

Mark Burden, *A Biographical Dictionary of Tutors at the Dissenters' Private Academies, 1660–1729*
Dr Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies, 2013

**A BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY
OF TUTORS
AT THE DISSENTERS' PRIVATE ACADEMIES,
1660–1729**

MARK BURDEN

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2013**

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ABBREVIATIONS

Archives

The following list includes every archival repository abbreviated in the Introduction and tutor biographies.

BBCL	Bristol Baptist College Library
BL	British Library
Bod. Lib.	Bodleian Library
BRO	Berkshire Record Office
BrRO	Bristol Record Office
BUL	Birmingham University Library
C&CA	Cheshire and Chester Archives
CL	Congregational Library, London
CUL	Cambridge University Library
DLSL	Derby Local Studies Library
DWL	Dr Williams's Library
ERO	Essex Record Office
EUA	Edinburgh University Archives
GA	Gloucestershire Archives
GUL	Glasgow University Library
HMC	Harris Manchester College, Oxford
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library
NLW	National Library of Wales
NU	Nottingham University
PA	Parliamentary Archives
RS	Royal Society
SA	Shropshire Archives
SRO	Suffolk Record Office (Ipswich)
StRO	Staffordshire Record Office
TNA	The National Archives
USL	University of Sheffield Library
W&SRO	Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office
WL	Wellcome Library
WRO	Warwickshire Record Office
WSRO	West Sussex Record Office
YAS	Yorkshire Archaeological Society
YUBL	Yale University, Beinecke Library

Printed Books

This list provides full bibliographic details for every item which is abbreviated in the Introduction and a small number of key reference works used in the tutor biographies. All titles abbreviated in each tutor biography will be found in full in the subsequent References section.

- Ashley Smith, *Modern Education* J. W. Ashley Smith, *The Birth of Modern Education. The Contribution of the Dissenting Academies, 1660–1800* (London, 1954)
- Bogue and Bennett, *Dissenters* David Bogue and James Bennett, *History of Dissenters, from the Revolution in 1668, to the Year 1808*, 4 vols. (London, 1808–12)
- Burden, 'Academical Learning' Mark Burden, 'Academical Learning at the Dissenters' Private Academies', unpublished PhD thesis, University of London (2012)
- Calamy, *Account* Edmund Calamy, *An Account of the Ministers, Lecturers, Masters and Fellows of Colleges and Schoolmasters, who were Ejected or Silenced after the Restoration in 1660. By, or Before, the Act for Uniformity* (London, 1713)
- 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 of 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, *Ashe* James Clegg, *Assistance in Preparing for Death and Judgment. A Discourse Occasion'd by the Sudden Death of the Reverend Mr. John Ashe* (London, 1736)
- Clegg, *Diary* *The Diary of James Clegg of Chapel en le Frith, 1708–1755*, ed. V. S. Doe, 3 vols. (Matlock, 1978–81)
- Costello, *Cambridge* William T. Costello, *The Scholastic Curriculum at Cambridge* (Cambridge, MA, 1958)
- Defoe, *Present State* Daniel Defoe, *The Present State of the Parties in Great Britain* (London, 1712)
- Feingold, 'Humanities' Mordechai Feingold, 'The Humanities', in *The History of the University of Oxford IV: Seventeenth–Century Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke (Oxford, 1987)
- Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis* Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis: The Members of the University of Oxford 1500–1714*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1891)
- Fox, 'Memoirs' '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, 270–5, 325–31, 441–7, 505–7, 569–75, 633–5, 697–9, 722–7.
- Gibbons, *Watts* Thomas Gibbons, *Memoirs of the Rev. Isaac Watts* (London, 1780)
- Gordon, *Freedom* Alexander Gordon, *Freedom After Ejection: A Review, 1690–1692, of Presbyterian and Congregational Nonconformity in England and Wales* (Manchester, 1917)
- Heywood, *Diaries* *The Rev. Oliver Heywood, B. A., 1630–1702: His Autobiography, Diaries, Anecdote and Event Books*, ed. J. Horsfall Turner, 4 vols. (Bridghouse, 1882–5)
- Humphreys, *Doddridge* J. D. Humphreys (ed.), *The Correspondence and Diary of Philip Doddridge*, 5 vols. (London, 1829–31)
- James, *Chapels and Charities* 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)
- Latham, *Preparation* Latham, Ebenezer, *Preparation for Death, and Fitness for Heaven. A Sermon Preached . . . on Occasion of the Death of the Reverend Mr. Daniel Madock* (London, 1745)
- Matthews, *Calamy Revised* A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised* (Oxford, 1934)
- McLachlan, *English Education* Herbert McLachlan, *English Education under the Test Acts: Being the History of the Nonconformist Academies, 1662–1820* (Manchester, 1931)
- Morrice, *Entring Book* *The Entering Book of Roger Morrice*, ed. Mark Goldie, 7 vols. (Woodbridge, 2007–9)
- 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 (Bridghouse, 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, *James 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, *Dissenting Academies* Irene Parker, *Dissenting Academies in England* (Cambridge, 1914)

- Secker, *Autobiography* *The Autobiography of Thomas Secker*, ed. John S. Macauley and R. W. Greaves (Kansas, 1988)
- Thoresby, *Letters* *Letters of Eminent Men, Addressed to Ralph Thoresby*, ed. Joseph Hunter, 2 vols. (London, 1832)
- Toulmin, *Historical View* Joshua Toulmin, *An Historical View of the State of the Protestant Dissenters in England* (Bath, 1814)
- Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* John Venn and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses: Part I From the Earliest Times to 1751*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1922–7)
- 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)
- Wilson, *Dissenting Churches* Walter Wilson, *The History and Antiquities of the Dissenting Churches and Meeting House in London, Westminster and Southwark*, 4 vols. (London, 1808–14)
- Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis* Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1691–2)

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this *Biographical Dictionary of Tutors* is to set out, as far as is currently possible, the lives of every known tutor at the dissenters' earliest academies, from the Restoration of Charles II and the episcopal Church of England in 1660, to the opening of Philip Doddridge's academy in 1729. The account of each tutor's life is followed by a comprehensive set of sources, including the tutor's manuscript and printed works, and secondary material relating to his life, his writings, and his academy. Writing the history of tutors rather than of academies is a deliberate choice, based on my conviction that institutional histories of the dissenters' earliest academies are in some cases impossible, and in other cases undesirable. Previous attempts at writing the histories of the earliest academies have resulted in the misleading impression being created that they were solid institutions, with a fixed geographical location, offering a fixed course of study according to a pre-existing model.¹ Yet no part of this impression can be assumed to be correct. Many of the dissenters' earliest academies were small-scale societies rather than institutions, frequently migratory, altering the types of study offered according to the whims of their patrons, and with no clear precedent or basis in law. Even the term 'dissenting academy' features rarely in the extant literature, and only from the eighteenth century onwards.² For that reason, I have preferred to use the term 'private academy', a concept more familiar to educators during the later Stuart period; this phrase also has the advantage of forestalling the unfortunate assumption that academies themselves were necessarily 'dissenting', either from church or state: few of them earned a reputation for political radicalism, and many of their students later took up posts within the Church of England.

There are, then, clear empirical as well as methodological reasons for writing a dictionary of dissenting tutors, rather than a history of dissenting academies, for the period 1660–1729. However, one disadvantage of such an approach is that much of the wider

¹ Irene Parker, *Dissenting Academies in England* (Cambridge, 1914), hereafter Parker, *Dissenting Academies*; Herbert McLachlan, *English Education under the Test Acts: Being the History of the Nonconformist Academies, 1662–1820* (Manchester, 1931), hereafter McLachlan, *English Education*; J. W. Ashley Smith, *The Birth of Modern Education. The Contribution of the Dissenting Academies, 1660–1800* (London, 1954), hereafter Ashley Smith, *Modern Education*; Nicholas Hans, *New Trends in Education in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1951).

² The earliest example I have discovered is in the title to a work by the dissenting tutor James Owen, *Moderation still a Virtue: ... With a Short Vindication of the Dissenting Academies, Against Mr. Sacheverel's Misrepresentation of 'em* (London, 1703), referring to Henry Sacheverell's *The Nature and Mischief of Prejudice and Partiality Stated* (London, 1704).

picture, such as the connections between tutors, the political context of the academies, and general intellectual trends among dissenters, can be lost. The purpose of this introduction, then, is to provide a wide-angle lens (political and intellectual context) to complement the following magnifying glass (tutor biographies). After a brief account of the political context within which the academies operated, I consider the structure of academy learning, the different forms of manuscript evidence now available for analysing academy courses, and the intellectual trends suggested by that evidence. I then discuss changing attitudes towards the dissenters' academies from the eighteenth century to the present day, including printed histories and antiquarian manuscripts, and conclude with a guide on how to use the dictionary. Taken as a whole, then, this introduction seeks to survey a wide range of both manuscript and printed sources, providing some context for the extensive lists of sources contained in the dictionary itself.

I. A Brief History of the Dissenters' Early Academies, 1660–1729

The dissenters' private academies emerged following the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660. Among the fundamental objectives of Charles II's early parliaments were the re-establishment of the episcopal Church of England, and the re-introduction of the Book of Common Prayer.³ These objectives were achieved primarily through two pieces of legislation, the Act for the Confirming and Restoring of Ministers (1660), and the Act of Uniformity (1662). The first of these Acts, despite its name, resulted in the replacement of many hundreds of puritan ministers, university tutors, and other officials by episcopalians who were deemed to have suffered during the Revolution and the Cromwellian Protectorate. At least 14 heads of colleges in Oxford and Cambridge were removed and replaced as a consequence of this Act, together with over 40 fellows and several college chaplains. The Act of Uniformity (1662), as well as reinstating the revised Book of Common Prayer, required officeholders, including university tutors and schoolmasters, to promise not to take arms against the King, to conform to the Church of England liturgy, and to forswear the puritan Solemn League and Covenant. The accompanying oaths were not only demanded from existing ministers and tutors, but were also required from all future tutors and schoolmasters.

³ The classic studies are I. M. Green, *The Re-establishment of the Church of England, 1660–1663* (Oxford, 1978), and Paul Seaward, *The Cavalier Parliament and the Reconstruction of the Old Regime* (Cambridge, 1989).

All schools had to be licensed by the local bishop, and any unlicensed tutors could be prosecuted. These conditions placed many puritans in the unenviable position of having to relinquish their ministry and teaching, or compromise their principles. At Oxford and Cambridge, a further 3 college principals and 20 fellows left their posts as a consequence of the Act of Uniformity.⁴ This exodus of puritan tutors made the universities intellectually and morally unpalatable to young dissenters and their families in the years that followed. At the same time, the combined effect of the 1660 and 1662 Acts was to provide a surplus of highly qualified and experienced puritan tutors. It was perhaps inevitable that many of these men would continue to teach privately, in defiance of the law, and that their students would be taken largely from the ranks of the puritan gentry and professions. In the years immediately after the Restoration this teaching largely took two forms. Tutors could open small-scale grammar schools, eschewing divinity for the relatively uncontroversial practice of teaching Latin grammar.⁵ Other tutors were employed as chaplains in wealthy families, a position which often included providing tuition for the children of the household.⁶

It was amid this culture of teaching and private preaching that the dissenters' private academies first appeared. These academies should not be confused with the dissenters' grammar schools and private tutors. Private academies convened in the house of the tutor, whereas private tutors operated in locations dictated by their employers, typically the family home. Academy tutors taught university subjects, whereas grammar schools focused on language learning and study of the classics. The reasons why dissenting tutors began teaching university subjects in private academies are not entirely clear, although an essential precondition was the same surfeit of dissenting students and unemployed university tutors that had led to an increase in private schools and dissenting chaplains. Two pieces of evidence from the late 1660s provide examples of the nature and operation of these earliest academies. When William Hamilton wrote the biography of the government official James Bonnell in 1703, he asserted that Bonnell had been educated *c.* 1667 by the dissenting tutor Thomas Cole at his 'Private Philosophy School in *Oxfordshire*'; here, Bonnell himself

⁴ R. A. Beddard, '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), 803–62; Mark Burden, 'Academical Learning at the Dissenters' Private Academies', unpublished PhD thesis, University of London (2012) (hereafter Burden, 'Academical Learning'), 43–50; A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised* (Oxford, 1934).

⁵ W. T. Whitley, 'Private Schools, 1660–1689', *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*, 12 (London, 1933–6), 172–85, is the only article on this topic, and is seriously defective in facts and interpretation. The best book on earlier puritan schools is John Philip Morgan, *Godly Learning* (Cambridge, 1986).

⁶ J. T. Cliffe, *The Puritan Gentry Besieged* (London, 1993).

recalled, Cole had 'Read to us *Aristotles Philosophy*, and Instructed us in the *Classics* and *Oratory*'.⁷ The second, slightly more extensive piece of evidence is the schoolteacher Adam Martindale's description of his son's education. In 1667 Martindale sent his son to Cambridge University, but quickly found it to be an unsuitable environment. Instead, the younger Martindale 'learned some logicke in the countrey'. His father then sent him to a private house in Oxford, and he received some tuition at Brasenose College. However, full participation in university life required subscription to the Thirty–Nine Articles of the Church of England, and Martindale was not prepared to allow his son to subscribe. Therefore he went to stay with a number of other students at the house of the dissenter Henry Hickman. Here he stayed for two years, during which Hickman 'brought him clearely through the whole bodie of philosophie'.⁸ The early academies of Cole and Hickman, then, were not ministerial seminaries, and there is no indication that these tutors taught their students theology. Rather, they were running philosophy academies; in other words, they focused on the study of Aristotelian university subjects (logic, metaphysics, ethics, and physics), together with classical literature and rhetoric.

The development of the dissenters' philosophy academies into ministerial seminaries came in the wake of several practical necessities and intellectual developments within dissent in the 1670s. As a consequence of the Act for Confirming and Restoring of Ministers and the Act of Uniformity, over 2,500 puritan ministers had left the Church of England by 1663. Most of these men, known henceforth as nonconformists, had continued to preach privately, and usually illegally, to small congregations known as conventicles.⁹ By the mid 1670s many of these conventicle preachers had died, requiring a new generation of dissenting ministers to take their place. These new preachers needed to be trained in principles of theology and puritan church government, as well as gaining a knowledge in philosophy equivalent to the undergraduate university curriculum. The earliest recorded ordinations of dissenting ministerial candidates took place in 1678, 1680, and 1681.¹⁰ However, it took many years to train a dissenting minister. An extensive grammar school education was, in theory at least, to

⁷ James Hamilton, *The Life and Character of James Bonnell Esq* (Dublin, 1703), 11–12.

⁸ Adam Martindale, *The Life of Adam Martindale: Written by Himself*, ed. Richard Parkinson (Manchester, 1845), 187–9.

⁹ Classic studies of dissenting conventicles include Gerald R. Cragg, *Puritanism in the Period of the Great Persecution 1660–1688* (Cambridge, 1957) and Richard L. Greaves, *Enemies under his Feet: Radicals and Nonconformists in Britain, 1664–1677* (Stanford, 1990).

¹⁰ 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: hereafter Heywood, *Diaries*), II, 194–9, 204.

be followed by five years at an academy, a probationary period as a ministerial assistant, and then an ordination ceremony.¹¹ At ordination, candidates were expected to deliver a Latin thesis on a theological question selected by a local ministerial assembly, which they then defended against hypothetical objections raised by their examiners. It therefore seems likely that some students attending academies in the mid 1670s were doing so with the express purpose of becoming dissenting ministers.

The fate of these new ministerial academies was tied to the dissenters' political fortunes. Throughout the reigns of Charles II and James II many dissenting ministers and their supporters attempted to persuade parliament to pass a law which would provide sufficient flexibility within the government of the Church of England for them to return within its fold. Known as 'comprehension', this objective resulted in the composition of several sets of proposals, some of which were considered by parliamentary committees, but none of which became law.¹² Meanwhile, both Charles II and James II offered dissenters another option, through their periodic Declarations of Indulgence.¹³ These royal Indulgences gave dissenters brief periods of protection from the law, enabling them to preach without fear of prosecution. Under the 1672 Indulgence, around 1500 dissenters were temporarily licensed to preach. Support for the academies was popularly believed to be stronger among supporters of the Indulgences (such as the Congregational minister John Owen) than among supporters of comprehension (such as Richard Baxter).¹⁴ The minute fragments of existing evidence suggest that the dissenters' academies may have grown in size and number following the 1672 Declaration of Indulgence.¹⁵ In the hysteria surrounding the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis (1679–81), the deeply-ingrained anti-Catholicism felt by many dissenters resulted in them siding with Shaftesbury's Whigs. In the Tory reaction which followed (1681–5), dissenters were heavily punished, and unprecedentedly large numbers were arrested for preaching. During these years, dissenting tutors and schoolmasters found

¹¹ Samuel Palmer, *A Defence of the Dissenters Education in their Private Academies* (London, 1703: hereafter Palmer, *Defence*), 21.

¹² Douglas R. Lacey, *Dissent and Parliamentary Politics in England 1661–1689* (New Brunswick, 1969), 57–8, 144–5, 232–8.

¹³ The only book-length study of this topic, Frank Bate's *The Declaration of Indulgence, 1672: A Study in the Rise of Organised Dissent* (London, 1908) is unreliable; surviving licence applications are found in the state papers for 1672–3 in the National Archives, and are catalogued in the *Calendar of State Papers: Domestic* for 1672 and 1672–3.

¹⁴ 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), 5, 15; hereafter Wesley, *Letter*.

¹⁵ For example, the list of students contained in Ebenezer Latham, *Preparation for Death, and Fitness for Heaven* (London, 1745), 34–46; hereafter Latham, *Preparation*.

themselves savaged in print; those who wished to continue teaching were forced to change location frequently in order to avoid prosecution.¹⁶ The advent of the Catholic monarch James II in 1685 initially promised an even harsher crackdown on Protestant dissent in the light of Monmouth's rebellion, in which several former academy students took part.¹⁷ However, when James offered the first of his two Declarations of Indulgence to dissenting ministers in 1687, the numbers attending academies began to rise once more.¹⁸

To argue that the Toleration Act of 1689 provided a platform for the growth of the dissenters' academies in the eighteenth century is thus only partly true.¹⁹ In any case, the Toleration Act provided an intellectual but not a legal justification for the academies. It is well known that the Act offered immunity from prosecution for dissenting ministers, rather than granting dissenters complete rights as citizens.²⁰ It did not even mention their academies. Dissenters themselves were aware that this situation could prove problematic. At Exeter, for instance, ministers debated in 1696 'whether tis convenient to endeavour to get an Act of Parliament in favour of our private Academies'.²¹ Dissenters were to regret their lack of action over this issue in the years that followed. Even during William III's reign tutors were arrested and fined; a typical compromise was to grant the tutor an audience with his bishop, during which they could have an 'amicable debate' about their differences in an attempt to appease local officials.²² The feverish debate about the 'Church in Danger' during Queen Anne's reign, whipped up by comments on the academies by Samuel Wesley and William Sacheverell, led to a renewal of popular hostility against dissenting tutors, culminating in the arrest of the tutors Samuel Jones and Thomas Hill.²³ In 1714 parliament debated the infamous

¹⁶ Burden, 'Academical Learning', 81–91.

¹⁷ 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), 84; hereafter Wesley, *Reply*.

¹⁸ David L. Wykes, 'Introduction', in *Parliament and Dissent*, ed. Stephen Taylor and David L. Wykes (Edinburgh, 2005), 6; Mark Knights, '“Meer Religion” and the “Church–State” of Restoration England: The Impact and Ideology of James II's Declarations of Indulgence', in *A Nation Transformed*, ed. Alan Houston and Steven Pincus (Cambridge, 2001), 54–5; Richard E. Boyer, *English Declarations of Indulgence 1687 and 1688* (The Hague, 1968).

¹⁹ David L. Wykes, '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), 99–139 provides the best account of this subject; see also Burden, 'Academical Learning', 102–7.

²⁰ J. R. Jones, *The Revolution of 1688 in England* (London, 1972), 319.

²¹ DWL, 38.24, fo. 80.

²² John Cumming, *A Funeral Sermon on Occasion of the Death of the Late Reverend and Learned Mr. Benjamin Robinson* (London, 1724), 55–7.

²³ GA, MS D6026/6/46; DWL, NCL/L54/2.

Schism Bill, a blatant attempt to tighten the law against dissenting schools and academies.²⁴ The long-term impact of the resultant Schism Act was negligible – it was repealed in 1719 – but its short term consequences were significant, causing several academies to close their doors briefly in 1714.²⁵

The precarious legal and political status of their tutors encouraged dissenters to rely on a large number of small-scale academies across the later Stuart period. The exact number of the dissenters' academies during these years is impossible to determine. There is no surviving contemporaneous register of academies or their students, and many of the academies only existed for a brief time, leaving few (if any) records. The surviving documents are, in some cases, extremely difficult to interpret, meaning that it is not always possible to distinguish between grammar schools, small-scale private tutoring, and academies teaching university subjects. However, the number of university-level academies currently known for the period 1660–1729 is in excess of 60, and the names of approximately 90 tutors and their assistants are now known.²⁶ Some of these academies were very shortlived, teaching only a small number of classes over four or five years. Others lasted for over twenty years, most notably the academies at Attercliffe, Bethnal Green, Bridgwater, Derby, Exeter, Hoxton, Newington Green, Rathmell, Sheriffhales and (perhaps) Whitehaven. A small group of academies from the period, including those of Carmarthen and Taunton, continued in one form or another for over 100 years.

It is now possible to identify the names of considerably more than 1,000 academy students from the later Stuart period. There are various sources for this information. Shortly before his death in 1702 the minister Oliver Heywood was provided with a list of 308 students of Richard Frankland, together with the dates at which they joined the academy.²⁷ Another list of Frankland's students was published by the tutor Ebenezer Latham in 1745, with the same names but slight differences in the dates.²⁸ The names of students who received money from the dissenters' London fund boards from 1690 were copied into the fund board

²⁴ David L. Wykes, 'Religious Dissent, the Church, and the Repeal of the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts, 1714–19', in *Religion, Politics and Dissent, 1660–1832*, ed. Robert D. Cornwall and William Gibson (Farnham, 2010), 165–84.

²⁵ DWL, 24.59, fo. 74 (Taunton); David L. Wykes, 'Jones, Samuel (1681/2–1719)', *ODNB* (Tewkesbury).

²⁶ For further details, see *Dissenting Academies Online: Database and Encyclopedia* <http://dissacad.english.qmul.ac.uk/>, and Burden, 'Academical Learning', 256–93.

²⁷ Heywood, *Diaries*, II, 9–16.

²⁸ Ebenezer Latham, *Preparation*, 34–46.

minutes, together with the sums which they were awarded.²⁹ Shorter lists of names may be compiled from the minute books of regional assemblies of dissenting ministers, such as those in Cheshire and Devon.³⁰ In the 1770s a group of dissenting historians began to collect information on the early academies from surviving tutors, students and their relatives; copies of their notes have since found their way into several university and college libraries.³¹ To these sources may be added student letters, diaries, and printed memorials of their time at academies, which tend to provide lists of their friends, and accounts of prominent fellow students.³² Only in the case of Frankland's Rathmell academy can the numbers be considered nearly complete.

By the 1690s it was quite typical for a tutor and his assistants to be teaching around 30 students, perhaps divided across three or four classes. However, this had not always been the case. Both Daniel Defoe and Edmund Calamy indicate that in the early years of the Restoration young dissenters completed their education abroad, in particular by attending the Dutch universities.³³ The dissenters' earliest academies were small scale, and focused on the teaching of philosophy, encouraging students to pursue further studies in law, medicine or theology at other institutions. The survival of names and enrolment dates for Frankland's students enables us to get a sense, albeit imperfect, of how student numbers fluctuated across the period. Frankland's academy began at Rathmell, before migrating to Natland, then Attercliffe, before returning to Rathmell. The number of students was initially small, rising gradually from 1674, before collapsing during the early 1680s as a result of the backlash against dissenters following the Exclusion Crisis. After James II's Declarations of Indulgence, numbers began to rise, and the academy had an average of over 30 students across the 1690s.

The Frankland enrolment lists also enable some comments to be made about the future careers of his students.³⁴ These can be sampled by considering the relatively full data relating to the students Frankland took while at Natland (1674 and 1682). Several of these

²⁹ DWL, OD67–8; OD103–4; OD401–2.

³⁰ *Cheshire Classis Minutes 1691–1745*, ed. Alexander Gordon (London, 1919): a transcription of C&CA, MS EUC 9/4458/1; Brockett, *Exeter Assembly*, contains a transcription of DWL, 38.24.

³¹ DWL, 24.59; BUL, XMS 281; BBCL, G93a.y.h.33; HMC, MNC Misc. 59.

³² Burden, 'Academical Learning', 272–93, provides full details.

³³ Edmund Calamy, *A Defence of Moderate Nonconformity*, 3 vols. (London, 1703–5), I, 30; Daniel Defoe, *The Present State of the Parties in Great Britain* (London, 1712: hereafter Defoe, *Present State*), 296.

³⁴ The following account expands upon the information provided on Frankland's students in Francis Nicholson and Ernest Axon, *The Older Nonconformity in Kendal* (Kendal, 1915), 532–612; hereafter Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*.

students proceeded 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 perhaps 5 others travelling 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. These figures provide support to the student James Clegg's claim that 'some of them [were] intended for the Law, some for Physick, but most of them for the Ministry of the Gospel'.³⁵

II. Studying at the Dissenters' Academies, 1660–1729

For a long time, analysis of the courses of study at the dissenters' academies was dependent upon close study of a small handful of mostly printed memoirs by tutors and students. The best known of these are the *Account* (1713) and *Continuation of the Account* (1727) of ejected ministers and tutors by Edmund Calamy; a series of letters by the high churchman Samuel Wesley printed 1703–7; two responses to Wesley by Samuel Palmer, printed in 1703 and 1705; Charles Owen's biography of his brother, the tutor James Owen; and printed memoirs relating to John Ashe, Thomas Secker, Isaac Watts, and Daniel Defoe. To these may be added a small handful of manuscript letters, diaries, and autobiographical statements, plus a few laudatory comments in funeral sermons on the death of prominent tutors and students. These sources, which have not always been interpreted accurately, remain invaluable. However, of equal interest, and much less well known, are the dozens of manuscript notebooks written by tutors and students which survive from the later Stuart academies. The earliest of these date from the 1670s; taken together, they cover a huge array of subjects, including logic, ethics, natural philosophy, mathematics, history and theology. These notebooks enable scholars to gain much closer access to the content of courses and the methods employed by tutors, as well as indicating how students learned. A full account of the contents of these notebooks is provided in the *Biographical Dictionary* itself; the following notes provide a brief overview of how they were used in the academies.

In many ways, education at the dissenters' earliest academies was similar to the instruction offered by the British universities. For example, it has long been recognised that Latin lectures, declamations and disputations were three vital instruments of teaching,

³⁵ James Clegg, *Assistance in Preparing for Death and Judgment* (London, 1736: hereafter Clegg, *Ashe*), 53.

learning and assessment at seventeenth-century Oxford and Cambridge.³⁶ Lectures, theses and disputations were also widespread in the academies, adapted by tutors to suit their comparative lack of resources. Lectures were generally delivered in a designated room in the tutor's house. Often, the first part of a lecture consisted of some form of repetition of the previous day's work, a process which was described by university students as a *repetitio* lecture. The *repetitio* was then succeeded by the *praelectio*, a second session spent in learning new material, perhaps delivered by dictation. At Shrewsbury, for example, James Owen did by way of reading 'what is commonly done in 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.'³⁷ 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 they were able.³⁸

At the universities, students frequently performed pre-prepared speeches called declamations, designed to show off their rhetorical and literary proficiency. These declamations were structured as answers to a single question, often taken from classical writings, providing an opportunity for students to develop knowledge previously gathered in their commonplace books.³⁹ At the dissenters' academies the favoured terms for extended prose essays of this nature were 'thesis', and 'dissertation'. At 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.⁴⁰ Owen declared 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'.⁴¹ Students were also obliged to write fairly elaborate theses on

³⁶ William T. Costello, *The Scholastic Curriculum at Cambridge* (Cambridge, MA, 1958: hereafter Costello, *Cambridge*), 13.

³⁷ Charles Owen, *Some Account of the Life and Writings of the Late Pious and Learned Mr. James Owen* (London, 1709: hereafter Owen, *James Owen*), 90.

³⁸ Thomas Gibbons, *Memoirs of the Rev. Isaac Watts* (London, 1780: hereafter Gibbons, *Watts*), 351.

³⁹ Owen, *James Owen*, 92.

⁴⁰ Feingold, Mordechai, 'The Humanities', in *The History of the University of Oxford IV: Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke (Oxford, 1987: hereafter Feingold, 'Humanities'), 303–5.

⁴¹ Owen, *James Owen*, 92.

philosophical, theological, and historical subjects.⁴² One function of the thesis was to provide a means of weekly assessment, and at Frankland's academy they were followed by disputations on subjects chosen by the tutor.⁴³ The student thesis also formed the basis of oral examination, as required by the academy funding bodies,⁴⁴ and provided the text required by ministerial associations in order to register the former student as a ministerial candidate. Reading a Latin thesis also became a prerequisite for ordination, a process which took place several years after the candidate's education had been completed, but which drew heavily on his academy studies.⁴⁵

Disputations were debates between students, relating to the material studied in lectures and declamations. They were a familiar method of assessment at universities across Europe. At Cambridge, for instance, each student had to appear four times in the schools as an undergraduate, twice as answerer or defendant, twice as objector; these exercises, performed in Lent, were known as *quadragesimals*.⁴⁶ University students also attended private disputations, convened by fellow students or by their own tutors; in these circumstances, the rules could be relaxed. Academy resources were not sufficient to provide an equivalent to the annual university Acts, events which several thousand hearers witnessed.⁴⁷ However, disputations took place both in student chambers, and in a more formal environment in front of their tutors. In most cases, it is likely that early academy 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.⁴⁸ The structure of syllogistic disputation encouraged students to evaluate different theological and philosophical positions. However, seventeenth-century tutors often attempted to protect their students against false opinions. At Shrewsbury, for example, James Owen did not like to see his students 'personate the Heterodox too much to the Life'.⁴⁹

⁴² NRO, MS ZMI/B57/1; DWL, 28.47; Gibbons, *Watts*, 351.

⁴³ Clegg, *Ashe*, 35.

⁴⁴ DWL, 38.24, fos. 32–4.

⁴⁵ Heywood, *Diaries*, II, 21–2, 25.

⁴⁶ Costello, *Cambridge*, 15.

⁴⁷ Feingold, 'Humanities', 301–5.

⁴⁸ Costello, *Cambridge*, 20–1.

⁴⁹ Costello, *Cambridge*, 32; Owen, *James Owen*, 92.

In order to further their studies, academy students were often permitted to make use of their tutor's library, and sometimes visited other libraries in the vicinity of the academy. Students often commented upon the size of tutors' libraries. Whereas Thomas Emlyn found that John Shuttlewood's library contained 'few books, and them chiefly of one sort',⁵⁰ other tutors had sizeable resources at their disposal. The library of James Forbes, tutor at Gloucester, was extensive,⁵¹ and that of Theophilus Gale totalled almost 1,000 volumes by the time of his death in 1679.⁵² Thomas Secker, while a student of Samuel Jones at Gloucester, 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.'⁵³ The provision of books to academy libraries also benefited from the support of influential ministers; Oliver Heywood provided books to Richard Frankland's wife Elizabeth, and Richard Baxter gave books to Thomas Doolittle.⁵⁴ 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;⁵⁵ the same was 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.⁵⁶ Students from wealthy families, such as the Wharton children, James Bonnell, and Thomas Secker, could afford to purchase their own books. Some students, including Simon Browne, student at Tewkesbury, went on to build substantial libraries, including works in English, Latin, Greek, French and Italian.⁵⁷ Less affluent students often relied on funding from local congregations or ministerial assemblies to purchase the books required.⁵⁸ One further option was to use other libraries close to the academy. At Manchester, for example, John Chorlton read lectures in the morning, and some of his students went in the

⁵⁰ Thomas Emlyn, *The Works of Mr. Thomas Emlyn*, ed. Sollom Emlyn, 3 vols. (London, 1746), I, vi.

⁵¹ Part of it survives at the University of Toronto University Library: P. L. Heyworth, *Forbes Collection* (Toronto, 1968).

⁵² 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 1764.

⁵³ Gibbons, *Watts*, 351.

⁵⁴ Heywood, *Diaries*, IV, 259–62; DWL, 59.5, fo. 192; Thomas Doolittle, *The Lord's Last Sufferings* (London, 1681), sigs. a3–c4.

⁵⁵ Wesley, *Letter*, 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'.

⁵⁶ 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.

⁵⁷ BL, Add. MS 4367 contains Browne's library catalogue from the time he was a minister in Portsmouth.

⁵⁸ DWL, 38.24, fo. 31.

afternoon to Chetham's library; the 'benefit of the library' was a major reason for James Clegg's decision to travel to Manchester after the death of his tutor Frankland.⁵⁹

The most complete surviving accounts of academy courses of study come from John Ker's student Samuel Palmer, Richard Frankland's student James Clegg, James Owen's brother Charles Owen, and Samuel Jones's student Thomas Secker. Palmer states that Ker gave morning lectures in logic, metaphysics, ethics and natural philosophy. In the afternoon, Ker and his students were engaged in critical reading of Latin historians, orators and poets, and also studied geography. 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.⁶⁰ In outline, then, Ker's course at the Bethnal Green academy encouraged the study of philosophy in the morning, with philology in the afternoons and divinity two days a week, across at least four years. Language teaching was, as might be expected in relation to courses designed to hone skills in biblical commentary, a prominent feature.

It is likely that most seventeenth-century academies offered a combination of philosophical and historical subjects similar to that provided at Bethnal Green. Tutors also tended to place considerable emphasis upon the study of classical and oriental languages. By the 1690s the course at Richard Frankland's academy certainly had this structure, as is testified by his student James Clegg. 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. According to Clegg, the 'usual Course' by this time consisted of 'Logick, Metaphysicks, Somatology, Pneumatology, natural Philosophy, Divinity, and Chronology'. Questions on divinity derived from William Ames's *Medulla* were discussed on Saturdays, and disputed by the students on the following Monday alongside other 'logick disputes'. Meanwhile, advanced students copied Latin theses on theological topics related to works by William Ames, John Davenant, Richard Baxter, John Owen, and many other well-known orthodox theologians. In the afternoons, some of the students spent time 'conversing with the Ladies, Mr. Frankland's daughters', who reputedly

⁵⁹ James Clegg, *Extracts from the Diary and Autobiography of the Rev. James Clegg*, ed. Henry Kirke (Buxton, 1899: hereafter Clegg, *Diary*), 23.

⁶⁰ Palmer, *Defence*, 2–7.

encouraged them to read dubious material, including 'Poetry, and Novels and such like trash'.⁶¹

Although innovation was not unknown, most tutors in the early eighteenth century retained the fundamentals of this course of study. Under James Owen, students read works of logic, metaphysics, geometry, astronomy, chronology, ecclesiastical history, theology and physics.⁶² Owen's successor at the Shrewsbury academy, 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 Howe's *Living Temple*, and setting aside time each week for lessons in elocution and pronunciation.⁶³ However, there is evidence that some tutors were experimenting with different courses by the end of the Stuart period. Despite having previously studied with Timothy Jollie and John Eames, the future Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Secker was expected to study the whole of the course when he arrived at Samuel Jones's academy in Gloucester. He began by studying Jones's idiosyncratic version of logic, in which principles and methods were taken from the works of Aristotle, Antoine Arnauld and John Locke.⁶⁴ Concurrently Secker studied Hebrew, translating passages from a Hebrew Bible into Greek, using the Septuagint and later the Targumim. In the afternoons, he read a chapter in the Greek New Testament and then proceeded to mathematics. On Wednesdays Secker 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 introductory study of logic worked on preparing syllogistic theses. But Secker also studied works by Isocrates and Terence, together with notes on classical authors derived by Jones from his days as a student under Perizonius at Leiden University.⁶⁵ By the time that he was nineteen, Secker had acquired Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac and French, and had studied geography, logic, algebra, geometry, conic sections and Jewish history.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Clegg, *Diary*, 22–3.

⁶² Owen, *James Owen*, 70–2, 87–93.

⁶³ Mathew Henry, *A Sermon Preach'd at the Funeral of Dr. Samuel Benion* (London, 1709), 63–73.

⁶⁴ Gibbons, *Watts*, 346–52, supplemented by *The Autobiography of Thomas Secker*, ed. John S. Macauley and R. W. Greaves (Kansas, 1988), hereafter Secker, *Autobiography*, an edition of LPL, 2598. A copy of Jones's logic may be found in BBCL, Ze1.

⁶⁵ BUL XMS 399–401; Gibbons, *Watts*, 351.

⁶⁶ See Beilby Porteus's 'Life of Secker', prefixed to volume 1 of *The Works of Thomas Secker*, ed. Beilby Porteus and George Stinton, 6 vols. (London, 1825).

Daily life at the academies was carefully structured to ensure a combination of learning and religious observance. It was usual to begin and end the day in prayer, hold formal lectures in the mornings, and provide opportunities for private study or student discussion in the afternoons. At Frankland's academy, the whole household was called to prayer at seven in the morning; breakfast followed, after which the classes were admitted to the lecture room 'according to their seniority'. Frankland lectured to each class, probably for an hour each, until mid-day. After lunch, the students 'retir'd to their Closets till six', when they convened for prayer a second time. After supper, there was an 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 a third prayer meeting.⁶⁷ This structure is similar to that in operation at other academies. At James Owen's academy morning prayers were held at six in the summer and seven in the winter, and involved reading a chapter of the Greek New Testament, followed by the singing of one of Tate and Brady's metrical psalms. These prayer meetings were part of the students' theological education: Owen provided critical, doctrinal and practical observations on the biblical verses, and compared them with other texts. Owen's lectures began at nine o'clock; students were obliged to speak in Latin during all academic exercises and during meals. In the afternoon, students were allowed some recreation before pursuing their private studies. Evening prayers were held at six o'clock, after which students were forbidden to leave the academy.⁶⁸ At John Ker's academy, lectures were 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.⁶⁹ At Samuel Jones's academy, the students were obliged to rise at five o'clock, and spoke Latin continuously. Jones read lectures every day, and students in Secker's time were obliged to translate biblical verses from Hebrew into Greek on a daily basis. Jones continued lecturing in the afternoon, on Greek or mathematics; this ensured that his students were studying with Jones for two hours in the morning and a slightly longer time in the afternoon, as well as reading in private.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Clegg, *Assistance*, 35.

⁶⁸ Owen, *James Owen*, 87–91.

⁶⁹ Palmer, *Defence*, 4–5.

⁷⁰ Gibbons, *Watts*, 350.

Academies organised study time carefully so that students could rotate through a number of subjects on a weekly basis. Each week they undertook a similar range of tasks, including attending lectures, reading, writing and disputing. Nevertheless, the order in which particular subjects were taught was largely left to the discretion of the tutor. At Bethnal Green, where Mondays and Fridays were devoted to divinity, students disputed 'every other day in *Latin* upon the several *Philosophical* Controversies'.⁷¹ 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. Frankland's students also practised their disputations privately on Thursday afternoons.⁷²

The number of years students spent studying at an academy varied enormously. According to Samuel Palmer it was a rule that no dissenter of a Presbyterian or Congregational persuasion was permitted to preach without having spent a 'competent time' of five or more years in academical education; following this period, 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.⁷³ However, other evidence suggests that many students spent much less than this quantity of time at each academy. For example, Thomas Secker spent three years at Tewkesbury, Isaac Watts spent four years at Thomas Rowe's academy, and even some of Palmer's colleagues at Bethnal Green attended for only four years.⁷⁴ Palmer hints that each of the four main courses of morning lectures lasted for a year; for other academies, such as Tewkesbury, the evidence points to a less tidy division of the courses.⁷⁵ The fact that students might enter an academy at any time of the year convenient to their families, their churches and their financial circumstances meant that the responsibility lay with individual students to ensure that they could keep pace with the reading demanded by the class which they joined. New students who struggled could be expected to repeat the initial courses before moving onto other subjects.⁷⁶

Whereas some academies demanded that all learning and conversation should be in Latin, others permitted an element of English instruction. However, the extent to which

⁷¹ Palmer, *Defence*, 4.

⁷² Heywood, *Diaries*, III, 164–5; Gibbons, *Watts*, 351.

⁷³ Palmer, *Defence*, 21.

⁷⁴ Secker was at Jones's academy 1711–14: Secker, *Autobiography*, 3; Watts was at Rowe's academy 1690–4: Isabel Rivers, 'Watts, Isaac (1674–1748)', *ODNB*; Ker's academy had four classes: Palmer, *Defence*, 4.

⁷⁵ Palmer, *Defence*, 4; Gibbons, *Watts*, 349.

⁷⁶ Gibbons, *Watts*, 349.

learning took place in English at the early academies should not be over-emphasised. Although surviving systems of learning by the tutors Charles Morton, Thomas Rowe, Robert Darch, Henry Grove, Stephen James and Thomas Ridgley were written in English, other academy manuscripts by Richard Frankland, Thomas Doolittle, Samuel Jones and John Eames were produced in Latin. Even in places where lectures were delivered in English, as was the case at Thomas Rowe's academy, the texts referred to in those lectures were predominantly in Latin.⁷⁷ The dominant language of student dissertations was Latin throughout the later Stuart period, although some academies, including Rowe's, permitted students to write some dissertations in Latin and others in English.⁷⁸ Disputations were also expected to be delivered in Latin.⁷⁹ Daniel Defoe asserts that the emphasis at Charles Morton's academy was on teaching English,⁸⁰ but he is an unreliable witness. Defoe's reference to a tutor 'not far from London' who 'gave all his systems, whether of philosophy or divinity, in English' can be verified from the survival of Morton's English systems of logic and physics, pneumatology and ethics, the earliest copies of which date from the 1670s and 1680s.⁸¹ However, Samuel Wesley's somewhat savage squib at Morton's expense, lampooning him for teaching 'hard-named systemical gentlemen', serves as a reminder that Morton's students followed the widespread requirement that Latin philosophical texts should also be read.⁸² Other academies – such as those of James Owen and Samuel Benion – continued to conduct most of their teaching in Latin.⁸³ 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 taught in Latin.⁸⁴ Furthermore, tutors were expected to be conversant in a range of classical and oriental languages aside from Latin. James Owen gained 'by his own Industry' a proficiency in such languages as Greek, Hebrew, Arabic and Syriac, as did John Ker of Bethnal Green and Samuel Jones of Tewkesbury.⁸⁵

⁷⁷ BBCL, G95A.

⁷⁸ Gibbons, *Watts*, 20–61.

⁷⁹ DWL, 38.4, fos. 32–3.

⁸⁰ Daniel Defoe, *The Compleat English Gentleman* (London, 1890), 220–2.

⁸¹ The earliest copies include HUC MS Am 1258–1259, HUC MS Am911; AAS MS Octavo Vols. M.

⁸² Wesley, *A Defence of a Letter concerning the Education of Dissenters in their Private Academies* (London, 1704), 51; hereafter Wesley, *Defence*.

⁸³ Thomas Secker found upon entering Jones's academy that 'We are obliged ... to speak *Latin* always': Gibbons, *Watts*, 351.

⁸⁴ HMC, Winder I.ii, I.iii.

⁸⁵ Owen, *James Owen*, 70.

Learning at the dissenters' early academies followed no fixed pattern. Tutors who had previously taught at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge transferred much of the content and method of their university teaching to their private academies. However, the small scale of these academies made it difficult for all subjects to be taught with equal effectiveness. This was a consequence partly of each tutor's personal limitations (affecting the quality of tuition), and partly of the small size of his library (affecting the students' ability to read widely on a given subject). The different knowledge and skills of each tutor help to explain why many students chose to attend more than one academy. The second generation of academy tutors, most of whom had not taught at a university, tended to adopt some of the principles of their own tutors, while expanding the range of courses available. Thomas Rowe, for instance, developed a new course in logic which combined Cartesian and Aristotelian principles with a Calvinist approach to knowledge lifted from the writings of his own tutor Theophilus Gale.⁸⁶ The educational principles of Samuel Benion's academy were modelled on his experiences of Scottish education.⁸⁷ Samuel Jones of Tewkesbury imported courses which he had recently studied at the University of Leiden.⁸⁸ Nevertheless, the rate of change was uneven: despite lectures at some academies being delivered in English, many tutors continued to teach entirely in Latin; tutors in the early eighteenth century continued to refer to many of the core works of seventeenth-century philosophy which had dominated university study in the early seventeenth century. The defining characteristic of learning at the dissenters' earliest academies was not innovation, but eclecticism.

III. Attitudes to the Dissenters' Academies, 1702–2013

In the early years of the Restoration, attitudes to nonconformist educational practices tended to be expressed using the terms 'schoolmaster' and 'tutor', rather than being directed specifically at their private academies. The 1662 Act of Uniformity, for instance, established penalties for 'any School-master, or other person Instructing, or Teaching youth in any private House, or Family, as a Tutor, or School-master' who had not been licensed by a bishop or ordinary.⁸⁹ At this point, then, the term 'private academy' did not have a separate

⁸⁶ BBCL, G95, vol. 2.

⁸⁷ Matthew Henry, *Two Funeral Sermons: One on Dr. Samuel Benion, and the Other on the Reverend Mr. Francis Tallents* (London, 1709), 69.

⁸⁸ DWL, 24.2–4.

⁸⁹ *An Act for the Uniformity of Publique Prayers* (1662).

legal status. During the early 1680s, a period of intense persecution of dissenters, printed attacks on their schools were frequent, but the terminology used to describe their academies was not fixed. John Dryden and Nahum Tate, for instance, described Robert Ferguson's academy as a 'nursery'; another anonymous writer referred to the 'Private *Gymnasia*' and 'Seminaries' of the dissenters, in which youths studied 'the *Politicks* and *Divinity* of Geneva', together with 'the *Natural Philosophy*, and all the *Liberal Arts* and *Sciences* of *Sedition*, and *Rebellion*'.⁹⁰ The Toleration Act of 1689 did not mention dissenting schools or academies of any kind.

During the reign of Queen Anne (1702–14) attitudes to the dissenters' academies crystallized around political events. The most controversial of these was Samuel Wesley's *Letter from a Country Divine* (1703), an excoriating attack on the principles and practices of dissenting education. Wesley, father of the Methodist leaders John and Charles, had attended academies run by dissenters in the 1680s, before conforming to the Church of England. Wesley intimated that his letter had its origins in his disgust at the behaviour of some dissenting acquaintances during a night out in 1693,⁹¹ but the text was printed to coincide with parliamentary debates on a Bill to prevent occasional conformity, and was later used by several prominent high churchmen as evidence that dissenters were a threat to the monarchy and the government. Wesley's text elicited a reply from Samuel Palmer, himself a former academy student, titled *A Defence of the Dissenters Education in their Private Academies* (1703); Palmer, who was also to conform to the Church of England, 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, used comments by Thomas Cole's student James Bonnell to bolster his argument, and provided a list of rumoured academy locations.⁹² Palmer's response, *A Vindication of the Learning, Loyalty, Morals, and most Christian Behaviour of the Dissenters* (1705), contained a detailed defence of the behaviour of puritans during and after the Civil Wars, and a justification of the legality of their academies. Wesley's next contribution to the debate, a

⁹⁰ John Dryden and Nahum Tate, *The Second Part of Absalom and Achitophel* (London, 1682), 11; *A Third Dialogue between the Pope and a Phanatick, concerning Affairs in England* (London, 1684), 35–7.

⁹¹ Wesley, *Defence*, 4–5.

⁹² '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.' Wesley, *Reply*, 35.

lengthy text titled *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. Meanwhile, Wesley's texts provided considerable ammunition for the high churchman Henry Sacheverell, whose inflammatory sermons described the dissenters' academies as '*Illegal Seminaries . . . as 'twere so Many Schismatical Universities*' set up in opposition to the established church.⁹³

Wesley's *Letter* was published one year after the first edition of Edmund Calamy's *Abridgement* of the life of Richard Baxter (1702), in which Calamy had provided a more sympathetic view of dissenters as persecuted moderates, together with a list of ejected ministers and tutors.⁹⁴ In his greatly expanded second edition of Baxter's memoirs (1713), Calamy included some more detailed portraits of nonconformist tutors. The second volume of this second edition provided *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 the *Account*, Calamy continued to collect anecdotal and printed evidence about the ejected ministers. 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 the high churchman John Walker, whose *An Attempt towards Recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England* (1714) examined the experiences of episcopalians under the various regimes of the 1640s and 1650s. Unlike Wesley, Calamy used the term 'academy' rarely in his *Account* and *Continuation*.⁹⁵ Instead, Calamy tended to use the phrase 'Academical Learning' to refer to the activities of nonconformist tutors,⁹⁶ although he also used the expressions 'tutor', 'education for the ministry', and 'university learning'.⁹⁷ Calamy's language was indicative 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

⁹³ Henry Sacheverell, *The Nature and Mischief of Prejudice and Partiality Stated* (Oxford, 1704), 53–5.

⁹⁴ Edmund Calamy, *An Abridgement of Mr. Baxter's History of his Life and Times* (London, 1702), 183–497.

⁹⁵ See his biographies of Richard Frankland, Samuel Jones of Wales, Thomas Goodwin Jr., Theophilus Gale, Samuel Beresford, William Lorimer, and Ralph Button.

⁹⁶ Henry Langley, John Troughton, John Reyner, Charles Morton, John Flavell, and Samuel Jones of Wales.

⁹⁷ Private academy: Frankland, Jones, Goodwin, Gale, Beresford, Lorimer (examiner, not tutor),⁹⁷ 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.

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. By the time that the *Continuation* was published, Whig dominance of the national government made it easier to argue that it was 'highly needful' to educate dissenting ministers. Proper training, in Calamy's opinion, saved dissenting pastors from 'Extreams', and kept them away from 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.⁹⁸

The novelist, dissenter, and Whig pamphleteer Daniel Defoe was also equivocal about the value of the dissenters' academies. Defoe had been educated in the late 1670s at Charles Morton's academy. In a semi-fictionalised portrait of Morton written in the 1720s Defoe described his former tutor as man 'of unquestion'd reputacion for learning', who was 'a critic in the learned languages', but who had chosen to set up an academy in which all the exercises and performances of his students were delivered in English. Morton's pupils had left the academy 'finish'd orators', capable of delivering speeches in Parliament and the Courts of Justice.⁹⁹ In another late work, Defoe provided an anecdote relating to a private tutor whose improvisatory teaching methods extended to the use of his maid's mop to demonstrate planetary motion.¹⁰⁰ However, in other writings Defoe was circumspect about the value of dissenting education. In 1712 he commented at length upon the 'unavoidable' limitations of the dissenters' private academies, including their diminutive libraries and inadequate funding; these disadvantages had led, he suggested, to the education of 'Second Rate Worthies', who were either unsuitable for university-level study, or who had been given insufficient time to acquire solid learning.¹⁰¹

Neither Wesley, Calamy nor Defoe attempted to write a history of the early academies; instead, they recorded anecdotes and impressions of events which remained within living memory for many of their readers. The failure of early academy tutors and students to preserve documents from the academies in any systematic way meant that by the late eighteenth century, when dissenting antiquarians first attempted to write the history of

⁹⁸ 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), 'Dedication', I, xvii–xviii.

⁹⁹ Daniel Defoe, *The Compleat English Gentleman* (London, 1890), 218–20.

¹⁰⁰ Daniel Defoe, *The Compleat English Tradesman* (London, 1725), 52–3.

¹⁰¹ Defoe, *Present State* (London, 1712), 294–304, 330–5.

the early academies, most of the original documents had become inaccessible, or had been lost. This made it very hard for these historians to establish even the most basic information about the academies, such as the names of their tutors and students. The earliest surviving list of dissenting tutors and students was probably compiled in the 1770s and is titled 'An Account of The Dissenting Academies from the Restoration of Charles the second'. This manuscript, which was owned and may have been commissioned by the dissenting historian and polemicist Josiah Thompson,¹⁰² 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 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. The text later passed through the hands of Thompson's friend the historian 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. Although the original scribe (not Thompson himself) had only a limited knowledge of the academies, many copies were made of the list's contents, most notably by the dissenting memorialists Noah Jones and William Scott, and the historian of the public records Joseph Hunter.¹⁰³ It was through this text, which was known to be 'far from complete & accurate', that both Toulmin and Wilson sought to write the history of the dissenters' early academies, and it was a renewal of interest in the manuscript and other existing copies which led to the publication of anonymous articles on the dissenting academies in the *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society* in the early twentieth century.¹⁰⁴ These articles in turn enabled Irene Parker to construct lists of academies for her book, *Dissenting Academies in England*.¹⁰⁵ Parker's list was adopted with very minor changes by Herbert McLachlan in his book *English Education under the Test Acts*,¹⁰⁶ which was in turn expanded, not always reliably, by J. W. Ashley

¹⁰² Referred to as the 'Thompson list' in this introduction.

¹⁰³ Copies may be found in DWL, 24.59, NCL MSS L54/1–4, BUL XMS 281, and BBCL, G93a y.h.33; BL, Add. MS 24442.

¹⁰⁴ '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.

¹⁰⁵ Parker, *Dissenting Academies*, 137–42.

¹⁰⁶ McLachlan, *English Education*, 6–15.

Smith in *The Birth of Modern Education*,¹⁰⁷ and by Mark Goldie, in his work on *The Entring Book of Roger Morrice*.¹⁰⁸

The necessity and limitations of using the Thompson list to compile a history of the academies were swiftly recognised by many of its readers, including Wilson. After hearing that Wilson wished to write such a history, Kentish provided him with a somewhat dismissive description of the manuscript, writing that it was 'unauthenticated', 'imperfect', and 'incorrect', and that it was mostly in the handwriting of an 'illiterate amanuensis'.¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, by May 1822 Wilson had acquired Scott's version of the Thompson list, a thin folio volume of 178 pages which was itself based on the copy made by Jones. To Jones's notes Scott had added an account of some of the more recent academies, adding particulars from personal observation, reading, and oral testimony. Scott expressed the wish that he might find in Wilson's work 'a variety of matter collected from various sources'; nevertheless, he expressed reservations about whether Wilson would be able to trace many of Thompson's own sources.¹¹⁰ In August 1823 Scott formally permitted Wilson to keep his manuscript as long as it might be 'conducive' to his research, but once again warned him to expect 'disappointment' if he attempted to produce complete lists of academy students. Wilson's project soon encountered the twin problems of inadequate sources and a reluctance of other dissenters to share their family papers.¹¹¹ In the end, Wilson accepted defeat: despite extensive correspondence, the production of dozens of lists of academy students, and the publication of a series of historically-informed polemical defences of dissent, he never produced his anticipated history of the academies.¹¹²

The most serious attempt to identify eighteenth-century academy students on the basis of versions of the Thompson list was made by Joseph Hunter. From 1809 Hunter was a Presbyterian minister in Bath, where he joined the Bath Literary and Scientific Institution. Hunter became a subcommissioner of the public records and vice-president of the Society of

¹⁰⁷ Ashley Smith, *Modern Education*, 293–7.

¹⁰⁸ *The Entring Book of Roger Morrice*, ed. Mark Goldie, 7 vols. (Woodbridge, 2007–9), I, 505–7; hereafter Morrice, *Entring Book*.

¹⁰⁹ NCL MS L54/3/3.

¹¹⁰ NCL MS L54/3/12; L54/3/13.

¹¹¹ NCL MSS L54/3/14; L54/1, fo. 2v; L54/1/51; L54/4/66; L54/3/57; L54/4/84; L54/3/2.

¹¹² 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).

Antiquaries; he acquired a deep knowledge of Derbyshire and Yorkshire genealogy.¹¹³ Hunter's manuscript collections reveal much about the antiquarians' methods for studying the dissenters' early academies. While planning his history of Sheffield he copied into his notebook accounts of the dissenting tutors Timothy Jollie and John Wadsworth.¹¹⁴ As part of 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 register.¹¹⁵ Hunter also compiled two books of manuscript notes on the biographies of puritans and nonconformists.¹¹⁶ Another volume, titled '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. Hunter began by making a detailed set of notes relating to his own former academy, Manchester College, York.¹¹⁷ He also drew up an account of the tutors and students of the eighteenth-century Warrington Academy, which he viewed as Manchester's intellectual precursor, and produced a long group of notes drawn mostly from a version of Thompson's list.¹¹⁸ Hunter followed the pattern laid out by Thompson's list very closely, beginning with a headnote about academies and tutors, and then providing lists of students. Hunter's manuscripts help to explain why a history of the academies based on Thompson's list was never forthcoming: for the majority of academies he was unable to identify more than a handful of students.

Running parallel to the tradition of copying lists was an emerging genre of dissenting political histories. In the early nineteenth century, this alternative approach produced three works of considerable significance for understanding the historiography of the early academies. These were the histories of David Bogue and James Bennett, Walter Wilson, and Joshua Toulmin. Bogue and Bennett's *History of Dissenters* was a narrative of progress, in which dissenters suffered persecution under the later Stuarts, but were later recognised as worthy prophets of English liberty. In their fifth chapter, Bogue and Bennett described the

¹¹³ *The Diary of Ralph Thoresby*, F. R. S. (London, 1830), *Ecclesiastical Documents* (London, 1840), *The Rise of the Old Dissent, Exemplified in the Life of Oliver Heywood* (London, 1842), *Gens Sylvestrina* (London, 1846), and the posthumously-published *Familiae minorum gentium* (London, 1894).

¹¹⁴ BL, Add. MS 24437, pp. 107–13, 126.

¹¹⁵ BL, Add. MS 24443, pp. 85–113, 120–41.

¹¹⁶ BL, Add. MSS 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.

¹¹⁷ BL, Add. MS 24442, fos. 1–43.

¹¹⁸ BL, Add. MS 24442, fos. 44–53.

academies as 'seminaries', linking them to the schools of the Old Testament prophets, and the Alexandrian school of Pantaenus, Origen and Cyril.¹¹⁹ However, the writers noted that 'the limits, which the extent of our work constrains us to' allowed 'only a rapid glance and a brief notice of the respectable tutors'; in other words, they did not seek to provide a history of early academies, but a history of tutors.¹²⁰

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. Wilson 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 contained notes on congregations across the country, with copies of printed sources, collections of anecdotes, topographical indices, and extracts from church books.¹²¹ In one folio volume Wilson attempted to produce lists of students at the dissenters' academies, based on funeral sermons and a version of Thompson's manuscript.¹²² Wilson also used a printed catalogue of Frankland's students appended to Ebenezer Latham's printed funeral sermon for Daniel Madock.¹²³ In his printed *History*, Wilson frequently described the education of a minister whose life he was discussing. These notices were a major source for Herbert McLachlan as he wrote *English Education under the Test Acts* in the 1920s.

Joshua Toulmin's *An Historical View of the State of the Protestant Dissenters in England* (1814) was one of the most influential works to be written on the dissenters' early academies. Toulmin (1740–1815) 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 ministered to the Presbyterian congregation at Colyton in Devon, and the General Baptist Chapel at Taunton, where he took pupils and wrote tracts in support of Socinus and Unitarianism. The structure of Toulmin's *Historical View* was similar in some ways to the work of Bogue and Bennett. For Toulmin, the dominant narrative in the history of eighteenth-century dissent was 'the Progress of Free Enquiry and Religious

¹¹⁹ David Bogue and James Bennett, *History of Dissenters, From the Revolution in 1688, to the Year 1808*, 4 vols. (London, 1808–12), II, 1–14; hereafter Bogue and Bennett, *Dissenters*.

¹²⁰ Bogue and Bennett, *Dissenters*, II, 15–71.

¹²¹ DWL, Wilson A1–15, C1–5, F1–3, I1–5, K1–8.

¹²² DWL, Wilson D*, pp. 10–11.

¹²³ Ebenezer Latham, *Preparation*, 5–46.

Liberty'. Toulmin's text circulated widely across England and Wales, with around 750 subscribers.¹²⁴ In the opening chapter, Toulmin described in detail the proceedings against dissenting tutors 'for keeping academical seminaries'.¹²⁵ When Toulmin turned to consider the history of the academies in more detail in his third chapter, he argued that the Act of Uniformity of 1662 had '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'.¹²⁶ The literary tastes which they had acquired at the universities qualified them for the instruction of youth, while their straightened circumstances obliged them to apply their talents to the provision of education, either in private families, or in schools or in academies. 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 on an exaggerated charge of breaking their university oaths.¹²⁷ Toulmin's descriptions of individual academies and tutors were as influential as his historical synopsis. He described the lives of seven tutors in detail and outlined the careers of a further eighteen, together with their best-known students.¹²⁸ Toulmin sought access to a range of important manuscripts, not all of which are currently extant. His lengthy account of John Woodhouse's courses, texts, and methods, was based upon 'MS. papers with which John Woodhouse Crompton, esq; of Birmingham, favoured the author'.¹²⁹ Nevertheless, Toulmin struggled to interpret these papers: he was unclear about both the subjects offered at the academies, and made no distinction between lectures and student reading.¹³⁰

From the late nineteenth century, regional histories of nonconformity and dissent began appearing in large numbers. One of the earliest of these texts, displaying features which were to become common to many of them, was John Sibree and Moses Caston's *Independency in Warwickshire* (1855), a text which included passing references to several

¹²⁴ Joshua Toulmin, *An Historical View of the State of the Protestant Dissenters in England* (Bath, 1814); hereafter Toulmin, *Historical View*, iii–iv.

¹²⁵ Toulmin, *Historical View*, 117.

¹²⁶ Toulmin, *Historical View*, 215–16.

¹²⁷ Toulmin, *Historical View*, 216–23; Toulmin appears to have overlooked the fact that several of these eminent persons, including Baxter and Owen, did not open academies, and that many nonconformists, including Baxter, did not attend a university.

¹²⁸ Toulmin, *Historical View*, 225–41.

¹²⁹ Toulmin, *Historical View*, 230.

¹³⁰ Toulmin, *Historical View*, 227.

local dissenting tutors.¹³¹ Further county histories of dissent followed, such as those of Surrey, Yorkshire, Norfolk and Suffolk, Shropshire, Dorset, and Berkshire.¹³² Most of these relied on Calamy for their accounts of the first generation of nonconformist ministers, although several of the authors also made use of local church books. Their comments on dissenting tutors were usually adapted from standard printed works, such as Palmer's *Nonconformist's Memorial*,¹³³ or Bogue and Bennett's *History of Dissenters*. However, a few texts made a substantial contribution to the early history of dissent. T. W. Davids set a fairly high standard for regional histories with his *Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in the County of Essex* (1863), although the best examples of solid research were William Urwick's books on Cheshire and Hertfordshire.¹³⁴ All three of these works made use of a considerable array of local and national manuscript sources, printed texts, denominational journals, and local folklore; they contained 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 further details about the education and careers of many academy students. Also drawing on earlier histories of the academies were the works of Robert Halley on Lancashire, and of B. Nightingale on Lancashire, Cumberland and Westmorland.¹³⁵ Nightingale's six-volume history of dissenters in Lancashire made frequent references to dissenting tutors and students.

Victorian readers were also exposed to the lives of early dissenting tutors through the publication of dissenting church registers and the papers of ministers. These publications

¹³¹ This lack of elaboration may help to explain subsequent confusion about the 'Coventry Academy': see the entry for 'Bryan, John (d. 1676)' in this *Biographical Dictionary*.

¹³² 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.

¹³³ Samuel Palmer, *The Nonconformist's Memorial: Being an Account of the Ministers, who were Ejected or Silenced after the Restoration*, 2 vols. (London, 1785).

¹³⁴ William Urwick, *Historical Sketches of Nonconformity in the County Palatine of Chester* (London, 1864), and *Nonconformity in Herts.* (London, 1884).

¹³⁵ 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).

included J. Horsfall Turner's four-volume edition of Oliver Heywood's papers,¹³⁶ and his edition of the church registers of Oliver Heywood and Thomas Dickenson.¹³⁷ 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, included Mark Pearson's history of Northowram, J. E. Manning's account of the Upper Chapel, Sheffield, and H. D. Roberts's history of Matthew Henry and his chapel, all providing editions or discussions of previously uninvestigated sources.¹³⁸ Thomas Rees's *History of Protestant Nonconformity in Wales* included an influential account of the Welsh dissenting academies, claiming that they descended from the work of the ejected minister Samuel Jones.¹³⁹ Among the most important national accounts of English dissent in this period were the writings of T. S. James and George Eyre Evans.¹⁴⁰ 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.¹⁴¹ 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. 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. Nevertheless, G. E. Evans's dates frequently found their way into late twentieth-century research via Charles Surman's index of 30,000 nonconformist ministers.¹⁴²

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 academies was mixed, varying from the thorough to the marginal. The two most impressive

¹³⁶ Heywood, *Diaries*. Upon completing the project, Horsfall Turner wrote that 'The dream of my boyhood is now fairly realized' (Heywood, *Diaries*, IV, 5).

¹³⁷ *The Nonconformist Register of Baptisms, Marriages, and Deaths*, ed. J. Horsfall Turner (Bridghouse, 1881).

¹³⁸ 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).

¹³⁹ Thomas Rees, *History of Protestant Nonconformity in Wales, from its Rise to the Present Time* (London, 1861), 259–68.

¹⁴⁰ 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: hereafter James, *Chapels and Charities*), and George Eyre Evans, *Vestiges of Protestant Dissent* (Liverpool, 1897).

¹⁴¹ James, *Chapels and Charities*, 9–209; 643–96.

¹⁴² The card index exists at Dr Williams's Library, but in 2009 was turned into an online database: *The Surman Index Online* <https://www.qmul.ac.uk/sed/religionandliterature/research/surman-index/>.

examples were the account by Francis Nicholson and Ernest Axon of nonconformity in Kendal, and the historical works of the Unitarian tutor Alexander Gordon. Nicholson and Axon were both experienced local historians, who plumbed the depths of the available sources to an unprecedented degree. The result was a lengthy book, *Nonconformity in Kendal*, 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 used 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 were fleshed out with manifold references to Frankland and his students from Oliver Heywood's papers.¹⁴³ In their account of Frankland's students, they provided a brief paragraph summarising the life and career of each student, together with the varying dates of 'admission' to the academy provided by Latham and Heywood.¹⁴⁴ Similarly detailed was their biography of Caleb Rotheram, which included an account of his academy and substantial notes on his students.¹⁴⁵ Nicholson and Axon revealed 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, were 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, contained 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 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 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.¹⁴⁶ When compiling notes and drafts for his *Dictionary of National Biography* entries, Gordon

¹⁴³ Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, 113–201.

¹⁴⁴ Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, 532–612.

¹⁴⁵ Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, 292–319, 613–34.

¹⁴⁶ Alexander Gordon, *Addresses Biographical and Historical* (London, 1922), 71, 81, 82.

chose to aggrandise the significance many of the early academies; he wrote that John Chorlton, 'with great spirit, resolved to continue the northern academy' of Richard Frankland,¹⁴⁷ and deleted his statement that 'the names of only four' of James Coningham's students were known.¹⁴⁸ He considered, and then rejected, 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.¹⁴⁹ 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'.¹⁵⁰ For Gordon, the crucial period in the early development of the dissenters' academies was the 1680s:¹⁵¹ he characterised Isaac Watts's tutor Thomas Rowe as 'the first to desert the traditional text-books', and as 'a Cartesian at a time when the Aristotelian philosophy was dominant'.¹⁵² Gordon's writings on the academies exercised a profound influence on the next generation of dissenting historians, not least upon his biographer, Herbert McLachlan.¹⁵³ Even the dissenting historian 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*.¹⁵⁴

The first book-length study of the dissenters' academies was produced by Irene Parker, with the title *Dissenting Academies in England* (1914). Parker was modest about her achievement; she noted that while on the one hand it was 'difficult to understand why the contribution made to Education by Puritanism and Dissent [had] not yet been fully investigated', on the other hand no-one could 'realize more clearly . . . how totally inadequate' her account had turned out to be. As a tutor and lecturer in the history of education at Cherwell Hall in Oxford, Parker was one of the first historians to write for an audience interested in the history of education as well as the history of dissent. Parker's text

¹⁴⁷ JRL, GOR/1/7; GOR/1/128.

¹⁴⁸ JRL, GOR/1/141.

¹⁴⁹ JRL, GOR/1/167; GOR/1/255.

¹⁵⁰ JRL, GOR/1/255.

¹⁵¹ JRL, GOR/1/478, GOR/1/498.

¹⁵² JRL, GOR/1/502; Alexander Gordon, 'Rowe, Thomas (1657–1705)', *DNB*.

¹⁵³ Herbert McLachlan, *Alexander Gordon* (Manchester, 1932).

¹⁵⁴ DWL, Geoffrey F. Nuttall library.

consisted of three essays and six brief appendices. The first essay was a general account of the 'development of realism' in education in England. Here, she argued 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 could be witnessed in the writings of Samuel Hartlib, John Comenius, William Petty, John Dury, and John Milton. It followed that 'no event in English history . . . had so far-reaching and disastrous an effect upon education as the Restoration'. Parker's second essay charted the 'rise and progress of the dissenting academies'. She began by stating that the academies, 'diverging from the main stream of education, drained off more and more of its life': they were 'the greatest schools of their day', thoroughly 'alive and active' in a period when the universities were 'sterile'.¹⁵⁵ Echoing Toulmin, she wrote that the dissenting academies were created by the repressive legislation of the 1660s, and drew a sharp distinction between the 'orthodox State schools' and the 'unorthodox Dissenting schools'.¹⁵⁶ One of Parker's most influential moves was 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 academies; and (3) those founded about 1750, 'which gave, in addition to a professional training, a good general education to youths going into business.'¹⁵⁷ The academies of the first period, she wrote, were private, with usually about twenty or thirty students, and one tutor.¹⁵⁸ Her history of the 'second period' consisted of case studies of the academies of John Jennings, Philip Doddridge,¹⁵⁹ and Samuel Jones of Tewkesbury.¹⁶⁰ Parker's claim that the first period academies (1662–90) were 'classical' whereas the second period (1690–1750) were 'classical-modern' contributed to a growing view that the academies played a pivotal role in the development of 'modern' education.¹⁶¹

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

¹⁵⁵ Parker, *Dissenting Academies*, 45.

¹⁵⁶ Parker, *Dissenting Academies*, 47. She quotes Toulmin's *Historical View* on pp. 50–1.

¹⁵⁷ Parker, *Dissenting Academies*, 57–8.

¹⁵⁸ Parker, *Dissenting Academies*, 58.

¹⁵⁹ Parker, *Dissenting Academies*, 75–96.

¹⁶⁰ Parker, *Dissenting Academies*, 96–101.

¹⁶¹ Parker, *Dissenting Academies*, 58.

library.¹⁶² 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.¹⁶³ 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* pronounced the subject to be 'nearly exhausted'.¹⁶⁴ 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). McLachlan offered no interpretation of the content of these manuscript notebooks, and later scholars have been slow to give them the attention they deserve.¹⁶⁵ For his biographical notices of tutors and students McLachlan drew on Gordon, Parker, and articles in the *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*. McLachlan's book reinforced 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). 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. Nevertheless, McLachlan's work was an important synthesis of the writings of early antiquarian scholarship, supplemented by a list of major manuscript sources.

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 not a new history, but a summary of the contents of pre–existing county and chapel histories and denominational magazines. The next history of the academies was published in 1954; based upon the MA

¹⁶² 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).

¹⁶³ 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).

¹⁶⁴ J. H. C., 'English Education under the Test Acts', in *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society of England*, 5 (1932–5), 41–3.

¹⁶⁵ Many of them are explored for the first time in Burden, 'Academical Learning', chapters 3 and 4.

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'.¹⁶⁶ Ashley Smith himself later served on the Congregational Federation's Training Board.¹⁶⁷ 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.¹⁶⁸ 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'.¹⁶⁹

In the forty years after the publication of Ashley Smith's book, historians usually drew on the early history of the academies to provide supporting evidence for wider historical or political judgments. Christopher Hill argued that there was 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.¹⁷⁰ Biographers of dissenting students, including Daniel Defoe and Thomas Secker, generally repeated the accepted narrative that the academies were engines of intellectual change.¹⁷¹ Standard works on dissent, the Church of England, English education, and the English

¹⁶⁶ Ashley Smith, *Modern Education*, 2.

¹⁶⁷ Alan Argent, *Serving the Saints* (Nottingham, 2010).

¹⁶⁸ Ashley Smith, *Modern Education*, 1.

¹⁶⁹ Ashley Smith, *Modern Education*, 1–5.

¹⁷⁰ Christopher Hill, *The Century of Revolution 1603–1714*, 2nd edition (London, 1968), 251; Richard L. Greaves, *The Puritan Revolution and Educational Thought* (New Brunswick, 1965).

¹⁷¹ Maximillian Novak, *Daniel Defoe: Master of Fictions* (Oxford, 2001), 32–50; Robert G. Ingram, *Religion, Reform and Modernity in the Eighteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2007), 19–44.

universities, drew heavily on the research of Parker, McLachlan, and Ashley Smith.¹⁷² This relative absence of new scholarship may be contrasted with the considerable research into the careers of some later tutors, such as Philip Doddridge and Joseph Priestley.¹⁷³ Nevertheless, the contribution of the early academies to logic, science, and theology was recognised in a small handful of essays on the history of philosophy.¹⁷⁴ On the other hand, revisionist historians working on the later Stuart period paid scant regard to the intellectual or social consequences of the academies.¹⁷⁵

The historiography of the dissenters' early academies suggests that most critics chose to perpetuate debates about dissenting education which were familiar to Wesley, Sacheverell, Calamy and Defoe in the early eighteenth century. These debates may be divided into two broad sets of questions. The first set revolves around the degree to which the academies were 'progressive' institutions, providing the 'birth of modern education', in contrast to the moribund state of the eighteenth-century universities. The terms – and many of the arguments – employed in this debate no longer have the vitality and breadth of appeal that they once carried. It is clear that there was considerable traffic between universities and private academies across the period 1660–1729 and that neither side could lay claim to being the chief engine of intellectual change. In any case, educational change should not be equated with the much more problematic concept of educational 'progress', a notion which – certainly at the level of curricula and pedagogy – has always been inseparable from the critic's wider intellectual preconceptions. To suggest, as Parker, McLachlan, and Ashley Smith implied, that early modern education of any kind could bear sustained comparison with today's educational provision is highly problematic. On the other hand, debate about the transmission of educational ideas and texts lends itself to current trends in literary analysis, including

¹⁷² Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters: From the Reformation to the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1978), 368–71; Ernest Gordon Rupp, *Religion in England, 1688–1791* (Oxford, 1986), 172; Nicholas Tyacke (ed.), *The History of the University of Oxford IV: Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, (Oxford, 1987).

¹⁷³ 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); Isabel Rivers, *Reason, Grace and Sentiment: A Study of the Language of Religion and Ethics in England, 1660–1780*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1991–2000); Rivers, *The Defence of Truth through the Knowledge of Error* (London, 2003); 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).

¹⁷⁴ 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).

¹⁷⁵ Morrice, *Entring Book*, I, 505.

manuscript studies and the history of the book. This *Biographical Dictionary* hopes to make discussions of dissemination easier by providing reliable and extensive primary bibliographies of dissenting educational texts.

