estimates have been grossly exaggerated.⁵⁰

The Common Fund managers did not wait for the completion of the survey before providing students with grants. On 29 September 1690 a committee of five ministers was appointed to examine young men who were to be maintained out of the supply, and letters were sent to ministers in other parts of the country, requesting that they examine the young men in their area.⁵¹ The first report to be received was from Thomas Brand, who had been tutoring young men at Bishop's Hall, Bethnal Green; on 17 November 1690 it was agreed that they would be 'taken care of' financially for the following month, and a grant of twenty pounds was provided to Brand for his arrears in teaching the students. The following week, the Board renewed its request in writing for an account of payments and allowances relating to young students in London and across the country.⁵² The first batch of individual

⁴⁹ $250/20 \times 3 = 37.5$.

⁵⁰ Lawrence Stone, 'The Educational Revolution in England, 1560-1640', *Past and Present*, 28 (1964), 56. Stone's guesses that there were 50 students a year before 1669, 100 from 1670 to 1689, and 150 from 1690 to 1699 are entirely speculative.

⁵¹ DWL MS OD67, f. 9. The original committee members were George Griffith, Vincent Alsop, John Howe, Samuel Annesley, and Richard Mayo.

⁵² DWL MS OD67, fols. 13, 15.

payments to students came on 1 December 1690; Mr Lawrence, William Heyworth, Mr Keeling, Samuel Parsons, and William King were offered six-monthly sums of between £5 and £7 10s for ‘maintenance’ or ‘incouragment’. There may have been unease at the size of these payments: at the following meeting (8 December) it was agreed that no student would be provided with an allowance exceeding £10 per annum, and this rule was followed throughout the Common Fund’s short history.⁵³ Orders to pay students ‘when ye ffund is able to Bear it’ continued right up to June 1693, when the endeavour was under considerable financial pressure as a consequence of the departure of the Congregationalists.⁵⁴

A study of the language of the Fund minutes reveals much about the processes of student finance, as well as the attitudes of dissenters towards their private tutors. Between December 1690 and June 1693 payments were made to individual students for board, ‘encouragm[en]t in his studies’, ‘to make up what they have allowed from their parents or friends’, ‘Education ... for the Ministry’, ‘Education in University Learning’, and the ‘Study of Academicall Learning’.⁵⁵ Payments could be directed to the student, his parents, or the tutor, and were known as an ‘allowance’ or ‘competencie’.⁵⁶ A student’s funding was most often settled for one year at a time, although six-month and three-month and eighteen-month sums were not uncommon, and money was frequently paid quarterly; payments could then be ‘continued’ in future years. From 23 February 1690 the Board also made payments to students doing degrees at Utrecht, Leiden, Glasgow, and Edinburgh.⁵⁷

The recipient was usually described as ‘a young student’, but he might also be ‘proposed to the Managers for some assistance’, ‘if his [friends] could not obtaine it’, ‘if his necessities require it’, or if simply ‘necessitous’; he might be ‘under the tuition of’, ‘with’, or ‘under ye Instruction of’ a tutor, or (occasionally) ‘at’ a location, either his home, or the tutor’s.⁵⁸ He might be ‘maintained at the charge of’ friends, family, or his tutor, as well as the Board.⁵⁹ Finance from the Fund might start ‘from the time of his commencing’, ‘entering upon his Studies’, or ‘fixing’

⁵³ DWL MS OD67, f. 16. Possible exceptions are Francis Freeman (£25, 26/6/1691) and John Scoones (£20, 7/9/1691).

⁵⁴ DWL MS OD67, f. 120.

⁵⁵ DWL MS OD67, fols. 16, 19, 26, 27.

⁵⁶ DWL MS OD67, fols. 16, 19.

⁵⁷ DWL MS OD67, fols. 108, 26.

⁵⁸ DWL MS OD67, fols. 16, 34, 89, 48, 71, 17, 18.

⁵⁹ DWL MS OD67, fols. 16, 32.

with a tutor; it might be directed ‘towards ye compleating of his Studies’, ‘towards the perfecting of his Studies’, ‘on Condition he give himselfe to the Ministry’, ‘towards [his] Education’, for ‘support ... in his Studies’, ‘if upon Examination hee be found deserving’, ‘for his incuragmt in the Study of the Hebrew and French tongues’, or ‘towards ye furnishing him with bookes and other necessaries’.⁶⁰

The tutor was usually identified by his location, as (for instance) ‘Mr John Woodhouse of Sheriff hales in ye County of Salop’, or ‘Mr Richard Frankland of Yorkshire’;⁶¹ however the word ‘academy’ appears nowhere in the minutes. On 23 February 1691 it was agreed that all allowances toward the ‘Education of young men for the Ministry’ would cover a year from the previous 25 December, and that no students would receive any money until they had been examined and certified according to their ‘deserts and abilities’.⁶² Often letters were sent out to tutors requesting information about the intellectual capacity or financial circumstances of their students; money was sent to students who had been ‘Examined and approved’, and certificates were often sent into the Board.⁶³ Letters could also be sent requesting lists of other persons subscribing towards the students’ education. Payment could be withheld until the student was fixed under a tutor or settled at a location, and might be transferred to another man upon the student’s death or completion. Decisions on a student’s funding could be deferred until a certificate was produced. Sometimes it was also necessary to confirm ‘ye Young mans Inclinations to ye Case of Dissenters’.⁶⁴ On 4 May 1691 it was agreed that the first Monday after each quarter-day would be set apart for the examination of students by three or more ministers. Orders for funding could be revoked if the student was found to be ‘destitute of Grammar Learning’, or if there was ‘noe report of his ffixing w[i]th a Tutour’. Money was not always delivered on time, and many of the minutes relate to the payment of arrears. On a tutor’s decease, the Board might intervene to recommend another tutor, or examine the young men formerly educated by him. The Board was

⁶⁰ DWL MS OD67, fols. 111, 26, 27, 30, 33, 58.

⁶¹ DWL MS OD67, fols. 72, 77.

⁶² DWL MS OD67, f. 26.

⁶³ DWL MS OD67, fols. 19-20. Many certificates were given into the Board by the fund manager Richard Stretton, and entered into the minute book.

⁶⁴ DWL MS OD67, fols. 28, 29, 60, 31, 48, 112, 92.

also informed when students left their tutor.⁶⁵ Usually, payments to students were entered individually, but they were also summarised in tables.⁶⁶

The transformation of the Fund early in 1695 into the Presbyterian Fund led to several changes in its rules; any person bringing £10 per annum into it had the right to become a manager, and any minister bringing in £20 per annum could vote in meetings. Nevertheless, even in the Presbyterian Fund's early years, attendance by managers was lower than anticipated, and on 8 November 1697 the number for a quorum was reduced to nine. Students and ministers recommended by the deserting Congregationalists were no longer entitled to funding, and money could only be disbursed by a quorum of eleven (not, as previously, seven) ministers.⁶⁷ Two orders of 5 March 1694 ordered the payment of arrears and the continuation of allowances to students.⁶⁸ A further order for payments for the six months ending 24 June 1695 was made on 1 July, and was followed by a table of students, indicating their county, tutor, and allowance.⁶⁹ Another summative table was copied into the minute book for the six months ending 25 December, and another for the first half of 1696.⁷⁰ For late 1696 student allowances were recorded by county only, and students' names were not provided; payments for 1697-9 were recorded in one poorly-organised chart.⁷¹ From 1700 onwards an annual table of students and payments was provided in the minute book,⁷² although many students mentioned elsewhere in the minutes do not appear in the tables. For the next decade, payments were only made to students studying under a Presbyterian tutor, and although the sums paid did not increase noticeably for several years, the number of students supported was markedly lower than under the Common Fund.

From December 1695 students studying under Congregational tutors could apply for financial support from the separate Congregational Fund. Its aims were similar to those of the Common Fund and Presbyterian Fund: to support necessitous ministers, to propagate the gospel in areas without settled ministers, and to provide

⁶⁵ DWL MS OD67, fols. 33, 50, 107, 56, 61, 110.

⁶⁶ DWL MS OD67, fols. 67, 75-6, 89-9, 115-16.

⁶⁷ DWL MS OD68, fols. 31, 2-4. The original ministerial managers were William Bates, John Howe, Vincent Alsop, Samuel Annesley, Daniel Williams, John Shower, Richard Stretton, Samuel Slater, Samuel Stancliffe, Daniel Burgess, Samuel Pomfrett, and Richard Mayo; the first subscriptions of £100 or more were made by Howe, Alsop, Mayo, Williams, and Annesley.

⁶⁸ DWL MS OD68, f. 5.

⁶⁹ DWL MS OD68, fols. 6, 12.

⁷⁰ DWL MS OD68, fols. 16-17, 25-6.

⁷¹ DWL MS OD68, fols. 32, 36.

⁷² For example, f. 44 (1700); pp. 99 (1701), 111 (1702), 122 (1703), 133 (1704), 149 (1705).

money to poor young students.⁷³ In place of managers, the Congregational Fund had a system of ministerial and lay messengers, and its assemblies were to be called ‘the Meetings of the Messengers of the Congregational churches for encouraging ye preaching of ye Gospel in England & Wales’.⁷⁴ A set of ‘heads of correspondency’ in imitation of the 1690 ‘heads of agreement’ were also written into the minute book.⁷⁵ The first priority of the messengers was to raise sufficient funds, and for this purpose they were each assigned to counties.⁷⁶ From the end of March 1696 the Board was in a strong enough position to recommend a number of students for the tuition of James Forbes of Gloucester; on 13 April they began discussions with John Langston of Ipswich about ‘takeing young Studients’, and on 27 April they made a payment to Forbes of £10 to assist him in ‘Breeding up his two Grandchildren for the Ministry’.⁷⁷ As with the Presbyterian Fund, the number of students given allowances by the Congregational Fund was small, but unlike the Presbyterian managers, the Congregational messengers did not keep detailed accounts, and produced no annual summative lists of students; although the surviving minute books are more detailed than those of the Presbyterian Fund, they contain less detail about the size and duration of allowances. This makes it more difficult to generalise about the significance of the Congregational Fund than of the Presbyterian Fund, although it need not be doubted that both organisations went to considerable lengths to monitor the progress of their students as to funding, learning, examination, and future prospects.

The existence of detailed minutes relating to all three Funds makes it possible to trace the operation of the most important of the Presbyterian and Congregational academies with a degree of detail which is not possible for any academy other than that of Richard Frankland for the period 1670-90. Since most of the entries provide the names of both students and their tutors, tables can be drawn up providing some sense of the dates of operation of these academies.⁷⁸ It should be recognised that the absence of a tutor from the minutes in a particular year does not imply that he was not teaching, but that he had no students considered sufficiently deserving of

⁷³ DWL MS OD401, p. 1.

⁷⁴ DWL MS OD401, pp. 2-3. The original messengers included the tutors Stephen Lobb and Isaac Chauncey.

⁷⁵ DWL MS OD401, p. 8.

⁷⁶ DWL MS OD401, pp. 6-7.

⁷⁷ DWL MS OD401, pp. 16-17, 19.

⁷⁸ See Appendix 2.

financial assistance by the Fund managers or messengers; in many such cases it is clear that students were being funded from other sources, whether through subscriptions from their own congregation, or through funds set up by the regional ministerial assemblies. However, there are instances in which this principle does not hold water; for example, the period from the progress of the Schism Bill to its repeal, 1714-19, was one in which dissenting tutors and schoolmasters came under intense pressure to stop teaching, and so perfect continuity in their teaching cannot be assumed across this time frame.

Across 1690-3, the Common Fund supported the work of eighteen tutors, from at least fourteen academies. In this period of cooperation, it does not make sense to speak of Presbyterian and Congregational academies; however, it is possible to state that eleven of these tutors were Presbyterians,⁷⁹ and the remaining seven were Congregational.⁸⁰ Among the Presbyterian tutors were several whose academies were already large, including Richard Frankland, John Woodhouse, Thomas Doolittle, and Matthew Warren; other academies which would take considerable numbers in the 1690s included those of Thomas Brand and his successors John Ker and John Short, and Samuel Jones. Among the Congregationalists, the most long-standing tutor of academical learning in 1690 was probably Thomas Rowe, who had been teaching since 1680; the early 1690s also saw the growth of the academies of John Langston of Ipswich, Thomas Goodwin of London, and Timothy Jollie of Attercliffe in Yorkshire.

From 1695, when funding divided along denominational lines, evidence emerges for the Presbyterian academy in Coventry run by Joshua Oldfield and William Tong; although of limited historical significance itself, its importance lies in its role as a precursor to Oldfield's famous academy at Redcross Street, which educated numerous students in the early decades of the 1700s.⁸¹ The minutes also make it possible to trace James Owen's tutoring at Oswestry and Shrewsbury, and John Ker's return to teaching following a sojourn in the Netherlands in the mid 1690s.⁸² During the early eighteenth century, the prosperity of the Exeter Assembly meant that it was unnecessary for the London Fund to continue financing Matthew

⁷⁹ Thomas Brand, John Ker, John Short, Richard Frankland, John Woodhouse, Matthew Warren, Samuel Jones, James Owen, Thomas Doolittle, John Southwell, and Thomas Risley.

⁸⁰ John Langston, John Flavell, Thomas Goodwin, Thomas Rowe, Timothy Jollie, James Forbes, and Stephen Lobb.

⁸¹ DWL MS OD68, f. 21.

⁸² DWL MS OD67, fols. 16, 40, 45; OD68, f. 38, p. 133.

Warren's academy at Taunton, but it continued to provide some support to the students of John Moore of Bridgwater, whose academy was also monitored by the Exeter ministers. The Fund managers were relatively quick to support new academies following the deaths of tutors. When Samuel Jones died in 1697 the Fund encouraged the work of the Welsh Presbyterian Roger Griffith;⁸³ when Griffith conformed in 1706 his students passed to William Evans of Carmarthen;⁸⁴ under his stewardship the academy probably grew considerably, although few of his students were supported by the Presbyterian Fund. From 1701 the Fund provided grants to students at the academies of John Chorlton and James Coningham of Manchester, which were set up following Richard Frankland's death in 1698.⁸⁵

The main Congregational tutors remained relatively unchanged across the period 1695-1704 for which minutes survive. Throughout this time, a symbiotic relationship appears to have existed between the academies of William Paine at Saffron Walden and Thomas Goodwin at Pinner, with Goodwin receiving many of Paine's students.⁸⁶ The precise reasons for this are not clear, but it is possible that Paine was running an early version of a 'preparatory academy', in which students learned grammar subjects, and perhaps received an introduction to philosophy, which was then developed following their removal to Goodwin's academy. There are other inscrutable features of the Fund minutes. Stephen Lobb, who had assisted the theological preparation of Charles Morton's students following his departure to New England, also received money for a small number of private students during the 1690s,⁸⁷ but the known number is so small in an otherwise well-documented life that it is unclear whether he may be said to have been operating an academy. The teaching of Isaac Chauncey, who is often said to have initiated the Hoxton academy which was later presided over by Thomas Ridgley and John Eames, is similarly undocumented; his students only received funding in 1698-9 and 1704,⁸⁸ once again casting doubt on the size of his academy. The teaching of Samuel Jones was sufficiently valued by the messengers for him to be the only Presbyterian tutor to whose students they gave funding. However, upon his death they did not support Roger Griffith, the choice of the Presbyterians, but set up a rival Congregational

⁸³ DWL MS OD68, f. 36.

⁸⁴ DWL MS OD68, p. 191.

⁸⁵ DWL MS OD68, f. 45, p. 99.

⁸⁶ See Appendix 3.

⁸⁷ DWL MS OD401, p. 27.

⁸⁸ DWL MS OD401, p. 77; OD402, p. 68.

academy under Rice Price (father of the philosopher Richard Price), which they supported continuously from 1699 to 1702.⁸⁹

All three Funds supported the attendance of intellectually and financially worthy students at the Scottish and Dutch universities. In most instances, the students who attended these universities did so subsequent to their education at academies, in order to study for a higher degree in medicine or theology. During the period 1696-1704 the number of Congregational students given grants to attend the universities of Leiden and Utrecht was limited. Similarly, very few students were provided with grants to go to the Netherlands by the Presbyterian Fund. In part, this was because of the establishment of close relations between the London Presbyterians and their Scottish counterparts. Between 1702 and 1723 John Stirling, the Principal of Glasgow University, received letters from several prominent Presbyterians, including Daniel Williams and the tutors William Tong, Benjamin Robinson, and Thomas Dixon, describing the conditions and opinions of English dissent, recommending students to the University, specifying their treatment, and providing money.⁹⁰ In a letter to James Woodrow, dated 26 June 1707, Isaac Bates wrote that some Presbyterians had ‘a much better oppinion of Glasgow then of Edinburgh’, it being a place with ‘less danger of debauchery’ and ‘stricter discipline’. Nevertheless, English dissenting students were sent to Edinburgh from an early date, and proposals were drawn up to ensure that they were given convenient learning, tutors of approved learning, and instruction in arithmetic, geography, chronology, and history, alongside philosophical and theological subjects.⁹¹ The importance of Glasgow in particular as a college for training English Presbyterians is testified by the Fund minutes; even in the period from 1709 to 1714, when the English academies received little money from the cash-strapped Board, money was passing freely to Glasgow.

A further indication of the changing priorities of the Fund Boards may be glimpsed from the quantity and distribution of grants. The summative list of payments to students from the Common Fund, drawn up on 6 July 1691, contains 46 names, 12 of whom were students of John Ker. A further 4 were students of John Woodhouse, another 9 listed as of Yorkshire were probably students of Richard

⁸⁹ DWL MS OD401, p. 99; OD402, p. 48.

⁹⁰ DWL MS 201.34, Nos. 2-61.

⁹¹ DWL MS 201.34, No. 1.

Frankland, and 3 labelled as of South Wales were probably with Samuel Jones.⁹² The following summary, dated 30 May 1692, presents a similar picture: among the 47 names, 4 were students with Thomas Rowe, 7 with Woodhouse, 9 with Frankland, and 3 with Jones.⁹³ The third Common Fund summary, dated 12 December 1692, includes 3 students with John Southwell at Newbury, 3 with Rowe, 10 with Woodhouse, 11 with Frankland, and 5 with Jones, whereas Ker's students are now listed as under the instruction of John Short.⁹⁴ The final summary of payments from the Common Fund, that for 19 June 1693, contains 64 names; 4 students were with Southwell, 11 with Short, 2 with Rowe, probably 3 with Thomas Goodwin, 12 in Shropshire (probably with Woodhouse), 4 in Somerset under Warren, 12 in Yorkshire (under either Frankland or Timothy Jollie), and 5 with Jones.⁹⁵ The total number of students financed by the Common Fund was, therefore, large, but the figures suggest that the dissatisfaction of the Congregational ministers may have been in part financial, since most of the money was going to Presbyterian tutors and students. The distribution of grants further highlights the importance of the academies of Woodhouse, Frankland, Jones, Rowe, and Brand/Ker/Short, of whom only Rowe was an Independent.

During 1696 the Congregational Fund oversaw the education of at least 33 students, including 5 under the instruction of James Forbes, 7 under William Paine, 7 also under Thomas Rowe, and 3 with Samuel Jones.⁹⁶ By 1700 the number had dropped to 28, most of whom were either under the instruction of Goodwin (7), Paine (5), or Jollie (5).⁹⁷ By 1704, 32 students were considered by the Fund, of whom 7 were with Goodwin, 7 with Jollie, 3 with Paine, and 6 with Chauncey, who inherited some of the students of John Langston after Langston's death.⁹⁸ These figures suggest that the numbers of students funded by the Congregational Messengers remained relatively stable through the first decade of its existence, and that it continued to support the work of Goodwin, Jollie, and Paine in particular throughout this period. These conclusions need not indicate that the academy of Thomas Rowe was insignificant during this time, but it may have been the case that

⁹² DWL MS OD67, f. 43.

⁹³ DWL MS OD67, f. 74.

⁹⁴ DWL MS OD67, f. 98.

⁹⁵ DWL MS OD67, f. 115.

⁹⁶ DWL MS OD401: entries for 30/3/1696-14/12/1696.

⁹⁷ DWL MS OD401: entries for 18/3/1700-2/12/1700.

⁹⁸ DWL MS OD401: entries for 3/1/1704-18/12/1704; Shropshire Archives, MS FK 3/1/11/5.

Rowe's reputation as a tutor meant that he could attract students who were either comparatively affluent, or who had other means of getting funding.⁹⁹ Furthermore, there is a suggestion that the reputation of Chauncey as a tutor may have grown in the early years of the eighteenth century, and that his academy grew as a consequence of Langston's death. However, in the absence of minutes for the period subsequent to 1704, this must remain a theory only.

Meanwhile, after an initial period of stability, the number of students supported by the Presbyterian Fund gradually started to decline. Two summary lists of students for 1695 place the numbers at 44 and 39. The summary for 1701 lists 37 students. However, the summaries for 1704-7 contain between 24 and 29 names, and across the following three years this number fell further to 14 in 1710.¹⁰⁰ During the second half of Queen Anne's reign the Fund continued to finance small numbers of students, ranging from 9 in 1711, to 7 in 1714 (the year of the Schism Act).¹⁰¹ This conscious choice by the Board members to reduce the number of grants was partly the consequence of a decrease in overall funding, no doubt due to a sense that the political situation for dissenters was deteriorating, and partly the result of a decision to focus money on the support of poor ministers, rather than adding to the glut of ministerial candidates. Defoe's criticism of the Board in 1712, that it funded too many students at too cheap a rate, was therefore both economically illiterate and misinformed: the Fund had no money to increase grants, and had already cut back on the numbers of students it supported. After Anne's death, the numbers of students supported quickly rose again, reaching 19 in 1718 and 23 in 1720.¹⁰² However, there was a notable change in the distribution of finance: in 1721 eleven grants were given to students at either Edinburgh or Glasgow, 6 to students at Evans's Carmarthen academy, and 4 to students at Nailsworth, where Jeremiah Jones was continuing to tutor his uncle Samuel Jones's students, formerly at Tewkesbury; only 9 grants were made to other academies, in London, Kibworth, Findern, Abingdon, Whitehaven, and Morpeth. By 1729 the only students receiving funding were those at Edinburgh University (1), and the academies in Findern (3), Taunton (3), and Carmarthen (2); it remained largely the case that only these three academies, the academy at Kendal

⁹⁹ One such source was the Throckmorton Trotman Trust, the minutes of which are lost, but were paraphrased by Albert Peel, 'The Throckmorton Trotman Trust, 1664-1941', *TCHS*, 14 (1940-4), 70-93. Among its beneficiaries was Isaac Watts.

¹⁰⁰ 1705 = 29 students; 1706 = 27; 1707 = 26; 1708 = 18; 1709 = 15; 1710 = 14.

¹⁰¹ 1711 = 9 students; 1712 = 8; 1713 = 9; 1714 = 7.

¹⁰² 1715 = 11 students; 1716 = 12; 1717 = not recorded; 1718 = 19; 1719 = 18; 1720 = 23.

(from 1738) and the Scottish universities were financed by the Presbyterian Fund until the 1750s.¹⁰³

The Dissenters' Academies and Political Controversies, 1702-1719

In the early years of Queen Anne's reign, Tory, high church and university unease about the dissenters' academies coalesced around the issue of occasional conformity. The controversy provoked intense public and parliamentary debate, leading to prolonged cries of 'the Church in Danger'. The first 'Occasional Conformity' bill, actually designed as a measure to introduce strict penalties on officeholders who reverted to attending dissenting chapels, was introduced in Queen Anne's first parliament in 1702, probably authored by Nottingham; it passed in the House of Commons but was disrupted by a series of Whig amendments in the Lords.¹⁰⁴ A second bill was introduced by the Tory MP for Oxford University, William Bromley, on 25 November 1703 but was defeated in the Lords on 14 December by 12 votes. In 1704, in a measure of dubious legality, a third Occasional Conformity bill was tacked onto a land tax bill; the Tack was defeated by a coalition of moderate Tories and Whigs by 251 votes to 134 on 28 November, and the Occasional Conformity bill itself was defeated in the Lords by a vote of 71 to 50 on 15 December.¹⁰⁵ Political momentum on the issue was now lost, and it was not until 1711 that a fourth bill was introduced, which passed into law as the Occasional Conformity Act.¹⁰⁶

The debates around occasional conformity encouraged the discussion of many other issues relating to dissent. In 1702 the Lower House of Canterbury Convocation complained to the Upper House about persons suffered to instruct youths as tutors or schoolmasters, without licence from an ordinary as required by the Act of Uniformity and the 77th Canon. This laxity had given encouragement to several 'ignorant and disaffected persons' to erect seminaries where 'academical learning is pretended to be taught', to the prejudice of the two universities. Furthermore, principles were being instilled into youth which perpetuated the schism

¹⁰³ DWL MS OD69: entries for 1722-1751.

¹⁰⁴ Edward Gregg, *Queen Anne* (London, 1980), pp. 162-3; Gilbert Burnet, *Bishop Burnet's History of his Own Time*, 2 vols. (London, 1724/034), Part V, pp. 52-4; Boyer, *Queen Anne*, pp. 38-42; Henry L. Snyder, 'The Defeat of the Occasional Conformity Bill and the Tack: A Study in the Techniques of Parliamentary Management in the Reign of Queen Anne', in *Peers, Politics and Power: The House of Lords, 1603-1911*, ed. C. and D. L. Jones (London, 1986), pp. 111-31; Geoffrey Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne* (London, 1967), pp. 97-108.

¹⁰⁵ Gregg, *Queen Anne*, pp. 176-8, 191-4.

¹⁰⁶ *The Statutes at Large*, 9 vols. (London, 1763-5), vol. 4, pp. 416-18.

between dissenters and the Church of England, and subverted the established constitution of the Church. Given the ‘daily increase’ of non-licensed schools and seminaries, Convocation recommended that the Upper House use their ‘utmost authority and interest for the suppressing such seminaries.’¹⁰⁷ In the dedication to Queen Anne of the second volume of Clarendon’s *History of the Rebellion* (1702), it was asked ‘what can be the meaning of the several seminaries and, as it were, universities’ set up in diverse parts of the kingdom, by more than ordinary industry, contrary to law, supported by large contributions, ‘where youth is bred up in principles directly contrary to monarchical and episcopal government?’¹⁰⁸ Similarly, in the preface to the third volume (1703), the dissenters’ academies were described as places where the ‘fiercest doctrines against monarchical and episcopal government’ were taught and propagated, implacably offending the Queen’s majesty, name, and family.¹⁰⁹ These comments reflected the Tory bias of Clarendon’s editors, including his son Laurence Hyde.

Among an important series of resolutions passed by the House of Commons on the ‘Church in Danger’ on 25 May 1705, was the claim that the erecting and continuing of seminaries for the instruction and education of youth in principles contrary to the established church and Government tended ‘to create and perpetuate Misunderstandings among Protestants’; further, to keep schools and seminaries for such a purpose was pernicious, serving only to widen the schisms and divisions of the nation. Later in the year, the Archbishop of York declared himself ‘apprehensive’ of the danger of the dissenters’ academies and moved that judges might be consulted about the laws in force against such seminaries. This was difficult territory, since the archbishop had sent his own sons to be educated by a certain Mr. Ellis, who had refused the Oath of Abjuration; this circumstance led Lord Wharton to call ironically for similar measures to suppress the schools and seminaries of nonjurors. When the debate returned to the Commons, Bromley opened it by reminding the House of the

¹⁰⁷ Edward Cardwell, *Synodalia*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1842), vol. 2, pp. 712-13, 718; Sykes, *Sheldon to Secker*, pp. 93-4; *A Representation from the Lower House of Convocation to the House of Bishops* (London, 1703).

¹⁰⁸ Clarendon, *History*, vol. 2, part 1, p. vi.

¹⁰⁹ Clarendon, *History*, vol. 3, part 1, p. xvii.

want of an act against Occasional Conformity, and the increase of ‘*Presbyterian Schools, and Seminaries*’.¹¹⁰

There is little reason to believe that either many members of Convocation or Clarendon’s editors had direct experience of the dissenters’ academies; rather they were expressing an increasingly prevalent high church rhetoric of the kind epitomised by Samuel Wesley. Although the first of Wesley’s letters had been written in the 1690s, the escalation of the occasional conformity debates in 1702-3 provided a suitable context for their publication. Wesley himself claimed that his papers were submitted to the scrutiny of those who would be ‘resolute and earnest’ to dissolve the schism which many dissenters sought to perpetuate. He suggested that the young men at Charles Morton’s academy in the 1680s had often ‘talk’d disaffectedly or disloyally’ of the government, despite the rebukes of their tutor; the examples of ‘almost a whole party ... The Genius of a Faction’ prevailed in the discourse and actions of students, who entertained a ‘Mortal Aversion’ to episcopacy and an abhorrence of monarchy. In a resonant phrase, Wesley asserted that ‘KING-KILLING DOCTRINES’ were received and defended at the academies, and that the clergy, public prayers, liturgy, and discipline of the Church of England were treated with disgrace and ridicule.¹¹¹

The effect of Wesley’s letter was more considerable than his opponents sought to suggest. In his response, Samuel Palmer described Wesley’s ‘impotent Malice’, and asserted that he ‘cou’d not find to what End and Purpose’ the text had been written.¹¹² Nevertheless, Palmer recognised that Wesley sought to represent dissenters as undutiful to the established church, injurious to the universities, turbulent and factious persons, and ‘*mean, little, and lewd People by Education*’. Palmer countered by arguing that it was a source of grief to dissenters that their consciences forbade them from being educated at the universities, that dissenters were opposed to tyranny but not monarchy in general, and that scandalous men were fifty-to-one of Wesley’s party rather than dissenters.¹¹³ Palmer’s *Defence* of the dissenters’ education prompted Wesley to argue that the academies represented a major threat to the universities, draining away ‘*considerable Numbers, several of the*

¹¹⁰ William Howell, *Medulla historiae Anglicanae* (London, 1712), p. 404; Boyer, *Queen Anne*, p. 137; John Oldmixon, *The History of England during the Reigns of King William and Queen Mary, Queen Anne, King George I* (London, 1735), pp. 357-66; Chamberlen, *Queen Anne*, pp. 221-3.

¹¹¹ Wesley, *Letter*, pp. 1-7.

¹¹² Palmer, *Defence*, pp. 1, 9.

¹¹³ Palmer, *Defence*, pp. 9-14.

Nobility, many of the Gentry ... some THOUSANDS'.¹¹⁴ Wesley quoted James Bonnell's experience under Thomas Cole's tuition in the 1660s as evidence of the poor morality at the academies, and widened his attack on dissenters with a historical consideration of the parts played by Presbyterians and Independents in the civil wars of the 1640s.¹¹⁵

Palmer's second response to Wesley, his *Vindication of the Learning, Loyalty, Morals* of the dissenters, sought to demonstrate that it was a matter of common right and justice that dissenters should be permitted to educate their youth according to their principles and the rational dictates of their conscience. Palmer believed that a private education was no bar to serving the Church of England or the learned professions. To compel a parent or guardian to put his child or pupil under the care of persons of contrary religious principles was to oblige dissenters to become learned against their conscience, or uncharitably compelled to remain ignorant. To deprive dissenters of their private education without admitting them to public schools interfered with the liberty of conscience invested by law through the Toleration Act. Palmer argued that the clauses in the Act of Uniformity relating to teaching did not apply to dissenting ministers, who were considered laymen in the eyes of the law; conscientious dissent included the obligation to educate ministers which was, therefore, indulged under the Toleration Act. Furthermore, dissenting schools and academies helped to preserve and support the established church, by securing her from the violence and fury of ignorant sectaries. Only the most execrable persecutors and tyrants in history had sought to restrain the religious and learned education of their subjects.¹¹⁶ It was unjust to debar dissenters from a private education because it was the Church of England's fault that they were excluded from public schools and universities: dissenters themselves would be content to attend universities if they were not obliged to swear that they would conform, and if the universities explained clearly which of their laws and statutes were in force.¹¹⁷ Since the academies did not confer degrees, they were no threat to the Queen's prerogative to support the universities; neither were tutors guilty of perjury by breaking the Stamford Oath.¹¹⁸ Dissenting tutors were fully capable of educating their students,

¹¹⁴ Wesley, *Defence*, pp. 14-15.

¹¹⁵ Wesley, *Defence*, pp. 43-4, 20-41.

¹¹⁶ Palmer, *Vindication*, pp. 3-11.

¹¹⁷ Palmer, *Vindication*, pp. 11-12: a reference to the Stamford Oath.

¹¹⁸ Palmer, *Vindication*, pp. 14-23.

and the main reason they published little before the Revolution of 1689 was that they could not expect booksellers to accept their treatises.¹¹⁹ Palmer insisted that no principles repugnant to the English monarchy had ever been taught in the dissenters' private academies or schools, and that no books had been recommended or taught, either historical, political, moral, divine, instructive, or polemical, that were not allowed and read in all the universities of Europe, or had a reputation for excellence and use in the learned world.¹²⁰ Furthermore, it was the universities, not the academies, which had spawned the authors of heresy, atheism, and lewdness.¹²¹

In his *Reply to Mr. Palmer's Vindication* Wesley introduced a new claim, that the dissenters were now choosing 'Lads of the most pregnant Parts', whom they maintained at public schools including St Paul's, in order to transplant them to academies with the intention of forming a body to attack the Church of England more successfully. Rather than providing a bulwark to defend the Church, the academies were breaking down its walls by perpetuating schism. Even if the academies were not destructive to the Church and State, they should be legislated against if they appeared dangerous to either. Wesley claimed that it was impossible to argue for the loyalty of the academies, because their pupils had 'suck'd in the same *Principles*' which had brought on the civil wars, especially since several of them had been sons or near relations of old Parliamentary officers and had famous republican books to confirm them in those principles. The Toleration Act did not repeal the Act of Uniformity, and those penalties which had not been sunk (such as those relating to schools) had been implicitly confirmed. All monarchs since the Reformation, even Queen Elizabeth, had sought restraints on the education of youths to prevent them imbibing principles dangerous to the public, so it was not true that restrictions on education were the provenance of tyrants.¹²² Academies behaved suspiciously like the public universities, receiving gifts, entertaining professors and students even from beyond the seas, levying mulcts for correcting offenders, and making bylaws.¹²³ The reason why so few dissenters had made a considerable figure in the learned world was the narrowness of the academy education. By contrast, he found little reason to believe that academical works by dissenting tutors would have

¹¹⁹ Palmer, *Vindication*, pp. 23-30.

¹²⁰ Palmer, *Vindication*, pp. 41-2.

¹²¹ Palmer, *Vindication*, pp. 94-104, defending the academies against Henry Sacheverell: see below.

¹²² Wesley, *Reply*, pp. 7-18.

¹²³ Wesley, *Reply*, p. 24.

failed the censor if they had been worthy of publication.¹²⁴ Although Morton always rebuked students who talked disaffectedly or disloyally, Wesley could not give the same character of the other tutors with which he was acquainted.¹²⁵ The disloyalty of many dissenters was proven by their support for Monmouth's rebellion, which several students of Morton and Veal joined.¹²⁶ Furthermore, the want of discipline in the academies made it impossible for virtuous tutors to restrain the immorality of their students.¹²⁷

Another Church of England minister to have had his education among dissenters was Theophilus Dorrington, the rector of Wittersham in Kent (1698-1715). In a tract of 1703 censuring the dissenting ministry, Dorrington conceded that Presbyterians required that their ministers should be qualified by education and study; however, he claimed that Presbyterians were but a small part of dissenters, and that even they admitted 'a great many very meanly qualified', upon little education and study.¹²⁸ Two years later, in his preface to a work on *Family Instruction* designed to counter the perceived pernicious principles of dissenting family religion, he insinuated that dissenters held many gross errors, equivalent to those of the papists. These corruptions were increased and spread among the sects, 'partly by the many Schools and Seminaries of Error' in which several Church of England youths had also been taught, their families mistakenly believing that they would learn greater strictness of piety and good manners; instead, they were inculcated with the dangerous and pernicious principles of schism.¹²⁹ In July 1711, when the debates about occasional conformity and schism reached a new peak of intensity, Dorrington wrote an open letter addressed to Dr Charlett, Master of University College, Oxford, bemoaning the 'Vile and Injurious Slander' emanating from dissenters and their 'Faction', that the universities were corrupt and debauched, taking no care of the morals and religion of youths. This argument, he stated, had been invented to keep nobility, gentry, and rich tradesmen from sending their sons to the universities, enabling dissenters to infect them with their own immoral principles in their private schools and academies. Here they were bred up more in the

¹²⁴ Wesley, *Reply*, pp. 44-7.

¹²⁵ Wesley, *Reply*, p. 72.

¹²⁶ Wesley, *Reply*, p. 84.

¹²⁷ Wesley, *Reply*, pp. 129-36.

¹²⁸ Theophilus Dorrington, *The Dissenting Ministry in Religion Censur'd and Condemned* (London, 1703), pp. 8-9.

¹²⁹ Theophilus Dorrington, *Family Instruction for the Church of England* (London, 1705), 'Preface'.

‘Admiration and Affection of Liberty’ than in the ‘Love and Practice of Obedience to Governors’ in church or state; this ‘Liberty in Opinion’ was destructive of rule, order, and government, and the dissenters’ schools were ‘among the Causes of the Growth of Infidelity, Heresy and Prophaneness’.¹³⁰

The most eloquent vindication of the dissenters’ academies came from the prominent Presbyterian Edmund Calamy, who explained their rise historically in the first part of his *Defence of Moderate Nonconformity* (1703). Calamy explained that as the first generation of nonconformist ministers had died, their congregations (which had been formed on the principle of the necessity of religious reformation) had chosen other ministers who avowed that principle; before the Revolution, these had been ‘bred up for the Ministry’ in private academies in England, or in the universities of Geneva, Utrecht, Leiden, Edinburgh, or Glasgow.¹³¹ A learned ministry was necessary, but it was only requisite for a minister to be ‘moderately vers’d’ in learning, and not essential that he became ‘a compleat Metaphysician, Mathematician, or Natural Philosopher’, or church historian.¹³² Nevertheless, a polite and learned education was important to prevent dissenting congregations from falling into the hands of ‘insufficient Mechanicks’.¹³³ Calamy denied that the major dissenting denominations were as far apart on the issue of an educated ministry as was sometimes perceived. Even the majority of Baptists, he noted, were convinced of the necessity of learning in the ministerial office, and had determined in their general meetings to train persons up for the ministry through a polite education.¹³⁴ Calamy would not excuse those Independents who had encouraged ‘raw and unfurnish’d Persons’ to enter the ministry, but recognised that most of them were zealous for education and learning. Arguing against Dorrington, he asserted that the Presbyterians were as careful about the qualifications of ministers as was the Church of England.¹³⁵ Although he could not vouch that all dissenting ministers had been as well qualified as might be wished, the early entrance of some into the ministry was

¹³⁰ Theophilus Dorrington, *The Worship of God Recommended* (Oxford, 1712), ‘Preface’.

¹³¹ Edmund Calamy, *A Defence of Moderate Nonconformity*, 3 vols. (London, 1703-5), vol. 1, p. 30.

¹³² Calamy, *Defence*, vol. 1, p. 109.

¹³³ Calamy, *Defence*, vol. 1, p. 191.

¹³⁴ There is no evidence that Baptists opened their own academies prior to 1720, the date at which it can be stated confidently that Bristol Baptist Academy was operating. However, Baptists did attend other academies before that date: Brockett, *Exeter Assembly*, pp. 23-4.

¹³⁵ Calamy, *Defence*, vol. 1, pp. 243-4.

‘much more owing to the straitness of their Circumstances, than to *indigested Notions*’ such as the gifts of the Spirit.¹³⁶

Calamy wrote that his early inclination to learning was encouraged not only by his dissenting friends and relations, but by several members of the Church of England, including his uncle, the conformist minister Benjamin Calamy, an associate of the low churchman Benjamin Hoadly. Benjamin Calamy offered to support Edmund at Cambridge and to work hard to get him preferred in the Church of England, but Edmund told his uncle that travelling abroad would suit him better, providing advantages which could not be achieved in England. Despite his disappointment, Benjamin continued to encourage his inclination to learning and the ministry.¹³⁷ Calamy later reflected that while he was a probationer he did not pretend to act with the authority of an ordained minister, but considered himself justified in viewing his success as a preacher as evidence that God had designed him to be of use in the ministerial office.¹³⁸

The most virulent and ill-informed high church assault on the academies came from Henry Sacheverell, who issued a series of rhetorically colourful sermons and pamphlets across Queen Anne’s reign attacking dissenters as law-breakers and schismatics. Sacheverell’s position as an Oxford fellow gave him a vested interest in defending the universities at the expense of private academies. In a sermon on the *The Nature and Mischief of Prejudice and Partiality* (1704) Sacheverell reminded his audience that it lay in everyone’s power as a private individual to correct or subdue his own errors; however, public causes of prejudice affecting the body politic and striking at the national interest required the assistance of the magistrate and the power of the law for their suppression. The most notorious of these causes were the ‘*Illegal Seminaries ... as ’twere so Many Schismatical Universities*’ set up in opposition to the established church, Oxford, and Cambridge, where youths were educated ‘in all the Poysnous Principles of *Fanaticism* and *Faction*’. Here, students were debauched with ‘the Corrupted *Maxims* of *Republicanism*’, which inevitably tended to anarchy and confusion. Sacheverell called upon law enforcers to ‘take Cognizance of Such a *Growing Mischief*’, which if suffered to continue with impunity, would gather strength and ‘Rise into *Corporations*, and *Societies* of

¹³⁶ Calamy, *Defence*, vol. 1, p. 251.

¹³⁷ Calamy, *Defence*, vol. 1, p. 212.

¹³⁸ Calamy, *Defence*, vol. 2, p. 408.

Schism, to ‘Propagate a *Generation of Vipers*’ which would eat through the bowels of the church and perpetuate dissent to posterity.¹³⁹ In his most famous sermon, *The Perils of False Brethren* (1709), Sacheverell expressed his rage that dissenters were not merely able to ‘spread their *Poyson*’ singly and in private, but were lamentably ‘suffer’d to combine into *Bodies, and Seminaries,*’ wherein ‘*Atheism, Deism, Tritheism, Socinianism, with all the Hellish Principles of Fanaticism, Regicide, and Anarchy, are openly Profess’d, and Taught*’.¹⁴⁰ It was Sacheverell’s reflections on the established church and state in this sermon which led to his high-profile impeachment, a move which proved disastrous for the Whigs in parliament; nevertheless his comments on academies did not go unnoticed among his opponents. During Sacheverell’s impeachment, Peter King took his comments on academies as evidence that he was criticising the government’s approach to the Toleration Act; Sergeant Parker, MP for Derby, likewise accused Sacheverell of a direct charge against the government for suffering the existence of dissenting seminaries; in the Lords, Secretary Boyle went further, claiming that Sacheverell’s comments on academies had been an incitement to sedition and rebellion.¹⁴¹ In his much-printed speech of self-defence delivered in Westminster Hall on 7 March 1710, Sacheverell held his ground, although he tempered his language slightly; dissenters’ abuses of the Toleration Act, he said, sprang from their ill observance of its limits as essentially a legally-enshrined indulgence. The Act had been intended for the ease of those whose minds had already been estranged from the Church through their education, not to allow men to take effective methods to propagate and perpetuate their schism; once again he insisted that dissenters’ seminaries were designed ‘for Educating Youth in Principles opposite to the Doctrine, Discipline and Worship of our Church’.¹⁴²

Several of the anti-Sacheverell pamphlets sought to use his own language and arguments against him. A satirical versification of Sacheverell’s sermon, titled *The Priest Turn’d Poet*, required barely an alteration to his words on the dissenters’ academies:

¹³⁹ Henry Sacheverell, *The Nature and Mischief of Prejudice and Partiality Stated* (Oxford, 1704), pp. 53-5.

¹⁴⁰ Henry Sacheverell, *The Perils of False Brethren* (London, 1709), p. 25.

¹⁴¹ *The Tryal of Dr. Henry Sacheverell* (London, 1710), pp. 94, 135, 150.

¹⁴² Henry Sacheverell, *Dr. Henry Sacheverell’s Speech made in Westminster-Hall* (London, 1710), p. 5.

Our Government suffers these Knaves to combine
 In Nurseries, where *Deists* and *Atheists* design,
 With *Tritheists*, *Fanaticks*, *King-killers* in truth,
 To corrupt, and debauch, and to poyson our Youth[.]¹⁴³

The low churchman William Bisset's tracts on *The Modern Fanatick* reversed Sacheverell's attack onto the universities, where 'without Doubt, the *Discipline of the Church* may have *free Course*', but concerning which there were 'just and general Complaints' of moral disorders. Many prudent parents, Bisset opined, who were 'far from Puritannical Preciseness', were afraid to venture their sons to the universities, where the main principles instilled were an extreme scorn and hatred of that which they falsely called '*Fanaticism*'; the real fanatics, he suggested, were Sacheverell and his supporters.¹⁴⁴ An anonymous pamphlet claiming influence from the deist John Toland mocked Sacheverell's words 'begot in Rebellion, born in Sedition, and nurs'd up in Faction' as an overturning of the order of things, since '*Faction* naturally goes before *Sedition*, as *Sedition* makes *Rebellion*'; Sacheverell's argument combined bad eloquence and wretched declamation with false doctrine.¹⁴⁵ Another pamphlet located Sacheverell's phrase in the 1703 edition of Peter Heylin's *Cosmography*, a text in which Heylin had styled Genevan church discipline as carrying on the Reformation by rebellion, despite the fact that the words 'rebellion', 'sedition', and 'faction' applied equally to the Papists.¹⁴⁶ The dissenter Benjamin Sacheverell, Henry's uncle, criticised his nephew's prejudices. Henry's grandfather had been an nonconforming minister, but in Benjamin's eyes no schismatic: he had studied at St John's College, Oxford and sent his son, Henry's father, not to an academy but to King's College, Cambridge.¹⁴⁷ Even his family history counted against Sacheverell's rhetoric.

Although most dissenting tutors opted not to publish responses to the religious controversies of Anne's reign, one of the most interesting replies to Sacheverell's 1704 sermon on *Prejudice and Partiality* was by James Owen, the tutor at a private academy in Shrewsbury. Owen had first entered the occasional

¹⁴³ P. J., *The Priest Turn'd Poet* (London, 1709), p. 8.

¹⁴⁴ William Bisset, *The Modern Fanatick*, 2 vols, (London, 1710-11), vol. 1, p. 44.

¹⁴⁵ *Mr. Toland's Reflections on Dr. Sacheverell's Sermon* (London, 1710), pp. 6-7.

¹⁴⁶ *Reflections on Dr. Sacheverell's Answer to the Articles of Impeachment* (London, 1710), pp. 21, 24; Peter Heylin, *Cosmography* (London, 1703), p. 132.

¹⁴⁷ Benjamin Sacheverell, *Sacheverell against Sacheverell* (London, 1711), p. 6.

conformity controversy in 1683 with an anonymous tract entitled *Moderation a Virtue*; this work had sought to justify occasional conformity by analysing its historical precedents, defending its principles, showing that the practice strengthened the state and the Church, and pointing out the weaknesses of the recent Occasional Conformity bill. Some years later, Owen answered some of his critics in his second anonymous tract, *Moderation Still a Virtue*; here he defended dissenters against the charge of schism and provided an explanation of the reasons for nonconformity. As an appendix, he provided a short vindication of the dissenters' academies against Sacheverell's attack. The academies, he argued, deserved the protection of the magistrate.¹⁴⁸ Owen believed that the Toleration Act made it highly reasonable that dissenters should be permitted to educate a sufficient number of scholars for their ministry; otherwise the Act would prove insufficient to give ease to tender consciences. If the universities were to confer degrees on all deserving persons without respect to opinions and parties there would be no occasion for private academies, but the condition of conformity made them necessary. It was in the interest of the Church of England to tolerate private academies: if dissenting ministers were denied a learned education they would run further from the Church, since learning enlarged a person's rational powers, giving him more comprehensive ideas of things, and disposing people to a candid interpretation of differences; by contrast, ignorance fixed prejudices and inclined devout minds to enthusiasm, not moderation.¹⁴⁹ The dissenters' academies were an advantage to the universities, raising an emulation in students and exciting them to greater diligence. Indeed, religious differences had a favourable influence on learning, which was much advanced by the zeal of contending parties to defend their opinions. Furthermore, it was not in the national interest to force dissenters to consume considerable sums of money by sending their children to Scotland and the Netherlands, where they might also learn a stricter presbyterianism and republican principles.¹⁵⁰ Owen believed that the dissenters' academies in Charles II's time were only molested when the laws against their religious assemblies were executed. He concluded that Sacheverell was governed by the same '*Popish and French Maxims*' which had seen the closing of Protestant schools in France; it was notable, he suggested, that Sacheverell and his

¹⁴⁸ James Owen, *Moderation Still a Virtue* (London, 1704), p. 97.

¹⁴⁹ Owen, *Moderation Still*, pp. 97-9.

¹⁵⁰ Owen, *Moderation Still*, pp. 99-100.

friends had taken no notice of the English Catholic colleges abroad, or their schools in England.¹⁵¹ Sacheverell was a ‘perfect Stranger’ to the academies, and unable to give a fair character of them, acting instead as a conceited painter with a desultory and distempered imagination. Owen had never known any republican or commonwealth principles to have been taught in them. Turning his attack to Wesley, he berated the ‘Calumny’ that multitudes of atheistical and lewd books proceeded from the academies, and observed that dissenting tutors formed the minds of their pupils with principles of religion and virtue.¹⁵²

The Occasional Conformity Act of 1711 did not directly address the issue of the dissenters’ schools and academies and over the following two years calls for their suppression intensified. In particular, the prominence of the claim that the academies perpetuated schism intensified; this was a debate in which Presbyterians in particular had long been engaged, ever since the Toleration Act and the publication of Matthew Henry’s *A Brief Enquiry into the True Nature of Schism* (1690).¹⁵³ Daniel Defoe’s view was that the Schism Bill was ‘a Mine dug to blow up’ Robert Harley; if Harley opposed it, the Tories would be able to persuade the Queen that he was a fanatic in disguise, whereas if he supported it, he would irreconcilably provoke the dissenters and strip himself of his private friends. Defoe asserted optimistically that Harley made himself ‘Master of the Plot’ by castrating it of the most malicious and persecuting parts, and then supporting it; this meant that Harley received no political wound from the Bill, except a temporary casting of blame from the dissenters.¹⁵⁴

Defoe made passing reference to the Schism Bill in several of his political tracts in 1714,¹⁵⁵ but reserved extensive comment to two pamphlets: *A Brief Survey of the Legal Liberties of the Dissenters*, and *The Schism Act Explain’d*. In his *Brief Survey* he conceded that the keeping of schools and academies was not an express part of the Toleration Act, but insisted that it was an essential component of the

¹⁵¹ Owen, *Moderation Still*, pp. 100-1.

¹⁵² Owen, *Moderation Still*, pp. 101-4.

¹⁵³ See Chapter 4.

¹⁵⁴ Daniel Defoe, *The Secret History of the White-Staff* (London, 1714), p. 17. Most historians accept that Harley was in fact deeply damaged by the progress of the Bill; a major player in support of the Bill was Bolingbroke, whom Josiah Thompson believed to have been educated by John Woodhouse: Holmes, *British Politics*, p. 380; DWL MS 24.59.

¹⁵⁵ The exact number of these is impossible to ascertain, since the debate about Defoe attributions still rumbles on in the light of P. N. Furbank and W. R. Owens, *Defoe De-attributions* (London, 1994). Tracts of 1714 mentioning the Schism Bill and sometimes attributed to Defoe include *A Letter to the Dissenters*; *The Weakest Go to the Wall*; and *Impeachment, or No Impeachment*; more doubtful attributions include *A Letter to Mr. Steele*; *The Remedy Worse than the Disease*; and *The Case of the Protestant Dissenters in England*.

concept of toleration. He believed that if the Schism Act was passed, dissenters' children would have the right to dissent, but not the right to be taught why they dissented, an essential right and responsibility belonging to their parents. Defoe opposed forcing all school teachers to avoid dissenting meetings, the imposition of penalties, the threats of rigorous prosecution, the debarring of dissenters from appealing to the courts, the power granted by the Act to unsympathetic JPs, and the threats of prosecution in the ecclesiastical courts. He believed that these measures were persecutory, and could only foment factionalism. On a practical political level, he considered the Bill disastrous, as parents would divert their services to the country towards educating their children abroad; in banning the Westminster Assembly's catechisms the Act would be self-defeating, encouraging the old Reforming practices of family religion, discipline, and instruction.¹⁵⁶ In the *Schism Act Explain'd*, Defoe suggested that dissenters did not understand the extent and effects of the new law, that the Bill had been made more moderate by its passage through Parliament, and that there was very little enacted now which had not previously been in force.¹⁵⁷ The law would always see a difference between the schools and academies of Protestant dissenters and Jesuit seminaries or Popish nurseries. Furthermore, he claimed that the licensing laws now only applied to tutors in academical subjects: heads of academies could continue to instil religious principles in members of their household, including students, providing they gave up their teaching duties.¹⁵⁸

Few pamphleteers on either side of the debate offered as liberal an interpretation of the Schism Act as Defoe. The Act itself repeated the requirement of the Act of Uniformity that every schoolmaster keeping a public or private school, or instructing any youth or private family as a tutor or schoolmaster, should subscribe before their bishop a declaration to conform to the liturgy of the Church of England; any unlicensed schoolmaster, instructor or teacher would suffer three months' imprisonment for every offence, with a fine of £5 for the second and every subsequent offence. However, it also required that any person teaching in a 'seminary', or instructing as a tutor, schoolmaster, or schoolmistress in reading, scholastic, academical, or other literature, needed to subscribe to the declaration and purchase a licence; this licence required a certificate that the tutor had received the

¹⁵⁶ Daniel Defoe, *A Brief Survey of the Legal Liberties of the Dissenters* (London, 1714), pp. 4-17.

¹⁵⁷ Defoe, *The Schism Act Explain'd* (London, 1714), pp. 4, 21-4, 13.

¹⁵⁸ Defoe, *Schism Act Explain'd*, pp. 26, 16-19, 34.

sacrament in a parish church, and subscribed to the Oaths of Allegiance, Supremacy, and Abjuration before a bishop. Any tutor subsequently attending a conventicle, assembly, or meeting could be prosecuted by the ecclesiastical courts, and any person teaching any catechism not authorised by the Church of England could have their licence removed.¹⁵⁹ The Act was clear: no private tutor was permitted to be a practising dissenter.

Nevertheless, the effects of the Act were less obvious. There was some debate as to whether it remained in law, since the Queen had died on the day that it became a statute.¹⁶⁰ There are no clear examples of prosecutions under the Act. Later accounts of academies closing for brief periods in 1714 to avoid prosecutions may be true, but they are not currently verifiable. The Act was not quite a dead letter; it was rather the culmination of a period of considerable political pressure which contributed to a decline in the number of tutors and students being funded by the denominational fund boards. However, the Act itself did not extinguish the dissenters' academies, or cause a terminal decline in the fortunes of dissenters: in 1718 the Presbyterian Fund was supporting the students of John Wadsworth, Samuel Jones, Thomas Hill, Thomas Dixon, and John Eames, and the academy at Taunton, as well as students at Edinburgh and Glasgow. The official repeal of the Act in 1719 may have made little material difference to all but a small handful of academy tutors.

Conclusion: Dissenting Tutors and their Students, 1689-1719

The success of the dissenters' academies after the Toleration Act is best measured not through a study of the political controversies of the 1710s, but through a study of their ability to educate students for the ministry. The limited sources make a survey of the careers of all the students at all of the academies operating between 1689 and 1719 impossible. Fortunately, however, there are a number of key sources which allow lists of students to be compiled for a number of key academies, and which enable the future careers of those students to be identified. The most important of these is Thompson's manuscript, dating from *c.* 1770, which provides lists of students for several academies. These lists are demonstrably unreliable, but they may be cross-referenced against other sources, including student memoirs and correspondence, funeral sermons, and contemporaneous manuscript surveys of

¹⁵⁹ Defoe, *Brief Survey*, pp. 19-24.

¹⁶⁰ Oldmixon, *History of England*, p. 555.

dissenters.¹⁶¹ In particular, the list of dissenting ministers and congregations drawn up by the Presbyterian John Evans, c. 1715-17, provides a snapshot of where former academy students were ministering during this period.¹⁶² Drawn up with the assistance of several academy tutors, including John Jennings, William Tong, Thomas Dixon, Charles Owen, John Hardy, and John Reynolds, it shows a high degree of local knowledge, and is usually reliable in its basic information about places and ministers. To this survey can be added information from regional ministerial assemblies meeting in Cheshire, Lancashire, and Devon, and data relating to the financing of students and poor congregations from the Common Fund, Presbyterian Fund Board, and Congregational Fund Board. Together these sources enable incomplete lists of students to be compiled for the Congregational academies of Timothy Jollie, John Langston, Thomas Rowe, William Paine, and Thomas Goodwin; they can also be produced for the Presbyterian tutors Richard Frankland (analysed in Chapter 1), John Woodhouse, John Chorlton, Samuel Jones of Brynlllywarch, James Owen, Samuel Benion, Joseph Hallett, and Samuel Jones of Tewkesbury.

Student lists relating to Congregational tutors suggest that academies tended to supply ministers to congregations in particular regions.¹⁶³ A large number of Timothy Jollie's students became ministers in Yorkshire. These included pastors at York (Thomas Baxter and John Hotham), Sheffield (John de la Rose and John Wadsworth), Hull (Thomas Fletcher, Jeremiah Gill and Joseph Sutton), Barnsley (John Front), Wakefield (Isaac Hawkins), Leeds (William Moulton, Joseph Sutton), Whitby (John Reddid), Rotherham (John Wadsworth, Thomas Wilson and William Wilson), and Scarborough (William Whitaker). Many of Langston's students began their careers serving the Independent congregations in East Anglia, although several also ministered in London. However, not all students remained so near to their academy. Jollie's students were ministers in Derbyshire (Thomas Ibbotson), Lancashire (Hugh Worthington), Lincolnshire (Ambrose Ridsdale), Herefordshire (John Dobson), Cheshire (John Jones), Denbighshire (Edward Kendrick), Staffordshire (John King), Hertfordshire (John Needham), Nottinghamshire (John

¹⁶¹ See Appendix 3. Other sources used for the analysis below include DWL MS 24.59 (Thompson's list), BUL XMS 281 (Jones's list); DWL MSS 38.5-11 (Thompson's notes on dissenting congregations); DWL MS 38.18 ('A View of the Dissenting Interest in London'). The less-reliable *Surman Index Online* has also been used; its data has been checked against the sources listed above.

¹⁶² DWL MS 38.4: John Evans's List.

¹⁶³ Appendix 3; DWL MS 38.4.

Alwood), and Leicestershire (David Some). A few of his students migrated to the south of England: John Barker, Peter Bradbury, William Harris, Thomas Simmons, and Ebenezer Wilson spent at least part of their ministries in London; two students (Kirkby Reyner and Ebenezer Wilson) ministered in Bristol, and one (Reyner) also ministered in Amsterdam. The academies of William Paine and Thomas Goodwin catered for congregations across the southern counties of England. There was considerable cooperation between these two tutors; at least nine students attended both academies, starting under the tuition of Paine in Saffron Walden and then moving to Goodwin at Pinner.¹⁶⁴ The high reputation of Thomas Rowe's academy meant that it encouraged several students from the west country; similarly, his former pupils ministered to congregations across southern England, including Middlesex, Sussex, Essex, and Surrey, but also Somerset, Hertfordshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk.

The vast majority of known students at all of these academies were ministerial, and most of them remained Congregational. However, although many of Thomas Rowe's students were sponsored by the Congregational Fund, several of them (such as Robert Bagster, John Evans, Henry Grove, and Samuel Say) later ministered to Presbyterian congregations, and at least one (Robert Watkins) was a Baptist. Several of the students of William Paine and Thomas Goodwin also became Presbyterians. A higher proportion of Timothy Jollie's students remained Congregational, but even here there were exceptions: Thomas Secker was unhappy at the academy and moved to Samuel Jones's academy at Gloucester, and John Needham became a Baptist minister. Certainly, some tutors gained a higher reputation than others. Jollie had a number of gifted students, including Secker, Rice Price, and John Wadsworth, but this was in part because there were few other Congregational academies in the north of England. In the south, gifted students went in larger numbers to Rowe's academy than to those of Langston or Goodwin. Although it is dangerous to project the future intellectual success of Rowe's students onto their aptitude as students, it is clear that he tutored some of the most promising young dissenters of their generation, including Isaac Watts, the tutors John Eames

¹⁶⁴ John Green, John Guyse, Keene, Linnet, Thomas Milway, Samuel Saddington, William Scott, James Watson, Caleb Wroe.

and Henry Grove, the historians John Evans and Daniel Neal, the poet John Hughes, and the Archbishop of Tuam, Josiah Hort.¹⁶⁵

The Presbyterian academies were similarly regional, tending to provide students to congregations in neighbouring counties.¹⁶⁶ John Woodhouse's students ministered in the midlands and the north of England, including Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Worcestershire, Lancashire, Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Lincolnshire, Herefordshire, Derbyshire, Shropshire, and Cheshire. Several of them attended meetings of the Cheshire classis, or the Lancashire association of ministers. After the death of Frankland and Woodhouse, John Chorlton's academy was for a short time the most important provider of ministers to the region; his students became ministers in Derbyshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, and Staffordshire, including Kendal, Manchester, Stafford, and Stockport. The students of Samuel Jones of Brynllwarch tended to have Welsh names, and many went on to become ministers in Wales or Shropshire. After Jones's death, his work was taken up by Roger Griffith (Presbyterian) and Rice Price (Congregational); however, the academy of James Owen at Oswestry and Shrewsbury also included men who became preachers in Wales (Thomas Davis and John Lewis), as well as schoolteachers (Jeremiah Owen), and academy tutors in Nottingham (John Hardy), Wales (Thomas Perrot) and Warrington (Charles Owen). Joseph Hallett's academy in Exeter was a particularly provincial affair; the majority of his students spent most or all of their careers serving congregations in Devon, with a small number also ministering in Somerset and Cornwall. The same was not true of the second Samuel Jones's academy at Gloucester and Tewkesbury, whose students became ministers across the south of England. Many began their ministries at Gloucestershire and Shropshire meetings, but others went to Herefordshire, Wales, Devon, Wiltshire, Hampshire, Essex, and Middlesex. Several, such as Samuel Chandler, Andrew Gifford, Edward Godwin, and Thomas Mole, were among the most celebrated dissenting ministers in London; others, including Joseph Butler and Thomas Secker, conformed, and became prominent Church of England ministers. Similarly, the students of Samuel Benion, James Owen's successor at Shrewsbury, became ministers across England and Wales, in Wiltshire and Somerset (John Beal), Shropshire, Lancashire, and Herefordshire (Peter Seddon), Newington Green (Richard Biscoe), Leicester

¹⁶⁵ DWL MSS OD67, OD401-2.

¹⁶⁶ Appendix 3; DWL MS 24.59; DWL MSS OD67-8.

(Thomas Gee), Chester (Daniel Maddock), and Staffordshire (Jonah Malkin and Richard Witton). As was true of the Congregationalists, some Presbyterian tutors had wider connections, and probably a higher reputation, than others. Similarly, whereas the students from some academies (including the academies of John Chorlton and Joseph Hallett) remained overwhelmingly Presbyterian, other tutors (including Samuel Jones of Brynlllywarch and Samuel Jones of Tewkesbury) also produced many students who became Church of England, Congregational, or Baptist ministers. Theologically, there were also differences between students at the same academies; although the number and proportion of theological ‘nonsubscribers’ at Joseph Hallett’s academy was exceptional, theological disagreements are also recorded among the students of John Chorlton, and Samuel Jones of Tewkesbury.¹⁶⁷

Despite the political pressure which they continued to face during the reigns of William III and Anne, the academies were largely successful at providing a sufficient supply of ministers to dissenting congregations. Private academies were located in areas in which the number and size of dissenting congregations was marked, including London, the south west, Wales, Shropshire, and Yorkshire. Cooperation between tutors and regional and national ministerial assemblies was strong, meaning that from the late 1690s there were in many regions established pathways by which academy students could become candidates for the ministry, lecturers, and assistant ministers, prior to ordination. The call of a young minister to a congregation was often arranged through ministerial assemblies, and the advice of tutors was often sought. As a consequence, most academies became associated with particular regions, although talented or well-connected students often found their careers taking them to other parts of the country, or to one of the English churches abroad. The path from academy student, to ministerial candidate, to minister was not created as a consequence of the Toleration Act, but its formalisation as the normal route for academy students was a result of the growth of regional ministerial assemblies in the 1690s. Although funding for assemblies and students fell during the reign of Queen Anne, the combination of prosecutions, legal reforms, and political pamphleteering did not succeed in undermining this basic structure. It is true that from the 1720s fewer academies were supported by the London-based Presbyterian Fund: from 1729 to 1748 the only students to be given grants were

¹⁶⁷ James Peirce, *Remarks upon the Account of What was Transacted in the Assembly at Exon* (London, 1719), p. 38; Clegg, *Diary*, p. 23; Fox, ‘Memoirs’.

those at Findern (tutored by Ebenezer Latham), Taunton (Henry Grove, Stephen James, and Robert Darch), Kendal (Caleb Rotheram), and Carmarthen (Thomas Perrot).¹⁶⁸ However, the withdrawal of support from other academies was due more to theological controversy, and the strength of local systems of finance, than to the closure of academies in the 1710s. By the repeal of the Schism Act in 1719, the dissenters' private academies were becoming an increasingly well-recognised feature of the intellectual life of England and Wales.

¹⁶⁸ DWL MS OD69; see Appendix 2.

CHAPTER THREE

Philosophy at the Dissenters' Private Academies

There has been a considerable amount of research in recent years into the courses of study students undertook at early modern universities, much of it using a combination of students' accounts of their experiences, and manuscript notebooks and systems of learning.¹ However, there has been little sustained investigation into the subjects taught at the dissenters' early academies, or into the ways in which they were taught. The first attempt to set out the major sources for the shape of academy learning was Herbert McLachlan, whose work suffered from a tendency to infer the shape of academy courses from students' subsequent reading habits and libraries.² The only book-length published work on the topic of academy courses of study, J. W. Ashley Smith's *The Birth of Modern Education*,³ is flawed by the author's decision to investigate almost solely works published by tutors which were not studied at the academies, and to ignore manuscript texts which almost certainly were.⁴ Both writers, together with Irene Parker, severely overestimated the impact of the proposed educational reforms of Comenius, Hartlib and Milton on the early academies.⁵ Except in relation to the work of David A. Reid on science and Alan P. F. Sell on theology,⁶ knowledge of the subjects taught at the academies between 1660 and 1715 has not advanced significantly since the 1950s. This chapter begins to address this problem. After outlining which subjects were taught in which academies, it provides an account of the teaching methods dissenting tutors adopted, and explores their relation to methods at the English universities. One of the most popular schemes adopted by dissenting tutors in their theories of education was the division of philosophy into instrumental, speculative and practical science. Although in practice there is little evidence that academies followed this scheme rigidly, it

¹ See especially Mordechai Feingold, 'The Humanities', 'The Mathematical Sciences and New Philosophies', and 'Oriental Studies', in *History of the University of Oxford IV*, pp. 211-503.