The second set of questions raised by the historiography of the academies remains very much alive. The response of teachers and students to periods of structural upheaval in educational provision continues to be of considerable interest, and not merely to historians. In the past, writers on the dissenters' private academies have been sharply divided between those who considered the proliferation of Protestant dissenters to be the problem, and those who considered their persecution to be the greater injustice. For other readers, however, a more significant issue may be the repeated attempts by individuals and nations throughout the world to diversify or to control educational provision. Historically, Protestant dissenters were less routinely on the side of diversity than their historiography suggested, not least in their attempts to restrict the activities of episcopalian schoolmasters in the 1640s and 1650s, and their fierce opposition to Roman Catholic schools and seminaries across the later Stuart period. Nevertheless, the dissenters' earliest academies remain useful case studies in the long history of educational societies run by tutors who could not subscribe to doctrines enshrined in law.

IV. How to Use the *Biographical Dictionary*

The need for a new history of the dissenters' earliest academies has been recognised by, among others, Isabel Rivers, David Wykes, and Mark Goldie. 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. Rivers's *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 the 'Dissenting Academies Project', of which this *Biographical Dictionary* is one element.¹⁷⁶ It has been generally

¹⁷⁶ *The Dissenting Academies Project* <https://www.qmul.ac.uk/sed/religionandliterature/dissenting-academies/>. Other relevant outcomes from the Centre for Dissenting Studies include *Dissenting Academies Online: Virtual Library System* <http://vls.english.qmul.ac.uk/>; *Dissenting Academies Online: Database and Encyclopedia* <http://dissacad.english.qmul.ac.uk/>; *The Letters of Joseph Priestley to Theophilus Lindsey 1769–1794*, ed. Simon Mills <https://www.qmul.ac.uk/sed/religionandliterature/online-publications/priestley-lindsey-letters/>; *Dissenting Education and the Legacy of John Jennings*, ed. Tessa Whitehouse

accepted that the state of propaedeutic and bibliographic knowledge about dissenting tutors before Doddridge is less robust and diverse than scholarly understanding of dissenting tutors from the mid and late eighteenth century. This *Biographical Dictionary* begins to redress that deficit, through a greater range and a more detailed examination of primary manuscript and printed sources than has previously been attempted on this subject.

The purpose of this *Biographical Dictionary* is to provide information and sources relating to tutors at the dissenters' private academies between the Act of Uniformity (1662) and the opening of Philip Doddridge's academy (1729). However, this objective is by no means straight forward to achieve. Whereas it is relatively easy to draw up a list of the university colleges at Oxford and Cambridge during the period, no definitive list of private academies is possible, and for those academies that are identifiable, it is impossible to achieve complete certainty about their dates of operation, or the names of all the tutors and assistant tutors. Partly, this is a problem of nomenclature: in their educational and controversial writings, both Anglicans and dissenters frequently used the terms 'school' and 'academy' interchangeably, and the term 'dissenting academy' seems to have been used rarely in printed literature prior to 1702. The term 'dissenting academy', when applied to societies of dissenting tutors and students prior to 1702, is an unfortunate legacy of eighteenth and nineteenth-century historical writing, and has come to refer to an assortment of widely varying tutorial arrangements. The term 'private academy', however, was in wide circulation in the late seventeenth century, and the vast majority of societies which have previously been labelled 'dissenting academies' would have been recognised as 'private academies' during the period of their operation. For this reason, I have preferred to use the term 'private academy' in this publication.

The most influential list of private academy tutors to be compiled in the twentieth century was Irene Parker's list of 1914, modified by Herbert McLachlan in 1931.¹⁷⁷ Every tutor from the period 1660–1729 named by Parker and/or McLachlan has an entry in this *Biographical Dictionary*. However, Parker and McLachlan severely over-interpreted the

<https://www.qmul.ac.uk/sed/religionandliterature/online-publications/dissenting-education/>; *New College Hackney (1786–96): A Selection of Printed and Archival Sources*, ed. Stephen Burley
<https://www.qmul.ac.uk/sed/religionandliterature/online-publications/new-college-hackney/>; Simon Mills, 'Joseph Priestley and the Intellectual Culture of Rational Dissent, 1752–1796', unpublished PhD thesis, University of London (2009); Stephen Burley, 'Hazlitt the Dissenter: Religion, Philosophy, and Politics, 1766–1816', unpublished PhD thesis, University of London (2011); Tessa Whitehouse, 'Isaac Watts and Philip Doddridge: Letters, Lectures and Lives in Eighteenth-century Dissenting Culture', unpublished PhD thesis, University of London (2011); Burden, 'Academical Learning'.

¹⁷⁷ Parker, *Dissenting Academies*, xx; McLachlan, *English Education*, xx.

limited evidence at their disposal. At least sixteen individuals included in their lists were not, in fact, tutors at a private academy. For the sake of completeness, these tutors have been included in the *Biographical Dictionary*, but to avoid confusion with those men whom I do describe as private academy tutors, the entries for these figures are marked *. A knowledge of their lives helps us to understand the wide variety of tutorial practices at work among dissenters after the 1662 Act of Uniformity. Most of them merit consideration as significant private tutors, even though they did not teach at one of the dissenters' academies. These men include John Flavell, Philip Henry, Stephen Hughes, and Francis Tallents. Other starred individuals include Thomas Vincent, Richard Swift, and John Weaver, who were probably grammar school teachers rather than private academy tutors. Joseph Hallett Jr is traditionally described as an assistant tutor at his father's Exeter academy, even though eighteenth-century sources insist that he was not considered to be a tutor by his father. Three other individuals, Francis Glascock, Stephen Lobb and William Wickens, are sometimes said to have continued Charles Morton's academy at Newington Green, although a closer inspection of the evidence indicates that they were actually supervising divinity disputations among Morton's former students. John Bryan, Obadiah Grew and Thomas Shewell have all been associated with the dissenters' private academy in Coventry; none of them taught at the academy, but each of them contributed to dissenting education in other ways. Edward Reyner has been wrongly identified as an academy tutor at Lincoln, again through confusion with his son John Reyner.

The 'private academies' discussed in this *Biographical Dictionary* share several characteristics: their tutors were Protestant dissenters, as were most of their students; they convened in the tutors' houses, not in the houses of their students; they taught university-level subjects. These criteria have led to the exclusion from the *Dictionary* of several tutorial arrangements which have previously been labelled 'dissenting academies'. In particular, several tutors mentioned in the influential appendix to Ashley Smith's *The Birth of Modern Education* have not been considered relevant to the *Dictionary*.¹⁷⁸ In some cases, Ashley Smith's 'academies' would simply not have been recognised by their contemporaries as such; in other cases, Ashley Smith's evidence that a tutor was conducting private tuition of any kind is unreliable. I have also discounted the additions to McLachlan's list printed by Goldie

¹⁷⁸ Ashley Smith, *Modern Education*, 102–3.

et al. in *The Entering Book of Roger Morrice*.¹⁷⁹ It is my view that these men were not teaching university-level subjects in private academies.

The seventy-nine remaining tutors in the *Biographical Dictionary* are individuals who taught at one of the dissenters' private academies. The majority of these individuals were identified by Parker and McLachlan. A few other tutors have emerged during the course of my own research, including John Barclay, Samuel Beresford, John Billingsley, Robert Ferguson, and Stephen Towgood. The educational practices adopted by these tutors were no more uniform than those among the starred individuals. In general, there are three criteria which may be used to establish whether the individual is teaching at an academy: (1) explicit use of the term 'academy' in contemporaneous or near-contemporaneous printed or manuscript records; (2) evidence that university-level subjects are being studied; (3) evidence of a number of students inconsistent with small-scale private tutoring. Most of the tutors listed in this dictionary fall into at least two of these categories. For the others, I have used a degree of discretion when deciding whether to describe them as 'private academy' tutors, or merely 'private tutors'. Samuel Beresford, for instance, is accounted a 'private academy' tutor almost solely on the basis that Calamy uses the term in relation to him; Robert Ferguson is described as an academy tutor because Anthony Wood states that he taught 'University learning'.¹⁸⁰ Thomas Brand is included on the basis of clear evidence that his students later formed the kernel of John Ker's academy at Bethnal Green.¹⁸¹ Other tutors, including Isaac Chauncey, James Forbes, and Roger Griffith, are included on the basis of evidence of minutes from the dissenters' London Fund Boards, although the precise nature and extent of their teaching is impossible to ascertain.¹⁸² Thomas Cole's academy is an odd fit – it is not clear that he taught students at university level, and there is no evidence that he trained students for the dissenting ministry; however, his teaching was of considerable significance in the row over Samuel Wesley's *Letter* concerning dissenting education, and so needs to be included for that reason alone.¹⁸³

This *Biographical Dictionary* differs from most previous accounts of dissenting tutors in the extent to which it focuses on their early years, their schooling, and their university and academy studies. I have followed convention in gathering information on the schooling and

¹⁷⁹ Morrice, *Entering Book*, I, 505–7.

¹⁸⁰ Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 231; Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, II, 560.

¹⁸¹ DWL, OD67, fos. 11, 13, 26, 28.

¹⁸² DWL, OD68, fos. 30, 36, 44; pp. 99, 111; OD401, pp. 16–99; OD402, p. 71.

¹⁸³ Hamilton, *Bonnell*, 8–9; Palmer, *Vindication*, 97–8.

university education of tutors from printed registers, most notably Venn and Foster; however, I have supplemented this information with anecdotes from early biographies, and sketches provided in Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses*. Where church and chapel registers have been consulted in printed or manuscript form, these have been clearly labelled in the main body of the entry and in the accompanying bibliographies; however, it is outside the scope of this project to conduct a detailed examination of parish registers for baptism, marriage and burial dates. In some cases, the chief sources for birth and death dates have been early biographies of tutors, the *ODNB*, A. G. Matthews's *Calamy Revised*, and (with caveats) Alexander Gordon's mini-biographies of dissenters in *Freedom after Ejection*. It has also been possible to identify wills and/or inventories for around half of the tutors discussed. Where uncertainties about baptism, marriage and death information are particularly pronounced, this is indicated in the entry itself.

Users of the dictionary should be alert to occasions when the information provided about a tutor is part of a wider survey of dissent. There are four periods when a general survey of dissenting ministers and tutors is possible. The first of these is the period 1660–2, for which episcopal registers may be consulted to evaluate Edmund Calamy's lists of nonconforming ministers. The second period is 1672–3, during which preaching licences were sought for a large number of dissenting ministers, under the terms of Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence. Lists of licence requests and approvals, but not the licences themselves, may be found in the state papers at the National Archives;¹⁸⁴ they were summarised in the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic* and tabulated by G. L. Turner in his *Records of Nonconformity*. The further analysis of licences by Bate (*Declaration of Indulgence*) is flawed, and A. G. Matthews's debt to Turner for information on licences is considerable: for these reasons, Bate and Matthews are rarely discussed in relation to the 1672–3 licences in this dictionary, whereas Turner has been consulted. A third survey of dissent was undertaken by the dissenters' Common Fund managers in the period immediately following the passage of the Toleration Act in 1689.¹⁸⁵ The purpose of the survey was to establish which dissenting ministers received an adequate income for preaching, and who required a supplementary income from the Fund. A semi-diplomatic edition of the survey was produced by Alexander Gordon, together with brief notes of varying reliability on the ministers listed. The fourth national survey was undertaken *c.*1715, at which point

¹⁸⁴ TNA, SP29/320–1; SP44/38A.

¹⁸⁵ DWL, OD161.

submissions were made on a county-by-county basis to the London minister John Evans.¹⁸⁶ The survey sought to estimate the extent of the dissenting interest, including the number of ministers, the size of their congregations, and the number of dissenters with a parliamentary vote in each county. Each of these surveys provides important information about the preaching activities of dissenting tutors.

A further set of sources reveals considerable detail about the preaching and teaching duties of dissenting tutors after the 1688–9 revolution. These are the minutes of the London Fund Boards. The Common Fund minutes list grants to ministers, tutors and students for 1690–3; from 1695 the Presbyterian Fund Board minutes do the same, whereas two surviving minute books cover grants from the Congregational Fund for 1695–1704.¹⁸⁷ The minute books for the meetings of the Exeter Assembly of ministers provide considerable information about academies in Devon, Dorset, Somerset and Gloucestershire; the Cheshire Classis minutes provide information about tutors and students in Cheshire and Lancashire.¹⁸⁸

It is important to recognise that the vast majority of tutors discussed in this *Biographical Dictionary* had ministries; these fall into two groups: formal positions within the Church of England (such as vicar, rector, curate), and preaching positions within the dissenting churches (such as pastor, lecturer, teacher). Information about the institution of ministers in the Church of England has been extracted from diocesan records, including episcopal registers and act books, plus Commonwealth registers and certificates in Lambeth Palace Library.¹⁸⁹ These have sometimes been supplemented by references to parish registers, where such registers exist. Registers for dissenting congregations prior to 1690 are very limited in number and scope, and in very many instances it has been necessary to trace the activities of dissenting preachers through the diaries of their friends and associates. The most important of these for this project have been the diaries of Oliver Heywood, James Clegg, Ralph Thoresby, and Matthew Henry, plus the entring book of Roger Morrice.¹⁹⁰

The single most important sources for the lives of nonconformist ministers and tutors are Edmund Calamy's historical writings. Calamy's *Abridgment*, *Account*, *Continuation*, and autobiography have been used throughout this dictionary, but wherever possible, his claims

¹⁸⁶ DWL, 38.4.

¹⁸⁷ DWL, OD67 (Common Fund), OD68–73 (Presbyterian Fund Board); OD401–3 (Congregational Fund Board). Further information may be found in the treasury books of the Presbyterian Fund.

¹⁸⁸ DWL, 38.24, 38.28; DRO, 3542D/M1/1; C&CA, EDV 2/9.

¹⁸⁹ For example, LPL, COMM. III/1–6.

¹⁹⁰ BL, Add. MSS 45965–75; YAS, MSS 21–6; Bod. Lib., Eng. Misc. e.330; DWL, Morrice P–R.

have been verified against other sources. Other printed memoirs from the period provide additional propaedeutic information, as well as assessments of the character and contribution of dissenting tutors. These fall into two major categories: biographies of tutors, and biographies of their students and associates. Early biographies and printed memoirs survive for the tutors John Alexander, Thomas Amory, Samuel Benion, Thomas Brand, Robert Darch, Thomas Doolittle, John Flavell, James Forbes, Philip Henry, Stephen James, William Lorimer, John Moore Jr of Bridgwater, Joshua Oldfield, James Owen, John Reynolds, Benjamin Robinson, John Spademan, Francis Tallents, William Tong, Edward Veal, Matthew Warren, James Waters, and John Woodhouse.¹⁹¹ Among the printed memoirs of dissenting students, the most important are those of Edmund Calamy, Samuel Palmer, and Samuel Wesley; early printed biographies of dissenting students include those of John Ashe and Matthew Henry.¹⁹² Three other important sources are the manuscript 'Memoirs' of John Fox, Ebenezer Latham's funeral sermon for Daniel Maddock, and the autobiography of the publisher John Dunton.¹⁹³

Memoirs of dissenting tutors and their students are full of accounts of persecution, prosecution, and suffering. This is particularly true of the writings of Calamy and his associates. There remains considerable work to do in order to establish the credibility of each of these claims through a systematic analysis of quarter sessions records and ecclesiastical presentments. However, I have made some progress in identifying a number of prosecutions and attempted prosecutions through my analysis of state papers, assize records, chancery papers, contemporaneous correspondence, and printed editions of local court records.¹⁹⁴ In a few cases, it has been possible to identify manuscript records of the prosecutions in county archives. In every instance, the chief source which I have used to describe the event is clearly listed in the entry and in the bibliography, to enable interested readers to trace the original documents and assess the veracity of later accounts.

Establishing reliable lists of each tutor's students is a complicated business. The only near-contemporaneous list of students which is anywhere near complete is Oliver Heywood's list of Richard Frankland's students, to which he appended a small number of the students of

¹⁹¹ Listed in the bibliographies for each tutor, with abbreviated internal references in the form Author, *Subject*, page.

¹⁹² Calamy, *Own Life*; Palmer, *Defence*; Wesley, *Letter*; Bod Lib., Rawl. c.406, pp. 100–9; Clegg, *Ashe*; Henry, *Philip Henry*.

¹⁹³ Fox, 'Memoirs'; Latham, *Preparation*; Dunton, *Life and Errors*.

¹⁹⁴ TNA, SP/67–444.

John Chorlton.¹⁹⁵ Another list of Frankland's students, varying in some details from Heywood's account, was printed by Latham as an appendix to his funeral sermon for Maddock.¹⁹⁶ Much less reliable is a manuscript account of dissenting students, drawn up for Josiah Thompson *c.*1770.¹⁹⁷ Readers should be aware that many of the contents of Thompson's manuscript cannot be verified and that parts of it are demonstrably inaccurate. Nevertheless, it is an essential source of information. Several copies of the manuscript were made in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but these copies generally add little original information and so have not been included in the bibliographies. Several names of students may be found in memoirs of dissenting ministers, particularly autobiographies and funeral sermons; these provide important information, but tend to exclude the names of individuals irrelevant to each writer's purpose. The other main sources for the names of students are the minutes of the dissenters' London Fund Boards and regional ministerial assemblies. These minutes are, however, a poor guide to the size of each academy; they include disproportionate numbers of ministerial students, and tend to focus on students considered sufficiently needy or worthy to merit financial assistance.

Previous accounts of the dissenters' private academies have paid little attention to letters to and from dissenting tutors. During the course of my research for this dictionary, I have been able to locate over 200 manuscript letters of this kind. The biggest corpora survive for Robert Ferguson, Theophilus Gale, Philip Henry, Stephen Lobb, and Francis Tallents,¹⁹⁸ but there are also several extant letters to and from the tutors John Bryan Sr, Isaac Chauncey, Thomas Doolittle, John Eames, James Forbes, Henry Hickman, Henry Langley, Matthew Smith, and William Tong. In addition, a handful of letters may be found copied into minute books of dissenting institutions, and several controversial letters were printed, including some written by Henry Hickman and James Waters. Important collections of letters which contain references to dissenting tutors include the Richard Baxter correspondence, Philip Doddridge's letters, the Harley family papers, the Henry family correspondence, the Tanner papers, the correspondence of Ralph Thoresby, the John Walker papers, and the

¹⁹⁵ BL, Add. MS 45974, fos. 13–14.

¹⁹⁶ Latham, *Preparation*, 35–46.

¹⁹⁷ DWL, 24.59.

¹⁹⁸ TNA, SP29/67–442; Bod. Lib., Rawl. Lrs. 49–54; Bod. Lib., Eng. Lett. e.29; DWL, 90.1–10; DWL, Baxter Letters, I–VI; BL, Add. MS 70125; Derbyshire RO, D2558/38/11.

correspondence of Philip Wharton; I have also made use of original letters collected by Thomas Birch and Thomas Raffles.¹⁹⁹

There are many cases in which manuscript treatises drawn up by tutors and subsequently copied by students have survived. This is particularly true of manuscript systems of philosophy by John Eames, Henry Grove, and Samuel Jones of Gloucester and Tewkesbury, Charles Morton, and Thomas Rowe. However, manuscript writings have also been identified which relate to the teaching of John Barclay, Samuel Benion, John Billingsley, Robert Darch, Thomas Dixon, Thomas Doolittle, Richard Frankland, Stephen James, Jeremiah Jones, Ebenezer Latham, and Thomas Ridgley.²⁰⁰ This *Biographical Dictionary* is unique in the attention it pays to such manuscript documents. In every case, all of the relevant manuscript sources have been consulted, and I have provided summaries of their contents in the tutor's entry, as well as listing their location in the subsequent bibliographies.

In instances where a tutor's writings were printed, these texts have been recorded in the 'Works' section of each entry. This is another important difference between the *Biographical Dictionary* and previous attempts by Gordon, Matthews, and the *ODNB* to describe the lives of dissenting tutors. The chief sources of bibliographic information about these works are electronic databases including *ESTC*, *EEBO* and *ECCO*, together with the *Term Catalogues* and internal evidence from the texts themselves. The most significant and relevant printed works by each tutor are discussed within the entry itself; unless I have indicated otherwise, the analysis is based upon my own reading of these texts rather than being constructed from secondary sources.

In general, the bibliographies succeeding each entry in this *Biographical Dictionary* are sparser on secondary literature than on primary sources. The chief reason for this is that the quality of secondary writings on the dissenters' early academies is in general pretty poor, and frequently adds little in the way of new sources or satisfactory analysis. Where such secondary literature does attempt a full character sketch of a dissenting tutor, or a detailed discussion of part of his output, the source is included in the bibliography. However, passing references in twentieth-century criticism are rarely recorded. In preparing this dictionary, I

¹⁹⁹ DWL, NCL/L1/1–10; BL, Add. MSS 70013–19, 70125, 70141, 70226–7, 70270; Bod. Lib., Tanner 35–41, 129; YAS, MSS 5–14, 20; Bod. Lib., J. Walker, c.1–13; e.1–12; BL, Add. MSS 4275–7; JRL, Raffles MSS 369–71.

²⁰⁰ These are listed in the 'Archival Sources' for each tutor, with the exception of John Eames and Charles Morton, for whom the substantial surviving manuscripts requires a separate category, 'Manuscript Works'.

undertook a systematic study of the manuscripts of several nineteenth-century antiquarians with a particular interest in the academies, including Walter Wilson and Joseph Hunter;²⁰¹ however, my investigations suggested that these were unreliable sources and of limited use to this *Biographical Dictionary*, and so references to these manuscripts are rare. I have provided relatively complete sets of references to Parker's *Nonconformist Academies* and McLachlan's *English Education*, but I have only included references to Ashley Smith's *Birth of Modern Education* where he devotes a complete section or subsection to the tutor concerned. To avoid unnecessary and cumbersome subdivision, I have followed the practice of *Dissenting Academies Online* by including primary and secondary printed books under the category of 'References', with a separate heading for the tutor's printed 'Works'; all manuscripts have been categorised as 'Archival Sources', with references to pages and folios and a description of their contents and date where possible.

²⁰¹ DWL, Wilson A–K; DWL, NCL54/1–4; BL, Add. MSS 24436–630.

TUTORS

Alexander, John (1686–1743)

JOHN ALEXANDER, tutor at Gloucester and Stratford, was born on 30 September 1686 at Templepatrick, County Antrim. He was the son of John Alexander, who was the fourth son of William Alexander, Earl of Stirling (*ODNB*). Alexander Jr matriculated at Glasgow University on 3 March 1701 (*Glasguensis*, III, 172). It is sometimes assumed, on unknown evidence, that he later attended Samuel Jones's academy at Gloucester and Tewkesbury, where he would have been a near-contemporary of Thomas Secker and Joseph Butler (*ODNB*). By c.1714 he was the first minister of a new Independent chapel at Gloucester; here he was reputed to have around 250 hearers, including 30 county voters. Alexander was co-pastor at the Independent meeting in Bristol between 1719 and 1723, before moving to Stratford upon Avon (DWL, 38.4, pp. 42, 99, 119).

According to a late eighteenth-century manuscript history of dissenters' private academies, Alexander 'kept an Academy about 9 or 10 years, first at Gloucester, about the year 1720, then at Stratford upon Avon in Warwickshire' (DWL, 24.59, fos. 63–4). The information provided by this manuscript, which is not always reliable, is somewhat difficult to interpret. It is unlikely that Alexander held an academy at Gloucester while being a minister in Bristol; the dates and locations of his Gloucestershire academy cannot be fixed with any certainty. Alexander's successor in the academy at Stratford was John Fleming. The names of several students at the Stratford academy are also recorded in the manuscript, although it is difficult to know which students were taught by Alexander and which were taught by Fleming. They include Benjamin Higgs (a minister at Farringdon), John Heywood of Potterspury, John Dowley of Lutterworth, William Foot of Bristol, Daniel Silk of Ailesbury, James Floyd of Daventry and Robert Gilbert of Northampton; the other students named are Daniel Thomas, John Phillips, and the tutor Thomas Belsham's father James Belsham (DWL, 24.59, fos. 63–4). Another probable student of Alexander was Thomas Meremoth of Tenterden, who later preached in Southwark (DWL, NCL/L1/7/103).

From 1730, Alexander was a minister at the Presbyterian chapel in Plunket Street, Dublin. He married Hannah Higgs on 8 August 1732, with whom he had four children (*ODNB*). There appear to have been attempts to persuade Alexander to resume his teaching in England.

Nuttall speculates that Alexander was the tutor mentioned in a letter from David Jennings to Philip Doddridge on 20 March 1734. According to Humphreys, Jennings was concerned that if Doddridge refused to become John Eames's fellow tutor at the Moorfields academy, the next offer might be made to 'Alex. T-r' (Humphreys, *Doddridge*, III, 146). It seems unlikely, however, that Nuttall is correct to equate 'Alex. T-r' with 'Alexander, Tutor'; it is quite possible that Humphreys mistranscribed the original letter and that Abraham Taylor was the man intended by Jennings. On 6 April 1734, following the death of the tutor Thomas Ridgley, Jennings wrote in a letter to Doddridge that it was 'not A-m T-r but Alexander' who was 'the man wch a certain powerful Party have their Eye upon' to succeed Ridgley as a tutor (DWL, NCL/L1/6/148). In the event, however, it was Joseph Densham, not Alexander or Doddridge, who taught alongside Eames at the Moorfields academy; Taylor became a tutor in Deptford. Alexander, meanwhile, moved to Ireland; he has been identified as the moderator of the General Synod of Ulster in 1734, although this claim cannot be made with certainty (DWL, NCL/L1/7/103; *General Synod of Ulster*, II, 188). He died in Dublin on 1 November 1743; his son, John Alexander Jr (*d.* 1765), was a dissenting minister near Birmingham (Witherow, *Ireland*, I, 350–1).

Alexander's funeral sermon was delivered by the Irish minister Robert MacMaster and was later published. No copies are extant, but MacMaster's character of Alexander survives in a transcription by Thomas Witherow (1879). MacMaster described Alexander as 'a great scholar', 'qualified above the common rate' for the work of the ministry. He had 'studied hard from his youth', attaining 'a very considerable stock' of learning. He could 'read the Old and New Testaments in their originals as familiarly as if he had been reading English'. Alexander's 'beloved language' was Greek; he could 'read the Greek Fathers with as much ease and delight as if Greek had been his mother-tongue'. Nevertheless, his 'principal study' was divinity, to which 'he made all his knowledge subservient'. MacMaster wrote that Alexander had 'the body of it in his head, and the spirit and soul of that body in his heart', and that he was 'seldom without his Bible before him in his study'. Alexander earned a reputation for 'grave, methodical, and judicious . . . practical, yet rational and argumentative' preaching, delivered with plainness, purity and simplicity (Witherow, *Ireland*, I, 351–2).

Works

The Primitive Doctrine of Christ's Divinity: Or, a Specimen of a Full View of the Ante-Nicene Doctrine, in an Essay on Irenaeus (London, 1727).

Archival Sources

Dr Williams's Library, 24.59, fos. 63–4: Notes on Alexander and Fleming in 'An Account of the Dissenting Academies from the Restoration of Charles II', c.1780.

Dr Williams's Library, 38.4, pp. 42, 99, 119: References to John Alexander in John Evans's List (State of Nonconformity in England and Wales), c.1715.

Dr Williams's Library, MS NCL/L1/6/148: Letter from Philip Doddridge to David Jennings, 6 April 1734.

Dr Williams's Library, MS NCL/L1/7/103: Letter from Henry Miles to Philip Doddridge, 3 May 1744.

Dr Williams's Library, MS NCL/L54/4/62: Joshua Wilson's notes on John Alexander's academy.

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Amory, Thomas (1701–74)

THOMAS AMORY, tutor at the Taunton Academy, was born in Taunton on 28 January

1701. He was the second son of John Amory, a grocer, and Anne *née* Grove, the elder sister of the tutor Henry Grove (*ODNB*). From a young age, Amory attended the Presbyterian meeting in Taunton, where his father was a trustee and Grove was the minister. One of his earliest instructors was Thomas Chadwick, a Presbyterian minister resident in Taunton; according to James Manning, Chadwick 'had the satisfaction of educating many Ministers and Gentlemen of reputation in the West of England' (Manning, *Towgood*, 5). From *c.*1712 Amory travelled to Exeter to study with a prominent dissenting minister, Dr Andre de Majendie, of Huguenot ancestry, who was the grandfather of Henry William Majendie (1764–1830), bishop of Chester (1800–9) and Bangor (1809–30). He then returned to Chadwick's care, where he was tutored alongside the dissenting controversialist Micajah Towgood. On Lady-Day 1717 both Amory and Towgood left Chadwick's school and attended the academy in Taunton, where the tutors were Grove and Stephen James; they completed their education there in 1722. In his funeral sermon for Amory, Roger Flexman wrote that his 'academical preparation was principally conducted with a view to his ingaging in the sacred ministry; though no part of useful learning was neglected . . . Signal were the advantages which he derived from the improving conversation, judicious advice and instructive example of his near relation, the polite, the pious, and accomplished Mr. Henry Grove' (Flexman, *Amory*, 33).

After examination and approval as a candidate for the ministry in the summer of 1722, Amory moved to the dissenters' academy in Moorfields in November, where he was tutored by John Eames. He also acquired the friendship of Elizabeth Rowe, and exchanged several letters with her; they disagreed in religious opinions, but she admired his 'frankness and sincerity' as 'a beauty in your character' (Rowe, *Miscellaneous Works*, II, 231–2). After reading a copy of his sermon *Christ the Light of the World* (1735), Rowe jokingly remarked that, 'from an implicit believer, it has half made me a reasonable one' (Rowe, *Miscellaneous Works*, II, 233). Rowe presented Amory with a copy of Molière's works, and Amory wrote a poem thanking her, which was later published (Rowe, *Miscellaneous Works*, I, cvi–cviii). In one of her letters to Amory, probably from the 1720s or 1730s, she wrote that she had been 'sincerely pleas'd with Mr. Grove's company' (Rowe, *Miscellaneous Works*, II, 229). In another, she commented on lines from Grove's poetry by quoting from Pope's letters, also stating that Amory's own verses 'contain excellent rules for happiness; but you find they had not their just effect on your fair disciple' (Rowe, *Miscellaneous Works*, II, 232).

Amory replaced James as assistant tutor to Grove at the Taunton academy from 1725. Flexman wrote that Amory was 'of uncommon intellectual powers, and by assiduous diligence, daily improving them, his capacity for usefulness as a tutor, was conspicuous In that important station, for several years, by the acquisition of a considerable fund of knowledge, he acquitted himself with reputation and success' (Flexman, *Amory*, 34). Wilson, imitating Flexman, wrote that Amory discharged the business assigned him 'with great ability and diligence; being well qualified for it by his knowledge in, and taste for, the finest Greek and Roman classics, and by his thorough acquaintance with the best and latest improvements in sound philosophy' (Wilson, *Dissenting Churches*, II, 386).

Some of the books in Amory's library may be ascertained from eighteenth-century subscription lists, although it is not always possible to distinguish his purchases from those of his namesake, the novelist Thomas Amory. During this period Amory's name appears as a subscriber to his friend George Benson's *The History of the First Planting of the Christian Religion* (1735), John Oldmixon's *The History of England* (1735), and (perhaps) *The Works of Jonathan Swift* (1735). Later, he is known to have purchased a range of texts by nonconformists or associated with nonconformity, such as *The Old Whig* (1739), perhaps Ephraim Chambers's *Cyclopaedia* (1740), Charles Owen's *A History of Serpents* (1742), Kirby Reyner's *Select Sermons* (1745), Samuel Say's *Poems on Several Occasions* (1745), and James Foster's *Discourses on all the Principal Branches of Natural Religion and Social Virtue* (1749–52); he also bought Lawrence Holden's *Twenty-Two Sermons* (1755) and *Paraphrase* (1763), Samuel Bourn's *A Series of Discourses* (1760), William West's *Sermons* (1762), and Francis Webb's *Sermons* (2 vols., 1766).

Amory's own published works also achieved a wide circulation. They suggest that the Taunton academy's reputation for liberal theology continued under his tutorship. His *A Dialogue on Devotion* (1733) was cited by Samuel Bourn, in his *Christian-Family Prayer Book* of 1737 ('Preface', p. xx); extracts from his writings were printed in an anonymous compilation, *The Protestant System* (2 vols., 1758), and his sermon *The Reasonableness of Religion* appeared in volume 1 of *The Practical Preacher* (1762), 173–94. He also produced a life of Samuel Chandler, published as the preface to the first volume of Chandler's *Sermons* (1759), and a memoir of George Benson attached to Benson's *The History of the Life of Jesus Christ* (1764). One anecdote records that Isaac Watts informed Amory a few years before his

death of his intention to revise his psalms and hymns (Johnson, *Life of Watts*, 27n). Doddridge included Amory's *Dialogue on Devotion* in a reading list in his *Course of Lectures* (1763). However, Amory's opinions often brought him into conflict with Doddridge's correspondents. In a letter to Doddridge of 29 August 1744, Joseph Williams noted with relief that the interest of Amory was insufficient to persuade Thomas Hornblower to succeed Benjamin Fawcett at Taunton (Humphreys, *Doddridge*, IV, 347); in December 1746, Doddridge wrote to Richard Frost that although Richard Pearsall's call to Paul's Meeting, Taunton meant that 'some of the mal-contents should be driven to join Mr Amory's congregation, I persuade myself their loss will be repaired ten-fold' (Nuttall, *Doddridge Correspondence*, no. 1209).

Despite such controversies, Amory was the main tutor at the Taunton academy from Grove's death in 1738 until 1759; his reputation persisted into the nineteenth century. Wilson stated that 'he was animated by an equal spirit of integrity and zeal', and 'an equal desire of cultivating and improving every intellectual and moral qualification in the young persons committed to his charge'. He also surmised that Amory tutored many pupils 'of great worth, and distinguished literary improvements' (Wilson, *Dissenting Churches*, II, 387). Among Amory's students were William Harris (1720–70), Benjamin Kiddel (*d. c.*1803), Israel Mauduit (1708–87), Michael Pope (*c.*1709–88), Francis Webb (1735–1815), John Wiche (1718–94), Hugh Willoughby (1714–65), and John Wright (*c.*1732–94).

Amory supplied pulpits in the area around Taunton, including a monthly turn at Lambrook, and another at West Hatch, and he was also an assistant minister to Robert Darch at Bishop's Hull in Somerset (1725–*c.*1730). His fondness for Taunton is recorded in his poem 'O! Native town' which Joshua Toulmin claims Amory published in 1724 (no copy from this date is extant), and which was republished by Toulmin in his *History of Taunton*, 3–4. Amory was ordained alongside William Cornish on 7 October 1730; the sermon was preached by Grove, and was published. He was made an assistant pastor to Edmund Batson at Paul's Meeting in Taunton in 1730, receiving a grant from the Presbyterian Fund Board on 9 November (DWL, OD69, p. 134). Amory quickly departed to form his own church, the New Meeting at Tancred Street (1732–59). One version of the story suggests that Amory departed because Batson kept the whole salary to himself (Kippis, *Biographia Britannica*, I, 176; Wilson, *Dissenting Churches*, II, 387); however, it is more likely that they parted company as a result of

theological differences (Wilson, *Dissenting Churches*, IV, 311–12). Amory delivered the charge at the ordination of William Harris in 1741; a version was later published as *The Nature of Sound Doctrine* (1741). He married Mary Baker at Taunton on 7 September 1741, with whom he had six children. He ended his ministry at the Old Jewry in London, where he was initially assistant minister to Samuel Chandler (from October 1759 until 1766); from 1766 his name appears in the baptismal register as the presiding minister (RG 4/4408, fo. 16); he was also a morning preacher at Newington Green (1770–4), as colleague to Richard Price.

In 1767 Amory was chosen as a trustee of Dr Williams's Charity; the following year he was given an honorary DD by the University of Edinburgh, and also became a lecturer at Salters' Hall. By 1772 he was attending meetings of the Presbyterian Fund Board, which he sometimes chaired (DWL, OD73, pp. 1–46). On 16 June 1774 he was seized with a sudden disorder, perhaps a stroke, which left him paralysed until his death on 24 June 1774. He was buried in Bunhill Fields on 5 July (*ODNB*). Amory's funeral sermon was delivered by Roger Flexman, his friend of 40 years, and was later published. Another important notice of him was provided in Andrew Kippis's *Biographia Britannica*. A portrait of him was presented by his widow to Dr Williams's Library in April 1801. In his dissertation on 'Providence', Price referred to Amory as 'ingenious and worthy' (Price, *Four Dissertations*, 120). James Murray also cited Amory's *Christ the Light of the World* in his *History of Religion* (IV, 157). Phillis Wheatley, a negro servant to John Wheatley of Boston, read his 'sermons on daily devotion' (presumably *Daily Devotion Assisted*) and was moved to compose a poem, praising his labours and wishing him 'immortal fame' (Wheatley, *Poems*, 91). Upon Flexman's death in 1795, his biographer Abraham Rees noted that Flexman's sentiments 'very much concurred' with those of Amory (Rees, *Flexman*, 32–6).

Works

A Dialogue on Devotion (London, 1733).

Christ the Light of the World (London, 1735).

The Character and Blessedness of Those to Whom to Live is Christ, and to Die Gain (London, 1738).

'Hail! Native town with cheerful plenty blessed', in "Brice's Exeter Paper", c.1724: not traced.

The Nature of Sound Doctrine (London, 1741).

Self-Dedication to God Explained and Recommended (London, 1743).

The Prayer of King Jehoshaphat Considered, and Applied to the State of the Nation (London,

1745).

Daily Devotion Assisted and Recommended, in Four Sermons (London, 1747).

Eight Sermons on a Future General Judgment (London, 1748).

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Barclay, [John?] (dates unknown)

BARCLAY taught mathematics to students from Thomas Dixon's Whitehaven academy, perhaps from *c.*1709 until *c.*1713. According to George Benson, while the future tutor Caleb Rotheram was studying with Dixon at Whitehaven, 'he learned *mathematics*, of Mr. *Barclay*, a Scots gentleman; who then taught navigation, at *Whitehaven*'; Barclay, writes Benson, 'afterwards went to *Scotland*; and accepted of a church, in the establishment, there' (Winder, *History*, 13). In 1915, Nicholson and Axon hypothesised that this man was the student John Barclay who laured MA at Edinburgh University in 1705 and that he was a minister at North Berwick *c.*1713 (EUA, IN1/ADS/STA/1/1, p. 80; Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, 295). The historian Hew Scott speculated that Barclay was 'a good sensible man, with not many words or topics of conversation, but a good mathematician' (Scott, *Fasti*, I, 340).

Unfortunately, there is no firm evidence that Barclay moved from Whitehaven to North Berwick.

Barclay's mathematics course at the Whitehaven academy is probably represented in a series of notes made by Dixon's student Henry Winder in 1711. Written in English, Winder's notes include sections on vulgar fractions, algebra, square roots, cube roots, surds, simple and quadratic equations, arithmetic and geometric progressions, and simple and compound interest. The second part of the notebook contains propositions on the terrestrial and celestial

globes, together with problems and their solutions. These problems are followed by a series of propositions on plane trigonometry and spherical trigonometry. The notebook also includes logarithmic tables and instructions for computation using decimals. Contrary to Benson's claim, there is no discussion of navigation (HMC, Winder 1.ii). Another of Winder's notebooks, on astronomy, is in Latin; this notebook probably does not represent another of Barclay's courses, but a course by Dixon (HMC, Winder 1.iii). The same collection of notes includes a commonplace book with a few notes on natural philosophy, a mathematical chart indicating the multiplication of mankind after Noah's flood, a genealogical table of Greek and Hebrew monarchs, a list of rulers from the ancient world, and two further sheets listing ancient writers and legislators (HMC, Winder 1.i; 3.ii, 3.iii, 3.iv, 3.v). These notes are also more likely to show the influence of Dixon than Barclay.

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Benion, Samuel (1673–1708)

SAMUEL BENION, tutor at an academy in Shrewsbury, was born in 1673 at Whixall in Shropshire. He was the grandson of Richard Sadley, the ejected minister of Ludlow. Benion went to a grammar school in Whixall, but moved to a free school at Wirksworth in Derbyshire in 1688, where he was tutored by Samuel Ogden for almost three years, until he was nearly 18. His biographer and friend Matthew Henry later commented that this was 'a much longer time than Youths of his Pregnancy ordinarily continue at the Grammar-School', but that 'he found the Benefit of it', learning to speak and write Latin with 'great Readiness, Fluency and Exactness' (Henry, *Benion*, 41–2). From 1691 he was mentored for the ministry by Philip Henry at Broad Oak. His name appears frequently in Matthew Henry's diary and letters (Bod. Lib., Eng. Misc. e.330, fos. 9–54; Eng. Lett. e.29, fos. 4–146). While with Henry, Benion was employed in 'teaching some Gentlemens Sons that were Tabled with him [i.e., Henry]', and Henry 'assisted him in his entrance upon his Academical Studies'; at this time Benion revealed an 'extraordinary Skill in the Languages' (Henry, *Benion*, 42). In 1692 Benion went to London, where he stayed for six months with the minister Edward Lawrence, heard a number of preachers, and read avidly. He then returned to his father's house, where he continued to study with great application (Henry, *Benion*, 42). Benion attended Glasgow University from 1695 with a couple of young gentlemen in his charge; here, according to Matthew Henry, he sometimes studied for 16 hours a day. While in Glasgow Benion came to know John Tran, the university regent (*d.* 1704); he also developed a correspondence with William Jameson (*fl.* 1689–1720), a professor of history. When Benion proceeded MA in 1696 he was made president of all who laured in that year, and was promised preferment if he stayed in Glasgow (Henry, *Benion*, 75; *Glasguensis*, III, 159).

When Henry died within a few days of Benion's return, Benion succeeded him as minister at Broad Oak (Henry, *Benion*, 43–4). He was ordained in January 1699; his Confession of Faith was printed by Matthew Henry in his funeral sermon for Benion (Henry, *Benion*, 45–7). At the same time (1696–1706), he ministered to dissenters at Dodington, Whitchurch in Shropshire. Following Richard Frankland's death in 1698, some of Frankland's former students, 'being then destitute of a Tutor, earnestly press'd him to undertake the Tuition of Young Men, which he was prevail'd with to do'; although the number of his students was initially small, by the end of his life he had 'above Thirty under his Charge, and more

coming' (Henry, *Benion*, 47). The first of his students to be given a grant by the Presbyterian Fund Board was Nathaniel Taylor, who was awarded £10 for the year beginning December 1699 (DWL, OD68, fo. 44). The following year, £10 grants were awarded to Taylor, Joseph Cummings, and a Mr Marriott (DWL, OD68, p. 99). In the year beginning December 1702, £10 grants were awarded to William Pell, and Mr Rovenack; the grants were renewed the following year (DWL, OD68, pp. 122, 133). Benion also gained a considerable insight into the practice of physick, due in part to his mother's desire to assist ill people in her neighbourhood. During a trip to Glasgow in 1703, Benion was awarded an MD from the university, being examined by Dr Saintclair, Professor of Mathematics. In December of that year, he married Grace Yates, daughter of Thomas Yates of Darnford, with whom he had two sons (Henry, *Benion*, 48–9).

In 1706 Benion succeeded the tutor James Owen as the minister to a Presbyterian congregation meeting at the High Street, Shrewsbury; he was persuaded to accept by the ageing minister Francis Tallents, 'who had always been as a Father to him' (Henry, *Benion*, 49–50). While living in Shrewsbury, he also continued Owen's work as a tutor. Benion's students Lock and Fuller were awarded a combined grant of £12 by the Presbyterian Fund Board in 1706. Another grant of £12 was awarded to Fuller and a Mr Carlile in 1707; the following year Fuller was awarded £4 and Carlile was awarded £6 (DWL, OD68, pp. 162, 176, 191). Benion's other students included Jeremiah Jones, tutor at Nailsworth, and Ebenezer Latham, tutor at Findern (DWL, 24.59, fos. 27, 30). Extracts from two of Benion's lectures on the Divine Decrees were published by Henry in his funeral sermon, together with two sets of aphorisms on theological topics (Henry, *Benion*, 50–7). According to memoirs compiled from the papers of Benion's successor, John Reynolds, Benion 'for some Years had Taught an Academy there' in Shrewsbury, but the expression 'some Years' seems implausible given Benion's early death (Reynolds, *Memoirs*, 119). Nevertheless, Benion's chief skill resided not in his ministry but in his work as a tutor (Henry, *Benion*, 62). In this role, he combined 'Majesty and Mildness, Gravity and Sweetness', together with a 'clear and commanding, and very humble' voice, which made him 'the best Praecentor either his Academy, or his Congregation could have'. In both his academy and his congregation, psalms were much sung. He had a large stock of ancient and modern learning, including the products of his own thoughts and reasonings, and he adapted his learning to his own method and language. Henry felt that 'Few Tutors dictate more their own Thoughts than he did'

(Henry, *Benion*, 63).

According to Matthew Henry, Benion read lectures with confidence, and followed a scheme of his own making, which enabled him to lead his pupils through them with 'a Connection and Chain of Thought' (Henry, *Benion*, 64). He was a master of extempore discourse in both Latin and English on abstruse points of philosophy and divinity, and his pupils sometimes copied these as they were delivered (Henry, *Benion*, 64). Henry writes that Benion had a mild manner, which made him accessible to his students, and encouraged them to offer objections to his propositions so that they might dispute with freedom (Henry, *Benion*, 65). His method was to engage with them in prayer for nearly an hour every morning and evening; lectures began after morning worship; these also began with prayer and scriptural reading (often with the aid of Gastrell's *Christian Institutes*), and he used pieces of his own composition in Latin to make up for the deficiencies in the books he required them to read (Henry, *Benion*, 65–6). One of these, his 'Schematismus', survives in a copy at Bristol Baptist College Library (BBCL, Ze1). Henry's description of this work, as containing gnostologia and praecognita, logic, metaphysics, physics, mathematics, and ethics, fits with the extant copy; Henry writes that it 'presented the young Travellers with a general Map of the Country they were to survey', and that students who went on to make considerable progress in philosophy were later to 'own themselves indebted to that Piece' (Henry, *Benion*, 67).

Benion's systems of elenctic logic and pneumatics, both of which are also described by Henry (*Benion*, 67–8), do not seem to have survived. According to Henry, Benion took particular trouble to ground his students firmly in both didactic and elenctic logic, spending 'more time with them, than most Tutors do' (Henry, *Benion*, 68), although it must be admitted that most dissenting tutors seem to have spent considerable energies on this branch of learning. Mathematics, Benion viewed as 'for the Improvement of the Reasoning Faculty', while in Natural Philosophy he acquainted himself with 'the Modern Discoveries and Improvements', 'comparing the several Schemes and Hypotheses together', even though he lived 'out of the road of Books and Conversation' (Henry, *Benion*, 68). Benion's method of instruction was frequently aphoristic, this being a clear way to link chains of ideas. In divinity, like Matthew Warren, 'the Bible was the System he read', and his divinity lectures consisted of biblical exposition; Benion encouraged his students to examine his notions impartially, and did not favour any particular writer on theology. Nevertheless, he did make

use of the Westminster Assembly's Confession and William Ames's *Medulla*, and read John Howe's *Living Temple* to his students (Henry, *Benion*, 68–9).

According to Henry, Benion maintained a 'very strict and steady Government of his little Academy', which 'he model'd as near as he could to the Constitution of the College at *Glasgow*, which he much admir'd' (Henry, *Benion*, 69). Benion was very much affected by the death of two of his students while under his charge, and the serious illness of another (Henry, *Benion*, 70–2). Many of his students were designed for the ministry, and he took care to impress upon them the awe and seriousness with which they should approach this role, as well as providing opportunities for them to practise leading prayers (Henry, *Benion*, 72–3). According to one of his students, he did not allow himself to be 'swallow'd up in the Violences of any Party'; his insights into politics 'tended to beget in his students . . . an Admiration of the establish'd Constitution of the *English Government*' and 'an Abhorrence of the execrable Murther of King *Charles I*' (Henry, *Benion*, 74).

Benion became a good friend of the Shrewsbury minister Francis Tallents, and 'as a Son with the Father, so did he serve with him in the Gospel' (Henry, *Tallents*, 69). On 28 May 1707 he preached a sermon on Hebrews 6:12 on the death of Katharine Henry (DWL, 90.7.45). In February 1708 he began to suffer from a malignant fever, which made him delirious within a few days (Henry, *Benion*, 78–9). He died on 4 March 1708, aged 35; he had recently completed a translation of a short French book, which was published in three or four sheets at Shrewsbury shortly afterwards (Henry, *Benion*, 77). Tallents died the following year (Henry, *Tallents*, 70). Benion's students, some of whom had begun their academical study under Richard Frankland and James Owen, dispersed to several academies, including those of Thomas Hill at Findern, and Samuel Jones at Tewkesbury (DWL, 24.59, fo. 28). Matthew Henry's funeral sermon for Benion became a staple work of its kind, combining a detailed description of his life with an account of his teaching. It was often purchased together with Henry's funeral sermon for Tallents, as *Two Funeral Sermons* (1709 and subsequent editions).

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Beresford, Samuel (c.1629–97)

SAMUEL BERESFORD was a dissenting minister and tutor in Shropshire. According to Edmund Calamy, he was 'a good Scholar, a fine Preacher, a curious Orator, and a very Holy Man' (Calamy, *Account*, 165). He was born in St Alkmund's Parish in Shrewsbury. He matriculated at Queens' College, Cambridge in 1647, graduated BA in 1652 and proceeded MA in 1655, incorporated Oxford (Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, I, 112; Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, I, 139). Calamy writes that he did not begin to preach until he was 23 or 24 years old (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 230). Beresford was ordained by the Wirksworth classis on 21 July 1652 as an assistant to his uncle, Thomas Blake, at Tamworth, in Staffordshire; he and his first wife Penelope witnessed a codicil of Blake's will on 5 June 1657 (TNA, PRO, PROB 11/270/212). From 28 May 1656 he was the Vicar of Aston in Warwickshire. He was admitted to the vicarage of St Werburgh's in Derby on 10 April 1657 (LPL, COMM. III/5, p. 38; COMM. III/6, p. 6). Calamy wrote that he was 'very warm against the Sectaries, but was not at a great distance from the Church' (Calamy, *Account*, 165).

Beresford was ejected from Derby in 1662; his successor was installed on 15 February 1663 (Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 51). After his ejection, Beresford spent most of his time at Shrewsbury, although he moved after the Five Mile Act of 1665. In the conventicle returns of 1669, Beresford was described as preaching at Little Ireton, Derbyshire, to '200. 300 & 400 at a time', 'every Lds day att the house of Collonell Saunders'; this meeting-place was within a mile of the house of the JP Sir John Carson, who 'never went about to restrayne them' (LPL, Tenison 639, fo. 190). Following Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence in 1672, he was licensed as a Presbyterian at his house in Shrewsbury (TNA, SP29/320, fo. 148; SP44/38A, p. 43). Philip Henry heard him preach on 1 June 1673 (Henry, *Diaries*, ed. Lee, 264). In a survey carried out by the Common Fund managers in 1690, Beresford was described as 'Sometimes at Sr Tho: Wilbrahams', who has 'left off preaching except very rarely for mr Woodhouse', a statement which may indicate that he was preaching to John Woodhouse's students at the academy in Sheriffhales (DWL, OD161, pp. 62–3). According to a late eighteenth-century account of the academies, Beresford was 'supposed to be Mr. Woodhouse's assistant', but there is no further evidence that this was the case (DWL, 24.59, fo. 2). Later in life he lived in Shifnal, where his fellow Shrewsbury minister, John Bryan (*d.* 1699) had stayed, c.1666–72. He then moved to Weston, Staffordshire, the seat of Lady

Elizabeth Wilbraham, who was a generous patron of ministers, both conforming and dissenting (TNA, PRO, PROB 11/443/496).

The most important source for Beresford's teaching is Calamy, who writes that he 'kept a Private Academy in his House for a while; but laid it down, when he found that he could not keep his pupils under strict government'. His students are not known. Having a competent estate, Beresford preached *gratis* for several years. The size of his estate must also contributed to his suitability to teach. Having no children of his own, 'he was earnest with some of his Brethren who had, to bring up some of theirs to the Ministry', and offered to assist in their maintenance, both 'of himself, and with his Interest in others'. Calamy writes that he was both a knowledgeable divine, and a skilful physician, although he only gave advice on medicine to 'particular Friends' (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 231). His death was noted by Matthew Henry in his diary (Tong, *Henry*, 200–1). In his will, Beresford bequeathed a Bible commentary to Joshua Symonds, and allowed his wife to choose any other English books 'as she shall please'; the remainder of his library was to be sold, with half the proceeds used for the benefit of the poor of St Alkmund's (TNA, PRO, PROB 11/443/496).

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Billingsley, John (1625–83)

JOHN BILLINGSLEY, tutor at Mansfield, was the son of Thomas Billingsley, of Chatham, Kent, where he was born on 14 September 1625. He matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, in 1642; he was admitted to St John's College, Cambridge in 1644, graduated BA in 1648, returned to Oxford to take up a Kentish fellowship at Corpus Christi College, and proceeded MA in 1649 (Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, I, 151). Billingsley was ordained at St Andrew Undershaft in London on 26 September 1649. By July 1650 he was the vicar of Faringdon in Oxfordshire (*ODNB*). However, in 1652 he was the vicar of Addingham in West Yorkshire and a member of the Cumberland and Westmorland ministerial association (*Reliquiae Baxterianae*, I, 164). In this year he married Mary Bourne, the daughter of Immanuel Bourne, the rector of Ashover in Derbyshire. On 18 March 1654 he acquired the living of Chesterfield in Derbyshire (BL, Add. MS 36792, fo. 87). He was one of several ministers who disputed with the Quaker James Naylor at Chesterfield on 3 January 1655 (Naylor, *Dispute*, sig. A2r).

As part of the controversy with Naylor, Billingsley produced *Strong Comforts for Weak Christians* (1656), to which was annexed *The Grand Quaker Prov'd a Gross Liar*. He was also an assistant to the Derbyshire Commission for the ejection of scandalous ministers from 24 October 1657. According to Calamy, he 'Prayed publickly for the King, when it was hazardous to do it' (Calamy, *Account*, 170). As a result of an unstated misdemeanour, Billingsley and Mr Childs, the minister of Alfreton, were required to attend a meeting of the Council of State on the second Wednesday of October 1659 (TNA, SP25/79, fo. 167; SP25/98, fo. 205). At the Quarter Sessions for Derbyshire for 16 July 1661, Billingsley was presented for neglecting to read the Book of Common Prayer (Cox, *Derbyshire*, I, 336).

Billingsley declined to subscribe to the terms of the Act of Uniformity and delivered his farewell sermon to his congregation on 23 August 1662. In a letter dated 29 September, John Hacket, the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, wrote to Gilbert Sheldon, bishop of London, that he had presented Billingsley to the consistory court, and had 'convicted him by sufficient witness' that in this sermon he had said that 'the prelatical Ministers, at least some, were put out for murder, drunkenness, whordom &c – but such as himself, for being too holy and too carefull of Religion'. After being reproved by Sheldon, Billingsley shed 'many tears' and gave Hacket 'a very humble confession of his fault under his hand' (Bod. Lib., Tanner 48, fo. 49). Billingsley's successor at Chesterfield was installed on 6 February 1663. However, Billingsley remained at Chesterfield until the passage of the Five Mile Act in 1665, after which he moved to Mansfield. Here, he became friends with the other nonconforming ministers in the area, including Robert Porter. Both Porter and he remained on good terms with the vicar of Mansfield, John Firth, who 'counted it no Schism for them to endeavour to help his People in their way to Heaven' (Calamy, *Account*, 171). In Sheldon's survey of 1669, he was recorded as preaching in Mansfield (LPL, Tenison 639, fo. 279). Following the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672, he was licensed to preach as a Presbyterian at Mansfield and Nottingham.

At Mansfield, Billingsley taught academical learning to young students. Among his charges was William Bilby, who was later a minister in the Church of England before becoming a dissenter in 1693. Bilby's surviving papers include information about the courses taught at Mansfield (NU, MS 140, fos. 2–11; Bolam, 'Bilby', 123–41). Under Billingsley, Bilby studied classical authors, Hebrew, logic, metaphysics, moral philosophy, and natural

philosophy, and 'had ye benefit of mr. Franklin [Frankland's] Tables & Converse wth othrs yt were Candidates for ye ministry' (NU, MS 140, fo. 4). Billingsley exhorted Bilby 'to make a Diary Containing ye most notable occurrences of my life' and the workings of the Holy Spirit on his soul, consisting of 'Sp[irit]t[ua]l Experiences', 'Books, & studys', and 'Usefull Sermns' (NU, MS 140, fo. 18). Bilby proceeded to study philosophy at Queen's College, Cambridge (NU, MS 140, fos. 10–11). Billingsley's teaching is also mentioned by the nonconformist minister Oliver Heywood, who was trying to find an appropriate education for 'an hopefull youth', namely Jonathan Sonyer, the third son of Joshua Sonyer of Northowram. Sonyer had been expelled from Hipperholme school for coming to hear Heywood preach, and desired to train for the ministry: 'we sent him to Halifax school, being fit I took him to Mr Frankland, but he being taken off work, I sent him to Mr Billingsby at Mansfield'; when Billingsley ceased teaching, Sonyer taught school with a Mr Dawson, but 'when god opened a door, I sent him again to Mr Frankland, where he was exceeding studious and very serious, profited exceedingly came home Jan 1687/8' (Heywood, *Diaries*, IV, 130). This brief story demonstrates the difficulties faced by academy tutors at this time. Frankland was clearly not able to continue his teaching at all times, and when he temporarily ceased, Billingsley looked after some of his students. Billingsley's death on 30 May 1683 therefore deprived Frankland of a welcome colleague during this difficult period. He was buried at Mansfield on 1 June 1683; under his instructions, no funeral sermon was preached, but 'a suitable Consolatory Discourse was preach'd to his Family on the Lord's-Day following' by Matthew Sylvester (Calamy, *Account*, 171).

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Brand, Thomas (1635–91)

THOMAS BRAND was the founder and first tutor of an important academy at Bishop's Hall, Bethnal Green. According to his biographer, Samuel Annesley, Brand was one whose 'chief Zeal was neither for, nor against any Party whatsoever, but for the vigorous promoting of the sound Knowledge of those Doctrines wherein we are all agreed, and of that Holiness which we all commend, tho' too few practice' (Annesley, *Brand*, 3). Brand was born in 1635 at Leaden Roding in Essex. His father Thomas Brand was a clergyman within the Church of England (Annesley, *Brand*, 3). His brother, John Brand, had a hand in commissioning Annesley's *Life and Funeral Sermon* for Brand. He went to a school in Bishop's Stortford, attaining great proficiency in grammar learning, which he later used to great effect in examining other students; Annesley writes that there was 'scarce any young *Scholar* whom he occasionally met with, but hath felt' Brand's knowledge of languages (Annesley, *Brand*, 5). He matriculated at Merton College in Oxford on 24 June 1653, where he studied the Arminian and Socinian controversies, and became familiar with the 'scientia media', a compromise between Calvinist and Arminian doctrines which also influenced Richard Baxter. He later recalled that he enjoyed his studies, but that upon a later review he would have spent the time reading the Scriptures, with two or three commentaries, in prayer and meditation, since nothing gave him comfort 'but my *Preaching, Catechising, and what I did for the Conversion of Souls*' (Annesley, *Brand*, 6). Brand moved from the university to the Middle Temple (admitted 15 May 1656), and was allocated to the chamber of George Baker in Inner Temple Lane on 26 June 1657 (*ODNB*). Here he continued to study hard, but appears to have undergone a conversion that encouraged him to become a minister (Annesley, *Brand*, 7). He graduated BA from Oxford in 1660 (Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, I, 171).

In London, Brand met Annesley, who gave him guidance on his spiritual development. Initially, he found the ministry a daunting prospect, but he received confidence after a spell preaching in Glassenbury in Kent, where he tutored the four small children of the Lady Dowager Bridget Roberts. She was a member of his congregation for 16 years (Annesley, *Brand*, 'Epistle Dedicatory', 1). In his early career he apparently took no salary for his preaching, but redirected the money to charitable uses (Annesley, *Brand*, 10–13). During this period, Brand studied hard, getting up for the purposes of study at five o' clock and working almost continually until after supper; his motto was '*Amici sunt fures temporis*' ('Friends are

thieves of time': Annesley, *Brand*, 15). Despite this, he held family prayers twice a day, and led family catechizing and singing of psalms; before long, he was well-known to the neighbourhood, and he began to preach twice (sometimes three times) on Sundays, as well as at weekly lectures which he established. The death of the minister of Staplehurst in Sussex, Daniel Poyntel, gave him an opportunity for a settled pastorate, and he refused the affectionate desires of the people of Glassenbury that he should remain with them, helping them to secure another successor. He then moved to Staplehurst, where he set up a meeting, but encountered some unspecified difficulties; nevertheless, he helped to establish constant preaching in rotation with eleven other ministers (Annesley, *Brand*, 19). At around this time, he finally considered himself ready for ordination (Annesley, *Brand*, 21). He also came near to marriage, although his wife-to-be died before the wedding (Annesley, *Brand*, 22). Two years later, he married a widow, with whom he had several children, who all died young (Annesley, *Brand*, 24). Despite trying to raise a family, he continued to give much of his money to charity (Annesley, *Brand*, 26).

Following an unknown set of difficulties, Brand felt 'morally forced' to remove from Staplehurst (Annesley, *Brand*, 27). For a time, he was an itinerant, wandering about 'from place to place . . . doing good' (Annesley, *Brand*, 27). A spate of ill health resulted in him taking a fixed abode near Bethnal Green, probably Bishop's Hall, where he was greatly encouraged to exercise his ministry; he agreed, on condition that for three Sundays in a month he could preach where he desired, supplying his own congregation with two other ministers (Annesley, *Brand*, 28). He continued in this manner until he caught an illness upon a wet journey some three years before his death, which led to a slow decline in his health (Annesley, *Brand*, 29, 72). He suffered from swollen legs, pains in his side, rheumatism, and breathing difficulties which prevented him from climbing stairs (Annesley, *Brand*, 72). Despite these personal handicaps, Brand played a leading role in the organisation of the dissenters' Common Fund, 1690–1. In an early survey carried out by the Common Fund Board, it was stated that Brand had promised £5 per annum for a Mr Rawllingson to preach at Broxted in Essex; together with a Dr Samson, he gathered the information for the county of Kent, for whom he was made a fund manager (DWL, OD161, pp. 27, 39).

Brand was instrumental to the establishment and financial support of the academy at Bishop's Hall. He was probably the academy's first tutor, although from *c.* 1689 he was assisted by

John Ker, who became the main tutor after his death (DWL, OD67, fos. 11, 13, 26, 28). Shortly before his death, Brand commented to the dissenter Zachary Merrill that 'he had read a Multitude of Bookes more than ever did him good', that 'if he were young againe he would not touch ym. only read the Scriptures wth 2 or 3 good Commentaries' such as those by Rivet, and that 'the dearest books are the Cheapest and best' (Bod. Lib., Rawl. d.1120, fo. 58). Brand is recorded as saying to one young preacher that he would need 'a double Portion of the Blessed Spirit to guide, and bear you up against the Temptations . . . from the snareling World', before warning the young man against the two extremes of pride and diffidence (Annesley, *Brand*, 31–2). In his ministry, he concentrated upon practical Godliness, avoiding speaking of different modes of worship and refusing to answer unprofitable questions (Annesley, *Brand*, 33). Brand also became well-known for helping to establish congregations and meeting-houses (Annesley, *Brand*, 36–7). Brand was a popular preacher, but had a personal preference for catechizing (Annesley, *Brand*, 38–40). As well as catechizing young children, he persuaded many older people to attend his catechisms, sometimes by promising them a gilt Bible bound in Turkey-leather, or other good books, or occasionally money (Annesley, *Brand*, 40–4); Annesley claims that he gave away 'many thousands of Catechisms, many hundreds with Expositions'; these included versions of the Westminster Assembly's catechism, those of Cumber, and Thomas Adams's *The Main Principles of Christian Religion* (Annesley, *Brand*, 46).

Brand's charity was considerable, but it came with strings attached. According to Annesley, when 'wicked wretches' came to him for money, he would instead take pains to reform them; by contrast, he gave considerable sums to people and families whom he considered to be in genuine need. Brand used much of his money to assist in the education of the children of 'indigent Parents', whom he put to trade; if he deemed them capable of a liberal education, he would provide it, '*being a great Encourager of young Men to the Ministry*'; he also set up schools in several locations to teach children to read and learn a catechism, a charity which he considered beneficial both to the teacher and to the learner. On one occasion he hired a writing master to teach the servants of several families to write and to draw up accounts (Annesley, *Brand*, 51–3).

Another of Brand's educational projects was the dissemination of '*Awakening, Convincing, Practical Books*', which included Sheppard's *Sincere Convert*, Richard Alleine's *Vindiciae*

Pietatis, Joseph Alleine's *An Alarme to Unconverted Sinners and Life*, several of Baxter's treatises, including his *Call to the Unconverted*, his *Now, or Never*, his *Directions to Prevent Miscarrying in Conversion*, and his *Saint's Rest*. When plans were laid for a new impression of Joseph Alleine's *Treatise of Conversion* under the title of *A Guide to Heaven*, he paid £50 as an earnest, and farther sums towards an impression of twenty thousand copies to be dispersed freely through England and Wales. Among works by conformists, he gave away copies of Caley's *A Glimpse of Eternity*, Wade's *Redemption of Time*, Dent's *The Plaine Mans Path–Way to Heaven*, Scudder's *The Christians Daily Walke in Holy Securitie and Peace*, and Reyner's *Precepts for Christian Practice* (Annesley, *Brand*, 54–6). Other books he donated to charitable causes included Foxe's *Martyrs* in three volumes, several annotators on the Bible, several commentators on the Scriptures, and 'several necessary Libraries to young Students and Candidates for the Ministry' (Annesley, *Brand*, 56–7). However, he tended not to disseminate works of religious controversy, with the exception of Poole's *The Nullity of the Romish Faith*, and his *A Dialogue between a Popish Priest and an English Protestant* (Annesley, *Brand*, 57). As well as giving away Bibles, he sold them cheaply at eighteen pence, on the condition that the purchasers would not sell them on (Annesley, *Brand*, 57–8). On one occasion, he even travelled two hundred miles in disguise with another minister (probably Annesley), distributing books and spiritual advice in towns and inns along the way (Annesley, *Brand*, 60–5).

According to Annesley, Brand's generosity as an educationalist frequently backfired: having persuaded a benefactor to provide money for one of his charitable causes, such as the education of a youth, or the financial relief of a minister, he would find that the money would dry up after a few months, leaving him to foot the bill (Annesley, *Brand*, 66). He also lived in fear of being operated upon by doctors on account of life-long sharp pains in his abdomen (Annesley, *Brand*, 66–7), but a more frequent source of ill health was a tendency to overwork, against the advice of his doctors (Annesley, *Brand*, 67–70). He died at Stepney on 1 December 1691 and was buried in Bunhill Fields. In his will, Brand bequeathed his books to his nephews Thomas Brand and John Ashby, on the understanding that they would become ministers; if they turned from the ministry, the books were to be distributed to poor scholars by the minister Samuel Annesley (TNA, PRO, PROB 11/407/429). In his funeral sermon for Brand, Samuel Annesley compared him to Moses and to the pious dissenter John Janeway, before providing advice to the congregation on a suitable replacement (Annesley, *Brand*, 81–

135). The printed text of the sermon, published in 1692, is preceded by a detailed account of Brand's life, and is followed by a series of elegies, signed 'A.', 'S. H.', 'J. O.', and a poetic address 'To the Reader', signed 'J. E.'. In these poems Brand is presented as a pioneer, a man of action, a charitable man free from party prejudice, a masterful catechist, and a pure soul.

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Wright, Steven, 'Brand, Thomas (bap. 1635, d. 1691)', *ODNB*.

***Bryan, John (d. 1676), *Obadiah Grew (1607–89), *Thomas Shewell (d. 1693) and the 'Coventry Academy'**

Distinguishing between different types of teaching in the early modern period can be very tricky. The paucity of surviving records from many schools and academies means that it can be impossible to know whether their tutors were offering grammar subjects or university learning. The critical literature on this topic is frequently confused, conflating schools with academies. Particular caution is required when attempting to identify private academies run by dissenters, for which the historiography frequently lags behind that of many other forms of early modern education. In doubtful cases, it is better to use the more general expression 'private tutor' than the more specific term 'private academy'. These problems may be illustrated by studying the careers of two key figures for understanding the education of Puritans and dissenters in Coventry, the ejected ministers John Bryan and Obadiah Grew. Since the publication of Parker's *Dissenting Academies* (1914), Bryan and Grew have been viewed as tutors at a private academy in Coventry; Parker believed that they were succeeded at the academy by Thomas Shewell, previously a schoolmaster in Kent, and that his successors were the dissenting ministers William Tong and Joshua Oldfield. Unfortunately, the evidence does not support this interpretation. It is much more logical to describe Bryan as a 'private tutor', with Grew and Shewell as 'schoolmasters' operating independently from each other. The only ministers certainly teaching academical learning in Coventry were Tong and Oldfield, who collaborated briefly in the 1690s.

JOHN BRYAN, minister and tutor, was part of a family of dissenting ministers which included his brother, Jarvis/Jervase Bryan, and his son, John Bryan Jr. He matriculated from

Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1620, graduated BA 1627, proceeded MA in 1632, was created BD in 1645, and was awarded DD in 1651 (Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, I, 243). In 1623 he was ordained as a deacon, and then as a priest (*ODNB*). In June 1632 Bryan was presented to the living of Barford in Warwickshire; he was also a regular contributor to an important Puritan lecture in Warwick (Hughes, 'Dugard', 771–93). By 31 July 1643 he was a preacher to the garrison at Warwick Castle, where the lecture had met on frequent occasions (*Commons Journal*, III, 187). In May 1644 he was made the vicar of Holy Trinity, Coventry, a post which he kept until the Restoration (Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 83). During the 1640s Bryan became acquainted with other prominent Puritan ministers, including Richard Baxter and Obadiah Grew. In December 1646 Bryan and Grew held a public disputation with Hanserd Knollys and William Kiffin, two influential Baptist ministers. On 23 December Bryan preached a sermon on the causal relation between God's anger and the unseasonable rains; it was later published as *A Discovery of the Probable Sin causing the Great Judgment of Rain and Waters* (1647). In 1647 Holy Trinity agreed to augment Bryan's stipend. However, this extra payment was insufficient to prevent Bryan from considering a call to Shrewsbury in January 1652. Baxter eventually persuaded the Shrewsbury delegation to drop their claim, and Bryan remained at Coventry (DWL, Baxter Letters, VI, fo. 143; Newcome, *Autobiography*, II, 343–6). Bryan's *Publick Disputation* with John Onley at Killingworth was published in 1655.

Bryan was ejected from Holy Trinity following the Act of Uniformity in 1662, but continued to attend services at the church. He lived in Coleshill and Coventry, and preached to conventicles in both places; however, it was believed by government informers that he would have been likely to conform on account of poverty, had it not been for collections and gifts raised by dissenters (TNA, SP29/109, fo. 72). In 1669 he was recorded as preaching in Coleshill at the house of George Barton (LPL, Tenison 639, fo. 194). Bryan's collection of eight sermons, *Dwelling with God* (1670), caused consternation among some local nonconformists for appearing to advocate the liturgy of the Church of England. He was licensed to preach as a Presbyterian in Coventry in 1672 under Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence (TNA, SP29/321, fos. 141, 142). Bryan was considered to be a fine extempore preacher, and well-versed in anti-Popery, which 'he preach'd over to his People'. Calamy writes that he 'did not forget his Juvenile Learning in his advanc'd Years', but 'Kept to the last his Skill in Grammar, Logick, Philosophy, Geography, and other Liberal Arts' (Calamy,

Account, 735). He died on 4 March 1675 and was buried at Holy Trinity on 7 March. His funeral sermon was preached by his successor at Trinity, Nathanael Wanley, and was printed in 1681. He had three sons, John, Samuel, and Noah, all of whom were ministers silenced at the Restoration, although Noah was ordained as a deacon in Exeter on 13 February 1663 (Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 84).

OBADIAH GREW, schoolmaster, was Bryan's chief collaborator in the ministry, although Calamy wrote that he was 'a Man of a very different natural Temper' (Calamy, *Account*, 736). Grew was born on 1 November 1607 and baptized at Mancetter in Atherstone, Warwickshire on 22 November 1607; he was the third son of Francis Grew and Elizabeth Denison, the sister of a schoolmaster in Reading (*ODNB*). After being educated by his uncle, Grew attended Balliol College Oxford, where he graduated BA on 12 February 1629, proceeded MA on 5 July 1632, and was awarded a DD on 10 October 1651 (Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, I, 606). From 1632 he returned to Atherstone, where he became a schoolmaster. He was ordained in 1635. On 25 December 1637 he married the widow Ellen/Helen Sampson, *née* Vicars, whose son Henry may have been one of his pupils (Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 236). With Grew she had a daughter Mary (*b.* 1638), who later married a Hebrew scholar from Oxford (Calamy, *Continuation*, II, 853). Grew's son Nehemiah (1641–1712) became a member of the Royal Society and published several books on natural philosophy (RS, CMO/1, pp. 206–330; CMO/2, pp. 3–131). In 1642 Grew moved to Coventry, where he preached to the parliamentarian troops. By 1646 he was vicar of St Michael's, Coventry; Calamy states that he was appointed as successor to 'the famous Mr. *Richard Vines* [1600–56]', although other accounts suggest that he replaced the sequestered royalist William Panting (Calamy, *Account*, 736; *ODNB*). One story asserts that Grew bought Panting's books, but having realised that they were 'desir'd again', he returned them for no money, feeling that Panting 'had more need of it than himself' (Calamy, *Account*, 737). Politically, Grew was uneasy with many of the actions of the Commonwealth. Calamy was of the opinion that Grew's courage and integrity were demonstrated by his 'free remonstrating' to Cromwell 'against the Design for taking off King Charles' in 1649 (Calamy, *Account*, 736). When George Booth sought to organise a royalist uprising in Cheshire in 1659, Grew refused to read a proclamation authorised by John Lambert condemning the insurrection (Calamy, *Account*, 737).

Despite his loyalty to the Crown, and support from many members of the corporation, Grew was ejected from St Michael's in 1662. Calamy writes that he was 'more retir'd and of less Activity' than Bryan, but he remained a popular preacher; he began to keep open meetings from the time of the plague in 1665, was forced to move after the passage of the Five Mile Act, but was recorded as the head of a conventicle in Coventry in 1669 (Calamy, *Account*, 736–7; *Continuation*, 850; LPL, Tenison 639, fo. 193). Grew was licensed briefly as a Presbyterian under the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672 (TNA, SP29/320, fos. 181, 246). When the licence was withdrawn, Grew continued his ministry, amid accusations from his opponents that local magistrates were neglecting their duty (Calamy, *Account*, 737). In 1682, all meetings in Coventry were suppressed; Grew was arrested and imprisoned for six months, despite offers from his supporters to pay the fines required under the Five Mile Act (Calamy, *Account*, 737; *Continuation*, 850). Once released from prison, Grew, now blind, left Coventry, but 'kept an *Amanuensis*, and dictated to him a new Sermon every Week'; having done so, he 'sent it to be read, to four or more Writers in short Hand, every *Saturday* Night, or *Lords Day* Morning; and every one of these read it to four new Men who transcrib'd it also: And so it was afterwards read at twenty several Meetings' (Calamy, *Account*, 738). Following James II's Indulgence of 1687, Grew returned to Coventry, where he preached to large congregations at the Leather Hall (*ODNB*). He died on 22 October 1689, shortly after the passage of the Toleration Act (Calamy, *Account*, 738).