² McLachlan, pp. 45-142.

³ Ashley Smith, pp. 269-74.

⁴ Further details regarding their shortcomings are outlined in the Introduction.

⁵ Parker, pp. 45-74.

⁶ David A. Reid, 'A Science for Polite Society: British Dissent and the Teaching of Natural Philosophy in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in *History of Universities*, XXI/2 (2006), 117-58, and Alan P. F. Sell, *Philosophy, Dissent and Nonconformity, 1689-1920* (London, 2004); both present a model of essential conservatism, but both still overestimate the significance of Comenian reforms.

provides a convenient framework for providing an overview of the ways in which philosophy was taught in the academies. In the sections which follow, I analyse the teaching of logic, physics, mathematics, and ethics in detail, highlighting the key intellectual and pedagogic trends within each discipline, in order to assess the direction and pace of intellectual change within the academies.

The Subjects Studied

In the preface to a manuscript treatise on logic, Charles Morton, tutor at Newington Green and future vice-president of Harvard College, explored the nature and divisions of learning (see Diagram 1). Knowledge, he argued, could be categorised in three ways: it was either extraordinary knowledge by immediate inspiration from God, natural knowledge resulting from common instinct, or acquired knowledge. Knowledge could be acquired through teaching, learning, and study; the two main branches of acquired knowledge were philology and philosophy. This division had been well known to students at the English, Irish and Scottish universities since Tudor times, and had formed the basis for categorising student examinations at Harvard since its inception.⁷ Philology, in Morton's scheme, consisted of grammar, rhetoric, and poetry in classical languages such as Latin, Greek and Hebrew, whereas philosophy included the study of logic as an instrumental discipline, which was then to be applied to the principal philosophies, namely the other sciences. Practical sciences included ethics, politics and economics, the last of which for Morton as for Richard Baxter meant the regulation of domestic affairs. Speculative sciences included metaphysics, physics and mathematics, this last including such diverse branches as geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, geography, optics and music.⁸

If implemented, such a course of study would have provided academy students with a wide education, equivalent in outline to the BA courses at the English, Scottish and Irish universities. The Oxford tutor Robert Sanderson, for

⁷ For outlines of the courses of study at these universities, see *History of the University of Oxford IV*; Harris Francis Fletcher, *The Intellectual Development of John Milton*, 2 vols. (Urbana, 1956, on Cambridge); John Coffey, *Politics, Religion and the British Revolutions: The Mind of Samuel Rutherford* (Cambridge, 1997), chapter 3 (on Edinburgh); and Samuel Eliot Morison, *Harvard in the Seventeenth Century*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1930).

⁸ The text of Morton's logic, as copied at Harvard College by William Partridge in 1687, has been edited by Kennedy, *Logic*, pp. 139-254; his transcription of the prefatory tables appears on p. 143.

instance, had outlined a similar plan for students before his death in 1663.⁹ However, like many such outlines, Morton's scheme is notable for what it excludes: it gives us no sense as to whether he taught history and chronology, whether sacred or secular, makes no mention of modern languages including English, and does not indicate his attitude towards the higher courses of theology, medicine and law. It is also far from clear that Morton's scheme could be anything other than an aspiration for the majority of early academies, limited by the knowledge and skills demonstrable by a single tutor.¹⁰ Neither can it be proved that Morton himself followed this scheme in his own teaching.¹¹ Clearly, just as it has been necessary to pay attention to sources other than the university regulations in order to widen our understanding of teaching and learning at the universities, it is necessary to pay attention to a much wider number of sources than has previously been the case if historians are to ascertain what was taught at the academies. These sources include the accounts of students as well as tutors, and manuscript systems of learning. Taken together they suggest that although almost all of the subjects mentioned by Morton (and others) were taught at one academy or another,¹² a typical academy course of study was much more limited in scope and variable in quality than Morton's scheme or previous commentators have assumed. Before considering the teaching of individual subjects in detail, I would like to review the evidence for the shape of learning across this period in a range of academies.¹³

⁹ Mordechai Feingold, 'The Humanities', in *History of the University of Oxford IV*, p. 214. The text in question is Robert Sanderson, *Physicae scientiae compendium* (Oxford, 1671), pp. 1-3; the most notable difference is that Sanderson considers grammar and rhetoric, with logic, to be instrumental disciplines. Sanderson's text as a whole bears a marked similarity to Morton's manuscript *Compendium physicae*, which he was certainly preparing by the early 1680s. Sanderson, the first Restoration Bishop of Lincoln, was regius professor of Divinity at Oxford until 1648, the year Morton entered New Inn Hall, and was well known to John Wilkins, another influence on Morton.

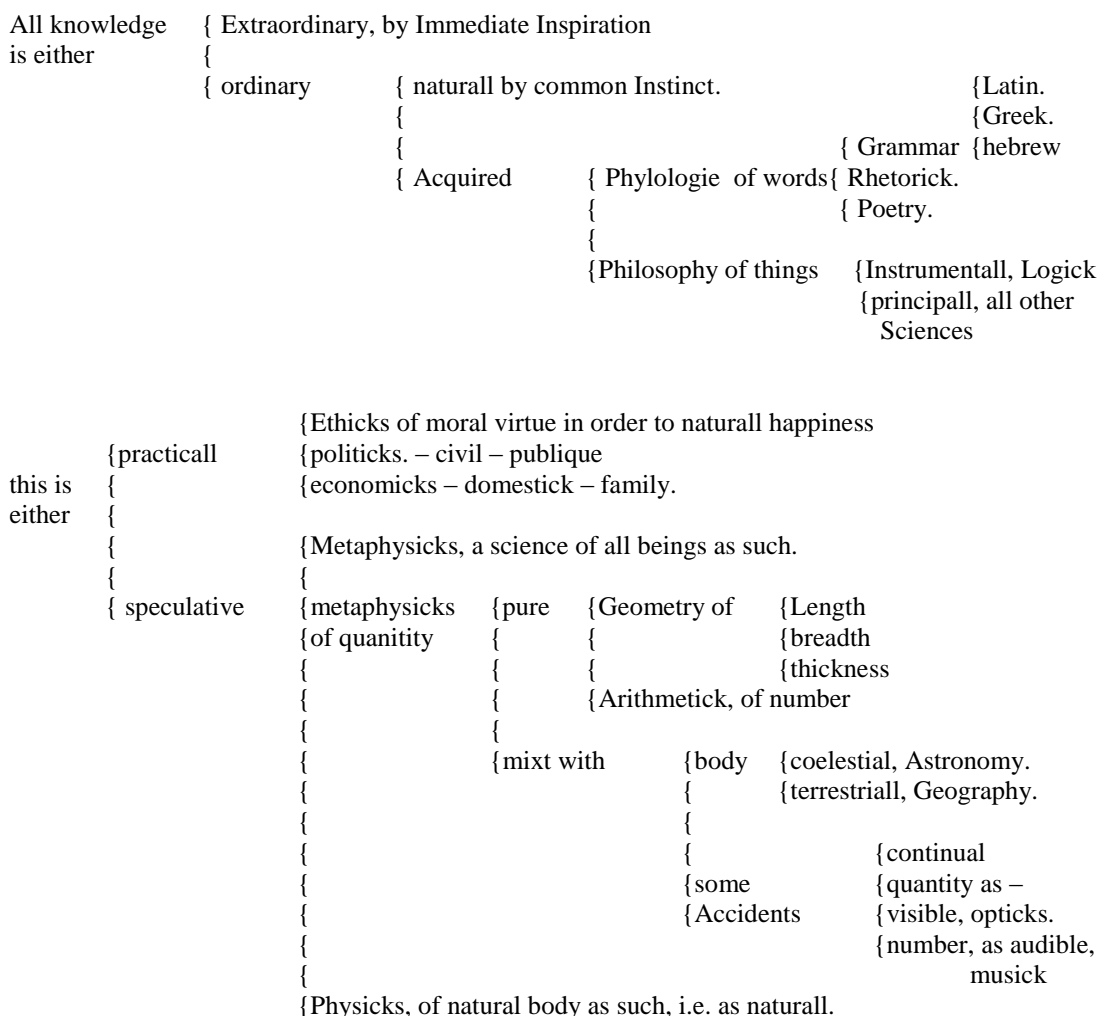
¹⁰ Wykes, 'Contribution of the Dissenting Academy', p. 110.

¹¹ It is, for instance, highly unlikely that Morton had the skills to teach music. Morton's ambitious aim was to provide accessible systems of learning for a wide range of subjects. His systems of logic, physics, ethics, and pneumatology survive.

¹² Once again, music is an exception. There is also no evidence that economics in Morton's sense was taught as a separate discipline.

¹³ The main sources here are Toulmin, *Historical View*, pp. 226-30 on Woodhouse; Clegg, *Diary*, pp. 16-24, and Clegg, *John Ashe*, both describing Richard Frankland's academy; Palmer, *Defence*; Owen, *Life of Owen: The Autobiography of Thomas Secker*, ed. John S. Macauley and R. W. Greaves (Kansas, 1988), and Secker's letter to Watts printed in Thomas Gibbons's *Memoirs of the Rev. Isaac Watts* (London, 1780), pp. 346-52, referring to Samuel Jones's academy at Tewkesbury. Extracts from all of these sources were printed by McLachlan in *English Education*, but with numerous errors and omissions. Another unreliable edition of Jones's letter to Watts may be found in Bogue and Bennett, vol. 2, pp. 84-8.

Diagram 1 – Charles Morton’s prefatory scheme of learning to his *Logick System*, c. 1680



Source: Rick Kennedy, *Aristotelian & Cartesian Logic at Harvard* (Boston, 1995), p. 143.

Contrary to the impression sometimes given that the academies created new subjects, there is considerable evidence that courses in logic, physics, metaphysics and ethics, ultimately derived from Aristotle, predominated.¹⁴ The most complete account of such a course of study comes from Samuel Palmer, a student at Bethnal Green, who states that his tutor John Ker gave morning lectures in logic, metaphysics, ethics and natural philosophy. A number of academies also provided for the analysis of classical history and literature, and there could also be a substantial emphasis upon the study of classical and oriental languages. In the

¹⁴ See Table 1.

afternoon, Ker and his students engaged in critical reading of Latin historians, orators and poets, and also studied geography. Theology was also taught at many academies. On Mondays and Fridays Ker's students read divinity, studying the Greek New Testament together with commentaries, both of which they used to further enhance their knowledge of sacred geography and chronology. Another divinity lecture consisted of the study of theology and controversy.¹⁵ In outline, then, the Bethnal Green course encouraged the study of philosophy in the morning, with philology in the afternoons and divinity two days a week, across no fewer than four years. Language teaching was, as might be expected in relation to courses designed to hone skills in biblical commentary, a prominent feature.

In many ways, the course at Richard Frankland's academy was similar in outline, as is testified by James Clegg, a student of Frankland who was also the biographer of another student, John Ashe. Lectures were read to classes in order of seniority every morning until noon; the first class was in logic, which was followed by metaphysics and, for students in their third year, pneumatology. Divinity questions taken from the works of William Ames were discussed on Saturdays and disputed by the students on Mondays, perhaps together with other 'logick disputes'. According to Clegg, Ashe went through the 'usual Course' of 'Logick, Metaphysicks, Somatology,¹⁶ Pneumatology,¹⁷ natural Philosophy, Divinity, and Chronology'. Although Clegg does not mention philological subjects and ethics, it should not be assumed that they were not taught. One of the academy's more controversial elements was the role played by the female members of Frankland's family. Students clearly spent some afternoons by 'conversing with the Ladies, Mr. Frankland's daughters', who encouraged at least one student to read 'Poetry, and Novels and such like trash'.¹⁸ The role of these women in the formal business of the

¹⁵ Palmer, *Defence*, pp. 2-7.

¹⁶ Somatology is the study of human anatomy and physiology. It is unclear how the subject was taught by Frankland.

¹⁷ The study of the human soul. At Thomas Rowe's academy it was viewed as an appendix to logic, whereas John Eames considered it to be a part of anatomy and John Jennings considered it to comprise ethics.

¹⁸ Clegg, *Diary*, pp. 22-3. Of course, Clegg's failure to mention grammar, rhetoric and ethics does not imply that they were not taught. At the universities, for instance, ethics was frequently discussed in relation to Latin history, and we know that Frankland's students became proficient in Latin and Greek: see Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 1, p. 199, on Timothy Jollie's proficiency in languages upon ordination. The student whose learning supposedly suffered at the hands of Frankland's daughters is Clegg himself (Clegg, *Diary*, p. 21). Clegg is largely describing the academy as it operated after the

academy should not perhaps be overemphasised: although, as we have seen, some academies continued lectures in philology and literature in the afternoon, others provided time for students to pursue recreation, or informal debates with other students. The exact contributions of Frankland's daughters are likely to remain sadly unfathomable.

Much has been made of the supposed ease with which Newtonian mathematics was adopted by dissenting tutors, yet there is little evidence that it was a significant part of the courses offered at the earliest academies. At Sheriffhales, according to Joshua Toulmin, who was working from the manuscripts of the tutor John Woodhouse, mathematics was very definitely in evidence, alongside natural philosophy, logic, rhetoric, metaphysics, ethics, geography, history, anatomy, law, natural theology, doctrine and the study of classical languages. Toulmin explains that Woodhouse's students were conducted through a 'course of lectures on logic, anatomy and mathematics; beginning usually with the first'. However, the mathematics books he found associated with the academy were hardly groundbreaking, including Euclid and Gassendi.¹⁹ The rest of the course was similarly traditional in outline, involving lectures in physics, ethics and rhetoric. Once a week, students declined Latin, Greek and Hebrew nouns and verbs in the lecture room, and a yearly review of grammar was undertaken by all students.²⁰ A similar level of detail, but no more indicative of reform, is available regarding the course at Shrewsbury. Under James Owen, students studied works of logic, metaphysics, geometry, astronomy, chronology, ecclesiastical history, theology and physics.²¹ His successor, Samuel Benion, similarly divided his course into gnostologia or praecognita, logic, metaphysics, physics, mathematics and ethics, as well as producing a manuscript system of pneumatology and teaching divinity from the Westminster Assembly's *Confession of Faith*, William Ames's *Medulla* and John

Revolution of 1688-9: Ashe entered on 7 May 1688, whereas Clegg himself entered Rathmell on 26 February 1696 (Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, pp. 571-2, 600).

¹⁹ Toulmin, *Historical View*, pp. 226-30. Euclid was staple fare at the academies, including those of Whitehaven and Tewkesbury.

²⁰ Toulmin, *Historical View*, pp. 226-30.

²¹ Owen, *Life of Owen*, pp. 70-2; 87-93. Charles Owen was a pupil of his elder brother James, like him took a very personal interest in the national debates over occasional conformity and schism, and later developed a facility for natural history (see especially his *Plain Reasons* (London, 1715), *Plain-Dealing* (London, 1715), both reprinted many times, and *An Essay towards a Natural History of Serpents* (London, 1742), printed by subscription, with proposals printed in 1741). About his own teaching at Warrington in the early eighteenth century almost nothing is known.

Howe's *Living Temple*, and setting aside time each week for lessons in elocution and pronunciation.²²

Not all tutors adopted the same course structure. The future Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Secker studied with Samuel Jones at his academy in Gloucester, and then moved with him to Tewkesbury.²³ Secker's education prior to his arrival at the academy may not have been typical of Tewkesbury entrants, given that he had moved to Tewkesbury from Timothy Jollie's academy in Attercliffe, which he had found academically unsatisfactory in terms of its provision in languages and mathematics, via John Eames's academy in Moorfields. However, he appears to have sat through the entire Tewkesbury course, despite his previous education. He began by studying Jones's idiosyncratic version of logic, in which principles and methods taken from the works of Aristotle, Antoine Arnauld and John Locke were discussed in tandem.²⁴ Concurrently, he studied Hebrew, translating passages from a Hebrew Bible into Greek, using the Septuagint, and later the Targumim.²⁵ In the afternoons, he perused a chapter in the Greek New Testament and then proceeded to mathematics. On Wednesdays he studied Dionysius Periegetes' *Orbis descriptio*, on which he made notes, 'mostly geographical, but with some criticisms inter-mixed'. On Saturday afternoons, those who had completed their study in logic worked on theses. These courses were supplemented with the study of Isocrates and Terence, together with notes Jones had received from Perizonius, a tutor at Leiden University.²⁶ By the time that he was nineteen, Jones had acquired Latin, Greek,

²² Mathew Henry, *A Sermon Preach'd at the Funeral of Dr. Samuel Benion* (London, 1709), pp. 63-73. 'Praecognita' was a familiar aspect of published university textbooks, and consisted of a map or scheme of learning, such as those of Morton and Sanderson, explored above. Benion's 'Schematismus' survives, together with others of his papers, in Bristol Baptist College Library, MS Ze1, section 4, fols. 1-20. The pronunciation classes may have been in Hebrew, regarding which the question of the 'Masoretic points' was exercising conformists and nonconformists alike: see Feingold, 'Humanities', p. 452.

²³ The following account is based upon Secker's letter to Watts in Gibbons, *Watts*, pp. 346-52, supplemented by his *Autobiography*, ed. Macauley and Greaves. The manuscript of the autobiography is in Lambeth Palace Library, MS 2598. A summary of Secker's experiences of the dissenters' academies may be found in Ingram, *Religion, Reform and Modernity*, pp. 19-44 and, slightly less convincingly, in Leslie W. Barnard, *Thomas Secker: an Eighteenth-Century Primate* (Lewes, 1998).

²⁴ For Jones's logic, see BBCL MS Ze1 and my section on logic books below. I am grateful to Dr Simon Dixon for making me aware of the BBCL manuscripts.

²⁵ The Targumim are Aramaic translations of Hebrew Scriptures.

²⁶ Secker's notes on Dionysius, Perizonius and mathematics are to be found in BUL XMS 399-401; for his reading of Isocrates and Terence, see Gibbons, *Watts*, p. 351.

Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac and French, and had studied geography, logic, algebra, geometry, conic sections and Jewish history.²⁷

Less is known about the courses at Little Britain and Newington Green. At Taunton, Matthew Warren taught theology, but with ‘no system’ of learning; he also appears to have taught rather ‘deep’ lectures in logic.²⁸ The Exeter Assembly of ministers, which funded Warren’s students amongst others, examined pupils in Latin and Greek, and encouraged the study of logic, philosophy and divinity.²⁹ Warren’s successors in 1706 were Robert Darch, who instructed in mathematics and physics, Stephen James, who taught theology, and Henry Grove, who tutored in ethics and pneumatology, amongst other disciplines.³⁰ Theophilus Gale’s student Bartholomew Ashwood subsequently developed a keen interest in philology, especially Latin and Greek, as well as chronology, history, philosophy, mathematics, ‘Physick’ (i.e. medicine, not natural philosophy) and especially divinity.³¹ Whether these subjects were taught by Gale at his academy there is no way of knowing. Of little use is the scheme of learning Gale drew up in conjunction with Lord Philip Wharton for the teaching of his children, since, in its focus on accomplishments and grammar, it reflects the education of gentry children of grammar-school age, not his teaching in the academy.³² Of more interest are Gale’s publications on theology, philosophy and philology, although – once again – we have no way of judging whether he used them in his academy.³³ Of Gale’s successor, Thomas Rowe, it can be ascertained from surviving student notes that he taught logic, metaphysics and theology.³⁴ Samuel Wesley informs us that mathematics, including mechanics, was taught at Charles Morton’s separate academy at Newington Green; students were also exposed to political debates, although politics was probably not taught through lectures.³⁵ Morton’s works on logic, physics, ethics, and pneumatology survive. Biographers of

²⁷ See Beilby Porteus’s ‘Life of Secker’, prefixed to volume 1 of his and George Stinton’s edition of *The Works of Thomas Secker*, 6 vols. (London, 1825).

²⁸ DWL MS 24.59; Fox, ‘Memoirs’, *MR*, 16 (1821), 261.

²⁹ Brockett, *Exeter Assembly*, pp. 23-4, 26.

³⁰ Wellcome Library, MS 3636; Cong. Lib, MSS Ih1-3; DWL MSS 28.115-16; HMC MS Grove 1; BL MS Add. 4372.

³¹ Thomas Reynolds, *Some Account of the Life of Bartholomew Ashwood* (London, 1707), p. 61.

³² Bod. MS Rawl. Lrs. 49, fols. 1-4.

³³ Theophilus Gale, *Idea theologiae* (London, 1673), *Philosophia generalis* (London, 1676) and *The Court of the Gentiles*, 4 vols. (Oxford and London, 1669-78).

³⁴ BBCL MS G95.

³⁵ Wesley, *Letter*, pp. 6-7.

Defoe frequently point to Morton's teaching of French and Italian;³⁶ however, Defoe's proficiency in these languages cannot be taken as evidence that Morton taught them.³⁷ As will be seen, Morton's twentieth-century reputation as an innovator has been considerably overplayed.

Hints of similar courses of study at the other academies of this period do survive, although the information they provide is much more fragmentary. Samuel Wesley reflected that he had read 'a Course of Logic and Ethics' across two years at Wapping under Edward Veal,³⁸ and James Bonnell commented that Thomas Cole at Nettlebed 'read to us *Aristotle's Philosophy*, and instructed in the *Classicks* and *Oratory*'.³⁹ Other courses can only be glimpsed opaquely through their tutors' reputations: Charles Owen of Warrington became well known as a philosopher and a linguist,⁴⁰ and Samuel Jones of Brynllwarch had a similar penchant for philosophy, Latin, Greek and the oriental classical languages.⁴¹ Thomas Hardy read 'logic, ethics, natural philosophy, astronomy and theology' to Caleb Fleming at Nottingham,⁴² and a 'Mr. Hoddy' was awarded £30 in 1698 by the Congregational Fund Board to read philology with his tutor Thomas Goodwin at Pinner, whose course also included the study of divinity.⁴³ Mathematics and astronomy were subjects at Thomas Dixon's Whitehaven academy,⁴⁴ and divinity was taught by John Chorlton at Manchester. For other academies, conventional phrases survive; Henry Hickman taught 'the whole bodie of philosophie' to one student, and Henry Langley taught students 'Academical Learning' at Tubney.⁴⁵

Taken together, these accounts appear to reveal considerable diversity between the experiences of students. While this was indubitably the case, and while

³⁶ This myth seems to have been disseminated from misreadings of James Sutherland, *Defoe* (London, 1937), p. 3: 'In later life Defoe certainly read French and Italian, and he may have begun the study of both those languages at Newington Green'. Sutherland actually found the latter language unlikely to have been taught by Morton.

³⁷ The most recent book-length study of the impact of Defoe's education on his work, Ilse Vickers, *Defoe and the New Sciences* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 36-7, is right to argue that 'Morton was not consistently "modern"' but surely wrong to claim that 'Morton was distinguished for the place he allotted to modern languages'.

³⁸ Wesley, *Letter*, p. 5.

³⁹ Hamilton, *Bonnel*, p. 9.

⁴⁰ Josiah Owen, *The Christian's Conflict and Crown* (London, 1746), p. 28.

⁴¹ Palmer, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, vol. 2, p. 624.

⁴² John Palmer, *A Sermon ... Occasioned by the Death of the Late Revd. Caleb Fleming, D.D.* (London, 1779), p. 25.

⁴³ DWL MS OD401, p. 65.

⁴⁴ HMC MS Winder 1.ii and 1.iii: Henry Winder's student notebooks on mathematics and astronomy.

⁴⁵ Martindale, *Life*, pp. 187-9; Calamy, *Account*, p. 59.

different academies certainly offered different courses of lectures and approaches to teaching, the haphazard survival of much of this detail should warn interpreters against producing hard-and-fast distinctions between the branches of learning offered at different academies. The discrepancy between Clegg's description of his own experience at Rathmell and his account of his contemporary John Ashe, and the interesting differences between the teaching of James Owen and Samuel Benion at Shrewsbury, serve as reminders that subject labels by themselves are not an entirely reliable guide to teaching and learning at the academies. Similarly, courses undoubtedly changed and developed across an academy's existence as the tutor's skills developed, or new books and equipment were acquired.⁴⁶ If these caveats are borne in mind, it emerges that – although the differences between them should not be ignored – these numerous accounts, hints and isolated remarks present a remarkably coherent picture of intellectual life at the academies. Logic dominates student records of their experiences in a manner which is not surprising, given the amount of time students spent on this introductory course, and the degree to which it influenced subsequent study.⁴⁷ Physics, metaphysics, ethics, philology and the various branches of divinity and theology were also widely studied, as befitted the influence of Aristotelian learning and the function of the academies as centres for ministerial training. Less widely discussed, but still present in many academies, were the mathematical subjects, together with history, law and other practical sciences.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Secker, *Autobiography*, ed. Macauley and Greaves, p. 4, provides an account of Jones's increasing laziness after moving to Tewkesbury.

⁴⁷ Table 1; most of the European universities also began their courses of study by grounding their students in logic.

⁴⁸ Table 1.

Table 1: List of Subjects Taught at the Dissenters' Early Academies

Logic	Bromsgrove, ⁴⁹ Rathmell, Sheriffhales, Little Britain, Newington Green, Bethnal Green, Wapping, Tubney, Wickhambrook, Taunton, Shrewsbury, Attercliffe, Hoxton, Tewkesbury, Findern, Nottingham
'Philosophy'	Brynlywarch, Bromsgrove, Nettlebed, Little Britain, Newington Green, Bethnal Green, Tubney, Taunton, Attercliffe, Exeter
Natural Philosophy or Physics	Rathmell, Sheriffhales, Little Britain, Newington Green, Bethnal Green, Wickhambrook, Taunton, Shrewsbury, Hoxton, Findern, Nottingham
Anatomy	Sheriffhales, Findern
Mathematics	Sheriffhales, Little Britain, Newington Green, Taunton, Hoxton, Whitehaven, Tewkesbury, Shrewsbury, Findern, Nottingham
Mechanics	Newington Green, Hoxton
Astronomy	Sheriffhales, Rathmell, Shrewsbury, Whitehaven, Nottingham
Chronology	Rathmell, Little Britain, Bethnal Green, Shrewsbury, Findern
Geography	Sheriffhales, Newington Green, Bethnal Green, Hoxton, Tewkesbury, Islington (Doolittle)
Metaphysics	Rathmell, Sheriffhales, Bethnal Green, Wickhambrook, Shrewsbury, Findern
Theology or Divinity	Rathmell, Sheriffhales, Little Britain, Newington Green, Bethnal Green, Taunton, Shrewsbury, Exeter, Manchester, Hoxton, Tewkesbury, Findern, Pinner, Nottingham
Pneumatology and Somatology	Rathmell (both); Shrewsbury, Taunton (pneumatology); at Hoxton these two subjects were combined and called 'Anthropology'
Moral Philosophy or Ethics	Sheriffhales, Rathmell, Bethnal Green, Wapping, Wickhambrook, Taunton, Shrewsbury, Hoxton, Nottingham
Law	Sheriffhales, Wickhambrook
Rhetoric or Oratory	Nettlebed, Sheriffhales
Latin	Brynlywarch, Sheriffhales, Little Britain, Newington Green, Taunton, Exeter, Tewkesbury
Greek	Brynlywarch, Sheriffhales, Little Britain, Bristol, Taunton, Tewkesbury
Hebrew	Brynlywarch, Bristol, Exeter, Tewkesbury
History	Sheriffhales, Little Britain, Newington Green, Bethnal Green, Shrewsbury, Tewkesbury, Findern, Islington (Doolittle)

Sources: Toulmin, *Historical View*; *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills*; Palmer, *Defence*; Gibbons, *Watts*; DWL 24.59; Palmer, *NC Memorial*

⁴⁹ In this table, names of places are used in preference to the less familiar names of tutors; however, it should be recalled that many academies shifted location on several occasions.

Teaching Methods

The teaching methods adopted by the dissenters' academies have received little more than fleeting attention to date. As a consequence, current understanding of the experiences of teaching and learning by students at the academies during this period is extremely limited. Yet a fuller understanding of these processes is as vital as knowing what material was taught, if the day-to-day business of the academies is to be reconstructed, and their relationship to the European and American universities and colleges understood. I shall begin by discussing the shape of a typical working day, week and year, before outlining the different forms of teaching and learning, including instruction in English and Latin, and the role of the lecture, disputation and student thesis. I end by exploring some of the different types of reading students undertook, and how they gained access to books and libraries. While it is dangerous to generalise about experiences of teaching and learning, the available specifics – as with our discussion of the course structure – enable some similarities to emerge in regard to the shape of the student day at different academies.

Many of the academies began and ended the day with prayer, held their most formal lectures in the mornings, and provided opportunities for private study, or student discussion away from their tutor, in the afternoons. At Frankland's academy, the whole household was called to prayer at seven in the morning; this was followed by breakfast, after which the classes were called into the lecture room 'according to their seniority'. Frankland lectured to them – presumably for an hour each – until noon. After lunch, the students 'retir'd to their Closets till six', when they were called to prayer. After supper, there was opportunity for 'the most diligent and studious' to meet in their chambers, sometimes in groups of 'eight or ten', to discuss their reading, and assist each other in their comprehension. The proceedings concluded with one student leading the others in prayer.⁵⁰ James Owen at Shrewsbury held prayers at six in the morning in the summer and seven in the winter, at which time was read a chapter of the Greek New Testament, accompanied by the singing of one of Tate and Brady's psalms. Owen examined the text critically, comparing it with other texts, and making doctrinal and practical observations. At nine, lectures began in Latin, which was also the language spoken at dinner. In the

⁵⁰ Clegg, *John Ashe*, p. 35.

afternoon, students were allowed some recreation, before settling down to private study. Evening prayers were held at six o' clock, after which students were forbidden to leave his house, a measure apparently designed to prevent them visiting the local public houses.⁵¹ At Bethnal Green, lectures were also delivered at appointed times in the morning, and were preceded by public prayers in either English or Latin; after dinner the students enjoyed the 'delicacy of our Tutor's Criticisms' of classical literature.⁵² At Tewkesbury, the students were obliged to rise at five o' clock, and spoke Latin continuously, unless conversing with Jones's extended family. Every day, a lecture was read, and students in Secker's day also read two verses from the Bible in Hebrew, turning them into Greek. Unlike some other tutors, Jones appears to have continued lecturing in the afternoon, on Greek, or mathematics, but the extent of learning may not have been severe: Secker described it as two hours in the morning, and 'something more' in the afternoon.⁵³

During the course of a week, lectures, private reading and student discussion were supplemented with a weekly disputation, and attendance at worship with the tutor's family. Nevertheless, the order in which these elements occurred was largely left to the discretion of the tutor. At Frankland's academy, the disputations took place on Monday morning; here, as at the Tewkesbury academy, they were based on questions selected the previous Saturday.⁵⁴ The more private disputations between Frankland's students occurred on Thursday afternoons.⁵⁵ Students attended Frankland's Sunday afternoon preaching and, following a suggestion made by Oliver Heywood, then met in their chambers to pray.⁵⁶ They were also frequently exposed to the sermons of ministers visiting the area.⁵⁷ At Shrewsbury there was, similarly, a weekly disputation in Latin in each class; on Sundays, at morning prayers, students repeated from memory the substance of the previous week's sermon; in the evening, the day's sermon was again repeated, this time by a single student.⁵⁸ At Bethnal

⁵¹ Owen, *Life of Owen*, pp. 87-91.

⁵² Palmer, *Defence*, pp. 4-5.

⁵³ Gibbons, *Watts*, p. 350.

⁵⁴ Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 3, pp. 164-5; Gibbons, *Watts*, p. 351.

⁵⁵ Clegg, *Diary*, p. 21.

⁵⁶ Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 3, pp. 164-5.

⁵⁷ BL MS Add. 54185: sermon notes taken by Joshua Sager. It includes notes of sermons by Frankland and others, c. 1696-1699.

⁵⁸ Owen, *Life of Owen*, pp. 91-2.

Green, Mondays and Fridays were devoted to divinity and, in the words of Samuel Palmer, students disputed ‘every other day in *Latin* upon the several *Philosophical Controversies*’.⁵⁹ Declamations took place on Thursdays, during which the superior classes took turns, four students at a time.⁶⁰ For students of Sheriffhales, continuity across the week was provided by a morning *repetitio* lecture, a recounting of the previous day’s learning, and by the weekly review of lectures which took place on Saturdays.⁶¹ According to Toulmin, law lectures were read once a week to students designed for the legal profession, and a course of theological reading was supplied to ministerial students.⁶² Work in the lecture room on Latin, Greek and Hebrew declension and conjugation was a weekly occurrence, as were Friday afternoon disputations. On Sunday evenings, ministerial students led prayers in Woodhouse’s family.⁶³ At the Tewkesbury academy, Jones required his students to begin by giving an account of his views and those of the author read in relation to the topic dealt with in the previous lecture. He then proceeded to explain it in greater detail himself, before moving on to a new idea. The daily diet of conjugation and declension was broken up by geography and criticism on Wednesday mornings, and a mid-week break from lectures on Wednesday afternoons.⁶⁴

According to Samuel Palmer it was a rule that no dissenter of a Presbyterian or Congregational persuasion was admitted to preach without having spent a ‘competent time’ of five or more years in academical education; following this time, students were subjected to examination ‘as to the Measure of their Learning, and their Probity and Vertue’, and tutors were required to produce a certificate of their student’s competence.⁶⁵ However, existing evidence suggests that many students spent much less than this quantity of time at each academy. McLachlan’s suggestion that the courses offered by John Woodhouse, Thomas Rowe, Joseph Hallett and Thomas Dixon were of four years’ duration is pure speculation.⁶⁶ However, we know that Secker spent three years at Tewkesbury, Isaac Watts spent four years at Thomas Rowe’s Little Britain academy, and Palmer’s colleagues at Bethnal Green may

⁵⁹ Palmer, *Defence*, p. 4.

⁶⁰ Palmer, *Defence*, p. 5.

⁶¹ Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 228.

⁶² Toulmin, *Historical View*, pp. 228-9.

⁶³ Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 229.

⁶⁴ Gibbons, *Watts*, pp. 348, 350.

⁶⁵ Palmer, *Defence*, p. 21.

⁶⁶ McLachlan, pp. 45, 50, 110, 117, 126.

themselves have attended for only four years.⁶⁷ Palmer hints that each of the four main courses of morning lectures lasted for a year; at other academies, such as those at Sherrifhales and Tewkesbury, the evidence points to a less tidy division.⁶⁸ The fact that students might enter an academy at any time of the year convenient to their families, their churches and their financial circumstances, could have made their first experience of lectures – frequently in Latin logic – confusing and challenging, to say the least.⁶⁹

Much has been made of the shift from Latin to English in teaching at the universities and academies in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.⁷⁰ However, many of the academies taught in Latin for the whole of their existence,⁷¹ and most of the students' supplementary reading continued to be in Latin throughout this period.⁷² However, authors writing in English were also frequently encouraged from the outset. At Sheriffhales, these English writers included the dissenters Richard Baxter, William Bates, and Thomas Vincent and versions of the Westminster Assembly's *Confession of Faith* and *Larger Catechism*, alongside works by the Tudor lawyers Christopher Saint German and Thomas Littleton, with Littleton's commentator Edward Coke, and practical divinity by Robert Fleming and John Corbet.⁷³ According to Toulmin, Woodhouse's students were 'accustomed to English composition under the form of letters and speeches' and also composed schemes of prayers, heads of sermons and 'devotional specimens' according to the method of John Wilkins.⁷⁴ At other academies, reading in English was equally if not more eclectic, including at Bethnal Green the works of Baxter, John Owen, John

⁶⁷ Secker was at Jones's academy 1711-14: *Autobiography*, ed. Macauley and Greaves, p. 3; Watts was at Rowe's academy 1690-4: Isabel Rivers, 'Watts, Isaac (1674–1748)', *ODNB*, and Ker's academy had four classes: Palmer, *Defence*, p. 4.

⁶⁸ Palmer, *Defence*, p. 4; Toulmin, *Historical View*, pp. 226-7; Gibbons, *Watts*, p. 349.

⁶⁹ For instance, in 1676, students entered Frankland's academy, then at Natland, on 10 January, 9 February, 30 March (4 students), 17 August and 22 August (8 students): Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, pp. 542-5.

⁷⁰ Biographers of Defoe frequently point this out in relation to Morton's academy: John Robert Moore, *Daniel Defoe: Citizen of the Modern World* (Chicago, 1958), p. 37; John J. Richetti, *Daniel Defoe* (Boston, 1987), pp. 1, 4; Backscheider, *Daniel Defoe*, p. 15; Novak, *Daniel Defoe*, p. 59; Vickers, *Defoe*, pp. 36-7.

⁷¹ There is no evidence of lectures taking place in English at Sheriffhales, Rathmell or Bethnal Green, and Secker found upon entering Jones's academy that 'We are obliged ... to speak *Latin* always': Gibbons, *Watts*, p. 351.

⁷² Of 63 texts believed to have been recommended by Woodhouse at Sheriffhales, a maximum of 19 could have been read in English. The rest were almost certainly in Latin. See Toulmin, *Historical View*, pp. 227-9.

⁷³ Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 227.

⁷⁴ Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 229.

Tillotson and Stephen Charnock.⁷⁵ At Rowe's academy, English books were selected by at least one student from John Wilkins's *Ecclesiastes*, supplemented by further works, mostly by dissenters and frequently in English, recommended by his tutor.⁷⁶

However, although some of Rowe's lectures were in English and involved note-taking in English, the texts being referred to in lectures were predominantly Latin.⁷⁷ Latin was certainly used for the teaching of logic at Rathmell, where the age-old practice of learning and defending *quaestiones* demanded more than a basic competence.⁷⁸ The situation at Taunton is more complicated. Warren is said to have relied heavily on the 'free and critical study of the scriptures' as an alternative to more traditional theology teaching,⁷⁹ a practice which does not preclude the possibility that the vernacular Bible was studied alongside the Vulgate and perhaps Greek texts, although it must be admitted that examination in Latin and Greek became a prerequisite for entrance at the academy from 1696.⁸⁰ Certainly Warren's successors, Darch, James and Grove, produced elaborate systems of moral philosophy and theology in English.⁸¹ This may reflect a wider use of the vernacular from the 1680s in the academies, one which has been most celebrated through its use by Charles Morton. Defoe's reference to a tutor 'not far from London' who 'gave all his systems, whether of philosophy or divinity, in English'⁸² receives some circumstantial support from the survival of Morton's English systems of logic and physics, both produced in the 1680s or slightly before, and apparently intended for an audience beyond the confines of his Newington Green academy.⁸³ However, it

⁷⁵ Palmer, *Defence*, p. 6.

⁷⁶ The student was Isaac Watts, and the edition that he used was the seventh: John Wilkins, *Ecclesiastes* (London, 1693). The copy is at DWL, shelfmark 564.C.19.

⁷⁷ Rowe taught logic in English, but student notes from the academy reveal considerable Latin quotation from, amongst other sources, Franco Burgersdijke's *Institutionum logicarum libri duo*, which had been first published in England in 1637 at Cambridge: see BBCL MS G95.

⁷⁸ Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, p. 131 give a sample of Latin logic questions from a book once owned by a descendent of Frankland's student Christopher Richardson; the book is currently untraceable.

⁷⁹ Henry Grove, *Sermons and Tracts*, ed. Thomas Amory, 4 vols. (London, 1741), vol. 1, pp. xiv-xxii.

⁸⁰ Brockett, *Exeter Assembly*, p. 31.

⁸¹ Richard Darracott's student copy of the Taunton Academy's 'A System of Morality & Theology', is in Congregational Library MS Ih1-3, Ih10-11. A more polished version was edited and published by Thomas Amory, Grove's successor at the academy, as Henry Grove, *A System of Moral Philosophy*, 2 vols. (London, 1749).

⁸² Walter Wilson, *Memoirs of Daniel De Foe*, 2 vols. (London, 1830), vol. 1, p. 21.

⁸³ For published editions, see Kennedy, *Logic*, pp. 141-254 and *Charles Morton's Compendium physicae*, ed. Theodore Hornberger (Boston, 1940), pp. 1-218. Morton's comments in the *Physicae*

should be remembered that even Defoe admitted that ‘the scholars from that place are not destitute in the languages’, even if their declamations and dissertations had been in English.⁸⁴ Concurrently, other academies – such as that of James Owen and his successor Samuel Benion – continued to conduct most of their business in Latin.⁸⁵ At some academies, the courses could be divided between Latin and English with no apparent rationale: for instance, the experience of Henry Winder under Thomas Dixon at Whitehaven was that introductory mathematics was taught in English, whereas astronomy was in Latin.⁸⁶ Of course, Samuel Jones of Tewkesbury was not alone in also having competence in a range of classical and oriental languages. James Owen gained ‘by his own Industry’ a proficiency in such languages as Greek, Hebrew, Arabic and Syriac, although it is less clear that he taught these to his students.⁸⁷ Latin, Greek and Oriental languages were also known to Samuel Jones of Brynllwarch.⁸⁸ Other academies may have limited themselves to the study of Latin and Greek alone. It is, furthermore, obvious that assessment and certification in Latin continued to be an important feature of the legacy of the academies in the early eighteenth century, as witnessed by surviving certificates of competence relating to students at Joseph Hallett II’s academy at Exeter.⁸⁹

It has long been recognised that Latin lectures, disputations and declamations were three vital instruments of teaching, learning and assessment at seventeenth-century Oxford and Cambridge. As we have seen, lectures and disputations were also widespread in the academies. Lectures were generally delivered in a designated room in the tutor’s house.⁹⁰ Often, the first part of a lecture consisted of some form of repetition of the previous day’s work, a process which had long been known at Cambridge as a *repetitio* lecture. It was then succeeded by the *praelectio*, a second session spent in learning new material, perhaps delivered by dictation.⁹¹ At Shrewsbury, James Owen did by way of reading ‘what is commonly done in

imply that he drafted it while still resident in England; it also refers to his *Logick* directly (Morton, *Physicae*, p. 3) and contains references to events in England as late as 1675 (Morton, *Physicae*, p. 87).

⁸⁴ Wilson, *De Foe*, vol. 1, p. 21. By ‘languages’ he almost certainly means Latin and Greek.

⁸⁵ Owen, *Life of Owen*, p. 90; Henry, *Life of Benion*, p. 67.

⁸⁶ HMC MS Winder I.

⁸⁷ Owen, *Life of Owen*, p. 70.

⁸⁸ See note 41.

⁸⁹ For example, the certificate of Joseph Hallett III, the original tutor’s son: HMC MS Misc. 8, f. 317.

⁹⁰ Clegg, *John Ashe*, p. 35.

⁹¹ For the use of the *repetitio* and *praelectio* lectures at the universities, see William T. Costello, *The Scholastic Curriculum at Cambridge* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), p. 13.

Academies, to examine the Class first of what they had heard the Lecture before'; if the students gave a good account of it he 'proceeded to give 'em further Instructions.'⁹² At Sheriffhales, Joshua Toulmin believed that 'In all lectures the authors were strictly explained, and commonly committed to memory, at least as to the sense of them.' An account of the lecture of the previous day was required before the new lecture was read, and a further review was carried out on the subsequent Saturday. Furthermore, when an author had been 'about half gone through', the students went back over their knowledge, and the same happened with the second part, so that every author was read three times.⁹³ One consequence of this process was that academy lectures – like those at the universities – did not necessarily consist entirely of students being dictated notes. The ability of students to contribute to the content, alter the structure and inform the pedagogy of a lecture was often seen as a virtue. At Tewkesbury, for example, Samuel Jones apparently allowed students 'all imaginable liberty of making objections against his opinion, and prosecuting them as far as we can'.⁹⁴

Disputations were debates between students, relating to the material studied in lectures, but not part of the lectures. They were a familiar aspect of the learning processes at many European universities. At Cambridge, for instance, students had to appear four times in the schools as an undergraduate, twice as answerer or defendant, twice as objector; these *quadregesimals* were made in Lent. Students also attended private, less formal disputations.⁹⁵ For most of the time, it is likely that academy disputations – where they took place – followed the private, informal model. Certainly, the resources were not available to provide an equivalent to the annual university Acts, events which several thousand hearers witnessed.⁹⁶ For instance, after hearing lectures, students at Sheriffhales 'exercised one another by questions and problems on the most difficult points'.⁹⁷ Logical disputations of a slightly more formal, 'public' variety also occurred, although the notion of a 'public' disputation, to an academy student, merely meant that it occurred in the lecture room, as opposed to a student chamber. In most cases, it seems likely that the earliest academy

⁹² Owen, *Life of Owen*, p. 90.

⁹³ Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 228.

⁹⁴ Gibbons, *Watts*, p. 351.

⁹⁵ Costello, *Cambridge*, p. 15.

⁹⁶ Feingold, 'Humanities', pp. 301-5.

⁹⁷ Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 228.

disputations were syllogistic, as were their Oxford and Cambridge equivalents. Traditionally, the respondent answered the opponent by repeating his syllogism and then either denying a premise, finding ambiguity in the opponent's use of terms (a process called 'distinguishing'), or turning the conclusion into a proof of his own thesis.⁹⁸ At Shrewsbury, for theological topics, James Owen 'did not like to see 'em personate the Heterodox too much to the Life', a condition which serves as a reminder that the disputation was not necessarily a vehicle for free inquiry.⁹⁹

At the universities, lectures and disputations were supplemented by set speeches called declamations, designed to show off a student's rhetorical and literary proficiency. They could vary in length from two hundred words to several thousand, were presented in question form, taken from classical antiquity, and were designed as opportunities to parade knowledge gathered in commonplace books.¹⁰⁰ Although declamations from the academies on themes from classical poetry and oratory are not in evidence as a means of formal assessment, in James Owen's academy, orations were made on specific occasions, such as 5 November, when original verses and speeches were recited, in Latin and English, some of them humorous, in the manner long known at Oxford as the *Terrae filius* disputation.¹⁰¹ At Shrewsbury, Owen apparently showed himself 'well pleased' if an orator managed 'to expose in a satirical way the follies of any of the students', provided he kept within 'due bounds'.¹⁰² It is also known that students were obliged to write a number of fairly elaborate theses on subjects which could include logic, ecclesiastical history or theology.¹⁰³ One function of the thesis was to provide a means of weekly assessment, and at Frankland's academy they were followed by disputation on subjects chosen by the tutor.¹⁰⁴ Other functions of the student thesis are less clear, although it is tempting to associate them with the forms of oral examination required by the academy funding bodies, and with the set speeches required by ministerial associations in order to register the former student as a ministerial candidate.¹⁰⁵

⁹⁸ Costello, *Cambridge*, pp. 20-1.

⁹⁹ Owen, *Life of Owen*, p. 92.

¹⁰⁰ Costello, *Cambridge*, p. 32.

¹⁰¹ Feingold, 'Humanities', pp. 303-5.

¹⁰² Owen, *Life of Owen*, p. 92.

¹⁰³ Examples of such theses survive from Jeremiah Jones's Nailsworth academy: DWL MS 28.47.

¹⁰⁴ Clegg, *John Ashe*, p. 35.

¹⁰⁵ For instance Brockett, *Exeter Assembly*, pp. 6-7, provides the requirements of the Exeter Assembly.

Reading a discourse in Latin also became a prerequisite for ordination, although it should be remembered that this process frequently took place several years after the candidate's education had been completed, and may not have taken the same form as the surviving theses.¹⁰⁶

The types of reading undertaken by university students during the period included a mixture of key texts discussed in lectures and tutorials, and private reading. A pupil under Richard Holdsworth's guidance at Cambridge began each course by reading an introductory text called a *systema brevius* under the guidance of his tutor, then proceeded to a more advanced and lengthy book known as a *systema majus*. Later, he examined the nature and significance of controversial questions on the topic, often with the assistance of a key work of casuistry. Part of this process may be seen at work in the academies; for instance, of the two surviving logic books from Thomas Rowe's academy, one is a fairly brief exposition of Cartesian and Aristotelian approaches, and the other consists of a summary of the exposition in a series of questions, with brief answers.¹⁰⁷ Logic questions from Rathmell, since lost, were known to early twentieth-century scholars,¹⁰⁸ and a summary textbook of logic, perhaps equivalent to a *systema brevius*, was produced by Charles Morton in the 1680s, was presumably used at the Newington Green academy, and – after his exodus to America – was copied by students at Harvard until at least the 1720s.¹⁰⁹ At least one *systema majus* is also identifiable: the lengthy *Logica* of the Lithuanian Catholic Marcin Smigleki, a favourite text at Oxford until the nineteenth century, was used at Bethnal Green, and perhaps Rathmell.¹¹⁰

In order to further their studies, academy students not infrequently made use of their tutors' libraries, and sometimes visited other libraries in the area. Secker found Jones's library to be 'composed for the most part of foreign books, which seem to be very well chosen, and are every day of great advantage to us.'¹¹¹ A possibly apocryphal account suggests that Thomas Hill of Findern Academy pointedly told his prosecutors in 1712 that he advised his boarders on what books

¹⁰⁶ Ordinations are described in Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 2, pp. 21-2 and 25.

¹⁰⁷ BBCL MS G95.

¹⁰⁸ Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, p. 131.

¹⁰⁹ Kennedy, *Logic*, pp. x-xii.

¹¹⁰ Palmer, *Defence*, p. 4; *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills and Inventories at Chester*, ed. G. J. Piccope and J. P. Earwaker (Manchester, 1884), p. 192.

¹¹¹ Gibbons, *Watts*, p. 351.

they themselves should read.¹¹² The size of tutors' libraries was also frequently remarked upon. Whereas Thomas Emlyn famously found that John Shuttlewood's library contained 'few books, and them chiefly of one sort',¹¹³ other tutors had sizeable resources at their disposal. The library of James Forbes, tutor at Gloucester, was extensive,¹¹⁴ and that of Theophilus Gale totalled almost 1,000 volumes by the time of his death in 1679.¹¹⁵ There is some evidence that tutors deliberately bought books to assist themselves and their students at the academies: in the 1710s, the years immediately prior to the opening of his academy, John Moore of Tiverton bought a range of books on grammar, logic and ethics.¹¹⁶ Tutors like Moore bought books from a range of sources, including booksellers and pedlars. In this business, the role played by influential local ministers such as Oliver Heywood and Richard Baxter, who provided books to Richard Frankland's wife Elizabeth, and to Thomas Doolittle, was vital.¹¹⁷ In London, students such as Samuel Wesley whose funding was under the care of John Owen could have had access to the formidable array of theological and practical works in his library,¹¹⁸ and the same must have been true of students who were resident in the houses of many former Oxford and Cambridge tutors or their descendents, such as Thomas Goodwin the younger.¹¹⁹ Of course, many students also had considerable family resources behind them, such as the Wharton children, James Bonnell and Thomas Secker, to name but three. Some of these students, including Simon Browne, student at Tewkesbury, went on to build substantial libraries, including works in English, Latin, Greek, French and Italian.¹²⁰ Less affluent students often relied on funding from local congregations or ministerial

¹¹²DWL MS L54/2/10. The point, not necessarily true, is that Hill did not teach formal lectures. According to these accounts, the case was dismissed.

¹¹³ Emlyn, *Works*, vol. 1, p. vi.

¹¹⁴ Part of it survives at the University of Toronto University Library: P. L. Heyworth, *Forbes Collection* (Toronto, 1968).

¹¹⁵ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/360, sig. 70. Gale bequeathed his theology books to ministerial students; the rest went to the University of Harvard, and were probably mostly destroyed by fire in the eighteenth century.

¹¹⁶ Cong. Lib. MS IIe42: Moore's diary. Many of these books, however, were bought for Moore's two children, who were then of grammar school age.

¹¹⁷ Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 4, 259-62; DWL MS 59.5, f. 192; Thomas Doolittle, *The Lord's Last Sufferings* (London, 1681), sigs. a3-c4.

¹¹⁸ Wesley, *Letter*, p. 5. Wesley records being 'received very civilly by him, encouraged in the prosecution of my Studies, and advised to have a particular regard to Critical Learning'.

¹¹⁹ Thomas Goodwin the elder's library was valued at £1000 in 1666; half of it was destroyed in the Great Fire of London. After his death in 1680, his papers went to his son, the tutor at Pinner. TNA: PRO, PROB 11/369, sig. 17.

¹²⁰ BL MS Add. 4367: Browne's library catalogue while at Portsmouth.

assemblies to purchase the books required.¹²¹ One further option was to find another library in the area. At Manchester, for example, John Chorlton read lectures in the morning, and some of his students went in the afternoon to the public library; the ‘benefit of the library’ (Chetham’s), was a major reason for James Clegg’s decision to travel to Manchester after the death of his tutor Frankland.¹²²

The picture that emerges from this consideration of teaching methods is one of the earliest tutors adapting traditional modes of learning and assessment which were well known at the universities, and of networks of dissenters collaborating to provide funding, books, and other apparatus. Libraries varied in size and diversity, although students found ways to supplement the shelves of their tutors through their own purchases, or by visiting other sympathetic individuals and libraries. Although the resources for lectures, disputations and declamations were limited in relation to Oxford and Cambridge, alternative equivalents were present at the academies from the outset. As was the case with the courses offered, there is a surprising degree of continuity across the period in the shape of the day, week and year, and in the way that particular subjects were taught.

Logic: the Instrumental Science

Logic was the first subject which most academy students encountered. It was also one of the most important. By describing the various types and functions of logic texts students encountered at the academies, this section demonstrates how changing trends in logic had an impact upon the nature of its instruction. Although Aristotle was read intensely by several tutors,¹²³ students studied logic using introductory manuals, not through a perusal of Aristotle’s works.¹²⁴ The academies advocated the study of a wide range of scholastic, Ramist and Cartesian works on logic, including texts from France, the Netherlands and Eastern Europe. Logic was taught in the

¹²¹ Brockett, *Exeter Assembly*, p. 5.

¹²² Clegg, *Diary*, p. 23.

¹²³ Theophilus Gale was among them, referring to Aristotle in *The Court of the Gentiles*, Part 4 Book 3 (London, 1678), and mentioning individual books of his *Physics* in *The True Idea of Jansenism* (London, 1669).

¹²⁴ Given the scarcity of Latin editions of his logic texts, the majority of academy students would not have been able to read Aristotle themselves. A standard edition of Aristotle’s complete works was the *Operum Aristotelis*, edited and translated by Isaac Casaubon and Guillaume Budé (London, 1590); it was only available in a multi-volume folio and was not frequently printed. These factors would have made it inaccessible for purchase by most academy students.

lecture room, studied by students in their chambers and used in oral examinations. The skills students acquired were considered essential to ministerial practice and shaped dissenting print culture to an extent which has never been fully recognised.

Aristotle's influence on the early academies was pervasive, but indirect. Logic systems used by tutors almost invariably began with accounts of Aristotle's *Categories* and Porphyry's *Isagoge* in order to give students an account of the ten logical praedicaments.¹²⁵ In sections which had their origin in Aristotle's brief work *On Interpretation*, they proceeded to outline the role of nouns and verbs in a proposition consisting of subject and predicate. Accounts of deductive reasoning and the structure of syllogisms followed, often quoting directly from Aristotle's *Prior Analytics* and *Posterior Analytics*.¹²⁶ Having grasped the theory of logic, students learned its application through commentaries upon Aristotle's *Topics*, and developed their skills of disputation by reading accounts based on the *Sophistical Refutations*, a work which outlined a variety of methods of false reasoning and suggested appropriate responses to them in oral debate.¹²⁷

The precise brands of logic encountered by students depended in part upon their wider reading.¹²⁸ Many seventeenth-century texts claiming to provide an introduction to logic followed a structure modelled closely on Aristotle's writings, often in three parts, dealing with categories, propositions and syllogisms. Others offered more explicit commentary on each of Aristotle's texts.¹²⁹ A third group abandoned the artificial structure which resulted from following Aristotle too

¹²⁵ According to Porphyry, the ten praedicaments of the logical subject are substance, quantity, quality, relation, action, passion, whereness, whenness, situation and habit. His works were available as Porphyry, *Biblia tessara sententiae ad intelligibilia ducentes* (Cambridge, 1655).

¹²⁶ Syllogisms are three-part arguments which express the relation between two terms, A and C, through use of a third term, B. Take, for example, Aristotle's most famous example from the *Prior Analytics*: 'If A is predicated of every B, and B of every C, A must be predicated of every C': see *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, ed. Jonathan Barnes (2 vols., Princeton, 1984), vol. 1, p. 41. Strictly speaking, this is a conditional or hypothetical syllogism which can sometimes be resolved into the following categorical syllogism: 'A is predicated of every B, and B of every C; **therefore** A is predicated of every C'.

¹²⁷ Texts following this structure include Robert Sanderson's *Logicae artis compendium* (Oxford, 1615), John Wallis's *Institutio logicae* (London, 1687) and Charles Morton's manuscript 'System of Logick' (in Kennedy, *Logic*, pp. 141-256).

¹²⁸ The following general comments are based on a survey of over one hundred seventeenth-century logic texts in the British Library. All texts referred to by title were used in the English dissenters' academies. I have used the earliest available editions published in England.

¹²⁹ For instance, Thomas Gowan's *Logica elenctica* (Dublin, 1683), which was probably studied at Bethnal Green, was divided into sections on the categories, genera, causes and effects, orations, true and false propositions and syllogisms. Gowan taught at a private academy in Dublin.

closely, and focused upon explication of key concepts.¹³⁰ Books with a narrower focus on a single aspect of logic, ranging from the introductory to the highly technical, were also available, as were large volumes of *quaestiones* ('questions') and disputations, often arranged to provide complete courses in logic.¹³¹ Individual disputations by philosophy tutors and their students, usually structured as a series of one-paragraph theses followed by responses and corollaries, were printed on behalf of many European universities¹³² and were particularly well known to tutors and students who had studied in France and the Netherlands.¹³³

Detailed study of scholastic logic was unfashionable in most of the academies, as it was throughout Protestant universities in general by the late seventeenth century. Although Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus were known to dissenting logicians, and were occasionally read,¹³⁴ they were rarely discussed in the English logic books read by academy students.¹³⁵ The formal analysis of Thomist and Scotist logic was the preserve of Roman Catholic colleges abroad, having become associated firmly with members of the Society of Jesus long before 1660. Nevertheless, leading Protestant dissenters considered knowledge of the 'schoolmen' to be essential for understanding theological controversies.¹³⁶ As a consequence, a distinctive brand of Catholic logic books appeared in the academies from an early date, structured as a series of disputations on standard scholastic *quaestiones* and recommended for wider reading.¹³⁷ Paradoxically, the very complexity and subtlety of these texts made them of considerable interest to seventeenth-century English academy tutors and students brought up on a diet of bare-boned introductory manuals. Dissenters probably imported Catholic logic books from France,

¹³⁰ For instance, Franco Burgersdijck, *Institutionum logicarum* (Oxford, 1637); Adrian Heereboord, *Ermeneia logica* (London, 1651). Both were frequently reprinted.

¹³¹ For example, Marcin Smiglecki, *Logica* (Oxford, 1634).

¹³² Useful BL collections include shelfmarks RB23a3442(1-16), 527c5(1-11), 525e15(1-16) and 520c19(1-7).

¹³³ Some former academy students had theirs printed: for instance, the MD disputation of Thomas Secker while at Leiden was printed in 1721, and published in Albrecht von Haller's *Disputationum anatomicarum selectarum* (Gottingen, 1748).

¹³⁴ See Henry Hickman's *Historia quinq-articularis exarticulata* (London, 1673), against Peter Heylin, invoking the works of Gale, who discussed Thomist logic in *Court of the Gentiles* 4, part 3, p. 112, with disparaging references to the *Catholick Theologie* (London, 1675) of Richard Baxter.

¹³⁵ However, note Sanderson's reference to both Thomas and Scotus in *Logicae artis compendium*, p. 331.

¹³⁶ The fashion for Smiglecki was viewed sympathetically by Matthew Poole in *The Nullity of the Christian Faith* (London, 1666), a4r, but was mocked by Baxter in *The Catechizing of Families* (London, 1683), a4r.

¹³⁷ The most obvious example, again, is Smiglecki's *Logica*.

Switzerland and the Netherlands, and certainly acquired versions of them printed at London and the university presses.¹³⁸ It is through these texts that many English academy students became familiar with the full range of theological subjects which logic was thought to be capable of addressing. Amongst these topics, the question of transubstantiation, the single most important issue which made scholastic logic unpalatable for nonconformists, loomed large. One strain of Jesuit logic argued that, since bread and body could not coexist, the formal characteristics (known as ‘accidents’) of bread became the formal characteristics of body during the Eucharist.¹³⁹ In order to address this dogmatic aspect of logic, dissenting academy tutors joined Protestant university logicians in countering with a dogmatism of their own, asserting the non-transferability of accidents and citing Aristotle in support.¹⁴⁰ These arguments were amongst the first applications of logic that many academy students encountered.

Given that the traditional topics of logic invited discussion of heresy, it is not surprising to find that Ramist texts achieved popularity in several academies, including Sheriffhales and Rathmell.¹⁴¹ The impact of Petrus Ramus in these institutions was felt through his own works, sometimes in English translation, together with those of his commentators, including George Downname, William Ames, John Milton and Marcus Wendelin. Ramist logic favoured dichotomising as a principle of method, beginning with a division of logic into invention (topics) and judgment (axioms and syllogisms). For Ramus and his commentators, the most important topics to teach were those of causation, similarity, division of subjects and the role of testimony; the most important features of argument were the veracity, connection and disjunction of syllogisms.¹⁴² Had this scheme been followed in the academies, it would have provided little place for discussion of the Aristotelian praedicaments, or for scholastic controversy. However, Ramus’ programme was only one of several competing methodologies at the academies, and it may be significant

¹³⁸ Although Smiglecki’s logic was printed at Oxford, David Derodon’s *Philosophia* (Geneva, 1664) and *Metaphysica* (Geneva, 1669), one of which may have been read by Samuel Palmer, do not appear to have been published in England; neither was Marcus Wendelin’s *Logicae institutiones* (Amsterdam, 1654), which appears on a list of books owned by Rathmell student Renald Tetlaw: *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills*, p. 192.

¹³⁹ This argument was known to Charles Morton: Kennedy, *Logic*, p. 177.

¹⁴⁰ Kennedy, *Logic*, p. 177.

¹⁴¹ Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 227; *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills*, pp. 192-3.

¹⁴² These comments are based on a study of the 1640 Cambridge edition of Ramus’s *Dialecticae libro duo*.

that, although James Clegg's tutor (Frankland) was 'a Ramist', he 'read ye Logick both of Aristotle and of Ramus'.¹⁴³ Similarly, at Sheriffhales, Ramus and his commentator (probably Downname) were not taught in the lecture room, but were 'recommended for private study'.¹⁴⁴ These hints suggest that Ramus' topics may have been of greater significance for academy students than his course structure. Another possibility is that his writings were considered to support a specifically Reformed theology and understanding of Scripture. Earlier in the century, this point had been made by puritan commentators on Ramus such as William Ames and Alexander Richardson,¹⁴⁵ and it may lie behind Theophilus Gale's advocacy of Ramus in *The Court of the Gentiles*.¹⁴⁶ One example may suffice. Ramus had transferred discussion of the four causes (material, physical, formal and final) from Aristotelian physics to the very opening of his discussion of the topics of logic.¹⁴⁷ Similarly, academy logicians devoted little of their energy to scholastic discussion of the Eucharist and more to debates within Protestantism concerning predetermination, human agency, freedom and culpability. One consequence of this shift was the acrimonious dispute between Theophilus Gale and his former student acquaintance John Howe over the role of efficient causes in the predetermination of sin. The debate, to which Baxter contributed an unpublished pamphlet in Howe's defence, relied heavily on Ramist formulations of Aristotelian causation.¹⁴⁸

However, Ramus' restructuring of logic did not simply appeal to Calvinist tutors and students.¹⁴⁹ Neither was it necessarily incompatible with teaching of the traditional Aristotelian categories. The logic works of John Milton, whose Ramist *Artis logicae plenior institutio* of 1673 may have been read at Rathmell,¹⁵⁰ are testament to Ramus' appeal to puritan Arminians, as well as to the sometimes surprising ways in which Aristotelian and Ramist logic coexisted in the seventeenth-

¹⁴³ Clegg, *Diary*, p. 21.

¹⁴⁴ Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 227.

¹⁴⁵ William Ames, *The Marrow of Sacred Divinity* (London, 1642), p. 227; Alexander Richardson, *The Logicians School-Master* (London, 1629), p. 78.

¹⁴⁶ Gale, *Court of the Gentiles*, vol. 2 (London, 1670), pp. 370-1.

¹⁴⁷ Ramus, *Dialecticae*, p. 2.

¹⁴⁸ The key texts in this dispute were Gale, *Court of the Gentiles*, vol. 4, parts 1-2, and part 3; John Howe, *The Reconcilableness of God's Prescience* (London, 1677) and *A Post-script to the Late Letter of the Reconcilableness of God's Prescience* (London, 1677); Richard Baxter, 'Treatise against the Dominicane Doctrine': DWL MS 61.14, vol. 18.

¹⁴⁹ For instance, logical analysis of causation was also undertaken by the Arminian John Goodwin in *The Banner of Justification* (London, 1659), p. 44.

¹⁵⁰ *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills*, p. 192.

century academies. Milton had been tutored at Christ's College, Cambridge, by the Ramist Nathaniel Tovey,¹⁵¹ but this had not prevented him in his *Vacation Exercise* of 1628 from presenting the Aristotelian 'Ens' as the 'Father of the Praedicaments', with his ten sons, discussing in a mock-serious manner the invisibility of substance.¹⁵² The appearance of his name amongst a list of logicians including Wendelin, Ramus, Downname and Ames raises the intriguing possibility that students at Rathmell were aware of the different theological positions which Ramus' logic could be used to defend.¹⁵³ For Milton, unlike other logicians, Ramus' argument that 'never do things differ in number without also differing in essence' raised questions for Trinitarian theologians.¹⁵⁴ He also felt that Ramus exposed the 'ignorance or impiety' of persecution, he argued that 'freedom is the power to do or not to do this or that' and he reminded readers that 'evil works are entirely evil and good works imperfectly good'.¹⁵⁵ In his second book he used Ramus' arguments to defend the position that scriptural reference to bread as the body of Christ should be taken figuratively¹⁵⁶ and attacked the theology of the logician Bartholomew Keckermann.¹⁵⁷ However, only the most diligent academy students and competent Latinists would have been able to recognise the Arminian implications in Milton's text, and it is likely that the majority of them simply used Milton's *Artis logicae* as an alternative to Downname, whose commentary remained the standard exposition of Ramus by an Englishman at academies and universities alike.¹⁵⁸ Milton's influence, therefore, is difficult to gauge. A lack of subsequent editions counts against his text's lasting popularity in the academies, although it need not indicate that it fell into complete obscurity. It was, for instance, familiar at Harvard in the early eighteenth century.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵¹ Barbara Lewalski, *The Life of John Milton* (Oxford, 2003), p. 22.

¹⁵² John Milton, *Complete Shorter Poems*, ed. John Carey (Harlow, 1968), pp. 81-3.

¹⁵³ *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills*, pp. 192-3.

¹⁵⁴ See the translation of Milton's *Artis logicae* by Walter J. Ong and Charles J. Ermatinger, in John Milton, *Complete Prose Works*, 9 vols. (Yale, 1953-1982), vol. 8, pp. 139-407, p. 233.

¹⁵⁵ Milton, *Complete Prose Works* 8, pp. 224-5, 227, 273.

¹⁵⁶ Milton, *Complete Prose Works* 8, p. 339.

¹⁵⁷ Milton, *Complete Prose Works* 8, p. 330. According to Milton, Keckermann had interpreted the biblical statement that 'The Father alone is true God' to include 'the concomitant, namely, the Son and the Holy Spirit.' Milton found this ridiculous.

¹⁵⁸ George Downname's commentary was appended to editions of Ramus from 1669. It was read at Sheriffhales and Rathmell (Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 227; *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills*, p. 192).

¹⁵⁹ Milton, *Complete Prose Works* 8, p. 169.

The great rival to Ramus in the earliest academies was Burgersdijck, whose substantial *Institutionum logicarum* was familiar to academy students at Rathmell, Shrewsbury, Taunton and Little Britain.¹⁶⁰ At Sheriffhales it was the major text, and was read twice in lectures.¹⁶¹ It was probably also known at Bethnal Green, where Heereboord's supplementary *Ermeneia logica* was in use.¹⁶² This makes it the most frequently cited published text in the extant literature from the early dissenters' academies. Like most of the logic texts cited by dissenters, it had also been popular at the universities since the 1640s.¹⁶³ In a preface to the reader, Burgersdijck memorably described Ramus as 'learned, but cunning, rash, and extremely injurious to antiquity'.¹⁶⁴ Consequently, he praised the followers of Bartholomew Keckermann for using Aristotle's material with Ramus' method, an approach which became known as Philippo-Ramism.¹⁶⁵ In Burgersdijck's hands this combination resulted in a course structure which was followed closely in the lectures of John Woodhouse and Thomas Rowe.¹⁶⁶ Students of Burgersdijck's method first learned the logical categories, then the praedicables;¹⁶⁷ they were encouraged to explore Ramist topics relating to wholes and parts, causes and effects, then discussed propositions, interpretation, etymology and enunciation. Later, students learned the three figures of the syllogism, before looking at other methods of argument; they then proceeded to discuss argument in general terms, considering sophisms. Burgersdijck's method was to present theorems, commentary and canons; the latter were discussed point by point at Thomas Rowe's academy.¹⁶⁸ The commendatory verses by Gerard Vossius are also worth noting: students at Sheriffhales and Rathmell studied Vossius' treatises on rhetoric in detail.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁰ *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills*, p. 192; Owen, *Life of Owen*, p. 89; DWL MS 24.59; BBCL MS G95.

¹⁶¹ Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 227.

¹⁶² Palmer, *Defence*, p. 4.

¹⁶³ Fletcher, *Milton*, p. 145.

¹⁶⁴ 'doctus, sed audax, temerarius, & in antiquitatem sanequam injurius': Franco Burgersdijck, *Institutionum logicarum* (Oxford, 1637), p. A8r.

¹⁶⁵ 'Aristotele materiam, Ramo methodum suppeditante': Burgersdijck, *Institutionum logicarum*, p. B1r.

¹⁶⁶ BBCL MS G95.

¹⁶⁷ Praedicables are categories of universals, including species, genus, total, difference, property and accident.

¹⁶⁸ BBCL MS G95.

¹⁶⁹ Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 227; *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills*, p. 193.

Often bound together with the *Institutiones* was Heereboord's *Ermeneia*, which added a prolegomena, lengthy notes on key topics such as the four causes and their effects, and examples from Scripture as glosses on Burgersdijck's theorems.¹⁷⁰ Heereboord's aims were modest: he supplemented Burgersdijck's commentary sections, explained Burgersdijck's canons and appended 81 theses, generally drawn from Burgersdijck or Keckermann.¹⁷¹ However, although the text was designed to be purely a commentary on Burgersdijck, this is not always how it was used in the academies, which sometimes followed university practice in using it as the main system of learning. At Bethnal Green, John Ker used Heereboord as the basis for his lectures, giving his students from memory 'the Harmony or Opposition made to him by other Logicians'.¹⁷² At Tewkesbury, Thomas Secker found that Samuel Jones, though 'no great admirer of the old *Logic*', took great pains in 'correcting Heereboord, and has for the most part made him intelligible, or shewn that he is not so'.¹⁷³ Jones created a short system based on the logics of Heereboord, Locke and Arnauld, which he dictated to his students clearly, providing references to places where each of the ideas was more fully treated, and taking care that his students should not be 'cheated with obscure terms which had no meaning'.¹⁷⁴ By contrast, at Sheriffhales Heereboord was used directly in conjunction with Burgersdijck, providing students with a clear account of his method and its significance for the study of theology. Some version of Heereboord was also read at Rathmell. These usages reflect the text's utility to students seeking to apply their knowledge of logic to disputations, theses and examinations and reveal the extent to which different texts and methods were discussed in tandem in the academies. For instance, students at Bethnal Green were encouraged to compare Heereboord's *quaestiones*, themselves based on Burgersdijck's definitions and divisions, to the ideas of Smiglecki, Derodon, Colbert, Arnauld and Le Clerc and 'whatever Books of the nature we occasionally met with'.¹⁷⁵

Although the Philippo-Ramist method of Keckermann, Burgersdijck and Heereboord encouraged such debate, it had never been universally popular amongst

¹⁷⁰ See especially Heereboord, *Ermeneia*, pp. 84-113.

¹⁷¹ Heereboord, *Ermeneia*, pp. 131-56.

¹⁷² Palmer, *Defence*, p. 4.

¹⁷³ Gibbons, *Watts*, p. 349.

¹⁷⁴ Gibbons, *Watts*, pp. 348-9.

¹⁷⁵ Palmer, *Defence*, p. 4.

puritans. One contributor to the English attack on Keckermann had been John Flavell, a relative of the later Dartmouth tutor, whose *Tractatus de demonstratione methodicus et polemicus* (1619) rejected the temptation to mix theology and logic. The elder Flavell's misgivings were shared by the anti-puritan cleric Robert Sanderson, whose *Logicae artis compendium* was frequently bound with the *Tractatus*.¹⁷⁶ Its appearance in a list of books from Sheriffhales from the period 1687-1700 indicates that Woodhouse adopted a very different approach to logic from that at Bethnal Green.¹⁷⁷ Sanderson's text epitomised the narrow Aristotelian compendia typical of English logic books, works which offered merely the most familiar definitions of key terms and avoided discussion of Aristotelian and Ramist topics.¹⁷⁸ It adopted a traditional three-part structure, outlining terms, propositions and arguments in brief three or four page chapters, with discourses on the use and history of logic relegated to the appendices.¹⁷⁹ This made it a concise introduction to definitions, divisions, corollaries, canons and *quaestiones*. Woodhouse had studied at Cambridge in 1660, where the text's clarity, marginal notes, uncluttered layout, diagrams, straightforward Latin and avoidance of theological controversy had made it a popular introduction to the subject. His students could have used any one of a myriad of seventeenth century editions.¹⁸⁰

Woodhouse's reasons for using Sanderson's text become clearer when his simultaneous use of the *Institutio logicae* (Oxford, 1687) of the Savilian Professor John Wallis is considered. The date of this text indicates that his decision to acquire it cannot be considered entirely in the light of his own university education, and reveals a continuing predilection for instruction through compendia. Wallis followed Sanderson's three-part structure closely. In part one he provided a description of praedicaments and praedicables, in part two he revised Sanderson's ten chapters on propositions and in part three he outlined Aristotle's three categories of syllogism, together with fallacies, topics, method, and three theses. The similarity between Sanderson and Wallis's texts indicates that Woodhouse used them to expose his

¹⁷⁶ Edward A. Malone, 'Flavell, John (1596?-1617)', *ODNB*.

¹⁷⁷ Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 227.

¹⁷⁸ Other such works were produced by, amongst others, Henry Ainsworth, Henry Aldrich, Edward Brerewood, Richard Crakanthorpe, John Fell, John Newton and Samuel Smith.

¹⁷⁹ Sanderson, *Logicae*, appendix, pp. 1-124.

¹⁸⁰ Editions were published with an Oxford imprint in 1615, 1618, 1631, 1640, 1657, 1664, 1672, 1680, 1700, 1704, 1705, 1707, 1741 and 1742.

students to methods of logic instruction advocated by university logicians. The differences between Sanderson's and Wallis's texts also highlight much about Woodhouse's knowledge and instruction of logic. Whereas Sanderson offered the briefest possible gloss on the most familiar Aristotelian machinery, Wallis provided a discursive rather than a purely functional text. Unlike Sanderson, he incorporated geometric proofs into his arguments¹⁸¹ and discussed topics from physics, including modality and causality, in detail.¹⁸² Wallis, like Woodhouse, was clearly more receptive to Ramism than Sanderson. In other respects, Woodhouse parted company with Wallis in favour of Sanderson. Whereas Sanderson defined logic simply as '*ars instrumentalis*'¹⁸³ Wallis used the formula '*Ars ... Ratiocinandi*'.¹⁸⁴, showing an awareness of the most significant new work of logic to appear in the mid seventeenth century, the Cartesian *Ars ratiocinandi* of the Jansenists Antoine Arnauld and Pierre Nicole.¹⁸⁵ However, Woodhouse's advocacy of Burgersdijck, Sanderson and Ramus rather than Arnauld in the late 1680s or 1690s points to a notable lack of interest in the new logic.

Nevertheless, versions of the Cartesian logic were read in a number of academies, including those of Richard Frankland, John Ker, Thomas Rowe and Samuel Jones at Tewkesbury.¹⁸⁶ The *Port Royal Logic*, as it became known, transformed the theory and practice of logic within these academies. Arnauld, the text's chief author, was familiar to dissenting scholars through Theophilus Gale's *True Idea of Jansenism*; Gale presented him as the leading Jansenist, a persecuted Augustinian, and as defender of the principle of efficacious grace.¹⁸⁷ He was also recognised as the author of a set of objections to René Descartes' *Meditations* which declared that one of Descartes' arguments for the existence of God was circular. Arnauld's division of logical thought into the four principal operations of the mind, '*conceiving, judging, reasoning, and ordering*', provided the basis for Isaac Watts's

¹⁸¹ Wallis, *Institutio logicae*, pp. 17, 28.

¹⁸² Wallis, *Institutio logicae*, pp. 44-59.

¹⁸³ Sanderson, *Logicae*, p. 1.

¹⁸⁴ Sanderson, *Logicae*, p. 1.

¹⁸⁵ Antoine Arnauld and Pierre Nicole, *Logica, sive ars ratiocinandi* (London, 1674); a useful translation is: Arnauld and Nicole, *Logic or the Art of Thinking*, tr. Jill Vance Buroker (Cambridge, 1996).

¹⁸⁶ *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills*, pp. 192-3; Gibbons, *Watts*, p. 348; Palmer, *Defence*, p. 4; BBCL MS G95.

¹⁸⁷ Theophilus Gale, *Idea theologiae* (London, 1673), pp. 75-6.

definition of the subject in his *Logick*.¹⁸⁸ The first part of Arnauld's innovative four-part structure presented a Cartesian theory of ideas, emphasising that truth only results from clear notions, and attacking the empiricism of Pierre Gassendi, whose *Astronomia* was a staple text at the academies. The second and third parts offered a fairly conventional account of grammar and deduction, supplemented by an assault upon the uselessness of Aristotle's *Topics*. Part four, on method, introduced students to the principles of Descartes' *Discours de la Méthode*, and also included a brilliant attack upon the unnecessary complexity and self-evidence of geometric proof. The content of the text was as influential as its structure. Arnauld, like Watts, claimed that Aristotle's ten praedicables were 'fairly useless' and 'often harmful' to logic and advocated replacing them with an analysis of different 'modes' of substances, by which they might be said to be '“round”, “hard”, “just”, “prudent”.'¹⁸⁹ He used repeated references to Augustine's *City of God* to explain the limitations of human reason, highlighted the sources of equivocal arguments in the misuse of universal ideas, and pointed to the distinction between words signifying things, and words signifying words as a solution to many scholastic controversies.¹⁹⁰

The *Port Royal Logic* was first published in France in 1662, the same year that several nonconforming ministers, including the equally Augustinian Gale, travelled to the country after the passage of the Act of Uniformity.¹⁹¹ It is therefore plausible that the text was known in England by French-speaking academy students long before the first London editions appeared in Latin in 1674, 1677, 1682 and 1687. The popularity of the text led to the production of a multi-authored English translation, printed anonymously in 1685, 1693 and 1696.¹⁹² Many of its central tenets were also disseminated to the academies in the form of Jean Le Clerc's Latin *Logica*, which was first published in England in 1692.¹⁹³ Le Clerc was a significant figure for English dissenters and latitudinarians, later publishing lives of the

¹⁸⁸ Isaac Watts, *Logick, Or, The Right Use of Reason in the Inquiry after Truth* (London, 1725), pp. 4-6. It was first compiled in the late 1690s.

¹⁸⁹ Arnauld and Nicole, *Logic*, pp. 30-4.

¹⁹⁰ Arnauld and Nicole, *Logic*, pp. 25, 44-8, 58-72.

¹⁹¹ Bod. MS Rawl. Lrs. 51; another tutor to visit France, 1671-3, was Francis Tallents, in the early 1670s: Shropshire Archives, MS P257/E/3/1; Bod. MS Don D115.

¹⁹² [Antoine Arnauld], *Logic, or the Art of Thinking* (London, 1682). The same translators, currently unidentified, produced an English version of *Aristotle's Rhetoric*, published in 1686, which includes a dedication to Henry Sidney and his ancestors from a certain 'H.C.'

¹⁹³ Jean Le Clerc, *Logica, sive, ars ratiocinandi* (London, 1692). Another version was published with Le Clerc's *Ontologia et pneumatologia* in 1704 and 1716.

philosopher John Locke, Bishop Gilbert Burnet, Archbishop John Tillotson, and the Remonstrant Philip Limborch, as well as a supplement to Henry Hammond's annotations on the New Testament.¹⁹⁴ The text's chief function was to provide a four-part introduction to the theory of ideas, judgment, method and argument. Part one focused on the perspicuity of ideas and their relation to truth, and was punctuated by attacks on scholastic complexity and Aristotle's categories. In part two the reader encountered rules for establishing a rational faith; in part three he was advised to compare them to principles of mathematical deduction and scientific demonstration. The text ended with an approving note on the relation between disputation and the Socratic method. Although Le Clerc's text was never printed in English, it was slimmer, better organised, less digressive and less dogmatic than the *Port Royal Logic*. These were all features which it bore in common with the logics of Sanderson and Wallis, and which help to explain its use in the academies. But there were other reasons why some tutors preferred it to Arnauld's logic. For the eighteenth-century Baxterian Thomas Hill, who was an important advocate of Cartesian physics and logic at Findern Academy,¹⁹⁵ Le Clerc's unostentatious Arminianism must have seemed preferable to the overt Augustinianism of the *Ars ratiocinandi*.

The impact of Cartesian logic can be assessed in detail in relation to at least one academy. A copy of Thomas Rowe's unpublished 'Notiones logicae' exists in a manuscript dated 1694 and once belonging to his student Emmanuel Gifford, the father of the Baptist Andrew Gifford.¹⁹⁶ Unfortunately, the text is incomplete, ending in a somewhat confused state, midway through a discussion of liberty and causation. However, some general comments can be made. The text, described by its copyist as 'Logicall Lectures',¹⁹⁷ is structured in chapters of equivalent length to those in Sanderson's *Compendium*, but is in English, and without diagrams. Rowe is candid

¹⁹⁴ Jean Le Clerc, *The Life and Character of Mr. John Locke* (London, 1706); *A Defence of Archbishop Tillotson, and his Writings* (London, 1710); *The Life of Dr. Burnet* (London, 1715); *A Funeral Oration upon the Death of Mr. Philip Limborch* (London, 1713); *A Supplement to Dr. Hammond's Paraphrase and Annotations* (London, 1699).

¹⁹⁵ As well as Baxter's *An End of Doctrinal Controversies* (London, 1691), Hill advocated the study of Le Clerc's *Physics* (London, 1696) and *Logica*, and Jacques Rohault's *Tractatus physicus* (London, 1682): DWL MS 24.59.

¹⁹⁶ BBCL MS G95. Emmanuel Gifford gave the text to his son in 1715 in time for him to take it to Tewkesbury Academy. They were donated to Bristol Baptist College by Andrew Gifford in 1780.

¹⁹⁷ BBCL MS G95, p. 1. The title page reads 'Mr Rowe's Larger Logick Anno Domini 1694 Liber 2dus:'.

about his method: he has composed his text from Burgersdijck and the Jansenists. The former he values as a man of ‘great Acumen’ who fused the best portions of Aristotle and Ramus; the latter represent the best of the ‘new Philosophy’, learning their trade from Descartes’ *Principles*.¹⁹⁸ An introductory preface, drawn from Gale’s *Court of the Gentiles*, describes the birth, progress, corruption, reformation and ‘May I say ... death and resurrection’ of the arts, together with the uses of logic. It proceeds to discuss Ramus’ definition of logic alongside that of Burgersdijck, with examples drawn from experimental science.¹⁹⁹ Chapter two presents what Rowe describes as a ‘Jansenist’ theory of ideas, which he contrasts to what he views as the Aristotelian account, before explaining the Cartesian view that the soul is located in the glandula pinealis. The text then digresses to present arguments in support of Descartes’ proofs of the existence of God. After referring to the Cartesian theory of the passions, it proceeds to defend the importance of clear and distinct ideas.²⁰⁰ The following chapters on the Aristotelian categories cite Burgersdijck’s definitions and canons, adding brief commentary in which their utility and limitations are highlighted in similar measure.²⁰¹ A short chapter on modes describes another Cartesian concept, although it is not fully integrated into the rest of the text.²⁰² Rowe is also less than critical of the Aristotelian praedicables, which are discussed in chapters 11-15.²⁰³ The text proceeds to the familiar Ramist topics of whole and parts, cause and effect, matter, form and causation, which Rowe – following the Cartesians – prefers to call ‘Second Notions’. These chapters are illustrated by an attack on substantial forms, a discussion of God’s role in the generation of sin and a digression into various notions of liberty and necessity.²⁰⁴ As a whole, the text lacks any fundamental insights into the nature of logic and is only partially successful in its attempts to integrate Cartesian ideas and Aristotelian structure. While it demonstrates that dissenters were open to new philosophies, it also reveals the extent to which their value was open to vigorous debate.

¹⁹⁸ BBCL MS G95, p. 1.

¹⁹⁹ BBCL MS G95, pp. 1-11.

²⁰⁰ BBCL MS G95, pp. 11-18.

²⁰¹ BBCL MS G95, pp. 18-44.

²⁰² BBCL MS G95, pp. 25-9.

²⁰³ BBCL MS G95, pp. 44-56.

²⁰⁴ BBCL MS G95, pp. 56-68.

Some dissenting tutors chose to ignore Cartesian logic entirely. When Charles Morton first drew up his manuscript ‘Logick System’ some time before 1685, he used Sanderson’s Aristotelian *Compendium* as his model. But whereas Wallis had expanded Sanderson, Morton reduced it to a brief epitome and chose, like Rowe, to write in English. Morton adopted a three-part Aristotelian structure, outlining the nature of terms, propositions and syllogisms. His chapter headings also followed Sanderson’s closely. The content consisted almost entirely of definitions, divisions and canons. Aside from standard attacks on consubstantiation, transubstantiation and implicit faith, Morton’s only foray into controversial topics was a brief note against Arminianism.²⁰⁵ From Sanderson he also learned the value of diagrams, which pepper the text throughout. Morton’s only idiosyncrasy was his method of instruction. Following a hint in the writings of Johann Clauberg that texts should be read three times, Morton arranged his *Logick System* as a series of points, diagrams and poems.²⁰⁶ He also presented a useful distinction between the method of logical invention – from singulars to universals – and the method of logical teaching – from universals to particulars.²⁰⁷ If Rowe’s text lacked insight into Cartesianism, Morton’s logic was vigorously Aristotelian. It was also more obviously influential, circulating at Harvard until at least 1723, and being referred to by no less a theologian than Jonathan Edwards substantially after that date.²⁰⁸

The only former academy student to present a fresh and coherent new work of logic during this period was Isaac Watts, whose *Logick* of 1725 was originally drawn up as part of his work tutoring John Hartopp in the late 1690s.²⁰⁹ The text was known to the academy tutor John Eames, and later became a mainstay for students at Oxford.²¹⁰ As a pupil of Rowe, Watts had become familiar with Cartesianism, and it is from the writings of Arnauld and Le Grand that much of his work sprang. Watts’s four-part structure, discussing ideas, judgment, reasoning and method, reordered Le Grand’s method in the light of Arnauld’s definition of logic. Other Cartesian features included an emphasis upon modes together with a cutting indictment of the uselessness of Aristotelian categories, a focus on the value of clear ideas, and

²⁰⁵ Kennedy, *Logic*, pp. 177, 228, 175.

²⁰⁶ Kennedy, *Logic*, pp. 239-40.

²⁰⁷ Kennedy, *Logic*, pp. 235-9.

²⁰⁸ Kennedy, *Logic*, pp. x-xii, 90.

²⁰⁹ Watts, *Logick*, p. i.

²¹⁰ Watts, *Logick*, p. i; Feingold, ‘Humanities’, p. 282.

recognition of the distinction between ideas of things and ideas of words.²¹¹ In part two, Watts recapitulated Le Grand's focus upon simple and complex, clear, dubious and false propositions. The next section, like Arnauld's part three and Le Grand's part four, outlined the traditional types of syllogism, whereas part four drew upon the distinctions between analytic and synthetic method which had been discussed by both Arnauld and Le Grand. Watts did not copy Arnauld's text verbatim, but – like Le Grand – reduced its dogmatic content by removing references to Augustine. His added references to Locke reveal his awareness of the essential similarity between the critiques of the Aristotelian categories in the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* and the *Ars ratiocinandi*.²¹² However, he sided with Arnauld against Locke in his support for innate ideas.²¹³ His most notable intervention in this debate was an important section in part two called the 'Doctrine of Prejudices', in which he steered a middle course between dogmatism and scepticism.²¹⁴

These three texts by Rowe, Morton and Watts demonstrate that there was no clear preference within the academies for any one of the major trends within logic epitomised by Ramus, Sanderson, Burgersdijck and the Cartesians. In logic, as in theology, the practices of dissenting tutors and students reveal eclecticism rather than discrimination in their choice of texts and methods. The implications of the centrality and diversity of logic instruction within the academies for dissenting culture were immense. Even dissenters who were openly hostile to the principles of logic were forced not merely to recognise its pervasiveness but also to acquire knowledge and skills in the subject.²¹⁵ Logical analysis of Scripture burgeoned during this period, and logical disputations between dissenting ministers were an accepted feature not merely of examination, but also of ministerial practice.²¹⁶ That such uses for logic were considered by tutors is unquestionable. The nonconformist Edward Reyner,

²¹¹ Watts, *Logick*, pp. 25-38, 42-50, 68-109.

²¹² Watts, *Logick*, pp. 20, 47.

²¹³ Watts, *Logick*, p. 42.

²¹⁴ Watts, *Logick*, pp. 291-364.

²¹⁵ Even the Quakers George Keith and George Whitehead, who famously denounced logic, found themselves involved in logical debates: George Keith, *A True and Faithful Account* (London, 1675); George Whitehead, *The Principal Controversies* (London, 1672).

²¹⁶ The most impressive 'logical' analyses of Scripture were produced by the puritan William Ainsworth, *Medulla biblicorum* (London, 1652) and the nonconformist Christopher Ness, *A Compleat History and Mystery of the Old and New Testament*, 4 vols. (London, 1690-6); the fullest verbatim account of a strictly syllogistic oral dispute between dissenters is found in Samuel Chandler, *A Dialogue between a Paedo-Baptist and an Anti-Paedo-Baptist ... at the Portsmouth Disputation* (London, 1699); it apparently attracted 1,000 hearers.

who took students at Nottingham before his death in 1666, was categorical: logic was not just designed for disputations, and for the ‘*rational understanding*’ of the world, but also for interpreting the Scriptures, considering divine truths, and for the ‘*plain, perspicuous, and methodical handling of Points of Divinity*’.²¹⁷ As the previous survey shows, clarity and logical truth frequently eluded dissenting logicians, but the remainder of Reyner’s programme was more of a reality than an ideal.

The Speculative Sciences: Physics and Mathematics

The traditional narrative of the progress of the speculative sciences at the early academies is well known. Tutors were either entirely hostile to the new sciences on theological grounds, or progressive and enlightened Newtonians. Physics and mathematics quickly became practical subjects, and the new mechanics established itself long before the universities showed much interest in the subject. Unfortunately, the existing manuscript evidence from the academies does not support such a rosy view of the dissenters’ achievement. In the following account of physics and mathematics, the links between dissenters and the new sciences are recognised, but their opinions are explored in relation to the actual exercises and notes taken by academy students.

Late seventeenth-century physics was partly a speculative, and partly an empirical subject. The former element had its origin in the *Physics* of Aristotle; the latter in Aristotle’s *History, Parts, Progression and Generation of Animals*, together with a host of his shorter works, including his text *On Generation and Corruption*.²¹⁸ Aristotle’s works on physics and natural philosophy were available in Latin translations in seventeenth-century England and were occasionally translated into English.²¹⁹ However, as was the case with logic, commentaries and compendia on physics from across Europe tended to be more popular at the English universities and academies than the works of Aristotle himself.²²⁰ These compendia typically

²¹⁷ Edward Reyner, *A Treatise of the Necessity of Humane Learning* (London, 1663), pp. 81-2.

²¹⁸ I have used the translations in *Complete Works of Aristotle*, ed. Barnes, pp. 315-1298.

²¹⁹ See, for instance, *Aristotle's Master-piece: or, The Secrets of Generation Display'd in all the Parts Thereof* (London, 1690).

²²⁰ Examples used at the dissenters’ academies include Johann Magirus, *Physiologiae peripateticae libri sex* (London, 1619) and Henricus Regius, *Fundamenta physices* (Utrecht, 1646).

proceeded from the speculative to the empirical, and then from consideration of astronomy to accounts of human anatomy.²²¹ Although there had been considerable developments in empirical knowledge of the solar system and the functioning of the human body, for much of the century understanding of action, potency, cause and effect continued to rely heavily on Aristotelian definitions and divisions.²²² Nevertheless, this speculative aspect of physics was in decline by the time the earliest academies were established, especially as a result of the rise of Cartesian dualism, which demanded a new set of relations to be described between material substance and spirit.²²³ The new science of Bacon, the circle of John Wilkins and the Royal Society challenged the speculative as well as the empirical basis of the old physics, although many of the Society's chief pamphleteers continued to present themselves as correcting Aristotle rather than replacing him.²²⁴ At the English universities, physics was a core subject, alongside logic, ethics and metaphysics.²²⁵ Students typically studied a range of long established texts, including the works of Aristotle, Bartholine, Burgersdijck, Keckermann, Magirus and Zabarella.²²⁶ Students at the earliest academies also acquired a familiarity with this predominantly Aristotelian and Ramist combination of texts, but before the century had expired, Cartesianism had become the dominant force in physics, and links between the Royal Society and several tutors had also grown strong. Students at some academies (such as Sheriffhales) were also finding that practical exercises were accompanying their lectures, giving them the skills to survey land, compose almanacs, make sundials and dissect animals.²²⁷ Although the broad pattern of change from Aristotelianism to Cartesianism and Newtonianism was the same across the universities and academies, there was considerable local variation in the subject matter and methodology adopted by individual tutors.

The longest and best-known work of physics by a nonconformist tutor is the *Compendium physicae* by Charles Morton, of which the earliest extant copy was

²²¹ A typical example is Adrian Heereboord, *Philosophia naturalis* (Oxford, 1665).

²²² Morton, *Physicae*, pp. 1-19.

²²³ English students could have encountered Descartes' theories through one of the versions published in England, such as *A Discourse of a Method for the Well Guiding of Reason, and the Discovery of Truth in the Sciences* (London, 1649), *The Passions of the Soule* (London, 1650), *Six Metaphysical Meditations* (London, 1680), or *Meditationes de prima philosophia* (London, 1664).

²²⁴ Robert Boyle, *The Christian Virtuoso* (London, 1690), pp. 64, 112.

²²⁵ Fletcher, *Milton*, pp. 167-181.

²²⁶ Fletcher, *Milton*, p. 168.

²²⁷ Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 227.

made in England in 1680 and the latest at Harvard in 1721.²²⁸ Although his contribution to science was negligible, Morton acquired a reputation for excellence in the teaching of mathematics and especially mechanics.²²⁹ Morton's 'fine Garden, Bowling Green, Fish Pond' at Newington Green has led to considerable speculation that his grounds were used for empirical observation, and that he knew John Wilkins personally while a student at Oxford.²³⁰ Although there is no further evidence to support such claims, it is unquestionable that he owned a laboratory with an air pump, thermometers and various kinds of mathematical instruments, all of which could have served to illustrate his physics lectures.²³¹ However, the traditional view that Morton was a progressive 'modern' has recently been challenged by Rick Kennedy and David A. Reid, who have highlighted the Aristotelian structure of his logic and physics texts.²³² Their interpretations are undoubtedly correct. Morton's text begins with the traditional Aristotelian definitions and divisions of the various branches of natural philosophy and continues in a speculative vein, considering principles of motion, generation and corruption, essence and place. This 'general' part of physics is then followed by the 'special' branches of physics, involving description of the heavens, elements, meteors, inanimate terrestrial bodies, animals, sense organs, animal and rational processes. Nevertheless, Morton's structure merely reflects an order employed by physics writers of all opinions. Of more interest are his reports on phenomena which he himself has witnessed in Cornwall, and his frequent references to recent publications of Boyle and the Royal Society.²³³ Notably, these intrude into his discussion of speculative as well as empirical principles.²³⁴ Morton's familiarity with Cartesianism is also evident in his references to Le Grand, Du Hamel, Rohault and Blome.²³⁵ These details reveal Morton's breadth of reading and provide another example of eclecticism in dissenting scholarship and teaching. As Morton himself put it, 'diversities of opinions', far

²²⁸ Morton, *Physicae*.

²²⁹ Wesley, *Letter*, p. 5.

²³⁰ Wesley, *Letter*, p. 3; Vickers, *Defoe*, pp. 33-5.

²³¹ Wesley, *Letter*, p. 3.

²³² Kennedy, *Logic*, p. 79; Reid, 'Science', pp. 128-33.

²³³ Morton, *Physicae*. He mentions Cornwall on pp. 87, 118, 122; he mentions Boyle by name on pp. 11, 17, 134.

²³⁴ Morton, *Physicae*, p. 11.

²³⁵ Morton, *Physicae*, pp. xxvii-xxxviii.

from being disheartening, were an inevitable result of empiricism: ‘Where New Appearance is before the Eyes, / new Suppositions thereupon arise’.²³⁶

Wider reading in physics across the academies reflected the combination of old and new philosophies articulated by Morton. According to Joshua Toulmin, Woodhouse’s students read Descartes’ *Principia* alongside works by Heereboord, Magirus, Regius and Rohault.²³⁷ Although all of these writers with the exception of Magirus now have a reputation for being Cartesians, it is important to recognise the substantial differences in content and structure between the texts that they produced, as well as the ways in which they disagreed with Descartes. Henricus Regius’ *Fundamenta physices* (1646), for instance, was widely believed to be an adoption of some elements of Descartes’s physics, but a rejection of his metaphysics.²³⁸ The text adopted an Aristotelian structure, proceeding from principles of physics to astronomy and anatomy, but also included frequent accounts of modern experiments, and multiple illustrations of parts of the body. Rohault’s text, by contrast, reflected his expertise in mechanics, attempting to establish the key mathematical principles of physics. Heereboord’s *Philosophia naturalis* originated as a commentary on peripatetic physics, but evolved to include the opposing positions of Descartes, Regius and Berigard.²³⁹ The result was a text which celebrated the best of the old philosophy while incorporating the objections of the new as points worthy of disputation. Regius’ *Physiologia* was pre-Cartesian not merely in content but in date, and took its inspiration from Aristotle, Zabarella and Scaliger.²⁴⁰ Readers of these texts found themselves exposed almost casually to a wealth of intellectual influences, stretching beyond taxonomy into speculative physics, metaphysics and theology. Failure to be alert to the differences between these texts can create the misleading impression of homogeneity or even monotony of instruction, whereas tutors themselves highlighted the different ideas and approaches of the writers they recommended to students.²⁴¹

²³⁶ Morton, *Physicae*, pp. 5, 4.

²³⁷ Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 227.

²³⁸ Clarke, Desmond, "Henricus Regius", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Fall 2008 Edition)*, Edward N. Zalta (ed.), <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2008/entries/henricus-regius/>

²³⁹ Adrian Heereboord, *Philosophia naturalis* (Oxford, 1665), title page.

²⁴⁰ Henricus Regius, *Philosophia naturalis* (Utrecht, 1664), title page.

²⁴¹ See, for example, DWL 564.C.19.

The debate about the purpose and value of Cartesianism tended to focus upon the works of Rohault and Le Clerc. At Richard Frankland's academy, students encountered Rohault in Samuel Clarke's edition, which contained notes in the mathematical method by Isaac Newton.²⁴² Rohault's work was also known to Thomas Doolittle, who borrowed from his meteorology in his 1693 account of earthquakes, comparing it to the works of Regius, Aristotle, Derodon, Zanchius and Seneca.²⁴³ At Findern, Thomas Hill used a combination of Rohault's *Tractatus physicus*, and Le Clerc's *Physica*, having already taught the latter's *Ars cogitandi*.²⁴⁴ Le Clerc's physics was also taught by his successor Ebenezer Latham.²⁴⁵ However, although Cartesianism was dominant in many academies, students were introduced to other types of physics alongside it. At Bethnal Green, although Ker used Le Clerc's *Physica* as his main system, he compared it to works by the 'antients', including Aristotle, and other 'moderns', while James Owen compared the same text of Le Clerc to Du Hamel's *Philosophia vetus et nova*.²⁴⁶ The picture that students gained was of a vibrant debate between exponents of both the old and new science, exposed to them within lectures and as a result of recommended wider reading.

Another way in which students explored the new science was through reading printed texts by John Wilkins, Robert Boyle, and the Royal Society. Wilkins's works were known to a number of early tutors, including Morton, and academy students also encountered Wilkins's ideas through the perusal of writers as varying as Baxter, John Owen and Thomas Manton.²⁴⁷ Boyle was known personally to influential nonconformists such as John Howe, who addressed his published letter on the *Reconcilableness of Gods Prescience* to him.²⁴⁸ In the late 1660s the Royal Society secretary Henry Oldenburg approached Theophilus Gale to produce a new edition of Bacon, and although none was forthcoming, Gale remained friends with Oldenburg, staying in his house in 1671 and seeing *The Court of the Gentiles*

²⁴² Jacques Rohault, *Rohault's System of Natural Philosophy, Illustrated with Dr. Samuel Clarke's Notes Taken Mostly out of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy*, 2 vols. (London, 1723).

²⁴³ Thomas Doolittle, *Earthquakes Explained and Practically Improved Occasioned by the Late Earthquake on Sept. 8, 1692 in London, Many Other Parts in England, and Beyond Sea* (London, 1693), pp. 52-58.

²⁴⁴ DWL MS 24.59, p. 55.

²⁴⁵ DWL MS 24.59, pp. 57-8.

²⁴⁶ Palmer, *Defence*, p. 352; Owen, *Life of Owen*, p. 89.

²⁴⁷ Richard Baxter, *A Christian Directory* (London, 1673); John Owen, *Moderation a Vertue* (London, 1683), pp. 1, 3, 60, 77; Thomas Manton, *Catalogus variorum & insignium librorum instructissimae bibliothecae* (London, 1678), pp. 38, 61.

²⁴⁸ John Howe, *The Reconcilableness of God's Prescience of the Sins of Men* (London, 1677).

reviewed in the *Transactions* in 1672.²⁴⁹ Other tutors became members of the Royal Society. Morton, who was a frequent reader of Boyle, contributed a paper to their proceedings on the use of sea sand for fertilizer.²⁵⁰ Less well documented than they deserve are the dissenting connections of the prominent natural scientists John Ray and Nehemiah Grew. The former had forfeited his fellowship of Trinity College Cambridge through his opposition to the Restoration religious and educational settlement; he later conformed, but his time at Trinity coincided with that of John Hutchinson, another ejected fellow who became a physician at Clapham and a dissenting schoolmaster at Hackney.²⁵¹ Nehemiah Grew was the son of Obadiah Grew, nonconforming pastor and tutor at Coventry. He later became a celebrated author on botany and Oldenburg's successor as secretary to the Royal Society.²⁵²

In the early eighteenth century, the most significant new influence on dissenting academy physics was Isaac Newton. The Moorfields tutor John Eames became a Board member of the Royal Society, and delivered papers reviewing works of French science, comparing them to Newton's own experiments.²⁵³ Newton's ideas featured prominently in Eames's lectures, and through his writings they were disseminated to the academies at Tewkesbury and Kibworth.²⁵⁴ In a manuscript poem, one of Eames's students, a certain Lindamore, fondly urged his tutor to ensure that 'Newtons Knowledg fill Each Spacious Soul.'²⁵⁵ Thomas Dixon's student Henry Winder at Whitehaven also copied large passages from Newton into his commonplace book, and other academies studied Newton's notes on Rohault's *Physic*.²⁵⁶ Of course, readers of Locke's *Essay* also gained a basic introduction to Newton's significance.²⁵⁷ Other tutors, such as Ebenezer Latham, used the work of William Whiston and James Keill to reintegrate Newtonian physics and theological

²⁴⁹ Henry Oldenburg, *The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg*, ed. A. Rupert Hall and Marie Boas Hall, 13 vols. (Madison, Wisconsin and London, 1965-86), vol. 8, pp. 111-12, 119, 255, 126-7; vol. 7, pp. 315-16.

²⁵⁰ It was printed in *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* (April, 1676): see Dewey D. Wallace, jun., 'Charles Morton (bap. 1627, d. 1698)', *ODNB*.

²⁵¹ *CR*, pp. 286-287.

²⁵² Michael Hunter, 'Grew, Nehemiah (bap. 1641, d. 1712)', *ODNB*.

²⁵³ Royal Society MSS Cl.P/2/19, Cl.P/3ii/24-6, CMO/2-3, RBO/13-15, RBO/17-21; BL MS Add. 4432, fols. 227-32.

²⁵⁴ Cong. Lib. MS If27-8; Doddridge, 'Letter', p. 17. I have greatly benefited from using transcriptions Doddridge's letter and DWL MS 24.179(4) by Tessa Whitehouse.

²⁵⁵ BL MS Add. 4457, f. 77. 'Lindamore' is probably a pseudonym.

²⁵⁶ HMC MS Winder 1.i; DWL MS 24.59, p. 55.

²⁵⁷ John Locke, *An Essay concerning Human Understanding* ed. Peter H. Nidditch (Oxford, 1979), p. 10.

doctrine.²⁵⁸ Although Newton was rarely read directly by students, his key ideas were widely discussed.

Historians have paid little attention to natural history, anatomy and anthropology²⁵⁹ at the early academies, and yet these are areas in which the coexistence of the Aristotelian science and the new discoveries may be sensed most keenly. Some dissenters, such as Nehemiah Grew and Charles Owen, published groundbreaking works on natural history and botany while others, including the former Exeter student John Huxham, combined local careers as physicians with international careers as authors on medicine.²⁶⁰ However, practical training in medicine was not a function of the academies and students seeking to become doctors frequently went to Leiden University subsequently.²⁶¹ Indeed, until recently, the nature of instruction offered by the academies in anatomy was unknown. However, a copy of the anthropology lectures delivered by John Eames, owned by his student Philip Furneaux, provides a much clearer picture of what students not seeking professional careers might have learnt about human physiognomy in the early eighteenth century.²⁶² The course, which Joshua Wilson considered somewhat inappropriate for a theological college,²⁶³ proceeded in two parts on the basis of a definition between ‘Pseuchology call’d sometimes Pneumatology’, and ‘Somatology, which treats of the Structure and fabric of an human body.’²⁶⁴ The first part, defined as an account of the soul, demonstrates the persistence of speculative categories even amongst Newtonians such as Eames, and also highlights the degree to which pneumatology remained reliant upon seventeenth-century metaphysics, even as it introduced many key terms for the study of ethics. Eames’s chief aim in his section on psychology was to explain the extent to which Cartesian theories of animal functions were superior to the Aristotelian definition of man as ‘Animal

²⁵⁸ DWL MS 24.59, p. 57.

²⁵⁹ The existence of this term as a subject label is striking: it appears to have been used by John Eames as an umbrella term for pneumatology and somatology.

²⁶⁰ Charles Owen, *An Essay Towards a Natural History of Serpents* (London, 1742); Nehemiah Grew’s most important publication was *The Anatomy of Plants* (London, 1682); John Huxham, *An Essay on Fevers* (London, 1750), *Medical and Chemical Observations upon Antimony* (London, 1756), *The Works of John Huxham*, 2 vols. (London, 1788).

²⁶¹ See chapter 1.

²⁶² BL MS Add. 60351.

²⁶³ NCL MS L54/4, f. 15.

²⁶⁴ BL MS Add. 60351, f. 19v.

Rational'.²⁶⁵ He attempted this through an exploration of the nutritive, generative and intellectual faculties of the soul, together with an analysis of the role of sensation in human understanding.

The much longer second part was presumably the section which Wilson found particularly offensive, since it began with a strikingly Boylean definition of the human body as 'A curious Engine made up of an Infinite Number of Canals, wth. their proper Juices of fluids moving in ym.'²⁶⁶ The text provided a comprehensive account of fibres, bones, cartilage and ligaments, arteries, veins, glands and muscles, then the human trunk, abdomen, stomach, digestive system, kidneys, bladder and genitals. It proceeded to describe different theories of reproduction, or 'generation', the respiratory system, the heart, and the circulation of blood. It ended with detailed notes on the structure of the head, with a particular focus on problems with vision. The strongly empirical slant, combined with diagrams and a complete absence of theological commentary, demonstrates a complete divorce of anatomy from ethics. While this was not necessarily the case at all academies, the use of a condensed version of Eames's anthropology lectures by John Jennings (and probably David Jennings) indicates that Eames's teaching of natural philosophy was not singular.²⁶⁷ In its striking combination of speculative categories (part one) and empirical observation (part two), Eames's 'Anthropology' demonstrates better than any other text the extraordinary manner in which aspects of the old and new science coexisted even in the mid eighteenth-century academies.

Seventeenth-century mathematics, sometimes referred to as the 'metaphysics of quantity', was a wide-ranging subject, which could include geography, astronomy, optics and music as well as geometry and arithmetic.²⁶⁸ Although dissenters produced no mathematical texts to rival the work of Isaac Newton and Isaac Barrow, there was a considerable interest in the discipline, with several tutors such as Thomas Dixon and John Eames producing their own systems of mathematics, and other academies including those at Rathmell, Sheriffhales, Shrewsbury and Tewkesbury

²⁶⁵ BL MS Add. 60351, f. 5r.

²⁶⁶ BL MS Add. 60351, f. 20r.

²⁶⁷ NCL MS L54/4, f. 15.

²⁶⁸ There is definite evidence that students read mathematics at Sheriffhales, Rathmell, Taunton, Newington Green (Morton), Attercliffe, Hoxton, Whitehaven, Tewkesbury, Nottingham and Kibworth.

offering instruction based on standard texts on the subject.²⁶⁹ Some tutors, amongst them Richard Frankland, earned a reputation for competence in mathematics, and even in academies such as Manchester, where Timothy Jollie ‘forbade mathematics as tending to scepticism and infidelity’, many students ‘by stealth made considerable progress in that way’.²⁷⁰ Nevertheless, given that university mathematics had never acquired the status afforded to logic, natural philosophy and ethics, it is hardly surprising that it was not studied at all academies in equal measure. Samuel Palmer makes no reference to the subject in his account of Bethnal Green and it is unclear whether the subject was taught at Taunton before the appointment of Robert Darch in 1706; in his *Essay Towards the Improvement of Reason* (1707), surveying the parts of human knowledge, Joshua Oldfield included only the briefest account of natural philosophy.²⁷¹ It is tempting to conclude simply that some tutors were more interested – and probably more competent – in mathematics than others.

Accounts of the teaching of mathematics at the academies are virtually non-existent for the period before 1710, but the experiences of Thomas Secker (Tewkesbury, 1711), Caleb Fleming (Nottingham, c. 1714) and Philip Doddridge (Kibworth, 1719-1720) reveal a high degree of variation in instruction. Thomas Secker studied mathematics under Samuel Jones in the afternoons, after reading Hebrew Antiquities and a chapter in the Greek New Testament. By mid November 1711, Secker had been through ‘all that is commonly taught of *Algebra* and *Proportion*, with the six first books of Euclid’.²⁷² This was all that Jones considered necessary for the gentlemen in Secker’s class,²⁷³ although Secker noted that he intended ‘to read something more’ to the following group.²⁷⁴ The study of all three subjects together only took up ‘something more’ than two hours. Caleb Fleming, aged sixteen, studied logic, ethics, natural philosophy, astronomy and theology with the assistance of John Hardy at Nottingham, but for geometry and trigonometry he was taught by John Needham, who (unlike Hardy) was ‘distinguished for his skill in

²⁶⁹ HMC MS Winder 1; DWL MS 69.26(1)-(2); *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills*, pp. 192-5; Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 227; Owen, *Life of Owen*, p. 89; BUL XMS 400.

²⁷⁰ Joseph Mottershead, quoted in DWL MS 24.59, p. 33.

²⁷¹ Joshua Oldfield, *An Essay Towards the Improvement of Reason* (London, 1707), pp. 16-25.

²⁷² Gibbons, *Watts*, p. 350.

²⁷³ Secker describes these men as ‘two Mr. Jones’s, Mr. Francis, Mr. Watkins, Mr. Sheldon, and two more gentlemen’: Gibbons, *Watts*, p. 349.

²⁷⁴ Gibbons, *Watts*, p. 350.

those sciences'; under Needham, he went through 'several books of Euclid.'²⁷⁵ By contrast, mathematics was a major element of the course at Kibworth. In Doddridge's first half year he read geometry or algebra three times a week. For geometry, he read the second and fifth books of Euclid's *Elements* in an edition by Barrow, and in algebra he read a system purposely drawn up by his tutor, John Jennings.²⁷⁶ Doddridge found Jennings's 'algebraic Demonstrations' of Euclid 'abundantly easier than the Geometrical Demonstrations of the same propositions'.²⁷⁷ In the second half of his first year, he read books three, four and six of Euclid, in twice-weekly instalments. For the first half of the second year, he read 'Mechanicks, Hydrostaticks and Physicks twice', then 'Astronomy, Globes and Chronology once'.²⁷⁸ For mechanics, he studied a short system by Jennings, he studied Harris and Senex on the use of the Globes,²⁷⁹ and he learned hydrostatics in a course based upon the lectures of Eames, who was by this point tutoring at Moorfields.²⁸⁰

Despite the innovations of Eames and others, the study of geometry remained the bedrock of mathematical instruction, and the key text continued to be Euclid until long after the period under consideration here. There is evidence for the study of Euclid at Sheriffhales, Shrewsbury, Nottingham and Tewkesbury.²⁸¹ Although Barrow's version, either in Latin or English, is the most likely text to have been perused at these academies, by the 1720s a version of Euclid's books 1-6 and 11-12 by William Whiston (first published at Cambridge, 1703) was in use at Findern.²⁸² Alternative editions of Euclid and commentaries upon his texts were also extremely common during the late seventeenth century, which witnessed a resurgence of

²⁷⁵ John Palmer, *A Sermon ... Occasioned by the Death of the Late Revd. Caleb Fleming* (London, 1779), p. 25.

²⁷⁶ Doddridge, 'Letter', p. 9.

²⁷⁷ Doddridge, 'Letter', p. 9. McLachlan follows Doddridge's later comments in DWL MS 24.179(4) that Isaac Barrow's edition of Euclid was particularly challenging. This is a puzzling notion, given that Barrow's edition contained little in the way of commentary. Doddridge is more likely to be making a claim for the supposed superiority of algebraic demonstration. However, Barrow's other publications were known to be extremely challenging: see Mordechai Feingold, *Before Newton: The Life and Times of Isaac Barrow* (Cambridge, 1990).

²⁷⁸ Doddridge, 'Letter', p. 9.

²⁷⁹ Doddridge, 'Letter', pp. 16, 29; John Senex, *A Treatise of the Description and Use of Both Globes* (London, 1711); John Harris, *Lexicon technicum magnum* (London, 1704).

²⁸⁰ Doddridge, 'Letter', p. 17.

²⁸¹ Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 227; Owen, *Life of Owen*, p. 89; Palmer, *Fleming*, p. 25; Gibbons, *Watts*, p. 350.

²⁸² DWL MS 24.59, p. 57.

interest in him. These texts, like Whiston's, strongly suggest that the fifteen books of his *Elements* were not necessarily studied in their entirety, but that instructors other than Jones and Jennings often chose to focus on books one to six.²⁸³ These were sometimes studied 'late', after considerable instruction in geometry.²⁸⁴ The manner in which Euclid was studied at Tewkesbury is clear from a manuscript amongst Thomas Secker's papers entitled 'Elementa Mathematica: ... By S. Jones', dated 1712, and signed 'E. G.'²⁸⁵ Although it is not in Secker's hand, it fits with his description of Jones's course, and indicates that he did not in fact teach the 1712 class anything new. 'E. G.' began with a study of vulgar and decimal fractions, including their multiplication, division, addition and subtraction. The course then proceeded to algebra, focusing upon the same four processes and the solution of quadratic equations. Students encountered introductory formulae for manipulating irrational square roots,²⁸⁶ learned basic relationships between surds, and explored simple arithmetical progressions. Only then was Euclid introduced, with E. G. taking notes on about one third of the problems from books two, three, five and six. Whereas Barrow and earlier writers had explored these problems using geometric diagrams, Jones followed the early eighteenth-century fashion for algebraic proof to which Eames subscribed.²⁸⁷ This system required a basic knowledge of trigonometry, including the use of sine and cosine tables, and an ability to compare ratios. The problems and their solutions were not advanced by the standard of modern mathematics, and provide no evidence that students obtained familiarity with Newton's *Principia*, or calculus.

Similar conclusions may be reached from a study of Henry Winder's mathematics book of 1711 from his time at Whitehaven.²⁸⁸ The Whitehaven course was remarkably similar to that at Tewkesbury. Winder began by studying the addition, subtraction, multiplication and division of fractions and powers; he used similar formulae to E. G. for reducing square roots, learned how to add and multiply

²⁸³ For instance, William Alingham, *Geomtry Epitomiz'd being a Compendious Collection of the most Useful Propositions in the First, Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Books of Euclid* (London, 1695); Thomas Rudd, *Euclides Elements of Geometry the First VI Books* (London, 1651); *Euclidis sex primi elementorum geometricorum libri* (London, 1654).

²⁸⁴ BUL XMS 400, f. 1.

²⁸⁵ BUL XMS 400, f. 1. 'E. G.' is probably Edward Godwin, the grandfather of the philosopher William Godwin.

²⁸⁶ The formulae were $\sqrt{a^2b} = a\sqrt{b}$ and $\sqrt{a^2 + 2ab + b^2} = a + b$.

²⁸⁷ BUL XMS 400, pp. 65-98; DWL MS 69.26(1).

²⁸⁸ HMC MS Winder 1.ii.

surds and then tackled simple and affected quadratic equations. At this point, however, the courses diverged. Winder learned basic applied mathematics, such as the calculation of simple and compound interest and the use of logarithmic tables; he also tackled decimal arithmetic. An important and lengthy aspect of the course was the discussion of globes, including descriptions of the equator, horizon and antipodes, together with fifteen problems on celestial bodies. Winder was also taught a comprehensive course in trigonometry, beginning with the sides, areas and angles of triangles, then proceeding to the computation of sines, tangents and secants. Spherical geometry was followed by more advanced trigonometry, including the characteristics of rectangular and oblique triangles inscribed into spheres. Although Eames's conic sections were not part of the course, students at Whitehaven acquired a similar level of skill, including the ability to calculate radii and volume. The course, like that at Tewkesbury, was taught with reference to precepts, diagrams, equations, examples and exercises, the latter usually consisting of problems with solutions.

Joshua Toulmin's list of mathematical books used by the students of John Woodhouse provides the best indication of the wider learning students were acquiring by the 1690s, although the reliability of Toulmin's account is impossible to judge. Aside from Pierre Gassendi's *Institutio astronomica* and Euclid's *Elements*, Toulmin claims that Woodhouse was familiar with the *Mathematicae totius* of Pierre Gautruche (1602-1681), printed at Cambridge in 1668, and a text by Edmund Gunter (1581-1626), almost certainly his collected *Works* (1653).²⁸⁹ The former was a digest of universal mathematics, containing sections on arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, chronology, horology, geography, optics and music, with diagrams, tables, examples and problems. It outlined the distinction between speculative and practical mathematics, the differences between the astronomical systems of Copernicus and Tycho Brahe, the principles of the Gregorian calendar, and pre-Newtonian optics. The music instruction was basic, consisting of the principles of musical proportions, the gamut, consonance, dissonance, register and mode. The *Works* of the astronomer Edmund Gunter consisted of a number of brief tracts on use of the sector, cross-staff, bow, quadrant and other instruments in arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, navigation, dialling and fortification, together with trigonometric and logarithmic tables. The

²⁸⁹ Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 227.

emphasis throughout was upon practical exercises, including instructions for making the instruments and for the solution of basic arithmetic and geometric puzzles. Also on the list of texts from Woodhouse's papers are the names of Gunter's editor and successor at Gresham College William Leybourn (1626-1716), and Joseph Moxon (1627-1691), writer of *A Tutor to Astronomie and Geographie* (first published 1659), *Mathematicks Made Easie* (1677) and practical treatises on dialling and mechanics. Taken together, these texts make it easy to understand why Toulmin commented so approvingly on Woodhouse's predilection for practical exercises.²⁹⁰

Practical exercises could sometimes be a feature of astronomy also, as the paper dial attached to Henry Winder's manuscript copy of the Whitehaven academy's 'Astronomia' lectures makes clear.²⁹¹ The first part of these Latin lectures of c. 1711 began with an account of the Copernican planetary system, including descriptions of the planets and their satellites. There followed a more lengthy description of the motion and orbits of the Earth and the moon, and a substantial account of the nature of full and partial eclipses. Subsequent sections dealt with the orbits of the 'inferior planets' (Mercury and Venus) and the 'superior planets' (Mars, Jupiter and Saturn), before discussing the movement of comets, and providing an account of the 'fixed stars' in Andromeda and Cassiopeia. Part two dealt with the zodiac, the Earth's poles and equator and the concepts of horizon, zenith and nadir for astronomical observation. The course ended with a condensed version of the subject known as 'chronology', discussing the Egyptian, Julian and Gregorian calendars in relation to lunar and solar days and months. A large part of the course consisted in the geometric description of observable phenomena such as eclipses and moving celestial bodies, through diagrams, problems and theorems. The Whitehaven 'Astronomia' owed much to Gassendi's *Institutio astronomica*, which dominated the study of this subject in the same way that Euclid's *Elements* was the keystone of geometry. Although Gale championed him in *The Court of the Gentiles*, Richard Baxter thoroughly disliked Gassendi for his Epicureanism, and for what he viewed as Gassendi's Cartesian theories of motion.²⁹² Despite his reservations, the *Institutio*

²⁹⁰ Toulmin, *Historical View*, pp. 293, 295.

²⁹¹ HMC MS Winder 1.iii.

²⁹² Richard Baxter, *Additional Notes on the Life and Death of Sir Matthew Hale* (London, 1682), p. 6.

was on reading lists at a range of academies, including those at Sheriffhales, Rathmell, and Shrewsbury.²⁹³

While it is clear that many dissenting tutors remained abreast of developments in natural philosophy and mathematics, the extent to which they incorporated them within their own teaching should not be overemphasised. During a period in which even the leading mathematicians of the age failed to comprehend the intricacies of Newton's *Principia*, it should be remembered that even tutors and students who read some form of the new mathematics and physics may have understood them but imperfectly, if at all. Extant works on physics by dissenters reveal little in the way of new discoveries, and student notebooks on mathematics show evidence of the rote learning of simple problems rather than an investigative grasp of the new mechanics. Cartesianism in physics and metaphysics continued to hold a powerful sway. Nevertheless, through the work of Eames and others, a simplified Newtonianism gradually filtered its way into the academies.

The Practical Sciences: Politics and Ethics

The work of Charles Morton which caused most controversy within his lifetime was a tract on politics called 'Eutaxia'. Written in imitation of Thomas More's *Utopia*, it was designed to be a manuscript treatise for limited circulation, consisting of a dialogue between 'Emphron' (Wesley may mean 'Euphron') and Exetastes on the nature of government. To Morton's friends, it was a slight and humorous work 'drawn only for Diversion and Amusement';²⁹⁴ for his detractors, it was a seditious tract epitomising a deeply engrained strand of dissenting republicanism. Samuel Wesley, for instance, strongly believed that Morton's 'Eutaxia' was decidedly dangerous, because it failed to discuss the English form of government; instead, it presented arguments both for a monarchy and for a commonwealth, preferring the latter. In Wesley's view, Morton had no bishops in 'Eutaxia' 'because he would have had none in *England*, except *Parochial* ones'; similarly, the text challenged Morton's reputation for freedom of conscience, since it appeared to argue that such a view would 'sooner or later bring all to *struggle* and *Confusion*' in his

²⁹³ Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 227; *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills*, p. 193; Owen, *Life of Owen*, p. 89.

²⁹⁴ Palmer, *Vindication*, p. 52.

commonwealth. Morton's illiberal tendencies were, according to Wesley, testified to by the following rules, which he had transcribed from 'Eutaxia' itself: '*Incouage one Rel[ig]ion; bear with Dissenters, if they differ not in Fundamentals, and disturb not the Public Peace and Order. If any of ours fall away that profess the Truth, they are to be restrained*'. Given these principles, argued Wesley, it was not surprising that Morton did not desire that 'Eutaxia' should come to public knowledge. Wesley's indignation was piqued by Morton's decision to let students peruse the text: Wesley himself testified to copying it 'about *Half a year* after I came' to Morton's academy, together with several fellow pupils, and could point to two or three copies still in existence.²⁹⁵ By contrast, Samuel Palmer in defending 'Eutaxia' pointed to the work's title, which meant 'Good Government', a situation which, he claimed, 'has been pretty difficult to find hitherto, either *Monarchies* or *Republicks*'. In Palmer's reading, Morton merely preferred a commonwealth to '*absolute Monarchy*' and '*single Rule*' and did not anywhere oppose the English monarchy. Given that Wesley encountered the text in the early 1680s, in the immediate aftermath of the Popish Plot and the exclusion crisis, Palmer may be protesting too much here, but he is on stronger ground in claiming that '*Republican* and *Treasonable Principles*' were not taught by Morton, disputed or defended at his academy, or 'design'd as a Rule to his *Pupils*'.²⁹⁶

Confusion over the purpose and values of 'Eutaxia' has bedevilled modern scholars on the academies, who have persistently invoked the text as evidence that the academies taught politics, despite Palmer's categorical assurances that Morton did not teach from it.²⁹⁷ Palmer states that Morton taught government to his students not through 'Eutaxia', but through a '*System of Politicks*' which Palmer described as 'now before me' as he wrote in response to Wesley.²⁹⁸ That this was a separate work is clear from Palmer's description both of the text itself and of the uses to which it was put. Morton's 'System' was, said Palmer, 'exactly Correspondent with the *English Monarchy*.' It defended the rights and honour of the Crown, the liberties of the subject, required love to the King, obedience to laws, and dutiful submission to legal taxes. It made the original of government the institution of God and confirmed

²⁹⁵ Wesley, *Reply*, pp. 25, 85.

²⁹⁶ Palmer, *Vindication*, pp. 52-4, 61.

²⁹⁷ Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 233; McLachlan, p. 79; Ashley Smith, p. 75.

²⁹⁸ Palmer, *Vindication*, p. 54.

‘the ordinary Method of *Succession*’. Its most controversial principle was that ‘in case of total Subversion or failure’ it permitted ‘the extraordinary Call of some Person to the *Throne*’. Writing after the Revolution of 1689, Palmer is here able to assert confidently that this principle of limited monarchy ‘is known to be our Constitution both by *Law* and *Fact*.’²⁹⁹ As is the case so often with comments on dissenting politics, and the academies themselves, the truth clearly lies between Wesley’s charge of republicanism and Palmer’s defence of orthodoxy: Morton’s students encountered Whiggish viewpoints at odds with the official government policy of the early 1680s, but were not led to sedition as a consequence of them.

Critical confusion over Morton’s ‘Eutaxia’ and his teaching of politics is worth emphasising because it highlights a more general problem regarding the misinterpretation and over-interpretation of evidence relating to the academies. The existing evidence is so fragmentary, and so much of it is one-sided, that a complete and balanced picture of the ways in which subjects including politics and law were taught is likely to remain an aspiration only. This problem is particularly acute in relation to moral philosophy in general, because so little information survives regarding the study of ethics.³⁰⁰ In the remainder of this section, I have endeavoured to distinguish carefully between the texts studied at the academies and the wider literary culture of ethics within later Stuart dissent. It is only through making these distinctions that the significance of the formal study of ethics at the academies may be glanced at, through a glass, darkly.

Previous commentators have been wrong to confuse the cross-pollination of ethics and theology with a merger between the two disciplines, which remained largely distinct.³⁰¹ Although the links between ethics and Christian theology were strong, it is important to remember that moral philosophy had its basis in Aristotle to the same extent as logic and physics. Throughout the period covered by this thesis, commentators continued to refer liberally to Aristotle’s *Nicomachean* and *Eudemian Ethics*, as well as to the *Magna Moralia*, *Rhetoric*, *Politics* and *Economics*,

²⁹⁹ Palmer, *Vindication*, p. 54.

³⁰⁰ Even though there is evidence that it was studied at Sheriffhales (Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 227), Taunton (Cong. Lib. MSS Ih1-3, 1h10-11), Shrewsbury (Owen, *Life of Owen*, p. 89), Bethnal Green (Palmer, *Defence*, p. 4), and possibly Rathmell (*Lancashire and Cheshire Wills*, pp. 192-6), in most of these cases we know only the name of the system read by the tutor, and have no indication as to how it was taught.

³⁰¹ McLachlan, p. 73.

frequently alongside the writings of Plato and Cicero.³⁰² It is also the case that although the formal teaching of moral philosophy was dominated by the study of ethics, it was strictly speaking a wider subject which could contain separate consideration of politics, economics and law.³⁰³ Ethics itself was a wide-ranging discipline, which potentially included the consideration of rival definitions of happiness, the nature of the ‘*summum bonum*’ (highest attainable good), the distinction between inclination and habit, the roles of reason, the will and the understanding in the attainment of pleasure, the grounds and extent of human freedom and the nature of the passions.³⁰⁴ It also involved consideration of a range of human virtues and vices and typically emphasised temperance as the crucial Aristotelian virtue.³⁰⁵ Although it was avowedly a practical philosophy, the aim of the formal study of ethics was not to present a guide to correct living, or to examine cases of conscience, but to analyse the principles of moral behaviour; hence, moral precepts and maxims were studied for what they revealed about the human soul, and not simply for their inherent value. Instead, in the academies as well as in the universities, such rules were inculcated with varying degrees of success through moral conversation between tutors and students,³⁰⁶ and through attendance at sermons either in the tutor’s home or in a local church or chapel.³⁰⁷ Similarly, although such moral sermons were often recommended as supplementary reading, and their production was increasingly seen as an important consequence of academy training in ethics, they were not read extensively in the lecture room. Instead, the chief sources for the study of ethics were classical philosophy, including Platonic, Peripatetic, Stoic, and Epicurean strands, together with commentaries upon the Mosaic and Gospel laws (which were studied for their presumed rational basis, not as guides to right living), and the works of the most influential modern philosophers, including Gassendi, Hobbes, Pufendorf, Grotius and increasingly Locke, Leibniz, Spinoza, Cumberland and Shaftesbury. The extent to which these writers were

³⁰² *Complete Works of Aristotle*, ed. Barnes, pp. 1729-2269; Grove, *Moral Philosophy*, analysed below.

³⁰³ Eustachius, *Ethica* (London, 1658), p. 5.

³⁰⁴ These comments are based upon a summary of Grove, *Moral Philosophy*, parts 1 and 2.

³⁰⁵ Eustachius, *Ethica*, sig. A3r-A4r.

³⁰⁶ Palmer, *Defence*, p. 7.

³⁰⁷ BL MS Add. 54185.

‘harmonized’ by tutors has been greatly exaggerated:³⁰⁸ it is fairer to say that the eclecticism of works on moral philosophy required their authors to distinguish carefully between the certainty, plausibility and erroneousness of the doctrines to which they referred. The focus on theory rather than practice, and classical rather than Christian authors clearly worried some tutors: Morton was not alone in advising his students of the dangers of ‘Moral Philosophy Lectures instead of Gospel Preaching’.³⁰⁹

Like other subjects, ethics in the academies was taught with reference to a particular ‘system’ which was read in lectures; this was supplemented by wider reading, much of it instigated by the tutor.³¹⁰ To a greater extent than logic, physics and mathematics, the study of ethics encouraged commonplacing, and here there were classical precedents in the works of Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius.³¹¹ Moral philosophy was invariably studied after logic, but not necessarily after physics.³¹² Formal lectures usually occurred in the morning, although at some academies moral questions were discussed as a result of the afternoon study of rhetoric and history.³¹³ Having been a core subject at the universities for centuries, it is hardly surprising that the centrality of ethics at the earliest academies was assured. Towards the end of the period under consideration here, some tutors such as John Jennings chose to interweave lectures on ethics with pneumatology, but others such as Henry Grove regarded moral philosophy to be entirely autonomous.³¹⁴ The two most popular systems were the *Ethica, sive summa moralis disciplinae* of Eustachius a Sancto Paulo and the *Collegium ethicum, seu philosophia moralis* of Adrian Heereboord. The former text was in three parts, discussing beatitude, the principles of human actions, and passions, virtues and vices. After establishing the remit of moral philosophy, it presented the nature of good, the ends of human actions, the powers of the will and the intellect, external constraints upon human behaviour, the Aristotelian concept of election, individual virtues and vices, and the value of temperance. These principles were presented as a series of *quaestiones* and disputations, arranged as

³⁰⁸ Feingold, ‘Humanities’, pp. 312-13, makes this mistake.

³⁰⁹ Calamy, *Continuation*, vol. 1, p. 199.

³¹⁰ Palmer, *Defence*, p. 4.

³¹¹ HMC MS Winder 1.iii is an important commonplace book belonging to Henry Winder, student at Whitehaven Academy.