Previous accounts of dissenting education, drawing on the work of Irene Parker and Herbert McLachlan, tend to repeat the story that Bryan and Grew collaborated as tutors at a private academy in Coventry. This statement is probably an over-reading of Calamy's remark that Bryan 'had so great a fitness to teach and educate Youth, that there went out of his House more Worthy Ministers into the Church of God than out of many Colleges in the University in that time' (Calamy, *Account*, 735). Unfortunately, it is not clear whether the phrase 'that time' refers to Commonwealth period or the Restoration; for these reasons, Bryan is better described as a 'private tutor' than an 'academy tutor'. Calamy does not clarify whether Bryan was teaching a formal course of lectures, or simply providing pastoral training for ministerial students and candidates. It is known that he taught his son Samuel in the period before Samuel began a successful academic career at Peterhouse, Cambridge, but no indication is given in the source as to what Samuel learnt from his father (Calamy, *Account*, 743–4). Calamy's life of Bryan, based in part on comments by Richard Baxter (*Reliquiae*

Baxterianae, II, 164–6; III, 93), suggests that Bryan was valued as a tutor who provided his students with appropriate skills for a godly ministry, perhaps after they had been tutored in university subjects elsewhere. The slim surviving evidence indicates that most of Bryan's teaching took place during the Commonwealth, and that he did not run an academy for dissenters after the Restoration.

The apparent myth that Bryan ran a post–Restoration academy in Coventry is related to a further series of misconceptions about Grew. It is clear that at Atherstone Grew was teaching at a grammar school, not a ministerial academy. The nature of Grew's teaching at Coventry is harder to establish. In his funeral sermon for the dissenting minister Samuel Pomfret, John Reynolds wrote that in the late seventeenth century 'the School of *Coventry* was famous for the Education of Youth', a statement which may have misled Parker and McLachlan into assuming that Grew ran an academy. However, Reynolds simply states that Pomfret 'went through all the Parts of Learning, that were taught', without implying that these were academical courses (Reynolds, *Pomfret*, 53). Presumably, Reynolds is not referring to Grew at all, but is describing Coventry grammar school (now known as King Henry VIII School). Further evidence that this school catered for dissenters comes from the will of Samuel Wynter, DD, 13 July 1667, in which he provided '£20 a year towards the maintenance of 2 scholars of my kindred at Coventry School till they shall become fit for Cambridge', where they would enter Emanuel College and study for an MA (TNA, PRO, PROB 11/324/389). It seems unlikely that Grew was teaching at the grammar school at this time, since from 1662 he would have required a licence from the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. The simplest explanation is that Wynter was not referring to Grew at all: he merely intended his younger relatives to complete their grammar learning at Coventry school, before studying towards a BA and MA at Cambridge University.

Pomfret's education provides the only other indication of Grew's involvement in education in Coventry. It was after leaving Coventry school that Pomfret was 'put under the Tuition of that noted and able Divine Dr. *Obadiah Grew*, who had a great Respect for his Father, and shewed no small Kindness to this his Son' (Reynolds, *Pomfret*, 53). Once again, Reynolds gives no indication of the extent of Grew's teaching, or whether it was at the level of university or grammar school education. Pomfret proceeded from Grew's tuition to Cambridge University, but 'the Tenderness of his Conscience not allowing him to comply

with the Customs', he moved to Ralph Button's academy in Islington. This narrative does not provide conclusive evidence about the nature of Grew's teaching. On the one hand, Pomfret may have begun his academical study under Grew and then continued it at Cambridge and at Islington; on the other hand, he may have left Coventry school early, continued his grammar learning with Grew, and then begun his academical studies at Cambridge, before proceeding further with them under Button. Given the vagueness of the surviving accounts, Grew is best described as a 'schoolmaster' at Atherstone, and a 'private tutor' at Coventry.

THOMAS SHEWELL, schoolmaster, has also been associated erroneously with the 'Coventry Academy' (Parker, *Dissenting Academies*, 138). Shewell was born the son of a Coventry clothier; he attended Coventry grammar school, where he studied with James Cranford, whose son oversaw the licensing of books during the Commonwealth (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 540). This is probably the limit of his direct association with Coventry education. Shewell matriculated at Magdalen Hall in Oxford in 1651 and graduated BA in 1654 (Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, II, 1350). According to Calamy, he also studied at Cambridge, where he may have proceeded MA (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 540). From 23 April 1656 Shewell was the rector of Wouldham (LPL, COMM. III/5, p. 18). He was also the curate of Leeds in Kent, and Calamy indicates that he was also a minister in the village of Lenham, but this is unverifiable (Calamy, *Account*, p. 386; *Continuation*, p. 540). Shewell was ejected from his livings after the Restoration. Calamy writes that he then opened 'a private School at Leeds' (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 540); this is most likely to have been a grammar school rather than a private academy. At Maidstone assizes for 22 March 1666 he was sentenced to a year's imprisonment for 'depraving' the Book of Common Prayer (Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 440). He then returned to Coventry, where he was licensed as a Presbyterian under the Declaration of Indulgence on 22 July 1672 (TNA, SP44/38A, pp. 201, 211, 212). There is no evidence to indicate that Shewell continued to teach after his return to Coventry. At Coventry, Shewell gave morning lectures at St Nicholas, or Leather Hall, with Gervaise Bryan delivering the afternoon sermons (Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 440). He was heard there by Samuel Sewall, who recorded that Shewell and Bryan had '200 Communicants' by 1689 (Thomas, *Sewall*, I, 208–9). In the early 1690s a survey for the dissenters' Common Fund recorded that he was the only competent dissenting minister left in Coventry, following Bryan's deafness and infirmity and the death of Obadiah Grew (DWL,

OD161, p. 77). After his sudden death on 15 January 1693, his funeral sermon was delivered by William Tong and was later published.

There is no reason to believe that an academy operated in Coventry continuously from the 1660s until 1702. It seems likely that it was Tong and Joshua Oldfield who first set up a Coventry academy for dissenting ministerial students. The earliest reliable evidence of the academy relates to the 1690s, when Tong received money from the Presbyterian Fund for the student Vincent Carter (DWL, OD68, fo. 26), and Oldfield was prosecuted for teaching without a licence the following year (Calamy, *Abridgement*, I, 553). After Oldfield left for London in 1699 Tong continued to teach his students, before moving to London himself in 1702 (Thoresby, *Letters*, I, 355–6; YAS, MS 12 (33)). At this date, the Coventry academy closed.

Works of John Bryan

The Vertuous Daughter. A Sermon Preached . . . at the Funerall of . . . Mistress Cicely Puckering (London, 1636).

A Discovery of the Probable Sin causing this Great Judgement of Rain and Waters (London, 1647).

A Publick Disputation Sundry Dayes at Killingworth in Warwick-shire, betwixt John Bryan . . . and John Onley (London, 1655).

Dwelling with God, the Interest and Duty of Believers (London, 1670).

Harvest-home: Being the Summe of Certain Sermons upon Job 5.26 (London, 1674).

Works of Obadiah Grew

The Lord Jesus Christ the Lord our Righteousness (London, 1669).

Meditations upon Our Saviour's Parable of the Prodigal Son, 2 parts (London, 1678).

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Dr Williams's Library, OD161, p. 77: Reference to Bryan, Grew and Shewell in the Dissenters' Common Fund Survey, *c.*1690–2.

The John Rylands Library, GOR/1/251: Alexander Gordon's notes on Obadiah Grew.

Lambeth Palace Library, COMM. III/1, p. 93: Register of approved ministers, 3 July 1654–6 March 1660.

Lambeth Palace Library, COMM. III/5, p. 18: Admission of Thomas Shewell.

Lambeth Palace Library, MS Tenison 639, fos. 193–4: Episcopal returns for 1669.

The National Archives, PRO, PROB 11/324/389: Will of Samuel Wynter.

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Button, Ralph (1611 or 1612–80)

RALPH BUTTON, Oxford fellow and nonconformist tutor at Islington, was born in 1611 or 1612; he was the son of Robert Button of Bishopstone South, Wiltshire. He matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford on 9 December 1631, aged 19, where he graduated BA (1633), and immediately became a fellow of Merton. The following year he was incorporated BA at Cambridge. He proceeded MA in 1640 (Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, I, 224). During the Civil War, Button was a Professor of Geometry at Gresham College, London (1643–8) and then became a Public Orator at Oxford, 1648–60 (*ODNB*). A parliamentary order of 18 February 1648 made him a Junior Proctor for two years (PA, HL/PO/JO/10/1/253, fos. 62–3). On 4 August 1648 he was appointed a canon of Christ Church. While at the university, he signed the Congregational *Proposals for the Furtherance of the Gospel* (1653) and became an

assistant to the Oxfordshire Commission for the ejection of scandalous ministers in 1654. His students included members of Anthony Wood's family; Wood himself perused the registers of St Frideswide's Priory, Osney Abbey and Eynsham Abbey in Button's lodgings. He also wrote a Latin letter of thanks to the astronomer Johannes Hevelius, who had donated a book to the university (Clark, *Wood*, I, 165, 197, 286). Button was ejected with the other canons in 1660, receiving his last payment on 11 August, and moved to London (Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 95).

After his ejection, Button continued to teach. The dissenting minister Richard Baxter described him as 'a most humble, worthy, godly Man, that never was in Orders, or a Preacher . . . an Excellent Scholar . . . and a great Sufferer, who, besides a great loss in his Estate, was about six Months in Goal (*sic*) for teaching Two Knights Sons, who perswaded him to it, in his House, having not taken the Oxford-Oath, by one Ross a Justice (a Scot, that was Library-Keeper at Westminster) and some other Justices: And many of his Neighbours of Brainford were sent to the same Prison, for worshipping God, in private, together' (*Reliquiae Baxterianae*, III, 36, 96). It is unclear whether Button taught the two brothers at Brentford or elsewhere. In 1669 the following were noted as at Kingston, Oxfordshire: 'Mr. Button and one Belchr Foreinrs, who under pretence of receiving the rent come hither to teach' (Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 95).

Button also had property in Islington, where he became a 'Tutor to Young Men in his own House' (Calamy, *Account*, 60). Among the young men named as his students were Joseph Jekyll (1662–1738), Master of the Rolls, and a Mr Williams, supposedly Cromwell's grandson. Another of his students was Samuel Pomfret, a future dissenting minister, who attended his academy *c.* 1670. Pomfret was a pupil at a grammar school at Coventry before being placed under the tuition of the nonconformist Obadiah Grew; he then went to Cambridge University, but 'the Tenderness of his Conscience not allowing him to comply with the Customs there practis'd, He remov'd to a private Academy at *Islington*' where 'He finished his preparatory Studies' under Button (Reynolds, *Pomfret*, 53). Further evidence for Button's Islington academy comes from the state papers for 24 November 1682, which mention him in the same breath as Charles Morton: according to the exaggerated information of an informer named Eccleston, Morton had 'at least 60 boarders, for, when Mr. Button, who kept the same school at Islington, died a year or two ago, most of his scholars went to Mr.

Morton, so, his house being too small, he made use of a greater' (TNA, SP29/421, fo. 188). Eccleston's evidence clearly implies that Button was teaching academical learning at the time of his death, and hints that the growth and success of Morton's academy in the early 1680s was in part due to his inheritance of Button's students.

Button's reputation was dented after he was taunted with the false charge of being the executioner of Charles I. On 16 January 1675 Thomas Gilbert wrote from Oxford to the Earl of Anglesey, writing that Button 'never did, or durst draw Sword in his Life', and that there was 'no man of his Rank yt more detested' the death of the King; however, he had been accused of being the man 'who in disguise committed that detestable Act' by 'a maliciously revengefull Brother in law of his, for withholding him since his Sister's death, a pension of 10^l p[er] an[um] wch out of mere brotherly love (without farther Obligation) he had allow'd his Sister while she liv'd'. Gilbert noted that Peter Pett could provide a favourable account of Button's character, and requested Anglesey's 'just Vengeance against his wicked Persecutor'. Button was requested by the Earl of Peterborough to attend the Council [of State] to answer the charge, but Peterborough did not authorise his detention, a clear sign according to Gilbert that 'the Earl himself gave little Credit to the Accusation' (BL, Add. MS 22548, fo. 79). On 17 January 1674, John Fell and Thomas Barlow both wrote letters to Williamson in defence of Button. Fell confirmed that some of Button's friends had been 'very importunate with me, to certify in his behalf, that his Principles being Presbyterian, he abhorred that Execrable fact' of the regicide. Fell confessed that he had 'no great skill to distinguish between the principles of men' but thought Button 'a most unlikely man to deal in such an affair' (TNA, SP29/367, fo. 112). Barlow stated that Button 'abhorred that villanous and horrid action' of the regicide and told the story of his brother-in-law's jealousy: his wife dying, 'and with her that 100^l. *per annum* being gone from Mr. Button, he was unable to allow the 10^l. as he had done formerly' to her brother. Button was buried at St Mary's in Islington on 4 October 1680, the same day as his son Joseph, who had died two hours before his father. Another son, Jonathan, by his wife Hester, was baptised at All Hallows Staining in London on 22 February 1655. Button's will was made speedily at Islington on 25 September 1680, making his daughter Hester sole executrix; his former will had been revoked because of his son's illness (TNA, PRO, PROB 11/364/133).

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Cappel, Jacques (1639–1722)

JACQUES CAPPEL was a tutor at Joshua Oldfield's Hoxton academy. He was the son of Louis Cappel (1585–1658), an important Hebrew scholar at the Protestant Academy in Saumur. The Cappel family had helped to found the French Protestant church in London (Spicer, 'Pastor', 199). Jacques's grandfather was Jacques Cappel Sr (1570–1624), Hebrew scholar at the Protestant Academy in Sedan. Jacques Cappel Jr became a Hebrew professor at Saumur after his father's death. He was probably a tutor there when the Shrewsbury dissenter Francis Tallents visited the Academy in October 1671 (Cox, *Tallents*, 56–7). In 1684 he wrote from Saumur to the English polymath Thomas Gale (BL, Add. MS 4277, fo. 47). The Saumur Academy closed in 1685 following Louis XIV's decision to crack down on French Protestants (Maag, 'Academies', 156). Following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 it became difficult for Cappel to stay in France. Cappel was authorized to travel to England in February 1685; his son, Daniel Cappel, was admitted to the French Protestant Church in Swallow Street, London on 7 June 1696. By 1687 Jacques Cappel was known to John Locke, who referred to him in a letter to Edward Clarke (Locke, *Correspondence*, III, 93–5). In 1689 Cappel published his father's *Commentarii et notae criticae in vetus*

testamentum at Amsterdam, together with an account of the family. The main source for his teaching in London is John Barker's funeral sermon for Cappel's student Benjamin Grosvenor. Barker writes that Grosvenor returned from Timothy Jollie's academy in Attercliffe to London in 1695; here he 'continued his studies under several masters, and particularly the *Hebrew* language under 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' (Barker, *Grosvenor*, 29). Barker's comments suggest that Cappel was taking students in London by the late 1690s, possibly before he joined forces with Oldfield.

Oldfield's academy was opened following dissatisfaction with the academy of the Irish Presbyterian John Ker. On 12 December 1699, Edward Harley recorded that 'The dislike to Dr Cerr [i.e. Ker] increases among ye London Ministers' and 'is fomented by some that have particular prejudices to him'. However, Cappel may not have been teaching at the academy from the moment at which it opened; Harley simply notes that the London ministers had 'agreed to set up Mr Spademan and Mr Ofeild to teach academick learning' (BL, Add. MS 70019, fo. 147). The minister William Harris later stated that Oldfield 'kept his academy some time in *Southwark*, but chiefly at *Hoston*; there were joined with him the late extraordinarily learned and pious Mr. *William Lorimore*, and Mr. *John Spademan*; and after Mr. *Spademan*'s death, Mr. *Capel*, who had been professor of *Hebrew* in the University of *Saumur*, before the persecution in *France*' (Harris, *Oldfield*, 38). However, Lorimer's earliest biographer, Samuel Rosewell, wrote that Spademan was 'sometime engaged' in the work of tutor, 'till other Affairs growing upon him, he was obliged to desist' (Rosewell, *Spademan*, 52); this statement suggests that Cappel probably began teaching at the academy before Spademan's death in 1708. In his will, Cappel divided his books between his grandchildren, Lewis Cappel, James Philip Cappel, and Martin Folkes, 'who was for 7 years my excellent and only Pupil' (TNA, PRO, PROB 11/583/91).

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Chauncey, Isaac (1632–1712)

ISAAC CHAUNCEY, Calvinist controversialist and tutor at the Congregational academy in Moorfields, was the son of Charles Chauncey, later the president of Harvard College, and his wife Catherine *née* Eyre; one of his brothers was later the silenced minister of Bristol, Ichabod Chauncey. He was born at Ware in Hertfordshire on 23 August 1632 and baptized on 30 August (*ODNB*). Chauncey moved with his father to New England in 1638 and became a student at Harvard in 1652, graduating MA with his brother Ichabod in 1654 (*Harvard*, 1251). He then returned to England, where he was admitted as the rector of Woodborough in Wiltshire on 10 December 1656, being presented by Oliver Cromwell (LPL, COMM. III/5, p. 170). Chauncey was a victim of the Restoration government's decision to restore sequestered ministers; he petitioned the House of Lords against the parish tithes being secured for the sequestered rector on 14 July 1660 (PA, HL/PO/JO/10/1/295, fo. 43), but was forced to leave his post later in the year.

According to Calamy, Chauncey was, after 1662, 'for some time Pastor to a Congregational Church at Andover, who met in the same Place with the People that were under the Pastoral Care of Mr. Samuel Sprint. Mr. Sprint discoursing with him with that Prudence and Temper for which he was remarkable, had wrought him up to all that was necessary for uniting the two Congregations: But when the Matter came to be mention'd to some of Mr. Chauncey's People, they were against it, and so the Coalition was prevented' (Calamy, *Continuation*, II, 878). On 19 October 1663 Chauncey was ordered by Andover Three Weeks Court to procure a tything man for Kings Enham within 6 days on pain of £5 (HRO, 37M85/2/HC/34, fo. 9). The Andover churchwardens presented him for absence from church in 1664, and in 1669 he was reported in a survey commissioned by Archbishop Sheldon as preaching at Andover, and having been 'presented at the Assizes as a seditious person' (LPL, Tenison 639, fo. 261). He was licensed as a Presbyterian to preach at his house in Easton, Hampshire, on 1 May 1672 under Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence, which was withdrawn the following year (TNA, SP44/38A, p. 55). In 1673 he was fined 20 shillings for preaching at Andover, and was listed in the court presentment as one of Sprint's hearers (HRO, 37M85/13/DI/1). Meanwhile, Chauncey had become an extra-licentiate of the College of Physicians in London on 5 July 1669; upon moving to London in 1680 he was made a licentiate (30 September) and probably earned most of his money as a physician (Munk, *Roll*, I, 415). In 1687 he and Isaac

Loeffs succeeded David Clarkson as the pastors of a Congregational church which met in Mark Lane, London; the congregation had previously been ministered to by John Owen (Calamy, *Continuation*, II, 878). In 1690 he was made a manager of the dissenters' Common Fund in London, with responsibility for Somerset (DWL, OD67, fos. 3–4). He played an active part in its meetings for the next two years. On 24 August 1690 the Common Fund ordered that Chauncey 'doe form a Letter to be sent to every place in which there is or shall be any allowance given out of this Fund, towards ye propogation of the Gospell'; the letter was copied into the minute book the following week, with suggested alterations written beneath (DWL, OD67, fos. 45–7). However, Chauncey withdrew from the Fund on 17 October 1692, in opposition to the growing influence of the Presbyterian Daniel Williams; other Congregational tutors who followed suit included Thomas Cole and Stephen Lobb. The Common Fund swiftly developed into the Presbyterian Fund Board. In 1695 Chauncey helped to establish an alternative Congregational Fund Board, being one of the 'messengers' from 17 December.

After moving to London, Chauncey set up a small academy; its exact location is unknown, but by the time of his death Chauncey was living in a house with a garden in Little Moorfields (TNA, PRO, PROB 11/526/82). A small number of Chauncey's students were given grants by the Congregational Fund Board in 1698 and 1704 (DWL, OD401, p. 77; OD402, p. 71). Spivey (*ODNB*) is probably not correct in arguing that this academy was the successor to Thomas Goodwin's academy in Pinner, since both were running concurrently; Wilson describes it, on unknown evidence, as 'a new academical institution', and states that it became the Homerton academy, which was in his day under the superintendence of John Pye Smith, and known colloquially as the 'Fund-board Society' (Wilson, *Dissenting Churches*, I, 289–91). When the Ipswich tutor John Langston died on 12 January 1704 the Congregational Fund Board eventually opted on 13 March to send his students Jonathan Mills, Peter Goodwin, and Henry Robinson to Chauncey for tuition (DWL, OD402, p. 70). This was an expensive decision: whereas Langston had been paid £4–£6 per head per year, attendance at Chauncey's academy required a sum of £16 per head per year, and this is reflected in payments made to other students of Chauncey at this date. However, for reasons not stated, some students required less money to be educated in London. Abraham Coveny, Langston's other student, was finally transferred to Chauncey's academy on 3 April, with a payment from the Board of only £5 (DWL, OD402, p. 71).

Chauncey's lectures have not survived, but his published writings suggest that his teaching was inflected by a rigid (but not humourless) Calvinist Congregationalism. Almost all of his works have a controversial tone, marked by a vigorous, engaging, and accessible voice. In his *Ecclesia Enucleata*, published provocatively at the height of the Tory reaction in 1684, he noted that 'the word *Church* is cloathed with so great ambiguity . . . to the perplexing of mens minds and Consciences' and sought to establish 'the true sence and notion of the word upon the tenure of the Gospel' (*Ecclesia Enucleata*, 10, 11). He attempted to establish that there was no scriptural justification for calling a place of meeting for public worship a church, that Christ never instituted a national, provincial, or diocesan church, and that parochial churches were not deducible from the gospel (*Ecclesia Enucleata*, 14, 22, 42). Rather, he believed that the word *ekklesia* in the Bible means any common assembly, the universal church of Christ, or a particular congregation (*Ecclesia Enucleata*, 67). Given his connections to both Richard Baxter and John Owen, he is the most likely author of *A Theological Dialogue* (1684), which defended Owen from forty-two errors charged upon him by Baxter, and in 1689 he wrote the prefatory epistle to *Primitive Episcopacy*, a work by Owen's successor, David Clarkson. He continued his defence of Congregational church government using the form of a dialogue in his *Ecclesiasticum* (1690). In 1692, he played a very prominent role in the pamphlet war against Daniel Williams, taking a Calvinist line in relation to absolute election and universal redemption, and accusing Williams of neonomianism in his *Neonomianism Unmask'd*. When Williams defended his position, Chauncey published *A Rejoynder* to his reply in 1693. He continued his assault on the neonomians in 1700 in his *Alexipharmacum*, a defence of Stephen Lobb against the bishop of Worcester. He also produced a number of other important defences of Congregationalism, including *The Divine Institution of Congregational Churches* (1697), *A Plea for the Antient Gospel* (1697), *A Letter to a Friend concerning Mr. Bowles's Late Book* (1702), and (perhaps the most influential of these) *The Doctrine which is According to Godliness Grounded upon the Holy Scriptures of Truth* (1694).

Chauncey's ministry was less successful than his medical practice or his teaching: his reputation for hard-line Calvinism drove away many members of his congregation and he resigned as the pastor at Mark Lane on 15 April 1701; he was replaced by Isaac Watts. Chauncey died in 1712 and was buried at Bunhill Fields on 4 March. The fate of Chauncey's academy after his death is not certain, but in his will (dated 26 February 1712, provide 15 March) he ordered his books to be sold (TNA, PRO, PROB 11/526/82). The earliest evidence

currently obtained, from 1762, suggests that at least one of his students, the future tutor David Jennings, proceeded to study under Thomas Ridgley and John Eames (Savage, *Jennings*, 34). Samuel Palmer's *Nonconformist's Memorial* (1775) states that Chauncey 'was divinity tutor to the Dissenter's academy in London, immediately before Dr. Ridgley and Mr. Eames' (Palmer, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, II, 518). Whether Palmer had any information other than that provided by Savage, or whether this is a misleading inference from Savage's sermon, is not clear.

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Chorlton, John (1666–1705)

JOHN CHORLTON, tutor in Manchester, was born at Salford in 1666. He studied at Richard Frankland's academy, joining it while it was at Natland, on 4 April 1682, at the same time as Nathaniel Scoles and within a week of Adam Mort (BL, Add. MS 45974, fo. 13). He became an assistant to Henry Newcome (*bap.* 1627, *d.* 1695), the minister at Cross Street Chapel in Manchester, on 7 August 1687; he was ordained shortly afterwards. Matthew Henry states in a letter that Chorlton was ordained at Warrington on 4 November 1687 with five other ministerial candidates; this date is likely to be more accurate than Oliver Heywood's diary entry, which states January 1688, although a later hand in one of Heywood's manuscripts provides the names of all of the candidates: 'Mr. Chorlton Mr Jones, Dr. Eaton Mr Kinaston' (Heywood, *Diaries*, II, 24, 202). On 8 March 1689 he married Hannah Leech, the daughter of the minister Joseph Leech. Chorlton was an active member of the Cheshire classis: at its second meeting on 14 April 1691 he led the closing prayers, and acted as scribe for the meeting on 12 May 1696; when the classis ordained a series of new ministers on 14 May 1700, he prayed for one of the candidates, James Grimshaw (C&CA, MS EUC 9/4458/1, pp. 2, 21, 31).

It used to be thought that Newcome ran an academy in Manchester. Newcome's role as Chorlton's co-pastor may have contributed to the myth, which originated in Joshua Toulmin's *An Historical View of the State of the Protestant Dissenters in England* (1814). Toulmin wrote of Newcome that he 'united with the character of the pastor that of the teacher of academical literature; for which he was well qualified, by his great proficiency in philosophy and theology, and by his ease and freedom in communicating' (Toulmin, *Historical View*, 246). Unwary critics have sometimes been misled into taking Toulmin's speculation as firm evidence that Newcome held an academy. However, there is no evidence of any such teaching in Newcome's surviving autobiography, or his diary. Furthermore, it is clear that Chorlton's students only arrived in Manchester following the death of Richard Frankland in 1698. Newcome, on the other hand, died on 17 September 1695; Chorlton delivered his funeral sermon, which was published the following year.

After Newcome's death, Chorlton struggled to find an assistant: James Owen, the minister at Wrexham and a future tutor at the Shrewsbury academy, declined in April 1696 (Bod. Lib., Eng. Lett. e.29, fo. 159). On 14 October, Oliver Heywood received 'two men from Manchester, Mr Wyke and Mr Matt Pinkerden purposely to giue me a call to Mr. Newcoms place and supply in joining with Charlton (*sic*) in their spacious and famous meeting-place in Manchester'; Heywood found them 'so importunate, that I could [not] tell what to say to them, but put them off that time, they writ again and again but I gaue them a positieue denyall' (BL, Add. MS 45968, fos. 55–6). In 1697, a stranger called Gaskeld was finally chosen as Chorlton's assistant, despite his unknown origins and inadequate education. The following year he disappeared in November with a stolen horse, travelled to Hull under the pseudonym of Midgley, and then escaped to Holland after pretending that he was an author of the scandalous forged political papers published as *The Turkish Spy* (ODNB). When Frankland died in October 1698, James Clegg was sent to Chorlton to request him to preach Frankland's funeral sermon, 'which he did from Mat 28:20' (Clegg, *Diary*, 912). Chorlton was then requested to take on the academy but declined to do so; other potential tutors were then proposed, including William Lorimer and William Tong, but 'none was fully agreed on' (Clegg, *Diary*, 913). James Clegg later commented that 'Mr Chorlton often repented that he did not accept the call to Rathmel when he met with so much uneasiness in Manchester' (Clegg, *Diary*, 913). In 1699 Chorlton again asked James Owen to be his assistant; by this point, both were taking ministerial students, Chorlton in Manchester and Owen in Oswestry.

When Owen declined to move, Chorlton asked Thomas Bradbury, who also turned down his offer.

Chorlton began tutoring because of the collapse of the Rathmell academy after Frankland's death. By 1699 Frankland's former pupils had begun 'to drop away some to one place and some to another and so that Academy fell' (Clegg, *Diary*, 913). Many of Frankland's students, including the future minister James Clegg, moved to Manchester to continue their studies. According to Oliver Heywood, who exchanged letters with Chorlton for several years, Chorlton began 'teaching University learning in a great house in Manchester' in March 1699 (BL, Add. MS 45974, fo. 14). According to Clegg, 'Several young men who had been under Mr. Franklands tuition at Rathmel also came about that time and placd themselves under Mr. Chorlton who was admirably qualified for a Tutor, as well as a preacher'. By September 1699 he was lecturing to fourteen students of Frankland and five others, the names of whom were sent to Heywood. It is likely that several of these students did not move straight from Frankland's tuition to Chorlton's academy. For example, Clegg initially boarded with the minister Dr Wild, but Wild moved to Stockport shortly afterwards, and so Clegg 'removd from Dr. Wild's to Mr. Chorlton'. One great advantage of being in Manchester was Chetham's Library which had been founded by Puritans and retained strong links with dissent. Another advantage was 'the Conversation of other young Scholars that lived there' (Clegg, *Diary*, 913). The academy was supported by the Cheshire classis and the London Presbyterian Fund, which gave grants to several students.

In 1700 James Coningham, minister and tutor at Penrith, accepted the call to Manchester and became Chorlton's assistant in his ministry; he also undertook to tutor students. The extent of their collaboration is unclear. Samuel Wright, in his funeral sermon for Coningham, merely stated that at Manchester Coningham 'still went on to direct and assist young Students both in their Philosophical and Theological Studies; as Mr. *Chorlton* also did' (Wright, *Coningham*, 23–4). Coningham's most famous student was Thomas Dixon, a future tutor at Whitehaven and Bolton. According to Dixon's student George Benson, Dixon was also educated by Chorlton (Winder, *History*, I, 12–14). The Presbyterian Fund Board supported the students of both men. For the year beginning December 1700, the Board gave grants to Miles Baxter and Eliezer Aiery, both students of Coningham; it also supported two of Chorlton's students, Alexander Wright and Nathaniel Holmes (DWL, OD68, p. 99). Wright and Holmes were

offered further grants for 1701–2, 1702–3 and 1703–4; in the years beginning December 1702 and 1703 Aiery was classified as one of Chorlton's students (DWL, OD68, pp. 111, 122, 133). Other sources demonstrate that Chorlton's students included James Clegg, and other influential local ministers, such as Reynald Tetlaw, Jonathan Nightingale and John Atkinson. Another student, Mr Kirby, was (by 11 May 1703) the successor to Dr Holland as pastor at Middlewich; the Cheshire classis minutes describe him as 'an hopefull young man, bred up in Academical Learning vnder Mr Chorlton of Manchester'. On 11 May 1703, the Cheshire classis noted that Tetlaw, at that point minister of Tintwistle in Cheshire (now Derbyshire), had been replaced by 'one Mr Cowper Bred up under Mr Chorlton' (C&CA, MS EUC 9/4458/1, p. 34).

In his manuscript autobiography, Clegg recalled that Chorlton 'Read Lectures to us in the forenoon in Philosophy and Divinity and in the afternoon some of us read in ye Publick Library' (Clegg, *Diary*, 913). It was in the 'Public Library' (i.e. Chetham's) that Clegg first discovered the works of Episcopius, Socinus, and Crellius. He later claimed that 'The writings of Socinus and his followers made little impression on me, only I could never after be entirely reconcild to the common doctrine of the Trinity' but began to incline to the scheme of Samuel Clarke; however, he admitted that he 'admird the clear and strong reasoning of Episcopius and after that could never well relish the doctrines of Rigid Calvinism' (Clegg, *Diary*, 913). Clegg also commented that Chorlton 'resembled Mr. Frankland pretty much in many things, but far excelled him in the Gift of Preaching' (Clegg, *Ashe*, 54). It was Chorlton who arranged for Clegg to preach to the small congregation at Rathmell in 1700, where he went to 'officiate as chaplain in the Family of my old Tutor Mr. Frankland' (Clegg, *Diary*, 914). As well as tutoring, Chorlton was active at the ordination of ministers, preaching to a meeting of the Lancashire and Cheshire minister at the ordination of Samuel Eaton, Stephen Hughes, and others on 18 June 1700 (C&CA, MS EUC 9/4458/1, pp. 30–1). When James Clegg's congregation at Ford in Derbyshire requested that he seek ordination in 1703, Clegg sent 'a testimonial of my conduct while with him directed to the ministers in Derbyshire' and desired them to have 'stated meetings which they had not of a long time had before' (Clegg, *Diary*, 916).

In his diary, Matthew Henry gave the following character of Chorlton: 'solid judgm[en]t great thought, an extraordinary quickness & readiness of expression, a Casuist one of a

thousand, a wonderful clear head, and one yt. did dominari in concionibus, and of great sincerity and serious piety'; Chorlton had been 'very useful in educating youth' and had been Henry's 'beloved friend & correspondent about 16 y[ears]' (Bod. Lib., Eng. Misc. e.330, fo. 6). It was Chorlton who advised Henry to publish his *Plain Catechism for Children* (Williams, *Henry*, 130). In a letter to Ralph Thoresby from Chester, dated 24 March 1703, Henry noted that Chorlton had been presented in the previous year's summer assizes for 'teaching a private academy', but 'through the favour of some not known, the prosecution was this assize let fall' (Thoresby, *Letters*, I, 440–1). Chorlton and Henry also discussed the history of dissent together, and on one occasion, Henry consulted him about the location of manuscripts relating to the Westminster Assembly (Thoresby, *Letters*, I, 440). On another occasion, Henry reported to Thoresby that Chorlton's funeral sermon for Frankland was due to be printed with 'some draughts of Mr franklands life' (YAS, MS 12 (37)); in the event, Chorlton's sermon was not published, although it was delivered 'to a very numerous Assembly of Persons of different Persuasions', who 'gave many Testimonies of their Esteem and Respect' for Frankland's memory (Clegg, *Ashe*, 54).

Chorlton's wife Hannah died in the winter of 1704/5 and Chorlton himself died in Manchester on 16 May 1705; he was buried on 19 May in Manchester collegiate church. His death prompted Matthew Henry to remark that 'many of my brethren in the ministry have been removed in the midst of their days, who, had they lived, would have done God more service than I can; particularly my dear brother Mr. Chorlton' (Williams, *Henry*, 90); he felt that Chorlton was a man of 'great sincerity and serious piety' (quoted in Bogue and Bennett, *Dissenters*, II, 40). The *Nonconformist Register* referred to his death as 'an unspeakable Loss to that Town, and to the Church of God' (CL, I.a.11, fo. 96). Henry was invited to succeed Chorlton at Manchester, but he declined (Williams, *Henry*, 96). Some of Chorlton's theological opinions may be ascertained from two surviving letters expressing objections to the writings of the tutor Matthew Smith (BL, Add. MS 4275, fos. 152, 153). As well as his funeral sermon for Newcome, Chorlton edited Henry Pendlebury's *Invisible Realities* of 1696, and may be the author of an anonymous pamphlet, entitled *Notes upon the Lord Bishop of Salisbury's Four Last Discourses* (Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, 559). A funeral sermon for him was delivered by his colleague, James Coningham, and was later published.

Works

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The Glorious Reward of Faithful Ministers Declared and Improved (London, 1696) (funeral sermon for Henry Newcome).

Chorlton also edited Henry Pendlebury's *Invisible Realities* (London, 1696).

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Cole, Thomas (1628–97)

THOMAS COLE was a fellow of Oxford University and nonconformist tutor at Nettlebed.

He was baptized on 27 April 1628 at St Giles, Cripplegate, the son of William Cole, a

London gentleman. Cole attended Westminster School, where he was a King's Scholar in

1644. He was elected to Christ Church College, Oxford, but remained at Westminster through most of the Civil War period, and did not matriculate until 1647 (Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis*,

I, 302) or 1648 (*ODNB*), aged 18 or 19. He graduated BA in 1649 and proceeded MA in

1651; he was incorporated MA at Cambridge in 1658 (Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, I, 302).

Cole was the Principal of St Mary Hall in Oxford from 1656, where he taught the philosopher John Locke among others; he compounded first fruits for his living as the rector of Ewelme in

Oxfordshire in 1659, with the minister Edward Bagshaw as surety (Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 125). The living of Ewelme had always been the right of the Principal of St Mary Hall, and when Cole was ejected from his fellowship in 1660 the newly installed Regius Professor of Divinity laid claim to it. The legal situation became so complicated that extra clauses were written into the Act for the Confirming and Restoring of Ministers (1660) to solve the dispute. Cole was ordained as a deacon and prebend on 2 August 1660, and became a minister at Brampton Bryan in Herefordshire. In November 1660 Thomas Harley wrote that Cole had preached there, to the satisfaction of the entire parish (Cliffe, *Gentry*, 99). Nevertheless, he opted for nonconformity following the Act of Uniformity in 1662 and resigned his living.

For the next decade, Cole continued to live and teach in Oxfordshire, at first near the university, and later in Nettlebed, where he opened an academy. Anthony Wood describes it as 'a Boarding-school', where Cole taught 'Youths of the Presb. and Indep. persuasion at, or near, *Nettlebed in Oxfordshire*' (Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis*, II, 775). Wood's description is a reminder that some academies were labelled schools by their contemporaries, even as late as the 1690s, even if they also taught university learning. Cole also preached 'affectionately and to edification' at Aulam, where Philip Henry encountered him in April 1666 (Henry, *Diaries*, ed. Lee, 186). Cole's most famous student at Nettlebed was the future government official James Bonnell, who studied there c.1667, aged 14. Bonnell later said of Cole that 'He read to us Aristotles Philosophy and instructed us in the Classics and Oratory: He preach'd Twice every Sunday to his Family and Us: . . . Neither were my Associates such, from whom I might learn any Part of Godliness, but on the contrary all Debauchery . . . Our Tutor was too Remiss in matters of Morality and Religion, tho' I cannot accuse him of anything that was ill' (Hamilton, *Bonnell*, 8–9). Bonnell's report of Cole's teaching was one of the central planks of Samuel Wesley's extended attack on the dissenters' academies in 1702, although Wesley was not himself a student of Cole. Neither was Wesley's adversary, the defender of dissenting education Samuel Palmer. Nevertheless, Palmer defended Cole as 'a Man of most Innocent and Spotless Life in his Moral Conversation', despite some of his strange notions (Palmer, *Vindication*, 97–8).

While at Nettlebed, Cole advised Philip Lord Wharton on the education and marriage of his children. On 9 April 1669 he acted as mediator between Wharton and Anna Wharton, his

eldest daughter, who had fallen in love with 'A person wanting (as I heare) noe qualificacons . . . but yt of an estate'; he counselled Wharton to forgive his daughter and accept her wishes (Bod. Lib., Rawl. Lrs. 50, fo. 69). On 20 November 1673 he wrote to Wharton, advising him to call upon Joseph Fowler, the son of the ejected minister of Reading Christopher Fowler, to be 'tutor to yr. son & chaplain in yr. family' (Bod. Lib., Rawl. Lrs. 51, fo. 49). On 27 June 1676, having moved to London, Cole wrote to Wharton that one of the sons of the ejected minister Samuel Annesley would be available to act as tutor to one of Wharton's sons in a month's time (Bod. Lib., Rawl. Lrs. 51, fo. 162). A comment in a letter from the tutor Samuel Cradock to Wharton's agent Edward Terry suggests that Cole briefly taught one of Wharton's sons, c.1672, perhaps for a fee of around £24 per annum; this may have been a typical rate for sons of the upper gentry in the earliest academies, although ministerial students at other academies were often educated for much less (Bod. Lib., Rawl. Lrs. 51, fo. 87).

On 22 April 1672 Cole was licensed as a Congregational minister at his own and other houses at Henley on Thames, but an application to preach at the town hall failed. He also signed the preface to the second edition of John Faldo's *Quakerism no Christianity*, alongside twenty other divines, including Richard Baxter, Thomas Doolittle, and Thomas Gouge (1673). Their signatures incurred the rage of William Penn, but were later defended by Faldo. Cole moved to London in 1674 and became the minister to Philip Nye's former congregation at Cutler's Hall, which subsequently moved to Tallow Chandlers' Hall. He also delivered sermons at the Merchants' Lecture; some of these were later published as *A Discourse of Regneration, Faith and Repentance* (1689), *A Discourse of Christian Religion* (1692), and *The Incomprehensibleness of Imputed Rughteousness* (1692). Cole invested in the East India Company, and owned substantial property (TNA, PRO, PROB 11/440/257). He was elected as a manager of the dissenters' Common Fund on 13 April 1691, but did not play an active role in the board's meetings (DWL, OD67, fo. 31). On 3 April 1693 the Fund members chose Richard Taylor to be a manager in Cole's place, 'who refuseth to undertake the worke' (DWL, OD67, fo. 109). Cole's voice was heard repeatedly in the antinomian controversy of the 1690s; in 1694, Elias Pledger noted in his spiritual diary that 'Strange reports have been spread abroad of late concerning p[er]sons ingaged in a warm Contention about Mr \Dan[ie]l/ Williams, & Mr Tho Cole's doctrine, preached at pinners hall' (DWL, 28.4, fos. 65–6). At about this time, other Congregationalists, including Stephen Lobb and Isaac Chauncey, followed Cole in leaving the Common Fund, which subsequently operated as the

Presbyterian Fund Board. Cole was an original member of the rival Congregational Fund Board, which was established in 1695 (DWL, OD401, p. 1). Cole preached his final sermon before his congregation, by that point meeting at Pinners' Hall, on 22 August 1697. He died on 16 September and was buried in Bunhill Fields. He bequeathed his books in trust to a group of nonconformist ministers, including Isaac Chauncey, for 'such poor dissenting Ministers not exceeding thirty years of Age' (TNA, PRO, PROB 11/440/257).

Since his academical lectures have not survived, Cole's principles as a minister and tutor can best be inferred from his printed works. Cole believed in the 'converting Truths' found in 'the Doctrine of Faith, Repentance, and Selfdenyal', and he argued that 'the old Apostolick way of Preaching was in all plainness and simplicity to propound Gospel-Truths' (*The Old Apostolical Way of Preaching*, 10). He felt that 'Logick alone may speak Natural Reason, but seldom good Divinity', and at one time exclaimed, 'after all Disputes in the Polemical part of Divinity, give me the sincere unlearned Mans Religion' (*Apostolical Way*, 13). One of his core theological tenets was 'Faith in the Righteousness of Christ for justification'; another was that 'There is no Saving Knowledge of Gospel Truths, but the Knowledge of Faith' (*A Discourse of Faith in Two Points*, 7, 9). Whereas the light of reason lay in the evidence of the thing itself, the light of faith lay in the infallible certainty of divine testimony (*Discourse of Faith*, 21–2). Like Richard Baxter, Cole took a middle road between Calvinism and Arminianism, suggesting that 'the Grace of God enters the Soul of man as a New Nature', in which nature were 'wrapped up the seeds of all Grace . . . with the free consent of Mans Will' (*Discourse of Faith*, 25). He applied his doctrine to practical divinity by arguing that there were 'two extrems that men are apt to run into; either they neglect good works, or else, they trust in good works' (*Discourse of Faith*, 42). Another text which may have been written by him, *Ouranologia* (1695), contains a table for calculating interest, and an astrological calendar. In 1808, Walter Wilson noted that several of his sermons, including the last that he preached, still survived in manuscript, 'very fairly written, apparently by one of Mr. Cole's congregation' (Wilson, *Dissenting Churches*, III, 88); at that date they were in the possession of James Conder of Ipswich, and included a series of 'Memorable Speeches of Mr. Cole upon his Death-bed'. The collection later passed to the Congregational Library; among the persons who visited Cole as he lay dying were a Mr Traill, the tutor Isaac Chauncey, and a Mr Griffith (CL, I.h.27, pp. 15–31).

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Coningham, James (1669 or 1670–1716)

JAMES CONINGHAM was a tutor at Penrith and Manchester. He is probably to be identified as 'Jacobus Cuningham', a student at Glasgow University in 1684, and may be 'James Cunningham', the man who made notes on John Tran's lectures there, 1687–8 (*Glasguensis*, III, 142; GUL, Gen 822–3). He lauded MA at Edinburgh University on 27 February 1694 as 'Jacobus Coningham Angl.' and then began his ministry at a Presbyterian congregation in Penrith, Cumberland, for which the Congregational Fund Board made a grant of £5 in June 1696 (EUA, IN1/ADS/STA/1/1, p. 71; DWL, OD401, p. 24). He married Agnes Cookson (*hap.* 1671) on 30 July 1694 and was ordained in August of that year as a licentiate of the Church of Scotland (*ODNB*). Coningham's earliest biographer, Samuel Wright, wrote that he continued at Penrith for about six years, 'and there begun [*sic*] the Work of a Tutor to young Men' (Wright, *Coningham*, 23). Little else is known about Coningham's teaching during this period, although by 1699 he was in correspondence with the tutor Thomas

Doolittle about books, and John Spademan, tutor at Joshua Oldfield's academy, lent him copies of Brissonius, Amyrauld and Knatchbull (BL, Add. MS 4275, fo. 193; Add. MS 4276, fo. 143). In May 1699 Coningham was proposed as the successor to Timothy Manlove at the Presbyterian chapel in Leeds (*ODNB*); in the event, he moved to Manchester in 1700 where he became co-pastor to the minister and tutor John Chorlton (Wright, *Coningham*, 23).

While at Manchester, Coningham continued to take ministerial students, assisting them 'both in their Philosophical and Theological Studies, as Mr. *Chorlton* also did' (Wright, *Coningham*, 24). The extent of his collaboration with Chorlton is unclear. The Presbyterian Fund Board supported the students of both men. On 7 July 1701 the students Alexander Wright and Nathaniel Holmes were recommended to the Board by Coningham, John Howe, and John Shower. For the year beginning December 1700, the Board gave grants to Miles Baxter and Eliezer Aiery, both students of Coningham; it also supported Wright and Holmes, here classified as students of Chorlton. For the year beginning December 1701 Aiery received a further grant as a student of Coningham, although for the following two years he was classified as one of Chorlton's students (DWL, OD68, fo. 45; pp. 99, 122, 133). Coningham's most famous student was Thomas Dixon, a future tutor at Whitehaven and Bolton. According to Dixon's student George Benson, Dixon was also educated by Chorlton (Winder, *History*, I, 12–14). After studying with Coningham, Dixon moved to London to complete his preparatory studies for the ministry. At this point he wrote an anonymous letter concerning the second part of Edmund Calamy's *Defence of Moderate Nonconformity* (1704); the letter intimated that 'the writer, and some other young students, were at that time in suspense between Conformity and Nonconformity', and were waiting with some impatience for the conclusion of the debate between Calamy and Hoadly. Calamy showed the letter to Coningham, who assured him that 'it came from no enemy, but from an honest worthy person, though exceedingly modest'. Calamy then arranged a meeting with Dixon, during which they 'entered into a little discourse about some passages in his letter'. Calamy later praised Dixon for having 'adhered to the principles of his education', becoming 'very useful among the Dissenters' (Calamy, *Own Life*, II, 31–4; Winder, *History*, I, 12).

Wright noted that Coningham's learning was 'very considerable; and such as not only qualify'd him for the office of the Ministry himself, but made him happily instrumental to the educating of others for the same service' (Wright, *Coningham*, 23–4). When Chorlton died in

1705, the Manchester Presbyterians struggled to find a replacement suitably qualified to continue his work as a preacher and a tutor. One person whom they approached was Samuel Benion, who instead opted to become James Owen's successor as tutor at the academy in Shrewsbury. Following this failure to attract another suitable tutor, the job of teaching academical learning in Manchester probably fell to Coningham alone. Two of his students who received grants from the Presbyterian Fund Board during this period were a Mr 'Hurt' (1704–7) and the future minister John Anyan (1707–9). Another of his students was Samuel Bourn (1689–1754), an important non-subscribing Presbyterian minister, who studied under Coningham from 1707 until 1709 (DWL, OD68, pp. 149, 162, 176, 191). According to Samuel Blyth, Bourn 'oft lamented' the 'Disadvantages' under which he had undertaken his studies at Manchester (Blyth, *Bourn*, 12).

While living in Manchester, Coningham was 'prosecuted for the instruction of Youth' (Wright, *Coningham*, 24), a phrase which indicates that he was teaching without a licence. This prosecution, together with the congregation's internal wrangling over doctrine, led to him moving to the congregation at Haberdashers' Hall in London in 1712, following the death of Richard Stretton. He was chosen a member of the Presbyterian Fund Board on 3 November and regularly attended meetings thereafter (DWL, OD68, pp. 235–96). Three of his children then died in quick succession, and his health declined; he died on 1 September 1716 aged 47, only a few days after administering the Lord's Supper, and was buried in Bunhill Fields. Wright's funeral sermon for Coningham, which he delivered on 9 September, was published later in the year. According to Wright, Coningham preached with a serious spirit, and was skilful in leading prayer; he was free and communicative in conversation, and was 'well vers'd both in Polemical, Casuistical, and Practical Divinity' (Wright, *Coningham*, 25–6).

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Cradock, Samuel (1620 or 1621–1706)

SAMUEL CRADOCK was a tutor at Wickhambrook, Suffolk. He was born in 1620 or 1621, the eldest son of Samuel Cradock, a Church of England clergyman. His younger brother Zachary was a provost of Eton College (*ODNB*). His uncle, Matthew Cradock, was the first governor of the Massachusetts Bay Company, and left him £40 a year for three years in his will of 9 November 1640. Cradock later wrote to Increase Mather in 1684 that had things been as his uncle had designed in his will, 'I would have had a considerable interest in New England' (Winthrop, *Mather Papers*, 641–3). On 25 May 1637 Cradock was admitted to Emmanuel College, Cambridge; he graduated BA in 1641 and proceeded MA in 1644 (Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, I, 411). In 1645 he became a fellow of Emmanuel; among his

students was the future bishop Richard Kidder, who later stated that Cradock 'did not only direct me in my studies, but made me sensible of my obligation to lead a life of religion . . . 'tis hardly possible that one man can owe to another more than I do to him' (*Life of Richard Kidder*, 3–4). Cradock was offered the living of Little Berkhamsted in Hertfordshire on 26 July 1645, but the sequestered rector, Falthropp, refused to give up the parsonage (BL, Add. MS 15669, fo. 195). By December 1645 Cradock had been appointed rector of Baughurst in Hampshire (BL, Add. MS 15669, fo. 229). Meanwhile, his connections with the university continued. In 1651 he was created BD; his performance at the public commencement was 'highly applauded, and reckon'd for the Honour of his Puritan College' (Calamy, *Continuation*, II, 731). When the Platonist John Smith died in 1652, Cradock became his executor, handing his papers to Dr Worthington, who used them to publish Smith's *Select Discourses* (1660). On 18 March 1653 he was presented to the rectory of Worplesdon in Surrey, following the death of the previous incumbent (BL, Add. MS 36792, fo. 64). The following year, he was made the rector of North Cadbury in Somerset, where he was admitted on 15 November; the living was worth £300 per annum (LPL, COMM. III/3, part iii, p. 28). He married Honoria, the daughter of Charles Fleetwood, on 24 June 1656 at Chalfont St Giles in Buckinghamshire (Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 140). A year later his cousin Walter Cradock, the eminent minister of Geesings, Wickhambrook, died, leaving Samuel his estate (TNA, PRO, PROB 11/263/349); several years later he moved there with his family (Calamy, *Account*, 581).

Cradock had his living at North Cadbury confirmed by the Crown in 1660, but was ejected on account of the Act of Uniformity in 1662; his successor was instituted in January 1663 (Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 140). When the plague broke out, he stayed with his wife's relations at Chalfont, along with David Clarkson and Edward Terry. The manuscript of his large work *The Harmony of the Four Evangelists* was saved from the great fire by John Tillotson in 1666 (Birch, *Tillotson*, 363). In a survey of 1669 he was recorded as preaching to a conventicle at the house of his sister-in-law, the widow of George Fleetwood (LPL, Tenison 639, fo. 212). In 1672 he was licensed as a Presbyterian to preach at Geesings; the Indulgence was withdrawn the following year, but he continued to minister to dissenters there, while remaining on good terms with the local vicar, John Cooper (TNA, SP44/38A, p. 2; Calamy, *Own Life*, I, 135).

Although it has traditionally been argued that Cradock's academy opened at Wickhambrook *c.*1678 (McLachlan, *English Education*, 15), it is clear that Cradock was taking students by 1674 (Bod. Lib., Rawl. Lrs. 51, fos. 87–8, 92, 102, 114). His student Edmund Calamy described Cradock's society as 'a private academy', in which Cradock had 'a number of young gentlemen under his tuition, in a house of his own' (Calamy, *Own Life*, I, 132). Calamy indicated that Cradock had been a 'noted tutor' at Emanuel College, Cambridge, with many pupils. Having opened the academy, he was 'represented by some as breaking an oath' taken at the university (the Stamford Oath) and had drawn up a paper defending his actions, which Calamy published in his *Continuation*, II, 731–5. Cradock's students included Robert Billio, minister at Hackney, and several gentlemen, including Sir Francis Bickley, Roger Rant, Charles Lord Fitzwalter, Henry Martin, Henry Ashurst, George Mayo, and William Elys. Another student was Timothy Goodwin, who became a friend of Calamy, and who was 'a good Grecian', at that time designed for physic, but later a Church of England minister. Other students were designed for the dissenting ministry, including Calamy's friend from the Merchant Taylors' School Joseph Kentish, Thomas Bantoft, and John Keeling (Calamy, *Own Life*, I, 133–5).

Among the most eminent of Cradock's students were the children of Philip, Lord Wharton. On 5 May 1674 Cradock wrote to Edward Terry, an agent of Wharton and Thomas Foley, reminding Terry that he had recommended Wharton 'rather to have dispos'd his son to some other'; however, 'seing you still insist upon it', he would take the young gentleman, if he 'be governable & like to prove studious, & will be content wth such accom[m]odations as we can furnish him wth'. At this time, Cradock was ordinarily charging 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 per student. However, he had been given £26 per annum by one young gentleman, '& might have had more of another, but fearing he was something wilde I durst not take him'. He 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'. Cradock insisted that he should bring with him 'one pair of sheets 2 pillow Cases, a dozen of napkins, half a dozen towells & a silver spoon'. He would be expected to pay 3s 4d per quarter to the upholsterer for the hire of a bed. A note attached to the letter indicates that Wharton probably agreed to pay Cradock £24 for his son's education and board (Bod. Lib., Rawl. Lrs. 51, fo. 87). Wharton Jr had arrived at the academy by 28 May, at which date

Cradock wrote to assure his father that he should hear further 'Wn I have had some trial of him'. Cradock also ensured that Wharton's son lodged with 'Jorden' (Bod. Lib., Rawl. Lrs. 51, fo. 92). He sent out a report about his new charge on 13 July, indicating that he believed that the young Wharton was 'capable of being a good Scholar, if he will be industrious & patient'; he 'does dilligently attend upon My Lectures'. Cradock promised to endeavour 'to instill into him the principles of reall piety & vertue' and to 'promote him in such parts of Learning as may conduce to the inabling him to be usefull' (Bod. Lib., Rawl. Lrs. 51, fo. 102). By 7 December, young Wharton's behaviour had become intolerable, and Cradock desired Terry to entreat his father of the 'pressing & urgent' need for his removal within a week, before he might do 'a great deale of hurt to those under my care' (Bod. Lib., Rawl. Lrs. 51, fo. 114).

In contrast to Wharton's son, Calamy was probably a model student. Calamy and his mother first met Cradock in London in 1686 to agree the terms of his residence; in the event, Calamy studied under him for two years. Under Cradock, Calamy went through 'a course of philosophy', studying logic, natural and moral philosophy, and metaphysics (Calamy, *Own Life*, I, 132, 138). Cradock read 'systems that were of his own extracting out of a variety of writers'; all the students were 'obliged to copy them out for their own use', which they found a 'great drudgery', although Calamy thought that the benefit was beyond the inconvenience (Calamy, *Own Life*, I, 132–3). Cradock treated his students in 'a gentlemanlike manner', keeping good house, and (according to Calamy) being 'much respected by the gentlemen all round the country'. He preached in his house twice every Sunday gratis (other local people frequently attended) and had a good relationship with the parish minister, Cowper. While at the academy Calamy took the Lord's Supper for the first time, aged sixteen, having been instructed in the 'importance and solemnity' of the duty by Cradock, who performed the same service for several other students (Calamy, *Own Life*, I, 135). Calamy admitted that the students had 'innocent diversions' and were permitted to ride and visit any of their acquaintances between Bury and Cambridge, but felt that the academy was greatly beneficial to his development (Calamy, *Own Life*, I, 136).

Despite the significance of Cradock's academy for dissenters, it may not have had a high national profile. Anthony Wood, noting that Cradock was described as '*Late Rector of North Cadbury*' in his publications of 1679, inferred that Cradock was dead by that point (Wood,

Athenae Oxoniensis, II, 753), suggesting that he knew nothing of Cradock's academy. In 1690, Cradock corresponded with Increase Mather about witchcraft; Mather printed a letter from Cradock in the 'Postscript' to his *A Further Account of the Tryals* (1693), in which Cradock advised a young man suffering from violent fits to 'make use of the Medicine prescribed by our Saviour, viz. Fasting and Prayer'. In 1696 he left Wickhambrook for Bishop's Stortford, Hertfordshire, where he preached; he also became pastor of the Congregational church in Stansted–Mountfitchet, where a meeting–house was erected in 1698 (*ODNB*). He died on 7 October 1706 and was buried on 11 October at Wickhambrook. Samuel Bury preached his funeral sermon on 18 October. He was succeeded in the ministry by his son Walter.

Cradock built his reputation as a tutor and an intellectual upon his substantial writings. His *Apostolical History* and *Harmony of the Four Evangelists* were used by Thomas Ellwood in his *Sacred History*, and his thoughts on Holy Scripture were published in David Simpson's *Sacred Literature* (I, 26). His *History of the Old Testament* was in Chetham's Library in the eighteenth century. Cradock's *Harmony of the Four Evangelists* was written before the fire of London, at which time the manuscript was in the hands of John Tillotson. The circumstances of its near loss during the fire encouraged Cradock to publish it, although he made several additions to it first. Cradock's purpose is to present a chronological narrative in English of the life of Jesus, with critical and thematic annotations, often referring to other works of antiquity in Latin and Greek. End notes to each section provide in full the sections of Scripture from which the narrative is drawn. The narrative is particularly notable for its detailed exposition and defence of the Christology of John chapter 1, together with a tendency to moralise, extrapolating creeds, doctrines, and practices from the events and gestures related, and relating Old Testament verses to the events depicted. His *Apostolical History* was dedicated to his former students, Henry Asshurst and Philip Foley, alongside Richard Hampden and Rowland Hunt, and their four wives. He described the work as 'the fruit of some of my hours of leisure and retirement, of which I have had more of late years than ever I desired or expected'. Designed as a sequel to the *History of the Old Testament*, he described it as an account of 'the History of the *Church* immediately succeeding' the Ascension of Christ; this was a popular topic for nonconformist educators both in this, and later periods. Among the potential audiences of the book listed by William Jenkin and Richard Fairclough in an introductory epistle were '*such Ministers as are not furnished with good Libraries*', '*young*

Scholars who should be directed in Chronologie', masters of families, and private Christians; they also indicated that '*The Notes in the Margin are very useful for Scholars to give them an account of the particular interpretations that the Author giveth of sundry difficult places*' (*Apostolical History*, 'Preface', n. p.).

Cradock expressed his intellectual aims most clearly in his *History of the Old Testament*: he had attempted to to methodize sacred history, paraphrase and explore difficult passages, reconcile seeming contradictions, describe Jewish rites and customs, and to add a map of Canaan and the adjoining lands. It is in this work, with its division into the seven ages of the world, that Cradock's personal exegetical voice emerges fully, demonstrating an ability to allegorise and dissect symbolism which he learnt from his study of millenarian writings, and which emerges most strongly in his *Exposition and Paraphrase of the Whole Book of the Revelation*. If this latter text looked backward to Puritan zeal and the writings of Joseph Mede, his much-reprinted work of practical divinity, *Knowledge and Practice*, linked salvation and holiness in a plain, direct style which complemented Baxter's works in the genre. Displaying a combination of formidable learning with directness and comprehensibility, it was recommended in 1659 by the moderate Presbyterian, later bishop, Edward Reynolds.

Works

Renati non possunt totaliter, aut finaliter excidere e gratia Dei (London, 1651).

Knowledge and Practice (London, 1659).

The Chief Principles of the Christian Faith (London, 1665).

The Harmony of the Four Evangelists, and their Test Methodiz'd (London, 1668).

The Apostolical History (London, 1672).

A Supplement to Knowledge and Practice (London, 1679).

The History of the Old Testament Methodiz'd (London, 1683).

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Darch, Robert (c.1672–1737)

ROBERT DARCH was a tutor at the Taunton academy. He was born c.1672. Darch lauded at Edinburgh University in March 1693, alongside the future Bridgwater tutors John and Thomas Moore (EUA, IN1/ADS/STA/1/1, p. 70). He attended a meeting of the dissenters' Exeter Assembly in April 1693 as a ministerial candidate. On that date, a minute was taken that 'The Ministers in the Provincial Assembly having been well informed, & sufficiently convinced of the Learning & preparatory abilities, the good conversation, & the Orthodox judgments of Mr Moore (of Bridgwater) his Two Sons & mr Rob[er]t Darch do earnestly desire them (considering the present exigencies of several congregations) to set speedily upon

the work of preaching to, & praying with such congregations & give them all the encouragement we can thereunto, as preliminary to their regular admission into the Ministerial function, In Testimony whereof this is in the Names & with the Unanimous Consent of the whole Assembly subscribed by Geo: Tross Mod[er]ator' (DWL, 38.24, fos. 52–3). Darch settled in Somerset. He married Hannah Sprackett of Carhampton at St James's Church, Taunton, on 12 June 1699. He attended a meeting of the Exeter Assembly with John Moore Sr, and Thomas Moore, on 9–10 May 1699; he also attended on 8–9 September 1702 and 9–10 September 1707. At the last of these meetings, he proposed Nicholas Billingsley in response to a petition for a new minister from Carolina, but Billingsley settled at Ashwick, Somerset, instead (DWL, 38.24, fos. 100, 131, 156, 158). Darch was joint minister with Baldwin Deacon at Bishops Hull in 1702. He was ministering at Stogursey in Somerset in 1715, and also took services at Paul's Meeting, Taunton, in 1716.

Following Warren's death in 1706, Darch taught mathematics at the Taunton academy, where Stephen James and Henry Grove were also tutors. During this period, James lectured in theology, whereas Grove taught ethics. A copy of Darch's treatise on physics, which probably formed the basis for part of his teaching, also survives in the Wellcome Library, London; it was copied in 1709 by Benjamin Mills, a student at the Taunton academy and later a minister at Bridport, together with Charles Morton's 'Physicks' (WL, 3636). One of the few contemporary records of Darch's work at the academy comes from the Exeter Assembly minutes, which record the Assembly's approbation of his appointment: 'Mr James of Taunton gives an account of the method which he, Mr Darch & Mr Grove take with their Pupils. The following approbation drawn up by Mr Ball read, approv'd, subscribd & given to Mr James. Exon, Sept. 5, 1706: Whereas Mr James of Taunton came to this Assembly, and propos'd to the Assembly the method that he, Mr Darch, and Mr Grove intended to take in the educating of young men for the Ministry: This Assembly did approve of that design . . .' (DWL, 38.24, fo. 150). Darch also assisted Grove at Paul's Meeting, Taunton. Some time before his death, he left off tutoring, but continued his ministerial duties. Kirk speculates that he retired from the academy because a new church was built for him in 1718 at Bishops Hull (Kirk, *Taunton Academy*, 24). The church was licensed in 1719. Thomas Amory was Darch's assistant there until 1730 (Kirk, *Taunton Academy*, 33). When Darch finished teaching, his work at the academy was probably given to Henry Grove.

After a period of ill health, Darch died on 31 January 1737, aged 65, being survived by his wife. In his will, he ordered that the rents on his former property, amounting to 50 shillings a year, should be used 'for the teaching and Instruc~ion of so many poor Children . . . to read and buy books for them' (TNA, PRO, PROB 11/681/432). In his funeral sermon for Darch, Grove described him as a man of 'a Felicity of Temper, a Calmness and Moderation in his Passions, beyond most; which he so improv'd by his constant Self-government, that his Mind seemed to be a region of perpetual Serenity . . . His Religion sat easy upon him, and made him easy and acceptable to all about him, being the Result of a sound and enlighten'd Mind, not of mistaken Notions, nor spoiled by disagreeable Mixtures' (Grove, *Darch*, 29–30). On the crucial question of liberty, Grove wrote that Darch 'believed that Men are *free*; free by the Constitution of their Nature to *choose* and to *do* good or evil; since, without this Liberty, nothing done by them would be truly one or the other; *free* by the Genius and Design of the Gospel, from all Imposition in Matters belonging only to Religion and Conscience . . . His *Charity* or *Moderation* in religious Controversies among those who agree to *love the Lord Jesus Christ in Sincerity*, was, like his Prudence, *known unto all Men* that knew him' (Grove, *Darch*, 30). Although parts of this commentary reveal as much about Grove's own ethics as Darch's teaching, there is little reason to doubt that Darch shared Grove's views on some of these key questions. Of Darch's tutoring, Grove wrote: 'For some Years he was engaged in *Academical Business*; for which, he was not more qualified by his Acquaintance with the Part he undertook, than by the easy and clear Manner he had of communicating his Knowledge, and his uncommon Skill in conducting and managing the Education of Youth. But, an Alteration in his private Affairs obliging him to it, he quitted the Office of a *Tutor*, to the great Regret of his *Colleagues*, who had so long enjoy'd the Pleasure and Satisfaction of his Conversation, and the Benefit of his Advice. But however, he still went on in the Work of the Ministry' (Grove, *Darch*, 31–2). When he was too ill to preach, he continued to study, 'and declared to a Friend, that *reading* was one of the greatest Pleasures of his Life' (Grove, *Darch*, 32).

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Dixon, Thomas (c.1679–1729)

THOMAS DIXON was a tutor at Whitehaven and Bolton. He was a native of Ravenstonedale in Westmorland; his father, who was probably not a dissenter, attended Church of England services. In his early years Dixon was 'reckoned to have no capacity for learning; though, afterwards he proved so bright a genius' (Winder, *History*, I, 12). Dixon was educated among the dissenters at his own request. He studied academical learning with John Chorlton and James Coningham in Manchester, before moving to London to complete his preparatory studies for the ministry. At this point Dixon wrote an anonymous letter concerning the second part of Edmund Calamy's *Defence of Moderate Nonconformity* (1704); the letter intimated that 'the writer, and some other young students, were at that time in suspense between Conformity and Nonconformity', and were waiting with some impatience for the conclusion of the debate between Calamy and Hoadly. Calamy showed the letter to Coningham, who assured him that 'it came from no enemy, but from an honest worthy person, though exceedingly modest'. Calamy then arranged a meeting with Dixon, during which they 'entered into a little discourse about some passages in his letter'. Calamy later praised Dixon for having 'adhered to the principles of his education', becoming 'very useful among the Dissenters' (Calamy, *Own Life*, II, 31–4; Winder, *History*, I, 12).

By October 1705 Dixon had succeeded Roger Anderton as the minister of a dissenting congregation at Whitehaven (*ODNB*). In 1709 Dixon travelled to Edinburgh with a young gentleman named 'Sorey', perhaps Jeremiah Sawrey of Broughton Tower; there they met a group of London dissenters, including Calamy. While at Edinburgh, Dixon was awarded an honorary MA and Calamy an honorary DD; their names appear in the student register alongside Joseph Baker and John Lavington (EUA, IN1/ADS/STA/1/1, p. 84). Calamy, Dixon and their fellow travellers then journeyed across Scotland. The party visited the three colleges of St Salvator's, St Mary's and St Leonard's in St Andrew's, finding them to be 'much decayed'. At Aberdeen, they visited the Marischal College and King's College, which conferred on Calamy his second doctorate of divinity. At Glasgow they visited the university library, which they found to have 'a good collection of books and some manuscripts'; here Calamy received a third DD (Calamy, *Own Life*, II, 192–212).

By 1711, and probably prior to that date, Dixon was running an academy in Whitehaven. One of his students was Henry Winder (1693–1752), later an influential minister in Liverpool,

whose surviving academy notebooks are dated 1711 and 1712 (HMC, Winder I.ii; I.iii). George Benson wrote that Winder began studying at Whitehaven '[a]bout the 15th year of his age', which suggests the academy may have been open by 1708. Winder's fellow students at the Whitehaven academy included the tutor Caleb Rotheram and the Hebraist John Taylor. Benson recorded that while Rotheram was studying at the academy, he 'learned *mathematics*, of Mr. *Barclay*, a Scots gentleman; who then taught navigation, at *Whitehaven*' (Winder, *History*, I, 13). Winder's extant notebook on mathematics may represent Barclay's course (HMC, Winder 1.ii). After leaving the academy Winder moved to Dublin, where he studied divinity for two years under a group of ministers including Joseph Boyse (Winder, *History*, I, 14). Benson also attended the academy for about a year, c.1716, before studying for four years at Glasgow University (Winder, *History*, I, 13).

The clearest indication of the courses of study at the Whitehaven academy is provided by Winder's surviving notebooks. Winder's astronomy notebook shares some similarities with notes made by students of John Tran, regent at Glasgow University prior to his death in 1704 (GUL, Gen 765). The Latin text is in two parts. The first part begins with a description of the solar system, with approximations of the sizes of the planets and their distances from the sun. Then follows an account of the rotation of the Earth around the sun, with a description of the zodiac, an explanation of eclipses, and notes on comets. The second part provides a detailed description of the ecliptic, notes on compass points, and explanations of observable celestial phenomena. It concludes with a discussion of various divisions and parts of time. The course also included a series of problems following from astronomical propositions, together with their solutions; these were recorded by the student in the pages following the main treatise (HMC, Winder 1.iii). Winder's commonplace book contains brief extracts from philosophical and historical subjects, arranged alphabetically by subject (HMC, Winder 1.i). His other surviving papers include historical and geographical notes, including chronological accounts of the ancient world (HMC, Winder 3.i–v). While the exact relation of these notes to Dixon's teaching is unclear, external evidence indicates that students undertook similar exercises in commonplacing and chronology at other academies during the early eighteenth century.

In 1712 Dixon organised the returns for Cumberland and Westmorland for John Evans's national survey of dissenting congregations (DWL, 38.4, pp. 19–20). On 4 May he also provided the Presbyterian Fund Board in London with an account of 'the distressed State of

Severall Ministers. in Westmorland & Cumberland', several of whom had been 'reduc'd by the Congregational Fund's discontinuing their allowance'; the Board decided to allow grants of between £3 and £5 for up to 9 ministers in the region (DWL, OD68, pp. 242–3). On 6 December 1714 the Fund granted Dixon himself an extraordinary supply of £10 (DWL, OD68, p. 267). In 1715 he notified the Board that his former student Rotheram was now settled at Ravenstonedale (DWL, OD68, p. 273). On 7 October 1717 he made financial representations on behalf of Adam Wilson, and on 4 November he and Calamy recommended a bursary of £6 to Benson to complete his studies at Glasgow (DWL, OD68, pp. 315, 317). In 1716 Dixon wrote a letter to the Board acquainting them that the minister of Broughton Tower, Mr Stott, had moved to Keswick; he also recommended that the Board provide £5 per annum to 'Wardrew' in Cumberland (DWL, OD68, pp. 287–8). On 3 March 1718 the Board noted that a 'Mr Laland' was resident with Dixon, having 'been for some time at Edinburgh'; the Board provisionally recommended that Laland should be awarded a grant of £6, but the sum was withdrawn after Dixon indicated that Laland was not a 'proper Object for this charity' (DWL, OD68, pp. 324–5).

Dixon was awarded an MD by King's College Aberdeen on 20 May 1718 (Anderson, *Aberdeen*, 125). He later succeeded Samuel Bourn as a dissenting minister in Bolton, where he also practised as a physician (Winder, *History*, 13). At Bolton, Dixon's congregation exceeded 1,000, and was second only to Manchester in the county (DWL, 38.4, pp. 19–20). Meanwhile, he continued his academy. One of his students at Bolton was Richard Scofield, who received £10 to study with him in 1721; another was Thomas Butterworth, who was 'Reading Divinity' with Mr. Dixon prior to his early death in 1724 (DWL, OD68, pp. 380, 387; CL, I.a.11, fo. 204). In 1720 Dixon recommended an allowance of £5 be paid by the Presbyterian Fund Board to Ralph Milner, a student at Glasgow; in February 1723 he wrote a testimonial to the University of Glasgow, recommending that a 'Mr Wright' be awarded an honorary MA (DWL, OD68, p. 384; GUL, Gen 207/88). Dixon died at Bolton on 14 August 1729; his funeral sermon was preached 31 August by James Clegg, on whose behalf Dixon had recently written a testimonial for an Aberdeen University MD (Clegg, *Diary*, 55, 60, 65, 922–3). Thomas Dickenson's register of nonconformists noted that Dixon had been 'Useful as Preacher, Physician & Tutor' (CL, I.a.11, fo. 225). A memorial stone described him as '*facile medicorum et theologorum princeps*' ('easily the chief of physicians and theologians': *ODNB*).

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Doolittle, Thomas (1630 or 1633–1707)

THOMAS DOOLITTLE was an important minister and tutor in Islington, Clapham, and Battersea. He was born in Kidderminster, where his parents attended the congregation later served by Richard Baxter. The Doolittle family in Kidderminster had several branches, which makes it difficult to establish his parentage with certainty. He may have been baptized in 1631 or 1632 as the son of Anthony Doolittle, a glover; on 20 October 1630 as the son of William and James Doolittle; or on 12 September 1633 as the son of Humphrey and Anne Doolittle (Gordon, *Freedom*, 254; *ODNB*). Doolittle's grammar education took place at schools in Kidderminster, where he 'early discovered an inclination to learning' (Doolittle, *Complete Body*, 'Memoirs'). In 1647, while still at school, Doolittle heard Baxter deliver a series of influential sermons which were later published as *The Saints Everlasting Rest* (1650). These sermons made a great impression on Doolittle, who later referred to Baxter as his 'father in Christ' (Doolittle, *Complete Body*, 'Memoirs').

Doolittle was originally intended for the law, and he was offered a trial apprenticeship with a country attorney. When the attorney required him 'to copy out some writings on the Lord's day', Doolittle obeyed with great reluctance; the following day he complained to his father about 'the wound it had made in his spirit', adding that he could not continue the apprenticeship, but had determined to apply himself to 'serving Christ in the work of the gospel' (Doolittle, *Complete Body*, 'Memoirs'). On 7 June 1649 he entered Pembroke College, Cambridge as a sizar; he was recorded as 17 years old (Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, II, 54). The master of Pembroke was Richard Vines; he and Baxter collaborated to ensure that several members of Baxter's Kidderminster congregation received a Cambridge education (*Reliquiae Baxterianae*, I, 89). Baxter provided Doolittle with financial and intellectual encouragement throughout his time at university. By 12 November 1652 Doolittle was receiving an allowance from Baxter of £2 per quarter, and was hopeful of receiving a further £10 per annum 'from some in our colledge'. He was facing living expenses of £20 per year, including £2 to the college, £2 to the proctor, and £1 'for a Feast called the Priorum's' (DWL, Baxter Letters, VI, fo. 128). With Baxter's continuing assistance, Doolittle graduated BA in 1653 and proceeded MA in 1656 (Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, II, 54).