³¹² Palmer, *Defence*, p. 4; Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 227.

³¹³ Palmer, *Defence*, p. 5.

³¹⁴ Doddridge, ‘Letter’, p. 18; Grove, *Moral Philosophy*.

tractates on key aspects of Aristotle's moral philosophy. Heereboord's text also consisted of a series of 'practical disputations', beginning with the constitution of practical philosophy, the nature of the 'summum bonum' and a discussion of Aristotle's doctrine of liberty as spontaneity. It proceeded to discuss the intellect and the will, the affections, virtues and vices, temperance, justice and friendship. As in his logic, Heereboord accompanied each thesis with a lengthy set of notes, designed to extend the learning of the more advanced student and to emphasise the importance of each ethical principle for the study of theology. Both of these texts had been staples at the English universities in the 1650s and earlier;³¹⁵ Eustachius was used by Woodhouse and Warren,³¹⁶ and Heereboord by Frankland, Woodhouse and Ker, all three of whom also taught his logic.³¹⁷ However, as time passed, such works came to be seen as increasingly outmoded by developments in metaphysics and theology; as we shall see, tutors started to draw up their own systems of ethics, drawing on the writings of Locke and the latitudinarians.³¹⁸ A further catalyst for change was the development in natural law theory which students encountered through reading Grotius and Pufendorf. Both authors were widely read at the academies throughout the eighteenth century.³¹⁹

Aside from references to moralists in the published works of dissenters, few indications of which texts were recommended for wider reading at the earliest academies have survived. The exception is Bethnal Green, although even here the list of authors mentioned by Samuel Palmer is not a reliable indication of the full range of authors students may have encountered. Having chosen Heereboord as his main system, Ker recommended to his students' 'Meditation' the writings of Cicero, Marcus Aurelius, Epictetus, Arrian, Simplicius and the Proverbs of Solomon, as well as Pufendorf.³²⁰ Although this list appears to stress Stoicism over Epicureanism and Pyrrhonism, it should be remembered that it is probably incomplete, and that dissenters could be as critical of the Stoic notions of virtue as they were of what they

³¹⁵ Feingold, 'Humanities', pp. 322-5; Fletcher, *Milton*, p. 159.

³¹⁶ Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 228; DWL MS 24.59.

³¹⁷ *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills*, pp. 192-3; Toulmin, *Historical View*, pp. 227-38; Palmer, *Defence*, p. 4.

³¹⁸ Harvard MS Am911* (includes Charles Morton's 'Ethicks'); Grove, *Moral Philosophy*.

³¹⁹ Grotius was certainly read at Sherifhales, Bristol, Kibworth, Homerton, Northampton, Taunton and Tewkesbury and Pufendorf is recorded as being used at Sherifhales, Carmarthen, Bethnal Green, Bristol, Kibworth, Northampton, and Findern.

³²⁰ Palmer, *Defence*, p. 4.

viewed as Epicurean materialism.³²¹ On the other hand, the moral writings of Plato were greatly respected by many dissenting tutors, including Theophilus Gale, who pointed out the championing of Platonism by Ramus as a rival to Aristotelianism.³²² The influence of Plato was also felt through the works of Henry More, whose ethics – presumably the *Enchiridion* – was read at several seventeenth-century academies.³²³

One final set of sources – the works of tutors – are an even more imperfect guide to what their students studied. Nevertheless, in the case of ethics they can reveal much about the relationship between the academies and the general intellectual culture of dissent. The two tutors who produced the most significant works of moral philosophy for publication were Theophilus Gale and Henry Grove. Gale's *Court of the Gentiles* parts one and two were based on teaching notes for the children of Lord Wharton,³²⁴ and although they were never used, they provide the fullest statement of dissenting attitudes to ethics and the history of philosophy by an early tutor, and one that continued to influence philosophers of the generation of Joseph Priestley.³²⁵ Although he is better known today for his elaborate critique of the insufficiency of the heathen moralists,³²⁶ Gale consistently used the ancients to discuss his own mores. To this effect, he supplemented his treatment of ethics in *The Court of the Gentiles* with a substantial Platonist work in Latin entitled *Philosophia generalis*, the chief ideas of which were incorporated into Thomas Rowe's course on pneumatology.³²⁷ The work which was published in 1749 as *A System of Moral Philosophy, by the late Reverend and Learned Mr. Henry Grove*³²⁸ was in reality of joint authorship, the concluding sections on the passions being heavily edited by Thomas Amory, who probably also made alterations to the reading lists.³²⁹ A version of the text from 1707, indicating that it was originally drawn up by Stephen James, or even perhaps Matthew Warren, highlights the collaborative nature of the text,

³²¹ Grove, *Moral Philosophy*, vol. 1, p. 100.

³²² Gale, *Court of the Gentiles*, vol. 2, pp. 382-3.

³²³ At Sheriffhales, Bethnal Green, and perhaps Rathmell: Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 228; Palmer, *Defence*, p. 4; *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills*, p. 192.

³²⁴ Gale, *Court of the Gentiles*, vol. 1, sig. A4r-v.

³²⁵ Joseph Priestley, *Disquisitions Relating to Matter and Spirit* (London, 1777), pp. 235-6.

³²⁶ Dewey D. Wallace, jun., 'Gale, Theophilus (1628-1679)', *ODNB*; N.H. Keeble, *The Literary Culture of Nonconformity* (Leicester, 1987), pp. 167-9.

³²⁷ Gale, *Philosophia generalis*; Rowe's pneumatology lectures are at BBCL, MS G95.

³²⁸ Also published in 1759; Philip Doddridge was a subscriber to the first edition.

³²⁹ Grove, *Moral Philosophy*, sig. A5-A7.

which clearly underwent several revisions, and could perhaps be equally well described as the ‘Taunton Academy ethics’.³³⁰ Both extant versions of the text are decidedly rationalist, and demonstrate the influence of Locke throughout. A full account of the philosophy of Gale and the Taunton academy moral philosophers is not possible here. However, the general preoccupations of ethics, together with the tectonic shifts in the subject across the period, can be demonstrated further by a close look at the texts Gale refers to, and the works recommended as wider reading by Grove and Amory. To this purpose, the authors cited by Gale in Book Two of *The Court of the Gentiles* may be compared to the authors mentioned by Henry Grove and Thomas Amory at the end of each chapter of their *System of Moral Philosophy*.

Perhaps the most striking aspects of Gale’s references for the modern reader are the weight which he attaches to ancient writers and the relative absence of medieval commentators. Gale’s encyclopedic knowledge of Greek antiquity resulted from perusal of the complete works of Plato and Aristotle, knowledge of the writings of the Epicureans and Stoics, and – most pertinently to his published writings – a survey of almost every major ancient Greek historian. Amongst the medieval commentators on Aristotle he singled out Aquinas, Averroes and Avicenna for particular praise, and plumbed the depths of Iamblichus for biographical information on the ancient philosophers. He virtually ignored the writers of the later middle ages, preferring to focus on the early Church Fathers for his comments on Christian doctrine. Amongst the moderns, Gale rated the Calvinist works of William Ames and his friend John Owen highly; as a historian he read Raleigh, Stanley, Selden and Stillingfleet and as a Platonist eclectic he admired the writings of Cudworth. Amongst foreign authors, the presence of Horn, Bochart, Scaliger, Vives, Vossius and Ficinus reflects chiefly his attempt to write a history of philosophy. In natural philosophy, he was aware of the works of Kepler, Copernicus, Tycho Brahe and Comenius. His reading of Melanchthon, Ramus, Keckermann and Wendelin reflects an interest in Philippo-Ramism amongst dissenters which is also evident in their study of logic. Although in theology he leaned towards Calvin and Beza, this did not impede him from quoting Amyraut, Stillingfleet and Luther on pertinent aspects of moral philosophy.

³³⁰ Cong. Lib. MS Ih1-3, 10-11.

The differences between the works cited by Gale and Grove/Amory reflect in part their different intentions – Gale is writing a history of moral philosophy, Grove a system of it – but also reflect changes in the nature of moral philosophy between the 1660s and the 1740s. Whereas Gale was part of a puritan Calvinist tradition which was avowedly dogmatic and confrontational in many of its publications, Grove was a representative of the more liberal dissenters of the early eighteenth century, less emphatic about things indifferent in doctrine or practice, and less concerned with the application of classical Christian doctrine to contemporary ethics. He and Amory afforded a prominent position to the major latitudinarian writers, wrote in support of natural religion, showed familiarity with the key trends in European philosophy initiated by Descartes, Grotius and Leibniz, and engaged with a wide range of moralists from within the conformist churches, including Butler, Cumberland, Sykes and Whiston. Grove showed sympathy with the natural philosophy of Bacon, an antipathy to Hobbes which was widely shared during the period, and a respect for Hutcheson's theory of the passions. He adopted Locke's natural theology, admired his emphasis upon the reasonableness of religion, but found his doctrine of the soul confused on account of its misguided materialism. Grove and Amory found magazines such as *The Spectator* and *The Guardian* of value for their discussion of individual duties such as marriage. Whereas Gale rarely referred to his fellow puritans aside from Owen, Grove and Amory made use of writers across the spectrum of moderate dissent, from Baxter and Watts, to Milton and Chandler.

At first sight, it may seem strange that this survey of ethics has not discussed the most famous work on ethics by a dissenter from the period, part one of Richard Baxter's *Christian Directory*. However, the reasons why this text did not become a staple of the academies should now be clear. Aside from its enormous bulk, its stated aims – 'To *Direct Ungodly Carnal* minds, how to *attain* to a state of *Grace*' and 'To *Direct* those that *have saving Grace*, how to *Use* it'³³¹ – were not in line with the aims of academy teaching in ethics, and Baxter's text was too directive and insufficiently analytic to win a place amongst other systems of moral philosophy. With the exception of Rutherford, the authors Baxter recommended on ethics were entirely out of step with what is known about academy reading in the topic, and

³³¹ Richard Baxter, *Christian Directory* (London, 1673), p. 2.

reads instead like a course in practical divinity.³³² As this section has demonstrated, a careful look at the surviving fragments of information about ethics at the academies presents a very different view of the subject from that promulgated by the more famous dissenting writers of the period. Even Charles Morton, in describing moral philosophy lectures as ‘more fit for the *Rostre* or Theatre of Heathens’ than for the pulpit and recommending John Wilkins’s *Ecclesiastes* as a replacement,³³³ was appealing to candidates for the ministry, not academy students of ethics. The balance academies struck between adopting the principles of the ancients uncritically and supplanting them entirely with new theological and scientific theories is expressed most clearly by Edward Reyner. Moral philosophy, defined as ethics, economics and politics, is useful firstly because the Scriptures contain much wisdom, especially in the Book of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, and secondly because a minister may be helped to the knowledge of virtues and vices ‘even by the *Moral Philosophy* of the Heathen’.³³⁴

Conclusion

In some ways, previous debates about the ‘modernity’ of the academies are moribund. Many tutors were alert to intellectual trends and changing pedagogies in logic, physics, mathematics and ethics, and some adapted their teaching accordingly, but the relative weight attached to different intellectual currents varied from academy to academy. As the different cases of Charles Morton and Thomas Rowe indicate, it is unlikely that dissenting tutors adopted a rigid position either for or against ‘ancient’ or ‘modern’ ideas, or that they defined either category clearly. Rather than thinking in terms of the progress of intellectual ideas in the early academies, it may be better to think in terms of their cohabitation. Dissenting tutors did not necessarily see different methodologies to be in conflict with each other; in their manuscript systems of learning, they tried with varying degrees of success to present, and in some cases to synthesise, a range of philosophies, combining

³³² Baxter, who was not university educated, recommended works by Rutherford, Bolton, Perkins, Whateley, Ball, Preston, Sibbes, Hidersham, Pinke, Rogers, Allen, Swinnoock, Simmonds, Challoner, Field, White, Usher, Chillingworth, Drelincourt, Truman, Fenner, and Hotchkis (*Christian Directory*, pp. 60-1). These writers do not appear to have been studied frequently during moral philosophy courses at the academies.

³³³ Calamy, *Continuation*, vol. 1, pp. 198-9.

³³⁴ Reyner, *Learning*, p. 108.

scholastic, Ramist, Cartesian, and (from the 1710s) Lockean and Newtonian topics and methods. In logic, many early tutors showed a preference for Ramist and Philippo-Ramist texts, but evidence from lecture notes from the 1680s also shows the marked influence of the Port-Royal logic. Yet neither Ramism nor Cartesianism completely supplanted the Aristotelian categories in the academies of this period. Dissenting tutors with an interest in natural philosophy were certainly influenced more by the writings of Wilkins and Boyle than by Comenius and Hartlib. Nevertheless, direct evidence of practical scientific experiments at the early academies is minimal, and Cartesian works of natural philosophy were still being employed at the academies in the eighteenth century. By this time there was an increasing focus in mathematics courses on the algebraic demonstration of geometric problems, and several tutors, most notably John Eames, became respected mathematicians. However, the study of mathematics, and the adoption of Newtonian ideas, was limited by the ability of the tutors as well as the students. In ethics, the shift away from the Aristotelian commentaries of Eustache and Heereboord was certainly influenced by the growth of moralism among both dissenting and Church of England writers; however, some academies retained the old Peripatetic systems, and some tutors cautioned their students against the growing trend for mixing moral philosophy with sermons. As we shall see in relation to theological subjects, the practice of intellectual cohabitation and eclecticism had its limits.

CHAPTER FOUR

Religious Subjects at the Dissenters' Private Academies

One of the most persistent assertions about the dissenters' early academies is that they encouraged the growth of Arminian, Arian, and Socinian beliefs among their students. Yet despite widespread acceptance of this view there has been no consensus as to how academy teaching contributed to the spread of these beliefs. In 1913 J. H. Colligan traced the origins of the 'Arian Movement' among eighteenth-century dissenters to the influence of William Whiston and Samuel Clarke and the 'progressive theology' of the academies from the 1690s.¹ Olive M. Griffiths pointed to the collapse of Aristotelianism and the influence of the Scottish and Dutch universities upon the academies as important factors in the rise of heterodoxy among English Presbyterians in the early eighteenth century.² In response to Colligan, Bolam and Goring argued that, in so far as such a movement existed among liberal dissenters, it was 'Arminian rather than Arian in complexion'.³ Meanwhile, Peter Toon suggested that many Independents reacted against Presbyterian liberal theology by developing a rigid 'hypercalvinism'.⁴ More recently, Dewey D. Wallace has confirmed the picture of late seventeenth-century Presbyterianism slowly sliding towards liberal theology, while the Independents largely clung to tradition.⁵ Hans Boersma has shown the extent to which dissenting tutors defined themselves in relation to the theology as well as the practical writings of Richard Baxter,⁶ and Alan P. F. Sell has pointed out the degree to which the eighteenth-century liberal academies were influenced by the writings of John Locke.⁷

Until now, historians of theology at the academies have been reliant upon printed texts by tutors and students, often designed as interventions in contemporaneous controversies, rather than manuscript texts associated with their

¹ J. H. Colligan, *The Arian Movement in England* (Manchester, 1913), pp. 67-79.

² Olive M. Griffiths, *Religion and Learning* (Cambridge, 1935).

³ Gordon Bolam, Jeremy Goring, H. L. Short and Roger Thomas, *The English Presbyterians from Elizabethan Puritanism to Modern Unitarianism* (London, 1967), p. 22.

⁴ Peter Toon, *The Emergence of Hyper-Calvinism in English Nonconformity 1689-1765* (London, 1967).

⁵ Dewey D. Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination: Grace in English Protestant Theology 1525-1695* (Chapel Hill, 1982).

⁶ Hans Boersma, *A Hot Pepper Corn: Richard Baxter's Doctrine of Justification* (Zoetermeer, 1993).

⁷ Alan P. F. Sell, *John Locke and the Eighteenth Century Divines* (Cardiff, 1997), and *Philosophy, Dissent and Nonconformity* (Cambridge, 2004).

teaching. Yet a large number of manuscript works survive, relating to the study of biblical languages, church history, pneumatology, preaching, and theology at the academies. Analysis of such texts suggests that the extent to which the academies encouraged students to consider Arminian, Arian, and Socinian views has been exaggerated. Rather, most tutors used their lectures to make their students aware of the pernicious consequences of theological errors, and to urge them to avoid theological controversy.

Furthermore, several students have left letters or autobiographical accounts containing information about the theological texts they studied, and lists of books for students drawn up by Stephen James and Thomas Rowe survive. These sources may be supplemented by catalogues of the libraries of tutors and students, together with comments about reading buried in their publications. Collectively, these accounts reveal that dissenting tutors and students frequently became well versed in a wide array of texts from the early church, the reformed churches abroad, English works of practical divinity and exegesis, and a fair number of medieval and early modern Catholic texts. Students' reading exposed them to a spectrum of theological opinions, including the views of Calvinists, Arminians, Remonstrants, Socinians, Arians, and Sabellians. The centrality for ministerial students of private reading in theological literature was attested by many dissenters across the later Stuart period. It was through their private reading that students encountered unorthodox doctrines and controversial works.

Church History and Controversy

In the traditional narrative of the growth of the 'liberal' academies, discussion of publications by tutors and students on church history have been prominent. These printed texts, it is argued, represent the application of knowledge and skills developed in the academies to contemporary controversies, and show the fruits of 'free inquiry' to have been a softening of Calvinist doctrines of sin and, particularly among Presbyterians, a slide towards Arianism. Certainly many early tutors produced controversial works of church history, but these were rarely of an Arminian or Arian tendency. When in the 1650s Henry Hickman engaged in a detailed controversy with Peter Heylin, it was in an attempt to demonstrate that the

Laudian episcopalians had departed from Calvinism.⁸ After his ejection, Hickman drew up a Latin apology, aimed at an international audience, which again provided historical arguments to demonstrate that puritans were the real reformers.⁹ In the labyrinthine pamphlet war which followed Matthew Henry's *A Brief Enquiry into the True Nature of Schism* (1690), dissenting tutors intervened in an attempt to show that episcopalians were the true schismatics, having departed from the cause of reformation and blocked efforts at comprehension. William Tong, who was briefly a tutor in Coventry as well as heavily involved with the Presbyterian Fund Board in London, produced tracts in support of Henry, who was a lifelong friend.¹⁰ So too did Francis Tallents, a private tutor in Shrewsbury, also well known to Henry. Tallents's *A Short History of Schism* (1705)¹¹ provoked a response from Samuel Grascome, whose work *Moderation in Fashion* casts a sideways glance at James Owen and Daniel Defoe, as well as mocking Tallents's definition of schism.¹² In his response, *Some Few Considerations* (1706), Tallents showed the diversity of practices in the early Church, and adopted scriptural evidence, bolstered by passages from Jerome, to assert that bishops and presbyters were initially the same.¹³ Benjamin Robinson was another tutor whose controversial publications combined a defence of the principles of non-subscription with a keen historical understanding. His lengthy treatise, *A Review of the Case of Liturgies, and their Imposition* (1710), written in response to the clergyman Thomas Bennet's *A Brief History of the Joint Use of Precompos'd Set Forms of Prayer* (1708), accuses Bennet of over-reading biblical evidence and fictionalising the customs of the Jews and the early Christians.¹⁴

⁸ Henry Hickman, *A Review of the Certamen Epistolare* (London, 1659); *Historia quinqu-articularis exarticulata* (London, 1673).

⁹ Henry Hickman, *Apologia pro ministris in Angliâ (vulgo) non-conformistis* ([Amsterdam], 1664). A contemporaneous English translation is in DWL MS 28.30.

¹⁰ William Tong, *A Vindication of Mr. H's Brief Enquiry into the True Nature of Schism* (London, 1691); *A Defence of Mr. M. H's Brief Enquiry into the Nature of Schism and the Vindication of it* (London, 1693).

¹¹ Francis Tallents, *A Short History of Schism* (London, 1705).

¹² Samuel Grascome, *Moderation in Fashion* (London, 1705). Grascome had already written several tracts against occasional conformity, including *The Mask of Moderation Pull'd Off the Foul Face of Occasional Conformity* (London, 1704). Compare with, for instance, Owen, *Moderation and Moderation Still*, and Daniel Defoe, *The Sincerity of the Dissenters Vindicated* (London, 1703).

¹³ Francis Tallents, *Some Few Considerations* (London, 1706); in his notes on the English Reformation, pp. 37-48, he quotes Hooker and Andrewes. Grascome responded in *Schism Triumphant* (London, 1707).

¹⁴ The text occasioned Bennet's *A Letter to Mr. Benjamin Robinson* (London, 1710), who replied in *A Letter to Mr. Thomas Bennet, in Defence of the Review of the Case of Liturgies* (London, 1710), which occasioned Bennet's *A Second Letter to Mr. Benjamin Robinson* (London, 1710).

James Owen's controversial works discuss similarly conventional topics. His early defence of Presbyterianism, *A Plea for Scripture Ordination* (1694), devotes fifty pages to arguments regarding apostolic succession,¹⁵ and most of the remaining 150 pages to evidence from early Church historians. Following a response from the Church of England clergyman Thomas Gipps,¹⁶ Owen replied with similar arguments and methods in his *Tutamen evangelicum* (1697).¹⁷ Owen spent considerable time studying and writing about the controversy,¹⁸ and left two further incomplete texts on the subject at his death; they were edited, completed, and prepared for publication by his brother Charles Owen, as *Ordination by Presbyters Better than by Diocesan Bishops* and *The History of Ordination*.¹⁹ The latter, which his brother believed to be the earliest of his 'Arguments of Consequence in an Historical Way',²⁰ is a systematic presentation and explication of the comments of dozens of early church writers on the subject of ordination. Owen also applied his knowledge of Jewish and early Christian history to broader questions of ceremony. His *Church-Pageantry Display'd* points out that whereas musical instruments had been encouraged under the ceremonial law, organs had only been introduced into churches by Pope Vitalian in the seventh century.²¹ In *The History of the Consecration of Altars, Temples and Churches*, he describes more extensively the institution of consecration under the Mosaic Covenant, its imitation by pagan civilisations (including the Romans), and the shift of focus in apostolic times from the holiness of places to the spirituality of individuals.²² Owen also prepared another work of iconoclasm, which his brother Charles published posthumously as *The History of Images* (1709). This work, which 'strip'd the Romish hierarchy of its

¹⁵ James Owen, *A Plea for Scripture Ordination* (London, 1694), pp. 11-60.

¹⁶ Thomas Gipps, *Tentamen novum* (London, 1696).

¹⁷ Gipps replied with *Tentamen novum continuatum* (London, 1699). Owen and Gipps also clashed over Gipps's *A Sermon against Corrupting the Word of God* (London, 1697), to which Owen responded with *Remarks on a Sermon, about Corrupting the Word of God* (London, 1697), leading to Gipps's *Remarks on Remarks* (London, 1698), Owen's *A Further Vindication* (London, 1699), Gipps's *The Further Vindication* (London, 1699), Owen's *An Answer to the Rector of Bury's Letter to his Friend* (London, 1699), and Gipps's *The Rector of Bury's Reply* (London, 1699).

¹⁸ Owen, *The History of Images, and of Image-Worship* (London, 1790): Charles Owen's 'Preface', p. A3r.

¹⁹ These were published as the third and fourth parts of James Owen, *The Validity of the Dissenting Ministry: or, the Ordaining Power of Presbyters Evinc'd from the New Testament and Church History*, ed. Charles Owen (London, 1716).

²⁰ Owen, *Images*: Charles Owen's preface, p. A3v.

²¹ James Owen, *Church-Pageantry Display'd* (London, 1700).

²² James Owen, *The History of the Consecration of Altars, Temples, and Churches* (London, 1706).

Meritorious Mask’, was actually occasioned by Owen’s unease at booksellers’ practice ‘to fill out our Bibles and Devotional Books with Pictures’ of Christ, or crucifixes.²³

However, although tutors produced a large number of publications drawing upon aspects of Christian history, academy courses were far less discursive. There are two relevant manuscripts: one contains Thomas Doolittle’s Latin work, ‘*Speculum Historico-Geographico-Theologicu[m]*’, and the other consists of two brief sets of lectures of unknown provenance.²⁴ Doolittle’s manuscript consists of a lengthy account of the Church across the centuries, followed by a briefer survey of contemporary churches, and a summary of Christian chronology. The first of these texts is a systematic treatment of the fortunes of Christianity from the apostolic age until the Reformation, detailed century by century, modelled upon the *Magdeburg Centuries*, but extending the narrative until the end of the sixteenth century. As such, it is closer to a catalogue of people, places, and events than to a discursive work of history, although in its vocabulary and distinctions it is not entirely without polemic. For each century, Doolittle explores the places, persecutions, secular governors, doctrines, heresies, ceremonies, church polity, books, councils, Popes, and their decrees. For instance, in the first of ten chapters covering the first century, he lists the location of churches in Asia, Africa, the Mediterranean, and Europe, outlining the peregrinations of the apostles and other early church evangelists.²⁵ A second section on the persecution of the church offers him an opportunity to catalogue Roman and Jewish governors, for which he relies largely on the testimony of Josephus and Eusebius.²⁶ Later in the text, he lists the early Roman Pontiffs, carefully highlighting the discrepancies between the earliest lists by Eusebius and others.²⁷ In his section ‘*De Haeresibus*’ Doolittle focuses not on differences in doctrine within the Christian community, but on the errors of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. Notably, he writes of Jewish beliefs that God was one person, that the Messiah would be a human being who would restore an earthly Kingdom, and that souls sleep after death.²⁸ In a section on ceremonies, he outlines

²³ Owen, *Images*: Charles Owen’s preface, pp. A2r, A4r.

²⁴ DWL MS 28.5, fols. 1-111.

²⁵ DWL MS 28.5, fols. 3r-5r.

²⁶ DWL MS 28.5, fols. 5r-6r.

²⁷ DWL MS 28.5, fols. 9v-10r.

²⁸ DWL MS 28.5, fols. 6r-7r.

Jewish places of worship, and Christian additions to Jewish feasts, such as Pentecost. In terms of Church polity, he is particularly interested in the flexibility with which excommunication was used, and is keen to point out that there was no distinction in the early church between bishops and presbyters.²⁹ Furthermore, he discredits the ‘Canons of the Apostles’ on the basis that no reference is made to the text in the writings of the early Church Fathers.³⁰

Although Doolittle records the persecution of the early Christians in considerable detail,³¹ it should be remembered that such martyrologies were adopted by Christians from all confessional groups in the late seventeenth century, including Catholics and Anglicans, and so they do not present Doolittle’s direct response to the prosecution of tutors in the reign of Charles II. Rather, the best indication of Doolittle’s views upon ecclesiastical history may be gleaned from his comments on doctrine, heresy and church government. Doolittle’s adoption of the theological views of an early Lutheran text may come as a surprise to commentators used to referring to Doolittle as a Baxterian, but in truth, as other dissenting tutors noted, the differences between late seventeenth-century theological positions frequently had more to do with the influence of Molina and Amyrault than with any overt rejection of Calvin or Luther. Significantly, Doolittle devotes most attention to the twin strands of Pelagianism and non-Trinitarian doctrines. For instance, Doolittle writes that second-century theologians transmitted the Articles of the Trinity with sincerity and fidelity, that they correctly understood the divinity and humanity of Christ, that they knew of the corruption of man’s nature, and that they unanimously taught the doctrine of the efficient cause of justification.³² However, he points out the heretical doctrines of Gnosticism and Pythagoreanism, and devotes particular attention to Marcionism and Montanism, heresies which, in rejecting agreed forms of words on the Trinity, had particular relevance to the late seventeenth century. After a brief description of the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord’s Supper, Doolittle outlines the early church’s method of ordination.³³ When discussing third-century doctrines, he notes that Tertullian, Origen, and Gregory the Wonderworker all taught that God

²⁹ DWL MS 28.5, fols. 7r-9r; a similar comment at f. 16v merited a marginal hand sign from the text’s anonymous copier.

³⁰ DWL MS 28.5, fols. 9v.

³¹ For instance, those under Diocletian: DWL MS 28.5, fols. 25r-26v.

³² DWL MS 28.5, f. 13v.

³³ DWL MS 28.5, f. 15v.

was one essence, with three persons, and that theologians of the period understood that man was made in God's image with free will, that original sin was transmitted through propagation, and that Christ had restorative power.³⁴ Doolittle's assertions reflect a desire among many theological writers of his generation to find orthodox seventeenth-century doctrine in the early church, despite the counter-assertions of more critically-aware scholars, who recognised the variety of sentiments to be found in the writings of even the earliest Church Fathers. Of course, Doolittle is aware that not all early Christians thought the same, and throughout the first third of his text he provides long lists of heresies.³⁵ Most of these are baldly stated and not explored, a procedure which might be interpreted as a means to provide his students with a record of doctrinal errors while carefully circumscribing their ability to explore them during their formal studies.

Doolittle's 'Chronology' (not to be confused with his notes on church history) covers the period from the Creation until the birth of Christ.³⁶ The text, written in Latin, begins with a brief overview of the main pre-Christian epochs, with their length (in years) written in the margin, followed by running totals. Doolittle reckons 1656 years from the Creation to the Flood, and 4121 years from the Creation until the birth of Christ.³⁷ He then tabulates each of the different eras in detail, again with the length of particular episodes of Jewish history written in margins. Students copying the text could expect to learn the ages of the earliest Jewish patriarchs, the descendents of Noah, and the location of the various powers of the ancient world, from Egypt to Rome. Although some of the information on the gentile kingdoms is extra-scriptural, the vast majority of information is taken from the historical and prophetic books of the Old Testament. Indeed, the text ends with tables of notes on the periods contained within a range of Old Testament books, and a list of supplementary sources in the New Testament.³⁸ One important feature of the text is its lack of a linear structure; rather, it consists chiefly of lists and tables of people and places, accompanied by brief factual notes, and there are no discursive passages.

³⁴ DWL MS 28.5, f. 19r.

³⁵ DWL MS 28.5, f. 19v, for example.

³⁶ DWL MS 28.5, fols. 137-51.

³⁷ DWL MS 28.5, f. 137r.

³⁸ DWL MS 28.5, fols. 150-1.

At the other end of the manuscript, written in a second hand, are some brief notes on a better-known printed work of chronology by Francis Tallents: his diagrammatic *A View of Universal History*. Tallents's text took the work of Christoph Helwig as its foundation, on the basis that '*his Tables being plain, are used by most*'; this gave Tallents's users access to a tradition of chronology which went back to Scaliger and which incorporated the work of Usher, Berosius, Bochart, Stillingfleet, and Theophilus Gale. Further evidence that Tallents's tables were used by dissenters may be gleaned from printed publications, but its status as a standard work of reference in the academies was not fixed. Several academies preferred a more discursive approach to chronology; James Owen used Strauchius' *Breviarum chronologicum* as his chief text,³⁹ and his practice may have influenced Samuel Jones's teaching at Tewkesbury, where students were guided through Latin notes on Strauchius' text, many of which were ultimately derived from Scaliger and Spanheim.⁴⁰ In this approach, students learnt as much about different ways of measuring time, and different ways of dividing human epochs, as they did about the estimated dates of key moments in world history.

This discursive approach to chronology is present in the second major set of manuscript notes on church history.⁴¹ The text, dated 1718, provides no indication of its author or copier. It consists of notes in English on philology, in particular the relations between various European languages, with a particular focus on ancient British tongues. These notes are followed with no page break by a brief work entitled 'A Method for reading History both civil & Church', then an account of the Latin language, together with a method for reading Greek and Latin texts, and then notes on chronology.⁴² The chronology notes are clearly based on a source text which has not been identified. They are divided into three parts. The first explores the differences between hours, vigils, days, months, years, epochs, eras, and other such categories. The second describes various cyclical patterns, including the Sabbatic Cycle, the Jubilean Cycle, and the Solar Cycle. The third part considers various

³⁹ Owen, *Life of Owen*, p. 89.

⁴⁰ BBCL MS Ze1, fourth pagination: 'Notae in Strauchii Breviarium Chronologicum'.

⁴¹ NCL MS L42: lectures on church history.

⁴² At the other end of the book are anonymous lectures on Jewish Christianity in another hand which appear, from style and orthography, to be later, and which are not discussed here.

periodic measures of time, including the Period of Calippus, the Period of Hipparchus, the Constantinopolitan Period, and the Julian Period.⁴³

The ‘Method for reading History’ indicates that novelty was rarely the aim in textual scholarship at the academies. For pre-Christian history, the author recommends the Old Testament as ‘ye Best, most credible, best attested & most antient History of ye World’, and recommends that it be supplemented with Samuel Cradock’s *The History of the Old Testament Methodiz’d* (1683), which ‘reconciles ye Chronologicall Difficultys with great naturalness, & ease’.⁴⁴ To these texts should be added Josephus, but with the caveats (which the author draws from Baldwin and Raleigh) that he is too verbose and contains errors.⁴⁵ Recommended histories by secular writers include Raleigh’s *History of the World* and Phillip Cluver’s works. Furthermore, the compiler found value in comparing the Books of Moses with Ovid’s description of Chaos, and the history of the early patriarchs with Hesiod’s *Theogony*, both of which he considers to be ‘Plagiarisms, from the sacred Customs or writings’.⁴⁶ To gain knowledge of the foundation of the Christian Church, the text recommends works of gospel harmony, and harmonisations of the Acts of the Apostles, such as those by Cradock, Lightfoot, Jean Le Clerc, and William Cave.⁴⁷ In general, students should pay most attention to authors who lived nearest to the time of the apostles, but must be ‘very observant of the way they come to their Intelligence’ and ‘of ye naturall temper & humour of the Writers’. Among such writers, Eusebius dominates discussion in the rest of the text. The compiler notes Casaubon’s enthusiasm for this writer, but cites Catholic objections to him;⁴⁸ he is aware of Joseph Scaliger’s edition of Eusebius’ *Chronicon*, but he also recommends the edition of his works ‘all compar’d with ye MSS translated & illustrated with Notes’ by Henri Valois. Clearly, then, the academies were open to recent works of critical scholarship; however, there is no evidence that their methods of studying history led directly to the growth of liberal theology.⁴⁹

⁴³ NCL MS L42, pp. 49-58.

⁴⁴ NCL MS L42, p. 31.

⁴⁵ NCL MS L42, pp. 32-3.

⁴⁶ NCL MS L42, p. 35.

⁴⁷ NCL MS L42, pp. 35-6.

⁴⁸ NCL MS L42, p. 40.

⁴⁹ NCL MS L42, p. 39.

Jewish Antiquities

The most significant contribution of the early eighteenth-century academies to religious history came not in the form of a new interpretation of early Christian theology, but in the study of Jewish antiquities. This subject had long been a favourite of English puritans and European protestants. One of the foundational texts was Thomas Godwin's *Moses and Aaron* (1641), a work in six sections, describing different classes of Jewish people, places, significant occasions, idolatry, consistory courts, and rites. In 1704 a Latin translation by John Henry Reiz was published in Leiden as *Thomae Goodwini Moses & Aaron, seu civiles & ecclesiastici ritus Hebraeoru[m]*. This version included annotations by John Henry Hottinger, who was professor of ecclesiastical history, catechetical divinity, and oriental languages at Zurich from the mid 1640s. It also came with two dissertations by Herman Wits or Witsius, whose career included being a professor of divinity at Franeker, Utrecht, and Leiden. The Latin text achieved international recognition, and was reprinted as late as the 1740s in the fourth volume of Blasius Ugolinus' 34-volume collection, *Thesaurus antiquitatum sacrarum* (Venice, 1744-69). Another set of annotations on Godwin's text was produced by John Gottlob Carpzov, published as *Apparatus historico-criticus antiquitatum sacri codicis et gentis Hebraeae* (Frankfurt, 1748). Wits devoted several other publications to Jewish Antiquities, including *Ægyptiaca, sive de Ægyptiacorum sacrarum cum Hebraicis collatione, libri tres* ([Basel?], 1739). He also produced his own set of manuscript annotations on Godwin's text, which are not drawn directly from those of Hottinger. Godwin had also been read at the English universities for many decades before he was adopted by the academies. However, it was from their connections with European protestants that English dissenters reclaimed the course in the early eighteenth century.

On 7 August 1706 Samuel Jones (the future tutor at Tewkesbury) entered Leiden University. Although there is no firm evidence for the commonly-repeated view that he studied under Wits, Frederick Spanheim, Jakob Voorbroek (better known as Perizonius), and Jacob Gronow, his subsequent teaching suggests that he studied Witsius' course in Jewish Antiquities during this period.⁵⁰ According to Philip Furneaux, writing in 1766, Jones had 'been in possession of a copy of Witsius', by which Furneaux meant the manuscript notes, not the printed

⁵⁰ David L. Wykes, 'Jones, Samuel (1681/2-1719)', *ODNB*.

dissertations.⁵¹ Jones went on to teach ‘Jewish Antiquities’ at Tewkesbury; one student to go through his course was Thomas Secker.⁵² Surviving copies of Jones’s ‘Annotations’ are numerous.⁵³ According to Furneaux, who was himself aware of several copies of Jones’s text, it was ‘written in neat Latin, and contains very valuable remarks’, which ‘discover his great learning and accurate knowledge of his subject’.⁵⁴ Comparison with an extant copy of Wits’s annotations suggests that in many places Jones actually adopted a very large number of them into parts of his course, but expanded them, and added many of his own. In other places, it appears that Jones’s comments are more largely his own.⁵⁵

Furneaux also writes that a copy of Wits’s manuscript annotations was ‘in the hands of Dr. Jennings, who hath been in a few instances, and but in a few, beholden to it’.⁵⁶ David Jennings was a tutor at the academy in Moorfields in the mid eighteenth century, and a manuscript purporting to be his copy of Wits’s annotations survives in Dr Williams Library.⁵⁷ According to a note at the back of the volume, written by Joseph Jennings on 12 March 1768, the text is in ‘the handwriting of my late honoured Father reverend David Jennings D.D.’⁵⁸ The text itself is dated ‘VI Kal. Octobr 1707’, at which date Jennings was only 16 years old, whereas Jones was studying at Leiden.⁵⁹ It is, of course, possible that Jennings later copied Jones’s notes, but if so, we have no indication when or why. The situation is complicated further by David Jennings’s own notes, in English, upon Godwin, which were published posthumously as *Jewish Antiquities: Or a Course of Lectures on the Three First Books of Godwin’s Moses and Aaron* (1766). Furneaux tells his readers that ‘Dr. Jennings never saw Mr. Jones’s annotations, though there is a similarity in a few

⁵¹ David Jennings, *Jewish Antiquities* (London, 1766), p. ix.

⁵² Gibbons, *Watts*, p. 349. A set of student notes containing Secker’s signature is now held at BUL, MSS 399-401.

⁵³ DWL MSS 24.3-4; Cong. Lib. MSS Ig1-6; BBCL MSS Ze3-4; BUL XMS 401, 3 vols.; BL MSS Add. 23915-16, 31211-12, 33774-6.

⁵⁴ Jennings, *Antiquities*, p. ix.

⁵⁵ e.g. Book 1, chapter 6: fols. 154-64.

⁵⁶ Jennings, *Antiquities*, p. ix.

⁵⁷ DWL MS 24.2. Curiously, however, the manuscript has the same square margin and binding as the DWL copy of Jones’s ‘Annotations’ (DWL MSS 24.3-4). Another manuscript, entitled ‘Hermannii Witsii ... Annotat in T. Godwini’ is in NCL MS L6/17.

⁵⁸ DWL MS 24.2, f. 195r.

⁵⁹ Jennings was born in 1691 and was educated by Isaac Chauncey, John Eames, and Thomas Ridgley, at Moorfields: Alan Ruston, ‘Jennings, David (1691-1762)’, *ODNB*. There is no indication that any of these tutors spent any time studying with Witsius.

of their observations', both having been in possession of a copy of Wits.⁶⁰ Furneaux is certainly correct to point out major differences in style between the work of Jones and Jennings, the former consisting to a greater extent of 'detached remarks', and the latter of 'distinct and compleat dissertations on the subjects'.⁶¹ Another set of lectures on 'Jewish Antiquities' was devised by Philip Doddridge, and became known to the Homerton tutor John Conder (1714-81).⁶²

Apparently unknown to Furneaux is yet another course on Jewish Antiquities which, while not influential itself, demonstrates that Jennings's work was not the first commentary on Godwin to appear in English. Between 13 August 1735 and 5 January 1736, Conder transcribed a manuscript by the Hoxton tutor Thomas Ridgley which Conder called 'The Antiquities of the Jews. being Notes, on ye 1st book of Godyns [*sic*] Moses and Aaron'.⁶³ Conder writes that the contents were 'Collected & used in his academy By ye Late Revd Thos: Ridgley' and that they have been 'Transcribed from the Manuscript & somewhat Abbridged'.⁶⁴ Ridgley had died in 1734 and Conder, who studied under John Eames, may have been one of his pupils.⁶⁵ Like Jennings's text, but unlike Jones's, Ridgley's version is in English. It consists of a combination of long notes and multipage dissertations, with a summary of the key topics covered at the end of each chapter. Structurally, it adopts the titles of the thirteen chapters of Book 1 of Godwin's text, but the lengths of the chapters vary very considerably from 107 pages (chapter five, on Kings) and seventy pages (chapter six, on prophets), to four pages (chapter 12, on the Essenes).⁶⁶ In part, these discrepancies could have resulted from Conder's abridgment, but they are equally likely to reflect Ridgley's own priorities. Nevertheless, Ridgley's version is not overtly political, and eschews controversial applications of the rites of the Jews to eighteenth-century British politics in favour of a philological and historical method.

A comparison between the Wits lecture notes (DWL MS 24.2) and the two-volume copy of Jones's notes (DWL MSS 24.3-4) demonstrates the ways in which Jones adapted the text in line with his moderate Presbyterianism. In some places,

⁶⁰ Jennings, *Antiquities*, p. ix.

⁶¹ Jennings, *Antiquities*, pp. ix, v.

⁶² Copies of Doddridge's course are numerous; see, for example, DWL MSS 28.37-8.

⁶³ NCL MS L6/16, title-page.

⁶⁴ NCL MS L6/16, f. 1r.

⁶⁵ J. H. Y. Briggs, 'Conder, John (1741-1781)', *ODNB*.

⁶⁶ NCL MS L6/16, pp. 97-204, 204-274, 326-30.

Jones's 'Annotata' adopts the older version word for word; in other places, much of the vocabulary is retained, with slight alterations in syntax. More frequently, however, the subjects of paragraphs or notes remain, but the internal content is considerably altered and enlarged. Some chapters have been completely rewritten, with scant similarities to the older text, although in places some of the sources remain in common. Perhaps most interestingly, Jones's expansions focus on a handful of chapters in particular, meaning that his 'Annotata' has different priorities from either Godwin's text, or the older lectures. Indeed, a high percentage of Jones's course on 'Jewish Antiquities' focuses on the history of the Jews, the Jewish priesthood, and worship in the Synagogue.

Nearly half of Jones's text (DWL MS 24.3-4) is concerned with Godwin's Book 1, and more than half of this section is on chapter 1 and chapter 5 of Godwin's text. Chapter 1 consists of an essay rather than notes, and describes the different epochs of Jewish history. Jones's comments on the early epochs are relatively brief, although when considering the period of the Egyptian Captivity, he is exercised as to whether the Jews retained their own leaders, or were entirely subject to the Egyptians;⁶⁷ when describing the Exodus, he considers the nature of their government, both ecclesiastical and civil, with arguments drawn from Scripture and Grotius.⁶⁸ From the time of the entry into Canaan, he is most interested in the power of Joshua, Hosea, and Gideon, and the importance of theocracy to Jewish self-identity, but he also tells a moral narrative of the decline of the Jews back into idolatry.⁶⁹ In his description of the Babylonian Captivity, he emphasises the division of the Jews into ten tribes, and the power of Nebuchadnezzar.⁷⁰ However, he stops short of drawing any moral about the corrupting power of kings: rather, he focuses on presenting the most significant events in Jewish history, and identifying different social groups within the ancient world. Similarly, much of Jones's account of the period after the Babylonian Captivity is devoted to the description of Jewish governments, drawn from the Bible and Josephus. In a lengthy account of the final years before the destruction of the Temple, Jones focuses on the relation between the

⁶⁷ DWL MS 24.3, fols. 4-6.

⁶⁸ DWL MS 24.3, fols. 6-9.

⁶⁹ DWL MS 24.3, fols. 9-13.

⁷⁰ DWL MS 24.3, fols. 13-15.

Jewish governors, the Romans, and Cleopatra,⁷¹ before digressing, with the aid of Origen, to consider the reasons why Josephus did not believe that Jesus was the Christ.⁷²

Book 1 chapter 5, on priests, is one of nine chapters describing different social groups within Jewish society. Although MS 24.2 devotes more space to chapter 5 than to any other in Book 1, the sheer quantity of notes on priests in MS 24.3 suggests that Jones considered this topic to be of particular interest to ministerial students. Priests he considers to have had both a political and an ecclesiastical role within Jewish society.⁷³ He discusses priestly vestments, distinguishing between their sacred and civil clothes,⁷⁴ and considers in detail the requirements for initiation into the priesthood.⁷⁵ Picking his words carefully, Jones argues that the Jewish priesthood had been divided into twenty-four classes.⁷⁶ The remainder of the chapter distinguishes between different types of oblation and sacrifice. Jones divides sacrifice into public and private, listing eleven types. After noting the role of imposition of hands, designed to link sacrifice in his readers' minds with Presbyterian ordination, he describes in great detail the process by which a sacrifice was offered.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, it would be wrong to argue that Jones presents the Jewish priests as either a model to be followed, or an abomination to be warned against; the text retains historical validity as its chief aim, implicitly suggesting the differences between the old and new dispensations, while outlining many beliefs and circumstances which could be applied to the role of the pastor in the early eighteenth century.

Jones's discussion of Jewish synagogues and schools is similarly undogmatic, but consistent with his Presbyterianism. In his notes on book 2, chapter 2 'de Synagogis et Scholis', Jones outlines the debate as to whether Christ and the apostles were ordained, and describes the role of the presbyters as learned men who had power to make decisions within the church. He considers the functions of the Arch-synagogues to be to enable teaching and ruling, and he studies the Hebrew

⁷¹ DWL MS 24.3, fols. 15-48; see Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, Books 14-17.

⁷² DWL MS 24.3, fols. 45-9, borrowing from Origen, *Contra Celsum*, Book 1.

⁷³ DWL MS 24.3, fols. 97-9.

⁷⁴ DWL MS 24.3, fols. 103-7.

⁷⁵ DWL MS 24.3, fols. 107-14.

⁷⁶ DWL MS 24.3, fols. 121-9.

⁷⁷ DWL MS 24.3, fols. 132-53.

words used to describe them, before comparing officials in the synagogue to the wisdom and love of the apostles.⁷⁸ He describes in detail the reading of Scripture in the synagogues, including the times it was read, the parts of Scripture read, the readers, and the ways of reading, with several quotations in Greek from Josephus, and reference to Buxtorf, Lightfoot, and Vitranga. He notes that women and slaves were forbidden from reading the Scriptures in the synagogues, and provides a long list of ceremonies undertaken before, during, and after reading.⁷⁹ In writing on Jewish learning, he notes the difference between *scholae triviales* (for young people) and *scholae academicae*, which involved study of the Talmud. He quotes Vitranga's description of private and public schools, and argues that the former were in private houses, whereas the others were more like colleges, with several teachers, and formal study.⁸⁰ Jones's contribution to the teaching of history lies in his avoidance of firm conclusions on traditional controversial topics; this method may have resulted in his students being freer to develop their own attitudes towards ceremonialism and church hierarchy, but such consequences were a by-product rather than a primary function of his tuition.

Thomas Ridgley's text, by contrast, reflects his standpoint as a Calvinist Independent. He combines a wide range of methods: critical notes on etymology, tables of persons, explanation of discrepancies between different historical sources, discussion of biblical and early Christian controversies, typology, and detailed description of garments and rituals. Like Jones, Ridgley is intrigued by the limitations placed on the marriage of rabbis, although he does not seek to apply these restrictions to Christian practice. He is keen to stress the typological significance of the priests' attire, viewing it as emblematic of the righteousness of Christ. Like Jones, he explains the division of the priests into twenty-four, but describes the 'courses' of preaching, rather than the constitution of classes. Ridgley's final pages, especially those discussing the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes, are perhaps the most polemical. He is particularly fascinated by the rules of the Pharisees, which he details at length. He argues that all Jewish sects, including the Pharisees, tended to embrace heresy, and that their emergence was a sign of the corruption of religion;

⁷⁸ DWL MS 24.3, fols. 222-4.

⁷⁹ DWL MS 24.3, fols. 229-34.

⁸⁰ DWL MS 24.3, fols. 243-5.

however, he reserves particular venom for the Sadducees, describing them as ‘Epicurean’.⁸¹

Unlike Jones, Ridgley devotes considerable space to the prophets (Godwin’s chapter 6). Here, he displays the continuing legacy of puritan opinions relating to miracles and providence. Ridgley considers Godwin’s method in this section ‘not very correct or exact & hath left out many things Considerable’. He views the role of the prophets as fivefold: to instruct the people, reprove and correct their immorality, foretell the time of the Messiah, confirm some of their doctrines by miracles, and teach true religion in their schools. The work of prophets could be divided into ordinary and extraordinary: ordinary prophecy, he suggests, is a ‘privilege vouchsafed in various degrees to all that apply themselves to ye attaining it’, whereas extraordinary prophecy consists of revelation of things past, present, and future.⁸² In words or writing, God can reveal his will plainly, or through symbols and signs. God may reveal his mind to the prophets either mediately (through angels) or immediately. Immediate revelation may occur through dreams or visions, both of which must be distinguished from the promptings of the devil. Ridgley writes that, if prophets are to be believed, they must have holiness of person, to make a declaration of being sent by God, and deliver utterances agreeable to other parts of revelation. Miracles may be depended upon as a sign of a prophet, but not all prophets have performed miracles, and, it is uncertain that all miracles are performed by the divinely inspired.⁸³ Ridgley argues that miracles may be of two sorts: either contrary to the course of nature and requiring a creating power, or contrary to the usual course of nature and not necessarily requiring that power; the latter may be performed by Satan. However, Satan is denied the power to perform some miracles, and others he chooses not to perform. Ridgley’s analysis is sceptical of developments in the study of natural religion, relying upon a traditional providentialism. As these sections reveal, the resurgence of interest among dissenters in the study of Jewish Antiquities had little to do with theological novelty or contemporary controversy. Rather, the new courses combined a genuine desire for accuracy with an inevitable tendency to reflect the pre-existent opinions of their tutors.⁸⁴

⁸¹ NCL MS L6/16, pp. 279-329.

⁸² NCL MS L6/16, pp. 204-10.

⁸³ NCL MS L6/16, pp. 212-39.

⁸⁴ NCL MS L6/16, pp. 239-72.

Pneumatology

The study of pneumatology at the academies was not necessarily a consequence of the growth of rational dissent. In the seventeenth century, the title ‘pneumatology’ could be applied to any treatise or sermon collection which described an immaterial spirit, such as God, the angels, or the human soul. Important works which took the title were written by Nicolas Estwick (against John Biddle),⁸⁵ John Owen,⁸⁶ and the Dartmouth tutor John Flavell,⁸⁷ as well as the Arminian John Goodwin.⁸⁸ However, although many would have agreed with the definition provided by the philosopher John Prideaux, that pneumatology was the doctrine of incorporeal substance,⁸⁹ there is no evidence that his strictly theological method was adopted by dissenting tutors, many of whom preferred to view pneumatology as a branch of natural philosophy. Seventeenth-century philosophical works which exercised a particular influence (not always positive) upon dissenting pneumatology included Henry More’s *Ethics*, Ralph Cudworth’s *Intellectual System*,⁹⁰ Theophilus Gale’s *Philosophia generalis* and *Court of the Gentiles*, Adrian Heereboord’s *Meletemata philosophica*, Jean Le Clerc’s *Logica, ontologia, et pneumatologia*, and the writings of Descartes, Malebranche, Hobbes, and Locke. However, the status of pneumatology was never fixed. Ephraim Chambers’s much-reprinted early-eighteenth-century *Cyclopaedia* categorised pneumatology as one of the two branches of metaphysics, the first being ontology.⁹¹ By contrast, an introductory philosophy tutor of the 1740s described it as ‘The *Speculative Part of Moral Philosophy* ... [which] has been wont (tho’ improperly) to be treated of as the second Part of *Metaphysics*’.⁹² The terminology was complicated by the appropriation by experimental philosophers of the term ‘pneumaticks’, to mean a branch of physics dealing with the properties of air. At the dissenters’ academies, the purpose of pneumatology was to confirm students in their

⁸⁵ Nicolas Estwick, *Pneumatologia: or, A Treatise of the Holy Ghost* (London, 1648).

⁸⁶ John Owen, *Pneumatologia* (London, 1676); responses were written by John Humfrey and William Clagett.

⁸⁷ John Flavell, *Pneumatologia, A Treatise of the Soul of Man* (London, 1685).

⁸⁸ John Goodwin, *Pleroma to pneumatikon* (London, 1670).

⁸⁹ ‘*Doctrina substantias Incorporeas*’: John Prideaux, *Hypomnemata* (London, 1650), p. 256.

⁹⁰ From 1706, it was available in an abridged and ‘improved’ version by Thomas Wise, entitled *A Confutation of the Reason and Philosophy of Atheism*, 2 vols. (London, 1706).

⁹¹ Ephraim Chambers, *Cyclopaedia: Or, an Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, 2 vols. (London, 1728), vol. 1, p. ii.

⁹² *An Introduction to the Study of Philosophy* (London, 1744), p. 16.

belief of the immateriality and immortality of the soul, and to defend God from the claim that he concurred in the sinful acts of individuals. These themes may be explored through a consideration of the three surviving sets of lectures on the topic: by Charles Morton (teaching *c.* 1672-86), Thomas Rowe (*c.* 1679-1706), and Henry Grove (1706-38).

In his ‘Pneumaticks or the Doctrine of Spirits’ Charles Morton laments that ‘spirit’, the noblest species of substance, has for so long lacked ‘the Dignity of a peculiar science’, being ‘thrust oddly Into a corner of Metaphysicks’. The heathen philosophers knew little of the subject, and the schoolmen, out of ‘superstitious respect’, failed to innovate.⁹³ Morton defines pneumatology as ‘A Natural Sciens of Spirits’. It differs from metaphysics, which has ‘ens’ as a material and formal object, and principle, and discusses transcendental principles and properties. It differs from theology, whose epistemological principles are revelation and faith by grace.⁹⁴ Morton uses both an Aristotelian definition of spirit as ‘*An Active Substance void of Matter*’ and a Cartesian description, as a ‘thinking substance’.⁹⁵ Some of the soul’s operations (such as sense and locomotion) depend upon matter, whereas others (reflecting, abstracting, affirming, and denying) do not. Morton accepts the negative univocity of spirit as an immaterial substance, but denies that this univocity extends to the positive nature of individual spirits, since God and his creatures share no common nature.⁹⁶ Unlike some other sciences, pneumatology cannot provide principles or causes of being for its primary subject, but only of knowing, since God has no beginning.⁹⁷ Similarly, the essence of spirit cannot not be defined, or divided into genus and species, but should be considered in respect of its attributes. However, attributes are inadequate conceptions of the essence of spirit, because they contain extra concepts in their definition. It follows that the distinction between divine attributes is notional, not real, since God’s essence and attributes are the same. Nevertheless, attributes can be divided into positives (including intellectuality and

⁹³ Charles Morton, ‘Pneumaticks or the Doctrine of Spirits’, p. 2. All references are to the copy in Harvard MS Am911*, dateable to the 1680s, which also contains Morton’s ‘Ethicks’ and ‘Advice to Ministers’. Another copy of the ‘Pneumaticks’, very similar except for the location of diagrams, is in Cong. Lib. MS Ih23, dated 1684. Morton’s better-known published treatise, *The Spirit of Man* (Boston, 1692), is an entirely separate work, not designed as a teaching aid.

⁹⁴ Morton, ‘Pneumaticks’, pp. 2-3.

⁹⁵ Morton, ‘Pneumaticks’, pp. 3-5.

⁹⁶ Morton, ‘Pneumaticks’, pp. 5-7.

⁹⁷ Morton, ‘Pneumaticks’, p. 9; he also notes that the Father producing and Son produced are distinct only as persons, not as Gods.

simplicity) and negatives (immortality and incorruptibility).⁹⁸ Morton points out that the method of derivation of attributes depends upon a philosopher's conception of spirit, so that Heereboord derives all attributes from the simplicity consequent upon a definition of the spirit as immaterial; Morton himself prefers to consider the soul positively as actuality, the first attribute of which is intellectuality.⁹⁹ Conjoined to the soul's acts, but not precedent to them, is its power; both acts and power operate upon the understanding (or intellect) and the will. Of the three acts of the intellect (apprehension, composition, and discourse), only apprehension belongs to God, who does not, strictly speaking, ratiocinate. The will is called the rational appetite, by analogy with the natural appetite and the sensitive appetite. The understanding and the will are distinct faculties. Freedom is consequent on the will, and consists in rational spontaneity, not in either indifference, or suspension of the act of will.¹⁰⁰ From intellectuality, Morton derives the attributes of immateriality, simplicity, immutability, incorruption, immunity from quantity, infiguration, indivisibility, insensibility, illocality, intemporality, and immobility.¹⁰¹

Morton's arguments for the existence of God are drawn from reason and natural theology, leaving scriptural reasons to theology.¹⁰² Subjectively, man's knowledge of god comes from both impressed ideas and inferential knowledge drawn from his soul and body.¹⁰³ Mirroring Aquinas, Morton asserts that our objective and acquired knowledge of God's existence may be demonstrated from the absurdity of God's nonexistence, and the necessary subordination of causes to a First Cause.¹⁰⁴ Only God has a comprehensive knowledge of himself; man must rest satisfied with an apprehensive (partial) knowledge of his attributes. These attributes may be divided into positive and negative, absolute and respective, operative and inoperative, properly said and improperly said, or communicable and incommunicable, and they may be distributed into different ways of knowing God, by negation (removal), eminence (perfection), and causality (by effect).¹⁰⁵ Writing of God's unity Morton insists, against the Socinians, that it does not exist merely by

⁹⁸ Morton, 'Pneumaticks', pp. 10-13.

⁹⁹ Morton, 'Pneumaticks', pp. 13-14.

¹⁰⁰ Morton, 'Pneumaticks', pp. 15-18.

¹⁰¹ Morton, 'Pneumaticks', pp. 18-25.

¹⁰² Morton, 'Pneumaticks', p. 27.

¹⁰³ Morton, 'Pneumaticks', pp. 27-30.

¹⁰⁴ Morton, 'Pneumaticks', pp. 30-2.

¹⁰⁵ Morton, 'Pneumaticks', pp. 33-6.

consent, but in essence.¹⁰⁶ Morton describes God's simplicity as an absence of real composition and internal causes.¹⁰⁷ He derives God's necessary existence and incorruptibility from his immutability, describes his immensity in terms of ubiquity and eternity, and analyses God's moral perfection.¹⁰⁸

Morton defines the human soul as a 'finite incompleat' spirit. He rejects the popular belief that an individual's soul is traduced from his parents by division, multiplication, or from the material seed, and asserts that it originates in a joint creation and infusion from God.¹⁰⁹ He does not believe this theory to be incompatible with original sin, which follows from God's just imputation, not traduction.¹¹⁰ Morton, like Ficinus, attempts to demonstrate the immortality of the soul from natural reason, by considering its physical operations; fundamentally, the soul is immortal because it is an immaterial spirit, and therefore has no corruptive principles. Nevertheless, the temperament of the body promotes or hinders the moral actions of the soul.¹¹¹ The soul's spiritual powers are intellect, will, and memory; its material powers are vegetative, sensitive, and rational. The soul's habits are either intellectual or moral, and its acts are either immanent or transient; immanent acts include apprehension, comprehension, and discourse; transient acts probably include motion.¹¹²

Thomas Rowe's lectures 'Concerning ye Soul' are also divided into three parts, although only the third part, 'de Animâ rationali seu Mentê Humanâ' ('On the Rational Soul or the Human Mind'), has been located.¹¹³ Rowe's prolegomena lays out principles for the study of the human soul, drawn from his own tutor Theophilus Gale's *Philosophia generalis*; he writes that since 'we cannot know ye meaning of words Theologically unless we know them Grammatically', we 'cannot distinctly know our souls Theologically unless we know ym Philosophically'.¹¹⁴

Etymologically, Rowe believes that the word 'Anima' comes from the Greek word for 'wind', but that it is not 'breath'; similarly, 'spirit' comes from 'spiro', 'I blow';

¹⁰⁶ Morton, 'Pneumatics', pp. 37-9.

¹⁰⁷ Morton, 'Pneumatics', pp. 40-5.

¹⁰⁸ Morton, 'Pneumatics', pp. 45-52.

¹⁰⁹ Morton, 'Pneumatics', pp. 88-92.

¹¹⁰ Morton, 'Pneumatics', pp. 92-4.

¹¹¹ Morton, 'Pneumatics', pp. 97-9.

¹¹² Morton, 'Pneumatics', pp. 101-3.

¹¹³ BBCL MS G95, vol. 2: 'Mr Rowe Concerning ye Soul Liber 3dus'. The defective circumflexes are those of the copyist.

¹¹⁴ Rowe, 'Soul', p. 1.

synonymous terms for the rational mind are ‘anima Rationalis’ (distinguishing it from the sensitive soul), ‘animus Mens humana’, and ‘Spiritus Humanus’ (both distinguishing it from the divine and angelic spirits); he notes that peripatetic philosophers have divided the ‘anima’ into the vegetative, sensitive, and rational soul, but argues that only the rational mind has life and self-activity; it follows that animals have no souls.¹¹⁵ Although he feels that it is possible to have a clearer and more distinct knowledge of the soul than the body, he also states that ‘The mind is like ye Eye which while it sees all other things, sees not it self’ and reminds his students that ‘there is nothing more controverted in Philosophy then time, and place and ye actions of ye Soul’. Rowe demands the use of ‘Logick’ and ‘clear thoughts’ in order to reach a clear and distinct, negative and positive, adequate, illative and intuitive, analogical and formal knowledge of the soul. He combines this Cartesian view of the soul with an awareness of its fallen nature, by arguing that the soul’s self-ignorance has resulted from too great a reverence for Aristotle, sensual lusts, and a mistaken belief that thinking results exclusively from phantasms of the brain.¹¹⁶ Similarly, he adopts a Cartesian definition of the soul as an ‘Unextended Thinking Substance’, created immediately by God, ordained to be united to a body, but distinct from it and surviving it.¹¹⁷

Having defined the soul in chapter 1 as a substance, not a mode of body or spirit,¹¹⁸ he attempts to prove against Hobbists and Socinians that the soul is immaterial, and hence immortal; having drawn on scriptural texts to this purpose, he paraphrases Gale, who had argued that the soul’s simplicity implied its immortality, and that its independence of the body both as to being and operation indicated its immateriality; furthermore, its independence is implicit in its status as autokinetic, its definition as a thinking spirit, its dominion over the body, its delight in other incorporeal objects, its ability to perceive extended objects in an inextended manner, the distinctness of our ideas of body and spirit, and the soul’s almost infinite capacity.¹¹⁹ Although he rejects the Peripatetic notion of gradations of spirit, he follows the Aristotelians in showing that the natural and moral amplitude of the will

¹¹⁵ Rowe, ‘Soul’, pp. 1-2.

¹¹⁶ Rowe, ‘Soul’, pp. 2-4.

¹¹⁷ Rowe, ‘Soul’, p. 5.

¹¹⁸ Rowe, ‘Soul’, pp. 5-6.

¹¹⁹ Rowe, ‘Soul’, pp. 7-11.

and understanding may be derived from the soul's inextended nature.¹²⁰ In his third chapter, Rowe explains that the soul's formal nature and constitutive essence consists in its cogitation, which includes the acts of mind, will, and affections; he defines cogitation as conscious self-activity, denying the Epicurean principle of self-activity of matter, and distinguishing between consciousness and memory. Because thinking is not accidental to the soul, but is an act, it may be considered a substantial rather than an essential mode, and cannot be distinguished from the soul.¹²¹

These principles having been established, Rowe proceeds to consider the acts of the intellect and the will (chapters 4-5). He considers judgment and dubitation to be modes of the intellect and volition, intention, election, use, and fruition to be modes of the will; he considers the Cartesian division between passive and active modes of the soul to be 'well enough' but unnecessary, and denies the Aristotelian view that the understanding and will are powers really distinct from the soul or from each other.¹²² The four chief acts of the understanding are simple apprehension, judgment, discourse, and method; he denies the Platonic account of the pre-existence of the soul and the Aristotelian distinction between *intellectus agens* and *intellectus patiens*, favouring a Cartesian account in which the soul, as a thinking substance, may form ideas through pure perceptions (abstractions) and mixed perceptions (sensations).¹²³ Judgment, for Rowe, is an operation of the mind whereby ideas are conjoined or disjoined by affirmation or negation, and is not to be confused with logical propositions; judgment is formed on the basis of assent, which may be grounded on knowledge (intelligence), authority (faith), or reason (science). Opinion is based on uncertain reason, resulting from faulty senses, affections, bodily temperament, prejudice, or pride; it leads to obscurity, confusion, and uncertainty.¹²⁴ These distinctions lead Rowe to consider the differences between pure intellection and sensation. Pure intellection has supernatural, spiritual bodies for its objects, and considers them in general; sensation has particular, natural, corporeal bodies for its object. Finally, he considers the will, which differs only modally from the

¹²⁰ Rowe, 'Soul', pp. 12-13.

¹²¹ Rowe, 'Soul', pp. 14-16.

¹²² 'It is ye same mind which knows and Loves; as it forms Ideas, it is cal'd The Understanding, as it Loves &c. ye will' (Rowe, 'Soul', p. 18). See also Philip Doddridge, *A Course of Lectures on the Principal Subjects in Pneumatology, Ethics, and Divinity* (London, 1763), p. 7.

¹²³ Rowe, 'Soul', pp. 19-20.

¹²⁴ Rowe, 'Soul', pp. 20-3.

understanding, having goodness as its formal object and volition, intention, election, use, and fruition as its acts.¹²⁵ Natural liberty is an inseparable concomitant of the will, does not require the principle of indifference, and is not diminished by God's 'efficacious concurse' (effective concurring) to human actions.¹²⁶

Henry Grove's pneumatology shares with Rowe's lectures a sceptical assimilation of Platonist and Cartesian metaphysical speculations, but combines them with the ontology of John Locke. Grove's lectures on pneumatology were foundational for many of his philosophical publications; his student and successor as tutor at the Taunton academy, Thomas Amory, informs his readers that they formed the basis of Grove's *Essay towards a Demonstration of the Soul's Immortality*, his *Thoughts concerning the Proofs of a Future State*, and a further essay to demonstrate the being and perfections of God.¹²⁷ Grove introduces his subject by reminding his students that pneumatology could be considered a branch of metaphysics, but that Locke writes of it as a branch of physics.¹²⁸ He defines 'spirit' as an immaterial, cogitative being, and denies that matter can think; we are born with an ignorance of our soul's nature, but by consideration of it, we come to recognise that it cannot be self-originated.¹²⁹

Unlike Rowe and Morton, Grove begins his lectures with a discussion of the human soul, and then proceeds to angels and God; this structure represents a playing out of his belief that an examination of our soul will lead to knowledge of God. He repeats Locke's division of knowledge into intuition, reason, and sensation, and claims, following Le Clerc, that the soul has an intuitive, self-sufficient, and immediate knowledge of its existence. Like Rowe, Grove transcribes Descartes' '*Cogito Ergo Sum*' into his own manuscript as a proof of the futility of doubting one's own existence. God's existence requires demonstration from reason, and of the existence of other souls there is the highest assurance, given that thoughts may be

¹²⁵ Rowe, 'Soul', pp. 23-4.