It was Baxter who first attempted to find Doolittle a living, offering him a chaplaincy in the house of a squire with 'an ample salary' (Doolittle, *Complete Body*, 'Memoirs'). Despite Baxter's offer, however, Doolittle began his ministry as rector of St Alphage, London Wall; he was elected by the parishioners on 13 September 1653 (LMA, GL 1431/2, fo. 230). He was initially paid £1 6s 8d for preaching to the congregation four times (LMA, GL 1432/4). Doolittle was attending meetings of the vestry by 1 November 1653, and he was formally admitted on 15 August 1654 (LMA, GL 1431/2, fo. 231). While at St Alphage, he married Martha Gill; their children included Samuel, who became a minister at Reading, and Mary Sheafe, whose notebook containing some of Doolittle's sermons survives (CL, I.f.35). According to Calamy, Doolittle was 'well beloved by his Parishioners at St Alphage, who built him an House to dwell in' (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 75). Doolittle's property soon contained its own water supply: on 5 September 1655, shortly after his marriage, the vestry minutes record that it was 'mewtually agreed upon that new river water shalbe laid into Mr. Doelittle's house our present minester by a leaden pipe and Coxke of Brase'. On 9 May 1657 he wrote to Baxter that God provided him with 'abundant encouragement' in his work, having given him 'favour in the hearts and affections of the people . . . & others in the city' (DWL, Baxter Letters, I, fo. 125). Doolittle managed to retain his living immediately after the Restoration, but was ejected for nonconformity in 1662; his successor was instituted on 1 October (Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 167–8).

After his ejection, Doolittle moved from St Alphage to Moorfields. Here, according to his earliest biographer, he 'opened his house for boarders'. The phrase suggests that Doolittle ran a private grammar school in the early 1660s. There is no reason to believe that he taught academical learning or supervised ministerial students at this time. The same source suggests that Doolittle 'had so many desirous to have their children with him for instruction', that 'he was constrain'd to hire a larger house in *Bunhill-fields*, where he continued to the sickness' (Doolittle, *Complete Body*, 'Memoirs'). While at Bunhill, Doolittle began to collaborate with the ejected minister Thomas Vincent; they were reported for holding a conventicle in Doolittle's house in 1663. Edmund Calamy, who was a student at the academy after Vincent's death, later asserted that Vincent 'was for some time employ'd in assisting Mr. *Doolittle at Islington* in giving some Young Persons an Academical Education' (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 31). Unfortunately, there is little further evidence to clarify Calamy's statement. If Vincent assisted Doolittle in his teaching at Bunhill, his role at this time is likely

to have been closer to that of an usher at a private school than to an assistant tutor at a ministerial academy.

During the plague of 1665 Doolittle moved his family to Woodford Bridge by Epping Forest, while Vincent opted to stay to minister to plague victims, and earned considerable celebrity for so doing (Doolittle, *Complete Body*, 'Memoirs'). The fate of Doolittle's pupils during this time is unknown. At Romford Sessions, on 26 April 1666, Doolittle was presented as lately come from St Giles, Cripplegate, to the house of a husbandman in Romford, intending to settle with his wife and six small children; a removal order was drawn up on the grounds that they were likely to become chargeable to the parish (*ODNB*). After witnessing the Fire of London, he set up a meeting-house near his dwelling in Bunhill; when it proved to be too small, he erected 'a large and commodious place of worship' in Monkwell Street, St Giles, Cripplegate (Doolittle, *Complete Body*, 'Memoirs'). It appears from his will that this meeting-house was built as a consequence of 'Two Leases to me granted by Elizabeth Vaughan of the ground and buildings thereon by me erected . . . in Mugwell Street where I now dwell' (TNA, PRO, PROB 11/495/318). At about this time, 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 (Doolittle, *Complete Body*, 'Memoirs'). Another attempt to surprise him when preaching in May 1670 failed (TNA, SP29/276, fo. 2).

On 2 April 1672, under Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence, Doolittle was licensed as a Presbyterian to preach in a room next to his house in Monkwell Street. According to his earliest biographer, Doolittle now 'resum'd his place and work as a preacher'. He also took residence in a large house in Islington, where he 'set up an academy, and as a tutor fitted several young men for the ministry' (Doolittle, *Complete Body*, 'Memoirs'). Doolittle's ministerial academy, then, appears to have started during the 1670s. Calamy's reference to Vincent, quoted above, may refer to this period; if so, he acted as an assistant tutor between the opening of the academy and his death in 1678. Unfortunately, the only surviving narrative of Doolittle's activities during this period is confused. His anonymous biographer states that 'When King *Charles*'s licence was recall'd, and the act came out, driving dissenting ministers five miles from a corporation, Mr. *Doolittle* broke up house keeping, and went with his family to board at *Wimbleton*', before moving to Battersea. The account goes on to claim

that 'Several of his pupils went with him, lodging themselves in neighbouring houses, from whence they went to him at appointed hours, to be instructed'. Charles's Indulgence was withdrawn in 1673, but the Five Mile Act had been in operation since 1665. It is unlikely that Doolittle would have acquired many ministerial students between his acquisition of a licence and its termination. Another alternative is that Doolittle remained at Islington until the situation for dissenters worsened following the Exclusion Crisis (1679–81). During 1682 his ministry and academy suffered the scorn of the Hilton gang of informers; his name and the location of his meeting-house appeared in several issues of John Hilton's news sheet, the *Conventicle Courant* (nos. 8, 10, 11). In early October 1682 Hilton expressed his desire that 'a Man might go to *Guild-Hall*, in pursuance of his Summons . . . without being buzz'd in the Ear by this or that *Doelittle Incendary*, or any of his Pupils, to tell a man, he must Vote or Give his Hand for this or that Person' (*Conventicle Courant*, no. 11). 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 (Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 168). On this evidence, the most that can be said about the date of his academy is that it opened during the 1670s and continued into the 1690s.

This interpretation receives further support from the surviving evidence from the 1680s relating to Doolittle's academy. In 1680, Matthew Henry, the son of the prominent minister Philip Henry, joined Doolittle's academy while it was still at Islington, together with his friend and relative Robert Bosier. Philip Henry later recalled that 'Cosin Robert & Mathew lodg'd first at Islington at Mr. Dool[itte's] house, who cheerfully undertook the Care & Tutorage of ym. Mr. Baxter told mee, I could not have plac'd him better, lord bless. Their Bed, Bedstead, Bed-clothes, &c. cost in all £5.13.10 – for wch yey payd equally' (quoted in Nuttall, 'Philip Henry in London', 264). In mid July, 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 meeting-house: '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 Jeremiah 17:9: 'that was all'. In the afternoon Philip Henry preached there on Lamentations 3:22. In the evening,

Bosier and Matthew Henry heard what Henry called 'a piece of another' sermon by John Shower, in a venue 'so crowded' that there was 'scarce . . . any room'. The following morning they 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'; in a letter to his sisters, Matthew described his impression of Doolittle as 'very studious and diligent' and Mrs Doolittle and her daughter as 'very fine and gallant'.

Henry's experiences at the academy serve as a reminder that illness was a constant hazard. Shortly after joining the academy, in a letter to his father, and another to his mother, Matthew revealed that he was unwell and very busy. His father in response wrote on 16 August 1680 of his desire that 'you may have health to ply the work you came about' and that 'you may serve the will of God in your generation'. In a letter of 28 August, Philip wrote to Bosier of his delight that Bosier was 'so well pleased in your present circumstances of improvement'; Philip was glad that Bosier was being 'put upon the exercise of your gifts, which is the ready way to increase, and add to them'. Bosier had clearly asked Henry to send him a concordance (presumably either biblical or linguistic) and some notes upon the Galatians, since Henry mentions that he will 'forbear to send' the former until he hears from Bosier again, and 'have none' of the latter. Among a substantial list of advices he gave to Bosier, the most interesting is 'Do not over-tire yourself with study, especially by candle'; Matthew was still ill, since his father mentions he has 'freely given him up' to the Lord, and has requested that he 'hasten home' if he is 'willing and able'. Once again, he requests Bosier to send 'love and respects' both to Doolittle and his wife. In the event, it was Bosier who died shortly afterwards, whereas Henry survived.

While at Doolittle's academy, Henry formed a friendship with Samuel Bury, who subsequently became a dissenting minister at Bristol, and who wrote 'I was never better pleased when I was at Mr. Doolittle's, than when in young Mr. Henry's company', later describing the young Henry as 'so diffusive of all knowledge, so ready in the Scriptures . . . so full and clear in his performances', but with an almost 'unimaginable quickness of speech'. Henry Chandler, another minister at Bath, was also a contemporary of Henry at Doolittle's academy, and noted that Henry was 'universally beloved by all the house' for 'serious piety, and the most obliging behaviour'. Chandler writes of there being 'near thirty pupils' at the academy at that time, a figure also used of Doolittle's academy by Samuel

Wesley, who was an almost contemporaneous student of Charles Morton at an academy in Newington Green.

Another student to write of his experiences under Doolittle was Edmund Calamy, who joined the academy in 1682, having previously attended a school run by Robert Tatnal, the silenced minister of St John Evangelist, who kept a school in Winchester Street, near Pinner's Hall (Calamy, *Own Life*, I, 77). When Calamy joined the academy, it was still at Islington and was 'considerable': Calamy writes that he had 'a good number at that time with him, that were students of philosophy' (Calamy, *Own Life*, I, 105–6). Among his contemporaries at the academy, Calamy notes Samuel Bury, Henry Chandler, Clifford (afterwards of East Knoyle), Lamb, who 'died young', Samuel Clarke, son of the biblical scholar Samuel Clarke (1626–1701), Chantry (afterwards of Staines), John Mottersed (minister at Ratcliffe), Samuel Hall (settled at Tiverton), and Benson (minister at Sandwich). Among the divinity students he noted James Waters (later a tutor at Uxbridge), Thomas Emlyn, Samuel Wells (chaplain to Squire Grove) and Shewel, a grandson of a Mr Case, who was 'afterwards so discouraged' that he became a lawyer (Calamy, *Own Life*, I, 106–8). In 1682, however, Calamy was only eleven, and applied himself to grammar learning under Thomas Doolittle and his son Samuel Doolittle (Calamy, *Own Life*, I, 108). His 'only companion' was Ebenezer Chandler, later a pastor at Bedford. Calamy wrote 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'.

Calamy records that Doolittle was forced 'to break up house at Islington, and remove to Battersea, in Surrey, whither I did not follow him' (Calamy, *Own Life*, I, 109). Shortly afterwards, Calamy enrolled at the Merchant Taylors' School, where his grandfather had also studied (Hart, *Merchant Taylors*, I, 77, 314). After he had gone through a 'course of philosophy' at Cradock's academy, Calamy returned to Doolittle's academy, 'that my studies might not be discontinued, (while the method I should farther pursue was under consideration)'. 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 possible reading of Calamy's narrative would be 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'

(Calamy, *Own Life*, I, 138). After a brief period at the academy, Calamy found himself being recommended by John Howe to continue his studies in Utrecht, and moved to the Netherlands.

In August 1682 the future Unitarian Thomas Emyln moved from John Shuttlewood's academy to Thomas Doolittle's academy in Islington, later moving with it to Clapham, then Battersea. According to an early biographer of Emyln, while with Doolittle he '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'. This writer states that Doolittle was 'a very worthy and diligent divine, yet was not eminent for compass of knowledge or depth of thought'. Emyln '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' (Emyln, *Works*, I, p. vii).

By 1689 Doolittle's academy had returned to Islington. In a national survey carried out by the dissenters' Common Fund c.1690–2, the 'Youths educated by mr Doolittle' were named as Pike, Pool and Keith (DWL, OD161, p. 3). On 15 December 1690 the Presbyterian minister Samuel Annesley deducted £12 'for 3 young men under ye Instruction of mr Tho: Doolittle' (DWL, OD67, fo. 17). On 21 September 1691 the Fund Board ordered Nathaniel Humphreys, 'a young Student lately under ye Instruction of mr Tho: Doolittle', to procure a certificate prior to his examination; on 28 September Humphreys received '£10:– for one year only . . . towards the perfecting of his studies' (DWL, OD67, fos. 48, 49). On 29 February 1692 the Fund required a further certificate from Doolittle for 'mr Ditton a Student', who had been 'proposed for some assistance in his Studies'; unfortunately, at the next meeting the minister Isaac Chauncey reported that Doolittle could 'give ye said Ditton no character to his advantage' (DWL, OD67, fo. 62, 63). After this date there is no further record of Doolittle's academy prior to his death on 24 May 1707.

Few of Doolittle's manuscript works have survived, although two notebooks, perhaps both belonging to students, contain copies of a rather formulaic history of the first sixteen centuries of Christian history and some briefer notes on geography. This system of history, entitled 'Speculum Historico–Geographico–Theologica', was divided into sixteen sections, one for each century, and included notes on the location and propagation of churches, persecution and toleration, doctrine and heresy, ceremonies, church government and politics,

and important teachers; it was modelled on the Lutheran *Magdeburg Centuries*. The existence of two copies of the text, together with evidence of practices from other academies, makes it likely that this lengthy Latin work was copied verbatim by several of Doolittle's students.

A fuller picture of Doolittle's intellectual ideas is provided by his manifold published works, although these probably did not directly provide material for his lectures. In his popular Baxterian sermon *A Call to Delaying Sinners* Doolittle explained that 'Repentance and Reconciliation to God, is the One Thing Necessary', noting that '*The Time and Opportunity of receiving Grace may easily be let slip*' ('Preface', A3). His treatise entitled *Captives Bound in Chains* envisaged sinners as bound voluntarily in the bonds of their iniquity and sin; it then described the ten chains of ignorance, prejudice, love of worldly riches, false hopes of heaven, despair, false belief in a moral and blameless life, resting in religious duties, false example, procrastination, and unbelief. In his *Earthquakes Explained*, Doolittle developed his belief that earthquakes presaged great calamities, through reference to Bible passages, ancient writings, and the observations of modern natural philosophers. His *A Serious Enquiry* provided a list of thirteen directions for survivors of the plague of 1665, encouraging them to live up to their holy purposes and resolutions, and to seek to cure their soul-sickness. A near-contemporaneous text on the great fire of 1666, entitled *Rebukes for Sin by God's Burning Anger*, presented London's recent calamities as examples of God's spiritual and temporal judgment of the nation, before moving to a description of the burning of the world at the Apocalypse, beginning with the destruction of Rome, and the burning of the wicked in Hell.

Doolittle also published at least two funeral sermons, a manual for Christians on their deathbed entitled *A Spiritual Antidote*, and a guide for grieving relatives called *The Mourners Directory*. His *A Treatise Concerning the Lord's Supper*, a text which also contained dialogues, was another work of practical divinity, explaining the pastoral rather than the theological significance of the sacrament; it was republished frequently throughout the eighteenth century, making it Doolittle's most widely-read and influential work. However, within his own lifetime he was best known as a catechist, and he published at least four catechistic works. The most important of these, *The Young Man's Instructor, and the Old Man's Remembrancer*, reflects his own work as a catechist on Sundays, during which he explained the tenets of the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism to audiences which

included children and the unlearned. Doolittle's most substantial catechism was another massive exposition of the Shorter Catechism, published posthumously as *A Complete Body of Practical Divinity*. As its title (presumably editorial) suggests, this text eschews scholastic terminology, although it does adopt a decidedly Baxterian theology which marks it out from Thomas Ridgley's near-contemporaneous Calvinist *Body of Divinity*.

Works

- A Spiritual Antidote against Sinful Contagion in Dying Times* (London, 1665).
A Serious Enquiry for a Suitable Return, for Continued Life, in and after a Time of Great Mortality, by a Wasting Plague (London, 1666).
Rebukes for Sin by God's Burning Anger (London, 1667).
A Treatise Concerning the Lords Supper (London, 1667).
The Young Man's Instructor, and the Old Man's Remembrancer (London, 1673).
Captives Bound in Chains made Free by Christ their Surety (London, 1674).
The Protestants Answer to the Question, Where was your Church before Luther? (London, 1679).
The Lord's Last-sufferings Shewed in the Lords-Supper (London, 1682).
Fears and Jealousies Ceas'd (London, 1688).
The Swearer Silenced: Or, the Evil and Danger of Prophane Swearing and Perjury, Demonstrated (London, 1689).
Catechizing Necessary for the Ignorant (London, 1692).
Love to Christ, Necessary to Escape the Curse at His Coming (London, 1692).
Earthquakes Explained and Practically Improved (London, 1693).
The Mourners Directory (London, 1693).
A Call to Delaying Sinners (London, 1697).
A Plain Method of Catechizing (London, 1698).
The Saints Convoy to Heaven (London, 1698).
The Saints Mansions in Heaven (London, 1698).
A Complete Body of Practical Divinity: being a New Improvement of the Assembly's Catechism (London, 1723).
Bodleian Library, Lat. Th. e.27: Copies of works by Thomas Doolittle, including 'Speculum historico-geographico theologicum', 'modernus ecclesiae status', and 'Brevis ad universalem historiam', inscribed 'S[amuel?]. Barker 1729/30'.
Congregational Library, I.e.16, pp. 100–13: 'A sermon Preached by Mr Doolittle at the Funerall of a Young Gentleman in London', on Job 9:22 (c.1693–4).
Congregational Library, I.f.35: Sermons, ascribed by Joshua Wilson (c.1821) to Thomas Doolittle, copied by Mary Sheafe, Thomas Doolittle's daughter: 13 sermons on Revelation 3:1, 10 sermons on John 10:10, 3 sermons on Matthew 6:6, 2 sermons on 2 Timothy 3:5, 3 sermons on Ecclesiastes 7:15, and a sermon on Lamentations 3:33.
Dr Williams's Library, 28.5: Copies of works by Thomas Doolittle, including 'Speculum historico-geographico theologicum', 'modernus ecclesiae status', and 'Brevis ad universalem historiam'.

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- Bodleian Library, J. Walker e.8, fos. 66–70: Notes concerning Thomas Doolittle.
- Bodleian Library, Rawl. c.406, pp. 100–9: Copy of letters from Samuel Wesley to unknown recipient, 22 August 1692 and 29 October 1698.
- British Library, Add. MS 4275, fo. 193: Letter from Thomas Doolittle to James Coningham, 14 December 1699.
- British Library, Add. MS 50958, fos. 31–2, 40–1: References to Thomas Doolittle in Edmund Calamy's *Autobiography*, Vol. I.
- Congregational Library, I.a.11, fo. 109: Reference to Thomas Doolittle in the Northowram Register, compiled by Oliver Heywood and Thomas Dickenson.
- Dr Williams's Library, 12.19: Royal warrant to 'Thomas Doelittle'.
- Dr Williams's Library, 24.59, fo. 3: 'An Account of the Dissenting Academies from the Restoration of Charles II', c.1780.
- Dr Williams's Library, 28.4, fo. 66: Reference to Thomas Doolittle in Elias Pledger's spiritual diary.
- Dr Williams's Library, 38.18, p. 50: Reference to Thomas Doolittle in 'A View of the Dissenting Interest in London', 1695–1731.
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- Dr Williams's Library, Baxter Letters, Volume IV, fos. 231, 264: Letter from Richard Baxter to Francis Youell, 25 July 1659; letter from Richard Baxter to George Maynard, 25 August 1658.
- Dr Williams's Library, Baxter Letters, Volume VI, fos. 24, 28, 128, 153: Letter from Kidderminster Parish to Richard Baxter, *circa* July 1660; letters from Thomas Doolittle to Richard Baxter, 3 June 1654 and 12 November 1652; letter from William Duncumbe to Richard Baxter, 15 February 1653.
- Dr Williams's Library, Morrice P, p. 341: Note on Thomas Doolittle.
- Dr Williams's Library, OD67, fos. 7, 12, 25, 48, 62–3: References to Thomas Doolittle in the Presbyterian Fund Board minutes, Volume I, 1 Jul. 1690 – 26 Jun. 1693 (Common Fund).
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London Metropolitan Archives, GL 5746: Parish registers of St Alphage, London Wall.

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Eames, John (1686–1744)

JOHN EAMES, scientist and tutor at the Moorfields academy, was born on 2 February 1686, the son of John Eames of Berkhamsted in Hertfordshire. Both father and son were educated at the Merchant Taylors' School, London; John Eames Jr was added to the school register on 10 March 1697 (Hart, *Merchant Taylors'*, I, 225, 337). Eames then proceeded to Thomas Rowe's academy, for which he was funded £8 in March 1703 by the Congregational Fund Board (DWL, OD402, p. 59). His desire to enter the ministry was thwarted when it became apparent that he was not suited to preaching. According to the antiquarian Walter Wilson, whose source is unknown, 'There was a great defect in his organs of speech, and his

pronunciation was exceedingly harsh, uncouth and disagreeable' (Wilson, *Dissenting Churches*, II, 73). Eames instead pursued a career of learning. Following the death of Isaac Chauncey in 1712, Thomas Ridgley began to teach theology and Jewish antiquities to ministerial students in Moorfields, and Eames taught the same students classics and science. His address at this date is not known, but by 1732 he was receiving letters addressed to 'Mr John Eames at his house on the pav'd stones facing Moor Fields Without Moregate', and to 'Little [Moor]fields on the pav'd s[tones] Without Moreg[ate]' (RS, EL/D2, no. 69).

Ruston's claim (*ODNB*) that Eames 'is said to have been the first to introduce anatomy' to a dissenting academy does not hold water: versions of the subject, probably including practical experiments, are known to have existed at the academies of Richard Frankland and John Woodhouse. However, Eames's lengthy manuscript treatise on anthropology is probably the earliest to have survived from an academy. On the title page of an early copy, perhaps by one of his students, Eames is described as 'F. R. S. & Academical Professor' (BL, Add. MS 60351, fo. 3). Eames's course was divided into 'Pseuchology call'd sometimes Pneumatology because it treats of ye Soul', and 'Somatology to which Anatomy is so very subservient, that it is sometimes call'd by that name' (BL, Add. MS 60351, fo. 4). Anatomy he divides into osteology (treating of the bones) and sarchology (treating of the flesh and tender parts: BL, Add. MS 60351, fo. 4). Eames's consideration of psychology is brief; he outlines Aristotelian theories (BL, Add. MS 60351, fos. 5–15) and then gives a short account of the Cartesian hypothesis (BL, Add. MS 60351, fos. 15–19). The vast majority of his work is devoted to anatomy. He begins by considering the body's bones, cartilage, ligaments, membranes, nerves and veins, glands, and muscles (BL, Add. MS 60351, fos. 19–27). Then, he describes the abdomen in detail, focusing on the digestive system (BL, Add. MS 60351, fos. 28–78). Then follows an account of the sex organs, and theories of generation (BL, Add. MS 60351, fos. 79–120). Next, Eames discusses breathing, and gives a long account of the circulation of blood and the heart (BL, Add. MS 60351, fos. 120–62). Another long section describes the parts of the head, and the sense, especially sight (BL, Add. MS 60351, fos. 162–96). The text ends with an explanation of how arteries and nerves function, and of muscular motion (BL, Add. MS 60351, fos. 196–210).

Eames's academy system of mechanics exists in at least three copies made considerably after his death, dated 1764, 1776, and (on unknown grounds) 1794. The title page to the earliest of

these copies describes him as ‘Johanne Eames Lond. inter Fratres dissentientes prius Matheseos & Philosophiae dein & Ling. Orient. & S. S. Theol Professore celeberrimo, & legiae Societatis Socio’ (now BL, Add. MS 59842, but formerly in the possession of the Patent Office). This note provides useful evidence of Eames’s reputation for mathematics, philosophy (especially natural philosophy), oriental languages, and theology. Whereas Eames’s system of anthropology is in English, his mechanics is in Latin, unsurprisingly given that Isaac Newton’s *Principia* was also in that language. It consists of a series of scholia, corollaries, axioms, definitions, laws, theorems, examples, and proofs, drawing heavily upon Newton’s laws of motion and theories of gravity. A section on vectors includes several diagrams (BL, Add. MS 59842, fos. 44–63). There are further diagrams showing the operation of pulleys and screws (BL, Add. MS 59842, fos. 86, 94). Another of Eames’s topics is the collisions of bodies, which involves some complex algebraic demonstrations (BL, Add. MS 59842, fos. 119–61). The latest of the three copies includes notes in English on the verso of many pages, with pasted-in diagrams (UCL, Greenough 36/1).

Eames’s students included several of the most important dissenting scholars of the eighteenth century, such as Richard Price, Philip Furneaux, David Jennings, and Samuel Morton Savage. One student, John Hodge, was funded by the Presbyterian Fund Board, 1723–5 (DWL, OD68, p. 365; OD69, pp. 19, 30, 43). In 1710, after leaving Timothy Jollie’s academy in Attercliffe, Secker attended Eames’s lectures in geometry, conic sections, and algebra. During this period, Secker stayed in the Bishopsgate residence of John Bowes, later the Lord Chancellor of Ireland; another visitor to Bowes’s house was Isaac Watts. During this time, Secker and Bowes studied privately John Locke’s *Essay*. Having stayed in London for about a year, Secker attended Samuel Jones’s academy in Gloucester, which moved to Tewkesbury shortly afterwards (LPL, 2598, fos. 4–5).

For twenty years Eames was an active member of the Royal Society. Across this period he acquired a reputation for competence in natural philosophy, natural history, and especially mathematics. On 23 June 1724 the Society’s council ordered that Eames, the botanist Johann Jacob Dillenius, and Joannes Adolphus Jacobaeus, ‘having been refer’d to the council for their Approbation, were severally put to the Ballot and Approved of in order to their being proposed to the Society to be Fellows’ (RS, CMO/2, p. 281). In an entry for 25 June it was recorded in the Royal Society’s Journal Book that ‘Dr. Dillenius, Mr. Jacobaeus & Mr.

Eames were severally putt to the Ballot & Elected Fellow's' (RS, JBO/13, p. 409). Eames later contributed papers on moving bodies, hydraulics, and magnets. He sat on the Society's council between 11 December 1729 and 15 November 1731 (RS, CMO/3, pp. 32–101). It was during this period that a new set of rules governing the Society were written into the council minute book. On another occasion, the council received a report from a committee set up to examine the state of the Royal Society's repository; the report concluded that the repository was 'in a Very bad Condition, many of the Bodies being quite missing, and most of those which remain much decayed: many of them also being of so trifling a Nature, as to deserve no regard.' On 15 November 1731 Eames was elected an auditor as part of a committee for auditing the Treasurer's accounts for the year ending St Andrew's Day 1731. On 7 March 1732, shortly after leaving his post on the council, Eames was permitted the use of a copy of the Royal Society's Journal (RS, CMO/3, pp. 50–73, 98, 100, 106–7). Between 26 March and 10 November 1735 Eames was once more attending council meetings; he did so again on 7 December 1736, between 29 June and 25 October 1737, 23 June 1739 to 6 November 1740, 16 December 1741 to 30 November 1742, and on 14 February 1744, shortly before his death (RS, CMO/3, pp. 149–59, 173–6, 178–88, 205–20, 256–310, 325–8). Eames also assisted John Martyn in abridging the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society into 10 volumes, which appeared 1731–56 (*ODNB*). He had previously edited Isaac Watts's treatise on astronomy and geography in 1726; Watts's preface to his own *Logick* indicates considerable mutual respect between the two men.

From 1726 Eames delivered a series of papers to the Royal Society. The earliest of these are a note about telescopes prior to 1609 and an attempted refutation of the theory that the moving forces of a body are proportional to the square of their velocities (RS, Cl.P/2, no. 19; Cl.P/3ii, fos. 66–71). The following year he gave an account of some experiments in hydraulics which seemed (incorrectly, in his view) to prove the same (RS, Cl.P/3ii, fos. 75–8), and explained the limitations of using experiments on elastic bodies to illustrate theories of force and collision (RS, Cl.P/3ii, fos. 66–71). In 1729 Eames received a letter from Carmarthenshire by Evan Davies, describing the effects of a thunder and lightning storm, which he reported to the Royal Society (RS, EL/D2, no. 52); another letter from Davies in 1732 contained a description by the Carmarthen tutor Thomas Perrot of a partially-formed chicken (RS, RBO/18, pp. 1–2). In 1732 Eames read an attempt, again communicated from Davies, to immunise children against smallpox in Harverfordwest (RS, EL/D2, no. 69). A further letter

to Eames from an unnamed correspondent in New England provided a transcription and an account of a hieroglyphic inscription found on a rock in Taunton River (RS, RBO/17, pp. 214–19). Other letters to Eames are noted in the records of the Royal Society, although in some cases they no longer survive (RS, L&P/1, nos. 23–4). Eames himself wrote letters to the society, including an account of the multiplication of grain, which was read in 1729 (RS, RBO/14, p. 172). He also reviewed several books for the society (RS, Cl.P/22ii/54; L&P/1, no. 47; RBO/13–14; RBO/17–21).

Eames's intellectual status among dissenting tutors was very high, and he was the most prominent natural philosopher to teach at an academy in the early eighteenth century. It was rare for dissenting tutors not to have a ministry, but Eames's decision to focus on science and teaching rather than preaching may have contributed to his reputation. Although Eames published nothing, his manuscript works of physics, mathematics and ethics continued to be copied by academy students for several decades after his death. However, Eames's influence was not limited to philosophy. When Ridgley died in 1734 Eames succeeded him as the theology tutor, and one of his students, Joseph Densham, took over his previous duties as philosophy tutor. Eames's promotion suggests the emergence of a hierarchy which was to become familiar within the dissenting academies, in which the role of theology tutor was seen as the highest office. In March 1735, Eames took part in a debate with Roman Catholic priests, alongside the dissenters Samuel Chandler and Jeremiah Hunt. He continued lecturing until his sudden death on 29 June 1744 in Coleman Street, St Stephen's Parish, in the City of London. Isaac Watts commented, 'What a change did Mr Eames experience! – but a few hours between his lecturing to his pupils, and his hearing the lectures of angels' (J. T., 'Biography', 242). He was buried in Bunhill Fields. In his will of 20 October 1740, Eames offered the tutor Joseph Densham his library, and 'The Apparatus of Instruments for a Course of Experimental Philosophy'; the 'other thing[s] in the Lecture-Room' he bequeathed to the Congregational Fund Board for the use of his 'Successors in the London Academy', together with £100 'for the Education of Students in London'. In a later version of his will, dated April 1741, Eames bequeathed to the Coward Trustees 'All my Apparatus or ffurniture for reading Lectures in Experimental Philosophy and other Liberal Arts and Sciences', for their own use, and for such persons whom they appointed to be tutors or instructors of youth in academical learning under Coward's foundation (TNA, PRO, PROB 11/733/500). In the

event, the Congregational Fund Board donated Eames's apparatus to David Jennings's academy at Wapping, where several of Eames's students also completed their education.

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- British Library, Add. MS 4434, fos. 228–31: 'An account of a Dissertation . . . to ascertain the figure of the earth, by Mr. Celsius', 11 May 1738.
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- Royal Society, MS Cl.P/22, fos. 252–67: John Eames's account of Fourmont's *Catalogue des Ourayes*, written after 1731.
- Royal Society, MS L&P/1 (unfoliated), nos. 23, 24, 47, 55: Note of a letter from Kerseboom to Eames (undated); note of a letter from Mill to Eames (undated); Eames's account of the *History of Fishes* (4 February 1742); letter from Miles to Eames (25 February 1742).
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- Royal Society, MS RBO/15, pp. 237–41: Copy of John Eames's account of a thunderstorm (14 January 1731).
- Royal Society, MS RBO/17, pp. 32–5, 60–1, 81–5, 214–19: Copy of John Eames's account of Fourmont's *Ouvrages* (23 March 1732), his remarks on a loadstone (6 April 1732), his account of Jurin's dissertation, *De vi motrice* (27 April 1732), and Isaac Greenwood's letter to John Eames about inscriptions in Taunton River (15 June 1732).

Royal Society, MS RBO/18, pp. 1–2, 49–52, 169–82, 456–71: Copy of Thomas Perrot's account of a chicken, delivered in a letter from Evan Davies to John Eames (26 October 1732), Eames's account of Jurin's ninth dissertation (14 December 1732), Eames's account of Gersten's *Tentamina systematis nova* (15 February 1733), and Eames's account of Mairan's *Traité physique et historique de l'Aurore boreale* (9 May 1734).

Royal Society, MS RBO/19, pp. 388–91: Copy of John Eames's account of the *Acta literaria et Scientiarum Sueciae* for 1731 (8 April 1736).

Royal Society, MS RBO/20, pp. 109–12, 191–200: Copy of John Eames's account of Muller's *Conic Sections* (13 January 1737), and Eames's account of Newton's *Method of Fluxions* (10 February 1737).

Royal Society, MS RBO/21, pp. 135–42, 202–7, 358–64: Copy of John Eames's account of Celsius' *De observationibus* (11 May 1738 and 9 November 1738), and Eames's account of Hersseboom's *Essay upon the Number of People in Holland* (28 June 1739).

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Dr Williams's Library, OD402, p. 59: Funding of John Eames in the Congregational Fund Board minutes, Volume II, 5 Feb. 1699/1700 – 18 Dec. 1704.

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Evans, William (d. 1718?)

WILLIAM EVANS was a dissenting tutor at Carmarthen. It has been claimed, on unknown evidence, that he was educated by Stephen Hughes, an ejected minister who took students in the vicinity of Oswestry, c.1690, and who also mentored James Owen, a future tutor at Shrewsbury (*ODNB*). In the dissenters' Common Fund survey, c.1690, Evans was listed as a childless minister in need of 'supply' (financial support) at Pencader in Carmarthenshire. He had £5 10s 'by his wife dureing her life' and taught at 'a small private schoole'; however he had 'not rec[eive]d from ye Congregations aboue 15s in two yeares time' (DWL, OD161, p. 94). Following the erection of a meeting-house at Pencader in July 1705, Evans preached there three Sundays a month; he administered the Lord's Supper at Pencader once a month. In an episcopal visitation return of 1710, it was noted that there was a school convening in the

Pencader meeting-house where 'the children are taught both the Church & Assemblies Catechism'. The schoolmaster, who had no licence, was 'one that Evans of Carmarthen is training up for a Presbyterian Preacher'. The meeting-house itself contained seats, a gallery, and an 'even' floor. By this point, Evans had between 200 and 300 hearers, including 50 from Pencader parish and the same number from Llanfihangel Iorwerth (Griffiths, 'Visitation', 316). Evans was also considered to be the 'licens'd Preacher' at the dissenters' meeting-house in Pencarreg, although several preachers took it in turns to provide services. The 1710 visitation return recorded that the meeting-house at Pencarreg was frequented by about 50 parishioners, and other persons who came from Llanybydder (Griffiths, 'Visitation', 319). Evans was recorded as a dissenting minister at Carmarthen in a survey of England and Wales undertaken by dissenters *c.*1715; a later note in the survey notes that he was 'dead, Jan. 1717/8' (DWL, 38.4, p. 139).

At Carmarthen Evans ran a private academy which included ministerial students. The earliest academy in Wales had been set up by Samuel Jones at Brynllwarch, probably in the early 1670s. After Jones's death in 1697, the job of teaching academical learning to students in Wales had been divided between Roger Griffith of Abergavenny (*c.*1698–1702), and Rice Price of Bridgend (*c.*1698–1702). Whereas the Presbyterian Fund Board in London had provided grants to Griffith's students, the Congregational Fund Board had provided grants to Price's students. In 1702 Griffith conformed to the Church of England and Evans was viewed by Presbyterians as his successor. However, Evans's academy may have been small initially, since it had a rival: from 1702 several Welsh students attended the Shrewsbury academy run by James Owen (1702–6) and continued by Samuel Benion (1706–8). It is difficult to assess whether Evans's students received grants from the Congregational Fund Board, since its minute books are missing between 1705 and 1738. However, in 1708 the Presbyterian Fund Board granted £5 to 'Edwards', a student of 'Mr. Evans in Wales' (DWL, OD68, p. 191). A late eighteenth-century history of the dissenters' academies lists 22 of Evans's students, including Thomas Morris, minister in Carmarthenshire, Thomas Morgan, minister in Brecknockshire, Thomas Davies of Haverford West, Matthias Maurice of Carmarthenshire, and Rice Prothero of Cardiff (BUL, XMS 281, pp. 15–16). Unfortunately the manuscript is unreliable, making it difficult to establish an accurate list of Evans's students. In 1716, an annuity of £10 was bequeathed by the Presbyterian Daniel Williams for the support of students at Carmarthen under Evans and his successors. From this date the academy began to

grow in significance. Evans was succeeded as tutor in 1719 by Thomas Perrot, who kept the academy at Carmarthen; by 1721 there were six students receiving allowances from the Presbyterian Fund (DWL, OD68, pp. 373, 397).

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Ferguson, Robert (d. 1714)

ROBERT FERGUSON, tutor at Islington, was one of the most controversial nonconformist ministers of his generation, helping to organize rebellions against both James II and William III. A considerable amount has been written about his political work, but his activities as a tutor still remain underexplored. The key sources for his life are discussed below, alongside a new interpretation of the evidence relating to his teaching. In 1887 a major biography of Ferguson appeared by James Ferguson, identifying him as 'The Plotter' mentioned in many of the state papers of the later Stuart period; in this book, Ferguson the rebel appears as a supporter of elective monarchy in the guise of the Duke of Monmouth, before converting to Jacobitism in the 1690s (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 1–461). In general the text pays less attention to Ferguson's work as a minister than it does to his seditious activities, both invented and real; it also ascribes to Ferguson a number of pamphlets from the period now thought to have been written by other hands. More recently, Melinda Zook has reinterpreted the evidence relating to Ferguson in the 1680s, highlighting his support for Shaftesbury and his attacks on the Duke of York and popery (Zook, *Radical Whigs*, 93–102). Zook implies that Ferguson was responsible for a more limited number of publications than had previously been thought (Zook, *Radical Whigs*, 208–9). To date, however, little has been written about Ferguson's connections to more moderate nonconformists and tutors.

Ferguson was born in Aberdeenshire, the son of William Ferguson of Badifurrow (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 8–14). He was probably educated at the University of Aberdeen, c.1650 (*ODNB*). During the 1650s he moved to England, where he may have taken a brief appointment as the vicar of Ketton, Rutland from 25 February 1657 (LPL, COMM. III/2, p. 34). On 14 August 1657 Ferguson was presented to the vicarage of Godmersham in Kent (LPL, COMM. III/2, p. 53). At this time he began writing a series of passionate letters to Hannah Brindley, whom he later married (TNA, SP29/44, fos. 44, 46). Ferguson was ejected from Godmersham following the Restoration, probably prior to the Act of Uniformity, since his successor took the living on 7 August 1662 (Calamy, *Account*, 383; Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 193).

Ferguson was monitored by the government almost from the moment that the Act of Uniformity was passed. On 15 January 1663 one of Ferguson's contacts, a man called 'Johnston', wrote to government secretary Bennet about his location: 'first inquire for him at

Doctors Com~ons next at ye white hart at ye Upper end of Cheapside or at an Alderman house at Totnam High crosse'. According to Johnston, 'fargison did informe men at severall times that mr Callamy & mr Jenkins had A publicke stocke for the incoragement of those ministers turned out Citty & country'. Johnston wrote that Ferguson was 'one of there pentioners & hee canne informe of the rest, And of there meeting at severall places': 'hee tould mee that there wold bee A insurrection that night & bidd mee hasten to my Lodgings'. Johnston advised that Bennet should 'inquire of farguson whether there were not some endeavours of an Union betweene the presbiterians & independants' (TNA, SP29/67, fo. 112; SP29/89, fo. 70). A warrant for Ferguson's arrest was issued on 16 January 1663 (TNA, SP44/9, fo. 236). He was later imprisoned in the Gatehouse in London, whence he issued a petition dated 12 May 1663, claiming that he had 'never in the least com~itted any thing against his sacred Ma[jes]tie or Governm[en]t' and that his confinement reduced his wife and children to 'great streights' (TNA, SP29/73, fo. 85). A warrant was then issued for his release (SP44/15, fo. 5).

In 1668 Ferguson wrote his first major treatise, *Justification onely upon a Satisfaction*. The text was a response to a tract by 'H. W.' on *The Freedom of God's Grace in the Forgiveness of Sins*, whom Ferguson accused of giving succour to Socinian ideas (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 18–21). In 1672 the bishop of Oxford, Samuel Parker, issued *A Discourse of Ecclesiastical Politie*, to which the poet Andrew Marvell responded with *The Rehearsal Transpros'd* (1672). Ferguson intervened on Marvell's side with *A Sober Enquiry into the Nature, Measure, and Principle of Moral Virtue* (1673), which was dedicated to Sir Charles Wolseley (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 21–6). Two years later, Ferguson produced his third major treatise, another attack on Sherlock, entitled *The Interest of Reason in Religion* (1675); it was dedicated to the Whig politician and London shrieval candidate, Thomas Papillon (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 26–32).

During the early 1680s, Ferguson acquired a reputation for being one of the Earl of Shaftesbury's ablest and most prolific apologists. Various pamphlets from this period have been attributed to him, including *A Letter to a Person of Honour, concerning the Black Box* (1680), a text defending the Duke of Monmouth against the Duke of York (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 45–50). Another work probably from Ferguson's pen is *A Letter to a Person of Honour, concerning the King's own Disavowing* (1680), a pamphlet which presents Charles

II as under the influence of his brother (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 50–4). Somewhat less plausibly ascribed to Ferguson is *A Letter to the Citizens of London* (1680), signed ‘Junius Brutus’, but perhaps written by Charles Blount; the text, which may have found its way into the hands of Charles Morton’s students, is another fierce attack on Roman Catholicism (Wesley, *Letter*, 14; Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 39–43). At this time, Ferguson was operating an academy in Islington, where the tutor Thomas Doolittle had also been teaching during much of the 1670s (Dryden and Tate, *Second Part*, lines 23–8). By 28 November 1681 subpoenas had been served to eleven nonconformist ministers, including Ferguson, Doolittle, John Owen, and Edmund Calamy Sr (TNA, SP29/417, fo. 268). Following his release, Ferguson wrote a series of tracts in defence of Shaftesbury, entitled *The Protestant Plot* (1681), *The Second Part of No Protestant Plot* (1682), and *The Third Part of No Protestant Plot* (1682).

According to Anthony Wood, during his early career Ferguson made his living by teaching boys ‘Grammar and University learning’ in Islington (Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, II, 560). In the second part of *Absalom and Achitophel*, John Dryden referred to Ferguson as ‘Judas . . . | Who at *Jerusalem*’s own Gates Erects | His College for a Nursery of Sects’ (Dryden and Tate, *Second Part*, lines 23–5). This location fits with Wood’s assertion that Ferguson taught at Islington, which is indeed near the City of London. According to Dryden, Judas/Ferguson secures ‘Young Prophets with an early Care . . . , | And with the Dung of his own Arts manures [them]’ (lines 27–8). Calamy, who was often dismissive of Independents with an immoderate political agenda, simply states that sometime after his ejection Ferguson ‘taught University–Learning at *Islington*, and was Assistant to Dr. *Owen*’; he then reminds his readers that Ferguson ‘ran so far into Political Matters’ as to ‘fall under general Censure’ (Calamy, *Account*, 383).

Until recently, nothing else about Ferguson’s teaching was known. However, there are some further references in Ferguson’s letters, which were confiscated in the 1680s and are now among the State Papers. On 23 July 1672 Ferguson wrote to his wife that a father had agreed that his son should study philosophy with him. The student would receive an allowance of £28 per year and the patron would provide a bed (TNA, SP29/313, fo. 57). On 27 April 1674 the Puritan poet Lucy Hutchinson wrote to Ferguson, apologising for her delay in paying what she owed for the education of her son Lucius; she requested that Lucius should attend to his Latin in the morning and his writing in the afternoon, noting that he was almost

desperately dejected in spirit (TNA, SP29/361, fo. 11). Other cryptic messages in Ferguson's correspondence, referring to 'half the money' for Mr P's daughter, the visit of a young country gentleman to the 'disposing of his brother', and the care of 'my youths' may refer to his teaching, although this is difficult to judge (TNA, SP29/361, fos. 206, 242). In August 1677 Ferguson wrote to his wife that the young man he had expected 'came the day after thou wentst', and that another was coming from Prussia, who could not 'speak one word of English'. He also noted that a 'Mr. Waterhouse' had gone to visit his aunt and that 'Mr. Morton', possibly the tutor Charles Morton, had 'buried three gentlemen and has four more ill' (SP29/396, fos. 16, 50, 63, 74). These comments suggest that Ferguson was teaching academical learning to young gentlemen, some of whom were the sons of Puritan gentry. The academy's dates of operation may have been from c.1672, when the Declaration of Indulgence made it easier for nonconformists to preach and teach, until c.1680, when Ferguson's political manoeuvrings made it increasingly difficult for him to operate as a tutor.

The decision of several wealthy dissenters and Independent ministers to send their children to Ferguson for instruction may have been influenced by Ferguson's close association with the leading Congregational theologian John Owen. Ferguson's academy appears to have been operating across a similar time-span to his work as an assistant to Owen at the dissenting meeting in Leadenhall Street (Greaves, 'Owen', *ODNB*). According to Samuel Wesley, Owen provided considerable support to dissenting students in the London area from the 1670s onwards, whereas his great rival Richard Baxter was much more hesitant about the value of establishing private academies (Wesley, *Letter*, 5, 15). Further circumstantial evidence is provided by the experiences of Lucy Hutchinson, who attended sermons delivered by Owen in London, translated the first two sections of Owen's *Theologoumena pantodapa* (1661) into English, and sent her son Lucius to Ferguson for instruction (TNA, SP29/361, fo. 11). Hutchinson's knowledge of Ferguson, along with that of other parents of his students, may have extended to his early writings. Ferguson's *Justification onely upon a Satisfaction* (1668) closely matched Owen's dogmatic Calvinism; his *The Interest of Reason in Religion* (1675) was a further assault on natural theology.

Ferguson was deeply alarmed by the Tory reaction to the Popish Plot and from this date a wealth of information exists regarding his activities. He was known to John Woodhouse, dissenting tutor at Sherifffhales, who met him at Shaftesbury's house about the time of his

trial, but who denied private knowledge of their plans for insurrection (TNA, SP29/427, fo. 104). Ferguson was meeting Shaftesbury regularly at the time of the London shrieval election of 1682, in which dissenting students were accused of helping to rig the vote (TNA, SP29/421, fo. 188). Ferguson was well-connected to other discontented Scots, and helped to fashion links between Shaftesbury's circle and Argyle's confederates in the early 1680s. In 1683 he was accused of playing a leading role in the 'Rye House Plot'. Reliable evidence of the conspiracy – supposedly an attempt to assassinate Charles in either October 1682 or March 1683 – has never come to light; however, it is likely that Ferguson was at the very least carrying letters between the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Russel, and the Earl of Shaftesbury (TNA, SP29/425, fo. 278). One of the least reliable of the accused, Rober West, recalled a conversation in which Ferguson had commended the Lords Brandon and Macclesfield and hinted that they would both appear in Cheshire during the general insurrection (TNA, SP29/426, fo. 107). During this period Ferguson may have come in contact with the dissenting tutor Thomas Rowe; Samuel Wesley later recalled that Rowe 'lodg'd in Bowses' House, who was executed in West's &c. Plott, for high Treason' (Bod. Lib., Rawl. c.406, p. 106). According to one strand of criticism, Ferguson always insisted that he favoured a limited monarchy and supported the claim of the Duke of Monmouth; an alternative point of view suggests that he was closer to Shaftesbury's position than previously thought (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 78–82; Zook, *Radical Whigs*, 94). One contemporary informer claimed that Ferguson would set up the Duke of Monmouth as King on condition of liberty of conscience and an annual parliament (TNA, SP29/427, fo. 195).

In Autumn 1682 Ferguson attended meetings at Thomas Shephard's house in London, along with Monmouth, Russel, Lord Grey, Thomas Armstrong, and Colonel Rumsey; according to a later report he claimed that he 'could promise for 300 Scotts . . . that would be ready at a days warning' for an insurrection (TNA, SP29/429, fo. 419). Several of the conspirators recalled that at one such meeting Ferguson read a declaration, explaining the nation's grievances, the arbitrary commands of the King, and the need for an insurrection to deliver the King from evil counsel; he also explained Shaftesbury's method of raising troops, by enlisting the support of powerful gentlemen (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 83–6). When it became clear that not all of the confederates could be relied upon, Ferguson escaped to the Netherlands, where he was present at the bedside of the dying Shaftesbury (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 91–3, 104). During this period he continued to be monitored by English agents

(TNA, SP29/428, fo. 119). Nevertheless, Ferguson continued to write letters to his wife from Amsterdam, at one point indicating that the 'way's proposed' to him were 'either to be a professor in an University, or set up a lecture' in the city; on another occasion he suggested that he 'may have a professorship at Franeker in Friesland, where Dr Ames was' (TNA, SP29/422, fos. 8, 59).

Ferguson returned to London in February 1683. He resumed his meetings with Monmouth and Armstrong, lodging at a series of safe houses under the name of Roberts (TNA, SP29/428, fo. 6). The most detailed evidence against Ferguson's subsequent activities was provided by Rumsey and West. Rumsey later gave evidence to the Privy Council asserting that Ferguson had attempted to raise money for the assassination, and had implied that the Duke of Monmouth would head the subsequent rebellion. According to Rumsey, who had a low opinion of Ferguson's honesty and reliability, the early return of the King from Newmarket caught Ferguson and his contacts unprepared, leading to the collapse of the March 1683 plot (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 130–3). West concurred that Ferguson's role had been to raise money, men, and horses, but that he had not managed to provide them in time; he also told the Council of a meeting in which Ferguson had dismissed his fellow nonconformists as 'weak, silly men' for their opposition to the plot (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 133–8). On the other hand, Ferguson claimed that he had been instructed by Monmouth to use all his diligence to prevent the assassination attempt, which both men considered abhorrent; Ferguson asserts that his efforts towards promoting an insurrection were partly designed to defuse the regicidal plot (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 142–8). In the Spring of 1683 Ferguson promoted the general uprising by spreading information between Scottish rebels and the London confederates, as well as attempting to spread the scope of the rebellion to Bristol, Taunton, York, Chester, and Exeter (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 158–66). During this period Ferguson's daughter probably acted as his courier, delivering letters for him to the house of one of his 'disciples', Captain Johnson (TNA, SP29/427, fo. 213). The scheme collapsed in June, when one of the conspirators, Gordon of Earlston, was arrested, and another, Keeling of London, turned King's evidence. (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 173).

On 12 July 1683 Ferguson was indicted with conspiring the King's death and designing to levy war (TNA, SP29/429, fo. 31). Ferguson stayed in London for a few extra days, a decision which later gave rise to the speculation that he had turned informer. However, he

probably moved to Edinburgh fairly swiftly, and thence back to the Netherlands (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 175–8). Meanwhile, the government had intercepted letters believed to have been written by Ferguson, but in reality written by a 'Mr Hardy' (TNA, SP29/432, fo. 25; SP29/432, fo. 56). At another time the government heard a mistaken rumour that Ferguson had 'absconded . . . over ye long pond' with John Owen (TNA, SP29/432, fo. 64). Ferguson's name was now well-known to pamphleteers and ballad-writers, although the government made little progress in apprehending him (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 179–81). Following the death of the Earl of Essex in the Tower of London in 1684 on the eve of Russel's trial, Ferguson wrote a tract known as 'The Detection of the Murder of the Earl of Essex'; it is sometimes identified as the printed pamphlet *An Enquiry into and Detection of the Barbarous Murder of the late Earl of Essex* (1684). On 5 May 1685 a summons was raised against Ferguson for treason; an indictment was issued on 22 May and a proclamation of outlawry was drawn up on 4 June (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 181–4). At about this time, Ferguson's wife and daughter were believed to be lodging in the house of a Mr Dagnam, a Quaker, and a warrant was issued to search Dagnam's house and apprehend them (TNA, SP44/336, fo. 91).

While in Amsterdam, Ferguson negotiated for an uprising involving Monmouth and Argyle, and also encouraged the participation of Lord Grey (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 194–201). Part of Ferguson's role was to provide intelligence about supporters of the uprising in London and the Netherlands. He also drew up a defence of the actions of Monmouth and Argyle; when Monmouth's army landed at Lyme Regis in 1685, a printed version of Ferguson's treatise was circulated as *The Declaration of James Duke of Monmouth*. Some accounts suggest that Monmouth took the title of 'King' at Ferguson's instigation, although Ferguson later denied this (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 222–30). During the rest of the campaign, Ferguson acted as Monmouth's army chaplain (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 231–8). Following the defeat of the uprising, Monmouth provided evidence to the government that Ferguson was the chief instigator of the affair (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 238–41). Ferguson was excluded from the general pardon following the rebellion, and in the ensuing weeks he was made a major target of Roger L'Estrange's *Observer*, but he escaped capture and made his way back to the Netherlands (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 245–50).

While in the Netherlands he wrote his *Reflexions of Monsieur Fagel's Letter* (1688) and, perhaps, *An Answer to Mr Penn's Advice to the Church of England* (1688). In the period

immediately prior to the 1688 Revolution he published *A Representation of the Threatening Dangers* (1687) (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 251–6). Ferguson travelled with the Dutch fleet that transported William of Orange to Torbay in 1688. One story tells how Ferguson was refused entry to the tutor Joseph Hallett's Presbyterian meeting-house in James Street, Exeter; Ferguson reputedly broke open the door with a hammer and began preaching from Psalm 94:16 (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 257–60). Once William and Mary were settled in London, Ferguson published *A Brief Justification of the Prince of Orange's Descent into England* (1689). Despite Ferguson's anxieties regarding regal authority, William III offered him a place in the Customs Office, with a pension of £500 a year (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 264). For his part, however, Ferguson appears to have undergone a swift conversion to Jacobitism (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 267–9).

On 20 August 1689 Ferguson received a self-justificatory letter from Sir James Montgomery, whose attempts to disrupt the Scottish parliament culminated in an outspoken 'Address' delivered to William III (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 271–80). Ferguson intervened in the controversy on Montgomery's side with a pamphlet on *The Late Proceedings and Votes of the Parliament of Scotland* (1689). He was arrested in June 1690, but bailed and released the following month (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 284–5). Following the attempted Jacobite uprising of 1692 Ferguson was examined for treason and sent to Newgate on 7 May; he was released, but removed from his post in the Customs Office (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 288–95). In 1694 the government raided houses in Lancashire and discovered several stores of arms, giving rise to suspicions of a 'Lancashire Plot'; Ferguson's response was to write *A Letter to Mr. Secretary Trenchard* (1694), describing the government's paranoiac response as a shame contrivance (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 297–305).

In 1695 Ferguson published a treatise *Whether Preserving the Protestant Religion was the Motive*; written in the form of an open 'Letter to a Country Gentleman', the pamphlet attacked the King and the Revolution settlement, setting limits to the doctrine of passive obedience. In the same year another work appeared in this form, sometimes attributed to Ferguson, on the subject of *Whether the Parliament be not in Law Dissolved by the Death of the Princess of Orange* (1695), attacking the parliament for turning England into, in Ferguson's view, an elective monarchy. In *A Brief Account of the Late Incroachments* (1695), Ferguson turned his attention to the general impact of the Dutch on English economics,

politics, and foreign affairs. One of his chief antagonists during this period was the government spy Matthew Smith, who recorded his encounters with Ferguson in his *Memoirs of Secret Service* (1699). Following the attempted assassination of William III in 1696, Ferguson was once again arrested; during the succeeding trials, several defendants asserted that he had exchanged letters with prominent Jacobites in St Germain, raised money for the assassination attempt, and met several of the conspirators (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 316–323). Ferguson's imprisonment on this occasion lasted until 15 January 1697 (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 332). At about this time he may have penned *A Just and Modest Vindication of the Scots design for having Established a Colony at Darien* (1699).

In 1703 Ferguson was in negotiations with Fraser about the possibility of another Scottish Jacobite rising, although he probably recognised that Fraser's plans had more to do with putting pressure on the Scottish ministry than overthrowing the monarchy (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 336–51). His own evidence on the conspiracy was later declared false, scandalous, and seditious; attempts were made to prosecute him in March and June 1704, but he may not have been imprisoned at this time (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 351–64). In 1706 appeared a volume called *The History of the Revolution*, which used to be attributed to Ferguson, but is now thought to be by a namesake (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 365–72). Another text formerly believed to have been written by Ferguson is a discussion *Of the qualifications requisite in a Minister of State* (1710), dedicated to Robert Harley (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 372–85). More probably by him is *The History of all the Mobs, Tumults, and Insurrections in Great Britain*; the title page declares that it was 'Begun by Mr. Ferguson, and continued by an impartial hand' (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 387–8). By 1713, Ferguson was again living in London, 'in great want', having 'nothing but what he begs' (Ferguson, *Ferguson*, 389). He died in 1714.

Works

- Justification onely upon a Satisfaction* (London, 1668).
- A Sober Enquiry into the Nature, Measure, and Principle of Moral Virtue* (London, 1673).
- The Interest of Reason in Religion* (London, 1675).
- The East–India–Trade, a Most Profitable Trade to the Kingdom* (London, 1677).
- The Narrative of Mr. John Smith* (London, 1679).
- A Letter to a Person of Honour, concerning the Black Box* (London, 1680).
- A Letter to a Person of Honour, concerning the Kings Disavowing* (London, 1680).
- No Protestant–Plot* (London, 1681).
- The Second Part of No Protestant Plot* (London, 1682).

The Third Part of No Protestant Plot (London, 1682).
An Impartial Enquiry into the Administration of the Affairs of England (London, 1684).
The Declaration of James, Duke of Monmouth (London, 1685).
A Representation of the Threatning Dangers (London, 1687).
Reflexions of Monsieur Fagel's Letter (London, 1688).
A Brief Justification of the Prince of Orange's Descent into England (London, 1689).
A Brief Vindication of the Parliamentary Proceedings (London, 1689).
The Design for Enslaving England Discovered (London, 1689).
An Enquiry into, and Detection of the Barbarous Murther of the Late Earl of Essex (London, 1689).
The Late Proceedings and Votes of the Parliament of Scotland (London, 1689).
A Letter to the Right Honorable, My Lord Chief Justice Holt (London, 1694).
A Letter to Mr. Secretary Trenchard (London, 1694).
A Brief Account of the Late Incroachments (London, 1695).
Whether the Preserving the Protestant Religion was the Motive (London, 1695).
A Just and Modest Vindication of the Scots Design (London, 1699).
The History of all the Mobs, Tumults, and Insurrections in Great Britain (London, 1715).

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Dr Williams's Library, Morrice P, pp. 341, 371, 385, 447, 485: References to Robert Ferguson in the Entering Book of Roger Morrice.

Dr Williams's Library, Morrice Q, pp. 140, 308, 317, 320, 337, 366, 367, 369, 388, 392: References to Robert Ferguson in the Entering Book of Roger Morrice.

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The National Archives, SP8/8, fo. 130: Letter from the Marquis of Carmarthen to the King, 3 February 1691.

The National Archives, SP8/10, fo. 21: Letter from the Marquis of Carmarthen to the King, 11 September 1691.

The National Archives, SP29/67, fo. 112: Letter from Robert Johnston to Secretary Bennet, 15 January 1663.

The National Archives, SP29/73, fos. 85, 86: Petition of Robert Ferguson, 12 May 1663; bond of Robert Ferguson, 12 May 1663.

- The National Archives, SP29/89, fo. 70: Robert Strachan, 1663.
- The National Archives, SP29/245, fo. 38: Letter from Robert Ferguson to Hannah Ferguson, 22 August 1668.
- The National Archives, SP29/257, fo. 123: Letter from Vere Williamson to Mrs Ferguson, 15 March 1669.
- The National Archives, SP29/291, fos. 28, 54: Letters from Robert Ferguson to Hannah Ferguson, 20 June 1671, 24 June 1671.
- The National Archives, SP29/312, fo. 248: Letter from Robert Ferguson to his wife, 12 July 1672.
- The National Archives, SP29/313, fos. 57, 82, 156: Letters from Robert Ferguson to his wife, 23 July 1672, 25 July 1672, 31 July 1672.
- The National Archives, SP29/335/1, fo. 187: Letter from Robert Ferguson to his wife, 6 May 1673.
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- The National Archives, SP29/418, fo. 391: Letter from Brian Heyns to Lord Hyde, 16 April 1682.
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- The National Archives, SP29/423, fos. 33, 136, 165, 169, 200, 294: Letters from Robert Ferguson to his wife, 24 March 1683, 5 April 1693, 10 April 1683, 16 April 1683, 25 April 1683; letter from Vere Wilkinson to Mrs Ferguson, 10 April 1683?

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***Flavell [Flavel], John (1630–91)**

JOHN FLAVELL, tutor to ministerial students at Dartmouth, was born at Bromsgrove in Worcestershire, where he was baptized on 26 September 1630 (*ODNB*). His father was Richard Flavell (*d.* 1665), a minister at Bromsgrove, then Hasler, then Willersley, from where he was ejected in 1660 (*Calamy, Account*, 328). His brother Phineas was a chaplain to Edward Russell, the earl of Orford, and author of a pamphlet published in 1676 entitled *The Deceitful Heart Try'd and Cast* (*Calamy, Continuation*, I, 501). Allegedly, a nightingale sang at the window for much of Flavell's mother's pregnancy. He was initially educated in religion by his father, and 'profitted well at the Grammar Schools' before becoming a servitor

at University College, Oxford, in 1646, staying there for about two years (*Works*, 1701, p. i). According to Calamy, he was tutored by the Puritan William Woodward, who was ejected at the Restoration (Calamy, *Account*, 70, 353). One early biographer states that Flavell 'plied his Studies hard, and exceeded many of his Contemporaries in University–Learning' (*Works*, 1701, p. i).

On 27 April 1650 Flavell was appointed the curate of Diptford in Devon, where he assisted Walplate, an elderly minister in the parish. His biographer states that, 'being assiduous in Reading, Meditation and Prayer, he increas'd in Ministerial Knowledge daily, (for he found himself that he came raw enough in that respect from the University)' (*Works*, 1701, p. i). Flavell was ordained by presbytery at Salisbury on 17 October 1650 (DWL, 38.31, 9th pagination). Following Walplate's death, Flavell became the rector of Diptford. Here, to 'avoid all Incumbrances from the World, and Avocations from his Studies and Ministerial Work', he let the whole tithes to one of his parishioners, greatly below their value (*Works*, 1701, p. ii). Flavell's first wife, Joan Randall, died in childbirth on 15 November 1655; he married Elizabeth Stapell on 18 November 1656, and they had a son, John, born on 23 December 1657 (*ODNB*). Following Anthony Harford's death in January 1656, Flavell was elected to succeed him as the minister at Dartmouth, where he was joint pastor with Allen Geare. The call to Dartmouth was based on the premise that Flavell's skills would be of value to a populous town, whereas a less gifted minister could manage his country parish. The agreement settling Geare and Flavell at Dartmouth was drawn up by the parliamentarian general and MP John Desborough on 7 August 1656; Flavell was admitted on 19 December (*ODNB*; Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 200; LPL, COMM. III/5, p. 181). Flavell was an assistant to the Devon Commission for the ejection of scandalous ministers in 1657. He preached every fortnight on Wednesdays at St Saviour's church, and on Sundays he ministered at the parish church of St Clement's, Townstal. One of his Dartmouth hearers noted 'his Plain Expositions of Scripture, his Taking Method, his Genuine and Natural Deductions, his Convincing Arguments, his Clear and Powerful Demonstrations, his Heart–searching Applications, and his Comfortable Supports to those that were afflicted in Conscience' (*Works*, 1701, p. ii).

Shortly before the Act of Uniformity came into force, Flavell's father Richard came to stay with him, and preached near Totnes from Hosea 7:6; 'For they have made ready their heart

like an oven, whiles they lie in wait'; the sermon was interpreted as seditious, and he was brought before the local justices of the peace, before being discharged (*Works*, 1701, p. i). According to Calamy, Richard Flavell was also arrested in 1665 'upon pretended Suspicion of a Plot' during a time of plague; it had been 'suggested to the Court' that the 'Malecontents' might take the general sickness as an 'Opportunity to give some Disturbance to the Government', although there was never 'any thing like a Proof of real Guilt'. Flavell Sr, writes Calamy, was imprisoned alongside 38 other people, of whom nine died in Newgate, and a further nine or ten after their discharge (Calamy, *Account*, 328). John Flavell's biographer simply writes that Richard Flavell's private meeting in Covent Garden was disturbed in 1665 by armed soldiers; although Flavell Sr was dressed in disguise, the whole congregation spent a night detained at Whitehall, from which Flavell Sr and his wife fell sick and died (*Works*, 1701, p. i).

Flavell and Geare were both ejected from their ministries following the 1662 Act of Uniformity. Geare continued to preach in Dartmouth, leading to his arrest and appearance before the Exeter commissioners in 'very severe Wearther', whereby 'he got such a grievous Cold, as threw him into a violent Fever', causing his death in December 1662. Calamy writes that Flavell considered Geare an 'intimate Friend', and 'had a great Value for him, counting him an excellent Man, and of an exemplary Conversation' (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 249–52). Flavell also knew James Burdwood, the ejected minister of St Petrock's, Dartmouth, and author of a much-reprinted treatise on *Hearts–Ease in Heart–Trouble* (1690); Burdwood's collection of *Helps for Faith and Patience in Times of Affliction* (1693) was published posthumously, together with Flavell's *A Sure Tryal of a Christian's State*. Calamy writes that Burdwood 'set up a *Latin–School* in *Dartmouth*, but was driven from thence by the *Five Mile Act*' of 1665, later returning to the town, where he died in 1693 (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 244–9). It is clear that this was not 'a small dissenting academy' as Kelly suggests (*ODNB*), but a private grammar school; there is no evidence that Flavell taught there.

After the Five Mile Act, Flavell held a final meeting at Townstal churchyard before moving to Slapton; here he preached twice every Sunday, and continued to visit Dartmouth secretly. Flavell also ministered to conventicles meeting at low tide on the Saltstone, a ledge in the Salcombe estuary. He leased property from the Earl of Bedford at Landkey, and held midnight services in Hudscott manor (DRO, L1258/16–18c/24/1; *ODNB*). On one occasion,

he rode to Totnes disguised as a woman to carry out a baptism. On another occasion, to escape arrest, he rode his horse into the sea and swam to Slapton Sands. At another time he avoided arrest while preaching in a wood near Exeter; those of his hearers who were not arrested travelled with him to another copse where he continued his sermon, returning to Exeter in the evening (*Works*, 1701, pp. i–ii). Flavell was licensed as a Congregational minister in 1672 and returned to Dartmouth, where he ministered openly most Sundays (TNA, SP44/38A, pp. 6, 30–1; SP29/320, fo. 33). There is no evidence that he was teaching at this time. After the death of his first wife, he married Agnes Downe, daughter of the ejected minister Thomas Downe; they had a son, Thomas (*ODNB*; Palmer, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, I, 369). Flavell's successful labours to prevent a ship's surgeon from committing suicide in 1673 increased his local celebrity; another story relates how an initially unsympathetic reader of Flavell's *Keeping the Heart* became so impressed by the text that he went on to purchase one hundred copies of books by Flavell to give to the poor (*Works*, 1701, pp. i–ii).

In the 1670s, Flavell printed a number of important spiritual and practical works, which earned him a national reputation among dissenters. Flavell's later students are highly likely to have been aware of these texts, some of which, including *Navigation Spiritualized* (1677) and *A Saint Indeed* (1668), were frequently reprinted. He published several works about the sea, partly inspired by his following among local fishermen, together with attacks on local Baptists, Quakers, and Catholics. Three ambitious sermon series, two on Christ, and one on the Holy Spirit, also appeared, defending a moderate Calvinist doctrine, but seeking to put his carefully organised theology to practical application through scrupulous avoidance of scholastic terminology, and the adoption of a plain preaching style; they were published as *The Fountain of Life* (1673), *The Method of Grace* (1681), and *Pneumatologia* (1685). Of Flavell's *Pneumatologia*, Henry Layton wrote that its design was 'to prove that the Humane Soul is an Immaterial, Immortal, Intelligent Spirit; and that the Author was Learned, Judicious, and Industrious' (Layton, *A Search after Souls*, II, 95). Another substantial text by Flavell was a detailed catechistical exposition of the Westminster Assembly's catechism, a work which probably grew out of his ministry, but which could also have assisted young students; it was later completed by the Exeter Presbyterian George Trosse and published in 1692 (Palmer, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, I, 435). He also produced some minor works on aspects of ethics, including a *Practical Treatise of Fear* (1681). From 1682, attempts to crush

dissent in Devon was so intense that Flavell was forced to move to London, being 'in great Danger at *Dartmouth*, thro' the Malice of his Enemies' (Calamy, *Account*, 221). The night before he sailed, Flavell dreamed that he was at sea in a great storm; a man sat nearby writing, and continually whipped a small crying child, saying 'I will discipline, but not hurt thee'. When a storm arose during the voyage, the ship's deliverance was attributed to Flavell's powerful prayers (*Works*, 1701, pp. iii–iv).

While in London, as well as visiting family and continuing his publishing ventures, Flavell probably played an active role in London politics. Another John Flavell, perhaps a relation, ended up on the jury which tried Shaftesbury (DWL, Morrice Q, p. 520). Once again, Flavell narrowly escaped arrest while preaching with a Mr Jenkins at Moorfields; by this time he was keeping a diary which is now lost (*Works*, 1701, p. iv). Flavell's third wife probably died in 1684, and late in that year, he returned to Dartmouth. Here he was arrested and confined to his house. Jenkins having died in prison, his flock gave Flavell a call to be their minister, as did Reeve's congregation, but Flavell opted to stay at Dartmouth. According to the Devon minister John Quick, while Flavell was imprisoned in his house he 'bred up in University learning Mr W. H. ye son of Tradesman' of Dartmouth, and 'fitted him for ye ministry'. After James II's first Indulgence to dissenters, this man was chosen by the people of Stokenham to be their pastor in a licensed meeting-house; he was later ordained by Flavell and others. Another of his students, Mr. 'L.', was 'very low when he came to Dartmouth', having less than 12d. Quick writes that Flavell found him new clothes, 'got him quarters, & defrayed his expences for lodging, washing, & diet'; he 'read Logick, Philosophy, & Divinity to him, & prepared Him for ye Ministry', and was 'many pounds out of purse for him'. After a year preaching at Bovey, Mr. L. was ordained at Exeter and later received a pension from the Common Fund in London (DWL, 38.31, 9th pagination, 38). In 1685 Flavell's effigy was burned in the streets of Dartmouth, but he continued to preach in his house, despite offers of a ministry in London. His fourth wife was Dorothy Jefferies, the daughter of George Jefferies (*d.* 1665), the minister of Kingsbridge. Flavell was another beneficiary of James's first Indulgence, at which point his 'affectionate people prepared a large place for him'; here he preached a successful collection of sermons on Revelation 3:20, later printed as *Englands Duty* (1689). He received a dispensation to preach pm 21 January 1687 (TNA, SP44/54, p. 368). In the same year he became embroiled in an acrimonious dispute about prayer and preaching with Edmund Elys, a minister at East Allington (Bod. Lib., J. Walker c.4, fos. 7–9,

307–9; J. Walker e.8, fos. 31–52, 64); two decades later Elys reported the argument to the church historian John Walker, then preparing his *Attempt towards Recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy* (1714).

According to Quick, Flavell also took two ministerial students during his later years; they were 'with him in his house when he died' (DWL, 38.31, 9th pagination, 38). These students may be identified as the brothers Peter and Thomas Kellow. When the United Brethren of Devon and Exeter was established, one of its first actions was to systematise the funding and examination procedures for ministerial students. Peter and Thomas Kellow were given a grant of £5 by the dissenters' Common Fund in London on 23 February 1691. Another of Flavell's students, a 'Mr Hughes', was provisionally awarded £5 by the Board on 20 March 1693, although it was later recorded that there was 'noe report given of his fixing' with another tutor; he is perhaps the same man as Flavell's earlier student 'W. H.' (DWL, OD67, fos. 20, 26, 75, 108). An early biographer noted that, by his 'unwearied application to Study', Flavell acquired 'a Great Stock both of Divine and Humane Learning'. This made him 'Master of the Controversies betwixt the *Jews and Christians, Papists and Protestants, Lutherans and Calvinists*, and betwixt the *Orthodox*, and the *Arminians*, and *Socinians*'; he was also well-read in the 'Controversies about *Church Discipline, Infant-Baptism*, and *Antinomianism*'. He was 'well acquainted with the *School Divinity*, and drew up a Judicious and Ingenious Scheme of the whole Body of that Theology in good *Latin*, which he presented to a Person of Quality, but 'twas never printed.' When he heard a particularly interesting remark in private conversation, he would desire it to be repeated and 'insert it into his *Adversaria*: By these methods he acquired a Vast Stock of proper Materials for his popular Sermons' and 'more elaborate Works for the Press', using a method 'very proper for Young Divines'. Those who had lived in his family said 'that he was always full and copious in Prayer . . . and rarely made use twice of the same Expressions' (*Works*, 1701, p. ii).

Modern scholars have been slow to recognise Flavell's importance, but he was unquestionably one of the most influential dissenting ministers in the south west during the later Stuart period. In terms of teaching, Flavell may have been valued particularly highly for his ideas on preaching. He was a friend of the Gloucestershire tutor James Forbes (Forbes, *Pastoral Instruction*, 10). After Flavell's *Works* were published in 1701 they became well known to Isaac Watts, who quoted extracts in his own writings. Cotton Mather wrote that

‘[i]n a Flavel, you will find the true savour of plain, lively, useful preaching’ (Mather, *Student and Preacher*, 188). Flavell’s writings was also read by Daniel Defoe. John Ryland later commented that he ‘would make good Mr. John Flavel, my pattern, above all the preachers in the world’ (Ryland, *The Wise Student*, 29). For Thomas Gibbons, ‘*Flavel*, like a smooth limpid Current, glides, | No Bush or Stone to interrupt its Way’ (Gibbons, *Christian Minister*, 33). The first volume of his *Works* includes a life of the author (perhaps by John Galpine, and probably drawing on the manuscripts of John Quick); it had a considerable afterlife, being reprinted as a preface to the six–volume Edinburgh edition of the *Whole Works* in 1820. Other texts of his were certainly read by the Tiverton tutor John Moore and Oliver Heywood. His reputation among Baptists was less enthusiastic: his printed assault on the beliefs and actions of William Cary raised a vigorous counter–attack by Benjamin Keach.