¹²⁶ Rowe, 'Soul', pp. 24-6. See Gale, *Court of the Gentiles*, vol. 4, part 3.

¹²⁷ Thomas Amory, in Henry Grove, *Sermons and Tracts*, 4 vols. (London, 1740), vol. 1, p. xxviii. In fact, surviving copies of Grove's lectures refer students to his *Essay on the Immateriality of the Soul* (London, 1718), not the other way around. For Grove's pneumatological argument that God impresses the mind using external objects as merely 'occasional' causes, see Grove, *A System of Moral Philosophy* (London, 1749), vol. 1, p. 95.

¹²⁸ Grove, 'Pneumatology', f. 1. All references are to the British Library copy, MS Add. 4372, which post-dates 1718. Another copy exists in the Huntingdon Library, MS HM46326.

¹²⁹ Grove, 'Pneumatology', fols. 1-5.

communicated to others.¹³⁰ Grove considers ‘essence’ to be a term of very ‘Doubtful meaning’, which may be divided into real and nominal essences, or into generic and specific; in pneumatology it is the real and generic essence of the soul which is at stake. Grove highlights the Cartesians’ view that the soul is cogitation, and that of their opponents, who assert that it has no separate essence from the body.¹³¹

Grove argues that the soul’s properties, powers, and faculties are to be ascertained by self-reflection. Thought, or cogitation, may be considered as to consciousness (perception), and the object of perception, namely ideas. Perception is the knowledge wherein consists the essence of thinking and willing, and ‘thought’ is a term which may apply both to the understanding, and to the will when considered relatively to consciousness. Furthermore, the power of thinking is both passive, in that it signifies the capacity of having thoughts raised by the external frame and constitution of the soul, and active, when the mind acts immediately from itself. Grove’s assertion of the capacity of the soul for immediate action leads to him rejecting Samuel Clarke’s supposition that the necessity of perception renders it a passive power; Grove distinguishes between an internal and external necessity of perception, and argues that the former is also an attribute of God, and therefore cannot be considered passive. He admits that philosophers lack a precise idea of the nature of thinking or thinking substance, and that we cannot explain the manner of the soul’s operations; our best analogy, he claims, is that of man’s motive principle, an internal energy which may indeed be the same faculty as thought.¹³² In another anti-Cartesian salvo, Grove notes that cogitation is an attribute separable from immaterial substance, since it is reliant upon God. An immaterial substance void of innate ideas and with no intuitive knowledge of the existence of itself or other similar substances would find it impossible to think, because there would be no object of its thought. Nevertheless, Grove believes the power of thinking to be essential to immaterial substances, since without it we can have no idea of such a substance.¹³³

Grove criticises the argument that thought is a substance, since the notion of substance as something supposing qualities, accidents, or modes is insufficient; he

¹³⁰ Grove, ‘Pneumatology’, fols. 8-12.

¹³¹ Grove, ‘Pneumatology’, f. 13.

¹³² Grove, ‘Pneumatology’, fols. 21-4.

¹³³ Grove, ‘Pneumatology’, fols. 25-6.

also denies the argument that thought is substance because it is the essential attribute of the soul: it relies on the supposition that thought *is* an essential attribute, whereas thinking is a thing separable from spirit. Furthermore, thinking is an act, and all acts are relative attributes, not essences; otherwise, the soul would be a particular act (which is absurd) or thinking in general, which does not explain its particular acts.¹³⁴ He denies the Cartesian analogy between extension as the essence of body and thinking as the essence of spirit, on the grounds that different manners of extension generate specifically different bodies, whereas this cannot be true of cogitation and the soul. He is deeply critical of Locke's notion of a person as a consciousness which extends to past actions: consciousness, he suggests, may be transferable from one subject to another, and knowledge of another's past actions cannot be used, as the Arminians suggest, as a basis for God's justice.¹³⁵ Grove's lectures provide clear evidence that early eighteenth-century academies used pneumatology lectures to reject the perceived excesses of Cartesian, Lockean, and Arminian thought, thereby confirming their students in orthodox theological doctrines.

Religious Instruction: Preaching and Theology

Contemporary accounts of religious instruction indicate considerable variety between the content and methods adopted at different academies. Many academies did not provide formal lectures on theology. At the English universities, theology was considered a higher degree subject, and the first nonconformist tutors concentrated upon providing an undergraduate 'arts' curriculum. Several of the early academies built their reputation as schools for philosophy rather than theology. At Thomas Cole's Nettlebed academy, James Bonnell read 'Aristotle' (probably an Aristotelian commentator), classics, and oratory, but had no need to learn theology, since he was not intended for the ministry. Calamy uses the phrase 'Logic and Philosophy' to describe the teaching of Henry Langley.¹³⁶ As shown in chapter 1, Henry Hickman also taught logic and philosophy to a few pupils, some of whom proceeded to Richard Frankland's academy before gaining their MAs in theology at Edinburgh. Calamy informs us that Samuel Cradock taught systems of logic, natural and moral philosophy, and metaphysics, which all the young gentlemen under his

¹³⁴ Grove, 'Pneumatology', fols. 14-16.

¹³⁵ Grove, 'Pneumatology', fols. 17-19.

¹³⁶ Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, p. 138.

care were ‘obliged to copy out for their own use’, but he does not mention that they copied theology or divinity manuscripts.¹³⁷ He notes that some students were ‘fully fixed for divinity’,¹³⁸ but does not provide details about their instruction.

Some of the seventeenth-century academies focused on providing ministerial students with skills required for their pastorate, rather than encouraging them to study theology systematically. By the mid 1670s, several academies were offering ministerial students practical advice and opportunities for preaching. Being recommended by tutors or distinguished ministers could prove critical to a student’s success. While a student in London, Samuel Wesley received guidance from John Owen, much to his later embarrassment.¹³⁹ According to William Tong, John Shower was encouraged to prepare for preaching as a ministerial candidate by Charles Morton and Thomas Manton. He gave his first sermon at the meeting-house of Thomas Vincent in Hand Alley in 1677, and ‘soon began to be taken Notice of and very much followed’.¹⁴⁰ Treatises of advice for ministerial candidates provided an early precursor to the eighteenth-century vogue for lectures on preaching. Morton’s ‘Advice to Candidates for the Ministry, under the present discouraging Circumstances’ was drawn up in the 1680s.¹⁴¹ Morton recommended the Pauline epistles, the Acts of the Apostles, the Westminster Assembly’s *Directory*, and John Wilkins’s *Ecclesiastes* as of ‘special Use’ for the direction of ministerial students. He advised students to ‘chiefly mind JESUS CHRIST’ in their study and preaching, so as to avoid ‘the unsavoury Way of Moral Philosophy Lectures, instead of Gospel Preaching’. The purpose of preaching, he explained, was ‘to teach what Men *should*, not to shew what you *can* do: Not *dicere*, but *docere*: Not *eloqui*, but *alloqui*’.¹⁴² Morton counselled probationers to use notes, but not so that the sermon would be ‘recited like a *School Boy’s Lesson*, or read *Verbatim* as a Child does his Horn-book’. In their delivery, they needed to avoid odd and extravagant intonation, unvaried cadences, tailing off towards the end of sentences, and speaking too fast, without sufficient pauses. He counselled ministers to compose sermons by first collecting Scripture verses relating to the subject, not by making headings for each

¹³⁷ Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, p. 132.

¹³⁸ Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, p. 134.

¹³⁹ Wesley, *Letter*, p. 5.

¹⁴⁰ Tong, *John Shower*, pp. 14-17.

¹⁴¹ Copies exist in Calamy, *Continuation*, vol. 1, pp. 197-211, and Harvard MS Am911*.

¹⁴² Calamy, *Continuation*, vol. 1, pp. 198-9.

section and seeking Scripture verses to confirm them; this would prevent them from straining texts from their proper meaning. Students should attend the sermons of the most pious and practical preachers, in order to learn the benefits of true piety and heart-engagement. Their own discourses should be chiefly practical, avoiding ‘Controversies’ and ‘Wrangling Divinity’.¹⁴³ They should avoid the temptations of preferment, and trust to God’s providence in times of discouragement.¹⁴⁴

Religious teaching was also conveyed using prayer and Bible study. This adaptation of the principles of family religion provided further opportunities for ministerial students to develop their practical skills. Palmer writes that at John Ker’s academy, prayer was ‘so esteem’d, that I do not know that it was once omitted’. Ker’s particular skill was in Latin prayers, in which ‘no Man cou’d exceed him both for exact Thought, curious Stile, and devout *Pathos*’, although this was not matched with ‘equal Elegance and Beauty’ when he led prayer in English. At divinity lectures, the eldest pupils led the prayer; Palmer notes that he often went away from such events with a ‘raised Mind’, and notes that students were allowed ‘forms of their own composure, or others as they thought proper’.¹⁴⁵ James Owen recommended frequent reading of the Scriptures and books on prayer, including the works of John Wilkins. Every Saturday, the senior pupils repeated before him an analytic discourse upon a passage of Scripture, and on Sunday mornings one of them was expected to repeat from memory the previous week’s sermon, while another repeated the day’s sermon at six in the evening.¹⁴⁶ Ministerial students at John Woodhouse’s academy also followed Wilkins’s method, analysing verses of a psalm or chapter, drawing up skeletons or heads of sermons, and composing short schemes of prayer and devotion. On Sunday evenings, they led Woodhouse’s family prayers, and set psalms to tunes.¹⁴⁷ On Monday mornings, John Ker’s pupils studied Buchanan’s psalms, which Samuel Palmer described as ‘the finest of the kind, both for Purity of Language and exact Sense of the Original’.¹⁴⁸ Another set of Monday exercises took as its subject the Greek New Testament: ‘it being our Custom to go through it once a Year; we seldom read less than six or seven Chapters, and this was

¹⁴³ Calamy, *Continuation*, vol. 1, pp. 201-6.

¹⁴⁴ Calamy, *Continuation*, vol. 1, pp. 207-10.

¹⁴⁵ Palmer, *Defence*, p. 7.

¹⁴⁶ Charles Owen, *Life of Owen*, pp. 87-93.

¹⁴⁷ Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 229.

¹⁴⁸ Palmer, *Defence*, pp. 4-5.

done with the greatest Accuracy'. To assist them, Ker's students used a critical synopsis, a work by Martinius Favorinus, and a lexicon by Heyschius.¹⁴⁹

Despite the focus on practical training, many tutors encouraged students to consider theological topics as part of their disputations. A novel approach, perhaps inspired by puritan prophesying, was presided over by Francis Glascock, 'a very worthy ingenious yong min[iste]r'. When Morton left for New England in 1685, about six or eight of his former students met Glascock once a week expressly to dispute theological topics. On 29 December they were joined by Matthew Henry, formerly a student of Doolittle; on that day, they discussed the question of 'whether we are justified by faith alone' ('An fide sola justificemur'); Henry noted that it was decided in the affirmative, 'much ag[ains]t ye Baxterian way – yt faith justifies not as a condi[ti]on but an instrum[en]t'.¹⁵⁰ These students perceived no contradiction between Morton's emphasis on natural theology, Le Clerc's pneumatology, and Calvinist doctrines of justification. Baxter's practical advice for reformed pastors could be absorbed independently of his idiosyncratic doctrines, which were frequently rejected.

Glascock's students were not the only ones who attempted to synthesise Calvinist doctrines with recent developments in the study of natural religion. The Independent Thomas Rowe's theology teaching is discernible from a page containing notes 'of faith' drawn from Ames's *Medulla*, and a thirty-page set of lecture notes entitled 'Analekta quaedam De studia Theologica'.¹⁵¹ The single page of notes provides a list of actions of the will (choosing, giving up, loving, dependence), the affections (desire, delight, expectation), and consequents (imitation, obedience, acquiescence). The writer quotes the Calvinist maxim 'fides est fiducia' against the Papists, Socinians, and Arminians, and notes that belief may exist without trust, but not trust without belief.¹⁵² The 'Analekta' consists of an introduction to theology followed by notes on recommended reading on a variety of theological topics. Rowe's introduction tackles the division between natural religion (acquired by the light of nature) and supernatural or revealed religion (acquired by Scripture and

¹⁴⁹ Palmer, *Defence*, p. 5.

¹⁵⁰ DWL MS 90.5.10: Letter from Matthew Henry to Philip Henry, December 29.1685. There is a copy in DWL MS 90.6.

¹⁵¹ BBCL MS G95, vol. 2 (unfoliated). The 'Analekta' is attributed in the manuscript to either Rowe or Isaac Chauncey, but, on grounds of its content and structure, is almost certainly by Rowe.

¹⁵² BBCL MS G95, vol. 2 (unfoliated sheet).

revelation). Rowe believes that we may know many things of the deity and our duty towards him from the natural understanding and the law of reason. For instance, it is possible to consider God both *in esse absoluto* (in himself) and *in esse reflectivo* (in relation to creatures). God has unity, infinity, omnipotence, simplicity, eternity, immutability, immobility, ubiquity, infinite wisdom, purity, liberty, and impenetrability, and all these are knowable through natural reason.¹⁵³ Through the principles of nature we may know God as the first being (*ratione principii*), that he governs all (*ratione providentiae*), and that he is the end cause (*ratione finis*). The way to enjoyment of God is through the performance of his will, which – as far as natural divinity is concerned – is contained in the laws of nature or dictates of right reason, the sense of which is found in the Decalogue, although the Decalogue also contains moral and particular commandments (including aspects of the fourth and fifth commandments).¹⁵⁴

By the early 1690s several Presbyterian academies were using a combination of English and Dutch texts to reconsider the question of hypothetical universalism (the belief that Christ theoretically died for all, but in practice only for the elect). One of John Ker's divinity lectures took students through the *Synopsis purioris theologiae* of Polyander, Rivetus, Walaeus, and Thysius; this is the earliest extant example of a theological system being used as the basis of lectures in an academy. Palmer writes that Ker used this text because it was 'very accurate and short', but his comment may be designed to pre-empt criticism that Ker was using a text initially designed to ease the rivalry between Dutch remonstrants and contra-remonstrants.¹⁵⁵ Other texts in use at Ker's academy, including the *Theses Salmurienses*, Baxter's *Methodus theologiae*, and works by Usher, tend to confirm the evidence presented from Ker's own library that he nudged his students away from a rigid acceptance of particular redemption. Ker followed the practice of other academies in exposing students to what Palmer called 'the best Books both of the *Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Independent Divines*' as part of their education in theological controversy. These texts included Placeus and Barlow on original sin, Rutherford, Strangius and Amyraldus on grace and free will, Ames, Bellarmine, and a selection of early seventeenth-century writers on Roman Catholicism, Hall, Baxter, Stillingfleet,

¹⁵³ BBCL MS G95, vol. 2: 'Analekta', p. 3.

¹⁵⁴ BBCL MS G95, vol. 2: 'Analekta', pp. 4-5.

¹⁵⁵ Palmer, *Defence*, p. 5.

Owen, Rutherford, and the *Altare Damascenum* on episcopacy, and Baxter, Charnock, and Tillotson on practical divinity.¹⁵⁶

An account of the teaching of John Woodhouse by Joshua Toulmin, from a lost manuscript probably written in the 1690s, suggests that Woodhouse also encouraged his students to embrace the principles of natural religion, and to investigate seventeenth-century attempts to reconcile the doctrines of Calvin and Arminius. On the one hand, Woodhouse read to the senior class a didactic or polemical lecture in divinity on Wolleb's *Compendium theologiae* or Ames's *Medulla*, while the junior class studied Thomas Vincent's *Exposition of the Assembly's Shorter Catechism*.¹⁵⁷ However, students intended for the pulpit were instructed to read Grotius' *De veritate religionis*, construing it, and giving the sense of it, as 'one of their Latin authors'; they proceeded to study John Wilkins's *Principles of Natural Religion*, Robert Fleming's *The Confirming Work of Religion*, Baxter's *Reasons of the Christian Religion*, William Bates's *Considerations of the Existence of God*, Edward Stillingfleet's *Origines sacrae*, and extracts from Samuel Bochart.¹⁵⁸ Alongside a range of authors on metaphysics,¹⁵⁹ theological texts studied included the Westminster Assembly's *Confessions of Faith* and *Larger Catechism*, and Calvin's *Institutes*, but also Baxter's *An End of Doctrinal Controversies* and *Methodus theologiae*, Daniel Williams's *A Defence of Gospel Truth*, Le Blanc's *Theses*, and David Dickson's *Therapeutica sacra*. In practice, students perused a range of texts at any one time; in a letter to his father while a student of Woodhouse in the 1680s, the future MP Thomas Foley asked for copies of works by Vossius, Rufinus, and Grotius.¹⁶⁰

Nevertheless, some Presbyterian tutors retained the rigid Calvinism absorbed during their student days in the 1640s and 1650s. Richard Frankland's student Cumberbach Leech, who entered the Rathmell academy on 2 July 1691, copied 29 Latin theses relating to questions in theology in a manuscript book dated 1692.¹⁶¹ Taken together, they reflect the strength of Frankland's Calvinism, which rejects Baxterianism, Socinianism, ceremonialism, and the elevation of bishops above a

¹⁵⁶ Palmer, *Defence*, p. 6.

¹⁵⁷ Toulmin, *Historical View*, pp. 225-30.

¹⁵⁸ Toulmin, *Historical View*, pp. 225-30.

¹⁵⁹ Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 228.

¹⁶⁰ BL MS Add. 70227, unfoliated.

¹⁶¹ Northumberland RO, MS ZMI/B57/1: Presbyterian theology by Cumberbach Leech, 1692.

presbyterate. The theses seek to demonstrate that God exists on account of his essence, that God's decree does not destroy human liberty, and that there is no 'scientia media' or conditional decree. Subsequent theses show that God concurs in the positive existence of physical acts without being the cause of moral defects, that the Scriptures do not oppose faith to obedient works, and that faith is the instrumental cause of justification. The second half of the collection establishes that Christ's death was not the universal cause of human salvation, that believers may be assured of salvation and perseverance, and that the covenant of grace is conditional but not universal. The final set of theses, on church government, attempt to show that the Anglican Church is not justified in enforcing ceremonies, that ecclesiastical and civil government are distinct, that not all baptised children were regenerated and pardoned, that the episcopate is not a distinct rank from the presbyterate, that particular churches require the aid of neighbouring presbyters for examining and ordaining a chosen presbyter, that elders have a part in church government by divine right, but that presbyters were the primary agents of God's power. Among the authors mentioned in the theses, Baxter looms large, as 'the great theologian of this age', but his theology is frequently rejected.¹⁶²

The polemical attempts of previous scholars to suggest that Frankland's Calvinism was in tension with his family motto, 'Libera terra, liberque animus' ('free earth, and free mind'), are entirely absurd.¹⁶³ Nevertheless, James Owen believed that Frankland's students 'with the same freedom determine for *Calvin*, that many raw Youths that come from the *Universities* do for ... *Arminius*'. Frankland, in Owen's characterisation, directed his pupils 'to the Study of the Scriptures, and their own Hearts', to exalt 'the *Free Grace* of God'; this was in line with the '*Orthodox Ancient Doctrine* of the *Church of England*', and the '*Calvinistic Synod of Dort*'.¹⁶⁴ Eliezer Heywood wrote to his father Oliver Heywood on 17 December 1674 that 'we chuse 12 or 13 divinity questions out of Amesius' every Saturday, and 'dispute ym pro and con before him [Frankland] on munday morning'.¹⁶⁵ When Heywood visited the academy himself four months later, he heard the Monday morning 'logick

¹⁶² Other writers mentioned less frequently include Calvin, Cajetan, Baronius, Arminius, Suarez, Durandus, Davenant, Augustine, Molinus, Strangius, Smiglecki, Bellarmine, John Owen, Grotius, Salmasius, Rivetus, Wallaeus, William Strong, Cyprian, Ames, Jeremy Taylor, and Henry Hammond.

¹⁶³ McLachlan, p. 64.

¹⁶⁴ James Owen, *Tutamen evangelicum* (London, 1697), pp. 4-6.

¹⁶⁵ Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 3, p. 164.

disputes' and witnessed the proficiency of the students 'to my great satisfaction'.¹⁶⁶ Certainly, Frankland's theology tuition was Bible-centred. According to James Clegg, on Saturdays, before evening prayers, a student who had completed at least one year's study 'read in publick what was called an Analysis, or methodical and critical Dissertation on some Verses of a Psalm, or some Chapters of the New Testament'. However, his students continued to read widely across their ministerial careers. By his death in 1745, Frankland's former student Renald Tetlaw had collected 165 volumes on theology, history, controversy, biblical exegesis, and practical divinity, including a copy of the Septuagint and two Greek Testaments; he left these works to his son-in-law, John Bispham, to be 'brought up a Scholar, and to the Ministry'.¹⁶⁷

The academies were swift to adopt a systematic distinction between natural and revealed theology. Samuel Benion, teaching at Shrewsbury in the early eighteenth century, taught his students that natural theology was equivalent to ethics, or moral philosophy: 'tis Divinity built upon the principles of Reason', the 'last End' of which was God.¹⁶⁸ However, he considered the 'Bleer Eyed Nature' of men insufficient to prepare them for the infinite fullness of joys and delights in God; all the searches and researches of philosophers had only satisfied Benion that they could not develop a discipline to aid them in these matters. It followed that only God could afford them this joy, and 'because he doth we style the Discipline Theology and Divinity', the system of which is the noble and divine Bible.¹⁶⁹ Crucially, then, even though theological principles and methods needed to be explained to students, the study of systems of theology was of less significance than careful reading of the Bible itself.

Nevertheless, by the early eighteenth century, Arian and Socinian systems were becoming an increasingly important part of students' private study. According to James Clegg, John Chorlton of Manchester 'read lectures to us in the forenoon in Divinity', giving students time to read in the Chetham's library in the afternoon. It was in the library that Clegg encountered the works of Episcopius, Socinus, and Crellius; Socinian writings apparently made 'little impression' on him, but he

¹⁶⁶ Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 3, p. 165.

¹⁶⁷ *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills*, pp. 180-91.

¹⁶⁸ BBCL MS Ze1, fifth pagination, p. 16.

¹⁶⁹ BBCL MS Ze1, fifth pagination, p. 20.

confessed that he ‘could never after be entirely reconciled to the common doctrine of the Trinity’.¹⁷⁰ Although Joseph Hallett of Exeter read to his students from Pictet’s *Theologia Christiana*, the students were secretly reading deist texts in the evenings, and his son Joseph Hallett junior began a correspondence with William Whiston.¹⁷¹ The principle of ‘free inquiry’ set the conditions by which students could learn about unacceptable theological positions, but the role of the tutor was always to ensure that such inquiry strengthened students in the correct doctrine. As Philip Doddridge was to indicate a generation later, the ‘defence of truth’ came through the ‘knowledge of error’.¹⁷² It was as a consequence of private reading and correspondence, rather than formal lectures, that some students decided for the ‘erroneous’ doctrines of Christ’s subordination and general redemption.

Systems of Theology: Thomas Doolittle and Stephen James

Surviving manuscript systems of theology by Thomas Doolittle (in Latin) and Stephen James (in English) provide further evidence of the limited extent of Presbyterian rationalism. Doolittle’s text, probably dating from the 1680s, begins with scholastic definitions of the ends of, impediments to, and media for understanding theology. The ends of theology are the right understanding and worship of God; the impediments to achieving those ends are either natural errors in memory and judgment, or the limitations of intellect and the will.¹⁷³ Among the particular impediments Doolittle warns against are contempt for the art of logic, and the wrong temperament of the mind.¹⁷⁴ Doolittle insists on the importance of Ramist conceptions of ‘ordo’, or method.¹⁷⁵ He divides the faculties of memory and the understanding into perception, invention, and judgment.¹⁷⁶ He considers the study of philology and philosophy to be prerequisite to theology, although he concedes that the precise nature and order of subjects is disputed by even the most learned.¹⁷⁷ The philological subjects he recommends studying include Hebrew, Chaldee, Greek, and

¹⁷⁰ Clegg, *Diary*, p. 23.

¹⁷¹ Fox, ‘Memoirs’, *MR*, 16 (1821), 131.

¹⁷² Rivers, *Defence of Truth*.

¹⁷³ DWL MS 28.5, f. 152r.

¹⁷⁴ DWL MS 28.5, f. 152v.

¹⁷⁵ DWL MS 28.5, f. 153r (‘Ordo, studiorum praecipue observandus est’).

¹⁷⁶ DWL MS 28.5, fols. 152v-153r (‘percepta, Inventa, judicata ... recipere conservare Reddere’).

¹⁷⁷ DWL MS 28.5, fols. 153r-v.

Latin.¹⁷⁸ Logic, he notes, is an instrumental science, both analytic and synthetic; metaphysics may be considered a branch of theology which considers the most general explication of terms, and is useful in disputations. Jurisprudence serves to inform debates concerning free will and servitude, and the study of canon law may also help in understanding the early Church.¹⁷⁹

In order to plan theological reading, Doolittle writes that it is necessary to make twelve monthly charts, each one containing a row for every day of the month. Each chart also needs three columns, the first of which contains chapters of the Bible to be read (he suggests three chapters per day), the second containing wider studies to be undertaken (his example lists chapters from Frommenius' *Metaphysics*), and the third containing exercises to be completed. Doolittle provides an example of a table for November, in which he recommends undertaking eight philosophical disputations and four declamations, and revising previous studies in logic, ethics, physics, and metaphysics (one each week).¹⁸⁰ He follows it with a table of an exemplary daily timetable: students rise at 5 to read passages from the Hebrew or Greek Scriptures, at 6 further preparatory reading follows (Doolittle does not specify what this means), at 7 more reading from the Scriptures (Old Testament in Hebrew, and New Testament in Greek). At 8 students have a *praelectio* in Metaphysics, and then spend the next three hours going over it, although on Saturdays declamations take place at 9. From 1 to 3 in the afternoon, students engage in philological reading, while at 3 a philosophical disputation occurs. From 4 to 6, students do some private reading, and at 6 they read the Scriptures again. At 8 they retire ('ad cubitum') to revise the day's studies and to continue reading the Bible.¹⁸¹

Doolittle's explanation of the value of theological reading is similarly conservative.¹⁸² He advises students not to read the most books, but the most useful: the most certain, not the most vague; he recommends repeatedly reading texts, so that more of them may be remembered.¹⁸³ Another important skill to acquire is meditation, which involves listening, reading, and questioning.¹⁸⁴ Excogitation, an

¹⁷⁸ DWL MS 28.5, fols. 154r-v.

¹⁷⁹ DWL MS 28.5, f. 155v.

¹⁸⁰ DWL MS 28.5, fols. 159-60.

¹⁸¹ DWL MS 28.5, f. 159r.

¹⁸² DWL MS 28.5, f. 156r.

¹⁸³ DWL MS 28.5, f. 156r.

¹⁸⁴ DWL MS 28.5, f. 156v.

aspect of method, may involve comparison, imitation or translation, and the study of themes and problems. The retention of things apprehended ('apprehensia conservandi') may be attained by repetition, which may be done alone, or in groups, through reading and listening, or through routine.¹⁸⁵ Doolittle recommends reading clear epitomes, compendia, and brief synopses. Among the texts he mentions are the Westminster Confession, catechisms, Ames's *Medulla*, and Crocius' *Syntagma*. In dogmatics, he suggests Calvin's *Institutes* and Wendelin's *Systema majus*. Among polemical works, he notes the *Theses* of Saumur, Sedan, and Le Blanc, Grotius' *De veritate* and *De satisfactione*, Bradshaw's *De justificatione*, and the works of Cameron, Davenant, Placeus, and Ames; also in this category he lists Strangius' *De voluntate*, Crocius' *Dissertationes*, Amyraldus' *De gratia*, and three works by Baxter: *Reasons for the Christian Religion*, *Catholic Theology*, and *Methodus theologiae*. He tells his students to read historical works, including accounts of the early church councils from Nicaea to Chalcedon.¹⁸⁶ Doolittle then provides a lengthy list of Catholic and scholastic writers from the Church Fathers up to the Reformation, and also mentions Erasmus, Vives, Casaubon, Scaliger, and Perkins as examples of authors from the period of the Reformation.¹⁸⁷ Doolittle ends by distinguishing between peirastic, elenctic, problematic, and biblical study.¹⁸⁸ The first is the study of Christian doctrine using definitions, divisions, canons, and scriptural testimony; the second is the discussion of controversial doctrines and the disputation of heresy. Problematics involves the disputation of individual points of doctrine through *quaestiones*, by considering the history of the dispute, explaining terms, answering the *quaestio*, and answering objections. Bible study involves studying individual passages, with questions on the most necessary points. Theological exercises may include analysis, declamations, disputations, and cases of conscience.¹⁸⁹

Stephen James's 'A System of Theology' (1707) survives in a partial student copy. The text had three parts, exploring the nature of the Scriptures, the attributes of God, and the role of the Messiah. The first seven chapters are missing from the

¹⁸⁵ DWL MS 28.5, fols. 157r-v.

¹⁸⁶ DWL MS 28.5, fols. 160v-161r.

¹⁸⁷ DWL MS 28.5, fols. 161v-162r.

¹⁸⁸ DWL MS 28.5, fols. 163v-164r.

¹⁸⁹ DWL MS 28.5, fols. 164r-v.

existing student copy, but the references, which also served as an accompanying reading list, survive in a transcription from 1720.¹⁹⁰ On the definition of theology, James recommended that his students read sections from Richard Baxter's *Methodus theologiae* and Ludwig Crocius' *Syntagma sacrae theologiae*. On the demonstration of God's existence, he suggested works by Barrow, Stillingfleet, Gastrel, Tillotson, Burnet, Cudworth, and Clark, as well as Scot, Charnock, Nye, and Howe. A similar mixture of latitudinarian and moderate dissenting writings provided the sources for James's descriptions of natural and revealed theology. James's assumption that the Scriptures comprised the only supernatural revelation received support from international authors who held a particular appeal for Baxterians and latitudinarians, including Amyraldus and Grotius; however, James's arguments from the internal content of the Scriptures were drawn more widely from English authors, including Baxter, Tillotson, and Stillingfleet.¹⁹¹

For the remaining fourteen chapters of the first part of the lectures, and the first few chapters of the second part, student notes survive in three volumes, taken by Richard Darracott c. 1707.¹⁹² In chapter 8, James seeks further proofs of the authority of Scripture from its internal consistency,¹⁹³ and then attempts to prove that individual books are canonical (chapter 9).¹⁹⁴ In the next two chapters (10-11), James admits that the testimony of the universal church induces belief in the Scriptures, but accuses Roman Catholics of a circular argument in claiming that the Church, whose authority rests on Scripture, has the authority to declare the authority of Scripture.¹⁹⁵ Furthermore (chapter 12), since the apostolic instructions have been mostly lost, no priests or councils can claim to be infallible interpreters of Scripture and every man has a private judgment of discretion in this matter.¹⁹⁶ Nevertheless, the Scriptures,

¹⁹⁰ BBCL MS Ze9, 'James', pp. 1-12. Reading lists to supplement individual sections are an important element of eighteenth-century published lectures: see Grove, *Moral Philosophy*; Doddridge, *Lectures*.

¹⁹¹ BBCL MS Ze9, 'James', pp. 1-2.

¹⁹² Cong. Lib. MSS Ih1-3. It used to be thought that these volumes represented the entire course, and should be read in the order Ih1, Ih2, Ih3. However, by matching them with BBCL MS Ze9, James, I have established that the beginning and end of the course is missing, and that the volumes should be read in the order Ih2, Ih3, Ih1.

¹⁹³ Cong. Lib. MS Ih2, fols. 1-14.

¹⁹⁴ Cong. Lib. MS Ih2, fols. 14-48

¹⁹⁵ Cong. Lib. MS Ih2, fols. 48-72.

¹⁹⁶ Cong. Lib. MS Ih2, fols. 73-80.

which have been preserved uncorrupted, are a perfect, self-contained rule of faith and practice (chapter 13).¹⁹⁷

James's rationalism is clearest in his examination of scriptural evidence for ways in which God has revealed his mind (chapter 14). He dwells longest on the notion of internal inspiration, insensibly communicated to the soul; inspiration, he states, is of three kinds: an infused disposition connatural with the soul itself; a providential inspiration operating through external nature; and a strictly supernatural inspiration, commonly called regeneration, in which a person thinks and acts as the divine being desires, not thinking his own thoughts, but reasoning through God as an external cause.¹⁹⁸ However, observers must use their reason to judge between inspired persons and enthusiasts, and would-be prophets must use reason to determine whether their impressions are inspired; because this process is difficult, genuine inspiration has often been accompanied by supernatural proof in concurring circumstances; in order to judge of another's inspiration, we should consider whether we are inwardly assured, whether the professor is trustworthy, and whether there has been any further divine attestation, through miracles or an equivalent.¹⁹⁹ There are two sorts of inspiration: inspiration by suggestion is the pure revelation of unknown truths, and inspiration by direction respects truths selected from education and observation; both are present in Scripture, but it is not clear whether the very words and phrases of Scripture are inspired.²⁰⁰ James deplores the Roman Catholic Church for its zeal in denying 'common people' from 'having ye liberty of consulting the Script[ure]' in their own language, and asserts that the Christian religion can bear the light of any impartial trial or examination.²⁰¹ Since the corruption and degeneracy of human nature creates an opposition to the particular truths of the gospel, an inward work of the divine spirit is necessary to render our belief of the Scriptures influential on our actions; the operation of the spirit is unknowable, but it must involve consideration of the rational evidences of scriptural revelation, and is not an actual

¹⁹⁷ Cong. Lib. MS Ih2, fols. 81-121.

¹⁹⁸ Cong. Lib. MS Ih2, fols. 121-7.

¹⁹⁹ Cong. Lib. MS Ih2, fols. 128-41, in part paraphrasing Stillingfleet, *Origines sacrae* (London, 1662), book 2, chapters 4-5.

²⁰⁰ Cong. Lib. MS Ih3, fols. 1-4.

²⁰¹ Cong. Lib. MS Ih3, fols. 8-13.

and immediate persuasion.²⁰² Furthermore, although new particular revelations may be possible, there is to be no new general revelation, for we have no need of it.²⁰³

James's view of faith is similarly shaped by a careful balance of the competing claims of natural and revealed religion. Faith, for James, may be considered either (as by Barrow and Tillotson) in relation to anything of which we are persuaded by sense, experience, reason, or authority; or (in a scholastic sense) as relating to things revealed by credible testimony, in contradistinction to science, sapience, prudence, and opinion. The general nature of faith lies in the species of judgment known as assent, an act of the will and not the understanding; the testimony upon which it is grounded may be reason or authority. Assent based upon divine authority is as firm as natural science or geometry. The objects of faith may be obscure and above comprehension (inevident assent), even though the proposition assented to may be clear. Even if the proposition is intelligible to reason, as an object of faith it is believed purely upon divine testimony, a point which James considers inconsistent with the Socinian overreliance upon reason. Nevertheless, faith may be either explicit (a determinate belief in a particular thing) or implicit (an indeterminate belief in whatever is proposed by an authority); our obedience to the consequences of things believed is absolutely necessary for salvation.²⁰⁴ Although some things in revelation are above reason, they are nevertheless true and to be believed (chapter 21). By reason is meant the understanding, a power or faculty of perceiving or knowing in general. Perception is the only general operation of the understanding, since truth is the understanding's general object and truth is nothing but ideas and their relations; judgment is a separate act belonging to the will, to which the understanding acquiesces.²⁰⁵ Complex perception (relation) is either immediate (intuitive) or mediate (demonstrative), but reasoning involves using a middle idea to perceive the agreement or disagreement of two others. Something is above reason when we cannot perceive how it can be, and contrary to reason when we perceive that it cannot be; hence to be above reason is a relative and extrinsic denomination of an object. Reason and revelation cannot contradict one another, even though there are some things (such as the Trinity) which appear to be above

²⁰² Cong. Lib. MS Ih3, fols. 13-16.

²⁰³ Cong. Lib. MS Ih3, fols. 17-20, critiquing Montanism.

²⁰⁴ Cong. Lib. MS Ih3, fols. 22-31.

²⁰⁵ Cong. Lib. MS Ih3, fols. 32-3, paraphrasing Norris.

reason, and others (spirits) of which we have very little idea. Although natural philosophy has made many discoveries, human reason is limited and imperfect. The divine mind, however, comprehends all truths, and has made a revelation of things above reason as a trial of our faith. The proper business of reason is to enquire and examine whether a thing be revealed by God, not whether it be comprehensible; reason helps us to distinguish the necessary truths of Christianity and to collect them methodically. Reason is to assure us of the good grounds of the divinity of revelation, and then faith takes its place and assents to its truths. However, faith in revelation presupposes the existence of God. God's existence cannot be demonstrated a priori, for he is uncaused; and Descartes' argument that the idea of God implies his necessary existence has been criticised by Cudworth. Nevertheless, the existence of an all-perfect being called God may be demonstrated easily: it is an infallible truth that something of positive entity must have existed from eternity, and the evidence of design in the world necessitates a skilful designing cause.²⁰⁶

Part Two, of which the first eight chapters survive in Darracott's notes, is concerned with the nature and attributes of the divine Being. Perfections, James notes, only exist in the Divine Being *eminenter*, as he is able to produce them and can produce their effects without them, not *formaliter*, as formally distinguishable in God. The Eternal Being has necessary existence and attributes, but is free regarding external operations and actions.²⁰⁷ It follows that scriptural descriptions of God's physical attributes are to be taken metaphorically, and not as if they comprised a treatise of pneumatology; furthermore, we are of the image of God in respect to our understanding and will, dominion and sovereignty, not our physical attributes, and we should worship him as a Spirit, not an image.²⁰⁸ James notes traditional divisions of God's attributes into communicable and incommunicable, absolute and relative, but opts for a division into natural, vital, and moral. Natural attributes include eternity, necessary existence, independence, immensity, immutability, and simplicity. He refutes the claim that God's eternity is a continual, transient succession of duration. He argues in favour of a threefold division of God's immensity, with regard to power, knowledge, and essence, thereby denying the Cartesian view that nothing analogous to extension may be permitted to incorporeal

²⁰⁶ Cong. Lib. MS Ih3, fols. 32-72.

²⁰⁷ Cong. Lib. MS Ih1, fols. 1-13, paraphrasing Scott and Howe.

²⁰⁸ Cong. Lib. MS Ih1, fols. 14-26.

substances. Furthermore, God's immutability is consistent with his changes of action, lying rather in his constancy of nature, perfections, and purposes; crucially, the non-performance of conditional promises when the conditions are not fulfilled is no argument of inconstancy.²⁰⁹

James highlights the doctrine of prescience, especially relating to contingent actions, as a major difference between Arminians, Socinians, and Calvinists. He argues that without eternal prescience, God would both conjecture, and progress in knowledge through time, neither of which are true. Foresight of the free actions of men is necessary for the government of the world. James claims that the manner of God's foreknowledge is beyond comprehension, but recognises four theories. The first, which he disputes, is the scholastic argument that foreknowledge is, strictly, knowledge of all things as actually present and existing; the second theory is that God is the first cause of all actions, and thereby foreknows all actions; the third, and most widespread, belief is that God concurs in the actions of his creatures, by means of an efficacious decree exciting them to act. The fourth scheme recognises a distinction between this efficacious decree, and a permissive decree, by which God refuses to deny his creatures the capacity to act, and foresees how they will act. Knowledge may also be divided into intelligence of things possible, and vision of things actual; here, James notes, a controversy has arisen about a third knowledge, 'scientia media', which he associates with Molina, and which he argues was adopted by semi-Pelagians and Remonstrants. Middle knowledge is that whereby God foresees what men would do under differing conditions; while it may seem unworthy of God to deal in precarious suppositions, the theory may explain how God foreknows rationally determinable conditional actions. Interestingly, although James recognises the influence of the theory on Baxter's thoughts regarding God's knowledge of future contingencies, he describes Baxter's critique of middle knowledge as a theory of determining the indeterminate.²¹⁰

In several important respects, James continued the principles and methods of Matthew Warren, his own tutor at Taunton. Warren was later reckoned 'among the moderate divines', and was said to have 'encouraged the *free* and *critical* study of the *scriptures*, as the best *system of theology*'. According to John Sprint, Warren was

²⁰⁹ Cong. Lib. MS Ih1, fols. 26-9.

²¹⁰ Cong. Lib. MS Ih1, fols. 29-98.

‘never Confident, nor Imposing, never Vehement, nor Rigid’ in his opinions, but ‘Yielding to Reason’, so that he ‘allow’d his Pupils Freedom of Thought’. However, he was ‘Careful to establish his Pupils against those Erroneus Principles, that undermine the Fundamentals of our Religion’. In his lectures on morality, Warren ‘endeavour’d in a particular Manner the Improvement of the Understanding’,²¹¹ and, in his preaching, ‘never fomented those Controversies, which so miserably divided the Christian Church’.²¹² Theologically, both Doolittle and James could be accounted ‘moderate’ divines. Although neither of them may be considered rigid Calvinists, both warned their students of the dangers of Arminianism, and insisted on the supremacy of faith and revelation over the frailty of human reason.

The Dissenters’ Academies and the Subscription Controversy, 1713-19

In the 1710s a significant controversy arose between dissenters as a consequence of Samuel Clarke’s *A Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God* (1705) and *The Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity* (1712), and William Whiston’s *Primitive Christianity Reviv’d* (1711-12). By 1713 Clarke’s *Demonstration* was being read privately and appreciatively by some academy students, including Samuel Jones’s pupil Joseph Butler. In a letter of 1719 Joseph Hallett’s former student Hubert Stogdon referred to Whiston as ‘that excellent, and strictly conscientious, pious, and primitive divine’.²¹³ In 1719 an anonymous writer complained that many ministerial candidates came forth ‘from their Academical Studies with this Taint’, and that others pretended to be orthodox at their ordination, but revealed their true notions soon after.²¹⁴ An early focal point for the controversy was the academy in Exeter. According to the Devon minister Josiah Eveleigh, Whiston’s ‘new Notions about the *Trinity*, were toss’d about by Mr. *Hallett*’s Accademicks, with too much Fondness’. Eveleigh believed that if Hallett had ‘dissolv’d his Accademy, (as he ought to have done, if nothing less would be effectual)’, much evil could have been prevented.²¹⁵

²¹¹ Chapter 3, p. 159; John Sprint, *A Funeral Sermon for the Reverend Mr. Warren* (London, 1707), p. 46.

²¹² Sprint, *Warren*, p. 50.

²¹³ Hubert Stogdon, *Poems and Letters of the Late Reverend Mr. Hubert Stogdon* (London, 1729), p. 59.

²¹⁴ *A Plain and Faithful Narrative of the Differences among the Dissenters at Exeter* (London, 1719), p. 6.

²¹⁵ [Josiah Eveleigh], *An Account of the Reasons why Many Citizens of Exon have Withdrawn from the Minsitry of Mr. Jos. Hallet and Mr. James Peirce* (Exeter, 1719), p. 4.

By 1717 the divinity of Christ was being disputed in the house of a layman who boarded some of Hallett's pupils; rumour spread that three dissenting ministers in Exeter favoured Arian notions, including Hallett's ministerial colleague James Peirce. In June 1717 Peirce delivered a sermon in which he quoted passages from Scripture about Christ, but prevaricated about the nature of his Godhead. In 1718 the Exeter Assembly of Ministers debated the issue, and each minister made a profession of faith in the Trinity. A pamphlet war followed, and in November 1718, a group of laymen who monitored the Exeter Presbyterians, known as the Committee of Thirteen, desired the four Exeter ministers to demonstrate their orthodoxy, using either the words of the First Article of the Church of England, the Sixth Answer in the Westminster Assembly's catechism, or the words of the Exeter Assembly. Only one of the four ministers, John Lavington, agreed.²¹⁶

The Committee of Thirteen then sent to the London ministers for advice. The London ministers held a meeting at Salters' Hall, at which a clear division opened between the 'subscribers' and the 'non-subscribers'. Each camp produced a list of their supporters; the list of seventy-eight 'subscribers' showed those who were willing to make a declaration of faith in the Trinity; the list of seventy-three 'non-subscribers' revealed those who had refused to do so, either because they did not believe the declaration to be correct, or because they disapproved of the principle of subscription.²¹⁷ The lists do not suggest that the education of the ministers was the defining factor in their decision whether or not to 'subscribe'. Students of Woodhouse, Jollie, Morton, Ker, Frankland, and Doolittle appear on both lists. At the top of the list of subscribers was William Lorimer, a tutor at Hoxton; also near the top of his list was his colleague at the academy, William Tong; however Joshua Oldfield, who also taught at the academy, headed the list of non-subscribers. The London ministers advised the Exeter Committee to call some neighbouring ministers to adjudicate over Peirce and Hallett. These ministers found that the Exeter pastors held errors of doctrine which provided sufficient foundation for their people to withdraw from their ministries. When Hallett and Peirce again refused to subscribe to statements of doctrine drawn up by the Committee of Thirteen, they were ejected

²¹⁶ [Eveleigh], *Account*, pp. 3-6.

²¹⁷ *A True Relation of Some Proceedings at Salters-Hall* (London, 1719); [Benjamin Grosvenor], *An Authentick Account of Several Things Done and Agreed upon by the Dissenting Ministers Lately Assembled at Salters-Hall* (London, 1719).

from their meeting-house, and set up a rival congregation in Exeter. Like the London ministers, the Devon ministers had divided into two camps of ‘subscribers’ and ‘non-subscribers’; whereas the forty-six subscribers included ministers educated at a range of academies, including Bridgwater and Taunton, the list of twenty non-subscribers consisted almost entirely of Peirce, Hallett, and their past and present students.²¹⁸ It is important to recognise that not all of these men held Arian or Socinian views; several of them were no doubt refusing to subscribe in support of their colleagues, on the basis that subscription was a foolhardy method to impose upon individual conscience. Nevertheless, it is clear that the opinions of many of the ‘non-subscribers’ on the Trinity were not orthodox.

One of the first students at the Exeter academy to consider Whiston’s works sympathetically was the tutor’s son, Joseph Hallett the younger. According to his fellow student John Fox, Hallett junior ‘fell into the Unitarian scheme’ and ‘held a secret correspondence with Mr. Whiston, then publishing his “Primitive Christianity.”’ Hallett junior was not, in fact, a Unitarian, but he shared Peirce’s belief in the subordination of the Son to the Father, a view described by his contemporaries as ‘Arian’. Fox wrote that Hallett junior was ‘very grave, serious, and thinking’, and had ‘read most of any in the house’, being ‘well versed in divinity, morality and such kind of things as most suited him’. According to Fox, Hallett had ‘a great propensity to rule and management’, and was ‘careful to maintain correspondencies which promoted these, and made him significant’. Although Fox claimed to have been intimate with Hallett he insisted that he had known ‘nothing of his [theological] notions’ until the class was lectured by Hallett’s father on Pictet’s opinions on the Trinity. Pictet was orthodox, but Hallett junior laid ‘several books upon that subject’ Fox’s way; Fox later claimed that until this point he had always taken the doctrine of the Trinity ‘for an undoubted truth, which was never to be examined or called in question’. Fox’s views on the controversy developed after reading works by the Unitarian Thomas Emlyn and his orthodox respondent, Joseph Boyse. In Fox’s words, the ‘bare quotations’ which Boyse gave from Emlyn, ‘seemed to strike so strongly, that I began to doubt from that moment’,

²¹⁸ *A True Account of what was Transacted in the Assembly of the United Ministers of Devon and Cornwall, met at Exon, May 5. and 6. 1719* (London, 1719); James Peirce, *Remarks upon the Account of what was Transacted in the Assembly in Exon* (London, 1719), pp. 37-9.

notwithstanding Fox's 'natural prejudices' and Boyse's art and learning. Fox became involved in a group of about five or six students, who 'conversed with great caution and secrecy' about the issue. Nevertheless, the debates spread to other 'conceited citizens', who 'talked of more than they understood', alarming local ministers, who began to feel under pressure to answer these heretical notions in their conversation, prayers, sermons, and disputations.²¹⁹

It was the indiscretion of another student of Hallett senior, Hubert Stogdon, which triggered the crisis at Exeter; his tutor later described him as 'sober', 'religiously inclined', and 'diligent', with an 'eager thirst after knowledge', 'great acuteness', and 'solidity of judgment'.²²⁰ Initially, Stogdon concurred with the Westminster Assembly's explication of the Trinity, believing a departure from it along the lines of Whiston and Clark to be extremely dangerous. His future ministerial colleague, John Billingsley, wrote that Stogdon changed his mind 'by slow degrees, laborious and humble enquiries, with many prayers and tears'. Billingsley believed that Stogdon 'settled in a persuasion contrary to that, in which he had been educated', as a result of a 'long and deliberate reading, and examining both sides of the question'. After Stogdon had privately expressed his belief that his new position was 'more clear, consistent, and scriptural', the matter spread across Exeter, causing him to be labelled with 'opprobrious and reproachful names, such as *Arian, Deist, Atheist, &c.*' In order to prevent a confrontation with the Exeter Assembly, Stogdon agreed not to seek ordination at the next meeting, but retreated to a small congregation meeting fortnightly at Wookey, near Wells at Midsummer 1717.²²¹ When Stogdon was ordained in 1718, he provided a lengthy declaration of his beliefs, in which he avoided direct discussion of the divinity of Christ, but disowned 'any living infallible judge of controversies upon earth' and renounced 'that doctrine, which denies to any man the liberty of reading the scriptures ... under the pretence of the danger of broaching heresy'.²²² These were familiar anti-Catholic declarations, but in Stogdon's case they also reflected his dissatisfaction with the imposition of non-scriptural expressions.

²¹⁹ Fox, 'Memoirs', *MR*, 16 (1821), 131.

²²⁰ Nicholas Billingsley, *A Sermon Occasioned by the Death of the Late Reverend Mr. Hubert Stogdon* (London, 1728), p. 18.

²²¹ Billingsley, *Stogdon*, pp. 20-2.

²²² Billingsley, *Stogdon*, pp. 22-33.

The spread of a range of views on the Trinity and the authority of the Scriptures may also be witnessed at several other academies. It is not always appropriate to characterise these views as ‘Arian’ or ‘Socinian’ or ‘unorthodox’, since in many cases students were making an honest attempt to reconcile their critical learning and opinions with Church of England creeds and confessions, and dissenting declarations of faith. Neither is it necessarily correct to categorise students at other academies in the 1710s as subscribers or non-subscribers. These terms only acquired their formal significance after the controversy reached its zenith in 1719; even after that date, many dissenting intellectuals, including Isaac Watts, refused to position themselves on either side. The complex relationship between the academies and the subscription controversy can be studied using two further examples. Considerable evidence exists relating to the theological opinions of the students of Samuel Jones at Gloucester and Tewkesbury. The situation among students of the London academies is rather more complex, suggesting that some tutors gained a reputation for enforcing particular theological opinions, whereas others produced students whose views differed widely.

Samuel Jones’s students included several of the most influential philosophers and theologians of the early eighteenth century, including Thomas Secker, Joseph Butler, Samuel Chandler, and Jeremiah Jones. According to John Fox, immediately after his education at Tewkesbury and Leiden, Secker was ‘strong in Dr Clarke’s scheme about the Trinity’, which made him ‘under great difficulty about subscribing the Articles’. In 1718 Secker wrote to Fox of the ‘noble resolution’ of the London ministers to increase ‘Mr. Stockden’s [i. e. Stogdon’s] allowance’, despite the silent opposition of William Tong, and remarked on his ‘great pleasure’ at ‘what Mr. Peirce does at Exeter’.²²³ When Secker conformed and swiftly moved up the Church of England hierarchy, Fox commented that there had to have been ‘a very great alteration, both in his temper and principles’ for him to have ‘stooped to such preferments, as I knew he once despised’.²²⁴ While a student of Samuel Jones, Joseph Butler engaged in a secret correspondence with Samuel Clarke, which was later published anonymously. Butler required further demonstration of Clarke’s argument that to suppose two independently self-existing beings was contradictory;

²²³ Fox, ‘Memoirs’, *MR*, 16 (1821), 634.

²²⁴ Fox, ‘Memoirs’, *MR*, 16 (1821), 193-4.

he was also critical of Clarke's belief that the self-existence of a finite being would make its non-existence a contradiction in terms. By the end of their correspondence, Butler had accepted Clarke's argument that an absolutely necessary being had to exist everywhere, but still had qualms regarding Clarke's assumption that every property of the self-existent substance was as necessary as the substance.²²⁵ In *A Vindication of the Former Part of St. Matthew's Gospel, from Mr. Whiston's Charge of Dislocations* (1719), Jeremiah Jones sought to prove that the extant Greek copies of the gospel told their narrative in the same order as they were originally written by Matthew. The prefatory epistle, addressed to Samuel Jones, praised his 'unwearied ... Endeavours' to revive understanding of the original languages of the Scriptures, and claimed that it was owing to him that 'a great Number of Youth' were now attempting to understand them.²²⁶ In 1725 Samuel Chandler produced *A Vindication of the Christian Religion*, consisting of a discourse on the nature and use of miracles and a lengthy response to Anthony Collins's *A Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*. Chandler defined a miracle as an action or operation performed above the natural power and capacity of the being who does it, without the assistant of some superior agent. He suggested that the only end and use of miracles was to confirm the person's mission from God in his name, by his authority, and with a revelation of God's will to impart to men.²²⁷ In his answer to Collins he argued that Christianity had other foundations for its support than the Old Testament prophecies.²²⁸ Chandler urged the 'liberty of every one's judging for himself, and of proposing his opinions to others', but criticised deists, who 'confound good and evil' and write without 'sincere regard to truth and virtue'.²²⁹

Other students of Jones also sympathised with the non-subscribers. Thomas Mole, minister at Uxbridge (1725-8), Jamaica Row, London (1728-46), and the Gravel Pit, Hackney (1746-76), does not appear on either the 'subscribing' or 'non-subscribing' list of 1719, although his inclination clearly lay with the latter. In his farewell sermon to his Uxbridge congregation, he defended the principle of the 'sacred Authority of Jesus Christ' against 'Faction and Enthusiasm', and used St

²²⁵ [Joseph Butler], *Several Letters to the Reverend Dr. Clarke, from a Gentleman in Gloucestershire, relating to the First Volume of the Sermons Preached at Mr Boyle's Lecture* (London, 1716).

²²⁶ Jones, *Vindication*, pp. i-ii.

²²⁷ Chandler, *Vindication*, pp. 16, 62.

²²⁸ Chandler, *Vindication*, pp. 159-60.

²²⁹ Chandler, *Vindication*, 'Preface', pp. ix, xx.

Paul's second epistle to the Corinthians to urge dissenters to 'lay aside their Contention', since 'a Unity of Affection is as necessary, as a Unity of Opinion is impossible'.²³⁰ In another sermon, printed several years after its delivery, Mole rejected the position that God's will was the foundation of moral virtue, arguing that righteousness is derived from the immutable nature of things.²³¹ His text drew a response from Samuel Wright, to which Mole replied with an expansion of his earlier arguments.²³² During his ordination at the Old Jewry on 11 January 1721 Obadiah Hughes, a non-subscriber, gave a lengthy confession of faith which was printed later in the year; the text was dedicated to his friends under the charge of Joshua Oldfield, whom he had been asked to assist. Hughes's confession avoided most of the controverted points about the nature of Christ's divinity, but accepted him as divine, and implied that his divinity was not concreated with his humanity.²³³ Another student at Tewkesbury was Daniel Scott, who later studied theology at Leiden; his biblical scholarship earned the appreciation, if not always the approbation, of Secker, Butler, and Philip Doddridge. In his *An Essay Towards a Demonstration of the Scripture-Trinity*, published pseudonymously under the name 'Philanthropus Londin', Scott used a geometrical method consisting of axioms, definitions, corollaries, and scholia, in an attempt to prove the heterodox case that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are 'three distinct Spirits, of which the Father only is God'.²³⁴

Although the London ministers produced fewer printed contributions to the subscription controversy than their west country counterparts, echoes of their views may be perceived in their later publications. The non-subscriber Thomas Leavesly's sermon at Salters' Hall, *The Reasons and Necessity of the Reformation* (1735), urged his hearers to be 'humble and cautious, not too severe upon imperfect, differing or erring Protestants'.²³⁵ An important apologist for the subscribers was the

²³⁰ Thomas Mole, *A Farewel Sermon Preached at Uxbridge* (London, 1728), pp. A2v, 12, 19.

²³¹ Thomas Mole, *The Foundation of Moral Virtue Consider'd* (London, 1732), pp. iii-v, 20-4.

²³² [Samuel Wright], *Remarks on a Sermon Preached by the Reverend Mr. Thomas Mole* (London, 1732); Thomas Mole, *The Foundation of Moral Virtue Re-Consider'd and Defended against the Remarks of an Anonymous Writer* (London, 1733).

²³³ Obadiah Hughes, *A Confession of Faith, Deliver'd at the Old Jewry, January 11th, 1720/21* (London, 1721), pp. 5-13.

²³⁴ [Daniel Scott], *An Essay Towards a Demonstration of the Scripture-Trinity* (London, 1725), p. 1.

²³⁵ Thomas Leavesly, *The Reasons and Necessity of the Reformation* (London, 1735), p. 39. Leavesly had been a student of John Ker.

Congregational tutor Thomas Ridgley, whose *The Unreasonableness of the Charge of Imposition* (1719) was a direct answer to the non-subscriber Benjamin Grosvenor's *Authentick Account* of the proceedings at Salters' Hall. The republication in 1719 of *Disputes Reviewed*, Matthew Henry's sermon at the Salters' Hall lecture in 1710, was designed to calm the hostilities between the subscribers and non-subscribers. In his preface to Henry's sermon, Isaac Watts posed as a Baxterian 'reconciler', lamenting that 'the warmer Combatants push each other to wider Extreames', and calling upon his friends 'to assist me in this reconciling Work'.²³⁶ Most prominent among Charles Morton's former students in contributing to the subscription controversy was the subscriber Thomas Reynolds, who delivered a funeral sermon for the minister Samuel Pomfret in 1722. Reynolds was forthright in his praise for Pomfret's successor, who had 'declar'd *his own Belief* ... in Opposition to the *Arian Heresy*'; he urged Pomfret's former congregation to take care that no-one 'tempt you to barter away the saving Truths of the Gospel for the worthless Dross of Error', and quoted Pomfret's belief that the non-subscribers had been 'left of GOD'.²³⁷ His comments drew the indignation of the non-subscriber Simon Browne, who accused Reynolds of using Pomfret's name and memory 'to feed the Fire of Contention, and blow up a new Flame'.²³⁸ Reynolds responded with a defence of his treatment of his non-subscribing former colleague, James Read, interspersed with criticisms of Browne for not being '*well and truly informed*'.²³⁹ John Guyse, previously a student of Thomas Goodwin, delivered and published a series of sermons on *Jesus Christ God-Man: or, The Constitution of Christ's Person* (1719). Guyse did not formally sign the list of subscribers, but his views were orthodox; he justified them with a traditional argument that the 'deep Things of God' are not shaped for reason, but 'for the Obedience of Faith'.²⁴⁰ He later published sermons on the divine person of the Holy Spirit, and the use of Scripture as a divine

²³⁶ Matthew Henry, *Disputes Review'd: A Sermon Preach'd at the Evening Lecture at Salters-Hall ... 1710* (2nd edition, London, 1719), pp. vi, x.

²³⁷ Thomas Reynolds, *A Funeral Sermon for the Late Reverend and Pious Mr. Samuel Pomfret, Minister of the Gospel in London. Who Deceased Jan. 11th, 1721/22* (London, 1722), pp. [iii], 40, 81.

²³⁸ Simon Browne, *A Letter to the Reverend Mr. Thomas Reynolds* (London, 1723).

²³⁹ Thomas Reynolds, *An Answer to the Revd Mr. Simon Browne's Letter to Mr. Thomas Reynolds* (London, 1723), p. 10.

²⁴⁰ Guyse, *Jesus Christ God-Man*, p. v.

revelation.²⁴¹ Theophilus Lobb's text of 1726, *A Brief Defence of the Christian Religion*, attacked the deists by arguing for the operation of miracles through a divine agency, defending the veracity of Christ's miracles, and exploring the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost, including prophecy.²⁴² A third student of Goodwin, Caleb Wroe, published *Four Letters to a Friend* (1725), in which he explained the difference between general and particular assent to revealed propositions, explored the meaning of 'heresy', and attacked the deist Thomas Chubb's views on justification. In a printed dissertation on the Scriptures as the Word of God, Wroe insisted that where reason fails, 'Revelation is the Relief of Men'.²⁴³

Conclusion: The Interaction of Social and Intellectual Forces at the Dissenters' Private Academies, 1660-1720

The subscription controversy of 1719 provides a useful vantage-point from which to draw some general conclusions about the nature of the dissenters' private academies and their contribution to English intellectual life from the 1660s to 1720. The role of the academies in the controversy was less uniform than is sometimes assumed. The Exeter academy certainly produced a large number of non-subscribing ministers, but their theology was varied. Similarly, students from Samuel Jones's Tewkesbury academy developed a range of theological opinions. At Bridgwater John Moore tutored the deist Thomas Morgan, the non-subscriber Simon Browne and the orthodox John Norman, all of whom published tracts in support of their positions. In London, Doolittle's students included the Unitarian Thomas Emlyn, Matthew Henry (who was considered a 'reconciler' by Isaac Watts), and perhaps the Calvinist tutor Thomas Ridgley. By contrast some of the Congregational tutors, such as Langston, Goodwin, and Paine, seem to have produced in the main students who were willing to defend orthodox Trinitarian doctrine and Calvinist doctrine on sin.

In theology instruction, as in philosophy teaching, there was considerable variation from academy to academy, but eclecticism was increasingly prevalent. Here, as in philosophy, students were encouraged to debate arguments for and

²⁴¹ John Guyse, *The Holy Spirit a Divine Person* (London, 1721), and *The Standing Use of the Scripture, to All the Purposes of a Divine Revelation* (London, 1724).

²⁴² Theophilus Lobb, *A Brief Defence of the Christian Religion* (London, 1726), pp. iii-xxi, 1-82.

²⁴³ Caleb Wroe, *The Improvement and Perfection of our Faith* (London, 1722), p. 34.

against orthodox positions, but one of the tutor's roles was to ensure that his students did not wander too far from accepted ideas. When a tutor failed to prevent his students from openly expressing heterodox beliefs, as happened to Hallett at Exeter, his academy could be forced to close. Nevertheless, over time the boundaries of orthodoxy and acceptability changed, and many dissenters began to extend to theology their principle of the right to private judgment in matters of religious practice. Some ministers, including Matthew Henry and Isaac Watts, sought to apply Richard Baxter's call for an end to controversies, arguing that sermons should be based on practical religion, and that scholastic niceties were little more than jangling words.²⁴⁴ In their theology, some dissenters even attempted to reconcile subordinationist theology with the traditional Trinitarian belief in Christ's procession from the Father.²⁴⁵ These changes meant that several tutors were prepared to tolerate, or at least overlook, the private theological judgments of their students. However, these changes were not the direct result of tutors' opinions, or their lectures, but reflected external influences, including the works of Samuel Clarke and William Whiston. The dissenters' private academies did not attempt to ban students from reading these works, but students such as Stogdon and Hallett junior who were discovered to have been reading them sympathetically quickly ran into trouble. The academies, then, were only indirectly a motor of theological change: their methodology of free inquiry enabled students to become exposed to unorthodox ideas, and their philosophy of tolerating private judgment meant that it was sometimes perceived to be impossible to persuade all students to agree with accepted positions. Nevertheless, the primary function of the academies remained the generation of ministers whose beliefs fell within the increasingly wide trajectory of orthodoxy.

This conclusion broadly reflects other findings in this thesis. In general, the academies did not consider the creation or dissemination of new ideas to be a high priority. Some tutors, such as Charles Morton and John Eames, were very familiar with recent scientific publications, but their manuscript works often display an attempt to synthesise old and new concepts and methods. The same is true of manuscript works of theology and pneumatology by tutors such as Thomas Doolittle,

²⁴⁴ Richard Baxter, *An End of Doctrinal Controversies* (London, 1691); Henry, *Disputes Review'd*.

²⁴⁵ Thomas Morgan, *The Nature and Consequences of Enthusiasm Consider'd* (London, 1719).

Thomas Rowe, Henry Grove, and Stephen James. These intellectual trends within the academies were not determined by their social and political status, but they were influenced by them. Chapters 1 and 2 have set out the reasons for the growth of the academies, and their perceived functions. The earliest nonconformist academies were chiefly demand-led, rather than supply-led: they responded to the need for the sons of puritan gentlemen and ministers to be educated in their fathers' principles, rather than to the requirement that ejected teachers find new employment. This meant that their social composition, economic viability, and intellectual profile were interdependent; all three relied in part upon the requirements of their powerful sponsors, such as Wharton, Harley, Foley, and Heywood. From the 1670s it is clear that a major function of the academies was the production of ministers; this meant that they tended to be composed of the sons of nonconformists, partly paid for through private charity and subscriptions from congregations; intellectually, they needed to reflect the needs of these congregations and sponsors, as well as to provide an adequate ministerial education.

From the 1690s there was a strong and ever-developing relationship between the academies and ministerial assemblies; the assemblies monitored the progress of students, and provided a level of financial support which enabled many of the academies to survive. This financial support was dependent upon the academies producing a new stock of ministers whose abilities and opinions met the approbation of the assemblies. These new ministers then became members of the assemblies themselves, and continued the joint roles of funding and regulation. The dissemination and control of ideas remained important elements in this process. Students whose views were incompatible with those of their sponsors could find their funding withdrawn; later in their careers they could find it difficult to achieve ordination, or to be recommended to wealthy or influential congregations. This in turn could limit their influence in local ministerial assemblies, and their ability to ensure students of their viewpoint were funded. Nevertheless, the gradual diversification of the theological opinions of former academy students, and the frequently tacit acceptance by tutors and ministers of the right to private judgment in matters of theological controversy, meant that the views of ministers on the Presbyterian Fund Board in particular had become very diverse by the late 1710s. The exposure of these divergent views at Salters' Hall in 1719 increased the pressure

on tutors monitored by the Board to demonstrate on which side of the debate they stood. On the other hand, the publications and careers of the non-subscribers at Exeter and at Salters' Hall paved the way for the growth of the liberal academies in the mid eighteenth century.

Appendix 1: Locations and Dates of the Dissenters' Private Academies, 1660-c. 1720

The following list of tutors, locations and dates is the first to be based on a systematic analysis of all of the available manuscript and printed evidence. The sources listed are not exhaustive, but provide the most important materials for establishing the dates and locations of the early academies. Where academies had more than one tutor, or operated at more than one location, the dates for each tutor and location are given; the combined dates of operation, so far as they are known, are also provided.

Tutor	Locations	Dates at each location	Combined dates	Major Sources for Dates and Locations
Roger Griffith	Abergavenny?		1698?-1702	CFB
Joseph Porter	Alcester		dates unknown (1680x1720)	PFB
Timothy Jollie	Attercliffe		1691 or earlier – 1714	CF; CFB
Stephen Towgood	Axminster [perhaps not an academy]		dates unknown (<i>fl.</i> 1695)	Brockett, <i>Exeter Assembly</i>
Julius Saunders	Bedworth	c. 1710	c. 1710 – after 1730?	DWL MS 24.59
John Kirkpatrick		c. 1710 – after 1730?		
John Troughton	Bicester		dates unknown (<i>fl. c.</i> 1674)	Calamy, <i>Account and Continuation</i>
Thomas Brand	Bishop's Hall at Bethnal Green	date unknown – 1691		CF
John Ker	Bishop's Hall at Bethnal Green	c. 1690-3	c.1690-3, c. 1697-1711x14	CF; PFB
	Highgate	c. 1697-1711x1714		PFB; Calamy, <i>Own Life</i>
John Short	Bishop's Hall at Bethnal Green		c. 1693-?	CF

Rice Price	Bridgend?		1698?-1702?	CFB
John Moore 1 & 2	Bridgwater		before c. 1693 – 1747?	Brockett, <i>Exeter Assembly</i>
Samuel Benion	Broad Oak	c. 1698-1706	c. 1698-1708	PFB; Henry, <i>Benion</i>
	Shrewsbury	1706-8		
Samuel Jones	Brynlywarch		c. 1672 or before – 1697	Tong, <i>Shower</i> ; CF; PFB
Ebenezer Latham	Caldwell	c. 1710-14	c. 1710-14, 1720-56	PFB
	Findern	1720-45		
	Derby	1745-56		
William Evans	Carmarthen		c. 1707 or earlier – 1718	PFB
Thomas Perrot	Carmarthen		1719-33	PFB
Joshua Oldfield and William Tong	Coventry		c. 1694-9	Thoresby, <i>Letters</i> ; PFB
John Flavell	Dartmouth [perhaps not an academy]		date unknown - 1691	Brockett, <i>Exeter Assembly</i> ; CF; Flavell, <i>Whole Works</i>
Thomas Hill	Derby, Hartshorn, Findern		c. 1710-20	PFB
John Southwell	Dudley		before 1692	CF
	Newbury		1692 – 1695 or later	CF; PFB
Henry Hickman	Dusthorp		1668 or later – 1674	Martindale, <i>Autobiography</i> ; Heywood, <i>Diaries</i>
Joseph Hallett 2	Exeter		before 1693-c. 1719	Brockett, <i>Exeter Assembly</i> ; Peirce, <i>Western Inquisition</i>

James Forbes	Gloucester		before 1696 – after 1698	CFB
Samuel Jones	Gloucester	1708x11-12	1708x11-1719	Gibbons, <i>Watts</i> ; PFB
	Tewkesbury	1712-19		
John Alexander	Gloucester	c. 1720-1723x4	c. 1720-c. 1730	DWL MS 24.59; PFB
	Stratford upon Avon	1723x4-c. 1730		
Thomas Rowe	Hackney (near Newington Green?)	1679 or later; moves before '83	1679 or later – 1705	Wesley, <i>Letter</i> ; Gibbons, <i>Watts</i> ; CF; PFB
	'Bowse's house', London	before 1683		
	Jewen Street	before 1688		
	Rope Maker's Alley, Moorfields	c. 1688		
	Little Britain	before 1700-1705		
Benjamin Robinson	Hungerford		1696?-1700?	Cumming, <i>Robinson</i>
John Langston	Ipswich		c. 1692-1704	CF; CFB
Ralph Button	Islington		after 1669?-1680	Calamy, <i>Account and Continuation</i> ; Reynolds, <i>Pomfret</i> ; <i>CSPD</i>
Thomas Doolittle	Islington	1672x80-82	1672x80-1691 or later	Doolittle, <i>Complete Body</i> ; Wesley, <i>Letter</i> ; Calamy, <i>Own Life</i> ; Henry, 'Letters'
	Wimbledon, Clapham, Battersea	1682-3x8		
	St John's Court	1683x8-1688x90		
	Monkwell Street?	1690-?		
Robert Ferguson	Islington?		c. 1680	Calamy, <i>Account and Continuation</i> ; Dryden & Tate, <i>Absalom and Achitophel</i> , Part 2
Ames Short	Lyme Regis		before 1682 – 1691x7	CR

Theophilus Gale	Newington Green?		1666x72-1679	Calamy, <i>Account and Continuation</i> ; Reynolds, <i>Ashwood</i> ; Wesley, <i>Letter</i>
Charles Morton	Newington Green		1666 or later – 1685	Calamy, <i>Account, Continuation, and Own Life</i> ; CSPD; CSP Col.
Vavasor Griffiths	Maesgwyn, Llwyn-llyd?		before 1734-1741	PFB; CFB
John Chorlton	Manchester		1699-1705	Heywood, <i>Diaries</i> ; PFB
James Coningham	Manchester		1701 or before– 1708 or later	PFB
John Billingsley	Mansfield		date unknown – 1683	Nicholson and Axon, <i>Kendal</i>
Matthew Smith	Mixenden		1703 or earlier – 1716 or later	PFB
Isaac Chauncey	Moorfields?	1680x98 – 1712	starting 1680x98 ¹	CFB
Thomas Ridgley	Moorfields	1712-34		
John Eames	Moorfields	1712-44		
Jeremiah Jones	Nailsworth		1719 – date unknown	PFB
Thomas Cole	Nettlebed; possibly Henley [c. 1672]		1662x7-c. 1674	Hamilton, <i>Bonnell</i> ; Wesley, <i>Letter</i> ; Bod. Lib. Rawl. Lrs. 50-4
John Hardy and Mr Needham	Nottingham		before 1714 – 1727 or earlier	Palmer, <i>Fleming</i>
James Owen	Oswestry	1690 or before – 1700	1690 or before – 1706	CF; PFB
	Shrewsbury	1700-6		

¹ Continues after Eames's death.

Thomas Goodwin	Pinner		1690 or before - 1704x8	CF; CFB
Richard Frankland	Rathmell	1670-82x3	1670-98	Heywood, <i>Diaries</i> ; Latham, <i>Preparation</i> ; Nicholson and Axon, <i>Kendal</i>
	Calton	1682x3-1683x4		
	Dawson Fold and Hartbarrow	1683x4-1685x6		
	Attercliffe	1685x6-1689		
	Rathmell	1689-98		
William Paine	Saffron Walden		1696 or before - 1704 or later	CFB
John Wadsworth	Sheffield?		1714 – date unknown	PF
Matthew Towgood	Shepton Mallet		dates unknown (c. 1720)	DWL MS 24.59
John Woodhouse	Sheriffhales		1675x81-1697	<i>ODNB</i> ; BL MS Add. 70226-7; CF; PFB
Samuel Beresford	place unknown [Shrewsbury?]		dates unknown; between 1662 & 1697	Calamy, <i>Account</i> and <i>Continuation</i>
John Reynolds	Shrewsbury		1708 – before 1718	Harris, <i>Harvey</i>
Joshua Oldfield	Southwark	1699 – date unknown	1699-1729	Harris, <i>Oldfield</i> ; Barker, <i>Grosvenor</i>
	Hoxton	after 1699 – 1729		
William Lorimer	Hoxton	after 1699 – before 1722		
John Spademan	Hoxton	after 1699 – 1708		
Jean Cappel	Hoxton	after 1708 – 1729 or before		

John Shuttlewood	Sulby		1678 or before – 1682 or later	Emlyn, <i>Works</i>
Matthew Warren	Taunton	1672 or before – 1706	1672 or before - 1759	Tong, <i>Shower</i> ; Brockett, <i>Exeter Assembly</i> ; PFB
Stephen James	Taunton	1706-25		
Robert Darch	Taunton	1706-c. 1718?		
Henry Grove	Taunton	1706-38		
Thomas Amory	Taunton	1725?-59?		
John Moore	Tiverton		c. 1720-1730 or earlier	DWL MS 38.28
Henry Langley	Tubney (1660x1679)		dates unknown	Calamy, <i>Account</i> and <i>Continuation</i>
Edward Rothwell	Tunley		dates unknown: between 1697 & 1731	JRUL MS Raffles 370-1
James Waters	Uxbridge		before 1695 – 1696 or later	PFB
Edward Veal	Wapping		dates unknown (<i>fl.</i> 1679-81, 1683)	Wesley, <i>Letter</i>
Charles Owen	Warrington		dates unknown (<i>fl.</i> 1714, 1733)	Orton, <i>Letters</i> ; <i>Manchester Presbyterian Classis</i>
Thomas Dixon	Whitehaven	1705x9-1714	1705x9 – 1729 or earlier	HMC MS Winder 1; PFB
	Bolton	1722 or later – 1729 or earlier		
Samuel Cradock	Wickhambrook		before 1674 – after 1688	Bod. MS Rawl. Lrs. 50-4; Calamy, <i>Account</i> , <i>Continuation</i> , and <i>Own Life</i>

Sources and Abbreviations:

Full details of all manuscripts and items listed as short titles will be found in the bibliography.

1722 or later	1722 is earliest possible date
1729 or earlier	1729 is last possible date
1705x9-1714	starting between 1705 and 1709; ending 1714
<i>fl.</i> 1679-81	operating from 1679 to 1681, and maybe at other intervals also
<i>c.</i>	<i>circa</i> : an approximation, based on available sources
?	an uncertain date, tentatively inferred from available sources

Appendix 2: Allowances to Tutors and Students by the Common Fund, Congregational Fund Board, and Presbyterian Fund Board, 1690-1751

The following charts provide a summary of tutors whose students were granted allowances by the CF, CFB, and/or PFB between 1691 and 1751. This information enables the active dates of a number of tutors to be plotted with unparalleled accuracy. Dates at which a tutor's students are provided with grants by one or more of the Boards are labelled 'X', with a pink background. However, there are some limitations. In 1693 many Congregationalists left the Common Fund; there is no information on their academies before the creation of the Congregational Fund Board late in 1695. In other cases, students are given grants without their tutor being mentioned; when a reasonable guess can be made as to their tutor, the tutor is marked [X] below. When it seems reasonable to assume that the academy was operating during a particular time, but there is no evidence to prove it, the years concerned are coloured blue. If there is uncertainty as to the dates, they are coloured blue and labelled '??'. It is important to recognise that not all of the tutors listed were running academies: some were doing a small amount of private tuition, perhaps for a relative or the children of a friend or local minister. All academy tutors are listed in Appendix 1. Tutors listed in Appendix 2, but not Appendix 1, are better described simply as 'private tutors', or 'Fund Board tutors'.

Key

X	One or more students funded at this date
[X]	Students probably funded at this date
	Academy probably operating at this date
??	Academy perhaps operating at this date
	Academy operating under a new tutor/tutors

(a) Common Fund and Congregational Fund Board tutors, 1690-3, 1696-1704 (sources: DWL MS OD67, OD401, OD402)

	1690-1	1691-2	1692-3	1694	1695
Langston (1693-1704)			X		
Flavell (1690-1)	X				
Goodwin (1691-1704)	X	X	X		
Rowe (1691-1704)	X	X	X		
Jollie (1691-1704)	X	X	X		
Jones (1691-7)	X	X	X		
Price (1698-1704)					
Forbes (1691-8)	X	X	X		
Lobb (1693-7)			X		

	1696	1697	1698	1699	1700	1701	1702	1703	1704
Langston	X					X	X	X	
Paine (96-04)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Goodwin	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Rowe	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Jollie	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Jones	X	X							
Price				X	X	X	X		
Forbes	X	X	[X]						
Lobb	X	X							
Chauncey			X	X					X
Utrecht*				X	X	X			
Holland*					X				
Leiden*						X			X
Paterson†							[X]	[X]	
Galpin†								[X]	[X]
Porter									X

* refers to universities, not private academies.

† running schools, not academies

(b) Common Fund and Presbyterian Fund Board tutors, 1690-1702 (sources: DWL MS OD67, OD68)

	1690-1	1691-2	1692-3	1694	1695	1696	1697	1698	1699	1700	1701	1702
Brand	X											
Ker	X	X						??		X	X	X
Short			X		X	??	??					
Frankland	X	X	X	y	X	X	y	y				
Chorlton											X	X
Coningham											X	X
Woodhouse	X	X	X		X	X				X	[X]	
Warren			X		X	X						
Jones	X	X	X		X	X						
Griffith										X	X	X
Owen	X	X								X	X	X
Doolittle	[X]											
Southwell	X		X		X							
Robinson							??	??	??	X		
Risley			X		X	X						
Waters						X						
Tong						X				X	X	X
Oldfield											X	X
Benion										X	X	

	1703	1704	1705	1706	1707	1708	1709	1710	1711	1712	1713	1714
Mr K	X											
Moore	X			X	X	??	??	??	??	??	??	
Oldfield	X	X	X	X	X	X	??	??	??	??	??	??
Ker	X	X	X	X	X	X						
Benion	X	X		X	X	X						
Owen	X	X	X	X								
Chorlton	X	X	X									
Smith	X	X		X	??	??	??	??	??	X	X	X
Star		X										
Tong?		[X]		[X]								
Warren		X			J/D/G+	J/D/G	J/D/G	J/D/G	J/D/G	J/D/G	J/D/G	J/D/G
Scotland*			X	X		X		X	X	X	X	X
Coningham			X		X	X		[X]	??	??	??	??
Glasgow*			X	X				X	X	X		X
Holland*			X									
Ball					X							
Evans						X						
Manchester								X				
Cook								X	X			
Edinburgh*										X		
'Hall'‡											X	X
Jones												X

* refers to universities, not private academies.

† J/D/G = Samuel Jones, Robert Darch, and Henry Grove

‡ i.e. Halle?

	1715	1716	1717	1718	1719	1720
Wadsworth	X	X		X	X	
Jones	X	X	X	X	X	X [Jeremiah Jones]
Risley	X					
Jennings		X		X	X	X
Taunton		X	X	X	X	X
Smith		X				
Hill			X	X	X	X [Latham]
Hawkins			X	X	X	
Dixon				X		
Eames				X	X	X
Clark				X	X	[X]
Perrot	Evans	Evans	Evans	Evans	X [Perrot]	X [Perrot]
Moore	??	??	??	??	X	X
More						X
Honely						X
'Hall' ‡	X					
Scotland*	X					
Edinburgh*				X	X	X
Glasgow*	X	X	X	X	X	X
Leiden*	X					

* refers to universities, not private academies.

‡ i.e. Halle?

(c) Presbyterian Fund academies and universities, 1721-51 (source: DWL MS OD69)

	21	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	30	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	40	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	50	1	
London	X	X	X	X	X																											
Findern	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
Derby																													X	X	X	
Taunton			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X													
Kendal																		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Whitehaven	X	X																														
Bolton			X	X	X	X																										
Kibworth	X																															
Hinckley		X																														
Nailsworth	X	X																														
Tiverton						X	X	X																								
Abingdon	X																															
Morpeth	X	X	X	X	X																											
Carmarthen	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	[X]	[X]	[X]	[X]	[X]	[X]	[X]	[X]	[X]	[X]	[X]	[X]	[X]	[X]	[X]	[X]	X
Scotland*																		X	X	X												
Edinburgh*	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X									X	X									
Glasgow*	X	X	X	X										X	X	X	X															
Aberdeen*														X	X	X																

* refers to universities, not private academies.

**(d) Number of students given allowances
from Presbyterian Fund Board, 1721-51
(source: DWL MS OD69)**

1721	
Edinburgh	2
London	2
Glasgow	9
Kibworth	2
Findern	2
Nailsworth	4
Abingdon	1
Whitehaven	1
Morpeth	1
Carmarthen	6
1722	
Edinburgh	1
London	2
Glasgow	4
Hinckley	1
Findern	3
Nailsworth	3
Whitehaven	1
Morpeth	1
Carmarthen	5
1723: OD69, p. 19	
London	1
Glasgow	2
Findern	2
Bolton	2

Morpeth	1
Carmarthen	3
Taunton	
1724: p. 30	
London	1
Glasgow	1
Findern	1
Taunton	1
Bolton	1
Morpeth	1
1725: p. 43	
London	1 [Eames]
Findern	1
Bolton	1
Morpeth	3
Edinburgh	2
Taunton	2
1726: p. 60	
Tiverton	1
Bolton	3
Edinburgh	3
Taunton	1
Carmarthen	1
1727: p. 73	
Findern	1
Tiverton	3
Edinburgh	1
Taunton	1

Carmarthen	2
1728: p. 89	
Findern	1
Tiverton	1
Taunton	2
Edinburgh	1
Taunton	1
Carmarthen	1
1729: p. 109	
Findern	1
Taunton	2
Edinburgh	1
Taunton	1
Carmarthen	2
Findern	2
1730: p. 130	
Findern	1
Taunton	2
Edinburgh	1
Taunton	1
Carmarthen	1
Findern	7
1731: p. 151	
Findern	7
Carmarthen	4
1732: p. 167	

Findern	8
Carmarthen	6
Taunton	1
Edinburgh	1
1733: p. 182	
Findern	6
Carmarthen	5
Taunton	1
Edinburgh	1
1734: p. 197	
Findern	5
Carmarthen	6
Taunton	1
1735: p. 216	
Findern	7
Carmarthen	2
Taunton	1
Aberdeen	1
Glasgow	1
1736: p. 234	
Findern	7
Wales	2
Taunton	1
Aberdeen	1
Glasgow	[2?]
1737: p. 251	
Findern	5

Wales	2
Taunton	1
Aberdeen	1
Glasgow	[2?]
1738: p. 268	
Findern	4
Wales	3
Taunton	1
Glasgow	1
Kendal	[2?]
1739: p. 287	
Findern	4
Wales	5
Kendal	1
Taunton	1
Scotland	1
1740: p. 306	
Findern	3
Wales	6
Kendal	2
Scotland	2
1741: p. 324	
Findern	3
Wales	3
Kendal	4
Scotland	2
1742: p. 341	

Findern	4
Wales	5
Kendal	2
Edinburgh	1
1743: p. 357	
Findern	3
Wales	5
Kendal	3
Edinburgh	1
1744: p. 372	
Findern	3
Wales	6
Kendal	3
1745: p. 386	
Findern	4
Wales	6
Kendal	3
1746: p. 403	
Findern	4
Wales	5
Kendal	5
1747: p. 423 [see also p. 415]	
Findern	1
Wales	4
Kendal	3

1748: p. 441	
Findern	2
Wales	8
Kendal	2
1749: p. 457	
Derby	2

Wales	5
Kendal	3
1750: p. 477	
Derby	2
Wales	7
Kendal	2

1751: p. 500	
Derby	2
Carmarthen	10
Kendal	1 [+ 4 on extraordinary supply]

Appendix 3: Students at the Dissenters' Private Academies, 1660-c. 1720

The absence of reliable lists of students at the dissenters' early academies has been a significant handicap to previous scholars. The earliest surviving lists of Richard Frankland's three hundred students may be found in Oliver Heywood's manuscripts in the British Library, and as an appendix to Ebenezer Latham's *Preparation for Death* (London, 1745); these have been published with annotations by Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, pp. 532-612, and are not reproduced here. In c. 1760-70, other lists of students at the early academies were compiled, probably for Josiah Thompson; the manuscript survives, as DWL MS 24.59. Various later copies were made, of which the most important is by Noah Jones, and is now in Birmingham University Library, XMS 281. Jones made many additions to Thompson's lists of students. Versions of these lists were printed piecemeal in the *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*, 3-6 (1907-14). Unfortunately, both Thompson's manuscript and Jones's manuscript are unreliable, limiting the usefulness of the *TCHS* lists. Similarly, names in the following lists for which the only evidence provided is 'DWL' or 'BUL' (or both) must be treated as *probably* true, but not *certainly* true. More reliable are the minutes of the Common Fund (CF), Presbyterian Fund Board (PFB), and Congregational Fund Board (PFB) which provide annual lists of the names of students awarded grants or allowances. To these sources may be added funeral sermons (identified below by short titles, as 'Author, *Subject*'), and a handful of other student autobiographical writings, the most significant of which are:

- a. Daniel Defoe, *The Present State of the Parties in Great Britain* (London, 1712)
- b. Samuel Wesley, *Letter*
- c. Bod. MS Rawl. C406: an early manuscript copy of Wesley's *Letter*
- d. Edmund Calamy, *An Historical Account of My Own Life*, ed. J. T. Rutt, 2 vols. (London, 1829)
- e. DWL MS 59.5, f. 46: letter from the students at Bethnal Green to Richard Baxter
- f. Samuel Palmer, *Defence*
- g. Oliver Heywood, *Diaries*, ed. J. Horsfall Turner, 4 vols. (Bridghouse, 1882-5), vol. 2
- h. A list of students at Timothy Jollie's academy in Attercliffe, printed in Giles Hester, *Attercliffe as a Seat of Learning* (London, 1893), and in the *TCHS*, 4 (1909-10), since lost.

The following tables are based on a careful study of all of the above sources, together with every relevant funeral sermon, and several collections of letters and diaries. I have benefited from very considerable assistance from Dr Inga Jones and Dr Simon Dixon, whose *Dissenting Academies Online: Database and Encyclopedia* contains lists of students for many of the dissenters' academies across the long eighteenth century. Although my aim has been to provide the fullest and most reliable lists to date, it is highly probable that several further names may be added in the future. Furthermore, it should not be assumed that the lists provide any indication as to the relative size of the academies, or that any of them represent the total number of students taught by the tutors listed. Neither do they indicate the balance between lay students and ministerial students. Both DWL MS 24.59 and BUL XMS 281 are probably biased towards ministerial students, since these were the names most easily identified by the compilers. Calamy's lists in his *Own Life* reflect his friendship circles, the period of time he spent at Cradock's and Doolittle's academies, and an understandable desire to record famous students. Defoe chose for polemical reasons to name Monmouth rebels in his description of Morton's academy, and Palmer's publisher chose not to print the full names of the students he described as being present at John Ker's academy. The signatories to the letter from Ker's students to Baxter may not have included every student at the Bishop's Hall academy; Oliver Heywood's list of John Chorlton's students only includes those who entered the academy prior to 1702. In other words, all of these sources have specific limitations, resulting from their partial perspective or deliberate bias; none of them are complete. A failure to recognise these issues has led many previous scholars to make unwarranted claims about the size or nature of the academies. It is hoped that the table of students and sources below will enable more solid judgments to be made about the nature of the academies in the future.

The tables present lists of students for:

1. Charles Morton's academy at Newington Green
2. Thomas Doolittle's academy (migratory)
3. Thomas Rowe's academy at Newington Green and Little Britain
4. The Bishop's Hall academy, Bethnal Green (Brand, Ker, Short)
5. William Paine's academy at Saffron Walden
6. Thomas Goodwin's academy at Pinner
7. Joshua Oldfield's academy, probably in Redcross Street, Moorfields
8. Samuel Cradock's academy at Wickhambrook
9. James Owen's academy at Oswestry and Shrewsbury

10. Samuel Benion's academy at Broad Oak and Shrewsbury
11. Samuel Jones's academy at Brynlllywarch
12. The academies of William Evans and Thomas Perrot at Carmarthen
13. John Chorlton's and James Coningham's academies, Manchester
14. The academies of Thomas Dixon and Ebenezer Latham at Findern
15. Samuel Jones's academy at Gloucester and Tewkesbury
16. John Langston's academy at Ipswich
17. John Woodhouse's academy at Sheriffhales
18. Timothy Jollie's academy at Attercliffe
19. Joseph Hallett's academy at Exeter
20. The academy of John Moore and his son John Moore at Bridgwater
21. The Taunton academy (Matthew Warren, Robert Darch, Stephen James, Henry Grove, Thomas Amory)

Charles Morton's academy at Newington Green

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Battersby, Kit (Christopher), (d. 1685?) | Defoe, <i>Present State of the Parties</i> , p. 319 |
| 2. Beaumont, John (d. 1730) | Taylor, <i>Beaumont</i> , p. 46; there in 1685 |
| 3. Bennet, Joseph (d. 1726) | Calamy, <i>Bennet</i> , p. 37; <i>FAE</i> |
| 4. Cruso, Timothy (1657-1697) | Defoe, <i>Present State of the Parties</i> , p. 319 |
| 5. Defoe, Daniel (1660-1731) | Defoe, <i>Present State of the Parties</i> , p. 319; before 1681 |
| 6. Hannot, James | Defoe, <i>Present State of the Parties</i> , p. 319; <i>FAE</i> |
| 7. Harley, Edward? | BL MS Add. 70013, fols. 77, 81, 85 |
| 8. Hewlin | Defoe, <i>Present State of the Parties</i> , p. 319 |
| 9. Hill, Joseph (1667-1729) | Wood, <i>Hill</i> , p. 29; <i>FAE</i> |
| 10. Hocker, William (1663-1721) | Reynolds, <i>Hocker</i> , p. 39; BUL XMS 281; <i>FAE</i> |
| 11. Jenkyn, William (d. 1685) | Defoe, <i>State of the Parties</i> , p. 319: 'Young Jenkins' |
| 12. Lardner, Richard (1653-1740) | BUL XMS 281 |
| 13. Lawrence, Samuel (c. 1661-1712) | Henry, <i>Lawrence</i> ; BUL XMS 281; <i>FAE</i> |
| 14. Marytn, James | Cong. Lib. MS lh23 |
| 15. Owen | Defoe, <i>Present State of the Parties</i> , p. 319 |
| 16. Paget, Henry (c. 1663-1743) | Wesley's MS Letter |
| 17. Pym, Charles (d. 1688?) | Wesley's MS Letter |
| 18. Reynolds, Thomas (1667-1727) | Wood, <i>Reynolds</i> , p. 32; BUL XMS 281; there c. 1683-5; <i>FAE</i> |
| 19. Shower, John (1657-1715) | Tong, <i>Life of Shower</i> , pp. 9-10 |
| 20. Taylor, Nathaniel | Defoe, <i>Present State of the Parties</i> , p. 319 |
| 21. Waller, [William?] | Wesley's MS Letter |
| 22. Wesley, Samuel (1662-1735) | Wesley's MS Letter |
| 23. Wharton, Harry (Henry) (1664-95?) | Wesley's MS Letter |

Thomas Doolittle's academy in Islington (also migrating elsewhere)

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| 24. Benson (d. 1738) | Calamy, <i>Own Life</i> , vol. 1, pp. 106-7: 'Mr. Benson, who has been many years a Dissenting minister in Sandwich, in the county of Kent, and has a son also in the ministry at Chertsey, in Surrey'; BUL XMS 281; Dunton, <i>Life and Errors</i> , p. 72 |
| 25. Bozier, Robert (1657-80) | DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281 |
| 26. Bury, Samuel (1663-1730) | Calamy, <i>Own Life</i> , vol. 1, p. 106; BUL XMS 281 |
| 27. Calamy, Edmund III (1671-1732) | Calamy, <i>Own Life</i> , vol. 1, pp. 105-9, 138-9 |
| 28. Chandler, Ebenezer (d. 1747) | DWL MS 24.59 (states 'Chandler – Bedford'); BUL XMS 281 |
| 29. Chandler, Henry (d. 1719) | Calamy, <i>Own Life</i> , vol. 1, p. 106; DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281; <i>FAE</i> |
| 30. Chantry, Robert (d. 1734) | Calamy, <i>Own Life</i> , vol. 1, p. 106: 'Mr. Chantry, who has for many years kept up a small meeting of Dissenters at Staines, in Middlesex'; BUL XMS 281; <i>FAE</i> |
| 31. Clarke, Samuel (1684-1750) | Calamy, <i>Own Life</i> , vol. 1, p. 106: 'Mr. Samuel Clarke, son of Mr. Samuel Clarke, the Annotator ...'; BUL XMS 281; Dunton, <i>Life and Errors</i> , p. 72 |
| 32. Clifford, Samuel (d. 1726) | Calamy, <i>Own Life</i> , vol. 1, p. 106: 'Mr Clifford, who afterwards settled at East Knoyle, not far from Shaftesbury'; BUL XMS 281 |
| 33. Doolittle, Samuel (1662-1717) | Calamy, <i>Own Life</i> , vol. 1, p. 108: Calamy was 'under the |

- instruction of Mr. Thomas Doolittle and his son, Mr. Samuel Doolittle'; BUL XMS 281
34. Emlyn, Thomas (1663-1741) Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, p. 107; DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
35. Hall, Samuel (d. 1730) Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, p. 106: 'Samuel Hall, who settled afterwards at Tiverton, in the county of Devon, where he died in 1730, leaving a son behind him in the ministry among the Dissenters'; BUL XMS 281; *FAE?* DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
36. Henry, Matthew (1662-1714) CF 1691: described as late under Doolittle's instruction
37. Humphreys, Nathaniel Gordon, *FAE*, p. 4
38. Keith Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, p. 106: 'Mr. Lamb, who died young'; BUL XMS 281; *FAE*
39. Lamb Calamy, *Mottershed*, p. 35; Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, p. 106: 'Mr. John Mottershed, who had a considerable estate, and settled with a Dissenting congregation at Ratcliffe, whose funeral sermon I preached and published many years after'; BUL XMS 281 [unreliable]; *FAE*
40. Mottershed, John (d. 1728) Gordon, *FAE*, p. 4
41. Pike Gordon, *FAE*, p. 4
42. Pool Not certain: DWL MS 24.59 states 'Rudgley'; BUL XMS 281
43. Ridgley, Thomas (1667-1734) Dunton, *Life and Errors*, p. 72
44. Sanders Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, p. 108: 'Mr. Shewel, a grandson of old Mr. Case, who was afterwards so discouraged, as to turn off to the law'; BUL XMS 281
45. Shewel Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, p. 107; DWL MS 24.59 (but states 'Walters' of Bedford); BUL XMS 281; Dunton, *Life and Errors*, p. 72
46. Waters, James (1661-1725) Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, pp. 107-8: 'Mr. Samuel Wells, who was afterwards chaplain in the family of Squire Grove, at Fern, in Wiltshire'; BUL XMS 281; Dunton, *Life and Errors*, p. 72
47. Wells, Samuel

Thomas Rowe's academy at Newington Green and Little Britain

48. Astie/Astey, John CF 1691
49. Bagster, Robert (d. c. 1730) CF 1690-1
50. Charleton CFB 1701
51. Copeman/Capeman, Benjamin CF 1693, CFB 1696
52. Eames, John (1686-1744) CFB 1703
53. Eaton, John CFB 1702, 1703, 1704
54. Evans, John (1679-1730) CFB 1700; Harris, *Evans*, p. 32; BUL XMS 281
55. Fenner, William CFB 1703
56. Glassfield, Benjamin (d. 1720?) CFB 1698, 1699, 1701, 1702, 1703
57. Goff CFB 1697
58. Gregory, Augustine (d. 1693) CF 1693
59. Grove, Henry (1684-1738) Grove, *Works*; BUL XMS 281
60. Harrison CFB 1702; BUL XMS 281: 'Harrisson Thos Petty France baptist ... obt Augst 14th 1702 aet 35' note in PFB, 1695
61. Heazie/Heasie BUL XMS 281
62. Hort, Josiah (c. 1674-1751) DWL MS 12.107.10; BUL XMS 281
63. Hughes, John (1678-1720) CFB 1696, 1697; Lardner, *Hunt*, p. 24; BUL XMS 281
64. Hunt, Jeremiah (1678-1744) CF 1693
65. Keene, Theophilus (1680-1718) CF 1690, 1691, 1692; Gordon, *FAE*, p. 111
66. Lee, Thomas (d. 1692) CF 1693
67. Lewis, Jenkin CFB 1696, 1697
68. Masters CFB 1701
69. Medhurst/Meadhurst CFB 1700
70. Naylor, James (1678-1708) Jennings, *Neal*, p. 30; BUL XMS 281
71. Neal, Daniel (1678-1743) CF 1691, 1692
72. Parsons, Samuel (d. 1692) CF 1693
73. Poke, John Thomas Powell, *Sons and Daughters*, p. xviii
74. Powell, William CF 1691; Gordon, *FAE*, p. 35
75. Rowe, Thomas (1690-1741) Hughes, *Say*, p. 40; BUL XMS 281
76. Say, Samuel (1676-1743) CF 1691
77. Seale/Seal (d. 1692)

78. Tookey CFB 1703
 79. Watkins, Robert CFB 1696
 80. Watts, Isaac (1674-1748) CF 1692; Jennings, *Watts*, pp. 21-2; Gibbons, *Watts*, pp. 20-1; BUL XMS 281
 81. Wells CF 1693

The Bishop's Hall academy, Bethnal Green (Thomas Brand, John Ker, John Short)

82. Mr. B. Palmer, *Defence*, p. 8: law student
 83. Ball, Jacob (d. 1747?) CF 1691-2
 84. Barnett, Josiah/Josias CF 1691-3
 85. Baron, John CF 1691-3
 86. Bourn/Bourne, Samuel (1648-1720) CF/PFB 1691-5; Gordon, *FAE*, p. 4: not certain
 87. Brookes, Samuel (d. 1706) CF 1691; Gordon, *FAE*, p. 4
 88. Burroughs, Joseph (1685-1761) Noble, *Burroughs*, p. 31
 89. Mr. C. Palmer, *Defence*, p. 7 [minister in Ireland; bred at Eton]
 90. Clark, Thomas CF 1691; Baxter Lr: 5 Oct 1690
 91. Clarke, Samuel (1684-1750) DWL MS 24.59, p. 3; Doddridge, *Clark*, p. 27; BUL XMS 281
 92. D'Aranda, Peter Baxter Lr: 5 Oct 1690
 93. Mr. E. Palmer, *Defence*, pp. 3-4 [gentleman and minister]
 94. Earle, Jabez (1676-1768) CF 1691-2; Baxter Lr: 5 Oct 1690; BUL XMS 281
 95. Earle, 'Jno' Gordon, *FAE*, p. 4: possibly a mistake for Jabez Earle
 96. Foxon/Foxton, John (d. 1723) Gordon, *FAE*, p. 4
 97. Freeman, Francis (d. 1726) CF 1691-2; Baxter Lr: 5 Oct 1690; Gordon, *FAE*, p. 4
 98. Freeman, Thomas CF 1691
 99. Garret, William CF 1691; Baxter Lr: 5 Oct 1690
 100. Gillings, Jos. CF 1692
 101. Griffith, Roger (d. 1708) CF 1691-2; Baxter Lr: 5 Oct 1690; Gordon, *FAE*, p. 4
 102. Mr. H. Palmer, *Defence*, p. 3 [minister]
 103. Hale, William CF 1691-3; Baxter Lr: 5 Oct 1690
 104. Hall, Thomas (d. 1762) Conder, *Hall*, p. vii: finished under Ker in 1711
 105. Holman, William (1669-1730) CF 1691; Gordon, *FAE*, p. 4
 106. Hoppin CF 1692
 107. Kellow, Peter CF 1692
 108. Kellow, Thomas CF 1692
 109. Mr. L. Palmer, *Defence*, p. 3 [minister]
 110. Leavesley, Thomas (d. 1737) Baxter Lr: 5 Oct 1690
 111. Lowe, Walter CF 1693
 112. Marshall, John CF 1691-2
 113. Owen, Charles (d. 1746) CF 1691; Baxter Lr: 5 Oct 1690; Gordon, *FAE*, pp. 4, 90
 114. Mr. P. Palmer, *Defence*, p. 8 [law student]
 115. Palmer, Samuel (d. 1724) Palmer, *Defence*
 116. Parsons, William Baxter Lr: 5 Oct 1690
 117. Pike/Pyke, Benjamin Gordon, *FAE*, p. 4
 118. Powell, William Thomas Powell, *Sons and Daughters*, p. xviii
 119. Pritchard, Cornelius CF 1691-2
 120. Mr. R. Palmer, *Defence*, p. 8 [law student]
 121. Read, Henry (1686-1774) brother of James Read: Benson, *James Read*, p. 28; BUL MS 281
 122. Read, James (1684-1755) brother of Henry Read: Benson, *James Read*, p. 28; BUL MS 281
 123. Rogers/Rodgers, James CF 1691-2
 124. Rosewell, Samuel (1679-1722) Smith, *Samuel Rosewell* (1722), p. 26; PFB 1697-9 (see *ODNB*)
 125. Mr. S. Palmer, *Defence*, p. 4 [minister]
 126. Scandrett/Scandret, John CF 1691-3
 127. Smith/Smyth, George (d. c. 1746) Chandler, *Smyth*, p. 25; BUL XMS 281
 128. Southwell, J. i.e. John Southwell of Newbury: DWL MS 24.59, p. 3; BUL XMS 281
 129. 'Superiori, Honorate' Gordon, *FAE*, p. 4
 130. Mr. W. Palmer, *Defence*, p. 8 [law student]
 131. Ward, John (1678/9-1758) Birch, *John Ward* (1766)
 132. Wood, Robert CF 1691-2; Baxter Lr: 5 Oct 1690

William Paine's academy at Saffron Walden

133. Bennett	CFB 1703-4
134. Brown	CFB 1699-1700
135. Dormer	CFB 1701
136. Foxon/Foxton, John (d. 1723)	CFB 1696-8
137. Green/Greene, John	CFB 1698; DWL MS 24.59 [simply states 'Green']
138. Guyse, John (1677-1761)	CFB 1698-1700
139. Keen, Benjamin (d. 1721)	CFB 1703-4
140. King	note in CFB 1697
141. Lewis, [John?] (d. 1721)	CFB 1696-7
142. Linnet, Thomas	CFB 1702-3
143. Lobb	DWL MS 24.59; possibly Theophilus Lobb (1678-1763)? see Thomas Goodwin's student of this name
144. Meers/Mears	CFB 1696-8
145. Millway/Milway, Thomas (d. 1724)	CFB 1696-8
146. Notcutt, William	Cornell, <i>Notcutt</i> , p. 37; DWL MS 24.59
147. Powell	CFB 1697-8
148. Putt/Purt /Peart, Mark	CFB 1696
149. Rawlins, Richard (1687-1757)	CFB 1702-4; DWL MS 24.59 [as 'Rawlins']
150. Read/Reed, Joshua (d. 1751)	CFB 1702-4
151. Saddington, Samuel	CFB 1696-7
152. Scott, William	CFB 1698-1701: probably same man who then went to Pinner, since many of Paine's students proceeded to Thomas Goodwin's academy
153. Ward, Henry	CFB 1696-8
154. Watson, James	CFB 1697-1700
155. Wells/Wills	CFB 1696-7
156. Williams, Rice/Rees	CFB 1699-1702; DWL MS 24.59 [simply states 'Williams']
157. Wills	CFB 1702
158. Wroe/Wroth/Roe, Caleb (d. 1728)	CFB 1698-1700; DWL MS 24.59 [as 'Wroe']

Thomas Goodwin's academy at Pinner

159. Bentley, [Edward?]	CFB 1699-1702
160. Corbin, Bert	CF 1692-3
161. Green/Greene, John	CFB 1698-1702; BUL XMS 281: 'Chelmsford pa 47'
162. Guyse, John (1677-1761)	CFB 1698-1701; DWL MS 24.59
163. Heyworth/Haworth, William	CF 1690-3
164. Hickford, Nathaniel (1670-1765)	CFB 1697-9; BUL XMS 281 [as 'Hockford']
165. Hill	CFB 1702-4
166. Hody	BUL XMS 281
167. Holland	CFB 1697-1700
168. Hughes, Jabez (1684-1731)	CFB 1703-4
169. Jelly	Gloucestershire RO MS D6026/6/46 [as 'Jelly']; CFB 1698; BUL XMS 281 [as 'Gelly']
170. Keen, Benjamin (d. 1721)	CFB 1703-4
171. Keith (Keath)	CFB 1697-9
172. King	CFB 1697-8
173. Linnet, Thomas	CFB 1702-4
174. Lobb, Stephen Jr. (d. 1720)	CFB 1700-4
175. Lobb, Theophilus (1678-1763)	CFB 1697-1700
176. Mason	CFB 1697-9
177. Millway/Milway, Thomas (d. 1724)	CFB 1697-9
178. Oddy, Obadiah	CFB 1697-9
179. Olive/Oliffe	CFB 1700-4
180. Phillips, John	CFB 1699-1703
181. Saddington, Samuel	CFB 1698
182. Scott, William	CFB 1698-1701: likely to be the same man who was previously with William Paine at Saffron Walden
183. Shepherd, Henry	CFB 1700-1701
184. Shuttlewood, Mr	CFB 1699: possibly John Shuttlewood Jr. (1667-1737), but evidence of this is lacking
185. Some	BUL XMS 281: 'probably of Harborough vid Orton's & Kippis's Life of Doddridge'
186. Tingey, Thomas (d. 1729)	CFB 1700; Ridgley, <i>Tingey</i> , p. 42; BUL XMS 281
187. Watson, James	CFB 1701-4
188. Wells/Wills	CFB 1697-8

189. Wilson CFB 1697
 190. Wroe/Wroth/Roe, Caleb (d. 1728) CFB 1701-2

Joshua Oldfield's academy in or near Redcross Street, Southwark (including students of William Lorimer, John Spademan and Jean Cappel)

191. Bartrum/Burtrum, [Alexander?] (b. 1681) PFB 1701
 192. Basset, Josiah (1683-1735) PFB 1701-2
 193. Bates, Samuel PFB 1701-3
 194. Benson, John PFB 1706-10
 195. Billingly PFB 1705
 196. Bodington PFB 1706-7
 197. Burroughs, Jeremy/Jeremiah (b. 1685) PFB 1701-4; 1706?
 198. Dale PFB 1701-5
 199. Eaton, [Joseph?] PFB 1707-10
 200. Fleming PFB 1704-7
 201. Gore DWL MS 201.34.25
 202. Green, Thomas (1683-1733) PFB 1704-6
 203. Grosvenor, Benjamin Barker, *Grosvenor*, p. 29 ['Capell']
 204. Hocker DWL MS 201.34.25
 205. Jacomb, [George?] PFB 1701-7
 206. Oldsworth, Clerk/Clark (d. 1726) PFB 1706-8; DWL MS 201.34.25
 207. Player PFB 1704-6
 208. Roe/Row, Joseph PFB 1701-4
 209. Smith/Smyth, George (d. c. 1746) Chandler, *Smyth*, p. 25

Samuel Cradock's academy at Wickhambrook

210. Ashurst, Henry, esq. Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, pp. 133-4
 211. Bantoft, Thomas Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, pp. 134-5
 212. Bickley, Francis, Sir Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, p. 133
 213. Billio, Robert (1655-1710) Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, p. 133
 214. Calamy, Edmund III (1671-1732) Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, pp. 132-8; Mayo, *Calamy*, p. 20
 215. Corbet, Mr., 'of Shropshire' Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, p. 133
 216. Elys, William Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, p. 134
 217. Godfrey, John Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, p. 134
 218. Goodwin, Timothy (1670-1729) Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, p. 134
 219. Hughes, John (1668-1728) Sherman, *Hughes*, p. 35
 220. Keeling, John (d. 1726) Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, p. 135
 221. Kentish, Joseph (d. 1705) Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, p. 134
 222. Martin, Henry Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, p. 133
 223. Mayo, George Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, p. 134
 224. Mildmay, Lord Fitzwalter of Moulsham Hall in Essex, Charles Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, p. 133
 225. Pagit, Mr. Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, p. 133
 226. Porter, Samuel (1658-1706) Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, p. 133
 227. Rand, Mr. Gordon, *Freedom After Ejection*, p. 43
 228. Rant, Roger, esq. Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, p. 133
 229. Rolt, Mr. ('afterwards Captain') Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, p. 134
 230. Warner, 'of Bansfield, in Suffolk, Esq.' Calamy, *Own Life*, vol. 1, p. 133

James Owen's academy at Oswestry and Shrewsbury

231. Beynon DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281 (location unknown)
 232. Davies/Davis, Thomas (1666-1724) CF 1690 (Oswestry)
 233. Edwards PFB 1703-6 (Shrewsbury)
 234. Evans, John Harris, *Evans*, p. 32; DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281 (location unknown)
 235. Gardner, John (d. 1765) PFB 1704-6 (Shrewsbury)
 236. Gyles PFB 1700-1 (Shrewsbury)
 237. Gyles PFB 1700-1 (Shrewsbury) [not the same as previous entry]
 238. Hardy, John (1679-1740) PFB 1700-2 (Shrewsbury)
 239. Jones PFB 1702-3 (Shrewsbury)
 240. Jones PFB 1702-3 (Shrewsbury)
 241. Jowen DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281 [as 'Jones'] (location unknown)
 242. Lathrop, Richard DWL MS 24.59 [but simply says 'Lathorp' [sic]]; BUL 281 [as 'Lathrop'] (location unknown)
 243. Lewis, John (d. 1721) CF 1690 (with Henry and Owen) and perhaps 1693

- (Oswestry); Gordon, *FAE*, p. 150
 244.Meirs PFB 1700-4 (Shrewsbury)
 245.Murvey[?] BUL XMS 281: 'Murvey[?] Chester. vid: Mr Henry's life chap Vlth' (location unknown)
 246.Owen, Charles (d. 1746) Charles Owen, *Life of James Owen* [gives detailed account of academy, but not certain that Charles Owen attended it]; DWL MS 24.59 [unreliable?]; BUL XMS 281 [unreliable?] (location unknown)
 247.Owen, J. BUL XMS 281
 248.Owen, Jeremiah PFB 1704-5 (Shrewsbury)
 249.Parrott Perhaps Thomas Perrot (d. 1733)? BUL XMS 281: 'Mr Parrott is not enumerated here [with Owen's students] but No 3 of Mr Griffith's pupils from whose academy he removed to Mr Owen's'
 250.Perrot, Thomas (d. 1733) PFB 1702-6 (Shrewsbury)
 251.Thomas, Simon DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281 (location unknown)
 252.Walters PFB 1699-1702 (Shrewsbury)
 253.Whitworth, J(oseph?) DWL MS 24.59 [but simply says 'Whitworth']; BUL XMS 281 [ditto] (location unknown)

Samuel Benion's academy at Broad Oak (c. 1696-1706) and Shrewsbury (1706-8)

- 254.Baddeley/Baddaly, John DWL MS 24.59 [but just states 'Baddaly']; BUL XMS 281 [as Baddely']
 255.Bale/Beale, John DWL MS 24.59 [as 'Beal, Beckington, Somerset']; BUL 281: 'Beale Jno – Beckington Somerset'
 256.Beard DWL MS 24.59 [as 'Beard M.D. Worcester']; BUL XMS 281
 257.Benion BUL XMS 281 [*TCHS*: possibly John Benyon?]
 258.Biscoe, Richard (1687-1748) DWL MS 24.59 [as 'Biscoe Clerk']; BUL XMS 281: 'Dlss Mag VI. 307'
 259.Bussignac DWL MS 24.59
 260.Carlile, George (b. 1682) DWL MS 24.59 [as 'Carlile']; BUL XMS 281 [ditto]
 261.Cheseldene DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
 262.Clive, Robert DWL MS 24.59 [as 'Rob. Clive, Father of Ld. Clive']
 263.Cook DWL MS 24.59 [as 'Messrs. Cook' – perhaps more than one?]
 264.Crisp DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
 265.Dutton, Joshua/Joseph (d. 1715) DWL MS 24.59 [as 'Dutton, Newcastle, Staffordshire']; BUL XMS 281
 266.Edwards PFB 1706-8
 267.Fuller, Thomas (d. 1708) DWL MS 24.59 [but just states 'Fuller']; BUL XMS 281 [ditto]
 268.Gardner/Gardiner/Garner), Peter DWL MS 24.59 [as 'Gardner, Chester']; BUL XMS 281
 269.Gee, Thomas (d. 1729) DWL MS 24.59 [as Gee, at Leicester']; BUL XMS 281
 270.Griffith DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
 271.Gulliver DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
 272.Hambleton DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
 273.Harrop, Samuel BUL XMS 281: 'Stafford. ordd 1713. Wilson – date added – 1740'
 274.Jeffriths DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281 [as 'Jeffrith']
 275.Jones, Jeremiah (1693-1724) DWL MS 24.59
 276.Jones, Joshua (d. 1740) DWL MS 24.59
 277.Jones BUL XMS 281: 'Jones Tetbury Glo – "1715" Wilson' [possibly one of the other Jones's?]
 278.Joscelyn DWL MS 24.59 ['Joscelyn, afterwards, Sr. J. Joscelyn']; BUL XMS 281
 279.Junes BUL XMS 281: possible error for 'Jones'?
 280.King, John (d. 1740) DWL MS 24.59
 281.Latham, Ebenezer (1688-1754) DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
 282.Lile DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
 283.Lloyd, Caleb DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
 284.Lloyd, Rowland DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
 285.Lock, John (d. 1706) PFB 1705-6; DWL MS 24.59 ['Locke, who died at the Academy']; BUL XMS 281
 286.Maddock, Daniel DWL MS 24.59 ['Maddock at Exeter']

287. Malkin, Jonah
 288. Morson
 289. Mostyn
 290. Owen, Benjamin (b. 1689)
 291. Owen, Jeremiah
 292. Palmer, John
 293. Palmer, Joshua
 294. Pell, William
 295. Perkins, William
 296. Pike
 297. Pomfrett, [Samuel?]
 298. Pryce
 299. Rovenack/Rouffennack/Rouffionack
 300. Sanders
 301. Seddon, Peter (d. 1760)
 302. Sheldon, William (1689-1763)
 303. Smith
 304. Stokes, Joseph
 305. Taylor, John
 306. Taylor, Nathaniel
 307. Tonks/Tonckes, William
 308. Thomas
 309. Tylston
 310. Whattall
 311. Witton/Wilton, Richard (d. 1765)
- DWL MS 24.59 ['Jonah Malkin, Tamworth']; BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59: probably same student as 'Mostyn'
 BUL XMS 281: probably same student as 'Morson'
 DWL MS 24.59 ['Ben. Owen, son of Jas. Owen']; BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59 ['Jer. Owen, Plymouth']; BUL XMS 281: 'a relation of Charles & James'
 DWL MS 24.59 ['John Palmer']; BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59 ['Joshua Palmer']; BUL XMS 281
 PFB 1703-5; DWL MS 24.59 [simply states 'Pell']; BUL XMS 281 ['Pell']
 DWL MS 24.59 ['Wm. Perkins, Mr. [Job?] Orton's Uncle']; BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59 ['Pike, Burton']; BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281: 'probably Samuel P.'
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
 PFB 1701-4; BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59 ['Seddon, Hereford, Father of Josh. Seddon, Warrington [i.e. Warrington]']; BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59 [simply states 'Sheldon']; BUL XMS 281: 'Shelden Rumford'
 BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59 ['Stokes Deptford']; BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59 ['Taylor, Father of Mr. Taylor at Carter-Lane in 1764, not the present Minister']; BUL XMS 281
 PFB 1701
 DWL MS 24.59 ['Tonks, of Birmingham']; BUL XMS 281
 BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59 ['Tylston, Chester']; BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281 [as 'Whallall']
 DWL MS 24.59 ['Witton, W. Bromwich']; BUL XMS 281

Samuel Jones's academy at Brynlllywarch

312. Beynon
 313. Davis, Morgan
 314. Edwin
 315. Edwin
 316. Evans, David
 317. Griffiths, Griffith
 318. Harvies/Harris, John
 319. Hughes, Stephen
 320. Jones, David (d. 1718)
 321. Jones, David
 322. Jones, Jenkin
 323. Mansel
 324. Morgan, Thomas
 325. Owen, James (1654-1706)
 326. Philips, Samuel
 327. Price, Rice (1673-1739)
 328. Price, Samuel
 329. Prosser, Jacob
 330. Pugh, [Philip? (1679-1760)]
 331. Thomas, Anthony
 332. Thomas, David
 333. Thomas, Jenkin (d. 1711)
 334. Thomas, Joseph
 335. Thomas, William
 336. Williams, David
 337. Williams, Morgan
- CFB 1696-7
 CF 1691, 1693; Gordon, *FAE*, p. 146
 Jones, 'Samuel Jones'
 Jones, 'Samuel Jones'
 CF 1693
 CF 1693
 CF 1691-3; Gordon, *FAE*, p. 146
 CF 1691-3; Gordon, *FAE*, p. 146
 CF 1691
 CF 1691-2 [may be different from previous entry]
 CF 1691-3
 Jones, 'Samuel Jones'
 BUL XMS 281
 BUL XMS 281, referring to *Life of Owen* [check *Life of Owen*]
 BUL XMS 281
 BUL XMS 281: removed to Timothy Jollie's academy
 BUL XMS 281: removed to Timothy Jollie's academy
 CFB 1696
 BUL XMS 281
 CF 1693
 PFB 1695-6; BUL XMS 281
 PFB 1695-6
 CFB 1696-7
 CF 1693
 CF 1692-3
 Gordon, *FAE*, p. 146

The academies of William Evans and Thomas Perrot at Carmarthen

338. Boulton, Francis	BUL XMS 281: 'Salop & Wrexham Diss. Mag. Vol. III pa: 201'
339. Davies, Abel	PFB 1721-3
340. Davies, Henry	BUL XMS 281
341. Davies	BUL XMS 281: 'Davies, J Neuth'
342. Davies, James	BUL XMS 281
343. Davies, Rees	BUL XMS 281
344. Davies, Thomas	BUL XMS 281: 'Haverford West'; second entry for 'Davis, Thomas'
345. Davies, William	BUL XMS 281
346. Davis, Owen	PFB 1734
347. Edwards	PFB 1708-11
348. Evans, David (1702-73)	PFB 1729-32
349. Evans, John	PFB 1732-4 [but Perrot dies 1733!]
350. Gillespie	BUL XMS 281
351. Graham	BUL XMS 281
352. Griffiths, Joshua	PFB 1729-32; BUL XMS 281
353. Harris	BUL XMS 281: 'Harris Jono.'
354. Howell	BUL XMS 281: 'Howell, W: probably of Birmingham Old Meeting cum Oldbury obt. Feb 5 th 1776'
355. Jones, David	BUL XMS 281: 'Gower'; BUL XMS 281: 'a min: of this name was predeceased of Mr N: Jones at Walsal'
356. Jones, Jenkin	PFB 1721; BUL XMS 281 [2 entries]
357. Jones, Lewis	BUL XMS 281
358. Jones	BUL XMS 281: 'Jones, R Christ's Church'
359. Kenrick, John	PFB 1731-4 [N.B. Perrot dies 1733]
360. Lewis, Benjamin	BUL XMS 281
361. Lewis, Israel (1717-70)	PFB 1734-5 [N.B. Perrot dies 1733]
362. Lewis, James	BUL XMS 281
363. Mackie	BUL XMS 281
364. Maurice, Joel	PFB 1731-3
365. Maurice, Matthias	BUL XMS 281: 'nat 1684. Henllaw Pemb: Rhyddyceisaid do Rowell North 1714 obt 1738 aet. 54'
366. Morgan, Thomas	BUL XMS 281
367. Morrice, Thomas	BUL XMS 281
368. Owen, Josiah (1711-55)	PFB 1726-30
369. Palmer	BUL XMS 281: 'Palmer, G'
370. Parrott	BUL XMS 281: 'perhaps of New Market Flintsh M. Henry's Life'
371. Perrot	PFB 1732-4
372. Phillips	BUL XMS 281 [2 entries]
373. Powell	BUL XMS 281
374. Pruthero	BUL XMS 281: 'Rice Pr: is mentioned in M: Henry's Life Ch: VIth ordained 1702'
375. Pugh	BUL XMS 281: 'Pugh J[?]
376. Samuel, Christopher	BUL XMS 281
377. Sheay, Ebenezer	BUL XMS 281: '40 years minister at Whitchurch obt. 1779 aet 64. vid tablet in Whitchurch Chapel in brass.'
378. Simon Jos.	BUL XMS 281
379. Thomas, David	BUL XMS 281
380. Thomas, John	PFB 1721-3; BUL XMS 281
381. Thomas, Morgan	BUL XMS 281 [2 entries]: error for Thomas Morgan?
382. Thomas, Samuel (1692-1766)	PFB 1720-2; BUL XMS 281
383. Thomas, Timothy	PFB 1732-5 [N.B. Perrot dies 1733]
384. Watkins, Benjamin	PFB 1731; BUL XMS 281
385. Williams	BUL XMS 281: 'Williams D_ N. port'; 2 nd entry reads 'Williams, David'
386. Williams, John	PFB 1721-3; BUL XMS 281
387. Williams, William	BUL XMS 281
388. Wynne	Source unknown

John Chorlton's academy, Manchester

389. Aray/Aiery, Eliezer (d. 1729) PFB 1699-1704
 390. Atkinson, John Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 2, p. 16: admitted 26 June 1699
 391. Audland, Samuel Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 2, p. 16: admitted 16 March 1699
 392. Bourn BUL XMS 281: 'Crook, Tunley, Chorley, Birmingham & Coseley 1732 Obt Mar 22d 1754 aet 66'
 Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 2, p. 16: admitted 29 May 1699
 393. Brownlow, James BUL XMS 281: 'Northamptonshire'
 394. Cartwright Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 2, p. 16: admitted 16 March 1699
 395. Chorley, Richard Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 2, p. 16: admitted 16 March 1699
 396. Clegg/Clegge, James (1679-1755) Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 2, p. 16: admitted 15 May 1699
 397. Cowper, John Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 2, p. 16: admitted 27 May 1699
 398. Crompton, John Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 2, p. 16: admitted 17 May 1699
 399. Crompton, Joseph Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 2, p. 16: admitted 30 May 1699
 400. Grace, John BUL XMS 281
 401. Harrop Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 2, p. 16: admitted 6 June 1699
 402. Haworth, Edmund PFB 1701-4
 403. Holmes, Nathaniel (1683-1732) BUL XMS 281: 'Wem Salop'
 404. Holland Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 2, p. 16: admitted 16 March 1699
 405. Key/Clay, Richard Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 2, p. 16: admitted 21 March 1698
 406. Lomax, John BUL XMS 281: 'immediate predecessor to Mr Smalley Derwen'
 407. Mather, Benjamin Clegg, *Diary*, p. 23: probably Chorlton's student, but not certain
 408. Miln/Milne, Richard (1675-1732) Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 2, p. 16: admitted 20 February 1699
 409. Nightingale, Jonathan (d. 1705?) Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 2, p. 16: admitted 6 April 1699
 410. Pendlebury, William Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 2, p. 16: admitted 24 June 1699
 411. Rigby, Richard Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 2, p. 16: admitted 4 July 1699
 412. Stephenson, Alexander Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 2, p. 16: admitted 18 February 1699
 413. Tetlaw, Reignold (c 1676-1745) Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 2, p. 16: admitted 18 February 1699
 414. Venables BUL XMS 281: 'Oswestry'
 415. Walkden, Peter (1684-1769) BUL XMS 281: 'Stockport'
 416. Walmesley, John Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 2, p. 16: admitted 15 April 1699
 417. Woolstenholm, William Heywood, *Diaries*, vol. 2, p. 16: admitted 19 April 1699
 418. Wright, Alexander (d. 1742) PFB 1701-4

The academies of Thomas Hill and Ebenezer Latham at Findern and Derby

419. Abney, William BUL XMS 281: 'Esqr near Tamworth'
 420. Anger BUL XMS 281: possibly John Angier?
 421. Ault, George PFB 1717-20
 422. Ault, John PFB 1746-9
 423. Barrett, Job BUL XMS 281
 424. Bassett BUL XMS 281: '\Shandworth/ (probably) of Cradley in 1727 obt 1735, ie JB sen'
 425. Bayley, John BUL XMS 281: 'London'
 426. Benion, Samuel BUL XMS 281: 'Esqr Dearnford, more probably Ash'; DWL MS 201.34.67
 427. [Bent?], John BUL XMS 281, no. 17
 428. Blackmore BUL XMS 281: 'probably Edward of Worcester' 'rem. to Glasgow'
 429. Blackmore, Francis BUL XMS 281: 'Coventry & Worcester son of Chewning B:' 'rem. to Glasgow'
 430. Blythe Samuel BUL XMS 281
 431. Bradshaw, Josiah PFB 1730-2; BUL XMS 281
 432. Bradshaw, Matthew Latham, *Bradshaw*, pp. 39-40; BUL XMS 281: 'Bradshaw Kidderminster obt. 4th Novr 1742'
 433. [Brenthall?] BUL XMS 281; DWL MS 24.59
 434. Broadhurst BUL XMS 281: 'Alcester a man of great parts (Mr Geo: Shandall)'; DWL MS 24.59
 435. Bond, William BUL XMS 281: 'Stand Lancashire. 1760-1772'
 436. Brook BUL XMS 281
 437. Cardale, Paul BUL XMS 281: 'probably of Evesham obt 1775 40 yrs min. there'
 438. Charnell DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
 439. Chorley, John PFB 1722
 440. Clegg, Benjamin PFB 1742-5
 441. Colthurst BUL XMS 281: 'Colthurst Dr Knustford Cheshire'

442. Davison
 443. Dethick, Jeremiah (1733-96)
 444. Dixon, Richard
 445. Eden, William (d. 1775)
 446. [Ellascane?], Emm[anuel?]
 447. Este
 448. Evat
 449. Farrer, Samuel (d. 1729)
 450. Fisher, Eastes (b. 1709)
 451. Fleming
 452. Foljambe, Jotham (d. 1795)
 453. Ford, Thomas
 454. Fownes, Joseph (1715-1789)
 455. Garnett
 456. Gilbert
 457. Gregory, John
 458. Gregory, John
 459. Goundrel
 460. Hadfield, Thomas
 461. [Haneore?], James
 462. Harrisson
 463. Harrop, Thomas
 464. Hartley
 465. Harvey, Samuel (1699-1729)
 466. Hill
 467. Holden, Lawrence (1710-78)
 468. Hornblower, Thomas
 469. Howey, Jos[iah?]
 470. Hughes, Obadiah
 471. Hunt
 472. Huphwait
 473. Jaggar, Judah
 474. Jocelyn
 475. Jollie
 476. Jones, Gamaliel
 477. Lathrop
 478. Leach
 479. Malkin, Jonah (1711-85)
 480. Moore, John (d. 1774)
 481. Muffitt
 482. Nailer, Quintus
 483. Newton, Robert
 484. Nicklin
 485. Okell, James
 486. Orme
 487. Orrell
 488. Parker, James (d. 1742)
 489. Parker, John
 490. Payton/Peyton, Peter
 491. Perrot, Thomas
 492. Phillips, Daniel
 493. Ragdale
 494. Rastrick
 495. Rawlins, William (1717-83)
 496. Ray
 497. Roades
 498. Shandall, Jonathan
 499. Smith
- BUL XMS 281: 'Davison MD. Nottingham'
 PFB 1748-51; BUL XMS 281: 'Bardon Leicestersh Diss:
 Mag: vol: IV pa: 9 40 yts. min. there obt 1796 a 63'
 PFB 1730; BUL XMS 281
 PFB 1730; BUL XMS 281
 BUL XMS 281
 BUL XMS 281
 PFB 1745-8
 PFB 1730
 PFB 1729-32
 BUL XMS 281
 PFB 1739-42
 PFB 1737; BUL XMS 281
 PFB 1731-5; BUL XMS 281: 'Cradley 1735'
 BUL XMS 281: 'from Yorkshire'
 BUL XMS 281 'Boston Lincolnshire & Lancaster according
 to Toulmin'
 BUL XMS 281: 'ord. Findern 1722'
 PFB 1742-6
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
 Chandler, *Hadfield*, p. 57 [Hill and Latham]; BUL XMS 281
 Dudley in 1743 fr Iblixam Oxon obt Sep 27th 1769 aet 67'
 BUL XMS 281: 'Shirkstead [Lincolnshire]'
 PFB 1731-6; BUL XMS 281: 'Wem. obt 1781'
 BUL XMS 281: 'Cheshire'
 Harris, *Harvey*, p. 38; BUL XMS 281
 BUL XMS 281: 'from Shirkstead Linc.'
 PFB 1733; BUL XMS 281
 BUL XMS 281: 'Dursley Gloucestershire obt. Sept. 29th.
 1766 aet 51'
 BUL XMS 281: 'Dr Jos Birmingham
 PFB 1722; BUL XMS 281
 BUL XMS 281: 'Boreaton'
 BUL XMS 281
 PFB 1738-42
 BUL XMS 281: 'Sr Conyers'
 BUL XMS 281: 'a Clergyman'
 BUL XMS 281: 'Marple Cheshire'
 PFB 1733-4; BUL XMS 281: 'from Ledbury'
 PFB 1736, 1738
 BUL XMS 281: ';Stone Staffordshi, Wirksworth, & probably
 Alfreton 1773
 PFB 1727-31; BUL XMS 281
 BUL XMS 281: 'some time Tutor in Mathematics'
 BUL XMS 281: 'conformed'; DWL MS 24.59
 BUL XMS 281: 'Esqr Norton Derbyshire'
 BUL XMS 281: 'from Dudley': possibly Edward Nicklin?
 PFB 1752-3
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281: 'Maryland'
 BUL XMS 281: 'Findern'
 PFB 1730-2
 BUL XMS 281: 'obiit in Georgia'
 PFB 1717-21
 PFB 1735-7; BUL XMS 281
 BUL XMS 281
 BUL XMS 281: 'Normanton in Leicestershire. "ord. Leather
 Lane." Wilson'
 BUL XMS 281
 PFB 1735-9; BUL XMS 281: 'Ashbourn Derbyshire a man
 of this name was at So Noots[?]'
 BUL XMS 281; DWL XMS 281: 'M.D. Birmingham'
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281: 'family resided at
 Balborough'
 BUL XMS 281: 'Esqr Stourbridge, Hillcott, Drayton,
 Stourbridge'
 BUL XMS 281: 'Sawyer[?] removed to Cambridge'

500. Spilsbury, John
BUL XMS 281: 'probably of Salter's Hall. London. Dale';
DWL MS 201.34.67
501. Stantial, John (d. 1780)
PFB 1750-1
502. Stell, William
PFB 1732-7
503. Stokes, John
BUL XMS 281: 'perhaps Jno min: at Worcester. certe (note
of Dr Stokes 1819) born 1697
504. Stubbs, Samuel (1715-53)
PFB 1735-6; BUL XMS 281: 'Longdon Staff obt. May 13th
1753 aet 38. Month. Rep. 1814.'
505. Swinhow, Francis
PFB 1737-41
506. Taylor, John
BUL XMS 281: 'Norwich'
507. Taylor, [S? or Q?]
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
508. Toogood
BUL XMS 281
509. Turnbull
BUL XMS 281: 'removed to Leyden. probably LLD'
510. Turner, William (1714-94)
PFB 1732-6; BUL XMS 281: 'Wakefield obt Aug 28th 1794'
511. Wade, George
BUL XMS 281: 'in the Law'
512. Walton, William
PFB 1743-6
513. Ward, John (1712-97)
PFB 1729-32; BUL XMS 281: 'Whitney, Yeovil, Taunton;
Diss: Mag: Vol. 10 pa 241'
514. Warren, Nicholas
PFB 1718-22
515. Wiche, John (1718-94)
[GBF: no reference given]
516. Whitclegg
BUL XMS 281: 'Derby'
517. White
BUL XMS 281
518. Whitlock, John
BUL XMS 281: 'Woodhouse Dr Litchfield'
519. Woodhouse
BUL XMS 281: 'Raisby Leicestershire, or Rearsby'
520. Woodhouse, John

Samuel Jones's academy at Gloucester and Tewkesbury

521. Allen, John (1702-74)
PFB 1718-19; DWL MS 24.59: 'John Allen M.D.'; BUL
XMS 281
522. Baldwin, John
PFB 1718
523. Benson, [Martin?]
BUL XMS 281 says 'Bishop of Gloucester', but this man is
unlikely to have been a student of Jones: see *ODNB*
524. Berry, Charles (1700-41)
PFB 1714; DWL MS 24.59: 'Berry, Salop'; BUL XMS 281:
'Berry Salop a Judge'
525. Billingsley, Samuel
PFB 1717-18
526. Bird, Joseph
PFB 1719
527. Braddock, Thomas (1695-1770)
DWL MS 24.59: 'Braddock of Bury, Lancasr.'; BUL XMS
281
528. Brooks, Ralph
PFB 1718-19
529. Brooks, Richard
DWL MS 24.59: 'Brooks, M.D. who wrote about Physick &
Natural History'; BUL XMS 281
530. Butler, Joseph (1692-1752)
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
531. Chandler, Samuel (1693-1766)
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
532. Cock
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
533. Crouch, [Robert?]
DWL MS 24.59: just states 'Crouch'; BUL XMS 281
534. Evans, John
PFB 1715-16
535. Fernihaug/Furneaux
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281; probably relative of Philip
Furneaux (1726-83)
536. Francis, Henry (1690-1752)
Gibbons, *Watts*, pp. 348-9 [just states 'Mr. Francis']; DWL
MS 24.59
537. Gifford, Andrew (1700-84)
BBCL MS Ze1-11
538. Godwin, Edward (1695-1764)
DWL MS 24.59: 'Edwd. Godwin, London'; BUL XMS 281
539. Griffiths, Vavasor (1698-1740)
Gibbons, *Watts*, pp. 347-8 [just states 'Mr. Griffith']; DWL
MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
540. Hamnet/Hammet/Hanmet, George
PFB 1720
541. Harvey, Samuel (1699-1729)
Harris, *Harvey*, p. 38; DWL MS 24.59: simply states
'Hervey'
542. Haskoll/Haskell, Farnham (1698-1777)
Kirk, *Taunton*, p. 54: not certain
543. Hervey
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
544. Holland
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
545. Hollis, [Timothy Brand?]
DWL MS 24.59: just states 'Hollis'; BUL XMS 281
546. Hopkins
DWL MS 24.59: 'J. Hopkins'; BUL XMS 281
547. Howe[?]
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
548. Hughes, [Obadiah?]
DWL MS 24.59: 'Ob. Hughs'; BUL XMS 281
549. Hunt, William (d. 1770)
PFB 1715-18; DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281 [2 entries]
550. Johnstone
DWL MS 24.59: 'Johnstone'; BUL XMS 281

551. Jones, Jeremiah (1693-1724)
552. Jones, Joshua

553. Jope, Caleb
554. Judge
555. Lane, Henry
556. Lewis, Benjamin
557. Mole, Thomas (d. 1780)
558. Moore, Henry (1696-1762)
559. Oldsworth
560. Pearsall, Richard (1698-1762)
561. Pearse
562. Phelps (Phillips?), John
563. Raller?/Rutter?
564. Roberts
565. Scott, Daniel (1694-1759)

566. Secker, Thomas (1693-1768)
567. Sedgley, William (d. 1754)
568. Sheldon, J.

569. Spilsbury, John
570. Thomas, Timothy
571. Tidcomb, Jeremiah
572. Warner, Ferdinand
573. Warner, James
574. Watkins, [James?]