On 21 June 1691 Flavell preached his last sermon at Ashburton on 1 Corinthians 10:12. He then travelled to Topsham to moderate at an early meeting of the United Brethren of Devon and Exeter, which on that occasion also included representatives from the Western Association of Somerset, and Ames Short, minister and tutor at Lyme Regis in Dorset (DWL, 38.24, fos. 28–34). Flavell succeeded in arguing for a union of Presbyterian and Congregational ministers in Devon, based on but not rigidly following the Heads of Agreement drawn up for the London assembly by Flavell’s friend, the Devonshire minister John Howe. It is this union, which led in Devon to the Exeter Assembly of ministers, that represents Flavell’s most important contribution to the history of the dissenters’ academies. The Exeter Assembly later monitored most of the academies in the South West, including those of Matthew Warren and Joseph Hallett; like Flavell, the Assembly sponsored co–operation between moderate Calvinists, whether Presbyterian or Congregational, but was reluctant to extend its support to Baptists. However Flavell did not live to see these fruits of his negotiations. At supper in Totnes on 26 June he suffered a stroke, which paralysed one side of his body and left him unable to speak. He died later that night. His body was carried publicly to Dartmouth, accompanied by many ministers and onlookers, including mourners from Newton Abbot, Ashburton, and Totnes. He was interred near the chancel in St Saviour’s Church on the evening of 29 June, with an address by George Trosse.

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Forbes, James (1628 or 1629–1712)

JAMES FORBES, a tutor in Gloucestershire and an influential Independent minister, was born in 1628 or 1629 in Scotland; he was a relative of Arthur Forbes (1623–95), first earl of Granard (Noble, *Forbes*, 21–2). Forbes studied at King's College, Aberdeen, graduating MA in 1648 (Anderson, *Aberdeen*, 190). A few years later he travelled to England, where his degree was incorporated at Oxford University on 31 May 1654 (Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, I, 514; Noble, *Forbes*, 21). Forbes was 'bred a Scholar' and had 'no Mind to Secular Employment', his inclination being 'all for the ministry'. However, after preaching for several weeks in an unknown English parish, he turned down the offer to become its parochial minister on the grounds that if he received the parish maintenance, he would be expected to baptize the children of every family in the parish, and administer the Lord's Supper to everyone; to do so, he recalled, would have been 'against my Conscience' (Forbes, *Pastoral Instruction*, 6–7). Instead, he was appointed a preacher at Gloucester Cathedral on 25 August 1654; Forbes later wrote that this was 'more suiting my Principles; for I was to have no parochial Charge, and my Maintenance was to come from the State' (LPL, COMM. III/3, part ii, p. 155; Forbes, *Pastoral Instruction*, 7). When local Congregationalists asked him to become pastor of a new gathered church, he initially declined on account of the 'Weight of the Work'; but he later reconsidered. The new congregation met in a great hall in the cathedral precincts; in its early months, 'Ten or Twelve were added to the Church in a Day, declaring their Experiences', and Forbes's sermon series on Luke 7:47 became well known (Forbes, *Pastoral Instruction*, 8–9). From 1655 Forbes was a founder member together with the future tutor Charles Morton of the Cornwall association of ministers ('Cornwall Association', 254–62). In 1657 Forbes was the top signatory to a remonstrance from churches in Gloucestershire against Cromwell accepting the crown (Nickolls, *Letters*, 140); in the same year he was described in a list of augmentation payments as the rector of 'Mary de Cript' (LPL, COMM. VIb/3, fo. 43). In 1658 he attended the Savoy conference of Congregational ministers; he later wrote an account of the conference in an attempt to vindicate its chief participants from the strictures of Richard Baxter (Owen, *Sermons*, xxi–xxii). After the Restoration, the cathedral dean Robert Frampton, later a bishop of Gloucester, 'courted him to conformity', but Forbes refused, and was removed from his position as preacher (Palmer, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, II, 250). There was some dispute about whether Forbes was technically ejected, since he was neither vicar, rector, nor curate. One

account, provided to the Church historian John Walker, stated that although Forbes's supporters counted him among those 'deprived for Nonconformity', he 'had onely a stipend allowed him by the powers that then were, to preach in the Cathedral; nor could he keep the pulpit after the Dean & Chapter were restored' (Bod. Lib., J. Walker c.2, fo. 125). Forbes himself said that he had been 'turned out of my publick Place, and deprived of Maintenance' (Forbes, *Pastoral Instruction*, 11).

After the Restoration, Forbes continued to preach in Gloucester, and was twice imprisoned. The first imprisonment may have been brief, but the second continued for about a year. He then moved to London, where in 1664 he was reported to the government for collecting money to finance the publication of a pamphlet by the Puritan Ralph Wallis, formerly a Gloucester schoolmaster. Forbes and Wallis were questioned by Roger L'Estrange on 1 October 1664; the topics discussed included their possession of supposedly subversive texts, including *The Sufferers—catechism* (TNA, SP29/103, fo. 2). It seems likely that Wallis discussed several of his pamphlets with Forbes; the texts use a strident anti-Catholic rhetoric, but many of their blows are aimed at the Church of England. In 1665 the London house where he lived was visited with the plague; Forbes responded by preaching on 2 Chronicles 7:13–14 and Amos 4:10–12 (Forbes, *Pastoral Instruction*, 11–12).

In 1672 Forbes returned to Gloucester. On 25 May, following Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence, he was licensed to preach to a Congregational meeting at the house of Samson Bacon; in February 1673 he was licensed for the barn of Charles Eliot of Stinchcombe. The Indulgence was withdrawn later that year (TNA, SP29/321, fos. 197, 246). Forbes was preaching in Gloucester again in 1677, when he described his congregation to the minister Increase Mather as 'marvellously preserved' (Winthrop, *Mather Papers*, 581). Nevertheless, he soon found himself in trouble with the authorities. According to Forbes himself, he was imprisoned under the terms of the Corporation Act. He also recalled that he was 'indicted on the 23d *James* I. Penalty 20 *l.* a Month', although it is unclear to what he is referring here. He was indicted 'on the 23 *Elizab.* Penalty to abjure the Realm or die' (presumably 23 Elizabeth cap. 1, 'An Acte to retayne the Quenes Subjects in Obedyence'), and he was also excommunicated (Forbes, *Pastoral Instruction*, 12). 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 (TNA, SP29/414, fo. 223a). According to bishop

Frampton of Gloucester, Forbes was 'once a Presbyterian, afterwards an Independent, but always a sectary; in Cromwels tyme, & ever since'; Frampton described how after his release from gaol, Forbes moved outside the city and preached at the house of a tenant of Lord Craven at Elmbridge (Bod. Lib., Tanner 36, fo. 251). Forbes had, by his own account, 'a convenient House, in a serene Air, and a friendly Christian Neighbourhood, and a more liberal Maintenance than elsewhere'; here he had 'Five Years quiet Exercise of my Ministry; wonderfully hid' (Forbes, *Pastoral Instruction*, 12). Meanwhile, Frampton attempted to silence Forbes, describing him in a letter of 1682 as 'ye source of all ye schisms, yt we have had, in, & about Glouster' (Bod. Lib., Tanner 36, fo. 251). Following James II's Indulgence of 1687, Forbes returned to Gloucester, where his wife Mary was buried in St Michael's Church on 17 August 1687 (Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 205).

After the passage of the Toleration Act (1689), Forbes moderated meetings of the dissenters' county ministerial association of Gloucestershire, Somerset, and Wiltshire. In April 1693 the Exeter Assembly agreed that a 'General Assembly of the United Brethren in the Western Counties' should also meet once a year, either at Bristol, Taunton, or Exeter; Forbes was desired to preach at the first meeting of this general assembly, which was held at Bristol in 1694. Forbes was also the moderator at this meeting, which approved eleven articles of agreement; the articles were then sent to the dissenters' Common Fund managers in London (DWL, 38.24, fos. 56, 65–7). By 1707 the Gloucestershire county association had collapsed. The Exeter Assembly made efforts to revive it, writing to Forbes on 10 September. Forbes thanked the Exeter ministers for their letter, and there is evidence that the Gloucestershire ministers were meeting again by 1711 (DWL, 38.24, fos. 159–158 *rev.*; 156 *rev.*).

According to Noble, Forbes was 'Very sollicitous . . . to raise in our Churches a holy, learned, painful Ministry', even though in 'the *publick Schools of the Prophets*, there was no Admittance for our Youth, but upon such Terms as our Neighbours well know'. This work of raising a dissenting ministry was 'driven into Corners', but Forbes, 'Our *Elijah*', laboured to cultivate the minds of 'some Sons of the Prophets' (Noble, *Forbes*, 29). Evidence of Forbes's ministerial teaching appears in the Congregational Fund Board minutes from 1694, although it is conceivable that Forbes had been teaching for some time before this. Among his students were two of his grandchildren, Mr 'Dellemane' and Mr 'Jellye'. Several of them went on to study with Thomas Goodwin at the academy in Pinner, near London. On 30 March 1696 the

Board ordered that 'mr. Lobb & mr Nesbit discourse mr Turner to goe to mr fforbs', while Gouge and 'Learner'/Lardner 'speake with mr Boaze to goe alsoe', alongside a Mr Saddington (DWL, OD401, p. 16). Forbes's correspondents on the Board were a Mr Gouge and a Mr Boddington. On 27 April 1696 the Board ordered that Forbes be given £10 'in Consideration of his Breeding up his two Grandchildren for the Ministry'; it also ordered that the students Boaz and King should be sent to Forbes with 'mony for their charges . . . for one whole yeare' (DWL, OD401, p. 19). On 18 May Forbes was also requested to take on a Mr Wilson, a member of 'mr Wavells Church', for 'p[er]fecting his Academicall Studies' (DWL, OD401, p. 22). In October the Board allowed the payment of £10 10s for the education of Boaz, King and Wilson under Forbes (DWL, OD401, p. 34). On 4 January 1697 it was ordered that 'the Three Studients with mr. fforbs' be sent '£6', 40s each, and that when they returned to London they should be taken care of by 'mr Mather & those formerly menconed to take Care of Studients' (DWL, OD401, p. 40). When Bowes fell sick, the Board reimbursed Forbes £6 for an apothecary's bill (DWL, OD401, p. 45). In June 1698 Forbes was in London, during which time the Board provided him an allowance of £10 for an assistant; payments were made for this purpose on 10 April 1699, 6 May 1700, 28 April 1701, 20 April 1702, 12 April 1703 and 24 April 1704 (DWL, OD401, pp. 75, 93; OD402, pp. 16, 34, 49, 61, 73). In October 1698 the Board agreed to pay a further £10 for one year to Forbes's grandsons 'provided wee have satisfaction yt they may bee principled for the support of ye congregationall intrest' (DWL, OD401, p. 81); as a consequence 'Dellemane' and 'Jellye' were sent to Thomas Goodwin's academy in Pinner (DWL, OD401, p. 83).

Forbes's connections with other local ministers and congregations were complex. The baptismal register for St Michael's parish church records three baptisms performed by 'Mr. Forbes Phanatic Teacher' between 1696 and 1698. In 1699 Trinity Church in Gloucester was pulled down and Barton Street meeting-house was built; Forbes ministered there until his death. It was built on land granted by Thomas Browne to Thomas Wade in consideration of £25. In a second set of indentures, the lease included James Forbes and others as the third party. From 1709 Forbes was assisted by an Arminian, Joseph Denham, who succeeded him as the minister at Barton Street. The disposal of Forbes's books was granted to Thomas Browne, an alderman, on 10 April 1710; they were to be preserved for the use of Forbes's successors, but could be lent 'one book at a time' to any Gloucestershire minister, or to any member of Forbes's congregation. Remarkably, the library survived almost intact and was

eventually purchased by the University of Toronto, where it remains today. It comprises around 1300 printed books, 300 pamphlets, and various manuscripts. Forbes delivered his last sermon to the Gloucestershire ministerial association at Stroudwater on 31 May 1711, but continued to preach at Barton Street. He died at Gloucester on 31 May 1712 aged 83, and was buried on 3 June under the meeting-house communion table. A funeral sermon was preached by John Noble, a Congregational minister in Bristol.

Forbes's intellectual principles are most easily observed through his printed works. In the early 1690s, Forbes set about to confute the theological opinion of John Elliot, a local Quaker, that saving grace was an increated being. In his *Nehushtan*, Forbes used a combination of logical arguments and scriptural proofs to assert that the saving grace of God was not to be found in all men, and that grace in Christians was an imperfect creature (*Nehushtan*, 1–2). Grace, for Forbes, was a supernatural and special gift of God, bestowed upon some men through Christ as mediator; it was an eminent work of the Spirit upon the souls of sinners, whereby their natures were renewed, enabling them to glorify God and to be glorified with him (*Nehushtan*, 7). His pamphlet *The Christian Directed in his Race to Heaven* (1700) shares many characteristics with other practical writings of the period, including those of Richard Baxter. It consists of sets of 'duties', directed towards subjects, ministers, church members, husbands and wives, parents and children, masters and servants, and concludes with duties for both 'prosperous' and 'afflicted' states. The posthumously published *Pastoral Instruction* (1713) contains a 'letter of instruction and advice' written shortly before his death, a sermon preached before a ministerial assembly at Stroud in 1711, some 'instructions and directions for youth', and Noble's funeral sermon for Forbes, containing a sketch of his life.

Works

Nehushtan: Or, John Elliot's Saving Grace in All Men, Proved to be No Grace (London, 1694).

God's Goodness to his Israel in All Ages (London, 1700).

The Christian Directed in his Race to Heaven, or A Short Account of that Knowledge and Practice that Leads Thither (London, 1700).

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Frankland, Richard (1630–98)

RICHARD FRANKLAND, one of the most important nonconformist teachers of his generation, was the tutor at the largest of the dissenters' academies outside London during the seventeenth century. Based for most of his tutorial career in Rathmell, with another lengthy period in Attercliffe (near Kendal), Frankland supervised the education of over 300 students, mostly from the north of England and the midlands; the vast majority of those whose names are recorded became dissenting ministers. Frankland's academy therefore played a pivotal role in the development of Presbyterian and Congregational dissent in the north of England between 1670 and Frankland's death in 1698.

Frankland was born on 1 November 1630 at Rathmell, Giggleswick, Yorkshire. He was the son of John Frankland (*d.* before 24 April 1650: Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, 114). A previous Richard Frankland had been a governor of Giggleswick grammar school (Leach, *Schools*, II, 261–78). After attending Giggleswick grammar school for six years, Richard Frankland the younger was admitted on 18 May 1648 as a pensioner at Christ's College, Cambridge, under the master Samuel Bolton (Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, 115). According to Edmund Calamy, whose account may have been based on a manuscript summary of

Frankland's life by Oliver Heywood, Frankland made 'good Proficiency both in Divine and Humane Learning, and had no small Credit in the University'. While there, he fell 'deeply in Love with serious Religion', due to the ministry of Samuel Hammond (Calamy, *Account*, 284). Frankland graduated BA in January 1652 and proceeded MA in 1655 (Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, II, 174). He had brief ministries at Hexham in Northumberland, at Haughton-le-Spring, and at Lanchester in Durham (Calamy, *Account*, 284). On 14 September 1653 he was ordained by several ministers at St Nicholas in Durham, alongside Robert Leaver, a Mr Dixon and a Mr Thompson (Calamy, *Continuation*, II, 676). Having met with undisclosed 'Discouragements' at Lanchester, he took a position as chaplain in the family of the Presbyterian alderman John Brook at Ellenthorpe Hall, near Boroughbridge, Yorkshire; he then became curate at Sedgefield in Durham, and was presented by Sir Arthur Hesilrige to the curacy of St Andrew's, Bishop Auckland on 10 September 1656 (LPL, COMM. III/5, p. 123). According to Calamy, Frankland 'always expounded the Scripture on the Lord's Day Morning before Sermon; and besides his Preaching in the Afternoon, catechiz'd the Youth, and explain'd to them the Principles of Religion in a familiar Way' (Calamy, *Account*, 285).

In 1657, a plan was set in motion for the creation of an academical college at Durham, and Calamy later claimed that 'Mr. *Frankland* was pitch'd upon as a very fit Man to be a Tutor there' (Calamy, *Account*, 285). The history of the college is obscure, and the patent may never have been put into effect; Frankland's name does not appear on a list of officers nominated by letters patent on 15 May 1657, although his patrons and friends John Lambert, Arthur Hesilrige, Thomas Liddell, and John Archer of Oxenholme were appointed 'Visitors' to the College by Cromwell on that date (Fowler, *Durham University*, 17). Meanwhile, Frankland married Elizabeth Sanderson, daughter of Samuel Sanderson and Barbara Liddell of Hedley Hope, Durham, on 11 October 1658. They had three sons and four daughters (ODNB; Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, 117). The first of Frankland's students at his later academy was a George Liddell, another member of the family (Latham, *Preparation*, 35).

A detailed account survives of Frankland's ejection from Bishop Auckland. After the Restoration, he was, according to Calamy, 'among the first that met with Disturbance'. However, this statement must be qualified by the fact that, although he was legally an intruder, he was not immediately ejected from his living in 1660. Calamy's version of the

subsequent events was probably more colourful than reliable. Calamy wrote that, before the Act of Uniformity, a local attorney called Bowster, 'who had formerly appear'd to be his friend', asked him in front of his congregation whether he would conform. Frankland replied that 'he hop'd it was soon enough to answer that Question, when the King and Parliament had determin'd what Conformity they would require', but Bowster proceeded to emphasise that 'if he did not answer then, he should be turn'd out of his Place'. Frankland responded that 'he hop'd the King's Proclamation for quiet Possessions would secure him from such Violence', but Bowster replied simply 'Look you to that'. Soon afterwards, Bowster and a local parson named Marthwait acquired the keys of the church and kept Frankland out. When Frankland complained to the neighbouring justices, they agreed it was 'hard measure', but were 'afraid to stand by him'. Frankland indicted Marthwait and his adherents for force and riot at the Quarter Sessions, but the defendants managed to delay the trial to the subsequent assizes, using a process known as a *certiori*. At the next sessions, Frankland's case was the last to be heard, and the clerk appears to have mistaken '*praesentatum est*' for '*praesentatum fuit*' in the indictment, such that Frankland's counsel was cowed, and he 'could not have Justice done him' (Calamy, *Account*, 285–6).

After these events, bishop Cosin of Durham solicited Frankland to conform, 'promising him not only his Living, but greater Preferment upon his Compliance'. However, Frankland recognised that this would require him to be ordained by the Restoration Church, a process to which he objected. Frankland argued that his ordination by presbyters was 'to all Intents and purposes valid, and [he] durst not do any thing that he could conceive might be liable to be interpreted a renouncing it'. Cosin offered him a private ordination so that 'the People might not know of it', using the words '*If thou hast not been ordained, I ordain thee*'; but Frankland politely refused, insisting that 'it was not Obstinacy but Conscience which hindred his Compliance' (Calamy, *Account*, 284–6). However, a third series of events damaged his relationship with Cosins. Shortly after Frankland's refusal to be re-ordained, the bishop preached a sermon on 1 Corinthians 14:40 ('Let all things be done decently and in Order'); a few weeks later, Frankland was invited by a neighbouring minister to preach, and insisted on the text 1 Corinthians 14:26 ('Let all Things be done to Edification'). Cosins took offence, believing that Frankland was preaching 'in a Way of Contempt, and Contradiction', and threatened to 'call him to account for it'; Frankland was saved from punishment by a JP who had been his auditor on that day, who told the bishop that Frankland had spoken out against

pluralities and non–residence, but had delivered ‘nothing but what became a sound and Orthodox Divine, and what was agreeable to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*’ (Calamy, *Account*, 286). Frankland continued to attend Giggleswick church after his ejection: baptisms are recorded for three of his children in the church register for 1664, 1666, and 1668, and on 5 May 1677 three or more seats were assigned by the churchwardens to ‘Mr. Richard Frankland of Rathmell, Clerk’ (Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, 119–20). At some point after his ejection, but before 5 May 1671, Frankland appears to have been granted a personal audience with Charles II. An account of this meeting was recorded by Ralph Thoresby, who copied it from a manuscript of Frankland’s friend, Henry Sampson (Aspland, *Frankland*, 15).

After his ejection, 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’ (Calamy, *Account*, 286–7). The first student to be sent to him was George Liddell, the son of Sir Thomas Liddell, and over the next 28 years he taught over 300 pupils, most of them opting for careers in the dissenting ministry (Latham, *Preparation*, 35–46). However, in the early years the success of Frankland’s academy was not assured, and by 22 July 1672 he had taken advantage of the Declaration of Indulgence by acquiring a licence to preach as a Presbyterian in his house (TNA, SP44/38A, p. 203). After the withdrawal of the Indulgence in 1673, he accepted a call from a dissenting society in Natland, near Kendal in Westmorland, moving there with his students to be their minister between 20 February and 26 May 1674 (Calamy, *Account*, 287; Latham, *Preparation*, 35–6). Another reason for his move may have been the threat of legal proceedings. Oliver Heywood on 30 January 1674 hinted that there were ‘some things amisse’ at the academy, and considered ordering his sons home (BL, Add. MS 45966, fo. 61). 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 noted 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; nevertheless, Frankland appears to have stayed at Natland for some time (BL, Add. MS 45966, fo. 62).

In the first few years, the academy probably contained few students, and the Heywood family were prominent, both as students and as advisors to Frankland. 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'; furthermore, '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 following 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 (BL, Add. MS 45966, fo. 63). Another student who was disappointed with Frankland's tuition was the young Timothy Jollie, who later became an important tutor himself; according to his father, Thomas Jollie, Timothy suffered 'discouragement . . . in his place' in February 1675 (Jollie, *Note Book*, 19, 30). Nevertheless, when Oliver Heywood preached at Natland on Sunday 18 April 1675 he noted that he 'had a considerable auditory'; the following day he 'heard their logick disputes, saw their proficiency to my great satisfaction, as to humane learning'; on the Sunday evening, he had been to his son's chamber door and heard the students 'at prayer together'. 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' (BL, Add. MS 45966, fos. 64, 68; Heywood, *Diaries*, III, 165, 172). 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 (Heywood, *Diaries*, III, 144). Other early calamities at the academy included the death of the tutor's relative John Frankland of a distemper following 'a strain got with leaping' (BL, Add. MS 45967, fo. 21), and the near-death of Eliezer Heywood from drowning (he was saved by Timothy Jollie: Heywood, *Diaries*, IV, 164); another student, David Lister, died of a prolonged fever in 1677 (Heywood, *Diaries*, II, 49; *Life of Joseph Lister*, 27).

Many accounts survive of Frankland's role in the ordination of his former students, and other ministerial candidates in the North of England. John Issot, one of Frankland's assistants in his roles as a preacher and teacher, was ordained by Frankland and Heywood in July 1678; a substantial account of the ordination survives (Heywood, *Diaries*, II, 194–7). Issot's ordination is widely viewed as the first nonconformist ordination in the north of England, although there had been other students set aside for the ministry in Manchester in 1672

(Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, 143); two other students, Thorp and Darnton, were ordained on the same day. As part of the ordination process, Frankland examined Issot in Greek and Hebrew, in philosophy, and in divinity. The following day, Issot delivered a thesis, 'Quod Ordinatio per manuum impositionem per seniors (vulgo vocatos laicos) non est valida' ('Whether ordination by the imposition of hands by seniors (commonly called laymen) is not valid'); Oliver Heywood considered Issot's thesis to be 'very large and cogent', but he formally opposed it, together with another minister, Dawson (Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, 144). Another person present was Major-General Lambert's wife, whose property at Calton Hall became the site of Frankland's academy briefly in 1683 (Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, 153). Frankland also assisted in the ordination of Timothy Hodgson in Craven in August 1680, of Oliver Heywood's son John at Craven on 23 August 1681, and of Robert Waddington in June 1682, but not of his pupil Timothy Jollie at Sheffield on 25 April 1681. It may be that his absence was a deliberate snub to Timothy's father, Thomas Jollie, whose views on ordination were at variance with Frankland's (Heywood, *Diaries*, II, 197–204; Jollie, *Note Book*, 43). For instance, at Waddington's ordination, Jollie requested that ruling elders at Waddington's congregation 'might expresse their dedicating of him to God', but Frankland was 'not satisfied with that, having no warrant, and as importing some power, so it was waved' (Heywood, *Diaries*, II, 210; Jollie, *Note Book*, 48). By contrast, Frankland continued to support John Heywood, recommending him as a preacher in two private houses 'toward Westmorland', where he preached between September 1681 and May 1682; John Heywood also stayed with Frankland for much of this period (Heywood, *Diaries*, II, 303, 205, 208–9). Meanwhile, Oliver Heywood continued to preach to Frankland's congregation, made periodic visits to the academy, and sent Frankland books (Heywood, *Diaries*, II, 100–1; III, 65).

In 1680 Frankland was again in trouble with the ecclesiastical courts, and this is the probable reason for his visit to York shortly before 24 August. However, on 29 May 1681 Oliver Heywood noted that Michael Stanford, the vicar of Kendal, was to publish (i.e. recite) an absolution of Frankland, procured by a Mrs Jackson from a Mr Cradock; Stanford's actual words, according to Heywood, were less than conciliatory: he apparently stated that 'the ringleader of the Sectarys hath voluntarily submitted himself to the orders of the church . . . to sue for his schollars pay to him' (BL, Add. MS 45967, fo. 36). Between 21 March and 9 June 1683 Frankland moved from Natland to Calton, probably as a result of renewed pressure

from the authorities about his refusal to comply with the Five Mile Act (Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, 153; Latham, *Preparation*, 38). He took up residence in Calton Hall, Kirkby Malham, seven miles north–west of Skipton, where Major–General Lambert was living; Heywood visited him here and preached on 20 June 1683. However, by November he was again in trouble with the courts: a relation of Frankland, Mrs. Stanley of Dalegarth, wrote to Sir Daniel Fleming asking that the magistrates leave Frankland alone; Fleming replied on 9 November that Frankland could live quietly only if he would ‘give up conventicling, teaching scholars and taking of tablers, attend the church service, and take the oaths’ (*Fleming: HMC 12, Appendix vii*, 193).

By late 1683, Frankland was at Dawson Fold in Crosthwaite, within five miles of Kendal, but was taking on very few students: perhaps only thirteen between 24 October 1682 and 8 November 1686 (Latham, *Preparation*, 37–8). Heywood tells us that Frankland was ‘taken off work’ shortly after June 1683; at this time at least two of his students continued their studies elsewhere, under the tuition of John Billingsley (NU, MS 140, fos. 2–11; Heywood, *Diaries*, IV, 130). In 1684 Frankland was cited for non–attendance at church as a resident of the parish of Heversham, although the following year, a certificate of Frankland’s good behaviour was inserted into a Court Book from the Diocesan Registry of York, and he was eventually absolved in July 1686, having gained the pardon of James II (Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, 156). He also visited Oliver Heywood, who was at that time imprisoned at York Castle, on 24 March 1685 (Hunter, *Heywood*, 332). The 1685 certificate indicates that Frankland left Dawson’s Fold in September 1684, but he probably did not settle at his next abode, Hartbarrow, until November 1685 (YAS, MS 11 (28)). Hartbarrow is near Cartmell Fell in Lancashire, and Frankland may have moved here because it was subject to the jurisdiction of a different county. However, he took very few students during his residence there (Latham, *Preparation*, 39).

Following James II’s change of policy toward dissenters in 1686 the academy rose in significance again. Frankland took out a fifty–shilling dispensation under James II’s first Declaration of Indulgence, and he moved to Attercliffe, where twenty students entered the academy in one year (Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, 157; Latham, *Preparation*, 39–41). After a visit by Oliver Heywood on 21 April 1687, Frankland agreed to the ordination of Eliezer Heywood, Edward Byrom, Samuel Angier, and Nathaniel Heywood at Northowram on 1

June; another group of his students were ordained on 11 September 1688 (Hunter, *Heywood*, 353–6). However, the death of Frankland's only remaining son (and assistant) Richard in May 1689, together with the political changes consequent upon the Revolution, prompted him to move one final time in July or August 1689, back to Rathmell (Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, 158; Latham, *Preparation*, 41). Frankland's house at Rathmell was registered as a meeting-house under the Toleration Act on 8 October 1689 (*Nonconformist Register*, 145). Calamy later wrote that Frankland had 'a thriving Congregation, whom he kept in Peace, by his Candour and Humility, Gravity and Piety, notwithstanding the different Principles they were of'; he had also preached in his house at various other times during the 1670s and 1680s (Calamy, *Account*, 287). Between 1690 and 1696, 36 students of Frankland were assisted by the Common Fund (Jeremy, *Presbyterian Fund*, 12; Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, 161). On 9 February 1691 the Common Fund set aside £20 per annum for the provision of ministers for 'Winterburne, Tosside, Starbottom and Burham in Craven', it being left to Frankland's care 'to provide able ministers' in those places (DWL, OD67, fo. 23). Money to fund other students was raised from their congregations, or from the purses of sympathetic patrons (Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, 161–2). Frankland was also involved, alongside the Jollie family, in attempting to implement in the north of England the Heads of Agreement between Presbyterians and Independents which had been drawn up in London in 1689 (Jollie, *Note Book*, 96, 98, 139). On 2 September 1691, at a meeting of 24 ministers at Wakefield, Oliver Heywood called upon Frankland to endorse the principle of union; Frankland's minor objections to a handful of the London articles were overruled (Hunter, *Heywood*, 375). Further agreements between Frankland and Thomas Jollie were drawn up in 1691 and 1693, the last being read at Bolton on 3 April 1693; at the following meeting in Bolton on 7 May 1694, a letter from Frankland was also read (Jollie, *Note Book*, 139). Frankland was also licensed to preach at the house of James Garnett in Crosthwaite on 15 January 1692 (Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, 232).

However, despite the renewed vigour of Frankland's academy, attempts to prosecute him continued. On 2 February 1691 he was excommunicated for failing to appear before the Chancellor in the Archbishop's Court at York in answer to a citation of 30 May 1690; however, protection from Lord Wharton and Sir Thomas Rokeby led to Frankland obtaining an absolution in April; it was read in Giggleswick church (Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, 163–4). A formal petition from the clergy of Craven in 1692 to John Sharp, the Archbishop

of York, requested the suppression of the 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' (Birch, *Tillotson*, 290). 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 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 that Frankland should '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 (Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, 166–70; YAS, MS 11 (65), (66)). Despite Frankland's acquaintance with Sharp, another indictment against him had to be quashed in London on 9 February 1695, and another case against him had to be postponed in October 1697 (Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, 170; YAS, MS 11 (56)). Frankland's legal troubles continued into October 1697 (Thoresby, *Letters*, I, 286).

Disputes between Thomas Jollie and the other ministers in the region also led to ongoing divisions about how to proceed with the ordination of Frankland's students (Jollie, *Note Book*, 104, 108, 115, 139–40; Hunter, *Heywood*, 369–72, 379, 390; YAS, MS 11 (66)); it was probably differences between Frankland and the assembly of ministers at Bolton which led to Frankland's attendance at their meeting of 14 April 1696 (Shaw, *Manchester Classis*, 354–6). In the same year, it emerged that Thomas Cotton, who had been a student of Frankland from 1674 (and before that, of Henry Hickman), desired ordination, but could not remember his Greek and Hebrew. Instead, the much-travelled Cotton had learned French, Italian, German, and Dutch (Hunter, *Heywood*, 390). Frankland was also drawn into the pamphlet war relating the 'Surey Demoniack'. He was not among the ministers who certified their belief that

Richard Dugdale was demonically possessed in 1689, but his name was frequently used to justify the reasoning and opinions of the chief combatants, and to cast scorn on their opponents' presumed falsehoods (*The Surey Demoniack* (1697); *The Surey Impostor* (1697); *Vindication of the Surey Demoniack* (1698); *The Lancashire Levite Rebuk'd* (1698); *Lancashire Levite Rebuk'd, Second Letter* (1698), 10, 23; *Popery, Superstition, Ignorance and Knavery* (1698), 6, 12–15, 27). Frankland's attitude towards these pamphlets is not known. Since 1696 his health had been in decline. In a letter to Oliver Heywood dated 25 October 1697, Frankland stated that he had been 'afflicted with Gravel and Wind, caused chiefly as I suppose through bad digestion, for most part of a year' (BL, Add. MS 4275, fo. 226); however, he still managed to participate in the ordination of nine of his students at Rathmell on 26 May 1698. He continued to read lectures until the day before his death, on 1 October 1698 (Clegg, *Diary*, 912). Frankland was buried on 5 October at Giggleswick; the funeral sermon was preached by his former student John Chorlton, and a mural tablet to his memory was raised on the wall of the south aisle of Giggleswick church. He had seven children, three of whom (Elizabeth, Mary and Margaret) survived him (Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, 191–5).

Frankland's death provoked considerable comment from dissenting ministers. Samuel Angier described it as 'a very great loss to the Church of God'; Oliver Heywood described him as 'yt famous Tutor, in Academick studys' (YAS, MS 12 (30)); William Tong noted his death in his account of Matthew Henry (Tong, *Henry*, 201); John Evans, one of his pupils, wrote a poem on his death (Jollie, *Note Book*, 140); Benjamin Bennet called him a 'worthy and pious person'; and he was mentioned in several sermons preached on the deaths of his former students (for instance, Barker, *Gledhill*, 33). According to John Owen, who was briefly his assistant, Frankland's wife desired 'yt yr shou'd be some account of his life publish'd, probably wth his funerall sermon' (BL, Add. MS 4276, fo. 69). Edmund Calamy described Frankland as 'an eminent Divine, and acute *Metaphysician*: A solid Interpreter of Scripture; very Sagacious in discovering Errors and able in defending Truth . . . a Man of great Moderation, very liberal to the Poor' (Calamy, *Account*, 287). Of immediate concern after Frankland's death was the continuation of the academy, so that existing students could complete their training. This role was offered to William Lorimer and William Tong, but they both declined; James Owen was also considered, but he died on 27 June 1700 (Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, 190). Ultimately, most of Frankland's remaining students gravitated toward

Manchester, where they received tuition from John Chorlton in the morning, and used Chetham's Library in the afternoon (Clegg, *Diary*, 913).

Frankland's only publication, *Reflections on a Letter writ by a Nameless Author to the Reverend Clergy of Both Universities* (London, 1697), is a brief tract against Matthew Tindal, with a preface by Oliver Heywood. On 1 March Frankland wrote a letter, probably to Heywood, enclosing a copy of a manuscript of the treatise, with a request that it be submitted to 'the honest Stationer your Neighbour' (BL, Add. MS 4275, fo. 225); another letter, addressed to Ralph Thoresby and dated 14 June 1697 identifies the 'Neighbour' as 'Frank: Bentley of Halifax stationer'. Heywood recorded in his diary on 11 March 1697 that, 'having sought God I writ a preface to Mr. Frankland's treatise against a Socinian'. Frankland apparently also amused himself by copying recipes, such as 'Mrs. Tonstall's Lip-salve', 'The true receipt of ye Countess of Kent's Powder', and 'How to make ye best Gaskin Powder' (Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, 186–7).

A much better indication of Frankland's teaching is provided by a manuscript containing 29 Latin theses relating to questions in theology, dated 1691 and 1692; the text is largely in the hand of Frankland's student Cumberbach Leech, who entered the Rathmell academy on 2 July 1691 (NRO, MS ZMI/B57/1). The manuscript, which has never received sustained investigation, is of seminal importance, being the earliest set of theology notes to have been uncovered from any of the dissenters' academies. Calvinist in nature, 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. The writings of Richard Baxter are referred to frequently throughout the manuscript, but Baxter's theology is frequently questioned in favour of a more rigidly traditional Calvinism.

The best account of Frankland's more than three hundred students may be found in an eighty-page appendix to Nicholson and Axon's *The Older Nonconformity in Kendal* (Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, 532–611). This list combines the information provided on Frankland's students by Oliver Heywood (*Diaries*, II, 9–16) and Ebenezer Latham (*Preparation for Death*, 35–46). 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 (e.g. DWL, 24.59 and BBCL, G93a y.h.33), including those of Walter Wilson (DWL, Wilson A3) and Joseph Hunter (BL, Add. MS 2442). However, Nicholson and Axon were the first to sketch the lives of every one of Frankland's students. 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. It is unclear whether these lists record dates of 'admission', as is usually assumed, or provide some other less precise record of attendance. 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, it is clear that the numbers of students at the academy are 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); however it cannot have reached twenty students 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 student 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; they also explain the references to Frankland's assistants in the accounts of Frankland's students.

For the early years of the academy, when Frankland was at Rathmell for the first time (1670–4), fifteen students are known, including George Liddell (the son of Sir Thomas Liddell of Ravensworth), Thomas Whitaker (author of *The Christian Sanctuary* and other sermons), Timothy Jollie (the future Attercliffe tutor), and John Issot (probably Frankland's assistant for a short time). After the academy had moved to Natland between February and May 1674, Frankland took on John and Eliezer Heywood, Thomas Cotton, and Christopher Richardson, all of whom had previously studied with Henry Hickman. This suggests that the growth of Frankland's academy may owe something to Hickman's decision to quit teaching at this time. Other students during the Natland period (1674–82) who became prominent ministers include Joseph Boyse, Eliezer Birch, Joseph Whitworth, Robert Meeke, Nathaniel Heywood (Oliver Heywood's nephew, and son of Nathaniel Heywood, the ejected vicar of Ormskirk), Joseph Eaton, John Gledhill, Thomas Whalley, John Billingsley (son of the Mansfield tutor), Jeremiah Aldred, William Tong, Jabez Cay, and John Chorlton (the future Manchester tutor). The names of only four students who joined the academy at Calton (1683) are known, and only a further nine during the Dawson Fold and Hartbarrow period (1684–5). Fifty-one students are recorded as joining the academy at Attercliffe (1686–9); these include Joshua Bayes, Ebenezer Bradshaw, Jeremiah Gill, John Walker, John Jollie, John Ashe, Thomas Barnes, John Turnball, Charles Dukinfield, and Thomas Dickenson. From 1689–98 the academy was again stationed at Rathmell, and the names of nearly 150 students from this period are known. About 30 of them were given grants from the Common Fund and Presbyterian Fund Board (DWL, OD67–8). One of the first students to join the academy after it returned to Rathmell was Edward Rothwell, the future tutor, who entered on 23 August 1689. Another was John Owen, who assisted Frankland for a brief time. Cumberbach Leech, whose theology notebook is still extant, is given a date of 2 July 1690. James Wood (22 April 1691) later coordinated members of his congregation against the Jacobite uprising of 1715. Other well-known names from this period include Timothy Thomas of Pershore, Richard Milne of Stockport, James Openshaw, John Disney, Joseph Gellibrand, Edward Aspinwall, Robert Murrey, Joseph Crompton, John Evans, Daniel Madock, John King (probably the ministry at Dodington, not the future Lord Chancellor), James Halstead, and David Some. James Clegg, to whose diary and funeral sermon for John Ashe we owe much of our

knowledge of Frankland's academy, is given a date of 26 February 1696; Reynold Tetlaw, whose library inventory has been used uncritically as a guide to reading at the academy (McLachlan, *English Education*, 69), is given a date of 14 June 1698 by Latham, but 1 July by Heywood.

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Frankland, Richard (1666–89)

RICHARD FRANKLAND (1666–89) was the son and assistant of Richard Frankland (1630–98), the tutor of the academy at Natland, Attercliffe and Rathmell. He was baptized on 30 September 1666 at Giggleswick and became a student of his father on 13 April 1682 (Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, 193; BL, Add. MS 45974, fo. 13). He later assisted his father with his teaching. One of his letters to Ralph Thoresby survives and has been printed; it is dated 'Heartbarrow, November 24 1685' and suggests that he and his father had been journeying for some time (YAS, MS 11 (28)). He died of smallpox and was buried at Sheffield on 4 May 1689. Thoresby considered Frankland Jr to have been a man of great promise; his father considered writing his biography (Thoresby, *Diary*, I, 265). Frankland Jr's death is sometimes viewed as one reason why his father moved from Natland back to Rathmell in 1689 (Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, 158).

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Gale, Theophilus (1628–79)

THEOPHILUS GALE, nonconformist minister, scholar, and tutor, was born in 1628 at Kingsteignton in Devon. His parents were Theophilus Gale (*d.* 1639), vicar of Kingsteignton and a prebendary of Exeter Cathedral, and Bridget, *née* Walrond (*ODNB*). He entered Magdalen Hall, Oxford as a commoner in 1647, and was made a demy of Magdalen College in 1648, by appointment of the parliamentary visitors (Burrows, *Register*, 516). On 17 December 1649 Gale graduated BA; the public register recorded that he was ‘*Vir provectoris aetatis & iberioris Spei Juvenis*’: ‘though somewhat advanced in years, a young man of pregnant hopes’ (Prince, *Worthies*, 349). He was made a fellow of the college as a result of the university visitation of 1650 (Burrows, *Register*, 565). On 18 June 1652 he proceeded MA, and in the same year he became a logic lecturer at Magdalen. By 1657 he was a junior dean of arts and by 1658 a senior dean of arts. Among his students were Ezekiel Hopkins, later a bishop of Derry, whom he probably taught at some point between 1650 and 1653, George Nicholson, Daniel Houghton, and Francis Carter (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 97; Bloxam, *Magdalen*, I, 80; V, 235). In November 1657 he was appointed a preacher at Winchester Cathedral (LPL, COMM. II/728; COMM. III/6, p. 128). During the Protectorate,

Gale subscribed to many of the views of John Owen and Thomas Goodwin on theology, politics, and church government. He used his time at Oxford to research both ancient and modern philosophy, including Plato (Gale, *Gentiles*, I, *2v). He was ejected from both his university and his preaching positions in 1660 (Calamy, *Account*, 64).

After his ejection, Gale remained in Oxford until he was offered a position as tutor to the children of Philip, Lord Wharton. An extant collection of over 50 letters between Gale and Wharton gives unparalleled insight into Gale's duties and the progress of his charges. Gale initially requested £50 per annum, but was eventually granted £40, although its payment was frequently delayed. Gale's early correspondence with Wharton included a detailed 'Diary for studies & other exercises' relating to philosophy, the Scriptures, practical divinity, bodily exercises, Latin, the Greek Testament, music, and geography. In natural philosophy, Wharton's sons were to learn 'the more easy and pleasing parts' of natural philosophy, including 'the principles of the world according to the description of Moses gen: 1. with the sundry traditions of the Heathen Philosophers answering therto. Also touching the meteors, their causes production effects with such experimentall observations as they will afford. then of minerals, mettals, stones, Gem[m]es &c likewise the history of Animals especially such as are mentioned in Scripture, lastly an anatome of the parts in mans body also general account of the soul with its faculties op[er]ations, & union with the body, also of life, and rules for the preservation of health &c.' In the afternoons, the boys were to read philology, poetry, oratory, history, and Jewish, Greek, and Roman antiquities. In philosophy, they were to study the Cynics, Stoics, Sceptics, Epicureans, Pythagoreans, Platonists, and Peripatetics (Bod. Lib., Rawl. Lrs. 49, fos. 1–4).

Wharton's own surviving notes include a timetable for the education of his daughters, but by August 1662 Gale was in France with Wharton's sons Thomas and Goodwin only (Bod. Lib., Rawl. Lrs. 49, fos. 11–15, 63). They were stationed at Caen, where (despite frequent illnesses) Wharton's sons attended lectures at the Protestant college, and studied with several private tutors, including a Monsieur le Fevre, who taught arithmetic and geography (Bod. Lib., Rawl. Lrs. 49, fo. 63). Gale, however, played little part in their instruction, preferring to spend his days reading and preparing a history of philosophy. Gale's French associates found his academic work amusing, and were puzzled by his conclusions; however, he found a sympathetic acquaintance in Samuel Bochart, whose works Gale quoted from extensively in

his publications. Bochart also advised Gale on the proper instruction for the Wharton children, and suggested that they would benefit from greater study of oratory and the humanist subjects before entering upon formal logic classes (Bod. Lib., Rawl. Lrs. 49, fo. 22). Gale opined that Thomas and Goodwin Wharton were inclined to 'cast of all gram[m]er', had 'much of enclination to reading of Romances', and did not 'attaine to that standard your Honour has prescribed' (Bod. Lib., Rawl. Lrs. 49, fos. 93, 100).

In October 1663 Gale wrote to Wharton of his intention to enter his charges 'in the publique Classes', Thomas for Oratory and Goodwin for Latin; he advised Wharton that they would 'not be capable' of studying geometry for some time, but should continue their study of geography (Bod. Lib., Rawl. Lrs. 49, fo. 104). In December, he noted that Thomas and Goodwin had made 'a very good progresse . . . beyond my expectation' in their studies, but continued to go to bed late, making them tardy in the mornings (Bod. Lib., Rawl. Lrs. 49, fos. 116, 122–3). Early in 1664 Goodwin caught smallpox, while his brother Thomas engaged in 'violent exercise as fencing &c im[m]ediately after dinner & at other times most p[ro]per for study' (Bod. Lib., Rawl. Lrs. 49, fos. 129, 156). In February, an exasperated Gale wrote to Wharton that his charges had attended a street masque, despite his prohibition, and by June 1664 he was prepared to concede to Wharton his 'unsufficiency to gouverne & instruct your children' (Bod. Lib., Rawl. Lrs. 49, fos. 168, 195). In September 1664 the responsibility for governing the Wharton children passed to another nonconformist minister, Abraham Clifford, and Gale returned to England (Bod. Lib., Rawl. Lrs. 49, fos. 226–7, 230–1). Like the tutor Charles Morton, Gale had stored many of his manuscripts, including his commonplace books of twenty years, in London; upon returning to the city in 1666 at the time of the Fire, he was greatly relieved to find that they had not been damaged. From this time he appears to have been living in the capital, although the exact dates are not known. The *terminus ad quem* is May 1670, in which he was fined 5 shillings for attending an illegal dissenting conventicle (Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 216; no other attempted prosecutions of Gale are known).

Some time between 1666 and 1672 Gale established an academy in his house at Newington Green. Very little is known about it, and it may have been small initially. His earliest datable student is Bartholomew Ashwood, who first attended the academy in either 1671 or 1672, aged fourteen or fifteen. According to Thomas Reynolds, Ashwood was 'received unto the Family, and pursu'd his Academical Studies, under the Tuition of that exact Philologist and

accurate Philosopher, the learned Mr. *Gale*; in which 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' (Reynolds, *Ashwood*, 60–1); it seems likely that Gale taught many of these subjects. Gale's only other definite students are Thomas and Benoni Rowe, neither of whom left an account of his academy, although Thomas Rowe used Gale's published works in his own lectures (BBCL, G95, Volume II). Two other possible students of Gale are 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' (Jollie, *Note Book*, 36).

To his contemporaries, Gale was better-known as a scholar than as a tutor, and the few surviving seventeenth and early eighteenth-century comments upon his teaching tend to focus on his published writings. Gale's most famous work was *The Court of the Gentiles*, published in five instalments between 1669 and 1678. An attempt to explore the limits of human reason and the deficiencies of human knowledge, Gale's text begins as a history of philosophy and ends as a sophisticated (at times almost impenetrable) discourse on the finer points of ethics and theology. In the 'Advertisement to the Reader' in Part I, Gale claims that the work had its genesis in some intimations of Grotius 'touching the *Traduction of Human Arts and Sciences from the Scriptures*'. However, Gale was careful not to associate himself with Grotian natural religion in this text, arguing forcibly that human knowledge was utterly deficient, with recourse to a bewildering array of authors from various philosophical and theological traditions, from Stillingfleet to Owen. Gale's chief aims were 'to *confirme* the *Authoritie*, and *demonstrate* the *Perfection* of the *Sacred Scriptures*', to demonstrate the 'great *Marques* of *Divine favor*' vouchsafed by Christ upon the Church, and 'to beat down that *fond persuasion* . . . openly avowed by many, too great *Admirers* of *Pagan Philosophie*, (especially that of *Plato*), as if it were all but the *Product* of *Natures Light*'. Another aim, of which Gale makes great play, was 'to *disabuse* the minds of many young Students, *prepossessed* with *grosse*, yea in some degree *blasphemous Ideas* and *Notions* touching *God*, his *Names*, *Attributes*, *Nature*, *Operations*' (Gale, *Gentiles*, I, *3v–*4r). After discussing the scriptural origins and subsequent corruption of ancient philology (Part I) and philosophy (Part

II), Gale explored the vanity of Judaic, gnostic, and patristic thought, before attempting to rewrite Platonist ethics and metaphysics into a form compatible with his own Calvinist Congregationalism (Part IV, Books 1–2). In a final section, which Gale clearly viewed as the culmination of the work, he set about demonstrating the truth of the Calvinist perspective on many of the most controverted ethical and theological points of his day; to do so, he borrowed ideas and arguments eclectically from a bewildering array of sources, including Aristotelian scholasticism, Platonism, Ramism and Cartesianism (Part IV, Book 3). The response to Gale's text from his theological opponents (such as Richard Baxter, John Howe, and Richard Allestree) was fierce and immediate: not only were they alarmed by his conclusions, but they were bewildered by his method, which combined repetitive demonstrations with an almost incomprehensible diction and syntax.

Gale's other published writings also reveal many of his assumptions as a tutor. His account of *The True Idea of Jansenisme* (1669), is a spirited and polemical history of the French philosophical and theological movement; Gale's defence of Jansen as a persecuted Augustinian theologian and a powerful educator was shared by one of Gale's chief supporters, the leading Congregational theologian John Owen, who wrote a preface to the work. Gale's interest in neo-Platonism is particularly in evidence in his *Philosophia generalis* and *Idea theologiae*, both of which appear to have been largely unsuccessful attempts to carry his intellectual and pedagogic principles to a wider European audience. Gale's other shorter works combine a terse style with pastoral intentions: they include lives of three west-country Congregationalists with whom he shared common beliefs. Of particular interest is Gale's life of John Rowe, the father of his student, the future academy tutor Thomas Rowe; Gale's introduction to the *Discourse of the Two Covenants* (1678) by Owen's associate William Strong is further confirmation that Gale's proximity to the intellectual centre of Congregationalism extended from the 1650s to the end of his life.

Gale's academy was considered controversial by many, dissenters as well as clergymen, who opposed his philosophical and theological views. In a manuscript treatise attacking Gale's views on predetermination in 1678, Baxter provocatively invoked Gale's 'schooleboies': even they, he suggested, 'must hisse ye conclusion' of his arguments (DWL, Baxter MS 61.14, XVIII part 2, fo. 104r). Samuel Wesley, who travelled to London in 1679 with a view to receiving instruction from Gale, later claimed that many of Gale's students did not spend

the recommended term of five years at his academy (Wesley, *Defence*, 47). In his *Letter* of 1703 attacking the academies, 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', expecting which Wesley arrived at London on 8 March 1679, to find that Gale had died. Wesley then continued 'for some time Longer at a Grammar School' before attending Edward Veal's academy in Stepney (Wesley, *Letter*, 4–5). In the eyes of Wesley's benefactors, then, Thomas Rowe's academy was not the automatic successor to Theophilus Gale's academy, although it is frequently presented as such in later literature. When Wesley referred to 'Mr *R.*' as 'Successor to Dr. *G.* who had been his tutor' he meant that Rowe was Gale's successor in the ministry, and took on several students paid for by provisions in Gale's will (Wesley, *Letter*, 8).

While in London, Gale assisted John Rowe at the Independent congregation in St Andrew's, Holborn. When Rowe died in 1677 Gale succeeded him, and Samuel Lee was taken on as co-pastor. He died suddenly at Newington Green in February 1679 and was buried in Bunhill Fields (BL, Add. MS 45967, fo. 17). He bequeathed much of his wealth to London ministers, including 20 shillings to Thomas Rowe, and £5 each to Thomas Goodwin, John Owen, Bartholomew Ashwood, Joseph Hallett, John Troughton, Stephen Lobb, and Edward Veal. He bequeathed his books to Harvard College, with the exception of his philosophical books, which he left a group of dissenting ministers, including Owen and Troughton, to be used 'for the maintenance education and benefit of such poore Scholars or other Charitable uses as they . . . Judge fitt' (TNA, PRO, PROB 11/360/145). According to Samuel Wesley, Gale also 'left either ten or twenty Exhibitions . . . of Ten Pound *Per Ann.* each to so many Young Scholars designed for Ministers, most or all Independants', and hints that these students were taught by Rowe, who was then living at Hackney (Wesley, *Letter*, 8). A large collection of Gale's books, nearly 1,000, was left to Harvard College; the books remained there until a fire destroyed them in 1764. Meanwhile, his philosophical books stayed in London, for the use of students (Calamy, *Account*, 65). Among his manuscript compositions was a large lexicon of the Greek Testament, which he completed as far as the letter Iota. Shortly before his death, he printed proposals for publishing it. The manuscript's title was 'Lexicon Graeci Testamenti

Etymologicum Synonymum, sive Glossarium & Homonymum', and it was still extant in 1727 (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 98). Despite their controversial intention and conclusions, Gale's published works were read widely after his death, and were referred to by Daniel Defoe, Thomas Rowe, Isaac Watts, and Joseph Priestley among others.

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***Glascock, Francis (d. 1706?)**

FRANCIS GLASCOCK lectured together with Stephen Lobb and William Wickens to Charles Morton's students after Morton moved to America in 1685. According to Abraham Taylor, the minister John Beaumont was tutored by Glascock after the break-up of Morton's academy. Beaumont 'privately heard lectures, from that very judicious divine Mr. Francis Glascock, and from Mr. Stephen Lobb, and Mr. Wickens'; these men 'privately, in this way, endeavour'd to assist such young students, as were deprived of more stated helps for instruction, thro' the severity of the times' (Taylor, *Beaumont*, 45–6). On 29 December 1685 Matthew Henry noted that 'Some of Mr. Morton's yong men now yei are scatter'd from him meet (about 6 or 8 of ym.) weekly & have a Divin[ity] Disputa[ti]on, in wch. Mr. Glascock a very worthy ingenious yong min[iste]r presides'. Henry was permitted to attend the meeting by 'Mr. S. L.', although this man was probably not Stephen Lobb. Henry found the

disputations to be 'well manag'd'; on the day that he attended, the disputation question was 'An fide sola~ justificemur' ('Whether we are justified by faith alone'). The students resolved the question in the affirmative, 'much ag[ains]t ye. Baxterian way – yt faith justifies not as a condi[ti]on but an instrum[en]t' (DWL, 90.5.10). These comments by Taylor and Henry suggest that Glascock, Lobb and Wickens were teaching students on a fairly informal basis during the late 1680s. This arrangement highlights the difficulties faced by many dissenters in the decade following the Exclusion Crisis (1679–81). There is no further indication that Glascock ran an academy.

Glascock was a Presbyterian; he ministered at Drury Lane in Westminster for part of his career (Gordon, *Freedom*, 271). He also gave sermons at Crosby Square, where another minister was William Tong (Bod. Lib., Rawl. e.121, pp. 14–27, 75–89). In the dissenters' Common Fund survey, c.1690, Glascock was recorded as 'Lady Wimbletons Chaplain, on ye Strand' (DWL, OD161, p. 2). In 1692 he and a George Hume donated a total of £20 to the Fund; they provided a further £20 in 1694 (DWL, OD67, fo. 95; DWL, OD68, fo. 4). Glascock does not seem to have been an assiduous commonplacer, perhaps preferring to write epitomes of texts which he considered to be important. In 1692 the dissenter Zachary Merrill noted that Glascock 'contracts the books (polemical) which He reads, never Common places. Of which he showed me several. Ushers Arrival, Socinianism and Arminianism Controversy' (Bod. Lib., Rawl. d.1120, fo. 62). During the doctrinal debate between Daniel Williams and Stephen Lobb in the mid 1690s, Glascock was part of a panel of ministers invited to adjudicate (Alsop, *Rebuke*, 19; Lobb, *Defence*, 57).

Glascock's *Sermon on Rev[elation] Ch[apter] V*, originally preached at the Merchants' Lecture at Pinners' Hall, was published in 1702; it was dedicated to Lady Elizabeth Bernardiston. Glascock used Revelation 5:8–14 to demonstrate that Christ's righteousness was 'all-sufficient for our Justification', while 'all justified Persons are under indispensible Obligations to yield holy Obedience' (Glascock, *Sermon*, 10). Some passages from this sermon were reprinted in a collection of *Aureae sententiae* in 1768 (24, 95–96, 216–17). A brief paper, 'The Roman Papal Empire proved to be ye Image of ye Roman Pagan Empire', is attributed in a manuscript copy to Glascock (BBCL, Ze10). His death was recorded by Matthew Henry on 22 June 1706 (Bod. Lib., Eng. Misc. e.330, fo. 22). In his will, written on 23 February 1699 but proved in 1706, Glascock described himself as of Great Dunmore; he

bequeathed his estate to his sisters Hannah Glascock and Sarah Glascock (TNA, PRO, PROB 11/492/454). William Tong, in his funeral sermon for Glascock, noted that the day after his final illness struck, he told a friend that 'if this Sickness should prove unto Death, he was thro' Grace ready for it'; the day before he died he told the same person that 'He had much more Comfort and Joy in his Soul, than he had Pain in his Body'; to a gentleman visitor he stated, 'Tho' he knew his Sin deserv'd Hell, yet he had good Hope through Grace' (Tong, *Glascock*, 24).

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Goodwin, Thomas (c.1635?–1708?)

THOMAS GOODWIN, tutor at an academy in Pinner, was the son of Thomas Goodwin, the Cromwellian president of Magdalen College, Oxford. Goodwin the younger received his early education in England; it is possible that he is the 'cler. fil.' who matriculated at Wadham College on 12 February 1652, with a BA from Hart Hall on 15 June 1655 (Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, I, 586). If so, Lawrence's claim (*ODNB*) that he was born c.1650 is incorrect. After his education at Oxford Goodwin moved to the Netherlands, but he returned to England during the reign of Charles II and became engaged, along with three other ministers, in giving an evening lecture at a coffeehouse, supported by London merchants (Bogue and Bennett, *Dissenters*, II, 66–7). He acted as literary executor when his father died in 1680, and gradually took over the editing of his father's works. These appeared in 5 folio

volumes between 1681 and 1704, and brought Goodwin the younger to national prominence. The volumes provide considerable information about Goodwin's priorities as an editor, and the state of his father's manuscripts. In 1683, he toured Europe with John Shower and others (Tong, *Shower*, 21). Upon his return in 1685, he was chosen to assist Stephen Lobb at Fetter Lane; he later moved to Pinner (Bogue and Bennett, *Dissenters*, II, 67). In 1695 he published *A Discourse of the True Nature of the Gospel*. Through this text, written in response to William Lorimer's *An Apology for the Ministers who Subscribed* (1694), he aligned himself theologically with Lobb and Isaac Chauncey, in opposition to the perceived 'neonomianism' of Daniel Williams. The dispute was already significant because it had led to the collapse of the dissenters' Common Fund, which had provided grants to academy students since 1691. Following the departure of Lobb, Chauncey and others in 1693, the Common Fund developed into the Presbyterian Fund Board, leading to the establishment of a rival Congregational Fund Board. It was this new arrangement which provided the financial support for Goodwin to set up a Congregational academy at Pinner.

On 29 June 1696 the Congregational Fund Board ordered that 'Mr Mead Mr Nesbitt Doc[tor] Chancey Mr Gouge discourse with Mr Goodwin about educateing young students' (DWL, OD401, p. 28). The notes of the Board provide very detailed information about how Goodwin's academy operated. Early in February 1697 he acquired two of the Gloucester tutor James Forbes's students, Wilson and King, and a student called Keath; Powell of Brecknockshire, 'if he comes up & be thought fitt' was also to be a student at his academy. On 8 February, Keath refused to go to Goodwin's academy and was 'to be left to his own disposall' (DWL, OD401, p. 42). The other students were to be boarded at Pinner; on 15 February Nisbet and Gouge were to discourse with Goodwin 'concerning the provideing the Students with linnen . . . and agree on an Allowance for ye Same' (DWL, OD401, p. 43). By March 1697 Keath had agreed to be placed under Goodwin's instruction, and a motion was passed to continue his education there, alongside King and Wilson. It was also ordered that 'a sum not exceeding 14£ p[er] ann[um] be allowed for the Board of the Students att Pinner'. On 29 of March it was agreed that Taylor and Nesbitt should interview another student, 'mr. Maison a member of mr. Shepards Church of Norhamton', to see if he was suitable for Goodwin's academy; if so, he was to have 'eight pounds allowed him for this present yeare' (DWL, OD401, pp. 45–6). On 7 June 1697 the Board ordered that Keath '& ye rest of ye Students at mr Goodwins' were to be examined by Stephen Lobb a fortnight hence. On 5

July £5 was donated to Nathan Hickford, another 'Student with mr Goodwin'; other sums were provided in July for the students Mason and Holland (DWL, OD401, pp. 52, 54, 55). A student variously called 'Oddy' and 'Hoddy' was sent on 6 September at the charge of the board for one year 'to studdie Divinity' and to 'assist those that are there in the learning of ffilologie & that mr Lobb take care about it'. At the same meeting, Lobb and Nesbitt were instructed to 'let mr Goodwin know that he take none under his tuition but such as shall be approved by this board' (DWL, OD401, p. 56). On 20 September Millway was granted £6 'provided he behave himselfe to the satisfaction of those that have the care of the Students' and Keath was allowed £4 for 'Necessaries'. Keath's place at the academy was confirmed on 27 September 1697 (DWL, OD401, p. 57). Two weeks later, Samuel Saddington was ordered to attend the academy after examination by Isaac Chauncey and Stephen Lobb. Lobb's own son was offered a place at Goodwin's academy in November, and in this instance the £10 grant was given to their father (DWL, OD401, pp. 58, 61). It seems as though the Fund also supplied books to another new student of Goodwin, 'Wellds' or 'Wells', late in 1697 (DWL, OD401, p. 62). Millway was given a further student's allowance on condition of good behaviour on 19 January 1698; on the same date, Hoddy was awarded £30 'for One yeare from the 25 Decemb[er] last in Consideration of his instructing the young Students there in Philologie' (DWL, OD401, p. 65). However, Hoddy was not keen to continue doing so, since on 14 March it was ordered that 'mr Lobb Speake to mr Oddy & press him to goe down to mr. Goodwins & that if he goes & setles there it be left to mr. Lobb to give some farther satisfaction if it be instisted on more – £5' (DWL, OD401, p. 68). Saddington and Wells continued to study with Goodwin in 1698, now alongside a Mr Heckford, but a student named Scott was removed, and an account was required of Millway's progress (DWL, OD401, p. 71).

A reference on 10 October 1698 to Keath being 'sent down to mr Goodwins to be there for a quarter of a yeare as before' suggests that Goodwin's academy students sometimes committed themselves to only a very short period of learning (DWL, OD401, p. 82).

Furthermore, when James Forbes's two grandsons Dellemane and Jellye joined the academy on 24 October, provision was only made for half a year (DWL, OD401, p. 83). It also seems that the shortage of money could put the Board in a difficult position in relation to Goodwin's academy: on 9 January 1699 it was ordered that 'Henry Sheaphard at Mr Goodwins bee taken care of by this Board for one year he beeing proposd by Mr Hollis who promiseth 100*l.* for

next year soe it be distributed indifferently between Baptists & Congregationals' (DWL, OD401, p. 88). The Fund Board was also reluctant to admit students who were unwell to academies; William Scott was finally sent to Goodwin in January 1698 'on acc[oun]t of his healt' (DWL, OD401, p. 89). Taking care of students presented Goodwin with other responsibilities than teaching: on 3 July 1699 the Board provided him with £5 'for defraying extreordinary chardges with relation to his Students' (DWL, OD401, p. 99). By 4 September, partly as a result of running into arrears, Keath was finally dropped from the academy: Nesbitt was ordered to write to Goodwin that 'he doe not Entertaine mr Keith any more upon ye acco[un]t of this Board being fully discharged from their Care'. Hoddy was discharged from his duties at the academy on 2 October 1699. Shuttlewood, probably a relation of John Shuttlewood, was awarded £8 for half a year, should he choose to attend the academy, on the same date (DWL, OD401, p. 100). Amounts awarded to students continued to fluctuate: Green was awarded £6 two years in a row (1700 and 1701) but Henry Sheppard 'for tuition & board' was granted only £4 5s.

The first reference to Goodwin's best-known student, Caleb Wroe, appears along with another new student Mr Guize, on 2 September 1700 (DWL, OD402, p. 22). An award of 20 shillings to Wroe and £7 to Guize also appears in the minutes for November 1701 (DWL, OD402, p. 43). Stephen Lobb the younger, a relative of his better-known namesake, was sent to Goodwin on 21 October 1700 (DWL, OD402, p. 24). Concerns over finance meant that Goodwin was one of the 'Severall Tutors' required by the Board on 17 February 1701 to give an account of the qualifications of their students 'for publick service, that they may be employed' (DWL, OD402, p. 29). In March 1701, Green was again awarded £6, but 'Hill of Brantry [Braintree]' was given £12 for one year (DWL, OD402, pp. 31–2). In June 1701 the Board managed £8 for a full year for Ollive; James Watson, who had received a 'good Character' from Goodwin himself, was awarded £2 10s for the period from Michaelmas to Christmas (DWL, OD402, pp. 39, 43). On 3 November, Stephen Lobb was provided with 20 shillings 'for the use of Mr Goodwins Library at Pinner' (DWL, OD402, p. 43). Another student, Watson, was allowed £4 in February 1702, but it was raised to £16 and 'left to the discretion of mr Clarke and mr Bennoni Roe concerning his tuition' in March. By this date, Wroe, Guize, Lobb, and Hill were Goodwin's other students (DWL, OD402, pp. 46–7). In January 1703 his students were Green, Olive, Lobb, and Hill (DWL, OD402, p. 57). A clear indication that the cost of Goodwin's tuition had been regularised appears in the minutes for

March 1702, where it is stated that Jabez Hugh[e]s 'bee allowed after ye rate of 16£ p[er] An[num]' £12, and John Phillips 'for one halfe year' £8 (DWL, OD402, p. 59). An entry for 14 June 1703 also suggests that migration between academies was sanctioned by the Board, since it was ordered that 'Thomas Linnet have leave to go [to] mr Goodwin ye Character of him rec[eive]d this day from Mr Pain being approved of' (DWL, OD402, p. 64). Another of Payne's students, Mr Keen, moved to Goodwin's academy on 4 December 1704 (DWL, OD402, p. 78). Goodwin's students did not necessarily go straight into the ministry: on 3 July 1704 the Board ordered that 'Mr Nisbett take care of Mr Green & Mr Ollife for a q[uar]ter of a yeare they being now at Mr Goodwins' (DWL, OD402, p. 75). Unfortunately, the next volume of notes from the Congregational Fund is missing, meaning that this detailed picture of Goodwin's academy terminates somewhat abruptly.

Goodwin's will was drawn up on 28 May 1700, but it was not proved until 23 February 1708; he probably died much closer to this latter date. He asked to be buried in the vault of 'that Sepulchral Monument . . . adjoining to the new Artillery Ground', by the tomb of his father and mother. To his wife, Abigail Goodwin, he left 'the books remaining of the impression of the third and fourth volumes of my dear fathers works and alsoe the fifty books of Mr. [John] Quicks Synodicon due to me from Mr. Robinson & Mr. Parkhurst Booksellers'. He left to his son Thomas Goodwin 'my whole Library of Books consisting of five or six thousand Volumes in folio 4to octavo & 12o', together with 'all manuscripts of my dear ffathers works yet unprinted & the right to the Copyes of those which have been printed' (TNA, PRO, PROB 11/499/481). Some books from the library also ended up in the library of Lord Sunderland in the early eighteenth century (BL, Add. MS 61657, fo. 129).

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Griffith, Roger (d. 1708)

ROGER GRIFFITH, tutor at Abergavenny in Monmouthshire, was a student of Thomas Brand and John Ker at their private academy in Bethnal Green. On 9 March 1691 the dissenters' Common Fund in London ordered that he should be awarded £10 as a former student of Brand, to continue his instruction under Ker; his fellow students included the future ministers Samuel Bourne and Jabez Earle, as well as the future tutor Charles Owen. Further sums of £10 towards his studies were paid to Griffith on 6 July 1691 and 11 April 1692 (DWL, OD67, fos. 28, 30, 44, 67). Griffith then attended the University of Utrecht with another bursary from the Common Fund in March 1693 (DWL, OD67, fo. 107). He later became a dissenting minister at Abergavenny. In 1702 Griffith conformed and from 1706 he was the rector of New Radnor; subsequently he became an archdeacon of Brecon. Towards the end of his life he found himself in considerable debt, and died in this condition shortly after 10 October 1708.

Following the death of Samuel Jones of Brynlllywarch in 1697, Griffith became a tutor of academical learning at Abergavenny. Jones's academy had been supported by both Congregationalists and Presbyterians through the Common Fund; Jones's death, coming shortly after the departure of the Congregationalists from the Common Fund, led to the

development of two rival academies in Wales. Griffith's students were supported by the Presbyterian Fund, whereas the students of Rice Price in Bridgend were supported by the Congregational Fund. On 21 June 1697 the Presbyterian Fund Board agreed that £30 should be allowed to six of Griffith's students; further sums of £30 were paid to six of his students for the twelve months beginning December 1699, December 1700 and December 1701 (DWL, OD68, fos. 30, 36, 44; pp. 99, 111). A late eighteenth-century tradition of dubious authenticity claims that Griffith's students included Samuel Jones, tutor at an academy in Gloucester and Tewkesbury, and Thomas Perrot, tutor at Carmarthen (BUL, XMS 281, p. 15). After conforming in 1702, Griffith no longer tutored dissenting students. The job of teaching academical learning to Presbyterians in Wales then fell to William Evans of Carmarthen. Meanwhile, several other Welsh dissenters attended James Owen's academy in Shrewsbury (1702–6).

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Grove, Henry (1684–1738)

HENRY GROVE, philosopher and academy tutor, was born on 4 January 1684 at Taunton. He was the youngest of the fourteen children of Thomas Grove (c.1632–c.1712) and his second wife, Elizabeth (*ODNB*). Grove's paternal grandfather was the ejected vicar of Pinhoe in Devon, Edward Grove. According to the *Protestant Dissenter's Magazine* for 1796, Thomas Grove was a tradesman, who 'suffered much, and cheerfully' for being a dissenter during the reigns of Charles II and James II ('Grove', *PDM*, III, 81). Henry Grove's mother Elizabeth was the daughter of John and Susannah Rowe of Crediton; her brother, John Rowe (1626–77) was a lecturer at Westminster Abbey during the Protectorate, before his ejection in 1660. Henry's sister Anne married John Amory, a Taunton grocer; their son Thomas Amory became one of Grove's students and his successor as tutor at the Taunton academy (*ODNB*). All of Henry's other siblings predeceased their parents. Grove himself recalled the example his parents gave 'of the reality and excellency of every christian virtue'; he noted that their instructions were very far 'from having any thing sour, austere, and discouraging in them', and that their government was very far 'from being severe and rigid' (Grove, *Sermons*, I, p. viii). According to Amory, Thomas Grove died 'universally esteemed and lamented', having been 'remarkable for uncommon prudence and temper, unspotted integrity, a strict, yet chearful and amiable piety, and a generous charity' (Grove, *Sermons*, I, p. viii).

For details of Grove's education and career we are largely reliant upon a memorial by Amory prefixed to Grove's posthumously published sermons (Grove, *Sermons*, I, pp. viii–lxix).

Unfortunately, while Amory was himself a tutor of considerable learning, he was not averse

to polemic. This means that his account of Grove should be read with caution, since it reflects a carefully composed image rather than an indubitable likeness. According to this account Grove was taught to read and esteem the Scriptures constantly from childhood, and became accustomed to 'secret devotion'; Amory later recalled that his tutor's 'relish for these exercises grew with his years', and that he had found devotion to provide the highest pleasures and best relief from the troubles of life (Grove, *Sermons*, I, p. x). Even in early life, according to Amory, Grove's modesty, benevolence, and sense of honour appeared in a variety of instances, and 'excited him to exert himself to deserve the esteem he would never arrogate' (Grove, *Sermons*, I, p. x). Here, then, is Amory's image of the ideal childhood of a perfect tutor, although Amory's rhetoric need not debar readers from attempting to gain a sense of Grove's essentially warm-hearted nature.

Amory claims that Grove's intelligence meant that his grammar learning at Taunton proceeded more swiftly than usual, although he may be exaggerating Grove's precocity: Grove entered the Taunton academy at the age of fourteen, which was not particularly unusual in the early eighteenth century (Grove, *Sermons*, I, p. x). Certainly, his early education sparked a lifelong interest in the Latin poets, philosophers, and historians, and the Greek moralists. Amory records that Horace was one of Grove's favourite Latin poets on account of 'the delicacy of his sentiment and expression, his knowledge of human life, and nice discernment of the decorum of characters, and the ridicule of vice, appearing peculiarly in his satires and epistles' (Grove, *Sermons*, I, p. xi). He was also greatly conversant with Cicero's philosophical texts, especially his *Laws*, which Grove (according to Amory) believed to contain 'the solid principles on which the unalterable excellence and obligation of morality is founded', although they had been organised with greater exactness subsequently; Cicero's *Offices* Grove considered to be 'a fine delineation of the beautiful form of virtue'; his discourses on the natures of the gods and the immortality of the soul were 'an unanswerable demonstration of the great necessity and advantage of the *christian* revelation', which Grove used to counteract the 'specious *theories* of modern deists' and others who relied solely on 'unassisted reason' (Grove, *Sermons*, I, pp. xi–xii; here, and in the following passages, the quotations are from Amory, not Grove). Among Latin historians, Grove admired Sallust for 'the strength and justness of his characters', the 'judicious arrangement of his materials', and 'the solidity of his reflections'; he also admired Tacitus for 'his strong sense, penetration and conciseness', which he greatly preferred to the verbosity of Livy.

Among the Greeks, Grove found the 'easy and clear reasonings and fine morality' of Xenophon particularly pleasing, together with the 'sublime' of Plato, the 'plain but strong reasoning' of Epictetus, and the 'unaffected nobleness of thought' of Marcus Antonius. Homer he found more troubling, praising the 'variety and consistency' of his characterisations, and the 'sublime' of many of his descriptions, but tiring of his 'everlasting fightings and slaughters', the barbarity of his heroes, and the follies and vices of his gods. For 'beauty, variety and grandeur of descriptions' together with 'true sublime in sentiments', he found Milton preferable to Homer; the *Iliad* compared no more favourably with *Paradise Lost* than pagan theology with Christianity (Grove, *Sermons*, I, pp. xii–xiii).

From the age of fourteen, Grove went through 'a course of *academical* learning' under Matthew Warren at the dissenters' academy in Taunton. Amory remarks that Warren was 'bred himself in the *old logic* and *philosophy*, and little acquainted with the improvements of the *new*', but that 'he encouraged his pupils in a freedom of enquiry, and in reading those books which would better gratify a love of truth and knowledge', even when their sentiments differed widely from those upon which he had formed his own judgments. Amory's next comments are difficult to interpret with precision; he states that 'Here therefore he read *Locke* and *Le Clerc*, and thus improv'd a judgment naturally penetrating and exact, while *Burgersdicius* or *De-rodon* were the lecturers in form'. McLachlan and others have taken this statement to mean that Warren read Locke and Le Clerc, while Burgersdijck and Derodon were the more widely-used texts in the universities and academies. However, it makes more sense to read the comment to mean that Grove read Locke and Le Clerc privately, with Warren's approbation, while Warren himself read Burgersdijck and Derodon in his lectures. Similarly, when Amory writes that Grove 'acquainted himself with the strong reasonings, and excellent morality of *Cumberland*, while *Eustachius* was the public guide in ethics', he does not mean that Warren lectured on Cumberland; rather, Warren's lectures (his 'public' teaching) were probably on Eustachius, whereas Grove read Cumberland privately. Warren's traditional lectures did not then inhibit his students from exploring other systems of philosophy. In theology, Amory writes, Warren was 'reckon'd among the *moderate* divines', and 'incouraged the *free* and *critical* study of the *scriptures*, as the best *system* of *theology*'; Amory himself concurred that they 'are indeed the only proper system' (Grove, *Sermons*, I, pp. xiv–xv).