John Langston's academy at Ipswich

575. Barker, John (1682-1762)

576. Best, John
577. Coveny, Abraham (1686-1772)
578. Goodchild, John
579. Goodwin, Peter (1684-1747)
580. Hall

581. King, Phillip (1674-99)
582. Mills, Jonathan
583. Rapel/Rappett, John
584. Rickman, Joseph
585. Robinson, Henry

John Woodhouse's academy at Sheriffhales

586. Ashurst
587. Barnett
588. Bennet, Benjamin (1674-1726)

589. Bennett, John
590. Blackmore, Chewning (1663-1737)

591. Boardman, Thomas
592. Carver

593. Chambers, Abraham (d. 1735)
594. Clarke, Matthew Jr. (1664-1726)

595. Clarke, Samuel
596. Clemenson, Charles
597. Cullen, Thomas
598. Davies, Thomas
599. Doughty, [John?]
600. Edge, Richard
601. Evans/Evance, Samuel
602. Flower, George (1674-1733)

Gibbons, *Watts*, pp. 348-9; BUL XMS 281
Gibbons, *Watts*, pp. 348-9; Jones, *Vindication* (preface); BUL XMS 281: 'of Manchester'
McLachlan, p. 91: unproven
DWL MS 24.59
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
PFB 1718; DWL MS 24.59: 'Ben. Lewis'; BUL XMS 281
McLachlan, p. 127: unproven
Cong. Lib. MS 11e42: 1719
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
PFB 1716-19; DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
DWL MS 24.59
PFB 1713-14; DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
Gibbons, *Watts*, p. 347; DWL MS 24.59: 'Dr. Daniel Scott, was here with Secker & Butler'; BUL XMS 281
Gibbons, *Watts*; DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
DWL MS 24.59: 'Sedgley, Bedford'; BUL XMS 281
Gibbons, *Watts*, p. 349 [just states 'Mr. Sheldon']; DWL MS 24.59: 'Sheldon'; BUL XMS 281
DWL MS 24.59: 'Atty. at Law'; BUL XMS 281
DWL MS 24.59: 'Timy Thomas, Pershore'; BUL XMS 281
PFB 1716-19; DWL MS 24.59: 'Tidcomb'; BUL XMS 281
BUL XMS 281
BUL XMS 281
Gibbons, *Watts*, pp. 348-9 [just states [*Mr. Watkins*]

CFB 1702-4; BUL XMS 281: 'London vid Stedmans Letters & Toulmins edit Neal vol I pa – of Mr Jollies Ac: according to Walter Wilson'
CF 1693
CFB 1701, 1703
CF 1692; Gordon, *FAE*, p. 108
CFB 1701, 1703
BUL XMS 281: 'Palmer mentions a Saml Hall of Tiverton Devon Ild 390'
CFB 1696
CFB 1701, 1703
CFB 1701
CFB 1703
CFB 1701, 1703

BL MS Add. 70226
PFB 1695 (son of Andrew Barnett)
DWL MS 24.59: 'B. Bennet'; Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 562
CF 1692; PFB 1695-6; brother of Benjamin Bennett?
DWL MS 24.59: 'Blackmore'; Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 560; *FAE*
PFB 1695-6
DWL MS 24.59; Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 562: 'Mr. Richard Carver'
CF 1693
Neal, *Clarke*, p. 34; DWL MS 24.59: 'Matthew Clerk'; Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 563; *FAE*
PFB 1695-6
CF 1692-3
CF 1692-3; PFB 1695
CF 1690
DWL MS 24.59: 'Doughty'; *FAE*
CF 1691-3
CF 1691-3
DWL MS 24.59: 'Flowers'; Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 561

603. Foley, Thomas, first baron Foley (1673-1733) DWL MS 24.59; Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 559; BL MSS Add. 70226-7
604. Greenwood, Daniel DWL MS 24.59: 'Greenwood'; Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 560; *FAE*
605. Hand, Jonathan (d. 1719) PFB 1695-6
606. Harley, Edward DWL MS 24.59; Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 559; BL MS Add. 70226, as 'Ned'?
607. Harris, William Toulmin, *Historical View*, pp. 566-7 [see funeral sermon]
608. Hayley, Edward (d. 1719) DWL MS 24.59: 'Hayley'; Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 561
609. Hill, Thomas (d. 1720) CF 1692-3
610. Hinckley, John note in CF 1693
611. Hughes, Stephen CF 1692
612. Hunt, Thomas DWL MS 24.59: 'Thos. Hunt of Boreatton'; Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 559; BL MS Add. 70226?
613. Jones, Job PFB 1695-6
614. Lawrence, Nathaniel CF 1691-2
615. Leavesly, Thomas Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 567
616. Lee, Thomas CF 1692
617. Leechmere DWL MS 24.59; Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 559
618. Lewis, John CF 1690-1: recommended to be a student of Woodhouse, but may not have become one
619. Newman, John (1676-1741) Barker, *Newman*, p. 23; DWL MS 24.59: 'Newman'; Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 561
620. Norris, John DWL MS 24.59; Toulmin, *Historical View*, pp. 559-60
621. Oasland, Edward (d. 1752) DWL MS 24.59: 'Oasland'; Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 561; *FAE*
622. Owen, Isaac CF 1693
623. Peach, Richard CF 1691
624. Phillips, Samuel (d. 1721) DWL MS 24.59: 'Phillips'; Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 563; *FAE*
625. Ratcliffe, John Evans, *Ratcliffe*, p. 25; Toulmin, *Historical View*, pp. 563-6: 'Mr. John Ratcliffe, born in 1677...'
626. Robinson, Benjamin (1666-1724) DWL MS 24.59: 'Robinson London'; Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 561; *FAE*
627. Russell, Paul DWL MS 24.59: 'Russel'; Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 562: 'Mr. Russel, near Wolverhampton'
628. Salt, Richard PFB 1697-1700: funding initially proposed by Woodhouse, but not necessarily a student of his for all of this time
629. Shaw, Ferdinando DWL MS 24.59: 'Ferdinando Shaw'; Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 563
630. Southwell, John (1662-94) DWL MS 24.59: 'Southwell'; Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 56; Gordon, *FAE*, p. 69?
631. Spilsbury, [John?] DWL MS 24.59; Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 561: 'Mr. John Spilsbury'; *FAE*
632. St. John, Henry, Viscount Bolingbroke (1678-1751) DWL MS 24.59; Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 559: unproven
633. Stokes, Joseph DWL MS 24.59: 'Mr. Stokes'; Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 561
634. Stubbs, John CF 1691-3; PFB 1695; *FAE*, p. 28?
635. Taylor, Nathaniel PFB 1696
636. Thompson, James (d. 1729) DWL MS 24.59: 'Thompson'; Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 562
637. Tong, [William?] DWL MS 24.59: 'Tong'
638. Travers, Robert DWL MS 24.59: 'Mr. Travers, Litchfield'; Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 559
639. Warner, James DWL MS 24.59: 'Warner'; Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 561
640. Warren, James DWL MS 24.59: 'Warren'; Toulmin, *Historical View*, pp. 562-3
641. Warren, John (d. 1742) DWL MS 24.59: 'Warren' (second entry for this name); Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 563: 'Mr. Warren, settled at Burbick, Wilts.'
642. Westmacott, Theodore/Theophilus (d. 1728) CF 1691-3; *FAE*, p. 90
643. Willets, William DWL MS 24.59: 'Willets'; Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 560; *FAE*
644. Winnington DWL MS 24.59; Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 559: 'T. Winnington'

645. Woodhouse, William (c. 1669-1742) John Woodhouse's son: probably a student with his father, but no evidence
CF 1692-3
PFB 1695-6
DWL MS 24.59: 'Mr. Yates of Deanford' (reputedly the only student still alive in 1764); Toulmin, *Historical View*, p. 559
646. Worth, Stephen
647. Worth, William
648. Yates, Thomas

Timothy Jollie's academy at Attercliffe

649. Aldred, Jeremiah
650. Aldred, Timothy (1684-1773)
651. Alwood/Allwood, John (d. 1740)
652. Bagshaw, William (d. 1713)
653. Barker, John (1682-1762)
654. Baxter, Thomas (1676-1710)
655. Bellamy
656. Bentley
657. Bowes, John (b. 1690)
658. Bradbury, Peter (d. 1754)
659. Bradbury, Thomas (1676-1759)
660. Bradshaw, James
661. Brook (Brooke, Brooks), John (d. 1735)
662. Brookes, Samuel
663. Bruce, Samuel (1709-37)
664. Cooper, Thomas
665. Davis, Howell
666. De La Rose, John (d. 1723)
667. Dewsnap, Emmanuel/Emanuel
668. Dobson, John (d. 1743)
669. Dunn, Joshua
670. Etough, Henry (1687-1757)
671. Evans, John (1680-1730)
672. Fletcher, Thomas (d. 1733)
673. Front, John
674. Gill, Jeremiah (d. 1758)
675. Godwin, John
676. Grosvenor, Benjamin (1676-1758)
677. Harris, William (1675-1740)
678. Hawkins, Isaac (d. 1724)
679. Hemingway, John
680. Holtham, John (d. 1756)
681. Hoskins
682. Ibbotson, Thomas
683. Jennings, John (1687-1723)
684. Jollie, Thomas (d. 1764)
685. Jollie, Timothy (1691-1757)
686. Jones, John
687. Jones, Jonathan
688. Kenrick/Kendrick, Edward
689. Kenrick/Kendrick, John (1683-1744)
690. King, John (d. 1740)
691. Loftus, Bartholomew
692. Mottershead, Joseph (1688-1771)
693. Moulton, William (d. 1727)
694. Needham, John (1685-1742)
- TCHS* 4: 340: perhaps mistake for next?
Hester, *Attercliffe* (Lady Hewley Fund)
TCHS 4: 340; Hester, *Attercliffe*
TCHS 4: 340; Hester, *Attercliffe*
DWL MS 24.59; Hester, *Attercliffe*
TCHS 4: 340; Hester, *Attercliffe*
PFB 1715-16, 1718
CFB 1698
TCHS 4: 336; Hester, *Attercliffe*
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281; Hester, *Attercliffe*
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281; Hester, *Attercliffe*
PFB 1715-16, 1718
TCHS 4: 340; Hester, *Attercliffe*
CFB 1700
Goodwin, *Bruce*, p. 23; DWL MS 24.59 [under Wadsworth]
TCHS 4: 340; Hester, *Attercliffe*; described in *TCHS* as of 'Hoghton Towers'
CFB 1704
TCHS 4: 340
CF 1691-2; Gordon, *FAE*, p. 133
DWL MS 24.59 (under Wadsworth); BUL XMS 281 [ditto]
TCHS 4: 340; Hester, *Attercliffe*; described in *TCHS* as 'physician at Cambridge'
Source unknown
TCHS 4: 337; Hester, *Attercliffe*
DWL MS 24.59 [under Wadsworth]; BUL XMS 281 [ditto; 'of Coventry']; Hester, *Attercliffe*
TCHS 4: 340; Hester, *Attercliffe*; described in *TCHS* as of 'Barnsley'
CF 1691: see *TCHS* 4: 340; Hester, *Attercliffe*; Gordon, *FAE*, p. 133
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281 [simply states 'Godwin']
Barker, *Grosvenor*, pp. 27-8; DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281; Hester, *Attercliffe*
TCHS 4: 340; Hester, *Attercliffe*
TCHS 4: 340; Hester, *Attercliffe*; described in *TCHS* as of 'Wakefield'
CFB 1699-1700, 1702
TCHS 4: 340 (as 'John Holtham, York'); Hester, *Attercliffe*
CFB 1696
TCHS 4: 340; Hester, *Attercliffe*
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281; Hester, *Attercliffe*
TCHS 4: 335; Hester, *Attercliffe*
Jennings, *Jollie*, pp. 32-3; Hester, *Attercliffe*
BUL XMS 281, p. 33 [states 'Jennings Jno. of whom vid ...']; same as 'Jones, Jonathan'? see also *TCHS* 4: 340; Hester, *Attercliffe*
CFB 1703-4
BUL XMS 281, p. 33 (but perhaps reads 'Shandryck')
CFB 1702-4; BUL XMS, p. 33 (but perhaps reads 'Shandryck')
TCHS 4: 340; Hester, *Attercliffe*; described in *TCHS* as of 'Newport, Salop'
Sowden, *Loftus*, pp. 28-9
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281; Hester, *Attercliffe*
CFB 1698, 1700; Hester, *Attercliffe*
TCHS 4: 340; Hester, *Attercliffe*; described in *TCHS* as of 'Hitchin, Baptist'; BUL XMS 281

695. Newcome, James
 696. Owen, John
 697. Phillips, John
 698. Price, Rice/Rees
 699. Price, Samuel (1675-1756)
 700. Rayner, Nehemiah
 701. Reddid, John (d. 1729)
 702. Reyner, Kirby/Kirkby (d. 1744)
 703. Ridsdale/Rudsell, Ambrose
 704. Saunderson, Nicholas (1683-1739)
 705. Saunderson, Samuel
 706. Secker, Thomas (1693-1768)
 707. Sidebottom/Sidebotham, Silas (d. 1747)
 708. Sladen, John (1687-1733)
 709. Smith
 710. Smith, John
 711. Some, David (d. 1737)
 712. Sutton, Joseph (1680-1712)
 713. Symmons, Thomas [?] (d. 1718)
 714. Thorlie
 715. Trout, John
 716. Wadsworth, John (d. 1745)
 717. Whitaker, William (d. 1776)
 718. Wilson, Ebenezer (d. 1714)
 719. Wilson, Thomas (d. 1715)
 720. Wilson, William (d. 1738)
 721. Winter
 722. Winter, John
 723. Woolhouse, Richard
 724. Worthington, Hugh (d. 1735)
 725. Wright, Samuel (1683-1746)
- TCHS* 4: 340; Hester, *Attercliffe*; note in *TCHS* that he 'died just after leaving the academy, May, 1695'
 BUL XMS 281, p. 33
 CFB 1699-1700, 1702
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281; Hester, *Attercliffe*
 CFB 1703-4
 CFB 1703; Hester, *Attercliffe*
 Reyner, *Select Sermons*, 'Preface'; *TCHS* 4: 340; Hester, *Attercliffe*; *TCHS* states that he 'also studied under Benion at Shrewsbury' and lived in 'Amsterdam, and Bridge Street, Bristol'; BUL XMS 281
TCHS 4: 340; Hester, *Attercliffe*; described in *TCHS* as of 'Gainsborough'
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
TCHS 4: 340; Hester, *Attercliffe*; described in *TCHS* as of 'Bedford'; BUL XMS 281
TCHS 4: 336; Hester, *Attercliffe*
 BUL XMS 281, p. 33
 Ridgley, *Sladen*, pp. 43-4; DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281; Hester, *Attercliffe*
 DWL MS 24.59: 'Smith of Coventry'; BUL XMS 281
TCHS 4: 340: possibly same as 'Smith' above?
TCHS 4: 336-7; Hester, *Attercliffe*
TCHS 4: 340; Hester, *Attercliffe*; described in *TCHS* as of 'Hull'
TCHS 4: 340; described as '--- Symmons, Stepney'
 CFB 1696
 BUL XMS 281: 'Trout assistant to Mr Ashe in the Peake'
 BUL XMS 281; *TCHS* 4: 340; Hester, *Attercliffe*; described in *TCHS* as 'John Wadsworth, Sheffield; Jollie's successor in the academy'
TCHS 4: 340; described as of 'Scarboro'
TCHS 4: 340; Hester, *Attercliffe*; described in *TCHS* as of 'Turners' Hall, London'
TCHS 4: 340; Hester, *Attercliffe*; described in *TCHS* as of 'Rotherham'
TCHS 4: 340; Hester, *Attercliffe*; described in *TCHS* as 'brother' to Thomas Wilson, and also of 'Rotherham'
 DWL MS 24.59: 'Winter, Derby, who conformed afterwards'
 DWL MS 24.59 [under Wadsworth]; BUL XMS 281 [ditto]
 CF 1691; Gordon, *F&E*, p. 133: died while a student
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281; Hester, *Attercliffe*
 Hughes, *Wright*, p. 38; DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281; Hester, *Attercliffe*

Joseph Hallett's academy at Exeter

726. Adams, Samuel (1693-1746)
 727. Atkey, Ant[h]ony
 728. Batt, Mark
 729. Beadon/Beaton, Roger
 730. Bishop, Thomas (d. 1738)
 731. Bond, Cornelius
 732. Chorley, John
 733. Cock
 734. Colton/Coulton, Edward (d. 1747)
 735. Elms, Thomas
 736. Facy (Facey), Mark
 737. Follett, Josiah (d. 1773)
 738. Force, John (d. 1728)
 739. Foster, James (1697-1753)
 740. Fox /Foxye, John (1693-1763)
- DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
 BUL XMS 281: 'Atkey Ant: Shepton obt Decr 27th 1734 aet 33 Diss Mag Vol V pa 243'
 Fox, 'Lives', *DA* 29 (1897): 83
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281: 'Bond Ashburton'
 BUL XMS 281: 'Chorley Uffcomb'; BUL XMS 281
 BUL XMS 281: 'Cock Biddeford'
 DWL MS 24.59: perhaps states 'Mr. Cotton, Edward'; BUL MS 281; Brockett, *Exeter Assembly*, p. 77
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281; Brockett, *Exeter Assembly*, p. 118
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
 Fleming, *Foster*, p. 8; DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
 Fox, 'Lives', *DA* 28 (1896): 129

741. Gillet, Nicholas
Brockett, *Exeter Assembly*, p. 18: probably Nicholas Gillard
742. Gould
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
743. Hallett, George
Brockett, *Exeter Assembly*, p. 72
744. Hallett, Joseph III (1691-1744)
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281; Fox, 'Lives'
745. Hallett, William
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
746. Harding, Nicodemus
Fox, 'Lives', *DA* 28 (1896): 130
747. Hornbrook, Thomas
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
748. How (Howe), James
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
749. Hext, Lawrence
Brockett, *Exeter Assembly*, pp. 80-1
750. Huxham, John (1692-1768)
Fox, 'Lives', *DA* 28 (1897): 80; DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
751. Jacomb, George
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
752. Jeffery, Bartholomew
DWL MS 24.59: 'Jeffry, Brthw.'; BUL XMS 281
753. Jeffery, J.
DWL MS 24.59, as 'Jeffery, T[?]; BUL XMS 281.' Jeffery J. opponent of Collins. of Little Baddon & Exeter'
754. Jeffery, Thomas
DWL MS 24.59 [different man from 'Jeffery, T']
755. Lavington, John Sr. (1690-1759)
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281: 'Lavington. perhaps of Exeter'
756. Martin
BUL XMS 281: 'Martin MD'
757. May, William
DWL MS 24.59: simply states 'May'
758. Milner
Brockett, *Exeter Assembly*, p. 86
759. Mudge, Zachariah/Zachary (1694-1769)
XMS
Fox, 'Lives', *DA* 29 (1897): 87-9; DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281; Brockett, *Exeter Assembly*, pp. 76, 87-8
760. Parr, John
DWL MS 24.59
761. Parr
DWL MS 24.59: contains two people called 'Parr'; BUL XMS 281: 'Parr Moreton Hampstead Devon'
762. Pitts, Aaron (d. 1771)
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
763. Prior, William (d. 1774)
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
764. Rowe, William
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
765. Starr, John
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
766. Stogdon, Hubert (d. 1727)
Billingsley, *Stogdon*, p. 17; DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
767. Webber
Brockett, *Exeter Assembly*, p. 72
768. Westcott/Wescott, Samuel (d. 1765)
DWL MS 24.59: perhaps reads 'Wiscot, Saml.'; BUL XMS 281: 'Wescot. Tiverton. Saml'
769. White
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
770. Youatt, William (d. 1745)
BUL XMS 281: 'Youatt Culliton'; Brockett, *Exeter Assembly*, p. 63

The academy of John Moore and his son John Moore at Bridgwater

771. Armstrong, John
DWL MS 24.59: 'died young'
772. Atkins/Atkinson, Henry (d. 1742)
DWL MS 24.59: Totnes[s]
773. Bailey, Zachariah
DWL MS 24.59: 'Baily, Zavhy., Esqr.'
774. Baker, Samuel
DWL MS 24.59: 'died at Bridgwater where [he and James Watts] resided many years without preaching'
775. Baldwin, Deacon
DWL MS 24.59: 'not a settled Minister, nor preacher for many years before his death in 1777 at Taunton'
776. Banger, [Bernard?]
DWL MS 24.59: 'Banger, Dorsetshire'
777. Batson, John
DWL MS 24.59
778. Batten, Robert (d. 1773)
DWL MS 24.59: 'died several years since at Chathouth [Charmouth]'
779. Berry, James
DWL MS 24.59: [possibly John Berry] 'son of Mr. Berry of Wellington, formerly at Sidmouth, now of Crediton' PFB 1719-20
780. Billingsley, Samuel
Atkey, *Browne*, p. 20; DWL MS 24.59: 'London, lived some years under his very extraordinary complaint at Shepton Mallet, & buried in the meeting House there, where there is a monument erected to his memory'; BUL XMS 281
782. Bulstrode, Samuel
DWL MS 24.59: 'died in the Academy'
783. Bushnell, William (1690-1744)
Hughes, *Bushnell*, p. 37; DWL MS 24.59: 'who after a short settlement, died in Southwark; Dr. Hughes preach'd & printed his funeral sermon'; BUL XMS 281 'Nailswth'
784. Butler, John
DWL MS 24.59: [possibly 'Rutter?'] 'fixed & died at Honiton'
785. Castle, George
DWL MS 24.59: 'now at Hetherleigh, Devon'

786. Chadwick, Thomas
 787. Chandler, Samuel (1693-1766)
 788. Chapman, Thomas
 789. Clarke, Thomas (b. 1722)
 790. Cock, Joshua
 791. Cock, Nathaniel
 792. Cudmore, [John?] (d. 1748)
 793. Damer, John
 794. Denbury, [George?]
 795. Denham, Joseph
 796. Diaper, John
 797. Diaper, John
 798. Dowdell, Matthew
 799. Elms, Thomas
 800. Flavell, Benjamin
 801. Frank, John
 802. Furz/Furze
 803. Gifford, Peter (d. 1792)
 804. Gifford, William
 805. Glover/Gloves, Thomas
 806. Green, James (d. 1749)
 807. Green, John
 808. Hawkes
 809. Hawkes, John
 810. How/Howe, James
 811. How/Howe, Jasper
 812. Hurt, Joseph
 813. Jeffries, Joseph
 814. Jones
 815. Keech, Joseph (d. 1776)
 816. Kiddel, Benjamin (d. 1803)
 817. Kiddel/Kiddle, John (1720-1810)
 818. [Lauince?], Jos.
 819. Lavender, Thomas
 820. Lavington, Samuel (1726-1807)
 821. Lavington, William
 822. Meach, Thomas
 823. Miles, W.
 824. Milner, John (1688-1757)
 825. Milner, William
 826. Moore, Henry (1696-1762)
 827. Morgan, Thomas (d. 1743)
 828. Norman, John (d. 1756)
- DWL MS 24.59: [perhaps reads 'James' Chadwick]:
 'resided at Taunton his native place disordered in mind.
 DWL MS 24.59: 'Chandler, Saml., Dr., Old Jewry'; BUL
 XMS 281 incorrectly gives the names of the three students
 as 'Diaper, Milner, Dr', 'Chandler, Diaper, MD', and 'Milner,
 Peter Jillard'
 DWL MS 24.59: 'Collumpton, Totness, Sidmouth, not
 settled at present'
 DWL MS 24.59: 'Clark, Thos., resided near Exeter, died
 about a year since, had lived retired for years'
 DWL MS 24.59: Ashburton
 DWL MS 24.59: Biddeford
 DWL MS 24.59: 'Cudmore, Plymouth'
 DWL MS 24.59: 'Damer, John, Esqr., lately a M. P. in
 Ireland, & now tho' a lay man Vicar general of one of the
 Provinces there'
 DWL MS 24.59: 'Denbury, died at Bristol'
 DWL MS 24.59: London; BUL XMS 281 [suggests
 Denham of Gloucester]
 DWL MS 24.59: 'Bristol'; BUL XMS 281 incorrectly gives
 the names of the three students as 'Diaper, Milner, Dr',
 'Chandler, Diaper, MD', and 'Milner, Peter Jillard'
 DWL MS 24.59: 'son of the Revd. Mr. Diaper, Bristol'
 'Messrs. Diaper & [?]Tillard finished at Edinburgh'
 DWL MS 24.59: Beckington
 Brockett, *Exeter Assembly*, p. 118
 DWL MS 24.59: 'son of the famous Mr. Flavel of
 Dartmouth'
 DWL MS 24.59: 'now at Bath'
 DWL MS 24.59: Exeter
 DWL MS 24.59
 DWL MS 24.59: [perhaps Giffard] 'Dr., Exon'
 DWL MS 24.59: Frome
 DWL MS 24.59: settled at Shaftesbury & then Exeter
 DWL MS 24.59: died at the Academy
 DWL MS 24.59: 'Hawkes, Esqr., now of Poundersford,
 near Taunton'; BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59: 'Hawkes, John, died young'
 DWL MS 24.59: 'conformed & married a nice of Lord
 Chancellor King's'
 DWL MS 24.59: 'now at Falmo[uth]'
 PFB 1703
 DWL MS 24.59: 'Jeffries, Jos., of London'
 DWL MS 24.59: of 'Christchurch'
 DWL MS 24.59: [perhaps reads 'Joshua', and 'Keach']
 'Ilminster, Minister there many years, died January 1777'
 DWL MS 24.59: 'Sidmouth, Cork in Ireland, now Shepton
 Mallet'; BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59: 'Tiverton, finished with Mr. Eames'; BUL
 MS 281
 DWL MS 24.59: 'Hampshire, died young'
 DWL MS 24.59: conformed?
 DWL MS 24.59: 'finished with Mr. Eames'
 DWL MS 24.59: 'Apothecary at Exeter'
 DWL MS 24.59: 'Meach, Thos., Esqr., Dorcetsshire'
 DWL MS 24.59: 'Miles, W. of Yeovil where he still lives,
 without officiating any where'
 DWL MS 24.59: 'Milner, John, Dr., Peckham'; BUL XMS
 281 incorrectly gives the names of the three students as
 'Diaper, Milner, Dr', 'Chandler, Diaper, MD', and 'Milner,
 Peter Jillard'
 DWL MS 24.59: 'laid aside the Ministry & became
 Collector'
 BUL XMS 281 as 'Moor Plymouth'
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281

829. Norman, Thomas
830. Osler, John
831. Osler, Thomas
832. Pearce
833. Pierce, John
834. Poole, John
835. Prettyjohn, John
836. Pyke, [Joseph?]
837. Rudge, John
838. Short, James
839. Speke, Col.
840. Thompson
841. Tillard
842. Totterdell, Thomas
843. Towgood, Matthew (1732-91)
844. Wade
845. Waters
846. Watts, James
847. Webber, Henry (d. 1735)
848. Welman, Simon
849. Whitwell, Stephen
850. Wood, Robert
- DWL MS 24.59: 'son of Mr. Norman, Portsmouth'
DWL MS 24.59: 'preached at Lambrook'
DWL MS 24.59: 'South Petherton, died about the time of Q. Anne's Peace, on hearing news of which, said it was a good time to die in'
DWL MS 24.59: 'Pearce [of] Mere, died a few years back'
Brockett, *Exeter Assembly*, p. 94
DWL MS 24.59: 'Chimleigh, now Torrington'
DWL MS 24.59: 'Pretty, John, preached some years at Weytown near Bradford where he kept a school & now lives very advanced in life, learned, but never acceptable in the Pulpit'
DWL MS 24.59: Tiverton; BUL XMS 281
DWL MS 24.59: Tiverton
DWL MS 24.59: Barnstaple
DWL MS 24.59: Lady North's father
DWL MS 24.59: conformed
DWL MS 24.59: [name uncertain] 'Peard, Shepton Mallet, now Bishop's Hall [Hull] near Taunton'; 'Messrs. Diaper & [?]Tillard finished at Edinburgh'; BUL XMS 281 incorrectly gives the names of the three students as 'Diaper, Milner, Dr', 'Chandler, Diaper, MD', and 'Milner, Peter Jillard'
DWL MS 24.59: 'died at the Academy'
DWL MS 24.59: 'preached sometimes at Bridgwater, now a Banker in London'
DWL MS 24.59: 'Wade, Esqr., Justice of the peace in Gloucestershire, Brinkswell, Bristol'
DWL MS 24.59: 'Childleigh [Chudleigh]'
DWL MS 24.59: 'died at Bridgwater, where [he and Samuel Baker] resided many years without preaching'
DWL MS 24.59
DWL MS 24.59: 'now living at [blank]'
DWL MS 24.59: [perhaps reads 'Whithall'] 'died at the Academy'
Brockett, *Exeter Assembly*, p. 41

The Taunton academy (Matthew Warren, Robert Darch, Stephen James, Henry Grove, Thomas Amory)

851. Adams
852. Amory, Thomas (1701-74)
853. Arbutnot, John
854. Atkey, Anthony (1702-34)
855. Axford/Oxford, Benjamin
856. Baker
857. Baker, [Samuel?]
858. Baron
859. Barrington
860. Barrington
861. Bartlett
862. Bartlett
863. Bayley
864. Beachamp/Beauchamp)
865. Beckford/Bickford)
866. Bengough, George?
867. Besley, [William?]
868. Billingsley
869. Birch, [George?]
870. Blanchild
871. Bowden
872. Brett, George (1681-1761)
873. Broadmead
874. Carpenter
875. Carpenter
876. Caswall/Caswell, John/James)
877. Catcott/Catcut
- PFB 1735-8
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
DWL MS 24.59 [simply states 'Arburthnot']; BUL XMS 281
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281 [as 'Oxford']
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281 [2 entries]
DWL MS 24.59
Brockett, *Exeter Assembly*, p. 29; perhaps Peter Baron, d. 1759
DWL MS 24.59: son (1) of Lord Barrington; BUL XMS 281
DWL MS 24.59: son (2) of Lord Barrington; BUL XMS 281
DWL MS 24.59 [2 entries in MS]; BUL XMS 281
DWL MS 24.59 [2 entries in MS]; BUL XMS 281
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281 [as 'Besley?']; BUL XMS 281 [as 'Baly']
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
BUL XMS 281
DWL MS 24.59
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281 [as 'Gillingsley']
DWL MS 24.59
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
DWL MS 24.59: presumably 'of Frome'; BUL XMS 281
Fox, 'Lives'; BUL XMS 281
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281

878. Chadwick, Joseph (d. 1785) DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281 [simply states 'Chadwick']
879. Coade, Thomas DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
880. Collins, Thomas (d. 1765) DWL MS 24.59 [simply states 'Collins']; BUL XMS 281
881. Colville DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
882. Cooper, Daniel (d. 1727) PFB 1716, 1718-20
883. Cornish, William (d. 1763) DWL MS 24.59 [simply states 'Cornish']; BUL XMS 281
884. Cotton DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
885. Cox, John (1671-1754) PFB 1696; Brockett, *Exeter Assembly*, p. 44
886. Cranch, John PFB 1732-4
887. Daniel DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
888. Darch, Robert (1672-1737) DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
889. Darracott, Richard (1686-1727) Cong. Lib. MSS lh1-3, 1h10-11
890. Davenport DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
891. Deacon, Baldwin DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281 [simply states 'Deacon']
892. Diaper DWL MS 24.59
893. Dudley DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
894. Edgley, Thomas Brockett, *Exeter Assembly*, p. 44 (probably a student)
895. Enty, John (1675-1743) Fox, 'Lives'; BUL XMS 281
896. Evans, Richard DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281 [as 'Evans']
897. Farewell DWL MS 24.59 [2 entries]; BUL XMS 281 [2 entries]
898. Foot, William (1707-82) DWL MS 24.59 [as 'Foot': 2 entries in MS]; BUL XMS 281
899. Foote DWL MS 24.59 [as 'Foot': 2 entries in MS]; BUL XMS 281
900. Freeman, Samuel PFB 1725-7; BUL XMS 281
901. Freke DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
902. Fremless/Framlet, Richard DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
903. Frost, John DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
904. Gilling, Isaac (1663-1725) Fox, 'Lives'
905. Glidhill/Gledhill/Glidshill (d. 1727) DWL MS 24.59 [simply states 'Glidshell']; BUL XMS 281
906. Goodford DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281 [as 'Goodfield']
907. Gough, Strickland (d. 1752) DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
908. Greby, John DWL MS 24.59 [simply states 'Greby']
909. Grimstead/Grinstead, [Simon?] BUL XMS 281
910. Grove, Henry (1684-1738) Grove, *Works*
911. Hallett, Richard DWL MS 24.59
912. Halliday DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281 [2 entries]
913. Hardy DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
914. Harris, William (1720-70) DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
915. Harson, [Daniel?] DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
916. Haskoll, James DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
917. Hawkes, William DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
918. Hayne, [Nathaniel?] DWL MS 24.59 [simply states 'Hayne']; BUL XMS 281
[ditto]
919. Heath, Benjamin DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
920. Hill DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
921. Hillicar DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281 [as 'Hillier']
922. Hodge, John (d. 1767) BUL XMS 281: 'probably Dr H who succeeded Mr Denham at Gloucester'
923. House/Hodge, [Edward?/Samuel?] DWL MS 24.59 [as 'House?']; BUL XMS 281
924. Howe, Joshua PFB 1758
925. Hussey, [Naphthali?] DWL MS 24.59 [simply states 'Hussey']; BUL XMS 281
926. James, Stephen (d. 1725) not certain: traditionally ascribed on basis that he was a local minister who took over the academy from Matthew Warren
927. Jeffries, Joseph DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
928. Jillard/Jilleard, Peter DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
929. Johnson BUL XMS 281
930. Jony/Jenys DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
931. Kiddel, Benjamin (d. 1803) DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
932. King DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
933. Lane/Lang DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281 [as 'LLang'?]
934. Lock/Locke DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
935. Ludlow DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
936. Lush, William (d. 1781) DWL MS 24.59: 'Lush, Warminster'; BUL XMS 281
937. Macartney BUL XMS 281
938. Marks, George DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
939. Marshall DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281

940. Martin
 941. Martin, Michael (d. 1745)
 942. Mattick
 943. Mauduit, Israel (1708-87)
 944. May, William (d. 1755)
 945. Meadows, Daniel (1706-46)
 946. Mills, Benjamin
 947. Milner
 948. Moore, Henry (1696-1762)
 949. Mullins, Samuel Sr. (1676-1710)
 950. Nowel/Nowell, Baruch (d. 1739)
 951. Oxenham, Henry
 952. Oxenham, Skinner
 953. Palk, William (1681-1760)
 954. Pardew, [William?]
 955. Pearce/Pearse), Thomas
 956. Phelps, Farnham
 957. Phelps, James
 958. Phipps
 959. Pierce, Thomas
 960. Pitts
 961. Pope, Michael (1709-88)
 962. Prior, William
 963. Richards, William
 964. Rutter, Ja.
 965. Sandercock, Jacob (1664-1729)
 966. Savage
 967. Sely
 968. Sharott
 969. Short
 970. Shower, John (1657-1715)
 971. Slater, Samuel (d. 1761)
 972. Smith
 973. Stoakes/Stokes, John (d. 1778)
 974. Taylor, Christopher (1662-1723)
 975. Thomas
 976. Tolcher
 977. Toller
 978. Todderdell, Thomas
 979. Towgood, Michaijah (1700-92)
 980. Towgood, Nicolas
 981. Towgood, Stephen (d. 1777)
 982. Walfrond/Waldron, John
 983. Walter, John
 984. Warner, [Richard?]
 985. Weatherley, John
 986. Webb, Francis (1735-1815)
 987. Webb, [Nathaniel?]
 988. Webb, [Robert?]
 989. Whitby/Whitty, John (1692-1762)
 990. Wiche, John (1718-94)
 991. Williams, Edward
 992. Willoughby Hugh, fifteenth Baron, of Parham (1713-65)
- DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
 CF 1693
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59 [simply states 'Mauduit'] BUL MS 281
 DWL MS 24.59 [simply states 'May']; BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59: 'Danl Meadows MD of Ipswich finished his studies at Leyden under Boreheave'; BUL XMS 281
 Wellcome Library MS 3636
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59 [simply states 'Moore']; BUL XMS 281; Cong. Lib. MS 1le42: 1719
 DWL MS 24.59? BUL XMS 281 [simply states 'Mullins']
 CF 1693
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281? [simply states 'Oxenham']
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281? [simply states 'Oxenham']
 Brockett, *Exeter Assembly*, p. 51
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281 [simply states 'Pearce']
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281 [simply states 'Phelps': perhaps of Farham?]
 DWL MS 24.59
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59 [simply states 'Pierce']; BUL XMS 281
 BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59 [simply states 'Pope']; BUL XMS 281 [2 entries?]
 BUL XMS 281: 'Prior Dr Wm. Sherborne Dorset. Ratcliffe Cross & Goodman's fields London'
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281: 'Bristol. ordained 1751'
 PFB 1704; see also PFB 1703, 1705-7
 DWL MS 24.59 [simply states 'Sandercock']: Fox, 'Lives'; BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
 BUL XMS 281: same as 'Hallett'?
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
 Tong, *Life of Shower*, p. 6
 BUL XMS 281 [simply states 'Slater']
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
 Bayes, *Taylor*, pp. 32-3; BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
 BUL XMS 281: 'London probably of Monkwell Street'
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59 [confusion with 'Nic']; BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59? [states 'Towgood']; BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59? [states 'Towgood']; BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59 [2 entries for this name]; BUL XMS 281 [2 entries]
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59 [simply states 'Warner']; BUL XMS 281 [ditto]
 BUL XMS 281: 'Pinner's Hall'
 DWL MS 24.59? simply states 'Webb' 2x; BUL XMS 281
 DWL MS 24.59? simply states 'Webb' 2x; BUL XMS 281?
 DWL MS 24.59? simply states 'Webb' 2x; BUL XMS 281 ['Webb Robt']
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281 ['Whitty']
 PFB 1725-?1730
 DWL MS 24.59 [simply states 'Williams']; BUL XMS 281 [2 entries]
 DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281

993. Witherly/Wetherley/Weatherley, [John?]	DWL MS 24.59 [simply states 'Witherly']
994. Wright, John (b. 1733)	DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
995. Wright, Richard	DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281
996. Yabbacomb, Peter	DWL MS 24.59; BUL XMS 281

Appendix 4: The Education of Ministers in the Common Fund Survey (1690-2)

All of the ministers listed here appear in a survey commissioned by the dissenters' Common Fund, 1690-2, and transcribed by Alexander Gordon, *Freedom After Ejection* (Manchester, 1917), pp. 1-150. The major sources here are Gordon's own notes to the volume (*FAE*, pp. 198-398), the sources listed in Appendix 3, Joseph Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*, and John Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*. The vast majority of ministers whose education is known studied prior to the Restoration.

(1) Educated at Cambridge

Alsop, Vincent
 Amirant, Christopher
 Aspinwall, William
 Bagshaw, William
 Baldwin, Thomas
 Baldwin, Thomas, 2dus
 Barham, Arthur
 Barker/Baker, John
 Barker, Matthew
 Barnett, Andrew
 Barrett, John
 Bartlett, John
 Baxter, Nathaniel
 Bedbank/Bidbancke, William
 Bennet, Joseph
 Bennett, John
 Beresford, Samuel
 Berry, Henry
 Billingsley, John?
 Billio, Robert, I
 Birchall, William
 Bladen, Thomas
 Blunt, Robert
 Bourne, Samuel
 Bradshaw, Nathaniel
 Brice, William
 Britton, Theophilus
 Bryan, Jarvis
 Bryan, John
 Bull, Daniel [inc. Ox.]
 Bunn, John

Carter, Andrew
 Cawthorn, Joseph
 Chadsley, Robert
 Chadwick, Joseph
 Chantry, Richard
 Charles, Samuel
 Chester, John
 Churchill, Joshua
 Clark, Samuel
 Clarke, Matthew
 Coates, Samuel [after 1660?]
 Cokayne, George
 Collier, Anthony
 Collinges, John
 Comyn, Richard
 Cradock, Samuel
 Damer, Edward
 Davison, William
 Day, James
 Dod, John [inc. Ox.]
 Doolittle, Thomas
 Doughty, Samuel
 Drake, Michael
 Eccleshall, Joseph
 Ekyns, Robert
 Ellison, Matthew
 Eyton, Joseph [1678]
 Fairfax, John
 Farlough, Samuel
 Finch, Martin
 Finlow, Reginald
 Firmin, Giles
 Fish, Robert [inc. Ox.]
 Fisher, James
 Flammark, Roger
 Flammick, Henry
 Flower, Benjamin
 Folkes, William
 Fox, Timothy
 Frankland, Richard
 Fuller, Francis [inc. Ox.]
 Godman, Henry
 Goldham, Thomas
 Gouge, Robert
 Gough, William?
 Grace, William
 Green, Alexander
 Green, John
 Grew, Jonathan
 Haddesley, John
 Halsey, Joseph
 Hanmer, John [after '62]
 Harrison, John?
 Hart, Thomas
 Havers, Henry
 Hawden, William
 Hayworth, William
 Heywood, Oliver
 Holcroft, Francis

Holdsworth, John
 Isseb/Issot, John
 Jackson, John
 Jackson, John
 Jennings, Richard
 Johnson, Thomas
 Jolley, Thomas
 King, William
 Larkham, George [also Ox.]
 Leighton, John
 Lever, Robert
 Lomax, John
 Long, George [+ Leiden]
 Lucas, John
 Lukin, Henry
 Manning, John
 Manning, Samuel
 Maydwell, John
 Mead, Matthew
 Meadows, --
 Moore, Robert
 Nabs, Edward
 Newcome, Henry
 Nickolson, John
 Nott, John
 Ogden, Samuel
 Ogle, Thomas
 Orlebar, Matthew
 Osland, Henry
 Pateman, Thomas
 Pell, William
 Pemberton, Matthias
 Pendlebury, Henry
 Perrot, Robert
 Petto, Samuel
 Plumsted, Augustine
 Powell, Thomas [inc. Ox.]
 Prig, Nicholas
 Prime, Richard/Edward
 Purt, Robert
 Rand, Richard
 Rathband, William [inc. Ox.]
 Reynolds, William [inc. Ox.]
 Richardson, Christopher
 Rock, William
 Sagar, Charles
 Salcald, John?
 Sampson, Henry
 Seddon, Robert
 Sharp, Thomas
 Shaw, Samuel
 Shelmadine, Daniel
 Sherwood, Joseph
 Smith, Robert
 Smith, Samuel
 Snowden, Benjamin
 Sprint, Samuel
 St. Nicholas, John
 Stancliff, Samuel

Starkey, John
 Swinfyn, Richard
 Swinhow, George
 Tallents, Francis
 Taylor, Edmund [inc. Ox.]
 Taylor, Michael
 Taylor, Samuel
 Taylor, Thomas
 Thorowgood, Nicholas
 Thorp, Richard
 Tod, Cornelius
 Tomlyns, Samuel
 Turner, John
 Tutching, John
 Vinke, Peter
 Waite, John?
 Wakerhouse, Jonas
 Waller, James
 Ward, John
 Ward, Ralph [inc. Ox.]
 Warren, John
 Warren, Thomas
 Watson, Thomas
 Watts, Henry
 Wayte, Thomas
 White, Jeremiah
 Whitekar, Robert
 Whitlock, John
 Whitston, Edward
 Wickens, William
 Winny, Samuel
 Wood, John
 Wood, John
 Wood, John
 Woodcock, Thomas
 Woodhouse, John
 Woodyard, Enoch
 Wright, James [+ Ox.]

(2) Educated at Oxford

Albin, Henry
 Annesley, Samuel
 Aspinwall, Peter
 Avery, Richard
 Badland, Thomas
 Baikaller, Henry
 Ball, William
 Balster, John
 Banger, Josiah
 Barston, John
 Barton, [Nathan?]
 Beebie, William
 Benson, George
 Berry, John
 Bicknel., William
 Billinsley, Nicholas
 Billinslie, Richard [1674]
 Binmore, Richard

Blore/Blower, Samuel
 Bradshaw, James
 Brand, Thomas
 Brice, John
 Budd, Thomas
 Burdwood, James
 Bures, Richard
 Burgess, Daniel [1660]
 Bury, Edward
 Bush, John
 Carrill, Robert
 Cheesman, ---
 Cole, Thomas [inc. Camb.]
 Collier, Abel
 Collins, Robert
 Conway, William
 Cornish, Henry
 Crane, Thomas
 Creswell, Solomon
 Crofts, John
 Crompton, Thomas
 Crompton, William
 Cross, William
 Crouch, John
 Dandy, Francis
 Davenish, John
 Deacon, Baldwin
 Dent, Henry
 Denton, Nathan
 Dod, Robert
 Dogeridge, John
 Dowly, Richard [+ Bryan]
 Duce, Thomas
 Eaton, Samuel [1673]
 Edwards, Charles
 Evans, John
 Facy, Lewis
 Farroll, John
 Finch, Henry
 Flavell, John
 Flavell, Phineas
 Ford, Stephen?
 Fowler, Stephen
 Fowles, Henry
 French, Samuel
 Gale, Theophilus [inc. Camb.]
 Galpine, John
 Gardner, John
 Gaylard, Robert
 Gidly, John
 Gilbert, Thomas
 Glanvill, John
 Grace/Grew, Obadiah
 Gunter, Humfrey
 Hallet, Thomas
 Hancock, Edward?
 Harding, John
 Hardy, Samuel

Harford, Emanuel
 Helms, Carnsew
 Henry, Philip
 Higgs, Daniel
 Hilton, Richard
 Hodges, John
 Hodges, William
 Hooke, John
 Hooper, Benjamin [1667]
 Hopkins, William
 Hoppin, John
 Horsman, John
 Hughes, Obadiah
 James, John
 James John
 Jennings, John
 Jones, David
 Jones, Samuel
 Kempster, John
 Kerring, [Nathaniel?]
 [1661?]
 King, Simon
 Knight, John
 Kyltly, Edward
 Langston, John
 Lee, Joseph
 Lever, John?
 Marshall, Thomas
 Martin, John [+ Lincoln's Inn]
 Masters, Joseph
 Mathews, Michayah
 Mayo, Richard
 Merriman, Benjamin [1677]
 Meseby, Robert [inc. Camb.]
 Moore, John [1660]
 Moore, Thomas
 Moreland, Martin [inc. Camb.]
 Morland, Thomas
 Mortimer, John
 Morton, Charles, [inc. Camb.]
 Nicholson, George
 Owen, Hugh [1660]
 Palk, Thomas
 Palmer, Anthony
 Pane, John
 Paston, Edward
 Peard, Oliver
 Peirce, William
 Phillips, Humphrey
 Phillips, Peregrine
 Pinny, Robert
 Porter, George
 Powell, John
 Prince, James
 Quick, John
 Ridge, John

Risley, Thomas
 Rowe, Thomas
 Safford, Thomas
 Rood, Onesiphorus
 Sandors, Richard
 Scandrett, Stephen [inc. Camb.]
 Searle, John
 Sherwill, Nicholas
 Short, Ames
 Singleton, John [+ Leiden?]
 Small, James
 Smith, William
 Soreton, Francis
 South, Compton
 Spilsbury, John
 Stackhouse, John [1664]
 Stretton, Richard
 Tapper, Samuel
 Taylor, Richard [under Jones]
 Terry, Edward
 Thomas, Robert
 Thomas, William
 Tidcombe, Tobias
 Trevethick, Thomas/William
 Trosse, George
 Troughton, William
 Turner, John
 Turton, William
 Veal, Edward
 Vincent, Nathaniel
 Vortier, James
 Warren, Matthew
 Weaver, Humfrey
 Weaver, John
 Webb, [Stephen?]
 Wells, Martin
 Wheatley, T---
 Wilkinson, Henry
 Williams, Henry
 Wills, John
 Wills, Jonathan
 Woodcock, Josiah [1686]
 Woodward, William
 Worth, John
 Yeo, Bartholomew
 Young, [Samuel?]

(3) Educated at both Oxford and Cambridge

Crisp, Tobias
 Bates, William
 Batt, Timothy
 Brinsley, Samuel
 Coape, Joseph
 Dawson, Joseph
 Eaton, Robert
 Griffith, George

Howe, John
 Lawrence, Richard
 Mansfield, Nathaniel
 Negus, Strickland
 Newton, Edward
 Oldfield, Joshua [see also Shuttlewood]
 Shewell, Thomas?
 Wright, James
 Yeo, William

(4) Educated at Edinburgh

Crow, Francis
 Gilpin, Richard
 Hartley, John
 Ker, John?
 Noble, James?
 Sleigh, Anthony
 Smith, Matthew
 Thompson, William
 Trail, Robert
 Willson, Robert [no page no.]

(5) Educated at Glasgow

Constantine, Robert
 Dizart, John
 Semple, Gabriel
 Walker, John?
 Legg, Tobias (incorp. Camb.)

(6) Educated at Aberdeen

Lorimer, William
 Forbes, James

(7) Educated at Harvard

Butler, Henry
 Chauncey, Isaac
 Mather, Nathaniel
 Starr, Comfort

(8) Educated at Utrecht

Collins, Thomas

(9) Educated in Holland

Flemming, Robert
 Goodwin, Thomas, 2dus

(10) Scotland and Saumur

Primerose, Edward

(11) Trinity, Dublin

Aynsworth, Ralph

(12) College of Physicians

Manlove, Timothy

(13) Other Ejected Ministers (education unknown)

Adams, Tobias
 Alsop, William
 Bartlett, Robert
 Beckaller, Henry
 Beerman, William
 Benson, John
 Bowden, John/Jonathan
 Cane/Cave, James
 Chandler, Samuel
 Clarke, William
 Cowbridge, John
 Crompton, John [silenced?]
 Crumpton, Abraham
 Downe, Richard
 Eastman, William
 Fenwick, Edward?
 Fincher, William?
 Forester?
 Head, Joshua
 Harris, [Francis?]
 Hughes, Stephen
 Hunt, Edward
 Jones, Watkin
 Lawton, James
 Light, John
 Martyn, Samuel
 Moor, Simon
 Nevit, John
 Oagle, Luke
 Paine, William?
 Robinson, Nathaniel
 Rogers, Edward?
 Rogers, Timothy
 Rose, Thomas
 Shaw, Joseph
 Sheal, George
 Sheffield, John
 Southwell, Richard
 Weekes, John
 Westmacott, Theodore
 Whiston, Joseph
 Whitehurst, Richard
 Whitemarsh, Geogre
 Worth/Worts, Thomas

(14) Others Educated before 1660

Armitage, John
 Atkinson, Simon
 Biggin, John

Educated by Family

Hallett, Joseph, 2dus?
Higgs, John?
Hunt, John
Worth, John

Educated by Private**Tutors****John Collinges**

Steward, Thomas

Rice Prythro

Williams, Roger

Vincent Alsop

King, William

Richard Wickstead and**Francis Garbet**

Baxter, Richard

**Academy Tutors and
Students, Prior to 1690****Unknown Academy or
Tutor:**

Barker [in Bromsborough]
Edwards, David
Scoones, John

**Bishop's Hall, Bethnal
Green**

Bourne, Samuel
Brookes, Samuel
Earle, John/Jabez
Foxon, John
Freeman, Francis
Griffith, Roger
Holman, William
Marshall, John
Owen, Charles
Scandaret, John

Ker in Ireland

Harding, Nathaniel

Cradock

Billio, Robert,
Calamy, Edmund [+
Doolittle]
Hughes, John
Porter, [Samuel?]

Doolittle

Chandler, Henry

Doolittle, Samuel
Henry, Matthew
Mottershed, John
Sanders, Thomas

Frankland

Alured/Aldred, Jeremiah
Anderton, Roger
Angier, Samuel
Baddie, Thomas
Baley, [Thomas?]
Baxter, Samuel
Binson, Thomas
Birch, Eliezer
Bryam/Byrom, John
Carrington, John
Chapham/Chapman, William
Chorlton, John
Dearley, William
Davis, Samuel
Dawson, Abraham
Dawson, Joseph, 2dus
Dickenson, John
Dickinson, ---
Elskon, Thomas
Finch, Peter
Gill, Jeremiah
Gleddall, John
Gorwood, John
Heywood, Eliezer
Holland, John
Irlam, Thomas
Jollie, Timothy
Jones, Gamaliel
Kay/Ray, John
Kershaw, Nicholas
Kynnston, T---
Larkham, Deliverance
Lea, Thomas
Mitchell, James
Naylor, James
Owen, John
Peach, John
Perkins, [William?]
Piggott, John
Priestley, Nathaniel
Punchion, Timothy
Sagar, Joshua
Scholes, Nathaniel
Taylor, John
Taylor, Thomas
Thompson, John/Thomas
Whaley, Thomas
Whitworth, Joseph
Wright, Jonathan
Taylor, James [check]
Heywood, Nathaniel [+
Edin.]
Nesbitt, John [+ Edin.]

Whitaker, Thomas [+ Edin.]

Gale

Ashwood, John
Rowe, Benoni
Rowe, Thomas

Jones

Davis, Morgan
Owen, James
Phillips, Daniel? [no
evidence]

Langley

Waters, James [+ Doolittle]

Moore

Moore, Thomas

Morton

Alexander, Daniel? [or Veal]
Bennet, Joseph, 2dus
Cruso, Timothy [+ Scotland]
Hannot, James
Hill, Joseph [+ Sprint]
Hocker, William
Kentish, Thomas? [no
evidence]
King, John? [no evidence]
Lardner, Richard
Lawrence, Samuel
Reynolds, Thomas [+ Gen,
Ut.]

Shuttlewood

Oldfield, Joshua [+ Oxford]
Sanders, Julius [+ Oxford]
Shuttlewood, John

Perrot

Thomas, John?

Whitaker

Hussey, Joseph

Rowe

Lee, Thomas [+ Woodhouse]
Rowe, Thomas
Watts, Isaac
Wilson, John? [+ Henry: no
evidence]

Warren

Gilling, Isaac
James, Stephen
Saunderwick/Sandercock,
Jacob
Shower, John [+ Morton]

Woodhouse

Clark, Matthew, 2dus
 Cullen, Thomas
 Davis, Thomas
 Edge, Richard
 Greenwood, Daniel
 Lewis, John [+ Owen]
 Osland, Edward
 Peach, Richard
 Robinson, Benjamin
 Stubs, John
 Thomson, James
 Southwell, John
 Willetts, William

**Students at an academy,
1690-2:****Youths educated at
Bethnal Green (Gordon,
FAE, p. 4)**

Fran: Freeman
 Jno Foxton
 Roger Griffith
 Benj: Pyke
 Jno Earle
 Charles Owen
 Wm Holman
 Sam: Brookes
 Sam: Bourne
 'Honorate Superiori'

**Youths educated by Mr
Doolittle (Gordon, FAE, p.
4)**

Pike
 Pool
 Keith

London

John Quicks

Cambridge

Hunt

Cheshire

Barker

Derbyshire

Hughes
 Stubs
 Richard Peach

Devon

Galpine

Dorset

Damer
 Thomas Rowe

Essex

Scandret

Gloucestershire

Jno. Drew
 Richard Billinslie
 'Mr James fforbes has 3
 young men wth. him'

Herefordshire

Barnett

Kent

Thomas Cullen
 John Scoones

Lancashire

Roger Anderton
 Thomas Taylor
 James Taylor

Leicestershire

Southall

Norfolk

'One 15. yeares Old'
 'A ministers Son 14. yeares
 Old'

Northamptonshire

Math: Orlebar
 Chapman
 Jno Shuttlewood
 Thomas Wykes
 Thomas Loftus

Northumberland

Davice

Shropshire

Richard Edge
 John Lewis
 James Thomson
 Owen
 Theodore Westmacott

Somerset

Chadwick

Suffolk

John Goodchild

Surrey

Lee

Wiltshire

Dangerfield
 Stephen James

Yorkshire

Jeremiah Gill
 Emanuel Dewsnop
 Richard Woolhouse
 King
 Owen
 Baddie
 Thomas Binson
 John Tayler
 James Mitchell
 Thomas Dickinson
 Jno. Gorwood
 Spink
 Davis
 Dawson
 Baxter

North Wales

Thomas Davis
 Jno Lewis

South Wales

Jenkin Thomas
 David Lewis
 Anthony Thomas
 David Jones
 Lewis Davis
 John Harvys
 Morgan Williams
 Stephen Hughes
 Morgan Davis
 Lewis Prytheroh
 Evan Phillips
 Rice James

Key

inc. = incorporated

? = uncertain

no evidence = identified by
 Gordon as a student, on
 unknown grounds

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(1) List of Manuscripts

Birmingham University Library

- BUL XMS 281 Noah Jones, 'A View of Academical Institutions Founded by Protestant Dissenters in the 17th, 18th and 19th Centuries'
- BUL XMS 399 'Notae in Dionysium' from Tewkesbury Academy
- BUL XMS 400 'Elementa mathematica' from Tewkesbury Academy
- BUL XMS 401 'Praelectiones S. Jones in Godwini', 3 vols.

Bodleian Library, Oxford

- Bod. MS Don. D115 Copy of Francis Tallents's diary, 1671-3
- Bod. MS Lat. Th. E27 Copy of Thomas Doolittle, 'Speculum historico-geographico theologium', 'Modernus ecclesiae status', and Brevis ad universalem historiam', inscribed 'S. Barker 1729/30'
- Bod. MS Rawl. C406 Copies of letters from Samuel Wesley, c. 1692
- Bod. MS Rawl. Lrs. 49 Correspondence and papers of Philip Lord Wharton, 1662-4
- Bod. MS Rawl. Lrs. 50 Correspondence and papers of Philip Lord Wharton, 1663-73
- Bod. MS Rawl. Lrs. 51 Correspondence and papers of Philip Lord Wharton, 1673-95
- Bod. MS Rawl. Lrs. 52 Correspondence and papers of Philip Lord Wharton, 1640-62
- Bod. MS Rawl. Lrs. 53 Correspondence and papers of Philip Lord Wharton, 1662-91
- Bod. MS Rawl. Lrs. 54 Letters concerning the education of the sons of Philip Lord Wharton, mostly from A. Clifford and T. Gale, 1663-5
- Bod. MS Tanner 35 English historical papers, 1682

Bod. MS Tanner 36 English historical papers, 1681
 Bod. MS Tanner 129 Papers relating to Bristol diocese

Bristol Baptist College Library

BBCL MS G93a y.h.33 'Dissenting Colleges'
 BBCL MS G95, vol. 1 Letters from Emanuel Gifford to Andrew Gifford, c. 1719, and other fragments
 BBCL MS G95, vol. 2 Copy of Thomas Rowe, 'Notiones logicae', 'On the Soul', 'Analekta', and other fragments
 BBCL MS G96, box E Typescript copy of correspondence to and from Andrew Gifford, 1719-82
 BBCL MS Ze1 Works on logic, rhetoric, mathematics and chronology from Tewkesbury Academy, and Samuel Benion's 'Scheme of Disciplines'
 BBCL MS Ze2 Notes on Gronovius from Tewkesbury Academy
 BBCL MSS Ze3-4 'Notae in Godwini Mosen & Aaronem', vols. 1 and 2
 BBCL MSS Ze5-6 'Jonesii Notae in Grotium de Jure Belli et Pacis', vols. 1 and 2
 BBCL MS Ze7 Notes on geography and Biblical criticism
 BBCL MSS Ze8-11 Notes on dissent in Bristol, Taunton, and Buckinghamshire

British Library

BL MS Add. 4367 Simon Browne's library catalogue
 BL MS Add. 4372 Henry Grove's 'Pneumatology'
 BL MS Add. 4432 Papers relating to the Royal Society
 BL MS Add. 4457 Poem from Lindamore to John Eames
 BL MS Add. 22548 Miscellaneous original letters and drafts, 1588-1831
 BL MSS Add. 23915-16 Copy of S[amuel]. Jones, notes on 'Moses and Aharon', 1712, 2 vols.