After leaving the Taunton academy in 1703, Grove proceeded to London, where he studied at the academy of his kinsman Thomas Rowe. While in London, he struck up an acquaintance with Isaac Watts, which continued until his death, 'notwithstanding some difference in opinion on certain controverted points' ('Grove', *PDM*, III, 82, paraphrasing Grove, *Sermons*, I, p. xvi). Amory later recorded that the sentiment of Watts's ode addressed to Rowe, entitled 'Free Philosophy', was 'just and agreeable to the spirit of Mr. *Grove*, and the method he afterwards pursued', and transcribed part of it in his memoir of Grove (Grove, *Sermons*, I, pp. xv–xvi). While at Rowe's academy, Grove made the friendship of 'several other persons of merit' which continued throughout his life (Grove, *Sermons*, I, p. xvi). Amory writes that Rowe was a 'zealous *Cartesian*', who encouraged Grove to examine with exactness Descartes' philosophy. This is only partly true: Rowe adopted many of Descartes' principles, but was critical of elements of his natural philosophy (BBCL, G95, Volume II). Similarly, Grove was not entirely persuaded by Descartes' metaphysics, and was even less comfortable with his physics; however, like Rowe, he 'thought the learned world very much obliged to that great man for breaking the yoke of *Aristotle*', and 'banishing that thick darkness of words without ideas, and explication more obscure than the things to be explained'. Descartes' writings thereby prepared the way for the reception of truth, and were delivered in a plain language which enabled those who examined his philosophy to discover his mistakes. Amory believed that Grove only found satisfaction in the Newtonian philosophy of the laws of the material world; he valued these not only for 'the superior evidence attending Sir *Isaac*'s reasonings' and experiments, but because he believed that its principles led to the acknowledgment of the 'presence and influence of the Deity, as supporting, actuating, and directing universal nature' (Grove, *Sermons*, I, pp. xvi–xix). Certainly, the course in natural philosophy drawn up by Grove's fellow tutor at Taunton Robert Darch makes great use of Newtonian mathematics (WL, 3636); Grove himself submitted an essay on Newton to the *Spectator* (vol. 8, no. 635), and apparently confessed himself 'much pleased with the excellent use Dr. *S. Clarke* had made of the *Newtonian Philosophy* . . . to demonstrate the *continual* providence and energy of the Almighty'. However, as much as Grove admired Locke and Newton, he 'implicitly submitted his understanding to neither, but was solely determined by the evidence they offered'. In some ways, Grove was even more impressed by Richard Baxter's *Enquiry into the Nature of the*

Soul, a book which Amory believed 'makes the attentive mind clearly discern the presence of the Deity every where' (Grove, *Sermons*, I, pp. xix, lxviii).

While under Rowe's instruction, Grove took the opportunity to hear the most celebrated London divines, both Anglicans and dissenters. Among the former, Richard Lucas was reportedly his favourite; according to Amory, Grove had first read Lucas's *Practical Christianity* while at Warren's academy, and continued to do so throughout his life, considering it to provide a 'judicious description of the main principles and duties of christianity' with a 'noble spirit of devotion' and a 'warm and resistless manner' which made it 'one of the best practical books in the *English* tongue' (Grove, *Sermons*, I, pp. xix–xx). Grove also admired Lucas's *An Enquiry after Happiness*, considering it (in Amory's words) 'a masterpiece for the manly vigour of the stile', the knowledge of human life it displayed, and the 'excellent rules for happiness' it contained. Among the dissenters, he heard and admired John Howe, of whom he often spoke with a high regard. While at Rowe's academy he applied himself to the study of Hebrew, in which he never attained the expertise of the greatest critics, but became sufficiently competent 'to qualify him for reading the Old Testament with pleasure in the original, and for judging the strength of critical reasonings upon it'. Among Old Testament critics, he valued Mercer in particular (Grove, *Sermons*, I, p. xx).

At the end of 1704, Grove returned to Somerset, where he earned a high reputation as a preacher; his sermons contained an 'exact judgment, a lively and beautiful imagination, a warmth of devotion, and a rational and amiable representation of christianity', which he delivered in a voice which, 'tho' not strong, was sweet and well governed'. Grove's piety also caught the attention of another of his relatives, the devotional poet Elizabeth Rowe, who wrote an 'Ode upon Death' addressed to Grove (Grove, *Sermons*, I, p. xxi). In one of her letters to Thomas Amory, probably from the 1720s or 1730s, she writes that she had been 'sincerely pleas'd with Mr. *Grove's* company' (Rowe, *Works*, II, 229). In another, she comments on lines from Grove's poetry by quoting from Alexander Pope's letters, also stating that Amory's own verses 'contain excellent rules for happiness; but you find they had not their just effect on your fair disciple' (Rowe, *Works*, II, 232). Soon after Grove started to preach, he married; of his thirteen children, eight predeceased him. The loss of one child occasioned a sermon entitled 'The Mourning Parent' (Grove, *Sermons*, I, p. xxii).

In 1706 Grove's former tutor Matthew Warren died. Grove was still only aged 23, but he was chosen to succeed Warren as tutor, alongside Robert Darch and Stephen James. Notes relating to Grove's election and his responsibilities are preserved in the minutes of the United Brethren of Devon (better known as the 'Exeter Assembly'). In September 1706 James gave the Assembly an account of the method which he, Darch, and Grove intended to take with their students. The Assembly approved the design, drawing up a statement 'not doubting but they will continue in their good resolutions', and 'wishing all good success to them' (DWL, 38.24, fo. 150). According to Amory, Grove was elected Warren's successor 'by the unanimous vote of a great number of ministers assembled for that purpose' (Grove, *Sermons*, I, p. xxii). Between 1718 and 1738 the Presbyterian Fund Board awarded grants to a small number of Grove's students, including a Mr Cooper (1718–20), Strickland Gough (1721–4), Samuel Gledhill (1725), Israel Mauditt (1725–30), Dudley Mosyer (1726), John Williams and John Owen (1728–30), John Cranch (1733–4) and a Mr Adams (1735–8); they were awarded £10 per annum each (DWL, OD68, pp. 373, 420; OD69, pp. 19–268).

Initially, Grove was assigned the teaching of ethics and pneumatology, and notes survive relating to both of these courses (for example, BL, Add. MS 4372: 'Pneumatology'; Harris Manchester College, Oxford, Grove 1: 'A System of Ethics'). Unlike many earlier commentators, Grove begins his pneumatology 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 and inverts the Aristotelian emphasis upon God's nature as a guide and contrast to our own. He repeats John Locke's division of knowledge into intuition, reason, and sensation, and claims, following the pneumatology of Jean Le Clerc, that the soul has an intuitive and self-sufficient knowledge of its existence (BL, Add. MS 4372, fos. 1–5). Like the tutor Thomas Rowe, Grove is quite prepared to borrow arguments from earlier Cartesian metaphysics: he even copies Descartes' 'Cogito Ergo Sum' into one of his lectures as a proof of the futility of doubting one's own existence. For Grove, God's existence requires demonstration from reason, and of the existence of other souls there is the highest assurance, given that thoughts may be communicated to others (BL, Add. MS 4372, fos. 8–12). Elsewhere in his pneumatology lectures Grove argues that the human soul's properties, powers, and faculties are to be ascertained by self-reflection. This 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 the philosopher Samuel Clarke's supposition that perception is a passive power (BL, Add. MS 4372, fos. 21–6). At other points he attacks Cartesianism directly; for instance, he criticises the Cartesian argument that thought is a substance, asserting instead that it is an act, making it an attribute rather than part of the essence of a substance (BL, Add. MS 4372, fos. 14–19). Grove's text provides clear evidence that early eighteenth-century academies used pneumatology lectures to reject the perceived excesses of Cartesian and Lockean thought, thereby confirming their students in orthodox theological doctrines.

Grove's 'System of Ethics' consists of about thirty-three lectures on topics ranging from definitions of the subject to descriptions of individual passions. In the opening lecture, Grove highlighted his faith in morality as a subject of 'the greatest Importance', without which it was 'not possible' to be a good preacher. Furthermore, moral philosophy was built on 'absolutely certain principles', namely that 'there is a God' and that 'Man as a reasonable & free Agent, is a Subject capable of Moral Government' (HMC, Grove 1, pp. 1, 3, 5). He then turns his attention to the 'chief end' of ethics, which is to make men happy; after exploring this notion in relation to classical philosophers, including Aristotle, Seneca, and Cicero, he reminds his readers that man is himself incapable of happiness, and that eternal happiness requires consideration of God as our Creator; the highest happiness, then is 'the Enjoyment of God in a future State' (HMC, Grove 1, pp. 26–38, 43). Grove explains that classical philosophers considered the 'summum bonum' to consist of the 'good things of the Mind', such as knowledge and virtue, and of the Body', including health, strength, beauty, fortune, honours, riches, and pleasures; unsurprisingly, Grove associates the latter with the excesses of Epicureanism (HMC, Grove 1, pp. 44–56). The second group of Grove's lectures concerns the topics of free will and human reason. After wrestling with Locke's discussion of liberty, Grove concludes that men are free agents, who nevertheless have the power to influence the actions of other people under certain circumstances (HMC, Grove 1, pp. 57–155). In the final group of lectures, Grove describes the nature and effects of human virtues and vices, including prudence, sincerity, fortitude, sobriety, temperance, justice, truth, and faithfulness (HMC, Grove 1, 2nd pagination, pp. 126–272).

According to Amory, who later edited Grove's moral philosophy lectures for publication, Grove's undertaking of the teaching of ethics was 'of considerable advantage to himself as a preacher', obliging him 'to enquire with great exactness into the *principles* and *rules* of natural religion', thereby discerning the moral perfections of God, and 'the unalterable obligations of moral goodness in its several parts on men' (Grove, *Sermons*, I, pp. xxii–xxiii). By this method, Grove recognised (in Amory's words) that '*revealed* religion must be founded on *natural*, and could therefore in no parts clash with it', and that revelation was entirely consonant with reason (Grove, *Sermons*, I, p. xxiii). Furthermore, his study of ethics assisted Grove in representing the graces and virtues of the Christian life, as (according to Amory) he had demonstrated in his discourses on Matthew 7:10 and Romans 14:16 (Grove, *Sermons*, I, p. xxiv).

Grove's role as a tutor meant that he remained fixed at Taunton, but he continued to preach for eighteen years to two small local congregations. In 1718 and 1719 he received bursaries from the Presbyterian Fund Board as a minister at West Hatch (DWL, OD68, pp. 331, 333, 363). However, his combined salary as a teacher and a minister remained under twenty pounds per annum, which was spread thinly across his growing family and led to him 'breaking in on his paternal estate' (Grove, *Sermons*, I, pp. xxv, xxxii). Nevertheless, Grove's output as a preacher was considerable, and many of his sermons and discourses were printed. In the past, it has been on the basis of these printed works that Grove's achievements as a tutor have been measured; however, a much fairer way of assessing his teaching is to consider the manuscript systems of learning from the Taunton academy during this period, including those of Stephen James (CL, I.h.1–3; BBCL, Ze9) and Robert Darch (WL, 3636). On the other hand, surviving copies of Grove's systems do not necessarily reflect the full range of experiences of his students: Amory writes that Grove was 'continually improving' them, especially his ethics. This work Grove was preparing for publication at the time of his death, and had 'begun to transcribe it' for that purpose. Amory admitted that it was 'not finished in all its parts', but praised it for its 'clearness and strength', 'just and beautiful descriptions' of individual virtues, and 'excellent directions for attaining them'. Similarly, Grove's pneumatology should not be confused with his printed *Essay on the Immateriality of the Soul*, although much of the substance of the published text was taken from his manuscript treatise; other printed essays, including his *Essay on the Immateriality of the Soul*, his *Proofs*

from Reason, and *Essay to demonstrate the Being and Perfections of God* were also developed from his academy pneumatology (Grove, *Sermons*, I, pp. xxvii–xxviii).

Grove's responsibilities as a minister were sufficiently limited for him to apply himself to the academical studies requisite for his role as a tutor, and 'to these he gave himself with an application oftentimes greater than his health would bear' (Grove, *Sermons*, I, p. xxvi). He acquired a reputation for industriously collecting knowledge, which he then communicated freely to his students, with an easy manner which emboldened them to converse with him with great freedom. Grove thereby allowed them to propose doubts and objections to his theories 'with all the force they could', and was always pleased to discover a love of knowledge and truth. Grove, then, 'instructed without any thing dogmatical', and was 'averse to every thing that look'd like imposing'; when students made errors in learning or conduct, he would reprove them softly, with gentle hints. However, although this method succeeded with 'youth of a liberal turn of mind', Amory hints that he struggled to manage students 'who must be restrained by authority, and continued checks and admonitions' (Grove, *Sermons*, I, pp. xxvi–xxvii).

Grove extended his interrogative method to his correspondence with other philosophers, engaging in a series of letters with Samuel Clarke, whose proof of the existence and attributes of God from necessary ideas of space and duration Grove did not find convincing (Grove, *Sermons*, I, pp. xxvii–xxviii). Grove also contributed issues 588, 601, 626, and 635 of Addison and Steele's *The Spectator*; the last of these was republished in a compilation of Addison's writings entitled *The Evidences of the Christian Religion* (1731). In his *Essay towards a Demonstration of the Soul's Immateriality*, Grove used the argument of Samuel Clarke that every real quality was essential to and inseparable from its substance; therefore, a power of thinking cannot be made to inhere in matter unless it is essential to matter, whereas if it is essential it is as inseparable as extension and solidity: in other words, the soul must be naturally immortal.

After Darch resigned from his duties at the Taunton academy, Grove undertook the teaching of mathematics and natural philosophy, although ethics remained his chief preoccupation (Grove, *Sermons*, I, p. xxx). Grove's diligence led to several health complaints, including a propensity to headaches. He suffered from fever most years of his life, and nearly died from it in 1718. Upon his recovery, he composed an ode on the subject which was later printed

(Grove, *Sermons*, I, p. xxxi). Grove largely kept away from public notice, although he attracted considerable auditors when occasionally he preached to larger congregations (Grove, *Sermons*, I, p. xxxvi). Amory believed that Grove's reputation would have enabled him to have made a good career in the Church of England, but that Grove 'could never turn his thoughts that way' because he disliked 'various doctrines and practices, which had the sanction of the civil authority'; rather, he valued the peace of his own mind above worldly interest, which demanded subscription to articles, expressions, and practices of which he did not approve (Grove, *Sermons*, I, pp. xxxii–xxxiii). A letter by Grove on this and other subjects to an unknown recipient is printed in the preface to his posthumously published sermons (Grove, *Sermons*, I, pp. xxxiii–xxxvi). Grove also turned down invitations to preach at Exeter and other places with large dissenting congregations, but turned them down 'through strong affection to quiet, liberty and independence'; in this respect, noted Amory, Grove emulated Abraham Cowley, whose poetry he much admired (Grove, *Sermons*, I, pp. xxxvi–xxxvii). Presumably, he was also eschewing congregations which had becoming doctrinally controversial. His aversion to theological disputes encouraged him to maintain a posture of quiet retirement, and he refused to become directly involved in the Exeter Controversy and Salters' Hall debates of c.1719. Nevertheless, this tendency towards moderation did not go unnoticed, and was sometimes confused with indifference to doctrinal differences (Grove, *Sermons*, I, pp. xxviii–xxxix). Grove explained this distinction between indifference and difference in *The Blessedness of the Peace-maker* and his *Essay on the Terms of Christian Communion*.

Grove's other colleague at the academy, Stephen James, died in 1725, and Grove delivered a funeral sermon for him which was later published. From that point Grove was also required to teach students divinity. Amory writes that he discharged this duty with great ease, but 'confined himself to no *system* in divinity, directing his pupils to the best writers on the great principles and evidences of religion, natural and revealed'. Grove's teaching in divinity also seems to have required an examination of treatises on each side of the chief theological controversies. He talked over the subject of each lecture with his students, explaining the main stress of every argument or difficulty, and answering their doubts and objections with 'moderation and charity'. Furthermore, he taught them to distinguish between persons and opinions so that they could recognise that men with foolish opinions could often be wise and good. Like his tutor Warren, he recommended the Scriptures as the proper system of revealed

religion, both in terms of doctrines and duties, and urged them to study the Bible critically and impartially (Grove, *Sermons*, I, pp. xl–xlii). The exact relation of Grove's theology teaching to that of his predecessor James is uncertain; on the one hand, many of the principles outlined by Amory are present in James's surviving manuscript system; on the other hand, James calls his treatise a 'System of Theology', terminology which appears to conflict with Amory's accounts of Warren's and Grove's teaching. Grove also succeeded James as the minister at Fulwood, near Taunton, and employed Amory to undertake some of his tutorial duties. During this period, he continued to receive invitations to minister in London and other places, but continued to decline them, in part because he was now being patronised by the wealthy Welman family, which 'long enjoyed the advantage of his instructions and conversation' (Grove, *Sermons*, I, pp. xlii–xliii). Meanwhile, his publications continued apace. One of them, his *Evidence of our Saviour's Resurrection Considered*, earned the approbation of Nathaniel Lardner and other London ministers. His *Some Thoughts Concerning the Proof of a Future State from Reason*, on the other hand, was designed to defend arguments for a state of life after death from the opinions of Joseph Hallett (1691–1744), whose own views, in the opinion of Grove and Amory, threatened to weaken them. When Grove's rationalism caused alarm among some other divines, Grove responded with an anonymous treatise of 1732, entitled *Some Queries offered to the Consideration of Those who think it an Injury to Religion to Shew the Reasonableness of it*. In the same year he also printed *A Discourse concerning the Nature and Design of the Lord's Supper*. His *Wisdom the First Spring of Action in the Deity*, another treatise related to his study of ethics, was praised by many dissenters and Church of England clergy alike, including John Balguy, although he differed from Grove in some particulars (Grove, *Sermons*, I, pp. xliii–xlix).

At about this time the health of Grove's wife, who had long suffered from a nervous condition, deteriorated; she became distracted and eventually died. Grove's response was to compose a series of discourses on 1 Thessalonians 5:8 during her illness, to which he added a further series on Psalm 103:14 after her death. However, from this time Grove's own health worsened. The debilitating effects of his headaches were in evidence again during his delivery of a sermon on 19 February 1738, and he quickly fell ill of another fever, which led to his death on 27 February. In his final days, his discomfort prevented him from speaking often, although his reason remained intact until the day before his death. A monument was erected to his memory, with a Latin inscription drawn from John Ward, professor of rhetoric

at Gresham College (Grove, *Sermons*, I, pp. xlix–liv). When Amory came to collect his considerable remaining manuscripts, he organised for them to be published by subscription. Among the subscribers were many members of the established church, as well as dissenters. A funeral sermon, delivered by a Mr May of London, was never published, but circulated in manuscript throughout the eighteenth century. Grove's death was recorded in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for March 1738; he was described as an 'elegant Preacher', author of 'several well-written Treatises, and 'Master of an antient and celebrated Academy in that Town, and distinguished for his polite Learning and a fine Taste' (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 8 (1738), 164).

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Hallett, Joseph (1656–1722)

JOSEPH HALLETT was the tutor at an early academy in Exeter. Hallett's academy is widely regarded as one of the most important in the early eighteenth century. It is not clear when Hallett started teaching academical learning; nor is very much known about the courses of study at his academy. Instead, the reputation of Hallett's academy rests upon the future eminence of several of his students, and the reputation of many of them for doctrinal heterodoxy. Students at Hallett's academy were privately discussing heterodox views from the early 1710s; when some of his pupils later admitted that they had been influenced by the writings of Samuel Clarke and William Whiston, Hallett himself was accused of Arianism. Suspicions from within one of Hallett's chief sponsors, the Exeter Assembly of ministers, increased in 1718 when Hallett refused to subscribe to a pre-agreed doctrinal statement. While Hallett and his supporters claimed that they were opposed to the principle of subscription rather than to Trinitarian doctrine, his actions were widely interpreted as a failure to demonstrate doctrinal orthodoxy; Hallett was forced to relinquish his pastorate and the academy closed.

Hallett was the eldest son of Joseph Hallett (1620–89), a nonconformist minister, and his wife Elizabeth. He was born on 4 November 1656. Some commentators have assumed that he was educated by his father, although Venn states that he studied at Bridport grammar school (where the schoolmaster was Thomas Tomkins) and at Tiverton, before being admitted as a sizar (aged 18) to Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, on 27 May 1676 (Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, II, 290). Hallett was ordained secretly as a Presbyterian minister in 1683; in July 1685 he matriculated at the University of Leiden (Peacock, *Leyden*, 45). Two years later, he became the assistant minister to his father at James's Meeting in Exeter. When his father died in 1689, Hallett inherited his 'study of books & papers, except those left with my wife in a schedule written by me' (DWL, 38.59, fo. 452). Hallett also became the assistant to the prominent dissenter George Trosse, his father's successor. He was the main pastor to Trosse's congregation following Trosse's death in 1713. His ministerial colleague was James Peirce, a minister from Newbury; Peirce was later to be accused of having influenced Hallett's progression towards Arianism. Hallett married Anna Poole (*d.* 1722) on 16 April 1688; they had three sons, including the assistant tutor and theologian Joseph Hallett (1691–1744), and three daughters. Hallett was present at most of the meetings of the Exeter Assembly from its initial meeting in Tiverton on 17 March 1691 until his expulsion for heterodoxy in 1719. On 7 October 1691 he and Trosse were granted £15 17s 6d to minister jointly to a congregation in Exeter; on the same day he was appointed with Steven Towgood and Isaac Gilling as a delegate to the January 1692 meeting of the United Brethren of the Western Division of Somerset at Taunton (DWL, 38.24, fos. 43–4).

From *c.* 1690 many of Hallett's pupils were funded by the Exeter Assembly; his academy included ministerial students and laymen. A number of anecdotes relating to the academy and its members survive; many of them were written by the John Fox, was a student of Hallett by May 1709 who later conformed. Fox presents a narrative of an academy sliding into heterodoxy from this period until its closure in the late 1710s. Fox joined the academy after a period at a school in Tavistock, followed by tuition from a Mr Bedford. In preparation for studying at the academy he was invited by the local worthy Nathaniel Harding to read the Greek Testament and Virgil with Harding's son Nicodemus. Fox and Harding Jr first attended Hallett's academy when Fox was about 15. Here, he was treated as senior to Nicodemus, much to Nathaniel Harding's irritation. Within a month, Harding Sr came to Exeter and removed his son to private lodgings, 'on a pretence of having some pimples upon

him'. Fox, on the other hand, remained at the academy for three years, during which time he 'liv'd a very reserv'd and sedentary life' (JRL, UCC/2/9/3/3, 1st pagination, pp. 1–6; Fox, 'Memoirs', 129–31).

Fox writes that while at Hallett's academy, he and some of his fellow students 'fell into the Unitarian scheme'; he suggests that Hallett's son Joseph Hallett was 'the first in it', holding a secret correspondence with William Whiston. Fox was one of Hallett's closest friends, and wrote that he was 'a very grave serious and thinking young man', and that the young man's principles were not widely known 'till our class was lectur'd on Pictets Chapter concerning the Trinity'. At this point, Hallett Jr presented Fox with several books on Unitarianism, among which Fox found the Trinitarian minister Joseph Boyse's response to the Unitarian Thomas Emlyn most interesting. However, despite Boyse's arguments and Fox's own 'natural prejudices' towards the Trinity, he found Boyse's quotations from Emlyn alarmingly compelling. There were, from this point, about five or six students who conversed secretly about the issue, and 'from this small beginning sprang the grand quarrel and dispute at Exeter' which culminated in Hallett Sr's expulsion from the academy and his ministry in 1719 (JRL, UCC/2/9/3/3, 1st pagination, pp. 4–6; Fox, 'Memoirs', 129–31).

One of Hallett's most famous students was Zachary Mudge, the son of a carpenter, who joined the academy in 1710, and was at that time intended for the Presbyterian ministry. Mudge stayed at the academy for 'the usual time, and went thro' all his Exercises with great acuteness'; a young man of passionate temper, Mudge proposed to the maid of John Atkin while still at the academy, but was turned down; Fox writes that he desired 'to be revenged' and therefore 'one day he marches off without any money' to London, where he tried unsuccessfully to get aboard a ship to the East or West Indies, before returning to the academy. Upon leaving, Mudge was offered a job in a Church of England school for 'four score pounds per annum'; he wrote to Hallett, saying that he would remain with the dissenters if they could provide him with an equivalent prospect; Hallett responded with a stern rebuke, and Mudge chose conformity. He was eventually made a prebendary of Exeter Cathedral (JRL, UCC/2/9/3/3, 2nd pagination, 66–75; Fox, 'Memoirs').

Another of Hallett's students was the physician and medical writer John Huxham, with whom Fox became very well acquainted. Huxham's doctrinal orthodoxy was also open to question. Fox wrote that he was 'always esteem'd to have very good parts & to perform his Exercises

well', but that he was at the same time 'somewhat decietful . . . making no pretensions to Religion'; Fox was not surprised, then, when Huxham left the academy to study medicine with Boerhaave at Leiden (JRL, UCC/2/9/3/3, 2nd pagination, 6; Fox, 'Memoirs', 80). Hallett also taught Mark Batt, the son of a tobacconist and distiller of Exeter, who 'went thro' all his courses with very great applause, and left behind him the Character of a Gent[le]m[an] of great good nature and of a fine understanding' (JRL, UCC/2/9/3/3, 2nd pagination, 62; Fox, 'Memoirs', 83). Hallett may also have taught Peter King, the future Lord Chancellor of Ireland, but this oft-repeated claim rests upon a subsequent addition to the Exeter Assembly minutes, of dubious authenticity.

The minutes of the Exeter Assembly of ministers provide considerable detail about how Hallett's students were funded. The earliest student recorded is George Lissant, for whom Hallett received £1 5s on 13 January 1692. In October 1693, the Assembly ordered that 'Mr Nich: Gillet be placed with mr Hallet for his education. Mr Hallet offerd to Teach him for 40s p[er] annu[m]'. This is noticeably less than the sum paid to London-based tutors in the 1690s. In 1711 Lawrence Hext was offered £9 per year to study with Hallett (DWL, 38.24, fos. 45, 62, 128). In 1694 Hallett participated in the ordination of John Mede and Richard Evans. In April 1695 he was asked to be the respondent at the ordination of Jellinger Symonds; the Question was 'An Coetus fratrum unitorum sint schismatici?' ('Whether the company of the united brethren be schismatics' – the 'united brethren' here may be the ministers of the Exeter Assembly). Another of his roles was to draw up receipts for donations to the Exeter Assembly, such as that of Mrs. Harvey of Totnes on behalf of her dead husband in 1696 (DWL, 38.24, fos. 63, 74, 82). Hallett was present at the ordination of Samuel Mullins of Totnes in September 1699, that of Josiah Eveleigh in 1700, Wilcox in 1700, the joint ordination of Samuel Short, Henry Atkins, and George Bowcher in 1701, Hughes of Plymouth and Ebenezer Taylor in 1703, Baron and Hody in 1704, and William Peard, Samuel Grigg, William Palk and Benjamin Wills in 1705 (DWL, 38.24, fos. 105, 110, 115, 126, 132–3, 137, 141–2). He also assisted at the examination of John Prew in 1701, Cornelius Bond in 1704, Eliezer Hancock and Samuel Carkeet in 1705 (DWL, 38.24, fos. 124, 140, 142).

One of the more interesting references to Hallett in the minutes of the Exeter Assembly of ministers is an order, 3–4 September 1705, that he 'write to mr Calamy to desire him to print

his 2^d edition of Mr Baxter's Life so as that it may be no prejudice to such as have bought the first, by printing a sufficient Number of Distinct Supplements' (DWL, 38.24, fo. 142). Calamy eventually chose to publish his 1713 *Abridgement* of Baxter's life in full; however he later commented that his decision to publish his *Continuation* of 1727 separately from the 1713 text was in response to readers who did not wish to buy the *Abridgement* a third time. Hallett also assisted at a fast in Sidmouth in 1707, following tensions about the appointment of ministers there (DWL, 38.24, fos. 154–5, 158–9). In 1709, he was appointed alongside Hooper, Withers, and Norman to inspect and adjust the Assembly's accounts, which had been drawn up by Thomas Wood (DWL, 38.24, fo. 139). He checked the accounts again in 1711 to see if the Assembly could provide another 40 shillings for the meetings at Sidmouth and Halberton (DWL, 38.24, fo. 127). In the same year, he and Eveleigh drew up a letter of advice to Roswel of Colyton concerning his appointment of an assistant minister (DWL, 38.24, fos. 125–6). From this time, possibly due to his workload or concerns about his orthodoxy, he took a back seat in the Assembly's proceedings. However, he did preach 'at the Desire of the Assembly' at their meeting in September 1717; he also acted as scribe at the meeting, and drew up a letter to the ministerial candidate Mr Newberry, urging him to seek ordination (DWL, 38.24, fos. 32–3).

Hallett's academy closed after doubts were raised about the tutor's theological opinions. In September 1718 orthodox ministers at the Exeter Assembly requested Hallett to make a public declaration of belief in the Trinity. Hallett responded with a declaration which made use of scriptural language, rather than using the terms drawn up by the Assembly. Hallett's co-minister James Peirce, who was widely blamed for encouraging the apparent outbreak of heterodoxy, prevaricated for several months. When Peirce finally drew up a defence of his own doctrinal position it was clear that he had adopted beliefs which, while not directly reflecting those of Arius himself, were well within the bounds of eighteenth-century 'Arianism': they included the subordination of the Son to the Father, and doubts about the Son's co-eternity. In March 1719 both Peirce and Hallett were locked out of their Exeter meeting-houses by their trustees for refusing to make an orthodox declaration. They then held meetings in a private house. When in May 1719 the Exeter Assembly required subscription from its members, Hallett led the eighteen members who declined, causing a secession from the Assembly; many of these members were his former students. The following year the Mint Meeting was established, at which Hallett and Peirce operated as co-

pastors (DWL, 38.4, p. 26). Hallett died in November 1722; his son Joseph succeeded him as Peirce's colleague.

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***Hallett, Joseph (1691–1744)**

JOSEPH HALLETT, assistant at the Exeter academy, was baptized on 2 September 1691 at Exeter; he was the eldest son of the tutor Joseph Hallett (1656–1722) and his wife Anna Poole (*d.* 1722). Hallett (1691–1744) was educated at his father's Exeter academy and influenced the reading of other students considerably. According to his fellow student John Fox, Hallett Jr introduced Arian books and opinions into the lives of the pupils and corresponded secretly with William Whiston in 1710, although Whiston believed that he was corresponding with his father. Nevertheless, according to Fox, Hallett was a 'serious and thinking young man' while a student; he 'read most of any in the House. He had a good judgment and memory and was well vers'd in divinity morality and such kind of things' (JRL, UCC/2/9/3/3, 1st pagination, 4–5; Fox, 'Memoirs', 131).

According to the minister James Manning, writing many years after the event, Hallett gave his father 'some assistance in the last two or three years of [the academy's] existence, but was not considered as a tutor' (Manning, *Towgood*, 89). Hallett's role as assistant to his father may therefore have been most influential after he became a candidate for the ministry on 6 May 1713; he qualified under the Toleration Act on 14 July of that year. Hallett was ordained on 19 October 1715; his thesis was '*An s. scriptura sit divines inspirata*' ('whether the Sacred Scriptures be divinely inspired'), an important exercise for a man whose tendency towards Arianism was initially predicated upon a belief in Scripture sufficiency. This thesis title also suggests that, even while working for his father, Hallett was developing a keen interest in the textual study of Scripture. When Hubert Stogdon spoke publicly about the Exeter students' heterodox views, Hallett's father was ejected from his ministry and the academy closed, probably in 1719 or shortly after. From this date there is no evidence that either Hallett Sr or Hallett Jr took students. When his father died, Hallett replaced him as the colleague to the non-subscriber James Peirce at the Mint Meeting in Exeter. Fox wrote of Hallett that he 'turn'd out afterwards a popular preacher learn'd and laborious' (JRL, UCC/2/9/3/3, 1st pagination, 5; Fox, 'Memoirs', 131). He remained at the Mint Meeting until his death on 2 April 1744. He was survived by his wife, Frances Hallett.

Hallett's theological views proved critical to the development of the Exeter academy; his later publications made him one of the most celebrated and controversial dissenting ministers

of the early eighteenth century. His chief scholarly work, *Notes and Discourses* (3 vols., 1729–36), was attacked by orthodox members of the Exeter ministerial assembly on the grounds that it 'plainly saps the foundation of a great part of natural religion' (Enty, *Preservative*, p. v). One of Hallett's earliest publications was a funeral sermon for his colleague James Peirce, the man frequently blamed for the escalation of the Exeter Controversy of 1718–19, in which Peirce and Hallett's father had been accused of being theologically unorthodox. Another early work was a brief catalogue of Greek manuscripts of the Scriptures; in a preface, Hallett celebrated the work of Erasmus, Stephanus, and Beza in the field of Greek studies, and pointed out the fact that different versions of the Bible used different vocabulary; he also highlighted his friendship with Peirce and another Devon minister, Isaac Gilling (Enty, *Preservative*, pp. v–vi). Hallett also produced a number of controversial pamphlets, including a defence of himself against John Enty's charge that he was preparing the moral and theological ground for atheism (*A Letter to the Revd. Mr. Enty*), and an assault upon the deism of Thomas Chubb (*The Consistent Christian*).

Hallett was chiefly remembered in the later eighteenth century for his three volumes of *Notes and Discourses*. This work can be viewed as an attempt to offer a new approach to the study of Scripture texts in universities and academies. The first volume is entitled *A Free and Impartial Study of the Holy Scriptures Recommended* (1729). Hallett's passionate plea that obstacles to the free and impartial study of Scripture be '*laid aside*' in order to '*promote both Truth and Peace*' proved extremely influential (*Free and Impartial Study*, p. iii). Hallett's notes show a considerable grasp of Greek and Hebrew, further evidence of which is provided in a set of early manuscript essays on scriptural languages (DWL, 24.21). He frequently points out the shortcomings in the King James Bible, often presenting radically different translations of his own. He also suggests numerous places where the text cannot be taken literally, because it is at odds with the historical record. In other places, however, he follows his heterodox predecessors closely, arguing with William Whiston that the New Testament quotations of the Old Testament should be taken as correct when the surviving texts differ, and adopting a number of Peirce's views on catechizing (*Free and Impartial Study*, 90, 174). Linked to his sense of the insufficiency of the surviving Old Testament texts was a powerful notion of the carelessness of copyists, combined with a dawning realisation that '[m]ost of the *Hebrew Copies* . . . are not above six or seven hundred years old' (*Notes and Discourses*, II, 2). Another recurring theme in Hallett's writings is his defence of literal interpretations of

scriptural accounts of miracles, against Thomas Woolston (*Notes and Discourses*, II, 175–214), on the grounds that '[i]f the miracles were not real, the stories are false, and the evangelists have told known lies' (*Notes and Discourses*, II, 213).

Hallett frequently denied that he was an Arian or a deist, and he should certainly not be considered a proto-atheist; his approach to the Scriptures was rational and critical, and he was a considerable textual scholar, learned in several languages. However, the purpose of his inquiries was to enable a fuller understanding of the meaning and power of revelation, rather than to promote scepticism on the one hand, or allegorical interpretation on the other. His works were read, frequently critically, by many of the key intellectual figures of mid-eighteenth-century dissent, including Philip Doddridge, John Enty, Caleb Fleming, Henry Grove, Samuel Chandler, Nathaniel Lardner, Job Orton, David Jennings, Theophilus Lindsey, and Joseph Priestley. Although his own teaching may have been slight, his influence on the development of dissenting theology was very considerable.

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Hardy, John (1679 or 1680–1740)

JOHN HARDY was born in 1679 or 1680; he was probably the son of Richard Hardy, a schoolmaster at Garstang (*ODNB*). According to the historian Edmund Calamy, Hardy Sr had a good living in the Church of England in Lancashire, secured the reversion to his son, but cast him off 'on account of his differing so much from him in his sentiments about Ecclesiastical matters', leaving him with 'but three shillings and sixpence in his pocket' (Calamy, *Own Life*, II, 501). Hardy Jr is usually identified as 'Harvey', the young man admitted aged 17 as a pensioner to Christ's College, Cambridge on 4 February 1697 (Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, II, 304). However, Calamy states that after falling out with his father, Hardy 'made his case known to the Dissenters of Liverpool', who sent him to complete his preparatory studies for the ministry under James Owen (Calamy, *Own Life*, II, 501). Hardy joined Owen's academy while it was at Oswestry, receiving grants of £8 from the Presbyterian Fund Board to do so in December 1699, December 1700 and December 1701 (DWL, OD68, fo. 44, pp. 99, 111). While studying with Owen, Hardy wrote to the philosopher John Locke on 17 September 1700, on the subject of the reasonableness of Christianity; he expressed admiration for the writings of Locke and Le Clerc, but had some reservations about Locke's conclusions (Bod. Lib., Locke c.11, fos. 142–3).

After leaving Owen's academy Hardy travelled to London, where Calamy found him

‘starving in a garret’, paid his debts, and took him under his roof. Hardy was ordained in Calamy’s chapel at Princes Street in Westminster; he then became the minister at a church at Sempringham, Lincolnshire, which was in the gift of Lady Caroline Clinton, with an allowance of £60 per annum. While at Sempringham he incurred the opposition of the bishop of Lincoln, who threatened to commence a suit against Lady Clinton. On the advice of her heir, the Duke of Newcastle, Clinton removed Hardy from the church, renovated and licensed an old Roman Catholic chapel on her estate for Protestant worship, and gave Hardy an annual allowance to officiate there (Calamy, *Own Life*, II, 502–3). William Wake, bishop of Lincoln from 1705, noted during his visitation in 1706 that Hardy ‘pretends to be a dissenter’, but ‘What he really is nobody knows’ (Sykes, ‘Visitation’, 199). By 1714 Hardy was a dissenting minister at the High Pavement chapel in Nottingham, where he remained until 1727; he also preached at Widmerpool. By 1717 he had compiled statistics on dissenters in the Nottingham area which were recorded in John Evans’s national survey (DWL, 38.4, pp. 92–3).

While in Nottingham, Hardy ran a small private academy for dissenters; his pupils included John Brekell and John Johnson. It has been suggested that Hardy’s predecessors at Nottingham, William Reynolds and John Whitlock, also took ministerial students, although this is probably a mistake (Parker, *Dissenting Academies*, 139). From 1714 to 1715 Hardy was visited by Thomas Secker, the future Archbishop of Canterbury, who had recently departed from Samuel Jones’s academy in Tewkesbury. At this time, Secker was studying ‘various Theological Subjects, with various Fluctuations & Changes of Mind’, and was exploring Samuel Clarke’s *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*; however, it is not clear whether Hardy played a significant role in his choices of reading (LPL, 2598, fo. 6). The main source for Hardy’s teaching is an early biography of Caleb Fleming by John Palmer; according to Palmer, at about the age of sixteen Fleming ‘applied himself to the study of Logic, Ethics, Natural Philosophy, and Astronomy’, for which ‘he had the assistance of the Reverend Mr. John Hardy, a learned divine, and a man of a very liberal mind’ (Palmer, *Fleming*, 24–5). Palmer wrote that ‘for many years, [Hardy] took the care of a small number of pupils, who were boarded in his house, and instructed in various branches of literature’. Hardy also taught Fleming theology, but he was taught geometry and trigonometry by a Mr Needham, who was ‘distinguished for his skill in those sciences’, and with whom he ‘went through several books of Euclid’ (Palmer, *Fleming*, 25). Possibly, this man is to be identified as John Needham, the assistant minister at the Baptist church at Hitchin in Hertfordshire from 1705, and the co–

pastor from 1709.

Hardy conformed in 1727 after two years' deliberation; according to Philip Doddridge he was presented with the vicarage of 'Amersey' (perhaps Arnesby) in Leicestershire. Doddridge felt that Hardy was 'no Fool', but had 'been often accus'd of very insincere Management with Regard to some of his Quondam Brethren' and had 'left his people very rudely' (DWL, NCL/L1/10/10). From 1731 he was the vicar of Melton Mowbray; he has sometimes also been identified as 'Johannes Hardy', vicar of Kinoulton and curate of Cotgrave in Nottinghamshire from 1729 (*ODNB*). Hardy died in 1740, aged 60; a memorial legerstone was later placed in the north transept of St Mary's church in Melton Mowbray (*Antiquities of Leicester*, II, Part 2, 254). Hardy was a friend of William Stukeley, who dedicated to him his *Iter Oxoniense* (the second volume of his *Itinerarium curiosum*), and a correspondent of the antiquarian Ralph Thoresby (YAS, MSS 9 (6), (39), (79); 13 (45); 14 (104)). Hardy's reputation as the leader of the dissenting interest in the area led to considerable perturbation at his conformity (Humphreys, *Doddridge*, II, 360; Calamy, *Own Life*, II, 500–3).

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*Henry, Philip (1631–96)

PHILIP HENRY, private tutor to a small number of dissenters in Flintshire, was one of the most prominent nonconformist ministers of his generation. The major source for his life is a biography by his son Matthew Henry, author of a frequently-published *Exposition of the Old*

and New Testaments; another detailed portrait of Henry was later produced by Edmund Calamy (*Account*, 698–708). The following account focuses on Henry's education and teaching. Henry was born on 24 August 1631 at Whitehall, Westminster (Calamy, *Account*, 698). He was the fourth of eight children of John Henry (1590–1652), keeper of the Whitehall orchard and page to the future James II, and Magdalen Rochdale (1599–1645); his godparents were the earls of Pembroke and Carlisle and the Countess of Salisbury (*ODNB*). Henry grew up with Prince Charles and Prince James, receiving from James a book, which he kept until his death, and two pictures, which he lost. He was catechised by his mother, read Perkins's *Six Principles* when he was very young, and was befriended by the future Archbishop Laud. When Laud was arrested, Henry went to visit him in the Tower with his father. Henry first learnt Latin at a school in St Martin-in-the-Fields, where he was taught by a Mr Bonner, and also for a short time in Battersea, where his teacher was a Mr Wells. He later attended Westminster School, studying under Thomas Vincent and then Richard Busby, whom he helped to compile the elements of a Greek grammar. On one occasion, being monitor of the school chamber, Henry lied about the whereabouts of a truant; as punishment he was made to copy Latin verses, which his tutor then bought from him for sixpence. He also heard Stephen Marshall and Philip Nye during his daily attendance at lectures in Westminster Abbey. On Thursdays he heard Thomas Case lecture at St Martin-in-the-Fields. He attended trials in the Westminster courts from a young age, and attended the monthly fasts at St Margaret's, where Church of England ministers preached before the members of the Commons. From the age of eleven or twelve, it was his frequent practice to transcribe many of the sermons he heard. Pembroke helped Henry to become a King's Scholar at Westminster School in October 1645. According to his son Matthew Henry, '[h]e was very ready and exact in the Greek Accents, the Quantities of Words, and all the several kinds of Latin Verse; and often pressed it upon young Scholars in the midst of their University-Learning, not to forget their School-Authors' (Henry, *Life*, 7).

On 15 December 1647 Henry became a commoner at Christ Church, Oxford, receiving £10 from the Earl of Pembroke for his gown, his fees, and expenses. He became formally a student of Henry Hammond on 24 March 1648, applying himself to university studies but retaining 'a great Kindness for the Classick Authors, and the more polite Exercises' of his earlier schooling (Henry, *Life*, 17). Another of his tutors, a Mr Underwood, was removed following a parliamentary visitation, but he was befriended by an undergraduate called

Richard Bryan, with whom he became a chamber–fellow; John Fell, son of the Dean, and subsequently Dean himself of Christ Church and bishop of Oxford, also read to him and others voluntarily. Nevertheless, he later felt that he had misspent his time at Oxford, studying insufficiently hard. Henry remained a royalist, and opposed the execution of Charles I; he was at that point on leave from university at his father's house in Whitehall. However, his religious views were Puritan, shaped by Cage and Marshall. He graduated BA on 7 February 1651 and proceeded MA on 10 December 1652, preaching his first sermon at South Hinksey in Oxfordshire on 9 January 1653 (Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, I, 693). In July 1653 he was chosen to be Junior of the Act at Oxford, a role in which he answered three philosophy questions '1. *An licitum sit carnibus vesci? Aff.* 2. *An Institutio Academicarum sit utilis in Republicâ? Aff.* 3. *An Ingenium pendeat ab humoribus Corporis? Aff.*' ('1. Whether it be permitted to eat meat? Aff. 2. Whether an Academic Institution be useful in a republic? Aff. 3. Whether mental powers are suspended after the burial of the body? Aff.'). At the 1654 Act he was chosen Magister Replicans, answering questions on '1. *An melius sit sperare quam frui? Neg.* 2. *An maxima Animi Delectatio sit a sensibus? Neg.* 3. *An utile sit peregrinari? Aff.*' ('1. Whether it be better to hope than to have? Neg. 2. Whether the great pleasure of the soul be in the senses? Neg. 3. Whether it be useful to travel? Aff.'). His performances earned him the commendation of the Vice Chancellor, John Owen (Henry, *Life*, 17–35).

From 30 September 1653 Henry was the tutor to the sons of John Puleston, Judge of the Common Pleas, at Emral Hall in Flintshire, a post which he gained following a recommendation from Owen (Calamy, *Account*, 700). He preached every day at Worthenbury chapel in Bangor Is–coed. Six months later he returned to Oxford, but the two Puleston sons became his charges in June of 1654. His only publication, a short poem 'Noli timere musa!' appeared in *Musarum Oxoniensium elaiophoria* in 1654. He returned to Worthenbury during the winter of 1654–5, after Puleston offered him a generous stipend of £100 per annum (Calamy, *Account*, 700). He and Ambrose Lewis of Wrexham organised a monthly conference of ministers from 11 September 1655. He applied for ordination on 6 July 1657, construed verses in Hebrew and Greek, and was examined in logic, natural philosophy, and divinity. He was assessed for his response to a case of conscience, and questioned about church history. He was ordained by presbyters at Prees in Shropshire on 16 September, according to the rules laid out in the *Westminster Directory*; his ordination thesis was on the

question, '*An Providentia Divina extendat se ad omnia? Aff.*' ('Whether divine providence extends itself to all? Aff.'). One of his pre-ordination certificates was provided by Henry Langley, later an academy tutor. A very full account of the service and Henry's credal statements is provided in the *Life* written by his son (Henry, *Life*, 35–47).

Henry's life during this period can be considered briefly. Puleston commanded a parsonage to be built for him and offered him a sixty-year lease, even though his congregation consisted of only forty-one communicants, mostly poor. Henry devoted 10% of his income to aid the needy, and was a firm believer in the parochial system. In 1658 he helped to construct a North Wales association of episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Independent ministers; he personally drafted their rules on worship, being influenced by the Worcestershire Association of which Richard Baxter was a leading member, and the Cumberland Association. He also spent one month in 1658 preaching in Oxford at St Mary the Virgin, Christ Church and Corpus Christi College, and in Westminster Abbey. In March 1659 he declined an offer of the vicarage of Wrexham and a position near London, and was formally presented to Worthenbury by Puleston on 6 April 1659. During this period, he declined an invitation to dispute with local Quakers, and tacitly supported the uprising of George Booth and Thomas Myddelton in August 1659, favouring the King's return.

Of more relevance to this account are Henry's views on family religion and the education of his children. On 26 April 1660 he married Katherine Matthews (1629–1707) at Whitewell Chapel, despite opposition from her father. Their six children were John (1661–7), Matthew (1662–1714), Sarah (1664–1752), Katherine (1665–1747), Eleanor (1667–97), and Ann (1668–97); Matthew Henry and Sarah Savage (as she later became) both played important roles in the development of dissent. A detailed account of Philip Henry's approach to family religion is provided in his son's biography (Henry, *Life*, 72–94). Every morning and evening he began with a prayer, followed by a sung psalm, a portion of Scripture, which he then explained, and another prayer, followed by a benediction; he then asked his children to seek for God's blessing of their mother and father. His children wrote expositions on scriptural passages from a young age, and were frequently required to give an account of what their father had taught them in their daily devotions. On Thursday evenings, instead of reading, he catechised his children and servants, using either one of the Westminster Assembly's catechisms, or a brief book by Collins; on other occasions, they read from Pool's 'Dialogues

against the Papists' and the Assembly's 'Confession of Faith'. On Saturdays, he asked his children to give him an account of the chapters expounded the previous week; when he had sojourners in the family during the winter, he set weekly conferences on religious questions, keeping an account in writing. He also taught his eldest daughter Hebrew when she was about six or seven, using an English–Hebrew grammar which he had made for her. On Saturday afternoons, he encouraged his children to read 'good Books', and to engage in singing and prayer; the children were also expected to record important and useful passages from their reading in a book (Henry, *Life*, 92–3). Some of Matthew Henry's early spiritual exercises were later printed by his friend William Tong (Tong, *Henry*, 12–15).

Henry considered himself formally silenced on Bartholomew Day 1662, and vacated the Worthenbury parsonage in September, moving to Broad Oak. There, he attended services at Whitwell Chapel, Tilstock, and Whitchurch, ministering to his family and friends in his house during bad weather. Matthew, his son, was baptized at Whitwell, but Henry refused to assist. After Richard Steele baptized his son in March 1663, Henry baptized Sarah in March 1665, but was cited in the church court by the rector of Malpas. Threats of prosecution under the Five Mile Act, plus the desire to educate his children, led to his removal to Whitchurch in Shropshire, March 1667. He now began to administer the Lord's Supper privately. When smallpox broke out in Whitchurch, he returned to Broad Oak in July, moving back to Whitchurch after three months. When in 1668 an MP accused Henry and Lawrence of trampling on the surplice and pulling a minister out of his pulpit, the King issued a proclamation requiring enforcement of anti–nonconformist legislation.

From May 1668, Henry spent the rest of his life at Broad Oak. Although previous authors have been quick to indicate that Henry set up an academy there, he did not take multiple students in a manner seen in the nearby Shropshire academies of James Owen or John Woodhouse; nevertheless, several considerably detailed accounts of his attitudes towards teaching, and his own practices, have survived; these have significant bearing upon any interpretation of the early academies. Henry's knowledge of the London academies came chiefly through his son Matthew, who was a student of Thomas Doolittle (Tong, *Henry*, 25–30). However, he was a correspondent of the prominent Shrewsbury minister and former Oxford tutor Francis Tallents and the Coventry tutor William Tong (Bod. Lib., Eng. Lett. e.29, fos. 126–7, 189–92, 223–4; JRL, Raffles MS 370, no. 61); the family also exchanged

letters with James Owen and boarded members of the Benion family (Bod. Lib., Eng. Lett. e.29, fo. 210; Eng. Misc. e.330, fos. 9–54). Henry was also known to the Cheshire classis, which oversaw the dissenters' academies in the region from the 1690s (C&CA, MS EUC 9/4458/1, p. 22).

Soon after his settlement at Broad Oak Henry took a young scholar into his household; the scholar was employed to teach his son, and to be a companion to himself, to converse with him, and receive help and instruction from him. For many years, he was rarely without such scholars; he entertained them either before they went to university, or in the intervals in their university attendance. One of the first of his students, in 1668, was William Turner, a local boy, who later attended St Edmund Hall in Oxford, became vicar of Walberton, and published *The History of all Religions in the World* (London, 1695). After Henry's death, Turner wrote to Matthew Henry, providing him with information about his experiences; Turner wrote that he was 'half a Year Domestick with him; partly as a tutor to his young ones, partly as a Pupil to himself; and in some little Degree as a Companion'. Somewhat polemically, Turner also wrote that he had taken the opportunity to inform himself of 'the Humour, Principles, and Conversation of a sort of People . . . whom I had heard aspersed very freely in former Companies'; having resolved to 'stand upon my Guard, and pry into the . . . Difference and Dispute', he found himself impressed by Henry's manner, his refusal to proselytise, and his continuous correspondence with conformists. Another of Henry's acquaintances, perhaps also a student, was Rowland Hunt, who later commented that he had spent 'near seven Years resident in the University, and seven more at the Inns of Court', but had 'never found any one every way so accomplished' (Henry, *Life*, 213–15; Tong, *Henry*, 21–2).

Despite his private tutoring, Henry retained a fondness for the universities, and initially advised all his friends who designed their children to be scholars to send them there. However, he ultimately chose a different route for his son Matthew, who was tutored extensively at home, before being sent to Thomas Doolittle's academy in London. In late August and early September 1671 Henry was in London; here, he fasted in the house of the Countess of Exeter, preached to Thomas Doolittle's congregation, met Samuel Annesley and Robert Chambers, and attended John Burgess's funeral. Henry was critical of Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence of 1672, feeling that it encouraged separatism; nevertheless, he

was licensed as a Presbyterian at Broad Oak on 30 April, and was from this time more active in Shropshire, Cheshire, and Denbighshire, even after the license was withdrawn in 1673 (TNA, SP29/320, fos. 81, 113; SP44/38A, p. 49). Henry did not reach a fixed position on the Exclusion Crisis, but did take an interest in the Popish Plot and the Meal–Tub Plot. He travelled to London in July of 1680 with his son Matthew, where he preached to the flocks of Doolittle, Steele, and Lawrence. In August he stayed with Lord Paget, spending much of the time reading. He also met the MPs Philip Foley and John Swynfen, both of whom had considerable interest in dissenting education. Henry acquired powerful support from several sympathetic MPs, including Richard Hampden, Henry Ashurst, and Anthony Irby. Also of relevance to the work of the academies is Henry's public debate (alongside the tutor James Owen and the minister Jonathan Roberts of Denbighshire) with William Lloyd, the bishop of St Asaph, at Oswestry, about Presbyterian ordination. Lloyd later consulted Henry about improving clerical discipline; in March 1682 Henry sent him a letter urging leniency towards dissenters. Henry also discussed the worsening conditions for nonconformists with Paget and Swynfen, who knew John Woodhouse personally (StRO, D603/K/3/2). Following James II's change of policy in 1687, Henry participated in the ordination of his son Matthew at Broad Oak on 9 May; a detailed account of the event was later printed by Tong (Tong, *Henry*, 46–92). He also signed a declaration of thanks for James II's Indulgence. His five remaining children all married in 1687 or 1688, and he preached to the family on each occasion. His health deteriorated rapidly in 1694, although he lived until 24 June 1696. Funeral sermons were preached by Matthew Henry and the tutor James Owen. In his will of 24 August 1695 Henry bequeathed each daughter a copy of Matthew Poole's *Annotations* and a psalter; his wife was to retain any books that she desired, and the rest was to go to Matthew, who became in practice his literary executor (*ODNB*).

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Hickman, Henry (1629–91)

HENRY HICKMAN was baptized at Old Swinford in Worcestershire on 19 January 1629, the son of the clothier Richard Hickman and his wife Rose. He studied at St Catharine's College, Cambridge, with support from his uncle Henry Hickman, graduating BA in 1648. He became a demy of Magdalen College, Oxford, on 29 October 1648, and was made a fellow on 5 March 1649 following the parliamentary visitation of that year; the degree was incorporated at Oxford on 14 March 1650 and he proceeded MA on the same day (Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, I, 704; Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, II, 366). He was then employed to teach logic to Nathaniel Crewe at Steane (Reade, *Reades*, 109); Crewe was later the bishop of Oxford (1671–4) and Durham (1674–1721). Hickman was a friend of the vicar of Bromsgrove, John Spilsbury, who was also a fellow of Magdalen; on 12 September 1653 he became the vicar of Brackley, where he had been a lecturer since 1648 (Reade, *Reades*, 109; TNA, SP25/70, p. 363). Nevertheless, he was resident at the university by 1657, when in a disputation he argued that 'the Church of Rome, for aught he knew, was a true church'; a response was produced by Vavasor Powell, then at All Saints, Oxford, who argued on 15 July 1657 that 'the Pope would provide him with a mitre and the Devil with a frying-pan' (Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, II, 345; DWL, Baxter Letters, I, fos. 266–7). In May 1657 Hickman turned down an invitation to become the pastor at Stoke Newington because it was too far from Oxford; he became rector of St Aldates in the city on 29 July 1657, and was created BD on 29 May 1658 (LPL, COMM. III/6, p. 81; Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, II, 800).

After the Restoration, Hickman was ejected from St Aldates in 1660, when the pre-Civil War sequestered rector reclaimed his living; he was also removed from his university fellowship

(Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 260). At a dinner in Westminster on 21 August 1660 attended by Samuel Pepys, Hickman 'spoke very much against the height of the new old-clergy, for putting out many of the religious fellows of colleges and enveighing against them for their being drunk' (Pepys, *Diary*, I, 226–7). Hickman later moved to the Netherlands, becoming a student at Leiden University on 13 July 1663 (Peacock, *Leyden*, 49). He also assisted Matthew Newcomen at the English church in Leiden, delivering an exhortation to the congregation on 18 June 1664 (BL, Sloane MS 608, fos. 228–9). On 26 March 1666 his name appeared on a list of English subjects required to return to England to face trial for their activities during the 1650s (TNA, SP29/152, fo. 34). Once home, he became embroiled in a difficult case in the court of chancery against Alice Hickman, concerning the estate of her husband Henry, his uncle. The case grew in complexity when Hickman became a tutor to the family of William Strode of Barrington, a Presbyterian former MP. Hickman's salary was pitiful: £10 per annum, plus his diet, but when Strode died in December 1666, he left £2,500 and a further £1,000 due on a mortgage to his daughter Joanna. Hickman was licensed to marry her on 30 November 1667. On 24 November 1668 they filed a petition in chancery against her brothers for claims under the father's will. The Strode family later alleged that Joanna and Henry had removed gold and property from the house, and accused Hickman of marrying for money (TNA, C5/366/55, C5/424/74, C5/426/35, C5/615/106, C9/96/81). During this period, Hickman also presented books to Stourbridge grammar school, now King Edward VI College (Reade, *Reades*, 109).

It is likely that it was Hickman's sudden increase in wealth which enabled him to set up a shortlived academy at Dusthorp, near Bromsgrove, to which Thomas Cotton, Eliezer and John Heywood (the sons of Oliver Heywood), and Adam Martindale's son, were sent to study university learning. The antiquarian A. L. Reade later speculated that Hickman actually lived at Belbroughton, where his sister's husband John Tristram was the patron, and where his son was baptized at Belbroughton on 28 October 1668 (Reade, *Reades*, 110). On Thursday 15 May 1673 Oliver Heywood had a fast at his house at nine o'clock for his two sons Eliezer and John, who were 'to go abroad to learning'. The following Monday 19 May they set on their journey, accompanied by 'little Jer: Baxter' and arrived at Manchester in the evening; the following morning they set out again, now joined by 'Mr Richardsons son and Mr Cottons two sons and man', and made for Worcestershire, passing through Trentham, Stafford (on Wednesday 20), Stourbridge, and Bromsgrove, before coming at last to

Hickman's house. They found him 'not at home', but Heywood 'left the boys there, in convenient chambers' and returned home on Thursday 22 May (BL, Add. MS 45965, fo. 93). On 21 November 1673 Eliezer Heywood wrote to his father from Dusthorp in Warwickshire 'where he and his brother are trained up with Mr Hickman in university-learning'; in the letter, Eliezer wrote that the previous week 'as he was going up stairs his foot slipt' and he fell, hurting his back, and being unable to walk properly for two or three days'. Among other accidents Eliezer suffered while at the academy was that his foot slipped off a slippery stone while bathing and he fell under water, requiring his companions to save him; on a third occasion, he was riding upon the shores of a lake where there was a dangerous bog and his horse began to slip (BL, Add. MS 45964, fo. 61). On 23 April 1674 Heywood was preaching alongside Richardson; the sons of both men were now at the Natland academy. According to Heywood, Richardson had previously 'sent to desire me to write to Mr frankland, to entertain his sons with mine'; Heywood had declined, since Richardson's sons had 'done my lads no good but hurt at Mr Hickmans'. Richardson was clearly offended, and Heywood suspected that he chose the 62 psalm to be sung on that occasion 'ag[ains]t me for perfidiousness, and oh what a cutting distraction was it to my spirit!' (BL, Add. MS 45966, fo. 26).

The story of the education of Adam Martindale's son Thomas provides some clear reasons why some students chose to attend Hickman's academy. In his autobiography, Adam Martindale explains that in 1667 Mr Wickens, master of the local free school, told him that Thomas was 'fully ripe for the University, and advised me to send him thither'. Martindale resolved that Thomas 'should be no stranger to academicall learning', but that how this should be done 'needed consideration', since he would not permit him to 'engage in such oaths, subscriptions, or practices as I could not downe with myselfe'. Martindale was eager to assert that he did not wish to tie his son to his own opinions 'when he was once a man of competent yeares and abilities to choose for himselfe', but that he 'desired he might be a good scholar without being involved in what he understood not'. Martindale therefore sent him to Cambridge and entered him at Trinity College in 1667, but he came down immediately; after he had 'learned some logicke in the countrey' Martindale sent him to Oxford, where he was tabled in a private house, and Martindale's friend Sir Peter Brooke persuaded a gentleman of Brazenose College 'to give him tuition in his chamber'. The younger Martindale was able to attend disputations in the university 'school', but not admitted to disputations in the college hall. Although he 'profited well', he became 'wearied

out with his pragmaticall old schoole–fellowes' who continually asked him why he would not enter, a question which he would not answer. Therefore, Martindale went to visit his son, 'taking Mr. Hickman's house in my way . . . whom I found readie and willing to receive him'. However, Martindale first took Thomas to London, 'where I 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. The younger Martindale 'staid with this learned tutor two yeares, who had a deare respect for him, and brought him clearely through the whole bodie of philosophie'; during this period, Hickman had 'a good free time', although he was afterwards involved 'in great sutes and troubles' (Martindale, *Life*, 187–9).

Another student of Hickman was the future minister Thomas Cotton; Cotton had previously studied under Mr Wickers at a school in Manchester, before proceeding to 'Mr. *Hickman's* private *academy*'. Cotton's biographer Samuel Wright states that 'Mr. *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*; and from thence to *Edinburg*' (Wright, *Cotton*, 27). According to Oliver Heywood, Cotton entered Frankland's academy on 26 May 1674 (Ebenezer Latham's list of Frankland's students states 3 June), providing further evidence that Cotton was a student of Hickman in the early 1670s, together with Heywood's children (BL, Add. MS 45974, fo. 13).

By 1674 Hickman was back in the Netherlands, where he succeeded Edward Richardson as pastor to the English Reformed Church at Leiden (Cotter, 'Anglo–Dutch Dissent', 153). His decision not to place himself under the discipline of the Dutch classis was excused because he claimed that he could not understand the language. On 18 April 1675 he was admitted to Leiden University as a student of medicine (Peacock, *Leyden*, 49). In 1688 he was visited by his former student, Nathaniel Crewe (Reade, *Reades*, 110). On 19 March 1683, at the office of the public notary in Leiden, Hickman and his wife had willed that most of their estate should pass to their children, with the exception of their property in Warwickshire and Hickman's library. They died in the early 1690s. Wright (*ODNB*), drawing on Wood, claims that Henry died about Michaelmas 1692, and Joanna several weeks later; it is more likely, however, that Henry died in 1691 and was buried in the family sepulchre at the Pieterskerk, Leiden (Cotter, 'Anglo–Dutch Dissent', 154). In March 1693 the Prerogative Court at

Canterbury granted the administration of the estate to their son William, who continued to live in the Netherlands (TNA, PRO, PROB 11/414/65).

Hickman early acquired a reputation for a fiercely controversial pen, which at times ran ahead of strict truth. In a series of letters to Peter Heylin, Hickman had to defend himself against charges that he mistakenly described Heylin's books as burned by the common hangman, and misleadingly suggested that the former Archbishop Laud had been 'disgracefully turned out of the Divinity Schools' in Oxford (Heylin, *Certamen epistolare*, 124). As a result, his publications sometimes cast more heat than light upon his own and others' opinions. Nevertheless, he considered himself to 'agree with others of the Calvinisticall perswasion', and felt that 'not the Remonstrant, but the Contra-remonstrant opinion hath been the Doctrine of the *Reformed Church of England*' ('Preface to the Reader', A3r-v); he blamed the rise of Arminianism firmly on Laud and his associates ('Preface to the Reader', C7-8), and attacked the tendency towards Lutheranism in the mid-seventeenth-century church (*A Review of the Certamen epistolare*, A3v). Although he claimed to 'love Philosophy onely as a handmaid to Divinity' and to detest 'Scholasticall speculations' (*Certamen epistolare*, 11), Hickman had a sophisticated understanding of soteriology and Trinitarian doctrine. He was a staunch defender of the principle that sin had a privative rather than a positive nature (*A Justification of the Fathers and the Schoolmen*), and also published an academic treatise, *Pothen zizania* on the origin of heresy, written in Latin, with extensive Greek quotations. His *Laudensium apostasia* (written in English) was a systematic defence of the Reformers against the Laudians, dealing with matters of theology, church government, iconology, the composition of sermons, the value of learning, and the errors of both Roman Catholics and heretics. Attacks on several ministers followed, including Heylin (Hickman's *Historia quinq-articularis exarticulata*), the minister of the French church in the Savoy John Durel (*Bonusus vapulans*), and the prelate William Sherlock (*Speculum Sherlockianum*). In his Latin *Apologia pro ministris in Anglia (vulgo) non-conformistis* he defended the nonconformist ministers from charges of rebellion and heresy, explaining their objections to a range of practices, including re-ordination, feast-days, genuflexion, the baptismal service, and the manner of ordination of deacons and bishops. The only text of Hickman's to be published without an explicitly controversial subject was his *The Believers Duty towards the Spirit*, in which he nevertheless tackled much-debated questions regarding the nature of the

Holy Spirit, the manner of its operation, and moral questions surrounding its relation to the human soul.

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According to Calamy (*Continuation*, 102), Hickman was also the author of '*The Danger of the House of Feasting, and the Benefit of the House of Mourning: In a short Discourse on Eccles. vii. 2 12mo. 1666.*'

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Hill, Thomas (d. 1720)

THOMAS HILL, tutor in Derbyshire, was the son of Thomas Hill, the ejected curate of Shuttington, Warwickshire (Calamy, *Continuation*, II, 860). Hill Sr was described by Calamy as a man of 'considerable Learning, and a good Judgment', who 'valu'd Mr. Baxter's Works' (Calamy, *Account*, 746). On another occasion, Calamy described him as a man of 'eminent and general Learning', with expertise in Latin, Hebrew, and Greek, a keen apprehension of the errors of Aristotelian and Cartesian science, and knowledge of physics, pneumatology, mathematics, music, metaphysics, and ecclesiastical history (Calamy, *Continuation*, II, 856). Little is known of his son's early life. In the early 1690s Hill Jr attended the academy of John Woodhouse at Sheriffhales, but was temporarily forced to leave 'through want of subsistence' in 1692 (DWL, OD67, fo. 79). When Hill decided to return to Sheriffhales, he was provided with a grant of £8 per annum by the Common Fund Board, 1692–3 (DWL,

OD67, fo. 116). On 7 April 1703 Hill was ordained at Nottingham, as a dissenting minister at Findern. By 1712, and perhaps slightly earlier, he was taking ministerial students at Derby; his academy may have moved to Hartshorne briefly at some point after 1714, before settling at Findern. According to a nineteenth-century account, Hill's 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' (DWL, NCL/L54/2/2–5, 10). Following Samuel Benion's death in 1708, Hill's students included several from Benion's academy in Shrewsbury (DWL, 24.59, fo. 28).

According to a late eighteenth-century manuscript, Hill's students read Le Clerc on logic, Rohault on physics, Frommenius on metaphysics, and Richard Baxter's *An End of Doctrinal Controversies*. It is difficult to gain any sense of Hill's distinctiveness as a tutor from this information. Frommenius had been studied in universities for 100 years, the works of Le Clerc and Rohault were widespread in the British academies and universities in the early eighteenth century, and Baxter's works were read by tutors of all denominations and theological positions. However, some of Hill's priorities as a teacher may be glimpsed through Calamy's description of his father's library. In Calamy's words, Hill Sr had 'several Books . . . which have many Notes drawn with his Pen on the Margin', in which 'besides his own Remarks, are Citations from a great Variety of Authors both ancient and modern', including both Protestant and Roman Catholic writers. These references included works by 'Fathers, Councils, and Ecclesiastical Writers in several Ages'; his Greek New Testament had 'Notes almost on every Page'. Hill Sr was an expert in polemical and casuistical theology, and was 'perhaps more concern'd in Disputes and Conferences' about ordination and discipline than any other minister in the county (Calamy, *Continuation*, II, 856–7). Although many of Hill Sr's papers and books had been dispersed by 1727, it seems highly likely that some of them remained in his son's library during the period that he was teaching (Calamy, *Continuation*, II, 858). At the very least, they reveal a culture of learning to which Hill Jr was exposed from a young age.

In 1713 Hill received an extraordinary supply of £10 from the Presbyterian Fund; a further £8 was granted from the Fund in November 1714 (DWL, OD68, pp. 252, 265). He may be the

man of this name who edited a selection of the Latin psalm paraphrases of George Buchanan (1506–82); this edition also included a ‘metaphrasis’ of the same psalms in Greek and a collection of psalm tunes with bass line accompaniment. A late eighteenth-century manuscript account of dissenting academies lists around 20 of his students, including the future Warrington Academy tutor John Taylor (DWL, 24.59, fos. 54–5). Some of these students received funding from the Presbyterian Fund. For instance, in November 1717, Hill and three neighbouring ministers recommended George Ault for a bursary to ‘prosecute his Studies with Mr Hill . . . where, he is now a Student’; he was awarded an allowance of £6. In April 1718 Gabriel Wane was given a similar allowance of £7, and in November 1718 Nicholas Warren, a ministerial candidate, was given an allowance of £10 ‘in his preparatory studies at Mr Hill’s’. A report on the academy from Hill was read to the Fund Board on 8 June 1719. Following Hill’s death on 2 March 1720 the Fund Board’s allowances to Hill’s students Ault and Warren continued; from this time the academy at Findern was operated by Ebenezer Latham (DWL, OD68, pp. 317, 324, 333, 344, 362).

Works

Celeberrimi viri Georgii Buchanani paraphrasis poetica in psalmos nonnullos Davidis; accedente aliquot aliorum versione poeticâ graecâ; usui quorundam in sacris concinnatâ (London, 1715).

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***Hughes, Stephen (1622 or 1623–88)**

STEPHEN HUGHES, tutor of ministerial students, was born in Carmarthen, the second son of John Hughes and his wife Elizabeth Bevan; his elder brother John was mayor of Carmarthen in 1659 (*ODNB*). From c.1653 he ministered at Merthyr Tydfil, removing to Meidrim in 1655. After his ejection in 1661, he returned to his father's house, but he later married a wealthy and pious woman in Swansea, whose 'Portion, Frugality, and Industry, contributed very much to his comfortable Subsistence and Future Usefulness' (Calamy, *Account*, 718). From the 1660s he assisted Thomas Gouge and others in setting up schools for Welsh children and adults to learn to read in Welsh, and he also helped to establish many

congregations in South Wales. The minister and future tutor James Owen, who had studied with Samuel Jones of Brynlllywarch, became an assistant to Hughes at some point in the 1670s or 1680s; Owen's brother Charles later described Hughes as 'a Gentleman of a true Apostolical Spirit, great Moderation, and pious Zeal to do Good to Souls' (Owen, *James Owen*, 8).

The extent of Hughes's own teaching is unknown. The assertion made by some commentators that he was operating a private academy rests on two dubious claims. The first claim, that James Owen was a student of Hughes, is based on a brief testimonial by Hughes himself (*ODNB*: 'Owen, James'). Hughes wrote that Owen was 'a most precious godly Young Man, of good Repute and Report among Persons fearing God', a man of 'holy Conversation', a 'very good Scholar', and a person with 'good Gifts for Preaching'. However, this testimonial reflects Owen's work as Hughes's assistant, and does not indicate that he was a student of Hughes (Owen, *James Owen*, 8–9). The second claim is that William Evans, another dissenting tutor, was also a student of Hughes. Unfortunately, there is no extant evidence for this assertion, which may be based simply on the fact that they lived near to each other (*ODNB*: 'Evans, William'). On the other hand, there is at least one source to indicate that Hughes was operating as a tutor. An ordination certificate for the preacher Daniel Phillips (*fl.* 1680–1722) states that Phillips was 'educated for the ministry with Mr. Stephen Hughes an ancient minister liveing in the towne of Swanzey' (NLW, 5464E). While Hughes may be described on the basis of this evidence as a tutor of ministerial students, there is no reason to assume that he was running a private academy of any size.

Hughes is best-known today for his efforts to ensure religious books in Wales were printed and disseminated; detailed accounts of his printing activities are provided by Charles Owen (Owen, *James Owen*, 8–12), Edmund Calamy (*Account*, 719), and Brynley F. Roberts (*ODNB*). According to Calamy, several of these books were printed at Hughes's own expense, including the poems of Rees Pritchard, which 'occasion'd many Hundreds of the Ignorant *Welch* who delight in Songs, to learn to read their own Language'; he also assisted in the production of Gouge's Welsh Bible, and gathered subscriptions for the project (Calamy, *Account*, 719). Hughes earned a reputation for plain, methodical, affectionate preaching, which frequently brought him and his hearers to tears. Hughes had the support of much of the Welsh gentry, who encouraged him to preach to large congregations in the public

churches; he also preached in the more inaccessible areas of Wales, and gave sermons twice on Sundays. His capacity to draw large crowds as part of his itinerant ministry incurred the censure of the church authorities, who ensured his prosecution by the secular courts, and his imprisonment in Carmarthen (Calamy, *Account*, 751). While in prison, Hughes's health declined, but upon his release he recovered sufficiently to return to his duties. He died in Swansea on 16 June 1688 and was buried on 18 June at St John's Church, aged about 65 (Calamy, *Account*, 719–20). At the time of his death, his books were valued at around £15 (NLW, SD/1688/185).

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Issot, John (d. 1688)

JOHN ISSOT, assistant tutor to Richard Frankland, was a son of Edward Issot (d. 1681) of Horbury, near Wakefield. He was probably born c.1655–60. Several members of his family were baptized at Horbury, but some were indicted in 1669 for not attending the parish church (Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, 199). Among his relatives were John Issot Sr, the ejected minister of Nun Monkton, and John Issot Jr, Congregational minister at Horbury in 1672 (Calamy, *Account*, 818; *Continuation*, II, 950). He entered Richard Frankland's academy on 20 February 1674 and was still living with Frankland in September 1676. His fellow students at the academy included the future tutor Timothy Jollie, John and Eliezer Heywood, Thomas Cotton, Christopher Richardson and Joseph Boyse (BL, Add. MS 45974, fo. 13; Aspland, *Frankland*, 16). According to Oliver Heywood, John and Eliezer's father, Issot then became 'Mr Frankland's assistant in preaching and teaching' (Heywood, *Diaries*, II, 195). No other details relating to Issot's role in the academy are known. His role as assistant tutor may have lasted for only a few years. From 1678 Issot was the minister of a congregation in Gisburn, and from the late 1680s the duties of assistant tutor were undertaken by Frankland's son.

Issot's chief significance for the history of the dissenters' academies lies in his ordination by Frankland and Heywood in July 1678 (Heywood, *Diaries*, II, 194–7). This event is the first nonconformist ordination in the north of England for which a detailed account survives, although other students had been set aside for the ministry in Manchester in 1672, and two other candidates, Thorp and Darnton, were ordained at the same time as Issot (Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, 143). On the first day of the ordination ceremony, Frankland examined Issot in Greek, Hebrew, philosophy, and divinity. The following day, Issot delivered a thesis, 'Quod Ordinatio per manuum impositionem per seniores (vulgo vocatos laicos) non est valida' ('Whether ordination by the imposition of hands by seniors (vulgarly called laymen) is not valid'). Oliver Heywood considered Issot's thesis 'an excellent discourse, very large and cogent', even though he formally opposed it, together with another minister, Dawson (Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, 144). Another person present was Major-General Lambert's wife, whose property at Calton Hall became the site of Frankland's academy briefly in 1683 (Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, 153). Issot's experience enabled him to assist in the ordination of other dissenters, which followed swiftly after his own ceremony. In April 1681 he was present at the ordination of Timothy Hodgson (Heywood, *Diaries*, II, 197–9). He also

participated in the ordination of Oliver Heywood's son John Heywood in August 1681. Issot died on 12 January 1688 and was buried at Marton on 17 January (CL, I.a.11, fo. 71).

Thomas Jollie described him as an 'able faithfull young minister of Christ' whose death was 'a sad blow and loud sermon' (Jollie, *Note Book*, 88). His successor in the ministry was Nicholas Kershaw, who had been a student of Frankland in 1680.

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James, Stephen (c.1676–1725)

STEPHEN JAMES was a tutor at the Taunton academy. He was born c.1676. He was described in the dissenters' Common Fund survey, c.1690, as 'The Son of a poore man a Shoemaker in Colne, who is not able to allow him above 5*l* per annum'; the same survey claimed that 'the Conformists would haue Mantained him at Oxon if they could haue perswaded him to be entred there, hee is a very diligent pregnant hopefull youth and well inclined, above 16 yeares of age' (DWL, OD161, p. 83). On 9 May 1692 the Common Fund voted him £10 per annum 'when fixed with a Tutour'. He studied from 1692 to 1696 under Matthew Warren at the academy in Taunton (DWL, OD67, fos. 72, 99, 116). He later became a minister at Pitminster in Somerset. By 1706 James was a minister at Fulwood. In that year, Warren died; James was appointed to teach theology at the academy, while Henry Grove taught ethics and pneumatology and Robert Darch taught physics and mathematics. In 1706 James approached the Exeter Assembly of ministers to approve the new structure of the academy. In September 1706 James gave the Assembly an account of the method which he, Darch, and Grove intended to take with their students. The Assembly approved the design, drawing up a statement 'not doubting but they will continue in their good resolutions', and 'wishing all good success to them' (DWL, 38.24, fo. 150). When Darch became less willing to continue teaching in the academy, Grove took over his responsibilities. Between 1718 and 1725 the Presbyterian Fund Board awarded grants to a small number of students at the academy, including a Mr Cooper (1718–20), Strickland Gough (1721–4), Samuel Gledhill (1725), Israel Mauditt (1725–30); they were awarded £10 per annum each (DWL, OD68, pp. 373, 420; OD69, pp. 19–268). James died early in 1725, 'almost in the midst of his days', after a long illness. Grove became the senior tutor at the academy, and employed Thomas Amory as an assistant. Grove also succeeded James as the minister at Fulwood. Edmund Batson, a minister at Paul's Meeting, Taunton, married his widow Joan on 13 May 1725. Grove preached his funeral sermon, noting his 'happy Talents for the instructing and forming of Youth committed to his Care, and the Delight he took in this Work' (Grove, *James*, 33).

James's significance lies in the survival in the Congregational Library, London, of a set of notes containing part of his theology lectures, transcribed by his student Richard Darracott and dated 1707. These are the earliest extant academy lectures to bear the title 'Theology'. James's theology course was divided into three parts, of which the second half of the first

part and the first half of the second part survive. The recent rediscovery of an accompanying reading list in Bristol Baptist College Library (BBCL, Ze9) enables the structure of the entire course to be reconstructed. The three parts of the course explored the nature of the Scriptures, the attributes of God, and the role of the Messiah. In the opening seven chapters of the first part, James defined theology, presented demonstrations for the existence of God, and explored the differences between the light of nature and revelation. Jones argued that only the Scriptures could be a divine, supernatural revelation, presenting arguments from their intrinsic nature and doctrines, and showing that the Scriptures provide internal evidence of their truth and divine authority. 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 recommended 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 comprised 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, including Amyraldus and Grotius, and held a particular appeal for Baxterians and latitudinarians; however, James's arguments from the internal content of the Scriptures were drawn more widely from English authors, including Baxter, Tillotson, and Stillingfleet.

For the remaining fourteen chapters of the first part of the lectures, and the first few chapters of the second part, a set of student notes survives in three volumes, taken by Richard Darracott c.1707. In Chapter 8, James seeks further proofs of the authority of Scripture from its internal consistency, highlighting the sincerity, harmony, majesty, success, and preservation of its contents, the courage of those who owned the doctrines, and the judgments which have befallen those who denied them. In order to prove that individual books are canonical (Chapter 9), James uses five criteria: they must be of divine authority, written by sacred, inspired men, delivered by such men to posterity, received as canonical by all the churches, and necessary for faith and actions; such evidence of the canonicity of the gospels, for instance, may be found in the writings of Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Eusebius, Tertullian, and Origen; whereas Ezra played a crucial role in compiling the Old Testament, crucial evidence of its divine status comes from the authority of extant Hebrew texts. In the next three chapters (10–12), 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. No council or pontiff, even St Peter, has been granted such power, and the truth of Scripture must be (and is) demonstrable from reason.

At the heart of Part One of James's system lies a discussion of the ways in which the Scriptures are a perfect, self-contained rule of faith and practice (Chapter 13). The Scriptures are perfect in three respects: no part has been lost, the original text is preserved uncorrupted, and there are no necessary precepts of religion contained outside them. James proceeds to find scriptural evidence for five ways in which God has revealed his mind: by voice, vision, dreams, internal inspiration, and through the Urim and Thummim (Chapter 14). Of these, 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. Part One ends with a lengthy consideration of the role of reason in relation to faith (Chapter 21).

Part Two, of which the first eight chapters survive in Darracott's notes, is concerned with the nature and attributes of the divine Being. Having sought to demonstrate the existence of an eternal, independent, uncaused Being, James argues that he must have all perfections which may be found in other beings, which are required to his actions, and which may be concluded from his transcendent manner of being. By contrast, imperfections natural to created beings have no proper cause but are negations or non-entities. Perfections, it should be noted, 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; to subsist in himself implies a more transcendent manner of being, and a great distance from nonentity. Spirits are of a different nature from body or matter, and can only be described negatively; were God matter, he could not be immense, omnipresent, indivisible, or omnipotent. Knowledge and perception are not inseparable and essential faculties of matter, otherwise all material things would be perceptive; rather, matter is a solid substance capable

of figure, motion, and division, with nothing of thought, perception, or will. 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.

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 highlights the doctrine of prescience, especially relating to contingent actions, as a major difference between Arminians, Socinians, and orthodox theologians. James claims that the manner of God's foreknowledge is beyond comprehension, but recognises four theories which seek to explain it. 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 visions 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. Interestingly, James attacks Baxter's critique of middle knowledge for being a theory of determining the indeterminate, but he also recognises the influence of the theory on Baxter's thoughts regarding God's knowledge of future contingencies.

Works

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Jennings, John (c.1687–1723)

John Jennings was the son of John Jennings, the ejected minister of Hartley Wespall, Hampshire (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 514–15). Shortly after his ejection in 1662, Jennings Sr became a chaplain to a 'Mrs Pheasant' of West Langton, Leicestershire, where Jennings Jr was born c.1687 (*ODNB*). The family moved to Kibworth Harcourt after Pheasant's death in 1689; initially, Jennings Sr was 'not engaged as pastour' at Kibworth, and had 'noe maintenance', but this may have changed prior to his death in 1701 (DWL, OD161, fo. 44). In 1691 Jennings's brother David Jennings was born; he was to become a dissenting tutor at Wellclose Square from 1744. In 1704 John Jennings Jr studied at Christ's College, Attercliffe under Timothy Jollie, with a grant of £10 from the Congregational Fund Board (DWL, OD402, p. 68). He later became a minister at Kibworth, where he set up a private academy c.1715, aged 27. His most famous student was the minister and tutor Philip Doddridge. Other students included James Belsham (father of Thomas Belsham), the author James Burroughs, the London minister John Halford, Doddridge's correspondent Obadiah Hughes, Daniel Mattock of Daventy, and the poet and hymn writer Thomas Scott. At least one of them (Belsham) received a grant from the Presbyterian Fund Board (DWL, OD68, p. 384). According to Doddridge, Jennings opened his academy 'without any more than three Months spent in immediate Preparation', and 'compos'd all the most considerable Lectures while he was teaching his Pupils' (SHL, MS 609, fo. 53; Whitehouse, *Jennings*, III, 39). By 1720 Jennings charged £18 per annum, and had several rules for 'admitting Pupills'; these included assessing the student's proficiency in former studies, and receiving recommendation of his sobriety from 'Impartial & Competent Persons' (DWL, 12.40.122; Whitehouse, *Jennings*, I, 2).

In 1719, following the Exeter Controversy and the Salters' Hall debates about the Trinity, Jennings was among the ministers who overruled an attempt to impose doctrinal subscription in Leicestershire; the other ministers were David Some of Harborough and John Norris of Welford (Nuttall, *Doddridge*, no. 53). Jennings was well known to the tutor Samuel Clark, with whom Doddridge frequently exchanged letters (Humphreys, *Doddridge*, I, 213). Around 1720, Jennings instructed Tryphena Russell, daughter of Lady Russell, in astronomy and the globes (Humphreys, *Doddridge*, I, 59). Jennings's mother had died by February 1722 (Humphreys, *Doddridge*, I, 46). In March he accepted a call to Hinckley, considered by

Doddridge to be 'one of the best congregations in Leicestershire', and he moved there in May 1722 (Humphreys, *Doddridge*, I, 59, 115, 117, 129). The Kibworth congregation approached James Watson of Mountsorrel and then Ogle Radford of Market Harborough, but both refused to become the next minister. Doddridge then accepted their invitation a year after Jennings had left, having received Jennings's encouragement, and despite a tempting offer from a dissenting congregation at Coventry (DWL, NCL/L1/10/1–2). By 4 June 1723 Jennings had 'but seven pupils remaining'. By 6 July he had fallen ill with smallpox, and he died two days later. According to Doddridge, Jennings's posthumously published *Two Discourses* (1723) received a 'kind reception' from some of his former students (Humphreys, *Doddridge*, I, 239, 250, 395).

In a description of his academy dated c.1720, Jennings laid out a programme for eight half-years, each covering a different range of subjects. According to this summary, students were to start with algebra, arithmetic, Hebrew, geography, Latin, French, classical exercises, and logic. In the second half-year they would continue these subjects, but add civil history, Cicero and oratory. In the next year students would cover mechanics, hydrostatics, physics, Greek, English history, logic disputations, and 'Miscellanys'; they would then proceed to anatomy, pneumatology, Jewish antiquities, astronomy, the globes, and chronology. In the third year, students would study ethics, biblical criticism and pneumatology disputations; they would then cover divinity, Christian antiquities, more 'Miscellanys', and moral discourses. In the fourth year, students would study a range of religious subjects, including ecclesiastical history, sermons, controversial divinity, and divinity disputations, with lectures on preaching and pastoral care. Jennings's course maintained the traditional progression through logic, physics and ethics to divinity, with language learning and classical subjects; however, he added brief courses based on recent developments in mathematics and mechanics, and shared dissenters' fascination with Jewish antiquities (DWL, 12.40.122; Whitehouse, *Jennings*, I). In another notebook Jennings tabulated a similar timetable for the academy, together with lists of books, and parts of plays (DWL, NCL/L185; Whitehouse, *Jennings*, V).

Jennings's influence upon Doddridge's studies and teaching was very considerable. Following Jennings's death, Doddridge put in a claim for Jennings's books, some of which he acquired. He also instructed Jennings's son, John Jennings, 'from his cradle' (Humphreys,

Doddridge, I, 264, 331; III, 205). In 1723 Clark was of the view that Doddridge's education under Jennings had 'the better direct[ed] you how to manage with a people upon the congregational footing', although Doddridge at this time confessed himself only 'moderately inclined' to the 'congregational form' (Stedman, *Doddridge*, V, 12; Humphreys, *Doddridge*, I, 302). On another occasion Doddridge claimed that his 'dear tutor' had accustomed him 'to that latitude of expression which the Scriptures indulge and recommend'. When in 1726 Doddridge began teaching a Mr Halford, 'who was beginning his course with Mr Jennings a little before his death', they covered pneumatology and divinity, presumably using Jennings's lectures (Humphreys, *Doddridge*, I, 335; II, 199; Rivers, *Defence*, 7). In 1727 Doddridge recommended that the student Joseph Saunders stay with Jennings's widow, so that Doddridge could discuss Jennings's lectures with him (Humphreys, *Doddridge*, II, 381). In 1728 Doddridge wrote to Clark that he had not taken Saunders as a student, and had only 'Slight Thoughts' of renewing Jennings's academical course (DWL, NCL/L1/10/12). Nevertheless, in 1729 he asked Lady Russell to sound out Edmund Calamy and other ministers about reviving 'Jennings's method of academical education' (Humphreys, *Doddridge*, II, 451).

In 1725, shortly after his tutor's death, Doddridge wrote his own outline of Jennings's course, and supplemented it with an account of the chief books used at the academy. These books have been identified by Whitehouse, whose study of *Dissenting Education and the Legacy of John Jennings* provides annotated transcriptions of many of the key documents for studying Jennings's academy. In their philological courses, his students read a range of Roman historians and essayists, including Suetonius, Tacitus, Seneca, Caesar and Cicero; the Latin poets they read included Virgil, Horace and Terence, with Lucretius, Juvenal, Plautus, and Lucan. Greek authors included Theocritus, Homer and Pindar, and they also studied Victor Bythner's Hebrew grammar. They learned French using Abel Boyer's French grammar, and proceeded to read François Fénelon's widely-used *Télémaque* and works by Louis Bourdaloue. When studying logic, the students began with Franco Burgersdijk's popular *Institutiones logicae* before proceeding to a system written by Jennings, a 'great deal' of which was developed from the writings of John Locke. In natural philosophy, Jennings used the dissenting tutor John Eames's lectures on hydrostatics and anatomy, Le Clerc's *Physics*, and books by Bernard Nieuwentijt, Jacques Rohault and Bernhard Varen. In ethics, he referred to works by Hugo Grotius and Samuel von Pufendorf in a course which reminded

Doddridge of William Wollaston's *Religion of Nature Delineated*, although Rivers points out that Jennings was unlikely to have known this text (Rivers, *Defence*, 9). Mathematics teaching at the academy included excerpts from Isaac Barrow's edition of Euclid's *Elements* (also used at Samuel Jones's academy), supplemented by Jennings's own algebraic demonstrations. The students read Patrick Gordon's *Geographical Grammar* and works by John Keill and William Cheselden. In civil history they studied texts by Pufendorf, Jodocus Crull, Freidrich Spanheim and Peter King. In Jewish antiquities, the core text was an abridgment of the Tewkesbury tutor Samuel Jones's notes on William Godwin's *Moses and Aaron*. They also read King's *Inquiry into . . . the Primitive Church* with the 'original Draught in answer to it', Joseph Bingham's *Origines Ecclesiasticae*, Johann Kaspar Suicer's *Thesaurus*, and Louis Ellies Dupin's *Compendium* of ecclesiastical history. On the history of controversies students read Spanheim's *Elenchus*. Other texts read included Bacon's *Essays*, Browne's *History*, and works by Tillotson and Sprat (DWL, 24.179.4; Whitehouse, *Doddridge*, II).

In a long letter of 1728 Doddridge provided a more detailed description of the courses and texts used at Jennings's academy and also included an account of Jennings's 'Behaviour to his Pupils in private life'. According to Doddridge, Jennings took care that his pupils were 'continually under the Influence of serious Piety', and sought to 'cultivate and improve' any appearance of religion in them. He was 'remarkably active in the Dispatch of Business', and exercised 'resolute Command over his Passions'. His prayers combined 'Seriousness and Tenderness', and his family expositions combined 'Ease and Dexterity' with 'Warm and lively practical Exhortations'. According to Doddridge, Jennings 'knew that Nurseries of Bigots are the Devil's Magazines', and sought to form his students with a 'Catholick Temper' by encouraging them to take their religious notions directly from the Bible. Jennings reminded his students of 'the Limitation of our Faculties and the Imperfection of all humane Knowledge'. He encouraged them to study 'those Histories which represent Imposition, Persecution and party Zeal, in the most natural and so the most odious Colours'. Jennings divided his books into two libraries. The first was common to the whole academy, including books on classics, poetry, history, travels, and practical divinity; the second, for the more advanced students, consisted of biblical critics, philosophy, ecclesiastical history, the church fathers, and polemical divinity. Jennings showed good humour in the face of his adolescent students, avoided rebuking them for 'trifling Indiscretions', and sought to promote their 'Self

Esteem'; when he considered correction to be necessary, he 'Studied to Temper the Admonition with the most mollifying Circumstances', and 'season'd the Reproof with many Commendations'. He urged his students to consider the improvement of his lectures, and would 'insert new References on our Recommendation' (SHL, MS 609, fos. 35–45; Whitehouse, *Jennings*, III, 26–34).

Jennings's achievements as a tutor are usually discussed in relation to those of his most famous pupil, Doddridge. Rivers emphasises four aspects of Jennings's course which were of great importance to Doddridge: 'the ordering of his subjects; the mathematical method; the use of references; and the emphasis on free inquiry' (Rivers, *Defence*, 7). Whitehouse points out that it was through Doddridge that the details of Jennings's course became more widely known to other dissenting ministers (Whitehouse, 'Letters, Lectures and Lives', 40). Much less has been written about Jennings's own intellectual formation. His own tutor, Timothy Jollie, reputedly 'forbade mathematics as tending to scepticism and infidelity' (DWL, 24.59, p. 52), although Jollie's students also included Nicholas Saunderson, a future Lucasian Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge. Possibly, Jollie's objection was to the mathematical method applied to philosophy; this interpretation presents Jennings's achievements in this field in an interesting new light. In other areas, it is possible that Jennings's innovations have been overstated: some of the more unusual subjects in his published *Miscellanea*, for example, also appear in the manuscript systems of Charles Morton, written *c.*1680, and it is clear that he borrowed ideas from several contemporaneous dissenting tutors, including Samuel Jones and John Eames (WL, 3637; DWL, 24.3–4; BL, Add. MS 60351). Many of the texts listed by Doddridge in his two accounts of Jennings's academy also appear in accounts of other private academies of the period, including the Shrewsbury academy of James Owen (Owen, *James Owen*, 88–9).

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Dr Williams's Library, MS NCL/L182–3: 'Theologia, sive Pneumatologiae et Ethicae Pars Iia', 2 vols., finished 19 April 1731.

Dr Williams's Library, MS NCL/L227/1: 'Arithmetica', *c.*1721–3.

Dr Williams's Library, MS NCL/L228: 'Prolegomena Critica Sive ad S. Scripturae Lectionem In Usum Juventutis Academicae', *c.*1719–23: John Jennings's redaction of Samuel Jones's 'Prolegomenon ad Observationes criticae', signed 'P Doddridge'.

Dr Williams's Library, MS NCL/L234: 'Testimonia Ethnica de Factis Scripturae[:]
Theologiae sive Penumatologiae & Ethicae Pars secunda', 1722.
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Dr Williams's Library, 12.40.122: Account of John Jennings's method of education, c.1719–
21.
Dr Williams's Library, 24.3–4: Samuelis Jonesii . . . in Godwini Mosen & Aaronem.
Dr Williams's Library, 24.59, p. 52: Notes on Timothy Jollie's academy.
Dr Williams's Library, 24.179.4: Copy of letter from Philip Doddridge to Thomas Saunders,
16 November 1725.
Dr Williams's Library, 24.180.3: Isaac Watts's remarks on Philip Doddridge's letter to
Thomas Saunders, c.1725?
Dr Williams's Library, MS NCL/L1/6/150: Letter from David Jennings to Philip Doddridge,
8 January 1740.
Dr Williams's Library, MS NCL/L1/10/1–2, 12: Letters from Philip Doddridge to Samuel
Clark, 6 April 1723, 4 May 1723, 6 February 1728.
Dr Williams's Library, MS NCL/L113/1: 'An Appendix to Mr Jen's Algebra in wch some of
the Propositions are more easily demonstrated', and 'Some Questions yt are not in our
Algebra & others in it more easily solv'd', both in the hand of Philip Doddridge.
Dr Williams's Library, MS NCL/L185: Latin timetables and rules, extracts from plays, and
library catalogue, partly in the hand of 'Dr. Jennings'.
Dr Williams's Library, MS NCL/L247: 'Hortus Siccus', a volume of pressed flowers,
possibly collected by John Jennings, with some nineteenth-century additions.
Dr Williams's Library, OD68, p. 384: Reference to James Belsham in the Presbyterian Fund
Board minutes, Volume II, 5 Feb. 1694/5 – 4 Jun. 1722.
Dr Williams's Library, OD161, fo. 44: Reference to Jennings Sr in the Dissenters' Common
Fund Survey, c.1690–2.
Dr Williams's Library, OD402, p. 68: Reference to John Jennings in the Congregational Fund
Board minutes, Volume II, 5 Feb. 1699/1700 – 18 Dec. 1704.
Senate House Library, MS 609: Notes on an educational method by Philip Doddridge.
Wellcome Library, MS 3637: Charles Morton, 'A System of Heraldry', 'To . . . Candidates
for the Ministry', 'Of the Souls of Brutes', 'The Improvement of Cornwall'.

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Jollie, Timothy (c.1656–1714)

TIMOTHY JOLLIE, tutor at an academy in Attercliffe, was the son of Thomas Jollie, the ejected minister of Altham and an Independent minister at Wymondhouses; his mother died in childbirth (*ODNB*). From 27 August 1673 he attended the academy of Richard Frankland at Rathmell (BL, Add. MS 45974, fo. 13). According to Thomas Jollie, Timothy temporarily left the academy in 1674 and was reluctant to return (Jollie, *Note Book*, 19). Nevertheless, he resumed his studies, and then remained with Frankland until December 1675. By this point, the academy had moved its location to Natland (BL, Add. MS 45974, fo. 13). At Natland, Jollie became friends with Oliver Heywood's son John, and saved John's younger brother Eliezer from drowning. According to a later account related by Jollie to Oliver Heywood, some students had gone to the river to bathe, and as Jollie was putting on his clothes Eliezer 'immediatly dropt into a deep place went over head in the water'; Jollie, who could see nothing of him but part of his hand, 'got hold of his finger and pulled him out, half dead', and the younger Heywood 'vomited much water'. Jollie was particularly impressed by a sermon delivered by Oliver Heywood during one of his many trips to Natland, on 2 Timothy 3:7, 'Ever learning and never able to come to the knowledg of the truth'. He also took notice of

another of Heywood's sermons from this period, 'concerning spirituallizing of all parts of human learning as Grammar, Rhetorick, Logick, Philosophy which I had forgot, but he remembred very distinctly' (Heywood, *Diaries*, IV, 163–4). Jollie travelled to London with his father in early 1677. Here, he may have attended Theophilus Gale's academy at Newington Green, since his father was shocked to hear of Gale's death and wrote in February 1679 of his particular indebtedness to Gale 'upon the account of my two sons'. Jollie was also a member of the Independent church at Girdlers' Hall, where the minister was George Griffith. As was customary for young dissenters, Jollie renewed his covenant with God while in London in early 1680 (Jollie, *Note Book*, 31, 36, 41).

By May 1680 Jollie had received a call to the meeting-house called the New Hall, at Snig Hill in Sheffield. His father noted 'the speciall providence of god in bringing him among such a sober people in such a well affected place, to such a numerous congregation' (Jollie, *Note Book*, 42). His ordination combined elements of Congregational and Presbyterian practice; a lengthy account of it is provided by Oliver Heywood (Heywood, *Diaries*, II, 199–201). Apparently, Jollie had 'no Position in Latin [i.e. no Latin thesis] thro' an Oversight', but gave an extempore discourse on the question 'An Infantes omnes Baptizatorum nisi scandalizantium sint baptizandi?' ('Whether all infants should be baptised unless they be scandalous to baptise?': Heywood, *Diaries*, II, 24, 199). The congregation had a history of being divided, and Jollie worked hard to keep it in harmony with the local dissenting communities (*ODNB*). He married Elizabeth, the daughter of the ejected vicar of Sheffield James Fisher, on 2 July 1681; their first child, Elizabeth, was born in August 1682.

Jollie was arrested under the Five Mile Act in 1683 and fined £20, but after refusing to take an oath promising good behaviour, he was imprisoned in York Castle for six months. For much of the time, his wife remained with him, and in June he was visited by Oliver Heywood; Heywood later reported that 'some other company being there we discoursed of common things, when they were gone, he opened his heart to me, called me his father, told me what god did upon his spirit' (Heywood, *Diaries*, IV, 92). The nature of his imprisonment may have caused his health to collapse, since his assistant John de la Rose later claimed that 'the manner of his Abode there endanger'd and impair'd his Constitution, and threaten'd his Death'; Jollie also appears to have found 'the Language of Hell there, the dreadful Oaths and Curses of the Criminals' deepy afflicting (De la Rose, *Jollie*, 12). After he was freed in

October, Elizabeth and her daughter returned to Sheffield, but Jollie could not be in the town openly, and so 'was forced to wander up and down' (Manning, *Good Puritan Woman*, 9). Another son, Thomas, died in infancy on 26 April 1685, a year in which three arrest warrants were issued for Jollie.

The following year, Jollie's former tutor Frankland moved his academy to Attercliffe, where he taught between 1686 and 1689. At this date, Frankland moved again to Rathmell with his students, teaching there until his death in 1698 (BL, Add. MS 45974, fos. 13–14). Jollie set up his own academy at Attercliffe Hall in 1691, which had become known as 'Christ's Colledg' by 1699 (BL, Add. MS 4275, fo. 73). Several of Jollie's students were given grants by the dissenters' Common Fund, and (from 1695) by the Congregational Fund Board. On 23 February 1691 Jeremiah Gill and Emmanuel Dewsnop were given grants of £5 towards their instruction under Jollie; on 2 March a further £5 bursary was provided to Richard Woollhouse, 'on condition hee give himself to the Ministry' (DWL, OD67, fos. 26–7). Dewsnop's bursary was renewed on 25 April 1692. On 8 May 1693 the Fund awarded £8 to Jollie's student Thomas Bradbury; he was awarded a further £4 by the Presbyterian Fund Board on 1 July 1695 (DWL, OD67, fos. 70, 111; OD68, fos. 10, 12).

Around fifty of Jollie's students are known, including the future Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Secker, the politician John Bowes, the mathematician Nicholas Saunderson, and the prominent dissenting ministers Thomas Bradbury, John Evans, Benjamin Grosvenor, and William Harris. Jollie's student Jeremiah Gill was his assistant before he left to minister to the Independents in Kingston upon Hull in 1697. John Wadsworth, another of his students, then assisted him, before leaving for Rotherham in 1701. Jollie's son Timothy was another of his students. A note on the younger Jollie's life by the tutor David Jennings described the father as 'a learned divine and famous tutor, under whose instructions, great numbers of young ministers were formed for eminent service in the churches of Christ' (Jennings, *Timothy Jollie*, 32–3).

One of Jollie's most eminent supporters was Oliver Heywood, who played an active role in ensuring the success of Jollie's academy until his death in 1702; he had been similarly influential as a supporter of Frankland's academy. Heywood's son Eliezer preached for Jollie at Sheffield on 4 April 1688 (Heywood, *Diaries*, IV, 129). On another occasion, Jollie went to hear Heywood preach at Rotherham and told the company 'how god had wrought on him by

a sermon I preacht 21 yeares before in Westmorland on 2 Tim 3 7' while Jollie was still a student under Frankland; Jollie reportedly stated that 'he was more bound to blesse god' for Heywood than for 'any man in the world' except his father (Heywood, *Diaries*, IV, 153). On a third occasion, in 1700, Jollie came to visit Heywood, bringing with him his son and one of his students, 'Mr Moul't'; on the following Saturday morning Jollie, Moul't and Heywood spent some time in prayer (Heywood, *Diaries*, IV, 163). On 19 May 1700 Jollie preached twice at Heywood's meeting upon Jeremiah 3:22 'very affectionatly, understandingly' and prayed 'warmly, meltingly' to the large congregation's great satisfaction. Heywood recorded that his conversation with Jollie was 'sweet, savoury', and that Jollie was 'exceeding intelligent and observant'. In his notebook he commented that God had made him 'of great use in training up Schollers in University learning in order to the ministry' (Heywood, *Diaries*, IV, 164). On 5 January 1700 Heywood participated in a fast for John Bury's son as he prepared to go to Jollie's academy and on 5 February Mr Brook, another of Jollie's scholars, dined with Heywood (Heywood, *Diaries*, IV, 196, 200); on 10 May 1701 he notes that Jollie's student J. Hemingway 'discoursed prayd with me' and on 13 June 1701 another student Kerby Wilson arrived at 10.00 and 'desired to be tabled with us': 'I took him into my chamber – discoursed – set him on praying . . . went to my chappel with him, gaue him Mr [Christopher] Nesses book agt Papists' (Heywood, *Diaries*, IV, 256, 265). Heywood exchanged countless letters with Heywood, and the two borrowed books from each other (Heywood, *Diaries*, IV, 191, 199, 240, 292, 297).

Heywood recorded that by 1700 Jollie had 26 scholars, while 40 others had already qualified and gained employment in the ministry; Jollie himself wrote in November of that year that '46 hopeful young Ministers are gone forth from my Eye to do good service in the Lord's Vineyard, & sundry of them Spiritual Fathers' (Heywood, *Diaries*, IV, 164; BL, Add. MS 4276, fo. 6). These figures allow us to make some speculative projections about Jollie's academy. If students studied for no fewer than three years, and the first class began to study in 1691, then by 1700 roughly six classes numbering approximately 40 students in total may have completed their studies, averaging around 7 students per class; allowing for the likelihood that classes grew in size over the first few years of the academy's existence, it is possible to suggest that Jollie's 26 scholars in 1700 may have consisted of three or four classes of approximately 6 to 9 students each. These estimates tally with Thomas Secker's later report into Samuel Jones's Gloucester academy, in which he implies that one of Jones's

classes consisted of 7 students, although 8 had been intended (Gibbons, *Watts*, 350). Jollie's academy in the 1690s was therefore probably noticeably smaller than Frankland's academy during the same period, which may perhaps have catered for up to 40 students at any one time. However, it must be emphasised that there is no means of verifying any of these estimates. On the other hand, it appears that Jollie's academy was initially successful at producing orthodox ministers. In 1700 Heywood wrote that Jollie 'hath not had one [student] miscarried in his hands, but one T L which was but a school-boy, and he turned him off'. Heywood believed Jollie to be 'well accomplisht for his work, both for learning, parts, sweet temper, and soundnes in the faith', not 'drawn away with these odde opinions', but 'very orthodox of a moderate spirit' (Heywood, *Diaries*, IV, 164).

Several of Jollie's students left testimonials of the Attercliffe academy. Benjamin Grosvenor moved from London to Attercliffe to study under Jollie in 1693. A funeral sermon for Grosvenor by John Barker (another of Jollie's students) prints an account, purportedly by Grosvenor, of their tutor: it describes him as a man 'of great spirituality and sweetness of temper' who kept strict and regular order in his house with little severity. However, it complains of the defects in Jollie's institution as to 'classical learning, free philosophy, and the catholic divinity' (Barker, *Grosvenor*, 27); everything at Jollie's academy was 'systematical', a criticism worth contrasting to Isaac Watts's account of his contemporaneous experience of 'free philosophy' under Thomas Rowe (Watts, *Horae lyricae*, 153–4). Nevertheless, Grosvenor admired Jollie's public sermons, praising his 'charming voice, flowing, and of a musical sound', his 'natural eloquence', and his elocution and gesture, worthy of an orator: 'The pathetic was sometimes so hightened with that divine enthusiasm, which is peculiar to true devotion, that he would make our hearts glow with a fervour' (Barker, *Grosvenor*, 27–8). Grosvenor felt that there had been tutors of greater learning than Jollie, who had been able to lay out 'a greater compass of enducation'; however, Jollie's relish for practical religion, his combination of devotional spirit and example, his sweet temper and benevolent mind, had 'an influence towards our usefulness and acceptance as ministers' (Barker, *Grosvenor*, 28).

Another student was Bartholomew Loftus, later a pastor at the English Church in Rotterdam. A rather ill-informed memorial of Loftus by Benjamin Sowden states that he was tutored by 'the Rev. Mr. John Jolly, who kept a Dissenting Academy at Attercliffe'; apparently, Loftus

made 'great Proficiency, and compleated a Course of *Ethical* and *Theological* Studies, without neglecting several other Branches of Science, that are reckoned proper as Qualifications for the Ministry' (Sowden, *Loftus*, 28–9). Nicholas Saunderson, a future Lucasian Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge, attended the Attercliffe academy in 1702. According to a memoir attached to his posthumously published *The Elements of Algebra, in Ten Books*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1740), Saunderson's father sent him to Jollie to encourage his passion for learning. However, he found that 'Logic and Metaphysics made up the principal Learning of this School'. The former was a 'dry Study', being 'chiefly the Art of Disputing in Mood and Figure' through words; the latter dealt with 'such abstract Ideas as have not the Objects of Sense for their Foundation'. As a consequence neither were agreeable to Saunderson, who 'made but a short Stay' at Attercliffe (Saunderson, *Algebra*, I, p. ii). However, it should be recognised that these severe criticisms of logic and metaphysics by Saunderson's biographers appear to be directed at the subjects themselves, as well as at Attercliffe in particular. Nevertheless, they do lend support to the view that the methods of learning adopted at Attercliffe were considered old-fashioned by 1700, despite Heywood's endorsement.

Jollie's most famous student is Thomas Secker, the future Archbishop of Canterbury, who attended Attercliffe aged 15 in 1708. Secker's membership of Jollie's church is indicated by the presence of his name in a list of communicants copied in the nineteenth century by Joseph Hunter (BL, Add. MS 24437, p. 112). His education by Jollie and (from 1711) Samuel Jones of Gloucester was later a source of some embarrassment to Secker's supporters (Nowell, *Answer*, 49). Secker himself was dismissive of Jollie's teaching, writing that 'only the old Philosophy of the Schools' was taught at Attercliffe, and 'that neither ably, nor diligently', and that he left the academy after about eighteen months. Secker also believed that the morals of many of the young men at Attercliffe were bad, writing that he spent his time there 'idly & ill'. Secker similarly had little faith in Jollie's ability to teach languages, writing in his autobiography that it was not until he moved to Samuel Jones's Gloucester academy that he 'recovered my almost lost Knowledge of Greek & Latin' (LPL, 2598, fos. 4–5). Among Secker's fellow students at Attercliffe were Henry Etough, a future conforming minister, Matthew Leeson, later a dissenting minister at Thame, and Joseph Sills, who was to become an Independent minister at Henley. Another student was John Bowes, the future lord chancellor of Ireland. Secker lodged with Bowes's father in London in 1710, and here he met

Isaac Watts, who persuaded him to go to Jones's academy in Gloucester (*ODNB*, 'Secker, Thomas'). Here, he received an education much more intensely focused on textual criticism of biblical and classical texts (Gibbons, *Watts*, 346–52).

Secker's dissatisfaction with his Attercliffe education was shared by other students in the early eighteenth century. McLachlan writes that Joseph Mottershead, a former student of Jollie, declared that 'Jollie forbade mathematics as tending to scepticism and infidelity, though many by stealth made considerable progress in that way' (McLachlan, *English Education*, 108). McLachlan's source is probably a late eighteenth-century account of the academies, in which this statement is made without attribution to Mottershead (*DWL*, 24.59, fo. 33). Unfortunately, no earlier source for the comment is known. However, the remark highlights the extent to which the Attercliffe academy appeared to be intellectually behind the times in comparison to the academies of Thomas Rowe, Samuel Jones, and (from 1712) John Eames.

When the Upper Chapel was built in Sheffield in 1700, Jollie's congregation was the largest in Yorkshire. Jollie published a funeral sermon for his father in 1703, entitled *Pastoral Care Exemplified*, and edited the sermons of Thomas Whitaker in 1712. His wife Elizabeth died on 17 January 1709; her funeral sermon by William Bagshaw was also published. Jollie died of dropsy on Easter Day, 28 March 1714, and was buried on 31 March at the Upper Chapel. His funeral sermon was preached by his assistant, John de la Rose, and was published the following year. De la Rose described Jollie as 'serene, cheerful, active, open and generous' and a man of 'unquestionably great and extensive' capacities; he particularly praised Jollie's 'quick Apprehension, his amazing Invention, his Diction, his Elocution, and the vast but even flow of his Affections', which made him 'one of the most consummate Orators of the Age' (De la Rose, *Jollie*, 23). However, de la Rose also used the sermon to urge the congregation to continue to adopt Calvinism; subsequently, the trustees insisted on the return of Jollie's previous assistant John Wadsworth to minister to the congregation. About 200 people seceded, following De la Rose, and building the Nether Chapel in Sheffield. The academy, however, was maintained by Wadsworth, not de la Rose, and continued to receive money from the Congregational Board. Wadsworth was assisted in the ministry, but not necessarily in the academy, by Jollie's son Timothy until 1720 (Jennings, *Timothy Jollie*, 33).

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Jones, Jeremiah (1693–1724)

JEREMIAH JONES, tutor at Nailsworth, is usually identified as the son of David Jones, Congregational minister at Shrewsbury, and the grandson on his mother's side of Samuel Jones, dissenting tutor at Brynllwarch (1628–97). He was also the nephew of Samuel Jones (1681 or 1682–1719), whose academy at Gloucester and Tewkesbury he attended after a brief spell at Samuel Benion's academy in Shrewsbury (LPL, 2598, fo. 5; DWL, 24.59, fo. 30). His brother, Joshua Jones, was another student at Tewkesbury (Gibbons, *Watts*, 348). Jeremiah Jones later ministered at Market Harborough in Leicestershire, and at Ashby or Ashley in Northamptonshire. It is likely that he was the assistant to David Some, who was a dissenting minister at Market Harborough during this period. In 1719 or 1720 Jones moved to Forest Green in Nailsworth, Gloucestershire, where he tutored Samuel Jones's remaining students after the latter's untimely death (DWL, 24.59, fo. 62). Some of Jones's students were supported by the Presbyterian Fund between 1719 and 1722. On 14 March 1720 the Board agreed to 'send a Letter to Mr Jer. Jones of Nailsworth, to Inquire into the Charecters & Conduct of the students, he has with him who have Allowance from the Fund'; the allowance would be continued if the account received were satisfactory. On 4 April Jones's letter was read to the Board; it included accounts of the students John Baldwin, Joseph Bird, Jeremiah Tidcomb and John Allen (DWL, OD68, pp. 360, 362). Bird, Tidcomb and Baldwin were awarded grants of £10 in 1720, 1721 and 1722; Allen was awarded £8 in 1720 and 1721. On 6 November 1720 Tidcomb was given a further £6 as an extraordinary supply (DWL, OD68, pp. 373, 377, 397, 420). Examples of Latin theses from students at Nailsworth survive (DWL, 28.47).

Jones's only publication in his lifetime, *A Vindication of the Former Part of St. Matthew's Gospel, from Mr. Whiston's Charge of Dislocations* (1719) was prepared for publication shortly before Samuel Jones's death, and includes a dedication to him. In this dedication, Jeremiah Jones writes that an 'Acquaintance with the Dialects of the Hebrew' is a necessary means for promoting knowledge of the Scriptures, allowing apparently insuperable difficulties and seeming contradictions to be resolved. Jones highlights particularly the work of Grotius, Scaliger, Casaubon, Drusius, Spanheim, Hammond, and Lightfoot. He then praises his uncle and former tutor for his 'unwearied and successful' endeavours to 'revive this sort of Learning among us', which 'future Generations will have just Occasion to own'. He argues that it is due to his tutor's instructions that 'a great Number of Youth are now employ'd in endeavours by the Use of the foremention'd Means to understand, and make others understand, the sacred Scripture'; in particular he acknowledges himself obliged to Jones 'for all the Proficiency I have made, either in the foremention'd, or any other Studies' (*Vindication*, Prefatory Epistle). The text was reprinted in 1721, the same year in which a subscription edition of Jones's other writings was first proposed.

Jones died in 1724, aged 30. His *A New and Full Method of Settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament* (2 vols., 1726) was published posthumously; it earned him a reputation for being a leading scholar of the New Testament. Volume 3 appeared in 1727 and appeared in a new edition published by the Clarendon Press in 1798. On account of this work, James Martineau later described his tutor Charles Wellbeloved as 'a Lightfoot, Jeremiah Jones and an Eichhorn all in one' (Martineau, *Essays*, I, 53). Peter Annet stated that Jones had 'shewn much care and learning in endeavouring to find out on what authorities the gospels stand' (Annet, *Resurrection*, 79). His work was quoted in Nathaniel Lardner's *The Credibility of the Gospel History* (*Credibility*, Part 2, IV, 848) and other works by Lardner. Joseph Priestley borrowed extensively from Jones's writings, adapting passages of Jones's *A New and Full Method* for his *An History of Early Opinions concerning Jesus Christ* (I, 98), and Joseph Hallett (1691–1744) described the same text as 'excellent and useful' (Hallett, *Holy Scriptures*, 133). However, knowledge of Jones's writings may have been less widespread among members of the Church of England: Samuel Horsley, writing in reply to letters from Priestley, stated that Jeremiah Jones 'is very much unknown among my brethren of the establishment'. Nevertheless, Horsley respected Jones, describing him as 'the tutor of the venerable Lardner', who 'was thought in natural ability to excel his pupil' (Horsley, *Letters*,

36–7). His work on the authority of the New Testament also appears in the library of the bishop of Armagh, William Newcome and (from 1788) the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

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Jones, Samuel (1628–97)

SAMUEL JONES OF BRYNLLYWARCHE, academy tutor, was born in 1628, near Chirk Castle in Denbighshire (Calamy, *Account*, 721). Little is known of his early life; his relatively late arrival at university may have been influenced by the family's desire for him to avoid the royalist garrison at Oxford during the early 1640s. When Jones first attended Oxford University in 1647, he matriculated at All Souls College, but shortly afterwards became a student at Merton (Roberts, 'Academies', 13). Jones's actions at university reveal him to have been a moderate parliamentarian with strong convictions. He appeared before the university visitors in May 1648, but only agreed to submit to their authority 'As farre forth as you have power from the Kinge'. This action resulted in an order for his expulsion from the university (Burrows, *Register*, 82, 93). In the same month, however, the parliamentarian general Thomas Myddelton awarded Jones a three-month exhibition, amounting to £1 5s, 'towards his maintenance at Oxford' (Myddelton, *Chirk Castle*, 25). In November 1648 Jones was admitted as a scholar of Jesus College, Oxford, where he graduated BA in 1652 (Burrows, *Register*, 177). He was made a fellow shortly afterwards and proceeded MA in 1654, also serving as a senior moderator. Jones was nominated as the college bursar in 1656, but may not have served, and by 1657 the previous bursar, Laurence Jones, appears to have taken back the role. Samuel Jones received a final payment of £2 10s from the bursar for the year ending November 1657, by which time his duties as a fellow had probably terminated (Jones, 'Fame and Obscurity', 51).

At about this time, Jones was ordained by presbyters at Taunton, Somerset (Calamy, *Account*, 721); he was admitted to the vicarage of Llangynwyd in Glamorgan on 4 May 1657 with considerable support from local ministers and officials (LPL, COMM. III/6, p. 23). In 1657 Jones purchased land called Parke Ieuan Goch in Llangynwyd, which he later sold to Sir Edward Mansel of Margam in 1683. By June 1660 he was probably resident at Brynlllywarch, a large farmhouse in Llangynwyd which he rented from the Powells, a powerful Welsh parliamentarian family. At about the same time, he married Mary Powell (c.1638–76), daughter of Rice Powell of Coyhatren, a magistrate. The couple had fourteen children, only three of whom outlived their father. The eldest daughter, Maria, was probably the mother of the dissenting ministers Jeremiah Jones and Joshua Jones; they were later to be students at the academy of Samuel Jones of Tewkesbury, who was also a relative. Jones of Brynlllywarch's

second wife was Mary David of St Lythians, whom he married on 14 August 1677. Several of Jones's children received Church of England baptism, which suggests that he attended the parish church at times, even after becoming a nonconformist (Jones, 'Fame and Obscurity', 53–6).

Jones was ejected from Llangynwyd in 1662; his successor was John Hutton, also an alumnus of Jesus College, with whom Jones remained on good terms (Calamy, *Account*, 721). Jones's abilities attracted the attention of Hugh Lloyd, bishop of Llandaff (1660–7), who offered him a living if he chose to conform. Jones turned the offer down, providing a list of objections (Calamy, *Account*, 723). Instead, he continued to preach privately. By 1669 he was the 'Head & Teach[e]r' of a conventicle at Powell's house (LPL, Tenison 639, fo. 187). Calamy states that Jones suffered imprisonment during the episcopate of Francis Davies of Llandaff (1667–75), but no other records of this event have been discovered (Calamy, *Account*, 713). He obtained licences in 1672 to preach at his house, and at Cildeudy near Coytrahen, Margam, and Cowbridge; the applications were made with the assistance of the nonconformist minister and tutor Stephen Hughes (TNA, SP29/320, fo. 194; SP44/38A, p. 50). Jones also received powerful support from Edward Mansel, a Puritan sympathizer and MP for Glamorgan.

At Brynlllywarch, Jones used his powerful network of allies to establish a private academy for ministerial students and young gentlemen. Calamy states that Jones was 'a great Philosopher, and a considerable Master of the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues, and a pretty good Orientalist'; he writes that Jones was 'An excellent Casuist, well read in the Modern Controversies, and a very profitable Preacher' (Calamy, *Account*, 721). Jones's earliest known student at Brynlllywarch was the future Shrewsbury tutor James Owen, who was taught by him in 1672 or 1673. According to his brother Charles Owen, James Owen 'went thro' the whole Course of Philosophy' at Jones's academy (Owen, *James Owen*, 5). Another pupil of Jones was Rice Price, who then proceeded to Timothy Jollie's academy at Attercliffe, and later conducted an academy of his own at Bridgend from 1699–1704 (DWL, 24.59, fos. 33, 90). Jones also taught Thomas Mansel, the son of Edward Mansel. Mansel Jr later matriculated at Jesus College aged 17, suggesting that he may have studied a combination of grammar learning and academical subjects with Jones (Calamy, *Account*, 721). In 1694 Jones's household included Charles and John Edwin, sons of Humphrey Edwin, a future mayor of London (Jones, 'Fame and Obscurity', 58).

From 1691 several of Jones's students were funded by the London Common Fund. The earliest record of funding is from 5 January 1691; on this date the Fund managers provided a grant of £2 to John Harvies, and a further grant of £5 per annum to Stephen Hughes, both students of Jones (DWL, OD67, fo. 19). On 14 December the Common Fund ordered that £4 per annum be allowed to Jenkin Jones, with a further £4 per annum allowed to Morgan Davis, also Jones's students (DWL, OD67, fo. 57). On 30 May 1692 the minutes of the Common Fund recorded grants to David Jones, John Harris and Stephen Hughes (DWL, OD67, fo. 76). On 13 June the Fund provided £5 per annum to Jones's student David Williams (DWL, OD67, fo. 77). The minutes of the Fund recorded grants to the students John Harris, Jenkin Jones, Morgan Davis, David Williams and Stephen Hughes on 12 December 1692 (DWL, OD67, fo. 99). On 13 February 1693 the Fund managers ordered that 'ye Case of the three young men under ye Instruction of mr Sam: Jones proposed to this Board by mr John Howe be further considered when hee gives an accompt of their names and Circumstances' (DWL, OD67, fo. 106). The Fund provided £5 each to Jones's students Anthony Thomas, William Thomas and David Evans on 6 March 1693 (DWL, OD67, fo. 108). On 8 May 1693 the managers ordered that Griffith Griffiths be awarded £5 per annum 'to commence from ye time of his fixing in his studies with mr Samuel Jones' (DWL, OD67, fo. 111). A summary of grants to John Harris, Jenkin Jones, Morgan Davis, David Williams and Stephen Hughes was written in the Fund minutes for 19 June 1693 (DWL, OD67, fo. 116). Jones himself received grants on 17 November 1690, 16 February 1691, 22 June 1691, 9 November 1691, 27 June 1692, 19 December 1692 and 19 June 1693 (DWL, OD67, fos. 15, 24, 40, 54, 82, 102, 119). Following the collapse of the Common Fund, a small number of Jones's students received grants from both the Presbyterian Fund Board and the Congregational Fund Board. Jones's students David Thomas and Jenkin Thomas were both awarded grants of £5 by the Presbyterian Fund Board on 1 July 1695, 3 November 1695, and 6 July 1696; Jones himself received grants on the same days (DWL, OD68, fos. 9, 12, 17, 25). The Congregational Fund provided £3 each to 'mr. Binion & mr Thomas with mr Jones' on 19 July 1697 (DWL, OD401, p. 55).

Recent accounts of Jones have debated the extent to which he participated in seditious activities during the 1680s. In a deposition of May 1682 a certain William Jones states that he was recommended to the service of John Arnold of Llanvihangel Crucorney by Samuel Jones, 'a common preacher at conventicles'; after taking an oath at Arnold's house 'that he

should be true to the Presbyterian government without King or House of Lords', he had apparently returned with a letter for Samuel Jones, from whom he had taken the sacrament and the same oath. On several occasions he conveyed large amounts of money (including the sums of £250 and £300) from Jones to Arnold, from 'many ill-affected persons to promote their designs against the present government' (TNA, SP29/419, fo. 63). Such testimony should be treated very cautiously, since informers of the 1680s can be highly unreliable. There is nothing inherently implausible about the story, but it is unclear whether it indicates political sedition, or merely the sharing of a moderate Presbyterianism and friendship between Samuel Jones and John Arnold. Samuel Jones also contributed money towards the production of Stephen Hughes's new edition of the Welsh New Testament, but this activity does not directly indicate radical behaviour or views (Jenkins, *Literature*, 57). Jones is mentioned alongside Hughes in warrants for the presentation of persons absenting themselves for church in Llangyfelach and Swansea, but this evidence must be balanced alongside his participation in the parish of Llangynwyd (Jones, 'Fame and Obscurity', 58).

In his last years, Jones suffered from bladder stones. He died at his home in early September 1697, and was buried at Llangynwyd on 10 September. Letters and papers of his were published in the eighteenth century by Calamy (*Account*, 722–9) and Palmer (*Nonconformist's Memorial*, II, 625–6). Jones acquired a reputation as a Christian of the 'primitive Stamp: Always Meek and Humble, Loving and Peaceable' (Calamy, *Account*, 721). He was, according to his friend Robert South, a man of 'Sweet disposition', capable of a 'Strange Reality of Affection' (BL, Add. MS 4276, fo. 127). In the nineteenth century, Bogue and Bennett remark that there were other Welsh ministers of note who took students at this time; these included Stephen Hughes of Carmarthen (not to be confused with Jones's student of the same name), Hugh Owen of Swansea, Peregrine Philips of Haverfordwest, and 'a few others, who, though not regular tutors, occasionally assisted in preparing young men of talents and piety for the service of the sanctuary' (Bogue and Bennett, *Dissenters*, II, 70–1). Although there is evidence that Stephen Hughes took a few ministerial students during the period, little reliable information is known concerning the tutorial activities of Hugh Owen, or Peregrine Philips. Bogue and Bennett are probably misreading the opening pages of Charles Owen's life of his brother James Owen, which state that James studied grammar with David Philips at Carmarthen free school, and stayed with Hugh Owen as a young minister (Owen, *James Owen*, 2, 13). Peregrine Philips, on the other hand, was a dissenting minister

licensed in 1672 at his own house and at the house of Richard Maylor at Haverfordwest (TNA, SP29/320, fos. 193, 194).

Jones's posthumous fortunes in print have been catalogued by D. R. L. Jones, who correctly argues that his standing owes much to the perceived significance of later academies in Wales and elsewhere, and to the subsequent history of Welsh nonconformity ('Fame and Obscurity', 41–5). Notices of Jones appear widely in histories of dissent in Wales, in memorial volumes for academies and chapels, histories of Llangynwyd parish, and works written by English nonconformists. Few of these histories have added any details of substance to Calamy's biographical sketch, the exceptions being D. R. L. Jones's own articles on Jones in the *ODNB* and in the *Journal of Welsh Religious History*. As D. R. L. Jones points out, antiquarian and local historical accounts of Jones tend to be confused, hyperbolic, and factually inaccurate, and Jones's significance has been widely overstated, just as that of other Welsh ministers and teachers has been underexplored. Next to nothing is known about his teaching, and only a small proportion of his students can be identified. Nevertheless, it is clear that he was a figure of some standing among English and Welsh Presbyterians and Congregationalists from the 1650s until the 1690s.

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Jones, Samuel (1681 or 1682–1719)

SAMUEL JONES OF TEWKESBURY was born in 1681 or 1682 in Herefordshire, the son of the dissenting minister Malachi Jones (*d.* 1729). It is usually claimed, on uncertain grounds, that Jones was educated by Roger Griffith at his academy in Abergavenny and, when Griffith conformed, by James Owen at his academy in Shrewsbury (DWL, 24.59, fos. 26, 60). Jones is probably the man of this name who was examined by the Congregational Fund Board as a candidate for the ministry in February 1704 and provided with a full allowance. Nevertheless, he did not enter the ministry, but instead enrolled at Leiden University on 7 August 1706 (Peacock, *Leyden*, 55). Here, conventional wisdom states, he attended the lectures of Jacobus Gronovius, Jacobus Perizonius, and Hermanus Witsius (*ODNB*). There may be no infallible evidence to prove this, although his student Thomas Secker believed that Jones had received notes on Terence from Perizonius (Gibbons, *Watts*, 351). Jones certainly modelled his teaching of Jewish antiquities on a course by Witsius, and used a set of notes purportedly by Gronovius as the basis of his teaching of Sophocles' *Ajax* (BBCL, Ze2–4).

Upon his return to England Jones settled at Barton Street, in Gloucester, where he opened an academy in the house of Henry Wintle, a trustee of the nearby dissenting meeting (LPL, 2598, fos. 4–5). It should be noted that James Forbes, another Gloucester tutor, had been the first minister at Barton Street; Jones, by contrast, did not preach there. Nevertheless, he was harassed by the authorities, being presented in September 1712 at the ecclesiastical court for keeping a private unlicensed school. The terminology is significant, since it was more

difficult to use the word 'academy' to initiate prosecutions in this period. 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' (GA, MS GDR B4/1/1056). Somewhat ironically, one of Jones's most gifted pupils at this time was Thomas Secker, the future Archbishop of Canterbury; another was Joseph Butler, later a bishop and important philosopher. Nevertheless, the majority of Jones's students entered the dissenting ministry. Jones had earned the respect of Isaac Watts early in his career; Watts encouraged students to attend his academy. From November 1711, he was particularly well-informed about the content of Jones's teaching, having received a detailed letter about the course from Secker. It is therefore worth pointing out that Secker's famous letter describes the courses Jones offered at Gloucester, not at Tewkesbury, although subsequent evidence suggests that they did not change radically after Jones moved. Secker's letter is ostensibly a letter of thanks to Watts for intervening in his education; however it is also likely that Watts requested the letter so that he could monitor and influence Jones's teaching. It should also be remembered that the location of Secker's original letter to Watts is not known: what survives is a printed copy edited by Watts's biographer, Thomas Gibbons, the accuracy of which it is not possible to verify.

In the surviving version of the letter, Secker thanks Watts for advising him to study in 'such an extraordinary place', and for procuring his admission to the academy, where he will be 'very happy', and spend his time to 'good purpose' (Gibbons, *Watts*, 346). He describes Jones as a man of 'real piety, great learning, and an agreeable temper', who is 'very diligent in instructing all', being 'very well qualified', and with a 'well-managed familiarity' which earns the respect of his students. He keeps strict order at the academy, preserving his pupils from negligence and immorality, so that 'I believe there are not many academies freer in general from those vices' (Gibbons, *Watts*, 347). Secker describes his bedfellow at the academy, Daniel Scott, as 'one of unfeigned religion', a 'diligent searcher after truth', with 'genteel carriage and agreeable disposition'. Another student, Griffith (often identified as the future Carmarthen academy tutor Vavasor Griffiths), struck Secker as being not much less than forty years old; Secker describes him as 'more than ordinary serious and grave', improving especially in Greek and Hebrew. Two other students, Mr Francis (identified by Gibbons as 'Not improbably *Mr. Henry Francis*', assistant to John Foxon in London and pastor to Above Bar church, Southampton), and Mr Watkins, are both described by Secker as

‘diligent in study and truly religious’. Another student, the ‘elder *Mr. Jones*’, is probably to be identified as Jeremiah Jones, the future tutor at Nailsworth; Secker predicts he will make a greater scholar than all the others, and notes that his brother (presumably Joshua Jones) is also ‘one of quick parts’ (Gibbons, *Watts*, 347–8).

Secker started to learn Hebrew as soon as he arrived at the academy, and by the end of 1711 he was able to construe and give a grammatical account of about twenty of the easier verses of the Bible after an hour’s preparation. Every morning, as well as studying logic, his fellow students were reading two verses in the Hebrew Bible and turning them into Greek. Initially, Jones told them in advance which verses they would be, but later on students were given verses which they had not been able to prepare (Gibbons, *Watts*, 349). By the time of his letter, Secker had studied Jones’s logic ‘once over’, and found it ‘so contrived as to comprehend all *Heereboord*, and the far greater part of *Mr. Locke*’s Essay, and the *Art of thinking*’. He told Watts that Jones had dictated only a short, but clear, account of each subject, including references to places where it was treated more fully; he made remarks or gave explications of the authors cited when necessary. Each lecture began with an account of what the relevant author said and of Jones’s commentary, and Jones then commonly gave a larger explication of it, before proceeding to the next topic. Jones took care ‘that we understood the sense as well as remembered the words of what we had read’, and sought to ensure that his students would not be ‘cheated with obscure terms which had no meaning’. Jones was no admirer of ‘the old *Logic*’ (presumably, Secker means peripatetic logicians), but had taken great pains to explain and correct Heereboord, having thereby made him mostly intelligible, or ‘shewn that he is not so’ (Gibbons, *Watts*, 348–9).

Secker informs Watts that the two Jones brothers, Francis, Watkins, Sheldon, and two others will shortly begin Jones’s course in Jewish antiquities, and that he was to join them. This would make a class of eight students. However, Secker explains that he has opted to read logic a second time, because he was ‘utterly unacquainted with it when I came to this place’: one of several comments Secker makes which reflect badly on his former experiences at Attercliffe academy. The others have moved on, he claims, in part because they have already attended other academies, and will be ‘obliged to make more haste than those in a lower class’, a somewhat strange statement given that Secker had also attended another academy, whereas Francis had not. These other students, as a result of having to make greater haste,

‘cannot have so good or large accounts of any thing’, and nor can they ‘study every head’ of each subject. However, Secker then remarks that ‘We shall have gone through our course in about four years time’, a comment which does not seem to discriminate between fast-track students and those in the ‘lower class’ (Gibbons, *Watts*, 349).

From about August 1711 Jones was giving critical lectures on the Bible in the afternoons; it may be inferred from Secker’s letter that he was urged to do so by Watts, since Secker calls it ‘the exposition you advised him to’. Secker’s description of the course matches surviving copies of Jones’s ‘Notae in Scripturum’ (for example, BL, Add. MSS 23917–18). Secker found that every part of this course was ‘managed with abundance of perspicuity’, with very little omitted that other authors had said, and with frequent ‘useful additions of things which are not to be found in them’. Jones, writes Secker, used the most valued writers on every subject, to which he always referred his students. After these critical lectures, Secker and his fellow students read a chapter in the Greek New Testament, and then studied mathematics. By November 1711 they had studied algebra and proportion, with the first six books of Euclid; this was considered sufficient for the higher class (Jones, Jones, Francis, Watkins, Sheldon, and two others), but Jones intended to read more to the next class (Gibbons, *Watts*, 350).

These formal lectures occupied Jones’s students for about two hours in the mornings, and ‘something more’ in the afternoons. On Wednesday mornings they swapped logic for a course on Dionysius Periegetes’ *Orbis Descriptio*, on which they made geographical and critical notes, and on Wednesday afternoons they had no lectures at all. On Saturday afternoons students who had finished reading logic were expected to write a ‘thesis’ (Secker does not explain whether this was for a disputation or a dissertation). According to Gibbons’s edition of Secker’s letter the students were also beginning to read Isocrates and Terence, the latter course developed from notes drawn up by Perizonius. However, the existence of a set of critical notes on Sophocles’ *Ajax* at Bristol Baptist College suggests that Gibbons may have misread Secker’s handwriting (Gibbons, *Watts*, 350–1).

The students at Jones’s academy rose at five o’ clock every morning and spoke Latin at all times, except when conversing with the rest of Jones’s household ‘below stairs’; Secker found Jones’s ‘people’ to be ‘very civil’. By the end of 1711 the household numbered sixteen besides Jones, which suggests two classes; however, Secker noted that Jones’s academy was

increasing in size and was filling the house 'rather too much', a circumstance which, he predicted, would oblige Jones to move in the spring. Jones's students passed the day with a mixture of study and conversation with their tutor, who was 'always ready to discourse freely of any thing that is useful', and appears to have allowed students great liberty to make objections against his opinions, either during conversation or during lectures. In Secker's opinion, Jones's method of teaching showed him to be a true gentleman, with a great affection and tenderness for his pupils, which commanded their respect and love. His library appears to have been composed 'for the most part of foreign books, which seem to be very well chosen', and which proved of daily advantage to his students (Gibbons, *Watts*, 351). In concluding his letter, Secker informs Watts that he found nothing in Jones's teaching but 'what is either necessary, or extremely useful for one who would thoroughly understand those things, which most concern him', or explain them to others. For Gibbons himself, Watts's testimony was sufficient to describe Jones as a 'learned, vigilant, and amiable tutor' (Gibbons, *Watts*, 352).

In the event, Jones probably did not move the academy to Tewkesbury until the first half of 1713. This move may have been encouraged by an attempted prosecution for sedition as much as by the need for larger premises (*ODNB*). His move was funded in part by a loan of £200 from Secker, who reports that it was repaid 'by Degrees, in a Course of several Years' (LPL, 2598, fo. 5). While there, it earned the unwelcome attention of a Jacobite mob, which attacked it on the day of George I's coronation. From 1716 a small number of Jones's students were supported by the Presbyterian Fund Board. These included a Mr Evans (1715–16), William Hunt (1715–1719), Pearse (1716–19), Joseph Burd (1716–19), Peter Payton (1717–19), Samuel Billingsly (1717–19), John Baldwin (1718–19), Brooks (1718–19) and John Allen (1719). They were awarded grants of between £6 and £12 (DWL, OD68, pp. 284–384). In his later years, Jones 'began to relax of his Industry, to drink too much Ale & small Beer, & to lose his Temper. And we most of us fell off from our Application & Regularity, more or less' (LPL, 2598, fo. 5). Shortly before his death he married Judith Weaver (*d.* 1746), the daughter of the ejected minister John Weaver (*Calamy, Account*, 734). Jones died at Tewkesbury on 11 October 1719, aged 37. He was buried in Tewkesbury Abbey. Judith married Jones's former student Edward Godwin, who was requested to become Jones's successor as the Tewkesbury tutor but declined. Jones's remaining students were taught by Jeremiah Jones at Nailsworth, although the academy probably did not last for long there.

Jeremiah Jones dedicated his *A Vindication of the Former Part of St. Matthew's Gospel, from Mr. Whiston's Charge of Dislocations* (1719) to his uncle and former tutor.

Dozens of volumes of notes taken by Jones's students survive, making him one of the most rewarding of early eighteenth-century tutors to study. These notebooks include Jones's systems of logic, mathematics, geography, Jewish Antiquities, critical biblical scholarship, natural law, and critical notes on Sophocles' *Ajax*. One of the most interesting surviving manuscripts is an octavo volume entitled 'Elementa Mathematica . . . By S. Jones', but written by 'E. G.', probably Edward Godwin, in 1712 (BUL, XMS 400). The course consisted of vulgar and decimal fractions, the extraction of square roots, rules for the solution of quadratic equations and other forms of algebra, rules of proportion, and examples of arithmetical progression. The second half of the book consists of problems from books 2, 3, 5, and 6 of Euclid's *Elements*, with demonstrations.

Jones's 'Notae in Godwini Mosem et Aronem', referred to by Secker as 'Jewish Antiquities', survives in a several copies. The text does not follow Godwin's *Moses and Aaron* closely, but picks out particular passages for annotation. Like its source text, it describes not merely the laws of the time of Moses and Aaron, but the whole Jewish culture, social, political, and intellectual, as featured in the Old Testament. In some two-volume copies (quarto), the majority of the notes are lengthy, with numerous citations of Bible passages, references to Josephus, and considerable textual criticism relating to Hebraic, Greek, and Vulgate texts. The text was later abbreviated by John Jennings for use in his academy at Kibworth.

Jones's 'Notae in Dionysii Periegesis' is a line-by-line commentary on the most popular work of ancient geography, a text which was studied by schoolchildren as well as by students at Jones's academy. Jones's notes discuss the finer points of the work's grammar, as a contribution to the early modern debate about the punctuation of the Greek text in printed editions, and as a route to discuss its meaning. He also identifies locations, and provides alternative descriptions of many of them in other works of classical literature. At least one copy begins with an introduction to geography ('Praecognoscenda ad Geographiam'), providing a list of classical and medieval writers on the subject, explaining the divisions of the globe by the equinox, horizon, meridian, and zodiac, explaining what is meant by tropics and poles, and showing how the globe may be divided into 360 degrees (BL, Add. MS 23919, fos. 2–5).

Jones's 'Notae in Scripturum', sometimes copied as 'Prolegomenon ad Observationes Criticas in Vetus Testamentum', provides an overview of the myriad number of Bible texts and translations available in the early modern world. The work begins with a brief description of the Hebrew language and its use by the Jewish patriarchs, together with the frequently discussed matter of the 'pointing' of the text (BL, Add. MS 23917, fos. 1–28). Jones also discussed whether the Scriptures had been corrupted, and the division of the Old Testament into the books of law, history, poetry, and prophecy (BL, Add. MS 23917, fos. 29–38). Then follow sections on the Masora, Talmud, and Kabbala (BL, Add. MS 23917, fos. 39–53). Much of Jones's introductory course was taken up with descriptions of the different versions of Scripture. He includes notes on the Septuagint, other Greek texts, the Hebrew Scriptures, and a range of other texts in oriental languages and Latin (BL, Add. MS 23917, fos. 54–117). He proceeds to discuss various versions in European languages, and concludes with a list of manuscripts and editions of the Bible, with notes on their locations (BL, Add. MS 23917, fos. 118–36). The surviving copy of Jones's 'Prolegomenon ad Observationes Criticas in Novum Testamentum' follows a similar design but is much briefer: it considers the style of the text, the language of the Greek New Testament, its division into gospels and letters, and various 'oriental', Latin, and modern language versions (BL, Add. MS 23918, fos. 1–24).

Jones's reputation as a tutor remained high among subsequent generations. The first leaf of one copy of his annotations on Godwin's *Moses and Aaron*, which found its way into Thomas Grenville's library in 1832, contains a note that 'Mr James was a celebrated Teacher among the Dissenters, and had both Secker and Butler among his Pupils' (BL, Add. MS 33774). Another hand on the same page describes him as 'the late learned Mr Samuel Jones of Tewkesbury', whose notes 'are frequently quoted and referred to' by David Jennings, 'p. 54, 55 Vol 2nd p. 73 and many other places where they are freely used without any reference' (BL, Add. MS 33774). In actual fact, the relation between Jones's notes and David Jennings's *Jewish Antiquities* (1767) is very hard to ascertain; Jennings's text is an entirely separate endeavour, which bears many fewer similarities to Jones's notes than Jones's text does to surviving copies of Witsius' notes. Another copy of Jones's work contains a later note pasted into a flyleaf, describing Jones as 'a very eminent tutor among the Dissenters', whose pupils included Secker, Butler, and 'several others who rose to fame'; this nineteenth-century annotator knew of Wilson's reference to Jones in Wilson's *Dissenting Churches*, I, 381 (but not well, since he calls Wilson 'White'), and notes that Wilson ('White') mentions a 2–

volume octavo copy of Jones's lectures in Dr Williams's Library; he also knew of Furneaux's preface to Jennings's *Jewish Antiquities*, in which Furneaux attributes some of Jennings's ideas to Jones (BL, Add. MS 31211, fo. 1); the first page of these notes contains the date 'Xber [December] ye 17/ 1716' (BL, Add. MS 31211, fo. 3). A third copy of the text, dated 1712, labels Jones as 'Academiae Theocicuriensis Praesidis' (BL, Add. MS 23915, fo. 1), a phrase which confirms that Jones's 'school' was considered by his students to be an academy.

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Ker, John (c.1639–c.1713?)

JOHN KER was born c.1639 in Ireland, perhaps the son of James Ker, the Presbyterian minister of Ballymoney, County Antrim from 1646 (Reid, *Presbyterian Congregations*, 86; Reid, *Presbyterian Church*, II, 499). James Ker achieved notoriety in 1649 for refusing to sign the Irish Presbyterian address condemning regicide; he was removed from office, but reinstated upon owning his error. In 1660 he was removed a second time by Jeremy Taylor, the bishop of Down. He then moved to Scotland, where he died, and where John Ker was educated; he is probably the 'Joannes Ker' who graduated at Edinburgh on 18 July 1664 (EUA, IN1/ADS/STA/1/1, p. 45). Ker Jr later returned to Ireland, where he conducted an academy in Dublin which took both ministerial students and laymen. Two ministers educated by him were still living in 1703 (Palmer, *Defence*, 3). In a return of Presbyterian ministers and probationers in Ireland, taken in March 1689, Ker appeared as a probationer in the Dublin area. Probably in that year, he left Ireland for London as a result of the policies of Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell.

In London, Ker was employed as a tutor at the academy operating at Bishop's Hall in Bethnal Green. His first recorded student is 'Mr Owen Son to mr James Owen of Oswestree', who appears in the Common Fund survey, c.1690 (DWL, OD161, p. 63), and later became a tutor at Shrewsbury. Also dating from this time is a Latin address from the students at Bethnal Green to Richard Baxter (DWL, Baxter Letters, V, fo. 46). Initially, Ker taught alongside Thomas Brand; they both subscribed to the Common Fund, Ker paying in £5 and Brand £20. On 9 March 1691 the Common Fund ordered that the sums formerly paid to 'four young sudents wth: mr Brand . . . under ye Instruction of mr John Ker' should be continued; the students were Samuel Bourne, Roger Griffith, Charles Owen and Jabez Earle. On the same day a further five students also with Brand but under Ker's instruction were awarded grants; these were William Hale, Samuel Brookes, Robert Wood, Thomas Freeman and William Holman. Three further students were described as under Ker's instruction in March 1691; they were James Rogers, a Mr Garrett, and a Mr Clerk (DWL, OD67, fos. 28, 30). Later in 1691 the Common Fund provided grants to Jacob Ball, Josiah Barnett, Cornelius Pritchard, John Marshall and John Scandarett; in 1692 the Common Fund also supported Ker's student John Baron (DWL, OD67, fos. 30, 33, 34, 48, 50). In 1692 Zachary Merrill recorded that Ker had recommended the books *Scapula Lexico~ wth Harmarcus and Maertius Edit. 1650* and 'Harmar sine maestro' (Bod. Lib., Rawl. d.1120, fo. 62).

By 1693 John Short was tutoring at the Bethnal Green academy, and Ker may have stopped teaching at this point. There is no reason to assume, as does Gordon, that he opened a rival academy (Gordon, *Freedom*, 296). Instead, Ker moved to the Netherlands, where he enrolled at the University of Leiden on 3 March 1694 as 'Johannes Ker, Hybernus' aged 45. His subject was 'Mathesis', which included natural philosophy. He graduated MD on 5 March 1697 and returned to London. Here, he resumed teaching at his academy. Nevertheless, his popularity did not increase. On 12 December 1699, Edward Harley recorded that 'The dislike to Dr Cerr [i.e. Ker] increases among ye London Ministers is fomented by some that have particular prejudices to him. they have agreed to set up Mr Spademan and Mr Ofeild to teach academick learning' (BL, Add. MS 70019, fo. 147). As a consequence, at the request of Edward Harley, before 30 March 1700, 'Mr Alsop . . . publicly examined all ye Students at Dr Ker that are there upon my Lord Whartons Charity, who showed that they had made a great proficiency in their studies' (BL, Add. MS 70019, fo. 180).

From December 1699 until 1708 several of Ker's students received grants from the Presbyterian Fund Board. These included Mr Ashly, Mr Clerke, John Shilton, Joseph Cummins, Mr Marriot, William Fisher, Mr Jenkinson, Enoch Taylor, John Derby, Samuel Savage, Mr Rovenack, Mr Loid, Mr Lyford and Mr Palmer (DWL, OD68, fos. 38–45; pp. 99–191). During this period his academy convened at Highgate (Benson, *Read*, 28). In the early 1700s he heard Calamy deliver a sermon for George Hammond at Armourers' Hall, Coleman Street on the 'New Creature'. Calamy described Ker as 'critically disposed', 'very particular in his temper', but ready to make amends for what he knew to be a 'carping cavilling spirit' (Calamy, *Own Life*, I, 503–6).

In 1703 Ker's academy was described in detail by his former student Samuel Palmer in a defence of the dissenters' academies from the attack of Samuel Wesley. According to Palmer, 'some Tutors are more inclin'd to the Philosophy of Aristotle, others to the Cartesian Hypothesis, while my own had a due Regard to both, but strictly adhered to neither' (Palmer, *Defence*, 23–4). Lectures were read at appointed times, and students began in the morning with logic, reading Heereboord. The next class read metaphysics in the form of Frommenius's *Synopsis*, and read privately in Baronius, Suarez, and Colbert. The next study was ethics, again in Heereboord's system, with Pufendorf, More, Marcus Antonius, Epictetus, Arrian, Simplicius and Solomon recommended for private meditation. The highest class read natural philosophy, using chiefly the writings of Le Clerc, compared with Aristotle, Descartes, Colbert, 'Staire', and others. Every other day there were disputations in Latin. Rhetoric was taught through a short piece by Vossius, with students using a larger discourse, together with Aristotle and Cicero, in their chambers. For their theology lectures they read Buchanan's psalms. In the afternoon, the students read Greek or Latin history, oratory, and poetry, 'not in the pedantic method of common schools'; Palmer praised 'the delicacy of our tutor's criticisms, his exact description of persons, term, and places . . . and his just application of the morals'. For geography the students read Dionysius Periegesis compared with Cluver. On Mondays and Fridays they worked through six or seven chapters of the Greek New Testament, looking at etymology, and engaging in considerable critical study, but also looking at 'sacred geography and chronology'. Another branch of theology dealt with doctrinal and controversial questions, as raised by Turretine, the Saumurian theologians, Baxter, Usher, Barlow, Rutherford, Amyrauld and others; on Roman Catholicism they read Ames and Bellarmine, on episcopacy Hall, Baxter, Rutherford, Stillingfleet and Owen, and

for practical divinity, Baxter, Tillotson, and Charnock. Palmer concluded that Ker had recommended 'the best books of the Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Independent divines' and never made an unhandsome reflection on the Church of England. Mornings began with public prayers, for which Ker had a greater facility in Latin than English; during divinity lectures, the senior students prayed, but others were allowed to use forms of their own composition (Palmer, *Defence*, 3–24).