- BL MSS Add. 23917-18 Copy of S[amuel]. Jones, 'Prolegomena ad observationes criticas in Testamentum Vetus et Novum', 1711-12, 2 vols.
- BL MS Add. 23919 'Notae quaedam Criticae in opera et studio V.C. S[amuelis] J[ones] in usum Academiae, Theocicuriensis'
- BL MS Add. 24436 Joseph Hunter, 'Miscellaneous Genealogy'
- BL MS Add. 24437 Joseph Hunter, 'Some account of the dissenters of Sheffield, 1802'
- BL MS Add. 24442 Joseph Hunter, 'Memoirs to serve for a History of Protestant Dissenters'
- BL MS Add. 24443 Joseph Hunter, 'Yorkshire Biography' (notes)
- BL MS Add. 24484 Joseph Hunter, 'Britannia Puritanica'
- BL MS Add. 24485 Joseph Hunter, biographies of nonconformists
- BL MSS Add. 31211-12 Copy of Samuel Jones, 'Notae in [Thomae] Godwini Mosem et Aaronem', vols. 1 and 2
- BL MSS Add. 33774-6 Copy of Samuel Jones's notes on Thomas Goodwin's 'Moses and Aaron', 3 vols.
- BL MSS Add. 45974-5 Oliver Heywood Papers, vols. 12-13
- BL MSS Add. 50958-9 Copy of Edmund Calamy, 'Autobiography', 2 vols.
- BL MS Add. 54185 Joshua Sager, notes taken from sermons, c. 1686-9
- BL MS Add. 60351 Copy of John Eames's lectures on anatomy
- BL MS Add. 61445 Blenheim Papers, vol. 345
- BL MSS Add. 70012-13 Harley Papers, vols. 12-13
- BL MSS Add. 70226-7 Unfoliated Harley Papers
- BL MS Egerton 2570 Original papers of Richard Baxter
- BL MS Egerton 2982 Heath and Verney Papers, vol. 5

Cheshire and Chester Archives

- MS EUC 9/4458/1 Minutes of the Cheshire classis, 1691-1745

Congregational Library (at Dr Williams's Library, London)

Cong. Lib. MS Ib13	Copy of James Peirce's letters, 1708-13
Cong. Lib. MSS If27-8	John Eames, 'Mechanica. Sive De Motu Corporum Tractatus, 1776', 2 vols.
Cong. Lib. MSS Ig1-6	Samuel Jones, 'Annotationes in Godwini Mosen & Aaronem ... 1719', 6 vols.
Cong. Lib. MSS Ih1-3	Richard Darracott's copy of the Taunton academy theology lectures, 3 vols.
Cong. Lib. MSS Ih10-11	Richard Darracott's copy of the Taunton academy moral philosophy lectures, 2 vols.
Cong. Lib. MS Ih23	Copy of Charles Morton, 'Pneumatick's or the Doctrine of Spirits', transcribed by James Martyn, 1684
Cong. Lib. MS Iie42	Diary of John Moore

Devon Record Office (Exeter Branch)

DRO (Exeter), MS 3542D-O-/M1/1	Exeter Assembly minutes, 1652-1794; Joseph Hallett's ordination certificate; lists of ordinations and deaths of ministers; account of the trial of Joseph Hallett and John Palmer (14 June 1673); students of Grove and Amory, Hallett, Moore at Tiverton, Towgood, Merivale, Turner and Hogg at Exeter, and Towgood at Shepton Mallett; an account of Devonshire ministers from 1662
DRO (Exeter), MS 3542D-O-/M1/2	Exeter Assembly minutes, 1721/2 and 1744-53
DRO (Exeter), MS 3542D-O-/M1/3	Exeter Assembly minutes, 1733-43
DRO (Exeter), MS 3542D-O-/M1/4	Exeter Assembly minutes, 1763-92

Dr Williams's Library, London

DWL MS 12.78	Thomas Jollie's papers
DWL MS 24.2	Copy of Hermann Witsius' 'annotata in Tho: Godwini Mosem & Aaronem', 1707
DWL MSS 24.3-4	Copy of Samuel Jones's 'in Godwini Mosen & Aaronem, Annotationes', 2 vols.
DWL MS 24.21	Joseph Hallett's essays

DWL MS 24.22	Mathematical subjects
DWL MS 24.23	Mathematical exercises, including 'Of Curves in General', 'De Natura Eclipseos ... 1715', and 'Some Queries of my own relating to Motion'
DWL MS 24.59	'An account of the dissenting academies'
DWL MS 24.179(4)	Copy of a Letter by Philip Doddridge to ? Thomas Saunders
DWL MS 28.5	Thomas Doolittle's notes on History and Geography
DWL MS 28.30	Translation into English of Henry Hickman, <i>Apologia pro ministris</i> , 1665
DWL MSS 28.37-8	Philip Doddridge's lectures on Jewish antiquities, 2 vols.
DWL MS 28.47	Nailsworth Academy Theses
DWL MSS 28.115-16	Henry Grove's moral philosophy lectures, 2 vols.
DWL MS 38.4	John Evans's list of dissenting congregations
DWL MSS 38.5-11	Josiah Thompson's notes on dissenting congregations
DWL MS 38.18	'A View of the Dissenting Interest in London'
DWL MS 38.24	Notebook of Isaac Gilling
DWL MS 38.28	Copy of the minutes of the Exeter Assembly, 1721-8
DWL MS 59.5	Richard Baxter, Letters, vol. 5
DWL MS 61.14, vol. 18 part 2	Richard Baxter, 'Treatise against the Dominicane Doctrine'
DWL MS 69.6	Copies of various lectures, including Abraham Rees's 'Introductory Lectures to the Mathematics', 1768
DWL MS 69.26	Copy of John Eames's lectures on mathematics and ethics
DWL MS 69.28	Copy of Abraham Rees's 'Introductory lectures on mathematics'
DWL MS 69.29	Copy of Andrew Kippis's 'Lectures on Chronology', 1767

DWL MS 90.5.10	Letter from Matthew Henry to Philip Henry, December 29, 1685
DWL MS 90.6	Copies of letters from Matthew Henry
DWL MS 201.34	Copies of letters written to Principal John Stirling of Glasgow University
DWL MSS GFN	Geoffrey F. Nuttall library
DWL MS OD67	Presbyterian Fund Board minutes, Volume I, 1 Jul. 1690-3 (Common Fund)
DWL MS OD68	Presbyterian Fund Board minutes, Volume II, 1695-22
DWL MS OD69	Presbyterian Fund Board minutes, Volume III, 1722-51
DWL MS OD103	Presbyterian Fund Board treasury books, Volume I, 1695-1705
DWL MS OD104	Presbyterian Fund Board treasury books, Volume II, 1706-18
DWL MS OD401	Congregational Fund Board minutes, Volume I, 1695-1700
DWL MS OD402	Congregational Fund Board minutes, Volume II, 1700-4
DWL MSS Wilson A1-15	Walter Wilson's collections on ministers and dissenting churches, 15 vols.
DWL MSS Wilson B1-6	Walter Wilson, 'Protestant Dissenting Congregations': 'first' (i.e. second) arrangement, 6 vols.
DWL MSS Wilson C1-5	Walter Wilson's notes on ministers and congregations: east, west, and north of England, 5 vols.
DWL MS Wilson D*	Walter Wilson, 'Dissenting Records'
DWL MS Wilson E	Walter Wilson, 'Dissenting Churches': first arrangement
DWL MSS Wilson F1-3	Walter Wilson, 'Protestantium dissentientium vitae', 3 vols.
DWL MSS Wilson I1-5	Walter Wilson's account of various congregations in England, 5 vols.
DWL MSS Wilson K1-8	Walter Wilson's biographical collections, anecdotes, notes on modern dissenting

congregations in north counties, material for history of dissenters, and alphabetic list of dissenting ministers, 8 vols.

DWL 564.C.19

Isaac Watts's annotations to John Wilkins's *Ecclesiastes* (London, 1693)

New College Library (at Dr Williams's Library, London)

NCL MS L4/3

Copy of a Hebrew commentary on Aristotle's physics, logic, and pneumatology, 1659

NCL MS L6/16

Thomas Ridgley, notes on Moses and Aaron

NCL MS L6/17

Hermann Witsius, notes on Moses and Aaron

NCL MS L38

'In Dionysii Orbis Descriptionem Notae Quaedam, 1713'

NCL MS L42

'A Method for Reading History ... 1718'

NCL MS L54/1

Joshua Wilson's memorials, vol. 1, including notes on the academies of Thomas Doolittle, Samuel Benion, Ebenezer Latham, Richard Frankland, John Chorlton, John Woodhouse, James Owen, Timothy Jollie, and John Shuttlewood

NCL MS L54/2

Joshua Wilson's memorials, vol. 2, including notes on the academies of Thomas Hill, Ebenezer Latham, and Caleb Rotheram; the Yorkshire academies; Manchester College, York; Warrington Academy; New College, Hackney; and the Welsh academies

NCL MS L54/3

Joshua Wilson's memorials, vol. 3, including notes on the academies at Northampton, Daventry, Wymondly, and Wellclose Square

NCL MS L54/4

Joshua Wilson's memorials, vol. 4, including notes on the academies of Thomas Doolittle, Henry Hickman, Ralph Button, Charles Morton, John Eames, John Pye Smith, Thomas Ridgley, Samuel Jones, Matthew Towgood, Joseph Hallett, John Lavington, Thomas Reader, and John Lavington; Highbury College; the academy at Taunton; and Bristol Baptist Academy

Gloucestershire Archives

- MS D6026/6/46 Letters to Rev James Forbes, 1699/1700-1708/9, and no date
- MS GDR B4/1/1056 Documents relating to Samuel Jones's 'school'

Harris Manchester College, Oxford

- HMC MS Grove 1 Henry Grove's 'A System of Ethics', 1728, 2 vols. in 1
- HMC MS Misc. 8 Miscellaneous manuscripts, eighteenth to twentieth centuries
- HMC MS Winder 1.i Commonplace book of Henry Winder
- HMC MS Winder 1.ii Henry Winder's notes on mathematics from Whitehaven Academy
- HMC MS Winder 1.iii Henry Winder's notes on astronomy from the academy at Whitehaven

Harvard College Library

- Harvard MS Am911* Charles Morton's 'Ethicks', 'Pneumaticks', and 'Advice to Ministers'

Huntingdon Library

- MS HM46326 Henry Grove's pneumatology

John Rylands University Library, Manchester

- JRUL MSS GOR1 Alexander Gordon's notes for the *Dictionary of National Biography*

Lambeth Palace Library

- LPL MS 2598 Thomas Secker's autobiography
- LPL MS COMM. II/728 Winchester Cathedrall Lectureship, 1657, on death of Henry Whitfield
- LPL MS COMM. III/6 Register of admissions, 25 March 1657-2 April 1658

LPL MS Tenison 639

Episcopal returns for 1665 and 1669

The National Archives

TNA: SP 29/227/3

Report of Edward Veal's meeting, Wapping

TNA: PRO, PROB 11/360, sig. 70

Will and probate of Theophilus Gale

TNA: PRO, PROB 11/369, sig. 17

Will and probate of Thomas Goodwin

Northumberland Record Office

MS ZMI/B57/1

Presbyterian theology by Cumberbach Leech,
1692**Nottinghamshire Archives**

MS M362

Oliver Heywood's notes on ordinations

Royal Society, London

MS Cl.P/2

Classified papers, vol. 2

MS Cl.P/3ii

Classified papers, vol. 3ii

MS CMO/2

Council minutes, 1682-1727

MS CMO/3

Council minutes, 1727-47

MS RBO/13

Scientific papers, 1727-8

MS RBO/14

Scientific papers, 1728-30

MS RBO/15

Scientific papers, 1730-1

MS RBO/17

Scientific papers, 1731-2

MS RBO/18

Scientific papers, 1732-4

MS RBO/19

Scientific papers, 1734-6

MS RBO/20

Scientific papers, 1736-7

MS RBO/21

Scientific papers, 1737-9

Senate House Library, London

SHL MS 609 Philip Doddridge's 'Account of Mr Jennings's Method', 1728

Shropshire Archives

MS P257/E/3/1 Journal of Francis Tallents

Suffolk Record Office (Ipswich Branch)

MS FK 3/1/11/5 Church Book of the congregation at Tacket Street, Ipswich, 1686-1791

Warwickshire Record Office

MS CR802 Julius Saunders's diary, being the diary or minute book of the Bedworth Congregational Church

The Wellcome Library, London

MS 3635 Charles Morton, 'A System of Physicks or natural Philosophy ... Finit 12 die Decembris, 1684. I.H.'

MS 3636 Charles Morton, 'A System of Physicks. 1694'; Robert Darch, 'A system of Physicks. 1709'. Copied by Benjamin Mills

MS 3637 Charles Morton, 'A system of heraldry', 'To ... Candidates for the Ministry', 'Of the Souls of Brutes', and 'An extract of a letter ... concerning the improvement of the County of Cornwall'

MS 3638 Charles Morton, 'Physiologia reformata ... Scriptum a G. T. 1694'

(2) Printed Sources

Very few contemporaneous documents relating to the early academies survive, and knowledge of the first tutors must be gleaned from subsequent funeral sermons and polemical writings. The earliest known attempt to write a history of the academies was by Josiah Thompson, whose list of tutors and students dates to the 1770s (DWL MS 24.59: see the Introduction to this thesis). For these reasons, the following list of printed books is divided between ‘primary sources’ composed almost exclusively prior to 1770, and ‘secondary sources’ composed almost exclusively afterwards.

2(a) Printed Primary Sources

Ainsworth, William, *Medulla bibliorum* (London, 1652)

Alingham, William, *Geometry Epitomiz'd being a Compendious Collection of the most Useful Propositions in the First, Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Books of Euclid* (London, 1695)

Ames, William, *The Marrow of Sacred Divinity* (London, 1642)

Anderson, James, *The Happy Death. A Sermon Occasion'd by the Death of the Late Learned, Pious and Reverend William Lorimer, A. M.* (London, 1724)

Aristotle, *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, ed. Jonathan Barnes, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1984)

_____, *Operum Aristotelis*, ed. Isaac Casaubon and Guillaume Budé (London, 1590)

Aristotle's Master-piece: or, The Secrets of Generation Display'd in all the Parts Thereof (London, 1690)

Aristotle's Rhetoric (London, 1682)

Arnauld, Antoine, and Pierre Nicole, *La Logique, ou l'Art de Penser* (Paris, 1662)

_____, *Logic or the Art of Thinking*, ed. Jill Vance Buroker (Cambridge, 1996)

[____], *Logic, or the Art of Thinking* (London, 1682)

Baker, Thomas, *The Head of Nile* (London, 1681)

Barker, John, *The End of Created Perfection* (London, 1735)

_____, *Resignation to the Will of God* (London, 1741)

_____, *A Sermon Occasioned by the Death of the Reverend Benjamin Grosvenor, D.D.* (London, 1758)

Barlow, Thomas, *Exercitationes aliquot metaphysicae, de Deo* (Oxford, 1658)

Barrow, Isaac, *Euclidis elementorum* (Cambridge, 1655)

- Bartholin, Thomas, *Bartholinus Anatomy Made from the Precepts of his Father, and from the Observations of All Modern Anatomists, Together with his Own* (London, 1663)
- Baxter, Richard, *Additional Notes on the Life and Death of Sir Matthew Hale* (London, 1682)
- _____, *The Catechizing of Families* (London, 1683)
- _____, *Catholick Theologie* (London, 1675)
- _____, *A Christian Directory* (London, 1673)
- _____, *An End of Doctrinal Controversies* (London, 1691)
- _____, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, ed. Matthew Sylvester (London, 1696)
- Bayes, Joshua, *A Funeral Sermon Occasioned by the Death of the Late Reverend Mr. Christopher Taylor* (London, 1723)
- Bennet, Thomas, *A Letter to Mr. Benjamin Robinson* (London, 1710)
- _____, *A Second Letter to Mr. Benjamin Robinson* (London, 1710)
- Billingsley, Nicholas, *A Sermon Occasioned by the Death of the Late Reverend Mr. Hubert Stogdon* (London, 1728)
- Birch, Thomas, *The Life of the most Reverend Dr. John Tillotson* (London, 1752)
- Bisset, William, *The Modern Fanatick*, 2 vols. (London, 1710-11)
- Blanckaert, Steven, *Anatomia reformata, sive concinna corporis humani dissectio* (Leiden, 1688)
- Boyer, Abel, *The Life of Queen Anne* (London, 1714)
- Boyle, Robert, *The Christian Virtuoso* (London, 1690)
- Brasenose College Register, 1509-1909*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1909)
- Browne, Simon, *A Letter to the Reverend Mr. Thomas Reynolds* (London, 1723)
- Burgersdijk, Franco, *Fr. Burgersdicii institutionem logicarum libri duo* (Cambridge, 1637)
- _____, *Institutionum metaphysicarum lib. II.* (London, 1653)
- _____, *Monito Logica, or, An Abstract and Translation of Burgersdicius his Logick by a Gentleman* (London, 1697)
- Burnet, Gilbert, *Bishop Burnet's History of his Own Time*, 2 vols. (London, 1724-34)
- Samuel Bury, *A Funeral Sermon Occasioned by the Death of the Late Reverend Mr. Samuel Cradock* (London, 1707)

[Butler, Joseph], *Several Letters to the Reverend Dr. Clarke, from a Gentleman in Gloucestershire, relating to the First Volume of the Sermons Preached at Mr Boyle's Lecture* (London, 1716)

Calamy, Edmund, *An Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's History of his Life and Times* (London, 1702)

_____, *An Abridgement of Mr. Baxter's History of his Life and Times. With an Account of the Ministers, &c. who were Ejected after the Restauration, of King Charles II*, 2 vols. (London, 1713)

_____, *A Continuation of the Account of the Ministers, Lecturers, Masters and Fellows of Colleges, and Schoolmasters, who were Ejected and Silenced after the Restoration in 1660, By or Before the Act of Uniformity*, 2 vols. (London, 1727)

_____, *A Defence of Moderate Nonconformity*, 3 vols. (London, 1703-5)

_____, *A Funeral Sermon for the Late Reverend Mr. Joseph Bennet* (London, 1726)

_____, *A Funeral Sermon for the Late Reverend Mr. John Mottershed* (London, 1729)

_____, *A Funeral Sermon for the Late Reverend Mr. John Sheffield* (London, 1726)

_____, *An Historical Account of My Own Life, with Some Reflections on the Times I have Lived in, 1671-1731*, ed. J. T. Rutt, 2 vols. (London, 1829)

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 41 vols. (1860-1947)

Carpzov, John Gottlob, *Apparatus historico-criticus antiquitatum sacri codicis et gentis Hebraeae* (Frankfurt, 1748)

Casaubon, Isaac, and Guillaume Budé (eds), *Operum Aristotelis* (London, 1590)

Cave, William, *A Serious Exhortation, with Some Important Advices, Relating to the Late Cases about Conformity* (London, 1683)

Chamberlen, Paul, *An Impartial History of the Life and Reign of our Late most Gracious Sovereign Queen Anne* (London, 1738)

Chambers, Ephraim, *Cyclopaedia: Or, an Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, 2 vols. (London, 1728)

Chandler, Samuel, *A Dialogue between a Paedo-Baptist and an Anti-Paedo-Baptist ... at the Portsmouth Disputation* (London, 1699)

Chandler, Samuel, 2dus, *A Vindication of the Christian Religion* (London, 1725)

Choppin, Richard, *A Funeral Sermon Occasion'd by the Much Lamented Death of the Revd. Mr. Joseph Boyse* (Dublin, 1728)

Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *De officiis Marci Tullii Ciceronis libri III.* (London, 1674)

- Clagett, William, *A Discourse concerning the Operations of the Holy Spirit* (London, 1678)
- Clarendon, Edward Hyde, Earl of, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1702-3)
- Clarke, Samuel, *A Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God* (London, 1705)
- _____, *The Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity* (London, 1712)
- Clegg, James, *Assistance in Preparing for Death and Judgment. A Discourse Occasion'd by the Sudden Death of the Reverend Mr. John Ashe, of Ashford in the Peak* (London, 1736)
- _____, *Extracts from the Diary and Autobiography of the Rev. James Clegg*, ed. Henry Kirke (Buxton, 1899)
- Cluver, Philipp, *Introductio[nis] in universam geographiam* (Leyden, 1624)
- _____, *Introductio[nis] in universam geographiam[,] tam veterem quam novam tabulis geographicis XLVI. ac notis olim ornata a Johanne Bunone* (Amsterdam, 1661)
- Coke, Edward, *The First Part of the Institutes of the Lawes of England* (London, 1628)
- A Collection of Papers Relating to the Present Juncture of Affairs in England* (London, 1688)
- Collins, Anthony, *A Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion* (London, 1724)
- Colvil, Samuel, *Whiggs Supplication* (London, 1687)
- Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, Treated upon by the Bishop of London ... and the Rest of the Bishops and Clergie* (London, 1684)
- Conventicle Courant* (London, 1682-3)
- Cradock, Samuel, *The Apostolical History* (London, 1672)
- _____, *The Harmony of the Four Evangelists* (London, 1668)
- Cudworth, Ralph, *The True Intellectual System of the Universe* (London, 1678)
- _____, *The History of the Old Testament Methodiz'd* (London, 1683)
- Cumming, John, *A Funeral Sermon on Occasion of the Death of the Late Reverend and Learned Mr. Benjamin Robinson* (London, 1724)
- Davenant, John, *Determinationes quaestionum quarundam theologiarum* (Cambridge, 1634)

- Defoe, Daniel, *A Brief Survey of the Legal Liberties of the Dissenters* (London, 1714)
- _____, *The Compleat English Gentleman* (London, 1890)
- _____, *The Complete English Tradesman* (London, 1725)
- _____, *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, ed. Joe L. Wheeler (Carol Stream, 1999)
- _____, *The Present State of the Parties in Great Britain* (London, 1712)
- _____, *The Schism Act Explain'd* (London, 1714)
- _____, *The Secret History of the White-Staff* (London, 1714)
- _____, *The Sincerity of the Dissenters Vindicated* (London, 1703)
- _____, *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain*, 3 vols. (London, 1724)
- [____], *The Case of the Protestant Dissenters in England* (London, 1716)
- [____], *Impeachment, or No Impeachment* (London, 1714)
- [____], *A Letter to Mr. Steele* (London, 1714)
- [____], *A Letter to the Dissenters* (London, 1713)
- [____], *The Remedy Worse than the Disease* (London, 1714)
- [____], *The Weakest Go to the Wall* (London, 1714)
- Derodon, David, *Metaphysica* (Geneva, 1669)
- _____, *Philosophia* (Geneva, 1664)
- Descartes, Rene, *A Discourse of a Method for the Well Guiding of Reason, and the Discovery of Truth in the Sciences* (London, 1649)
- _____, *Meditationes de prima philosophia* (London, 1664)
- _____, *The Passions of the Soule* (London, 1650)
- _____, *Principia philosophiae* (London, 1664)
- _____, *Six Metaphysical Meditations* (London, 1680)
- De Staire, *Theses logicae, metaphysicae, physicae, mathematicae* (Glasgow, 1646)
- Dionysius Periegetes, *Dionysii orbis descriptio* (London, 1658)
- _____, *Dionysii poemation de situ orbis. excusu in usum scholae regiae Etonensis* (Cambridge, 1633)
- Doddridge, Philip, *A Course of Lectures on the Principal Subjects in Pneumatology, Ethics, and Divinity* (London, 1763)

- Doolittle, Thomas, *A Complete Body of Practical Divinity* (London, 1723)
- _____, *Earthquakes Explained and Practically Improved Occasioned by the Late Earthquake on Sept. 8, 1692 in London, many other parts in England, and Beyond Sea* (London, 1693)
- _____, *The Lord's Last Sufferings* (London, 1681)
- _____, *A Treatise Concerning the Lord's Supper* (London, 1667)
- Dorrington, Theophilus, *The Dissenting Ministry in Religion Censur'd and Condemned* (London, 1703)
- _____, *Family Instruction for the Church of England* (London, 1705)
- _____, *The Worship of God Recommended* (Oxford, 1712)
- Dryden, John, and Nahum Tate, *The Second Part of Absalom and Achitophel* (London, 1682)
- Du Hamel, Jean-Baptiste, *Philosophia vetus et nova* (London, 1685)
- Emlyn, Thomas, *The Works of Mr. Thomas Emlyn*, ed. Sollom Emlyn, 3 vols. (London, 1746)
- Epictetus, *Enchiridion* (Cambridge, 1655)
- _____, *Epictetus his Morals, with Simplicius his Comment* (London, 1694)
- Estwick, Nicholas, *Pneumatologia: or, A Treatise of the Holy Ghost* (London, 1648)
- Euclidis sex primi elementorum geometricorum libri* (London, 1654)
- Eustache a Sancto Paulo, *Summa philosophiae quadripartita de rebus dialecticis, ethicis, physicis, & metaphysicis* (Cambridge, 1640)
- _____, *Ethica, sive summa moralis disciplinae* (London, 1658)
- Evans, John, *A Funeral Sermon, for the Reverend Mr. John Ratcliffe* (London, 1728)
- [Eveleigh, Josiah], *An Account of the Reasons why Many Citizens of Exon have Withdrawn from the Ministry of Mr. Jos. Hallet and Mr. James Peirce* (Exeter, 1719)
- The Exeter Assembly: The Minutes of the Assemblies of the United Brethren of Devon and Cornwall, 1691-1717*, ed. Allan Brockett (Torquay, 1963)
- Flavell, John, *Pneumatologia, A Treatise of the Soul of Man* (London, 1685)
- _____, *The Whole Works*, 2 vols. (London, 1701)
- Fox, John, 'Memoirs of Himself, by Mr. John Fox, of Plymouth: with Biographical Sketches of some of his Contemporaries; and some unpublished Letters from Archbishop Secker and Dr. Samuel Chandler', *The Monthly Repository*, 16 (1821),

129-35, 193-200, 221-4, 257-62, 270-6, 325-31, 441-7, 505-7, 569-74, 633-5, 697-8, 721-7; 17 (1822), 219-20

Frankland, Richard, *Reflections on a Letter writ by a Nameless Author to the Reverend Clergy of Both Universities* (London, 1697)

Freeman, Goodlove, *A Dialogue between Hodge and Heraclitus, or, A Character of an Informer with his Lewd Practises Layed Open* (London, 1682)

Fuller, Thomas, *The Church-History of Britain; From the Birth of Jesus Christ, Untill the Year M.DC.XLVIII.* (London, 1655)

Gale, Theophilus, *The Court of the Gentiles*, 4 vols. (Oxford and London, 1669-78)

_____, *Idea theologiae* (London, 1673)

_____, *Philosophia generalis* (London, 1676)

_____, *The True Idea of Jansenism* (London, 1669)

Gassendi, Pierre, *Institutio astronomica* (London, 1643)

Gataker, Thomas, *Reverendi viri Dom. Joannis Davenantii, Sarisburiensis Episcopi, ad virum clarissimum Dominum Samuelem Wardum* (London, 1654)

Gatton, Benjamin, *Letters concerning the Terms of Conformity Required by Law, between Mr James Waters ... and Benj. Gatton* (London, 1705)

Gautruche, Pierre, *Mathematicae totius* (Cambridge, 1668)

Gibson, Thomas, *The Anatomy of Human Bodies Epitomized* (London, 1682)

Gipps, Thomas, *The Further Vindication* (London, 1699)

_____, *The Rector of Bury's Reply* (London, 1699)

_____, *Remarks on Remarks* (London, 1698)

_____, *A Sermon against Corrupting the Word of God* (London, 1697)

_____, *Tentamen novum* (London, 1696)

_____, *Tentamen novum continuatum* (London, 1699)

Goodwin, John, *The Banner of Justification* (London, 1659)

_____, *Pleroma to pneumatikon* (London, 1670)

Gowan, Thomas, *Ars sciendi sive logica* (London, 1681)

_____, *Logica elenctica sive summa controversiarum, quae circa materiam, & praecepta logicae* (Dublin, 1683)

Grascome, Samuel, *Moderation in Fashion* (London, 1705)

_____, *The Mask of Moderation Pull'd Off the Foul Face of Occasional Conformity* (London, 1704)

_____, *Schism Triumphant* (London, 1707)

Gravesande, Willem Jacob, *Mathematical Elements of Natural Philosophy* (London, 1720)

Grew, Nehemiah, *The Anatomy of Plants* (London, 1682)

[Grosvenor, Benjamin], *An Authentick Account of Several Things Done and Agreed upon by the Dissenting Ministers Lately Assembled at Salters-Hall* (London, 1719)

Grotius, Hugo, *Defence of Christian Religion* (London, 1678)

_____, *De veritate religionis christianae* (Oxford, 1650)

_____, *Grotius, his Arguments for the Truth of Christian Religion* (London, 1686)

_____, *His Most Choice Discourses* (London, 1658)

_____, *Of the Law of Warre and Peace* (London, 1654)

_____, *Opera omnia theologica*, 3 vols. (London, 1679)

_____, *The Truth of Christian Religion*, ed. Simon Patrick (London, 1680)

Grove, Henry, *An Essay towards a Demonstration of the Soul's Immortality* (London, 1718)

_____, *Sermons and Tracts*, ed. Thomas Amory, 4 vols. (London, 1740)

_____, *Some Thoughts concerning the Proofs of a Future State* (London, 1730)

_____, *A System of Moral Philosophy*, ed. Thomas Amory, 2 vols. (London, 1749)

Gunter, Edmund, *The Works of Edmund Gunter* (London, 1653)

Guise, John, *The Holy Spirit a Divine Person* (London, 1721)

_____, *Jesus Christ God-Man: or, The Constitution of Christ's Person* (London, 1719)

_____, *The Standing Use of the Scripture, to All the Purposes of a Divine Revelation* (London, 1724)

[Gyles, Fletcher], *Selecta Joannis Ker, M.D. bibliotheca* (London, 1714)

Hale, Matthew, *The Judgment of the Late Lord Chief Justice Sir Matthew Hale* (London, 1684)

Haller, Albrecht von, *Disputationum anatomicarum selectarum* (Gottingen, 1748)

Hallett, Joseph, III, *A Free and Impartial Study of the Holy Scriptures Recommended*, 3 vols. (London, 1729-36)

- _____, *Index librorum MSS graecorum* (London, 1728)
- Hamilton, William, *The Life and Character of James Bonnel Esq* (Dublin, 1703)
- Harris, John, *Lexicon technicum magnum* (London, 1704)
- Harris, William, *The Love of Christ's Appearance, the Character of a Sincere Christian: A Sermon Occasioned by the Death of the Late Reverend Joshua Oldfield, D.D.* (London, 1730)
- Heereboord, Adrianus, *Collegium ethicum, seu philosophia moralis* (London, 1658)
- _____, *Ermeneia logica, sive, synopseos logicae Burgersdicianae explicato* (London, 1651)
- _____, *Philosophia naturalis* (Oxford, 1665)
- Henry, Matthew, *An Account of the Life and Death of Mr. Philip Henry* (London, 1698)
- _____, *A Brief Enquiry into the True Nature of Schism* (London, 1690)
- _____, *Disputes Review'd: A Sermon Preach'd at the Evening Lecture at Salters-Hall ... 1710* (2nd edition, London, 1719)
- _____, *A Sermon Preach'd at the Funeral of Dr. Samuel Benion* (London, 1709)
- _____, *A Sermon Preach'd at the Funeral of Mr. Samuel Lawrence* (London, 1712)
- _____, *Two Funeral Sermons: One on Dr. Samuel Benion, and the Other on the Reverend Mr. Francis Tallents* (London, 1709)
- Heylin, Peter, *Cosmography* (London, 1703)
- Heywood, Oliver, *The Rev. Oliver Heywood, B. A., 1630-1702: His Autobiography, Diaries, Anecdote and Event Books*, ed. J. Horsfall Turner, 4 vols. (Bridghouse, 1882-5)
- Hickes, George, *The Judgment of an Anonymous Writer Concerning ... I. A Law for Disabling a Papist to Inherit the Crown, II. The Execution of Penal Laws against Protestant Dissenters, III. A Bill of Comprehension* (London, 1684)
- Hickman, Henry, *Apologia pro ministris in Angliâ (vulgo) non-conformistis* (Amsterdam, 1664)
- _____, *The Believers Duty towards the Spirit* (London, 1665)
- _____, *Historia quinq-articularis exarticulata* (London, 1673)
- _____, *Patro-scholastiko-dikaiosis* (Oxford, 1659)
- _____, *Pothen zizania, sive, concio de haeresium origine* (Oxford, 1659)
- _____, *A Review of the Certamen Epistolare* (London, 1659)

- Hill, William, *Grammaticarum in Dionysii Periegesin annotationum in usum Tyronum concinnatum* (London, 1688)
- Howard, K. W. H., *The Axminster Ecclesiastica 1660-1698* (revised edition, Sheffield, 1976)
- Howe, John, *A Post-script to the Late Letter of the Reconcilableness of God's Prescience* (London, 1677)
- _____, *The Reconcilableness of God's Prescience* (London, 1677)
- Howell, William, *Medulla historiae Anglicanae* (London, 1712)
- Hughes, Obadiah, *A Confession of Faith Deliver'd at the Old Jewry, January 11th, 1720/21* (London, 1721)
- _____, *Simeon's Prayer, for Leave to Die, Considered and Improved* (London, 1746)
- Humfrey, John, *Peaceable Disquisitions* (London, 1678)
- Huxham, John, *An Essay on Fevers* (London, 1750)
- _____, *Medical and Chemical Observations upon Antimony* (London, 1756)
- _____, *The Works of John Huxham*, 2 vols. (London, 1788)
- An Introduction to the Study of Philosophy* (London, 1744)
- J., P., *The Priest Turn'd Poet* (London, 1709)
- Jennings, David, *Jewish Antiquities* (London, 1766)
- Jollie, Thomas, *The Note Book of the Rev. T. Jolly, A.D. 1671-1693*, ed. H. Fishwick (Manchester, 1895)
- Jones, Jeremiah, *A Vindication of the Former Part of St. Matthew's Gospel, from Mr. Whiston's Charge of Dislocations* (London, 1719)
- Josephus, *The Genuine Works of Flavius Josephus, the Jewish Historian*, ed. William Whiston (London, 1737)
- Journal of the House of Lords*, 64 vols. (London, 1767-1832)
- Keill, James, *The Anatomy of the Humane Body Abridged* (London, 1698)
- Keith, George, *A True and Faithful Account* (London, 1675)
- Ker, John, *Disputatio physico-medica inauguralis de secretionis animalis efficiente & ordine* (Leiden, 1697)
- _____, *Quaternae epistolae* (London, 1713)
- _____, *Selectarum de lingua Latina observationum libri duo* (London, 1709)

Lancashire and Cheshire Wills and Inventories at Chester, ed. G. J. Piccope and J. P. Earwaker (Manchester, 1884)

Langston, John, *Encheiridion poietikon* (London, 1679)

_____, *Lusus poeticus Latino-Anglicanus* (1675)

Lardner, Nathaniel, *The Credibility of the Gospel History*, 12 vols. (London, 1734-55)

Latham, Ebenezer, *Preparation for Death, and Fitness for Heaven* (London, 1745)

Laurence, Roger, *A Supplement to the First and Second Parts of Lay-Baptism Invalid* (London, 1714)

Leavesley, Thomas, *The Reasons and Necessity of the Reformation* (London, 1735)

Le Clerc, Jean, *A Defence of Archbishop Tillotson, and his Writings* (London, 1710)

_____, *A Funeral Oration upon the Death of Mr. Philip Limborch* (London, 1713)

_____, *The Life and Character of Mr. John Locke* (London, 1706)

_____, *The Life of Dr. Burnet* (London, 1715)

_____, *Logica, ontologia, et pneumatologia* (Cambridge, 1704)

_____, *Physica sive de rebus corporeis libre quinque* (London, 1696)

_____, *A Supplement to Dr. Hammond's Paraphrase and Annotations* (London, 1699)

Lindsey, Theophilus, *Letters of Theophilus Lindsey*, ed. Herbert McLachlan (Manchester, 1926)

Lister, Joseph, *An Historical Narrative of the Life of Joseph Lister* (Wakefield, c. 1800)

A List of all the Conspirators that have been Seiz'd (London, 1683)

A List of the Conventicles or Unlawful Meetings within the City of London and Bills of Mortality (London, 1683)

Lobb, Theophilus, *A Brief Defence of the Christian Religion* (London, 1726)

Locke, John, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. Peter H. Nidditch (Oxford, 1975)

Long, Thomas, *A Compendious History of all the Popish & Fanatical Plots and Conspiracies against the Established Government in Church & State* (London, 1684)

Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence (London, 1682)

Magirus, Johann, *Physiologiae peripateticae libri sex* (London, 1619)

- Manton, Thomas, *Catalogus variorum & insignium librorum instructissimae bibliothecae* (London, 1678)
- March, John, *Th' Encaenia of St. Ann's Chappel in Sandgate* (London, 1682)
- Marcus Aurelius, *His Meditations Concerning Himselfe*, tr. Meric Casaubon (London, 1634)
- Martindale, Adam, *The Life of Adam Martindale: Written by Himself*, ed. Richard Parkinson (Manchester, 1845)
- Mayo, Daniel, *A Funeral Sermon Occasioned by the Much Lamented Death of the Late Reverend and Learned Edmund Calamy, D.D.* (London, 1732)
- _____, *A Funeral Sermon on the Death of the Late Pious and Reverend Mr. James Waters* (London, 1725)
- Milton, John, *Artis logicae plenior institutio ad Petri Rami methodum concinnata* (London, 1673)
- _____, *Complete Prose Works*, 9 vols. (Yale, 1953-82)
- _____, *Complete Shorter Poems*, ed. John Carey (Harlow, 1968)
- Mole, Thomas, *A Farewel Sermon Preached at Uxbridge* (London, 1728)
- _____, *The Foundation of Moral Virtue Consider'd* (London, 1732)
- _____, *The Foundation of Moral Virtue Re-Consider'd and Defended against the Remarks of an Anonymous Writer* (London, 1733)
- More, Henry, *An Account of Virtue* (London, 1690)
- _____, *Enchiridion ethicum* (London, 1668)
- Morgan, Thomas, *The Nature and Consequences of Enthusiasm Consider'd* (London, 1719)
- Morrice, Roger, *The Entring Book of Roger Morrice*, ed. Mark Goldie, 7 vols. (Woodbridge, 2007-9)
- Morton, Charles, *Compendium physicae*, ed. Samuel Eliot Morison and Theodore Hornberger (Boston, 1940)
- _____, *The Spirit of Man* (Boston, 1692)
- Moxon, Joseph, *Mathematicks Made Easie* (London, 1679)
- _____, *Mechanick Dyalling* (London, 1668)
- _____, *Mechanick Exercises* (London, 1677)
- _____, *A Tutor to Astronomie and Geographie* (London, 1659)
- Mr. Toland's Reflections on Dr. Sacheverell's Sermon* (London, 1710)

- Neal, Daniel, *A Funeral Sermon Occasioned by the Much Lamented Death of the Late Reverend Mr. Matthew Clarke* (London, 1726)
- _____, *The History of the Puritans*, ed. Joshua Toulmin, 5 vols. (Bath, 1793-7)
- Ness, Christopher, *A Compleat History and Mystery of the Old and New Testament*, 4 vols. (London, 1690-6)
- Newman, John, *A Funeral Sermon, Occasion'd by the Death of the Late Reverend Mr. William Tong* (London, 1727)
- The Nonconformist Register of Baptisms, Marriages, and Deaths, Compiled by ... O. Heywood & T. Dickenson*, ed. J. Horsfall Turner (Bridghouse, 1881)
- The Observator in Dialogue* (London, 1684)
- Oldenburg, Henry, *The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg*, ed. A. Rupert Hall and Marie Boas Hall, 13 vols. (Madison, Wisconsin and London, 1965-86)
- Oldfield, Joshua, *An Essay Towards the Improvement of Reason* (London, 1707)
- Oldmixon, John, *The History of England during the Reigns of King William and Queen Mary, Queen Anne, King George I* (London, 1735)
- Origen, *Origen against Celsus*, ed. James Bellamy (London, [1660?])
- Owen, Charles, *An Essay towards a Natural History of Serpents* (London, 1742)
- _____, *Plain-Dealing* (London, 1715)
- _____, *Plain Reasons* (London, 1715)
- _____, *Some Account of the Life and Writings of the Late Pious and Learned Mr. James Owen* (London, 1709)
- Owen, James, *An Answer to the Rector of Bury's Letter to his Friend* (London, 1699)
- _____, *Church-Pageantry Display'd* (London, 1700)
- _____, *A Further Vindication of the Dissenters from the Rector of Bury's Unjust Accusations* (London, 1699)
- _____, *The History of Images, and of Image-Worship* (London, 1709)
- _____, *The History of the Consecration of Altars, Temples, and Churches* (London, 1706)
- _____, *Moderation a Vertue* (London, 1683)
- _____, *Moderation Still a Virtue* (London, 1704)
- _____, *A Plea for Scripture Ordination* (London, 1694)
- _____, *Remarks on a Sermon, about Corrupting the Word of God* (London, 1697)

_____, *The Validity of the Dissenting Ministry: or, the Ordaining Power of Presbyters Evinced from the New Testament and Church History*, ed. Charles Owen (London, 1716)

Owen, John, *Pneumatologia* (London, 1676)

Owen, Josiah, *The Christian's Conflict and Crown* (London, 1746)

Oxford University Statutes, ed. George Ward and James Heywood, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1845-51)

Palmer, John, *A Sermon ... Occasioned by the Death of the Late Revd. Caleb Fleming* (London, 1779)

Palmer, Samuel, *A Defence of the Dissenters Education in their Private Academies* (London, 1703)

_____, *A Vindication of the Learning, Loyalty, Morals, and most Christian Behaviour of the Dissenters toward the Church of England* (London, 1705)

Pardies, F. Ignatius Gaston, *Elemens de geometrie* (Paris, 1683)

_____, *Elementa geometriae* (Oxford, 1694)

Patrick, Simon, *The Proverbs of Solomon Paraphrased with the Arguments of Each Chapter* (London, 1683)

Pearse, Edward, *The Conformists Plea for the Nonconformists* (London, 1681)

_____, *The Conformist's Fourth Plea for the Nonconformists* (London, 1683)

Peck, Francis, *Academia tertia Anglicana; or, the Antiquarian Annals of Stanford* (London, 1727)

Peirce, James, *Remarks upon the Account of What was Transacted in the Assembly at Exon* (London, 1719)

Perizonius, Jacob, *Animadversiones historicae* (Amsterdam, 1685)

_____, *Dissertationum trias* (Magdeburg, 1722)

A Plain and Faithful Narrative of the Differences among the Dissenters at Exeter (London, 1719)

Poole, Matthew, *The Nullity of the Christian Faith* (London, 1666)

Porphyry, *Philosophou Pythagorikou peri apoches empsychon biblia tessara sententiae ad intelligibilia ducentes* (Cambridge, 1655)

The Presentment of the Grand-Jury of the Hundred of Ossulston for the County of Middlesex (London, 1682)

- Prideaux, John, *Hypomnemata* (London, 1650)
- Priestley, Joseph, *Disquisitions Relating to Matter and Spirit* (London, 1777)
- _____, *The Letters of Joseph Priestley to Theophilus Lindsey 1769-1794*, ed. Simon Mills, <http://www.english.qmul.ac.uk/drwilliams/pubs/JP%20letters.html>
- Prince, John, *Worthies of Devon* (Exeter, 1701)
- Pufendorf, Samuel, *De jure naturae et gentium* (London, 1672)
- _____, *De officio hominis et civis* (London, 1673)
- Ramus, Petrus, *Dialecticae libro duo* (London, 1669)
- Reasons for the Law, now Depending in Parliament, to Prevent the Further Growth of Schism* (London, 1714)
- Reflections on Dr. Sacheverell's Answer to the Articles of Impeachment* (London, 1710)
- Register of the Members of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford*, ed. W. D. Macray, 7 vols. (London, 1894-1915)
- The Register of the Visitors of the University of Oxford, from A.D. 1647 to A.D. 1658*, ed. Montagu Burrows (London, 1881)
- Regius, Henricus, *Fundamenta physices* (Amsterdam, 1646)
- _____, *Philosophia naturalis* (Utrecht, 1664)
- Reiz, John Henry, *Thomae Goodwini Moses & Aaron, seu civiles & ecclesiastici ritus Hebraeoru[m]* (Leiden, 1704)
- A Representation from the Lower House of Convocation to the House of Bishops* (London, 1703)
- Reyner, Edward, *A Treatise of the Necessity of Humane Learning* (London, 1663)
- Reynolds, Thomas, *An Answer to the Revd Mr. Simon Browne's Letter to Mr. Thomas Reynolds* (London, 1723)
- _____, *A Funeral Sermon for the Late Reverend and Pious Mr. Samuel Pomfret* (London, 1722)
- _____, *A Sermon Preach'd on the Death of the Reverend Mr. William Hocker* (London, 1722)
- _____, *A Sermon Preach'd on the Death of the Reverend Mr. John Ashwood* (London, 1707)
- Richardson, Alexander, *The Logicians School-Master* (London, 1629)
- Ridgley, Thomas, *A Body of Divinity*, 2 vols. (1731-3, second edition 1734, third edition 1770)

Robinson, Benjamin, *A Letter to Mr. Thomas Bennet, in Defence of the Review of the Case of Liturgies* (London, 1710)

_____, *A Review of the Case of Liturgies* (London, 1710)

Rogers, Timothy, *Early Religion: Or, The Way for a Young Man to Remember his Creator* (London, 1683)

Rohault, Jacques, *Physica* (London, 1697)

_____, *Rohault's System of Natural Philosophy, Illustrated with Dr. Samuel Clarke's Notes Taken Mostly out of Sr. Isaac Newton's Philosophy*, ed. Samuel Clark, 2 vols. (London, 1723)

_____, *Tractatus physicus* (London, 1682)

Rudd, Thomas, *Euclides Elements of Geometry the First VI Books* (London, 1651)

Sacheverell, Benjamin, *Sacheverell against Sacheverell* (London, 1711)

Sacheverell, Henry, *Dr. Henry Sacheverell's Speech made in Westminster-Hall* (London, 1710)

_____, *The Nature and Mischief of Prejudice and Partiality Stated* (London, 1704)

_____, *The Perils of False Brethren* (London, 1709)

Saint German, Christopher, *The Dyaloges in Englysshe Betwene a Doctour of Divinitie and a Stude[n]t in the Lawes of Engla[n]d* (London, 1554)

Sanderson, Robert, *Logicae artis compendium* (Oxford, 1615)

Scheibler, Christoph, *Metaphysica duobus libris universum* (Oxford, 1665)

_____, *Philosophia compendiosa exhibens 1. Logicae, 2. Metaphysicae, 3. Physicae, 4. Geometriae, 5. Astronomiae, 6. Opticae, 7. Ethicae, 8. Politicae & 9. Oeconomicae: compendium methodicum* (Oxford, 1639)

Scott, Daniel, *An Essay Towards a Demonstration of the Scripture-Trinity* (London, 1725)

Seasonable and Honest Advice to the Nobility, Clergy, Gentry, Souldiery (London, 1688)

Secker, Thomas, *The Autobiography of Thomas Secker*, ed. John S. Macauley and R. W. Greaves (Kansas, 1988)

_____, *The Works of Thomas Secker*, ed. Beilby Porteus and George Stinton, 6 vols. (London, 1825)

Senex, John, *A Treatise of the Description and Use of Both Globes* (London, 1711)

Shaw, John, *No Reformation of the Established Reformation* (London, 1685)

Sherman, John, *The Righteous Man's Character and Privilege in Death* (London, 1729)

Showers, John, *Death a Deliverance, or, A Funeral Discourse, Preach'd (in Part) on the Decease of Mrs. M. Doolittle* (London, 1693)

_____, *A Funeral Sermon, Occasion'd by the Sudden Death of the Reverend Mr. Nathanael Taylor* (London, 1702)

Smiglecki, Marcin, *Logica Martini Smigleccii Societatis Jesu* (Oxford, 1634)

Smith, William, *Contrivances of the Fanatical Conspirators* (London, 1685)

Sphinx Lvgdvno-genevensis, sive, reformatore proteus (London, 1683)

Sprint, John, *A Funeral Sermon for the Reverend Mr. Hartford* (London, 1707)

_____, *A Funeral Sermon for the Reverend Mr. Warren* (London, 1707)

Stedman, Joseph, *Presbyterian Priest-Craft* (London, 1720)

Stogdon, Hubert, *Poems and Letters of the Late Reverend Mr. Hubert Stogdon* (London, 1729)

Tallents, Francis, *A Short History of Schism* (London, 1705)

_____, *Some Few Considerations* (London, 1706)

Taylor, Abraham, *Of the Happiness of Believers in their Death* (London, 1731)

Taylor, Jeremy, *Ductor dubitantium* (London, 1671)

A Third Dialogue between the Pope and a Phanatick, concerning Affairs in England (London, 1684)

Thoresby, Ralph, *The Diary of Ralph Thoresby, F. R. S.*, ed. Joseph Hunter, 2 vols. (London, 1830)

_____, *Letters of Eminent Men*, 2 vols. (London, 1832)

Tong, William, *An Account of the Life and Death of Mr. Matthew Henry* (London, 1716)

_____, *A Defence of Mr. M. H's Brief Enquiry into the Nature of Schism and the Vindication of it* (London, 1693)

_____, *Some Memoirs of the Life and Death of the Reverend Mr. John Shower* (London, 1716)

_____, *A Vindication of Mr. H's Brief Enquiry into the True Nature of Schism* (London, 1691)

A True Account of the Taking of Mr. Casteers at Tenderton in Kent and Mr. Lobb in Essex (London, 1683)

A True Account of what was Transacted in the Assembly of the United Ministers of Devon and Cornwall, met at Exon, May 5. and 6. 1719 (London, 1719)

A True Relation of Some Proceedings at Salters-Hall (London, 1719)

The Tryal of Dr. Henry Sacheverell (London, 1710)

Turner, George Lyon, *Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence*, 3 vols. (London, 1911)

Tutchin, John, *The Bloody Assizes* (London, 1689)

Twyne, Brian, *Antiquitatis academiae Oxoniensis apologia* (Oxford, 1608)

Ugolinus, Blasius (ed.), *Thesaurus antiquitatum sacrarum*, 34 vols. (Venice, 1744-69)

W., R., *Two Letters to a Friend, concerning the Distempers of the Present Times* (London, 1686)

Walker, John, *An Attempt towards Recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England* (London, 1714)

Wallis, John, *Institutio logicae* (Oxford, 1687)

Warwick County Records: Quarter Sessions Records: Trinity, 1682, to Epiphany, 1690, ed. H. C. Johnson (Warwick, 1953)

Waters, James, *The Christian's Life, a Hidden Life* (London, 1717)

_____, *Some Letters concerning the Validity of Ordination by Presbyters, between Mr. Jacques ... and James Waters* (1703)

Watts, Isaac, *Horae lyricae* (London, 1706)

_____, *Logick: or, the Right Use of Reason in the Enquiry after Truth* (London, 1725)

Wendelin, Marcus Friedrich, *Logicae institutiones tironum adolescentum* (Amsterdam, 1654)

Wesley, Samuel, *A Defence of a Letter concerning the Education of Dissenters in their Private Academies* (London, 1704)

_____, *A Letter from a Country Divine to his Friend in London. Concerning the Education of the Dissenters, in their Private Academies* (London, 1703)

_____, *A Reply to Mr. Palmer's Vindication of the Learning, Loyalty, Morals, and Christian Behaviour of the Dissenters towards the Church of England* (London, 1707)

Whiston, William, *Primitive Christianity Reviv'd*, 2 vols. (London, 1711-12)

Whitby, Daniel, *Ethices compendium* (Oxford, 1684)

Whitehead, George, *The Principal Controversies between the Litteral Presbyters of the Kirk of Scotland, and the ... Quakers* (London, 1672)

Wilkins, John, *Ecclesiastes: or, A Discourse concerning the Gift of Preaching* (7th edition, London, 1693)

Williams, Daniel, *Christian Sincerity: Described in a Funeral Sermon ... Occasion'd by the Death of ... Mr Thomas Doolittle* (London, 1707)

_____, *A Funeral Sermon on the Decease of the Reverend Mr. John Woodhouse* (London, 1701)

_____, *A Funeral Sermon upon Occasion of the Death of the Reverend Mr. Matthew Henry* (London, 1714)

Wise, Thomas, *A Confutation of the Reason and Philosophy of Atheism*, 2 vols. (London, 1706)

Wits, Herman, *Ægyptiaca, sive de Ægyptiacorum sacrorum cum Hebraicis collatione, libri tres* ([Basel?], 1739)

Wood, James, *The Believer's Committing of his Soul to Christ Considered* (London, 1729)

_____, *Consciousness to his Sincerity, the Christian's Rejoicing* (London, 1727)

_____, *The Returning our Spirits to Him that Gave Them* (London, 1733)

Woolley, Charles, *The Decency and Order of Church and State as Now Established* (London, 1684)

A Word to the True Blew Protestants, or, Those of the Thorough Reformation (London, 1683)

Wright, Samuel, *The Blessedness of Them that Die* (London, 1716)

_____, *A Sermon Occasion'd by the Death of the Late Reverend Mr. Thomas Cotton* (London, 1730)

[_____] , *Remarks on a Sermon Preached by the Reverend Mr. Thomas Mole* (London, 1732)

Wroe, Caleb, *Four Letters to a Friend* (London, 1725)

_____, *The Improvement and Perfection of our Faith* (London, 1722)

2(b) Printed Secondary Sources

- Aikin, John, *General Biography*, 10 vols. (London, 1799-1815)
- Argent, Alan, *Serving the Saints* (Nottingham, 2010)
- Ashley Smith, J. W., *The Birth of Modern Education. The Contribution of the Dissenting Academies, 1660-1800* (London, 1954)
- Backscheider, Paula, *Daniel Defoe: His Life* (Baltimore, 1989)
- Barnard, Leslie W., *Thomas Secker: an Eighteenth-Century Primate* (Lewes, 1998)
- Bate, Frank, *The Declaration of Indulgence, 1672* (London, 1908)
- Beddard, R. A., 'Restoration Oxford and the Remaking of the Protestant Establishment', in *The History of the University of Oxford IV: Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke (Oxford, 1987), pp. 803-62
- Berg, Johannes van den, *Philip Doddridge (1702-1751) and the Netherlands* (Leiden, 1987)
- The Biographical and Martyrological Dictionary* (Newcastle, 1790)
- Boersma, Hans, *A Hot Pepper Corn: Richard Baxter's Doctrine of Justification* (Zoetermeer, 1993)
- Bogue, David, and James Bennett, *History of Dissenters, from the Revolution in 1688, to the Year 1808*, 4 vols. (London, 1808-12)
- Bolam, Gordon, Jeremy Goring, H. L. Short and Roger Thomas, *The English Presbyterians from Elizabethan Puritanism to Modern Unitarianism* (London, 1967)
- Brown, Dorothy, *Evangelicals and Education in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Madison, 1992)
- Browne, John, *History of Congregationalism and Memorials of the Churches in Norfolk and Suffolk* (London, 1877)
- Burley, Stephen, 'Hazlitt the Dissenter: Religion, Philosophy, and Politics, 1766-1816', unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2010
- C., J. H., 'English Education under the Test Acts', *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society of England*, 5 (1932-5), 41-3
- Cardwell, Edward, *Synodalia*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1842)
- The Christian Reformer. A Monthly Magazine of Liberal Religious Thought and Life*, 4 vols. (London, 1886-7)
- Clark, John Ruskin, *Joseph Priestley, a Comet in the System* (San Diego, CA, 1990)

- Cleal, Edward E., *The Story of Congregationalism in Surrey* (London, 1908)
- Cliffe, J. T., *The Puritan Gentry Besieged* (London, 1993)
- Coffey, John, *Politics, Religion and the British Revolutions: The Mind of Samuel Rutherford* (Cambridge, 1997)
- Colligan, J. H., *The Arian Movement in England* (Manchester, 1913)
- Costello, William T., *The Scholastic Curriculum at Cambridge* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958)
- Dale, Bryan, *Yorkshire Puritanism and Early Nonconformity* (Bradford, 1909)
- Davids, T. W., *Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in the County of Essex* (London, 1863)
- Davies, William, *The Tewkesbury Academy: with Sketches of its Tutor and Students* (Tewkesbury, c. 1914)
- Deacon, Malcolm, *Philip Doddridge of Northampton, 1702-51* (Northampton, 1980)
- Densham, W., and J. Ogle, *The Story of the Congregational Churches of Dorset* (Bournemouth, 1899)
- The Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, 63 vols. (London, 1885-1900)
- Dissenting Academies Online: Virtual Library System*, ed. Rosemary Dixon and Kyle Roberts, <http://vls.english.qmul.ac.uk/>
- Dissenting Academies Online: Database and Encyclopedia*, ed. Simon Dixon and Inga Jones, <http://dissacad.english.qmul.ac.uk/>
- Dissenting Education and the Legacy of John Jennings*, ed. Tessa Whitehouse, <http://www.english.qmul.ac.uk/drwilliams/pubs/jennings%20legacy.html>
- Earle, Peter, *Monmouth's Rebels* (London, 1977)
- 'Early Nonconformist Academies', *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*, 3 (1907-8), 272-90; 4 (1909-10), 41-8, 233-53; 5 (1911-12), 14-22, 68-82, 151-62; 6 (1913-14), 20-4, 136-44, 188-92, 272-86, 291-6, 377-8
- Eliot, Ernest, *A History of Congregationalism in Shropshire* (Oswestry, c. 1896)
- Evans, G. R., *The University of Cambridge: A New History* (London, 2010)
- Evans, George Eyre, *Vestiges of Protestant Dissent* (Liverpool, 1897)
- Feingold, Mordechai, 'The Humanities', in *The History of the University of Oxford IV: Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke (Oxford, 1987), pp. 211-358
- Fletcher, Harris Francis, *The Intellectual Development of John Milton*, 2 vols. (Urbana, 1956)

- Foster, Joseph, *Alumni Oxoniensis: The Members of the University of Oxford 1500-1714*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1891)
- Fowler, Joseph Thomas, *Durham University, Earlier Foundations and Present Colleges* (London, 1904)
- Furbank P. N., and W. R. Owens, *Defoe De-attributions* (London, 1994)
- Gibbons, Thomas, *Memoirs of the Rev. Isaac Watts* (London, 1780)
- Gibson, William, *Religion and the Enlightenment 1600-1800: Conflict and the Rise of Civic Humanism in Taunton* (Bern, 2007)
- Goldie, Mark, 'The Hilton Gang and the Purge of London in the 1680s', in *Politics and the Political Imagination in Later Stuart Britain*, ed. Howard Nenner (Rochester, N.Y., 1998), pp. 43-73
- Gordon, Alexander, *Addresses Biographical and Historical* (London, 1922)
- _____, *Cheshire Classis Minutes 1691-1745* (London, 1919)
- _____, *Freedom After Ejection: A Review, 1690-1692, of Presbyterian and Congregational Nonconformity in England and Wales* (Manchester, 1917)
- Greaves, Richard L., *The Puritan Revolution and Educational Thought* (New Brunswick, 1965)
- _____, *Secrets of the Kingdom* (Stanford, 1992)
- Green, I. M., *The Re-establishment of the Church of England* (Oxford, 1978)
- Green, Ian, *Humanism and Protestantism in Early Modern English Education* (Farnham, 2009)
- Gregg, Edward, *Queen Anne* (London, 1980)
- Grell, Ole, Jonathan Israel, and Nicholas Tyacke (eds), *From Persecution to Toleration* (Oxford, 1991)
- Grell, Ole, and Bob Scribner, *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation* (Cambridge, 1996)
- Griffiths, Olive M., *Religion and Learning* (Cambridge, 1935)
- Haakonssen, Knud (ed.), *Enlightenment and Religion: Rational Dissent in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge, 1996)
- Halley, Robert, *Lancashire: its Puritanism and Nonconformity*, 2 vols. (Manchester, 1869)
- Hans, Nicholas, *New Trends in Education in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1951)
- Heyworth, P. L., *Forbes Collection* (Toronto, 1968)
- Hill, Christopher, *The Century of Revolution 1603-1714* (2nd edition, London, 1968)

- History of Parliament Trust, *The House of Commons, 1660-1690*, 3 vols. (London, 1983)
- Holmes, Geoffrey, *British Politics in the Age of Anne* (London, 1967)
- Horwitz, Henry, *Revolution Politics* (Cambridge, 1968)
- Hunter, Joseph, *Ecclesiastical Documents* (London, 1840)
- _____, *Familiae minorum gentium*, 4 vols. (London, 1894)
- _____, *Gens Sylvestrina* (London, 1846)
- _____, *The Rise of the Old Dissent, Exemplified in the Life of Oliver Heywood* (London, 1842)
- Ingram, Robert G., *Religion, Reform and Modernity in the Eighteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2007)
- James, T. S., *The History of the Litigation and Legislation respecting Presbyterian Chapels and Charities in England and Ireland between 1816 and 1849* (London, 1867)
- Jones, D. R. L., 'Fame and Obscurity: Samuel Jones of Brynllwarch', *Journal of Welsh Religious History*, 1 (1993), 41-65
- Jones, J. R., 'Political Groups and Tactics in the Convention of 1660', *Historical Journal*, 6 (1963), 159-77
- Keeble, N. H., *The Literary Culture of Nonconformity in Later Seventeenth-Century England* (Leicester, 1987)
- _____, and Geoffrey Nuttall, *Calendar of the Correspondence of Richard Baxter*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1991)
- Kennedy, Rick, *Aristotelian and Cartesian Logic at Harvard* (Boston, 1995)
- Kieft, Lester, and Bennett R. Willeford, Jr. (eds), *Joseph Priestley: Scientist, Theologian, and Metaphysician* (Lewisburg, PA, 1980)
- Knoles, Thomas, Rick Kennedy, and Lucia Zaucha Knoles, *Student Notebooks at Colonial Harvard* (Worcester, 2003)
- Lacey, Douglas R., *Dissent and Parliamentary Politics in England 1661-1689* (New Brunswick, 1969)
- Lewalski, Barbara, *The Life of John Milton* (Oxford, 2003)
- McLachlan, Herbert, *Alexander Gordon* (Manchester, 1932)
- _____, *English Education under the Test Acts: Being the History of the Non-Conformist Academies, 1662-1820* (Manchester, 1931)
- _____, *Essays and Addresses* (Manchester, 1950)

- _____, *The Unitarian College Library* (Manchester, 1939)
- _____, *Unitarian College, Manchester: Register of Students, 1854-1929* (Manchester, 1929)
- _____, *The Unitarian Home Missionary College, 1854-1914* (London, 1913)
- _____, *Warrington Academy* (Manchester, 1943)
- McLachlan, H. John, *Socinianism in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1951)
- Manning, James, *A Sketch of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Micaiah Towgood* (Exeter, 1792)
- Manning, J. E., *A History of Upper Chapel, Sheffield* (Sheffield, 1900)
- Matthews, A. G., *Calamy Revised* (Oxford, 1934)
- _____, *The Congregational Churches of Staffordshire* (London, 1924)
- Miall, James G., *Congregationalism in Yorkshire* (London, 1868)
- Middleton, Erasmus, *Biographia Evangelica*, 4 vols. (London, 1779-86)
- Miller, Thomas P., *The Formation of College English: Rhetoric and Belles Lettres in the British Cultural Provinces* (Pittsburgh, 1997)
- Mills, Simon, 'Joseph Priestley and the intellectual Culture of Rational Dissent, 1752-1796', unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2009
- Moore, John Robert, *Daniel Defoe: Citizen of the Modern World* (Chicago, 1958)
- Morgan, John, *Godly Learning* (Cambridge, 1986)
- Morison, Samuel Eliot, *Harvard in the Seventeenth Century*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1930)
- Nicholson, Francis, and Ernest Axon, *The Older Nonconformity in Kendal* (Kendal, 1915)
- Nightingale, Benjamin, *Early Stages of the Quaker Movement in Lancashire* (London, 1921)
- _____, *The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland*, 2 vols. (Manchester, 1911)
- _____, *Lancashire Nonconformity*, 6 vols. (Manchester, 1890-3)
- Novak, Maximillian, *Daniel Defoe: Master of Fictions* (Oxford, 2001)
- Nuttall, Geoffrey F., *Calendar of the Correspondence of Philip Doddridge* (Northampton, 1979)
- _____ (ed.), *Philip Doddridge, 1702-51* (London, 1951)

Nuttall, G. F., 'Philip Henry and London', *Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society*, 5.5 (1994), 259-66

The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, ed. Colin Matthew and Brian Harrison, 60 vols. (Oxford, 2004); online at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/>

Palmer, Samuel, *The Nonconformist's Memorial*, 2 vols. (London, 1775)

Parker, Irene, *Dissenting Academies in England* (Cambridge, 1914)

Pearson, Mark, *Northowram: its History and Antiquities, with a Life of Oliver Heywood* (Halifax, 1898)

Peel, Albert, 'The Throckmorton Trotman Trust, 1664-1941', *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*, 14 (1940-4), 70-93

Protestant Dissenters' Magazine, 6 vols. (London, 1794-9)

Rees, Thomas, *History of Protestant Nonconformity in Wales, from its Rise to the Present Time* (London, 1861)

Reid, David A., 'A Science for Polite Society', *History of Universities*, 21/2 (2006), 119-58

Richetti, John J., *Daniel Defoe* (Boston, 1987)

Rivers, Isabel, *The Defence of Truth through the Knowledge of Error* (London, 2003)

_____, and David L. Wykes (eds), *Joseph Priestley, Scientist, Philosopher, and Theologian* (London, 2008)

Roberts, H. D., *Matthew Henry and his Chapel, 1662-1900* (Liverpool, 1901)

Roberts, H. P., 'Nonconformist Academies in Wales', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1 (1930), 1-98

Rupp, Ernest Gordon, *Religion in England, 1688-1791* (Oxford, 1986)

Seaward, Paul, *The Cavalier Parliament and the Reconstruction of the Old Regime, 1661-1667* (Cambridge, 1989)

Sell, Alan P. F., *John Locke and the Eighteenth Century Divines* (Cardiff, 1997)

_____, *Philosophy, Dissent and Nonconformity* (Cambridge, 2004)

Sibree, John, and Moses Caston, *Independency in Warwickshire* (Coventry, 1855)

Snyder, Henry L., 'The Defeat of the Occasional Conformity Bill and the Tack: A Study in the Techniques of Parliamentary Management in the Reign of Queen Anne', in *Peers, Politics and Power: The House of Lords, 1603-1911*, ed. C. and D. L. Jones (London, 1986), pp. 111-31

The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, <http://plato.stanford.edu/>

- The Statutes at Large*, 9 vols. (London, 1763-5)
- The Statutes of the Realm*, 11 vols. (London, 1810-28)
- Stone, Lawrence, 'The Educational Revolution in England, 1560-1640', *Past and Present*, 28 (1964), 41-80
- Summers, W. H., *History of the Congregational Churches in the Berks, South Oxon and South Bucks Association* (Newbury, 1905)
- The Surman Index Online*, <http://surman.english.qmul.ac.uk/>
- Sykes, Norman, *From Sheldon to Secker* (Cambridge, 1958)
- Taylor, Stephen, and David L. Wykes (eds), *Parliament and Dissent* (Edinburgh, 2005)
- Thomas, Roger, *An Essay of Accommodation* (London, 1957)
- Timpson, Thomas, *Church History of Kent* (London, 1859)
- Toon, Peter, *The Emergence of Hyper-Calvinism in English Nonconformity 1689-1765* (London, 1967)
- Toulmin, Joshua, *An Historical View of the State of the Protestant Dissenters in England* (Bath, 1814)
- Turner, William, 'Historical Account of Warrington Academy', *Monthly Repository*, 8 (1813), 1-5, 86-91, 161-72, 226-31, 287-94, 429-33, 576-9, 625-9
- _____, *Lives of Eminent Unitarians*, 2 vols. (London, 1840-3)
- Tyacke, Nicholas (ed.), *The History of the University of Oxford IV: Seventeenth-Century Oxford* (Oxford, 1987)
- Urwick, William, *Historical Sketches of Nonconformity in the County Palatine of Chester* (London, 1864)
- _____, *Nonconformity in Herts.* (London, 1884)
- Vickers, Ilse, *Defoe and the New Sciences* (Cambridge, 1996)
- Waddington, John, *Surrey Congregational History* (London, 1866)
- Wallace, Dewey D., *Puritans and Predestination: Grace in English Protestant Theology 1525-1695* (Chapel Hill, 1982)
- Walsham, Alexandra, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500-1700* (Manchester, 2006)
- Watkins, John, *An Universal Biographical and Historical Dictionary* (London, 1800)
- Watts, Michael R., *The Dissenters: From the Reformation to the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1978)

Western, J. R., *Monarchy and Revolution* (London, 1972)

Whitehouse, Tessa, 'Isaac Watts and Philip Doddridge: Letters, Lectures and Lives in Eighteenth-Century Dissenting Culture', unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2011

Whitley, W. T., 'Private Schools, 1660-1689', *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*, 12 (1933-6), 172-85

Williams, John Bickerton, *Memoirs of the Life, Character, and Writings of the Rev. Matthew Henry* (London, 1828)

Wilson, Joshua, *An Appeal to Dissenters* (London, 1831)

_____, *Calumnies Confuted* (London, 1863)

_____, *English Presbyterian Chapels* (London, 1844)

_____, *An Historical Inquiry* (London, 1835)

Wilson, Walter, *The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses, in London, Westminster, and Southwark*, 4 vols. (London, 1808-14)

_____, *Memoirs of Daniel De Foe*, 2 vols. (London, 1830)

Wood, Paul, *Science and Dissent in England, 1688-1945* (Aldershot, 1988)

Wykes, David L., 'The Contribution of the Dissenting Academy to the Emergence of Rational Dissent', in *Enlightenment and Religion: Rational Dissent in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Knud Haakonssen (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 99-139

_____, 'Introduction', in *Parliament and Dissent*, ed. Stephen Taylor and David L. Wykes (Edinburgh, 2005), pp. 1-26

Zook, Melinda, *Radical Whigs and Conspiratorial Politics in Late Stuart England* (University Park, PA, 1999)