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Kirkpatrick, John (d. c.1750)

JOHN KIRKPATRICK was a tutor at Bedworth. Nothing is known of his early life. The speculation of some historians that he proceeded MA at Glasgow University is based upon confusion with James Kirkpatrick of Belfast, the nonsubscriber, who studied at Glasgow in 1699 (*Glasguensis*, III, 167). According to Sibree and Caston, whose source is unknown, Kirkpatrick 'was associated with Mr. [Julius] Saunders as his assistant, or at least preached much at Bedworth', prior to Saunders's death, c.1730. The same writers claim that Kirkpatrick's pastorate was about eighteen years in length, and that fifty members were added to the Bedworth church during this period (Sibree and Caston, *Warwickshire*, 164). Kirkpatrick also appears as the minister at Bedworth in a book of memoranda related to the work of the Congregational Fund Board (DWL, OD455, p. 91). In September 1750 the Bedworth church called William Adam of Painswick to the ministry, suggesting that Kirkpatrick may have died by this date (Sibree and Caston, *Warwickshire*, 166).

While at Bedworth Kirkpatrick took ministerial students. It is possible that he was initially collaborating with Saunders, although the dates at which each man was teaching are unclear. Among Kirkpatrick's students at Bedworth were Joseph Barber (later a tutor at the Hoxton academy), Thomas Reader (later a tutor at the second Taunton academy, c.1780–c.1794), James Rooker (tutor at Bridport, 1765–79), John and Julius Saunders, sons of the tutor, his nephew Thomas Saunders, and 'Burgess', a minister at Whitworth. The extent of Kirkpatrick's teaching is unknown; his academy was probably small in size. The earliest known record of the academy is Joseph Barber's funeral sermon for the student Thomas Reader. Barber describes it as 'a private academy for the education of young men for the Christian ministry'; he states that Reader was entrusted to Kirkpatrick's care 'when very young' and 'went through a course of classical and academical learning' (Barber, *Reader*, 26–7). Barber himself attended the academy 'after I had made some progress in classical learning'. Here, he met Reader: they 'entered upon academical studies at the same time, and prosecuted them together until [they] had finished'. After leaving the academy, Reader

completed his education by spending a few months with his brother, Simon Reader, 'who had been some years in the ministry' (Barber, *Reader*, 27); this anecdote suggests that Kirkpatrick was teaching academic subjects, rather than providing ministerial training. The teaching of Saunders and Kirkpatrick is also mentioned in Noah Jones and William Scott's early nineteenth-century manuscript account of 'Academical Institutions Founded by Protestant Dissenters' (BUL, XMS 281, p. 173).

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Langley, Henry (1610 or 1611–79)

HENRY LANGLEY was born in 1610 or 1611 at Abingdon, the son of Thomas Langley, a shoemaker (Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, II, 771). Langley attended John Roysse's free school in Abingdon, where he made notes on moral aphorisms in Latin; his commonplace book from this period also contains excerpts from Erasmus' writings and a section entitled 'Roman Antiquities' (YUBL, Osborn b289). After completing his grammar school education, Langley accompanied several of his classmates to Pembroke College, Oxford, matriculating aged 18 on 6 November 1629. He graduated BA on 11 June 1632, proceeded MA on 30 April 1635 and became a fellow (Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, II, 878). On 16 April 1642 the House of Commons journal recorded that Henry Langley, an 'orthodox Minister' was to be recommended to the parishioners of Watlington in Oxfordshire, to be their lecturer; he was to preach every Saturday afternoon and every Sunday. The vicar, Mr Price, was required to permit Langley to preach these lectures without any interruption, with the stipulation 'that if he shall hinder and refuse him, that then he be required to come hither to shew Reason' (*Commons Journal*, II, 530). On 20 June 1643 Langley became the rector of St Mary, Newington; the sequestered minister was John Meggs (*Commons Journal*, III, 136). From 10 September 1646 Langley was one of seven ministers authorized to preach at any Oxford church; the others were Harris, Reynolds, Wilkinson, Cheynell, Corbett, and Cornish. The parliamentary order confirming his appointment stated that 'the Combinations of the University be respited, that it may be left them to preach when and where they may think to make most for Edification' (*Lords Journal*, VIII, 486). In 1704 the episcopalian James Metford recalled that Langley was 'insipid and dull both in Preaching and Conversation', but showed his religion 'by a mode of sighing' (Bod. Lib., J. Walker, c.8, fo. 247).

After Thomas Clayton, the master of Pembroke, died on 10 July 1647, Henry Wightwick was chosen to succeed him by the college fellows, but the choice was blocked by parliament. Following a petition by Abingdon inhabitants, Langley was appointed instead of Wightwick on 26 August 1647 (*Commons Journal*, V, 284). The ordinance referred to the 'Sufficiency, Abilities, and good Affection to the Parliament, that are well known to be in Mr. *Langley*' (*Lords Journal*, IX, 407). He was nominated on 30 September as one of Pembroke's two delegates to negotiate with the parliamentary visitors. The visitors confirmed his appointment as master on 8 October and the following day ejected Wightwick from the position through

an 'Instrument stuck up in the Common Hall' in favour of Langley. However, Wightwick refused to cooperate; on 22 October the Visitors reported to the Lords that Langley had 'brought in what [administrative] Books he could find; for he was opposed by Mr. *Whitwick*, who pretended to be Master, and was put out by the Parliament' (*Lords Journal*, IX, 489). A further parliamentary order of 2 March 1648 led to Langley's appointment on 12 April as a canon of Christ Church (*Lords Journal*, X, 87). He was created BD on the same day (Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, II, 747). In May he was one of twenty delegates appointed by the university proctors to manage the university's affairs and on 5 July 1648 he became an examiner of candidates for fellowships and scholarships (*ODNB*). He graduated DD on 18 December 1649 (Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 770). During the 1650s Langley became friendly with the reformers Samuel Hartlib and Tobias Garbrand (USL, 61/15/3, fos. 1–15). At the Restoration he unsuccessfully petitioned the King to confirm his canonry at Christ Church, and attempted to hold onto his position as master. However, Wightwick complained to the commissioners on 11 October 1660 that Langley was still in possession of the lodgings; Langley was ordered to vacate them within four days. His final payment from the college was dated 19 December 1660, but on 13 May 1662 the college petitioned in chancery that he had stolen documents and plate; Langston denied the charges (TNA, C7/462/75).

After his ejection, Langley lived at Tubney, Oxfordshire, where he 'instructed the sons of dissenting brethren in academical learning, as 'twas usually reported' (Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, II, 771). Among his students was James Waters, a future tutor at Uxbridge. Waters's biographer, Daniel Mayo, states merely that he was 'instructed for some time in academical Learning by the excellent Dr. *Henry Langley*, and finished these Studies under the Care of the Reverend Mr. *Thomas Doolittle* in London' (Mayo, *Waters*, 31). The course was one of logic and philosophy, but no other details about it are known. Unfortunately, Waters's tuition provides few clues as to the dates of Langley's academy, since he is highly likely to have attended c.1678–9, at which date Langley died. Wood's use of the phrase 'dissenting brethren' suggests that Langley's students were, like those of the ejected university fellow Henry Hickman, at least in part the sons of nonconforming ministers. On the other hand, the phrase 'academical learning' does not necessarily imply that he was training ministers: as was probably the case at Hickman's academy, Langley may have stopped short of lectures in theology or preaching. Surviving evidence that he had been able to support John Owen's university reforms, but later prepared a student for the academy of

the Baxterian Thomas Doolittle, suggests that Langley may have been a pragmatic rather than a dogmatic tutor.

While living at Tubney, Langley continued to preach. In 1669, Archbishop Sheldon's survey reported Langley as a preacher at Cogges and Tubney, being 'a dangerous p[er]son [who] keepes Conventicles there' (LPL, Tenison 639, fo. 240). He was licensed to preach in his house in Tubney on 16 April 1672, but the licence was withdrawn in 1673 (W&SRO, D1/27/1/4/63). At around this time, Langley was also holding conventicles in Thames Street in Oxford, alongside Thomas Gilbert, Henry Cornish, and the tutor John Troughton (Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 511). John Penny of Christ Church wrote in a letter of 18 June 1672 that, in a sermon in the city the previous Sunday, Langley had 'held forth two houres upon the Spirit of which subject they say he preacht in the late times neare two yeares, and they say he was all the while so unintelligible that from that time to this, no body could tell whence the sound thereof came; or whither tis goeing' (DWL, Baxter Letters, II, fo. 3). The return for Tubney in a national survey of the number of dissenters in 1676 recorded 'nescit' ('unknown'), although a later copy altered this to '0' (W&SRO, D1/27/1/4/68; D1/27/1/4/66). Langley's will, dated 16 June 1679, included the lease of his house, which he still held from Magdalen Hall, to his wife Elizabeth (BRO, D/A1/94/87). He died on 10 September 1679 and was buried in St Helen's Church, Abingdon (*ODNB*).

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Langston, John (d. 1704)

JOHN LANGSTON, tutor at Ipswich, studied grammar learning at the free school in Worcester before attending Pembroke College, Oxford from 1655 (Calamy, *Account*, 660–1; Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, II, 879). He became the curate of Ashchurch near Tewkesbury in Gloucestershire, but he was ejected in 1660 to make way for the restoration of the previous curate, who had been removed during the Puritan reforms of the 1640s. After his ejection, Langston went to London, where he taught at a private grammar school near Spitalfields for two years. However, following opposition from local people, he became in 1662 the chaplain to a Captain Blackwell, who moved to Ireland, and employed Langston as tutor to his son for a year. Once the political temperature had dropped in London in 1663, Langston returned, and taught school again (Calamy, *Account*, 661). In 1666 he was living in Soper Lane in Cripplegate, in a house with three hearths. By 1672 he was still in Spital Yard, and was licensed as a Congregational minister, this time as an assistant to William Hooke, the ejected master of the Savoy (Calamy, *Account*, 33). Like Langston, Hooke had long been interested in education. In 1659, he had been one of the trustees 'for the Inlargement of University Learning in New England', having previously been a minister at the Congregational churches in Taunton (Massachusetts) and New Haven in the 1640s (MHSL, Evans 55). A few years

after their licence had been revoked in 1673, Langston left London for Bedfordshire, perhaps after Hooke's death on 21 March 1678 (Calamy, *Account*, 661).

While he was teaching at Spitalfields, Langston published two short texts which he used with his scholars. The first, entitled *Lusus poeticus Latino–Anglicanus*, was printed for Henry Eversden, a bookseller in Cornhill, in 1675, but had been conceived several years earlier. It consists of a lengthy series of verses in Latin, with their English equivalents, arranged alphabetically in parallel text, and it is designed to assist young students in the capping of verses. Langston's text was dedicated to Captain John Caine of Whitechapel, the father of one of his pupils. He alleged that he printed it to save his scholars the trouble of continually transcribing passages. However, in order to keep the cost and price to a minimum, he selected only the most useful and best verses. Langston's subsidiary aim as expressed in his dedication was to provide 'the very quintessence and marrow of the famous Latin Poets' in a very small space, and he defended his project with reference to Paul's quotation of Greek poets in his preaching and epistles, Acts 17:28, 1 Corinthians 15:33, and Titus 1:12 (A2r–v). In a further preface, this time to the reader, Langston noted that the verses normally made use of by students in their capping exercises were 'depending and imperfect sentences' yielding little benefit other than 'the bare exercising of their memories'. To remedy these problems, Langston introduced some strict rules: his scholars were not to confine themselves to a single verse, but use perfect sentences, and students in the lower forms of his school were to recite verses in Latin and English. By collecting some of the more elegant, pithy and sententious sayings, Langston hoped to assist students in construing Latin words, prevent the 'tedious and discouraging labour of searching' for materials for school exercises, and 'store their minds with excellent precepts of morality' (A3r–B1v). In practice, these precepts meant that the majority of Langston's 'poetical sport' was drawn from Virgil, Ovid, Horace, and Juvenal, usually translated into English blank verse, or rhyming couplets.

Langston's second short book, *Poeseos Graecae medulla* (1679), was in a similar vein. Printed by E. Tyler and R. Holt for Thomas Cockerill in 1679, its title page still refers to Langston as 'of a private school situated in the suburbs of London'. In this volume, evidently intended for some of the higher forms, Langston arranged a long series of Greek verses in alphabetical order, with translations into Latin on the facing pages. In his preface to the reader, Langston described the text as a sequel to his *Lusus poeticus*, one which aimed to

make Greek epics and elegies more accessible and useful to his young audience (A3r–A4v). Once again, Langston drew his examples from a fairly limited range of texts, including Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, Hesiod, and Theocritus. Langston's belief that such texts were a necessary addition to the school books on offer in print was borne out in part by the subsequent publication history: His *Lusus poeticus* reached a second edition in 1679, perhaps to coincide with the publication of the *Poeseos Graecae medulla*, and a third edition in 1688. Numerous copies still exist in university and private libraries in Britain and in the United States. However, Langston's Greek-to-Latin text was not reprinted.

At some point in the early 1680s Langston began preaching in Ipswich, although he was not officially called to a congregation as its minister; further harassment forced him to remove from the town shortly after his arrival (Calamy, *Account*, 661). Langston had returned to Ipswich by 1686, at which time the rules of membership for the Independent church there were formalised, and Langston officially became its minister. From this point onwards, Langston's movements are easier to trace in detail, due to the survival of an early church book, currently held at the Ipswich branch of Suffolk Record Office (SRO, FK 3/1/11/5). The records of Langston's church provide significant insights into its foundation, its rules and governance, Langston's activities, and its members. It provides a particularly full account of Langston's election. In the months running up to October 1686, Langston had preached to a loosely defined congregation 'severall times', delivering 'wt I thought needful in a preparatory way' to the establishment of a church with himself as minister. The congregation had also partaken of 'severall dayes of prayer and humiliation', and had held 'severall conferences together'. On 12 October, the seventeen leading members of the congregation met and related to each other 'wt God had done for their souls'; this work was preparatory to them becoming 'embodied together as a Church of Christ'. On the same day they committed each other to 'giving up themselves to the Lord and one to another' to 'walk together as a Church of Christ'; this would require the fulfilment of all of 'Gods holy Ordinances' according to the 'rules of the Gospell'. The end result was 'to the glory of God and their mutuall edific[ati]on in love' (SRO, FK 3/1/11/5, fo. 1). Ten days later, another meeting was held, at which a further thirty-two persons joined the church. The procedure for membership was simple but rigorous. On one of the days leading up to joining, each would-be-member had to give an account of what God had done for his or her soul before two or three of the members appointed for the purpose, or to Langston himself in the company of any other

member. On the day of their initiation into the church, their accounts of their souls were read to the existing church members and considered by them. The congregation also discussed their spirits, conversation, and 'unity of judgm[en]t w[i]th us in the great truths of the Gospell'. Another important consideration was their 'seperation (*sic*) from corrupt worship', a phrase which presumably forbade the practice of occasional conformity to the Church of England and may have also included local Presbyterian churches. Once the church had been satisfied in all these particulars, the members were admitted. They appear to have been asked to submit to a declaration to give themselves up to the Lord and the church. Their names were then recorded in the church records (SRO, FK 3/1/11/5, fos. 2–3).

In the first months after the church's foundation, the ceremonies to admit new entrants were performed on a weekly basis; to the original 17 members who formalised their church on 12 October, a further 32 were added on 22 October, another 26 on 29 October and another 11 by the end of the year. After this initial rapid expansion, it was inevitable that the rate of growth of the church should decrease, but its new intake continued to be healthy right up until 1693. After that point, relatively few new members joined each year, although this need not indicate that the church's membership was falling. On top of the members have to be added the number of hearers, which was exponentially greater than this inner circle, but probably falling somewhat in the years before Langston's death in 1704 (SRO, FK 3/1/11/5, fos. 2–15). Langston and his wife formally joined on 22 October 1686. Until that time, they had been members of a London congregation, and were transferred, as was usual, after the exchange of letters of recommendation. Having become a member, Langston was then officially 'call[ed] to the Pastorall office' by the congregation. His acceptance of it on 22 October was subject to conditions, 'vizt. that they would walk up to Gospell order and rule and specially in union and love one to another.' A record of this contract between the congregation and its minister was kept in the church book and is the clearest surviving statement of Langston's philosophy of church government. Yet the process was not completed until 2 November. On that date, the congregation held a day of 'solemn fasting & pray[e]r'. The church brethren lifted their hands and testified that they had elected and called Langston to the pastoral office. He made a declaration that he had accepted their call and ratified it once again, and was 'accordingly then set ap[ar]t for yt work & office'. By this time, the church had formerly appointed four elders, Messrs Manning, Petto, Milway, and Bidbank, who were formally asked to assist Langston in his pastoral work. As the ceremony

closed, Manning, Petto and Milway gave Langston their right hands as a symbol of their fellowship (SRO, FK 3/1/11/5, fos. 1–4). Shortly after Langston was called to Ipswich, the growth of the congregation required an extension to the meeting-house. The Ipswich chapel was probably the first to be substantially built or rebuilt in Suffolk after the Second Indulgence granted to dissenters by James II. The newly-enlarged Ipswich chapel opened for worship 26 June 1687 in Green Yard in the parish of St Peter, where a dissenting congregational remains to this date. According to one tradition, Langston's pulpit survived until at least 1870, when it was described by the dissenter Thomas Conder. The building itself was not so lucky, however; by the second decade of the eighteenth century it had once again proved to be too small, and was eventually pulled down and rebuilt as a house for a local worthy, Charles Drummond (SRO, FK 3/1/11/1, p. 5).

Langston's reputation as a successful grammar school teacher made him a suitable candidate to tutor ministerial students. The first record of Langston's teaching at this level is a note in the London Common Fund minutes for 23 May 1692. This particular entry refers to a young man of Ipswich, John Goodchild, who declared himself 'willing to devote himself to the Ministry'. In the eyes of the Board, this required evidence that he was 'fitt to enter upon the Study of University Learning'. This specification in turn required the provision of a certificate to that effect from Langston before Goodchild's case could be further considered (DWL, OD67, fo. 74). There is no other record of Goodchild before an entry of 26 June 1693, by which time he had become one of Langston's students, together with John Bert, who was already under Langston's instruction and was being proposed for a 'Supply', i.e. a small income from the Common Fund as a young minister or ministerial candidate. Unfortunately for Bert, the Common Fund was at this juncture short of money, and so his supply was deferred to an unspecified time. Goodchild was only slightly luckier: he was awarded £8 per annum towards his studies, 'ye first money [to be] given when ye ffund is able to Bear it'. It is unclear whether the money was paid to either student (DWL, OD67, fo. 120).

Langston was first approached by the Congregational Fund Board as a potential tutor of ministerial pupils on 13 April 1696, when Thomas Gouge was requested to write to him 'about takeing young Studients' (DWL, OD401, p. 17). The first payment ordered to Langston by the Board was £5, made towards the education of Phillip King for one year, on 14 September 1696 (DWL, OD401, p. 30). It appears that the Board played little part in the

funding of Langston's young men, if indeed he taught any, over the next five years. On 16 June 1701 the Board gave him £24 towards the education of Jon Rappett, Jon Barker, Jonathan Mills, Peter Goodwin, Abraham Coveny and Henry Robinson (DWL, OD402, p. 39). The same sum of £24 was provided for six of Langston's students on 9 March 1702 (DWL, OD402, p. 47). £24 of itself was a large sum of money by the Board's standards, although it works out as a lower sum per student (£4 per head) than the payment made five years earlier. In the next year (18 January 1703), Langston received a markedly more generous sum of £30 for five students (DWL, OD402, p. 57). By this point, Rappett and Barker were no longer receiving financial support from the Board, presumably because they were no longer being instructed by Langston. As well as Mills, Coveny, Goodwin, and Robinson, the Board was now funding Joseph Rickman. The intervals between payments suggest that Langston was in effect being paid for three quarters of the year at a time.

Langston died on 12 January 1704. The Congregational Fund Board was then required to provide alternative means for the education of Mills, Goodwin, and Robinson. On 21 February 1704 the Board ordered that they should be 'taken under our care from Lady day', although it postponed a decision as to what this meant in practice (DWL, OD402, p. 69). On 6 March the London ministers discussed the situation again, only to adjourn their decision until the next meeting. Their eventual solution, reached on 13 March, was to send the three students to Isaac Chauncey, who was by this point probably in Moorfields, London (DWL, OD402, p. 70). This change of tutor and location was considerably inconvenient for the students, and expensive for the Fund Board: whereas Langston had been paid £4–£6 per head per year, attendance at Chauncey's academy required a sum of £16 per head per year, as is reflected in payments made to other students of Chauncey at this date. However, for reasons not stated, some students required less money to be educated in London. Abraham Coveny, Langston's other student, was finally transferred to Chauncey's academy on 3 April, with a payment from the Board of only £10 (DWL, OD402, p. 71). The time and money spent by the Congregational Fund Board in providing for Langston's students was rewarded in at least five instances. Peter King became the assistant minister at Beadsman's Place in Southwark until his untimely death in 1699 (Wilson, *Dissenting Churches*, IV, 146). Jonathan Mills was a minister at Tunstead, c.1714 (DWL, 38.4, p. 83). Peter Goodwin became a minister at Great Yarmouth and then Ropemakers' Alley, Limehouse, London until his death in 1747 (DWL, 38.4, p. 83; Wilson, *Dissenting Churches*, II, 545–7). Abraham Coveny was the minister at

Arminghall in Norfolk (DWL, 38.4, p. 83). Henry Robinson later preached at Bungay in Suffolk (DWL, 38.4, p. 108; DWL, OD403, p. 6).

The funding Langston received for his students was not the only contact he maintained with London dissenters. Shortly after his call to Ipswich he began a series of trips to London (SRO, FK 3/1/11/5, fos. 6–13). The regularity of these trips (generally between May and June, sometimes June to July, 1687–97) suggests they had a specific function, but Langston's papers give no indication of what this was. The comment by one of Langston's nineteenth-century biographers that they reflect continuing persecution is certainly wrong since, they begin at the very point (1687) that the national campaign against dissenting ministers abated (SRO, FK 3/1/11/1, pp. 5–6). It is possible that at least some of his travelling had some bearing on his tutorial work: his visit to London of 1692 coincided with the discussion by the Presbyterian Fund Board of his student John Goodchild; his visit of 1693 with the promise of funds for Goodchild and Bert. However, it must be admitted that the date of his payments from the Congregational Fund Board do not correlate with his later visits. The decision of the congregation to employ an assistant, Mr Glandfield, following the worsening of Langston's health, reveals more about the extent to which the Ipswich church communicated with the wider dissenting community, including dissenting intellectuals and tutors. Glandfield, who was not native to Ipswich, gave his first sermon to the congregation on Friday 20 November 1702, 'uppon ye invitation of ye Pastor and church'. Soon after he was 'unanimously call'd by ye church as assistant to Mr Langston'. Glandfield was officially called as the sole minister at Ipswich about a fortnight after Langston's death, which had occurred on 12 January 1704. His election, however, was not completed until 3 May (SRO, FK 3/1/11/5, fo. 15).

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Latham, Ebenezer (c.1688–1754)

EBENEZER LATHAM, tutor in Derbyshire, was probably born c.1688 at Mickledale in Cheshire, the eldest son of Richard Latham (c.1653–1706), later a nonconformist minister at Wem (*ODNB*). Latham was admitted to Glasgow University in February 1704; at about the same time he became a student at Samuel Benion's academy in Shrewsbury (*Glasguensis*, III, 180; DWL, 24.59, fo. 27). After his father's death, Latham supplied Wem, with grants of £5 per annum from the Presbyterian Fund from 1705 until 1710 (DWL, OD68, pp. 145, 159, 172, 188, 218, 224). Latham was ordained privately at Benion's house; he was awarded an MD from Glasgow University on 25 September 1710 (DWL, 24.59, fo. 56; *Glasguensis*, III, 305). In 1710 he moved to Derbyshire. From this year he received grants from the Presbyterian Fund Board as a preacher at Hollington and an occasional preacher at Ashbourne (DWL, OD68, pp. 227, 246, 259, 276, 291, 309, 328, 347). According to a

national survey of dissent compiled c.1715, he was preaching at Caldwell, Hollington, and Ashbourne (DWL, 38.4, p. 22).

By the mid 1710s Latham was teaching university learning to students in Derbyshire. His earliest known student was the future dissenting minister Matthew Bradshaw, who came 'very early' under Latham's care and studied '*Academical Literature*' with him. Bradshaw was a student of Latham by 1714, since Latham records that his studies 'had the melancholy prospect of being interrupted' by the passage of the Schism Act of 1714 (Latham, *Bradshaw*, 39). The Act remained in force until 1719, but it is not clear that Latham suspended his academy for the whole of this time. When Thomas Hill, the tutor at an academy in Findern, died in March 1720, Latham moved to the area and took over Hill's responsibilities (DWL, 38.4, p. 22). Latham was recorded as a minister at Findern in the minutes of the Presbyterian Fund Board in 1720, when he and a fellow minister, Samuel Brentnal, were awarded a joint grant of £8. The following year his fellow minister was John Gregory. From 1722 until 1749 Latham received grants from the Board as the minister of Hollington, and the grant for Findern was provided to John Gregory (DWL, OD68, pp. 367, 390, 415; OD69, p. 453). In 1720 Latham also became the tutor to George Ault and Nicholas Warren, previously students of Hill. Ault conformed early in 1721 and was 'struck out' of the Presbyterian Fund Board's books. In his place the Board funded Peter Payton, and then John Chorley (DWL, OD68, pp. 352, 375, 381, 382, 397, 420). One of Latham's earliest students at Findern was Obadiah Hughes, who attended the academy from 1721 with a grant from the Presbyterian Fund Board (DWL, OD68, pp. 402, 420). Throughout Hughes's time at the academy he corresponded with the tutor Philip Doddridge. Hughes had previously been at John Jennings's Kibworth academy, where 'irregularities' had 'tarnished his reputation'. Doddridge heard that Hughes cut 'a very considerable figure' at Findern, and that his behaviour there was 'in every respect unexceptional'; Hughes, for his part, found Findern very agreeable (Humphreys, *Doddridge*, I, 34, 54; Stedman, *Doddridge*, 22).

Other students given grants by the Board included John Ward, minister of Taunton (1730–2), James Parker of Gravesend and South Carolina (1730–2), Josiah Bradshaw of Beaminster (1730–2), and William Eden of Lydgate, Ellen and Eastwood (1730). In the early 1730s students funded by the Board included the Arian Joseph Fownes (1731–5), Thomas Harrops of Nottingham and Wem (1731–6), Joel Maurice of Stretton and West Bromwich (1731),

Laurence Holden of Doncaster and Maldon (1733), and William Turner of Wakefield (1733–6). Later in the 1730s the Board awarded grants to Thomas Perrot (1735–7), nephew of the Carmarthen academy tutor, Samuel Stubbs of Lichfield and Longdon (1735–6), Francis Swinhow of Ramsbury and Aldbourne (1737–41), Judah Jagger of Ripley (1738–42) and Jotham Foljambe of Howden and Selby (1739–42). Other ministerial students funded by the Board included Benjamin Clegg of Cottingham (1742–5), John Ault of Loscoe (1746–9), Jeremiah Dethick of Bardon Park (1749–51) and John Stantiall of Chertsey (1750–1) (DWL, OD69, pp. 15–500; OD70, pp. 2–82). As Wykes has established, the majority of these men began their ministries in the midlands, although several of them had distinguished careers further afield (Wykes, 'Findern'). In addition to these ministerial students, Latham taught the potter Thomas Bentley, Conyers Jocelyn, a future sheriff of Hertfordshire, and Robert Newton, a sheriff of Derbyshire (Wykes, 'Findern').

The academy at Findern became one of the most important in the country, due to the number of students Latham mentored, and because of his knowledge of new developments in philosophy and science. It was initially popular with students. Latham taught his students logic, physics, anatomy, mathematics, history and theology. They also studied Hebrew, so that they could study the ancient texts of the Bible. Latham's system of natural philosophy, 'Exercitationes physiologicae', has survived; the course included discussion of the elements, human anatomy, fluids and solids, minerals, metals and rocks, the senses and astronomy (DLSL, MS 3368; Elliott, 'Derby', 93–4). A late eighteenth-century manuscript states that Latham was 'particularly well versed in Hebrew & Jewish learning'. The same manuscript states that the books used at the academy included Carmichael's 'Logic', Locke's *Essay*, Whiston's edition of Euclid's *Elements*, Ward's 'Mathematician's Guide', s'Gravesand's *Mathematical Elements*, Le Clerc's *Physica*, Strauchius' 'Chronology', Spavan's edition of Pufendorf's *Law of Nature and Nations*, Schickard's Hebrew grammar, Reland's 'Hebrew Antiquities', and Pictet's *Theologia Christiana* (DWL, 24.59, fo. 58). Pictet's text had also been in use at other academies, including Joseph Hallett's academy in Exeter. Latham's 'determined resolution never to make his instruction subservient to a narrow spirited party', and his 'supposed want of entire orthodoxy' rendered 'some persons averse to sending their sons to him on account of a supposed want of Orthodoxy' (BL, Add. MS 24484, fos. 214–15; BUL, XMS 279, p. 53). In 1737, Doddridge heard a rumour that Latham was preparing a 'very elaborate & valuable ans[we]r' to the writings of Joseph Hallett and Thomas Morgan,

although this work appears not to have been published (DWL, NCL/L1/10/36). Latham also took an interest in the history of earlier academies. In the printed version of his funeral sermon for the minister Daniel Madock (1745), he printed for the first time a list of students of Richard Frankland, together with dates when they attended Frankland's academy. According to Cromwell Mortimer, Latham was particularly interested in astronomy; another student states that he 'was master of great quickness in composing his thoughts', which were 'often striking, & his language frequently brilliant' (BL, Add. MS 24484, fos. 214–15).

In 1738 Latham contributed to the Royal Society a proposal for improving the construction of globes (Royal Society, *Memoirs*, X, 375–6). In a letter to Cromwell Mortimer of the Society, dated 14 April 1738 and addressed from Findern, Latham wrote that the globes were 'only formd for the present age, & do not serve the purposes of Chronology & History as they might' (RS, EL/L6/51). Latham's proposal was that globes should be made in such a way that the poles could move around the ecliptic: 'by this means we might have a view of the Heavens suited to ev'ry period, & yt wod answer ye antient descriptions, Those of [E]udoxus for instance . . . & of Hypparchus'. The new contrivance would enable even 'the lowest reader' to judge of the controversy surrounding the expedition of the Argonauts (RS, EL/L6/51). Unfortunately for Latham, the Society had already considered his suggestion. A memorandum in the Society's papers recorded that 'Altho' Dr Latham was the first, who communicated to the Royal Society this Hint of making the Poles of the Diurnall motion of a Caelestiall Globe moveable round the poles of ye Ecliptic, Mr. Senex did show to the Publisher in company of Mr. Collins F. R. S. . . . about Christmas 1735. a Caelestiall Globe made by him, with this very contrivance of moveable Poles'; nevertheless, the memorandum admitted that Latham had 'never leard of Mr. Senex's invention till after he had sent the foregoing letter to the Secretary' (RS, Cl.P/7ii, fo. 100). In another letter printed by the Royal Society, Latham commented on problems in Newton's astronomy (Royal Society, *Philosophical Transactions*, 42 (1742–3), 221).

In 1745 Latham became assistant minister to Josiah Rogerson at Friar Gate in Derby, and his academy moved there. Latham is believed to have tutored between 300 and 400 students; some of these are listed in a manuscript account of the early academies which belonged to the dissenting memorialist Josiah Thompson (DWL, 24.59, fos. 54–9). Thirty–four students were supported by the Presbyterian Fund, which in 1725 singled out Latham's academy together

with those of Taunton and Carmarthen as most worthy of funding (DWL, OD69, p. 50). Doddridge's dissatisfaction with the exclusivity of the Fund Board was recorded in a letter to him from John Barker of 1750: the effect of Doddridge's complaint was that the Board 'agreed to alter and enlarge the Rule' following the findings of a committee, but what else will happen I know not' (Stedman, *Doddridge*, 134). On 5 June 1750 Barker wrote to Doddridge to explain that the offending rule 'that the Students be encouragd by this Fund be Sent Only to Findern or Kendal' was to be altered to 'Fin or K or any other Academy in England which shall be approved', in the hope that some students would be sent to Doddridge and David Jennings; Barker certainly believed that Rotheram of Kendal was 'no proper Tutor' and that Latham was 'not a competent One' (Stedman, *Doddridge*, 138). Latham's wife died in 1751; they had at least two daughters, one of whom, Mary (*d.* 1771), read the Bible every day in Hebrew: 'tho' not gramatically learned, yet by a constant comparing the parallel texts' she gained a critical understanding of the Old Testament (*Derby Mercury*, 6 September 1771). Latham himself was ill in 1752, and 'in a weak and low condition' by June 1753; he died at Nuns Green near Derby on 15 January 1754 aged *c.*66 (Clegg, *Diary*, 794, 831). A collection of Latham's *Sermons on Various Subjects* was published posthumously (1774), with a lengthy character of Latham by William Willets.

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***Lobb, Stephen (d. 1699)**

STEPHEN LOBB, dissenting minister, lecturer, and tutor, was the son of Richard Lobb, who was a sheriff in Cornwall in 1652, and MP for St Michael in 1659 (*ODNB*). In the years immediately following the death of John Owen in 1683, Lobb the younger was one of the most influential Congregational ministers and writers in England. Lobb's date of birth is unknown. Following Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence in 1672, he was licensed to preach in his father's houses at Kenwyn near Truro and Mylor near Falmouth, being recorded at this date as a Presbyterian; the Indulgence was withdrawn the following year (TNA, SP29/320, nos. 99, 100). He later married Elizabeth Polwhele, son of Theophilus Polwhele the minister of Tiverton (*ODNB*). In 1678 and 1679 Lobb and Richard Baxter were correspondents, discussing the significance of the doctrine of justification by imputed righteousness. Despite their theological differences, Baxter allowed Lobb to spend some time as his assistant, on the advice of Samuel Annesley and Thomas Vincent (DWL, Baxter

Letters, I, fo. 42; II, fo. 51; Baxter, *Scripture Gospel Defended*, 75–116). The partnership was brief, since Lobb held scruples over the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Decalogue. Instead, Lobb became a Congregationalist and a close associate of John Owen, who wrote a preface to Lobb's *The Glory of Free–Grace Display'd* (1680); Owen was later alleged to have told Lobb that 'it would be w[i]th much ado if Dr Crisp's writings could be excused' from Antinomianism (Bod. Lib., Rawl. d.1120, fo. 64). At about this time, Lobb met George Saville, Marquis of Halifax; in 1692 the dissenter Zachary Merrill claimed that Halifax had instructed Lobb to 'get yo[u]r Liberty settled while under fears of Popery. for if you do not now, the Ch[urch] Men will drive you before ym. like Chaff' (Bod. Lib., Rawl. d.1120, fo. 64).

Lobb was ordained in 1681 and was then called to be the pastor of the Independent church formerly ministered to by Thomas Goodwin and Thankful Owen. He was convicted of delivering sermons to conventicles in mid 1682, but continued to preach (TNA, SP29/421, fo. 106). In November 1682 the notorious Hilton gang broke into Lobb's house but 'found not many goods' and 'mist apprehending his person'. The following month he was interrupted during his meeting and part of the furniture was 'broken in peeces'. He was disturbed again in January 1683 (DWL, Morrice P, pp. 343, 348, 352). In the aftermath of the Rye House Plot in 1683 Lobb came to the attention of the authorities for supposedly helping to recruit men as part of an endeavour to place the Duke of Monmouth on the throne. In October 1683 he was arrested, and further orders for his arrest followed in April, May and October 1684 (TNA, SP44/54, pp. 280, 283; DWL, Morrice P, p. 444). Nevertheless, Lobb continued to produce controversial writings. In early 1684 he and Baxter animadverted by letter on church government, doctrine, and occasional conformity (DWL, Baxter Letters, II, fos. 83, 93, 95, 295; V, fo. 103; VI, fos. 240, 244; Baxter Treatises, II, fo. 25; VI, fo. 210; XXII, fo. 371). He defended Owen against Baxter in his *Bellarminus junior enervatus* (1684). In October 1685 there was a bonfire in Drury Lane to mark the King's birthday, in which Lobb was represented in a tub preaching sedition, alongside Titus Oates, Richard Baxter and Robert Ferguson (DWL, Morrice P, p. 483).

Lobb's role as a tutor of academical learning in the 1680s may have been brief. Following Charles Morton's departure to America in 1685, he was chosen alongside Francis Glascock and William Wickens to teach his students. Despite the wealth of information about his life,

the extent of Lobb's tutoring of ministerial students remains unclear. There is little evidence to support the assertions of Parker and McLachlan that Lobb ran an academy. The clearest account of Lobb's teaching comes from Abraham Taylor, in his funeral sermon for John Beaumont. Taylor wrote that Beaumont was put under the tuition of Charles Morton, with whom he made 'a good progress in learning'. However, he did not long enjoy the advantage of his tutor, because Morton was 'imprison'd for non-conformity', and so broke up his academy, and retired to New England. After this, Beaumont 'privately heard lectures, from that very judicious divine Mr. Francis Glascock, and from Mr. Stephen Lobb, and Mr. Wickens; who privately, in this way, endeavour'd to assist such young students, as were deprived of more stated helps for instruction, thro' the severity of the times' (Taylor, *Beaumont*, 46). Taylor implies, then, that Lobb, Wickens and Glascock taught Morton's students, perhaps on a fairly informal basis, in the late 1680s, and hints that this was because of the extremities of the times. On 29 December 1685 Matthew Henry noted that 'Some of Mr. Morton's yong men now yei are scatter'd from him meet (about 6 or 8 of ym.) weekly & have a Divin[ity] Disputa[ti]on, in wch. Mr. Glascock a very worthy ingenious yong min[iste]r presides'. Henry was permitted to attend the meeting by 'Mr. S. L.', although this man was probably not Stephen Lobb. Henry found the disputations to be 'well manag'd'; on the day that he attended, the disputation question was 'An fide sola~ justificemur' ('Whether we are justified by faith alone'). The students resolved the question in the affirmative, 'much ag[ains]t ye. Baxterian way – yt faith justifies not as a condi[ti]on but an instrum[en]t' (DWL, 90.5.10).

Lobb's political fortunes began to improve after the accession of James II in 1685. In late 1686 he was pardoned by the government for his supposed treasonous activities in the previous reign (DWL, Morrice P, p. 657; Morrice Q, p. 18; TNA, SP44/337, p. 165). Since Owen's death in 1683, Lobb had been one of the leading Independents in the country, a position which he now used to campaign for indulgence and toleration of nonconformists. His political stance was not always popular with other dissenters and proved controversial when James decided to issue a Declaration of Indulgence in 1687. On 30 April Lobb signed a statement of thanks to James (DWL, Morrice Q, p. 115). He is sometimes viewed, on unknown grounds, as being the author of *A Second Letter to a Dissenter* (1687), a text pursuing the theme of Halifax's *Letter to a Dissenter* (1687) by attempting to raise support for James's Indulgence. In January 1688 the Presbyterian Roger Morrice noted that it had

been 'said truly Mr. Lobb the Independent Minister hath been often to write upon the King of late'; it was also reported that James had told Lobb that the Church of England 'had offered to take off the Penall Lawes and the Test from the Papists if they might be left upon the Protestant Dissenters'; in other words, James sought to use Lobb as one of his 'tooles' to divide the Church of England and the dissenters (DWL, Morrice Q, pp. 227, 232, 244). In retrospect, James's gambit was a desperate one, and many dissenters recognised this at the time, a state of affairs which did little for Lobb's credibility. In May 1688 Lobb joined forces with William Penn in a doomed attempt to persuade dissenters to sign a second declaration of thanks for the continuing Indulgence (*ODNB*). In c.1690 he was recorded as preaching at Hampstead with a 'competent Supply'; he also supervised an evening lecture, where Thomas Reynolds (1668?–1737) and a Mr Barton (possibly Nathaniel Barton) officiated (DWL, OD161, pp. 2, 3, 48).

Lobb's most important contribution to the history of the academies resulted from his work on the dissenters' Common Fund (1690–3) and, later, the Congregational Fund Board (from 1695). By November 1690 he was a manager of the Common Fund (DWL, OD67, fo. 12). On 13 February 1693 the Fund ordered that £5 'be allowed to mr Wm Nokes at present wth: mr Lobb towards ye perfecting of his Studies', but that Nokes was to have 'noe further allowance' (DWL, OD67, fo. 106). On 1 May 1693, Vincent Alsop was requested to speak to Barton 'to make a Collection at mr Stephen Lobbs meeting house towards ye Support of this ffund' (DWL, OD67, fo. 110). Lobb helped to bring about the collapse of the union between Presbyterians and Congregationalists in London when he published a series of tracts defending the theology of John Owen and attacking Daniel Williams. When in February 1695 Williams was removed from the Pinners' Hall Lectures and other Presbyterians resigned in protest, Lobb was appointed in to take their place and continued to publish controversial pamphlets. Lobb was attacked in print by Alsop, but defended by another Independent tutor, Isaac Chauncey. After leaving the Common Fund, Lobb and his allies set up the rival Congregational Fund Board, which supported Chauncey, Lobb and other tutors, including Thomas Rowe, William Goodwin, William Payne, John Langston, Timothy Jollie, James Forbes, Samuel Jones and Rice Price (Burden, 'Academical Learning', 264). Lobb was an original messenger of the Board from December 1695, and was present at its meetings in most months thereafter until his death in 1699. He spoke to students to recommend appropriate tutors, examined them for their suitability for university learning, and made

representation on behalf of disadvantaged ministers (DWL, OD401, pp. 16, 35, 47, 58, 68, 96). During this period Lobb took a small number of students, whom he may have been preparing for further study at one of the larger academies. On 22 June 1696 the Board ordered that £5 be allowed to 'Mr Lewis with Mr Lobb'; Lewis may have been one of Lobb's students, since two later notes recommended 'reimbursing Mr Lobb what he is out for Mr Lewis education', but on 29 June 1696 Lewis was advised to attend William Payne's academy at Saffron Walden (DWL, OD401, pp. 27–8, 42). In November 1697 a 'mr Smith' was sent to Lobb for half a year and Lobb was paid £10 by the Board for taking him; two weeks later Smith was awarded £10, if he could 'provide himselfe with a Tutor to our satisfaction' (DWL, OD401, pp. 62–3). On 7 June 1696 Lobb was ordered to 'Examin & take an Acco[un]t of mr Keath & ye rest of ye Studients at mr Goodwins'; on 6 September 1697 the Board ordered that 'mr Lobb or mr Nesbitt let mr Goodwin know that he take none under his tuition but such as shall be approved by this board'. Lobb's own son Theophilus Lobb attended Goodwin's academy from 1697 with grants from the Board; another Stephen Lobb, a relative, attended Goodwin's academy from 1700 (DWL, OD401, pp. 52, 56, 61, 77; OD402, pp. 24, 31, 43, 57, 67).

Although no account of Lobb's teaching has survived, his theological opinions are clear from the significant body of controversial writing which he produced. In *The Glory of Free Grace Display'd* (1680) he argued that '*none but Convinced Sinners, are capable of entertaining right conceptions of Gospel-Grace*' and that ''Tis *glorious Grace*, that alone can prove truly advantageous, and reviving to the *humble sinner*'. He defended the doctrine of election, but attacked the antinomian doctrines that the filth of human sin was laid on Christ, and that the elect are made holy by Christ's holiness (Lobb, *Glory*, 'Preface', 2, 10–12, 21, 41). In *The True Dissenter*, he defended gathered churches as the natural consequence of a reformed Church of England before presenting diocesan government as inconsistent with Presbyterian and Congregational principles. Two works of the mid 1690s defended the strict Calvinist position on justification against Daniel Williams and his supporters (*A Peaceable Enquiry*) and attacked the growth of Arminianism and Socinianism, both in Europe and in England (*The Growth of Error*). Lobb and Isaac Chauncey provided two of the most prominent voices attacking the supposed neonomianism of Williams in the late 1690s. Lobb's contributions included a trio of pamphlets, including *A Report of the Present State of the Differences in Doctrinals*, *A Defence of the Report*, and *A Further Defence of the Report*, the last assailing

Vincent Alsop, who had argued that the differences between Williams and Lobb were marginal. Lobb was keen to stress that the controversy was ‘not about *Church–Order* but *Doctrinals*’. Once again, he took the opportunity to insist that ‘[w]e are all by Nature under the Curse of the Law, and destitute of a Righteousness entitling to Eternal Life’, and recommended in matters doctrinal an ‘Impartial Stating the Truth, as it lies between the *Antinomian*, the *Arminian*, and *Socinian* Extreams’; in practice, this meant acceptance of the doctrines ‘of a *change of persons* between Christ and Believers, and of *Christ’s enduring the displeasure of the Father* for our sins’ during the Atonement. Having drawn up a paper to this effect, Lobb’s party ensured that it was signed by, among others, the tutors Isaac Chauncey, Edward Veal, Thomas Rowe, and Thomas Goodwin the younger (Lobb, *Report*, 3, 5, 11, 14, 15). Lobb died on 3 June 1699 of a seizure in London, at the house of the Independent George Griffith (DWL, 12.40.32). His funeral sermon, delivered by the tutor Thomas Goodwin, was later published. There is no concrete evidence that Lobb was anything other than a part–time tutor for a few years, perhaps from *c.*1684–*c.*1689. Nevertheless, his theological opinions and his work on the dissenters’ Fund Boards helped to shape the future direction of the Congregational academies.

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The True Dissenter, or, the Cause of Those that are for Gathered Churches (London, 1685).
A Second Letter to a Dissenter, Upon Occasion of His Majesties Late Gracious Declaration of Indulgence (London, 1687): uncertain attribution (see *ESTC*).
A Peaceable Enquiry into the Nature of the Present Controversie among our United Brethren about Justification (London, 1693).
A Letter to Doctor Bates: Containing a Vindication of the Doctor, and my Self, Necessitated by Mr. W’s. his Answer to Mr. Humfrey (London, 1695).
The Growth of Error: Being an Exercitation concerning the Rise and Progress of Arminianism, and more especially Socinianism (London, 1697).
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Lorimer, William (1641–1722)

WILLIAM LORIMER, tutor and examiner, was born in January 1641 in Aberdeen, of 'honest and reputable parents'; he entered Marischal College in 1657, where he applied himself particularly to the study of theology (Anderson, *Lorimer*, 70; *Mariscallanae Aberdonensis*, II, 225). Lorimer moved to London in 1664 where he lived with a brother of his father, a considerable merchant. He frequented the library of Sion College, and attended the weekly lectures of Anthony Walker at Aldermanbury church during the plague, later speaking of them with great pleasure. Lorimer was ordained as deacon and then priest in the Church of England in 1670 (CUL, EDR A5/2, fo. 28); he was made a curate at the Charterhouse, whose incumbent Lorimer 'often spoke of with much Respect'. On 26 March 1673 he was appointed the vicar of Rudgwick in Sussex (WSRO, Ep. I/3/2, fos. 55, 273). However, by February 1675 he had become uneasy about his oath of canonical obedience to the bishop. Anderson wrote that Lorimer had understood the oath 'to imply his Approbation of the *Canons* of the Establish'd Church as *Licita & Honesta, Lawful and Good* . . . being entirely dissatisfy'd with several of 'em, he thought himself oblig'd to renounce his *Conformity*, and to quit his *Living*'; according to Anderson, Lorimer expressed his opinion to Richard Baxter, who was surprised by it, but later came to the same judgment (Anderson, *Lorimer*, 70). Baxter later wrote an epistle 'To the Reader' for Lorimer's translation of Jean Filleau de la Chaise's *Divine Original, and Authority of the Five Books of Moses* (1682). After his resignation from Rudgwick, Lorimer travelled abroad, where he was 'much conversant with the *Protestant Churches of France* before the Persecution became violent', and became '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 (Anderson, *Lorimer*, 71). Upon his return, he became a chaplain to Squire Hall, at Harding, near Henley-on-Thames. In c.1690 he was described in a survey for the dissenters' Common Fund as 'Mr Lorimer A Scotchman, at Mr Stones an Apothecary in Thames Street neere ye old Swan' in London (DWL, OD161, p. 2). At some point after the Revolution he was a minister for a few years at Lee, near Eltham in Kent.

When Richard Frankland died in 1698 Lorimer was one of the persons shortlisted to replace him, along with John Chorlton and William Tong but 'none was fully agreed on' (Clegg, *Diary*, 913). At about this time, he engaged in conversation with the young dissenting minister Zachary Merrill (Bod. Lib., Rawl. d.1120, fos. 67–71). In 1695 Lorimer was invited to take a chair in theology at St Andrews. Before taking up the post, he travelled to Edinburgh, where he preached before the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and also before the Lord High Chancellor, the Privy Council, the judges and other magistrates. While there, he was informed that plague had hit St Andrews and that the university had been closed. Being ill himself, he returned to London, but not before he had played a part in the furore which brought about the execution of Thomas Aikenhead on 8 January 1697. Lorimer 'particularly dealt with him in Prison as a Minister, with so much good success . . . that the said unhappy Gentleman became a *great Penitent at his Execution*' (Anderson, *Lorimer*, 72). Lorimer defended his position in his *Two Discourses* of 1713.

From 1699 Lorimer was a tutor at a private academy in Southwark and Hoxton, where he taught alongside Joshua Oldfield and John Spademan. The academy was set up when several London ministers expressed dissatisfaction with the academy of John Ker (BL, Add. MS 70019, fo. 147). In 1724 Anderson described Lorimer as 'One of the chief *Professors* of a considerable *private Academy* near *London*; where he labour'd much in the Education of Youth, and particularly of many Ministers, of whom there are not a few still alive'; however Lorimer had 'retir'd from that Employment many Years before he died' (Anderson, *Lorimer*, 72). In an account of the tutor Joshua Oldfield, William Harris wrote that Oldfield 'kept his academy some time in *Southwark*, but chiefly at *Hoston*; there were joined with him the late extraordinarily learned and pious Mr. *William Lorimore*, and Mr. *John Spademan*; and after Mr. *Spademan*'s death, Mr. *Capel*, who had been professor of *Hebrew* in the University of *Saumur*, before the persecution in *France*' (Harris, *Oldfield*, 38). One of Lorimer's earliest students was George Smyth, who 'received his first Instructions in the nobler Sciences under Dr. *Kerr*, afterwards from those learned Divines, *Spademan*, *Lorimer*, and *Oldfield*'; Smyth then studied in Scotland and the Netherlands before becoming a dissenting minister (Chandler, *Smyth*, 25–6). The student John Ratcliffe studied at John Woodhouse's academy at Sheriffhales, before 'he proceeded in his studies under the care of Mr. *Lorimer*, Mr. *Spademan*, and Mr. *Oldfield*' (Evans, *Ratcliffe*, 25). Lorimer participated in ordinations, and in the trials of candidates for the ministry; he had no pastoral charge, but assisted ministers on

occasions by preaching and administering the sacraments. Lorimer was the first named trustee in Daniel Williams's will, the second name being that of Oldfield. However, in the divisions at Salters' Hall in 1719, they appeared on opposite sides of the argument: Oldfield was Moderator for the non-subscribers, Lorimer was Moderator for the seceding subscribers (Grosvenor, *Account*, 11, 16; *True Relation*, 6, 9, 17).

Lorimer died unmarried at Hoxton on 27 October 1722, and was buried at St Margaret Pattens, in London. In his will, he gave money to a range of charities, founded a bursary at Marischall College, and left bequests for the poor of the Scottish churches at Founders' Hall and Swallow Street in London (TNA, PRO, PROB 11/588/156). He left about 2,000 books for the use of poor Presbyterian ministers and students in England, and about 800 books to Marischal College (Anderson, *Lorimer*, 73). Rather oddly, his funeral sermon was 'accidentally omitted' at first, but eventually preached on 27 October 1723 by James Anderson, the minister at Swallow Street. Anderson included a pointed refutation of the 'Errors of the Socinians, Pythagoreans, Papists, and others, concerning the State of the Dead', both as a testament to Lorimer's learning and, presumably, to demonstrate his orthodoxy. He also listed Lorimer's publications and manuscripts, and printed fourteen Latin *quaestiones* and theses on various topics, most of them standard subjects for disputation such as 'An *Liberum arbitrium in mera[m] ad utrumlibet Indifferentia consistat?*' ('Whether free will consists merely in indifference?') and 'An *Quantitas continua sit divisibilis in Infinitum?*' ('Whether continuous quantity be infinitely divisible?': Anderson, *Lorimer*, 74). It is possible that some of these questions were in use at the Hoxton Square academy, although further evidence is lacking. In a prefatory dedication to David Earl of Buchan, Anderson revealed that Lorimer had praised Buchan for 'your strict Adherence to the Honour and Interest of *Scotland* before the *Union*, and of *Great-Britain* since', and also for Buchan's zeal for the 'Welfare of the *Church of Scotland*, . . .; and for your Zeal for *serious* Religion and *true* Christianity in general, which is more to be regarded than any Denomination or Party of Christians under Heaven' (Anderson, *Lorimer*, A2r–v). Anderson described Lorimer as his spiritual father, 'always my cordial Friend', since Lorimer had participated in his ordination. He was also an intimate acquaintance of John Evans, confiding in Evans on his deathbed that 'he had an undoubting Persuasion of his own Sincerity, and of his Title to a future Happiness' (Anderson, *Lorimer*, 69, 72).

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Malden, John (c.1621–81)

John Malden, tutor at Alkington, was the son of John Malden, vicar of Cleobury Mortimer. The exact date of his birth is unknown, but he matriculated at Pembroke College, Oxford on 26 October 1638, aged 16 (Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, II, 962). Malden stayed at Oxford University for four years, but did not take a degree, 'because of the King's coming thither' during the Civil War (Shaw, *Manchester Classis*, I, 34). He was ordained by the Manchester classis as the vicar of Cheswardine, Shropshire on 15 April 1647. According to the minutes of the classis, he had 'brought an approbacion from the committee of Salop for his place', and a certificate from Shropshire ministers. His ordination question was '*an detur appellatio jure divino a particulari ecclesia ad classes et synodos?*' which he answered in the affirmative (Shaw, *Manchester Classis*, I, 34). Little is known about Malden's ministry at Cheswardine except that in 1648 he signed the *Testimony* of the Shropshire ministers in favour of the Solemn League and Covenant (Calamy, *Continuation*, II, 723). On 3 September 1656 he was admitted to the curacy of Newport (LPL, COMM. III/5, p. 104). The following year he participated in the ordination of a group of ministers, including Philip Henry, at Prees (Henry, *Diaries*, ed. Lee, 38). Malden was ejected from Newport after the 1662 Act of Uniformity (Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 334). Following Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence of 1672 he was licensed to preach as a Presbyterian at Whitchurch, Shropshire; another house belonging to a member of his family in Nantwich, Cheshire, was also licensed as a Congregational meeting-house (TNA, SP44/38A, pp. 186, 189). Estimates of the date of his death vary; Calamy states that he died on 23 May 1681, aged 60 (Calamy, *Account*, 563).

At the time of his death, Malden was teaching a few dissenting students at a small academy in Alkington, near Whitchurch, Shropshire. One of Malden's students was John Tylston (c.1664–99). According to Philip Henry's son Matthew, 'After [Tylston] left Newport school, he spent some time with two or three young men in the family, and under the tuition, of the Rev. Mr Malden, at Alkington near Whitchurch, till it pleased God to take their master from their head, by death, May 21st, 1681. Here he attained to such perfection in the Greek and Hebrew, as made both those languages very familiar to him; and the half year he spent in them with Mr Malden (for he had gone in them as far as boys ordinarily do in schools) he often reflected upon with satisfaction' (Henry, *Miscellaneous Works*, II, 959). Another of Malden's students was Samuel Lawrence, later a minister at Nantwich. Matthew Henry

writes that Lawrence also spent 'a considerable time . . . with some other hopeful young Men under Mr Malden at Alkington near Whitchurch; where he improv'd himself very much in Greek and Hebrew. He continued there till Mr Malden's Death in June 1681'. Calamy, following Henry, later described Malden as 'A Man of great Learning, an excellent Hebrician; one of exemplary Piety, and a solid Preacher. As he liv'd, so he dy'd, very low in his own Eyes; esteeming himself good for nothing, tho' really good for every thing: Which was manifestly a prejudice both to his Comfort and his Usefulness. He declar'd he was far from Repenting his being a Sufferer against Conformity' (Calamy, *Account*, 563).

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Moore, John (1643–1717)

JOHN MOORE, tutor at Bridgwater, was born in 1643 and baptized on 5 August, the son of John Moore of Musbury in Devon (Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 353). He was educated at the grammar school in Colyton, after which he went to Brasenose College, Oxford, where he was admitted as a plebeian on 9 June and matriculated on 13 July 1660; he was a student of the future nonconformist Thomas Adams (Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, II, 1024; Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 412). Calamy writes that he was vicar of Longburton and curate of Holnest Chapel in Dorset *c.*1662, although the precise period is difficult to establish. The curate of Longburton from 15 October 1662 was Bernard Banger, who became rector of Maperton on 20 January 1663; the sequestered rector Henry Hartwell appears as 'vicar' in a 1665 subscription book, at which date the curacy of Holnest was vacant (W&SRO, D5/9/1, fos. 59, 61; D5/29/2, fo. 62). Moore resigned from his position at Longburton and Holnest having become influenced by local nonconformist ministers, including Thomas Crane, the former incumbent of Rampisham. Calamy later wrote that Moore 'met with much Trouble' upon his 'not practising a total Conformity', but lamented that Moore had burnt all his papers, meaning that particulars of his early troubles were 'not now to be retriev'd' (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 412–13). While living at Longburton, Moore married; he baptized his eldest daughter Margaret on 2 August 1667, on which occasion he was recorded in the register as 'Minister' (Mayo, *Long Burton*, 6–7). Moore eventually left Longburton for his small estate at Ottery St Mary in Devon, where he was licensed as a Presbyterian minister on 18 April 1672 under Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence; the Indulgence was withdrawn the following year, but he continued to preach in the neighbourhood (TNA, SP29/320, fos. 2, 102, 110, 123). While there he had several more children, but only two sons, John and Thomas, and a daughter, Anastace, survived him (*ODNB*). By 1679 Moore was the minister at Bridgwater, where he served the congregation for about 36 years (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 413). According to a national survey of dissent carried out *c.*1715, Moore had around 600 hearers (DWL, 38.4, p. 99).

Moore later joined forces with two Bristol ministers, John Weekes and Alexander Sinclair, to establish a ministerial assembly in Somerset, which also included parts of Devon and Gloucestershire (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 413). One of his colleagues at the Somerset Assembly was the Gloucester minister and tutor James Forbes, whom Moore knew

personally (DWL, 38.24, fo. 56). According to Calamy, Moore 'diligently attended the Assemblies in *Somerset*, and sometimes even in his old-Age travell'd to those that were held in *Exeter*' (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 413). Moore's attendance at the Exeter Assembly was recorded in its first minute book, although it is sometimes hard to distinguish between him and his two sons. Moore attended the initial meeting of the United Brethren of Devon and Cornwall (later known as the Exeter Assembly) on 17–18 March 1691 at Tiverton; he also attended the meetings at Topsham, 23–4 June 1691, and Taunton, 2–3 September 1691 (DWL, 38.24, fos. 23, 28, 35). He attended the first Exeter meeting, 7 October 1691, and probably attended subsequent meetings at Exeter on 18–20 April and 6 June 1693, 4–5 September 1694, 5–6 May 1696, 5–6 May 1697, 3 May and 7–8 September 1698, 9–10 May 1699, 7–8 May and 3–4 September 1700 and 9–10 September 1701 (DWL, 38.24, fos. 41, 50, 57, 69, 80, 90, 97, 100, 109, 114, 124). He attended again 7–8 May 1706 and 5 September 1715 (DWL, 38.24, fos. 65, 143). Moore died at Bridgwater on 23 August 1717. His funeral sermon was preached by Edmund Batson, a minister at Taunton (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 414). He bequeathed his books to his sons John and Thomas Moore, with the exception of his copy of Poole's *Annotations*, which went to his daughter Anastace (TNA, PRO, PROB 11/560/69).

According to a late eighteenth-century history of the academies, drawing on information provided by Moore's granddaughter, his two sons John and Thomas 'for many years kept up an Academy in the house of their father, with whom the youth were boarded'. The anonymous author of the history claimed that John Moore Sr 'had no concern in their tuition', but was 'apprehended by a warrant from the Mayor of Bridgwater & had before him upon the pretence of keeping an Academy'; Moore's detention took place on a Sunday during William III's reign, and 'cost him 20 or 30 £.' However, contemporary evidence from the minutes of the Exeter Assembly indicates that Moore Sr did at least supervise the tuition of students in his house and wrote joint certificates on their behalf with his son, John Moore Jr (DWL, 38.24, fos. 61, 93–4). The manuscript history of the academies claimed that John Moore Jr 'continued the Academy for upwards of 50 years', excepting 'a small interruption in the latter end of Queen Ann's reign'; this break probably coincided with the passage of the Schism Act of 1714, although the academy's operation may also have been affected by John Moore Sr's death in 1717 and Thomas Moore's death shortly afterwards (DWL, 24.59, p. 65). Among the students at the academy prior to the passage of the Schism Act were the philosopher Thomas

Morgan, who was 'taught gratis', the Shaftesbury minister James Green, a son of the minister and tutor John Flavell, John Diaper of Bristol, John Milner of Peckham and Samuel Chandler of the Old Jewry (DWL, 24.59, pp. 65–8).

Upon a few occasions, the Exeter Assembly took a direct interest in the academy convening at Moore's house. In October 1693 the Assembly requested that Moore or the Taunton tutor Matthew Warren 'use their endeavours' to procure a minister for Hatherly. In May 1699 the Assembly recommended a grant of £1 10s for 'Robt. Wood at mr Moor's at Bridgwater'. In September 1709 the ministerial candidate Walter Furse of Chulmleigh requested 'that mr Moor of Bridgwater might also be one of his Ordainers'. On 26 February 1713 John Moore Sr and John Moore Jr issued a certificate that John Pierce had 'gone thro' a Course of Philosophy with us, and preparatory Studies usual, to our satisfaction'; he had 'also read a Body of Theology'. The Assembly also noted that both Pierce and another student, Milner, had also been 'in Communion with Mr Moor'; taking the Lord's Supper was a prior condition for becoming a dissenting minister (DWL, 38.24, fos. 61, 93–4, 100, 113, 143). The academy was also monitored by the London ministerial assemblies. In a survey commissioned by the dissenters' Common Fund Board, c.1690–2, Moore was described as one of the 'Settled Pastors in the Western Division' of Somerset, being 'Att Bridgwater' (DWL, OD161, p. 64). In April 1703 the Presbyterian Fund Board proposed to give £10 to Joseph Burt '26 Years of Age with Mr. Moor at Bridgwater' so that he could buy books; in October 1706 it was proposed that 'Mr. Bushnell's Son now with Mr. More' should have an allowance of £8. Another student at Bridgwater was Samuel Billingsley, who was awarded £10 for the years 1718–19 and 1719–20 (DWL, OD68, pp. 114, 176, 164, 352, 373).

One of Moore's students was Simon Browne, later a nonsubscribing minister in Portsmouth and London; according to Anthony Atkey, writing in 1733, Browne received his grammar learning from the minister John Cumming or Cummings before moving to Bridgwater 'for the Benefit of Academical Instruction, which he received from the late Rev. Mr. *Moor*', probably during the late 1690s (Atkey, *Browne*, 20). Another student at the academy, c.1706, was the minister William Bushnell. In 1744 Obadiah Hughes noted that Bushnell had finished his grammar learning aged sixteen, under the instruction of Mr Clark of Beconsfield; 'from hence he was removed to *Bridgwater*, for *academical* learning; and was here educated for the ministry, and completed his studies, under the care of the excellent Mr. *More*; who was so

happy as to furnish the church of Christ with many useful ministers' (Hughes, *Bushnell*, 37). Little is known about the courses of study at the academy. In 1716 the former Bridgwater student John Norman published a fictional dialogue between a conformist and a non-conformist which may have drawn upon his own education; the 'Non-conformist' remarks that, having 'liv'd in a place where there was an *Academy* kept', the students had assured him that 'they were taught the very same Parts of Learning, and perform'd the same Exercises as in the *Universities*'. Norman's 'non-conformist' comments that academy students lived under a strict discipline and studied hard; the Presbyterians, he noted, examined candidates in 'the *Greek Testament, Phylosophy* and *Divinity*', and gave then a Latin thesis to state and defend (Norman, *Lay-nonconformity Justified*, 13). In 1753 the dissenter Micajah Towgood remarked that Bridgwater had been one of the 'three principal dissenting *Academies* in the southern parts of *England*', alongside the academies at Northampton and Taunton (Towgood, *Dissent*, 183).

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Moore, John (1673–1747) and Thomas Moore (d. before 1721)

JOHN MOORE JR, tutor, and THOMAS MOORE, tutor, were the sons of John Moore Sr of Bridgwater (1643–1717). Nothing is known of Thomas Moore's early years, but John Moore Jr was born in 1673, when his father was a minister at Ottery St Mary. In March 1693 John Moore, Thomas Moore and the future Taunton tutor Robert Darch graduated MA from Edinburgh University (EUA, IN1/ADS/STA/1/1, p. 70). In April of that year, the Exeter Assembly of dissenting ministers subscribed to a testimonial for John Moore Jr, Thomas Moore and the future Taunton tutor Robert Darch, stating that they were 'sufficiently convinced' of their 'Learning & preparatory abilities, . . . good conversation, & . . . Orthodox judgments'; the testimonial required them 'to set speedily upon the work of preaching to, & praying with' congregations who lacked adequate ministerial provision (DWL, 38.24, fos. 52–3). At this date, they had not been ordained. John Moore Jr and Thomas Moore attended meetings of the Exeter Assembly together on 5–6 May 1696, 5–6 May 1697, 3 May 1698, and 5 September 1715 (DWL, 38.24, fos. 65, 80, 90, 97). From 1701 until his death, Thomas Moore was a minister in Abingdon; according to a survey of dissenters compiled c.1715, he had 800 hearers, including 26 gentlemen and 66 county voters (DWL, 38.4, p. 4). When John Moore Sr died in August 1717, John Moore Jr succeeded him as minister to the Presbyterian congregation at Bridgwater. In total, John Moore Jr spent 30 years as pastor at Bridgwater (Amory, *Moore*, 46). Thomas Moore was dead by 1721 (DWL, 38.4, p. 4), but John Moore Jr continued to preach until his death in 1747. His funeral sermon was preached by the Taunton tutor Thomas Amory and was later published.

A late eighteenth-century history of the academies, based on information provided by a relative, stated that John Moore Jr and Thomas Moore 'for many years kept up an Academy in the house of their father, with whom the youth were boarded'. The anonymous author of the history claimed that John Moore Sr 'had no concern in their tuition', but contemporary evidence from the minutes of the Exeter Assembly indicates that Moore Sr did at least supervise the tuition of students in his house and wrote joint certificates on their behalf with

John Moore Jr (DWL, 38.24, fos. 93–4). The manuscript history of the academies indicated that John Moore Jr 'continued the Academy for upwards of 50 years', excepting 'a small interruption in the latter end of Queen Ann's reign'; this break probably coincided with the passage of the Schism Act of 1714, although the academy's operation may also have been affected by John Moore Sr's death in 1717, and Thomas Moore's death shortly afterwards (DWL, 24.59, p. 65). Among the students at the academy prior to the passage of the Schism Act in 1714 were Thomas Morgan, Samuel Chandler, Simon Browne, John Norman, and William Bushnell (DWL, 24.59, pp. 65–8).

From c.1721 until his death in 1747, John Moore Jr was the only tutor at the academy. According to the manuscript history of the academy, his later students included Samuel Lavington, who later attended John Eames's academy; John Diaper and Mr Jillard, who both went on to Edinburgh University; John Pretty, who became a schoolmaster at Waytown near Bridport; John Norman's son Thomas Norman; James Chadwick and Baldwin Deacon of Taunton; William Lavington, an Exeter apothecary; Dr William Gifford of Exeter, physician; and John Damer, an Irish MP. Several other students from this period became dissenting ministers, including Benjamin Kiddel, minister at Sidmouth, Corke, and Shepton Mallet; Matthew Towgood of Bridgwater; Joshua Keath of Ilminster; John Rutter of Honiton; Peter Gifford of Chard; and James Short of Barnstaple (DWL, 24.59, pp. 69–72).

Amory later recalled that John Moore Jr's 'Genius and his Inclination' led him 'chiefly to delight in the *Study of Nature* and of the *Mathematicks*, in which he was a great proficient'; Amory stressed that Moore's studies in these areas assisted him 'more justly to conceive the *astonishing greatness* of the *divine Works*' and the excellence of the '*comprehensive* and *beneficial Laws*' with which the divine mind operated. Mathematics, stated Amory, enabled Moore to receive worthy ideas of the boundless perfections of God, and to form his hearers to a rational and exalted piety. Moore's students were encouraged to 'an exactness of Reasoning', a 'love of Knowledge and Truth', and a 'persuasion of the immense Perfections and constant Providence' of God. Amory, who wished to present Moore as a tutor with similar inclinations to himself, wrote of the '*freedom* with which [Moore] treated his Pupils', his encouraging and inquisitive temper, and his tolerance of sentiments opposite to his own (Amory, *Moore*, 46–8). That Moore's students, claims Amory, had made such a 'figure . . . in the learned world', was sufficient proof of the wisdom of his method, and his abilities as a

tutor (Amory, *Moore*, 48). In 1753 the dissenter Micajah Towgood remarked that the academy at Bridgwater had been one of the 'three principal dissenting *Academies* in the southern parts of *England*', alongside the academies at Northampton and Taunton (Towgood, *Dissent*, 183).

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Moore, John (d. 1730)

JOHN MOORE, dissenting minister at Tiverton, convened an academy in the town. Little is known about his early life. Bogue and Bennett claim that he entered the ministry at Wattisfield in Suffolk (Bogue and Bennett, *Dissenters*, III, 290). He was ordained on 29 August 1691, and was the minister to a Presbyterian congregation at Tiverton from 1691 until his death on 25 August 1730 (DRO, 3542D/M1/2, fo. 2). He attended several meetings of the dissenters' Exeter Assembly and was the Assembly's Moderator in May 1705. During the Exeter Controversy concerning the Trinity in 1719 he declared himself as an orthodox subscriber. From about 1720 he conducted a small academy at Tiverton; a list of his students has survived (DRO, 3542D/M1/1, fo. 34). At least one of Moore's children attended the Taunton academy; by 1719 he was also friends with the family of Thomas Amory, a future tutor there.

During the early years of the eighteenth century Moore kept a diary, which contains invaluable information about the books Moore purchased in the years immediately before his academy opened. He purchased many of them from book fairs in Tiverton, and others he had sent from London. A number of the books he bought were texts for his young boys, including Latin grammars, Aesop, Latin Scriptures, and Latin poetry, including Martial. Other texts suggest an older audience, presumably Moore himself, although it is conceivable that his students later benefited from these texts. These texts included works by the tutors John Flavell (his *Fountain of Life*, *Token*, and *Saint Indeed*), Thomas Gouge (a text 'on ye Heb[rews].'), Thomas Doolittle (*Christ's Sufferings*), Samuel Cradock (*History of the New Testament*), and Joshua Oldfield (*An Essay towards the Improvement of Reason*). Other

standard academic works he bought included Grotius's *De veritate*, Pufendorf's *De jure naturae*, Thomas Stanley's *The History of Philosophy*, Christoph Horn's book on the same topic, Eachard's histories, works by Boyle, Euclid, and Le Grand, and texts on algebra. Moore also collected books on political and religious history, such as works by Edmund Calamy, Cotton Mather and Walter Raleigh, and a wide range of works of classical poetry and literature, including Catullus, Cicero, Ovid, Lucretius, Homer, and the works of Aristotle in Latin. In theology and practical divinity he bought books by a range of English and continental divines, including Stillingfleet, Tillotson, Burnet, Charnock, Baxter, Howe, John Rowe, Owen, Davenant, Limborch, and Amyraldus; he also bought Locke's posthumous works and a copy of the Qur'an in French. In ethics he also bought Crellius, and purchased Toland on Mahomet. It is unclear how many of these texts he used as part of his academy teaching (CL, II.e.42).

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Morton, Charles (c.1627–98)

CHARLES MORTON, tutor in Newington Green and Massachusetts, was one of the most important dissenting educators of the late seventeenth century. His most famous and vociferous students were Daniel Defoe, pamphleteer and author of numerous fictional narratives, and Samuel Wesley, later a high church controversialist and father of the Methodist leaders John and Charles Wesley. From the 1680s until the 1720s Morton's Newington Green academy was at the centre of political controversies about the legality and supposed seditious intent of dissenting education, and his teaching continues to fuel critical debates among Defoe scholars and others about the presumed 'modernity' of early dissenting learning. Morton's intellectual innovations were significant, but modest; he contributed to a growing sense that English was a suitable language for higher instruction, and he remained abreast of many developments in natural philosophy, including experimental science and pneumatology (the study of the soul and spiritual beings).

Morton was the eldest son of Nicholas Morton, the vicar of Egloshayle, where he was baptized on 15 February 1627 (Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 356). His family pedigree stretched back to Thomas Moreton, secretary to King Edward III (Calamy, *Account*, 144). He was educated at Queen's College, Cambridge (entered 19 June 1646), New Inn Hall, Oxford (1648), and Wadham College, Oxford (admitted 7 September 1649, BA 6 November 1649, MA 24 June 1652; incorporated Cambridge, 1653: Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, II, 1038; Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, III, 217). Calamy states that during his time at Wadham, Morton was 'Zealous for the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*', but that when the Civil Wars arrived he found that the most debauched people sided with the King, against the virtuous parliamentarians; this discovery caused him to study seriously the controversy between prelatists and Puritans, and he eventually fell in with the latter (Calamy, *Account*,

144). Calamy's chronology is suspect here, so it is difficult to assess the reliability of his account. While at Wadham, Morton met the scientist and theologian John Wilkins, whose *A Discourse concerning the Gift of Prayer* (1653) later influenced Morton's teaching considerably. Calamy states that Wilkins valued Morton on account of his 'Mathematical Genius', writing that Morton was 'a General Scholar, but his Eminency lay in the *Mathematicks*' (Calamy, *Account*, 144). Unfortunately, none of Morton's writings or teachings on mathematics have been preserved. Calamy's source here is a very unreliable account of Morton by Samuel Wesley, which is particularly difficult to interpret at this point on account of its ambiguous pronouns. Wesley writes that Morton was 'a great Acquaintance of Bp. *W.* an Ingenious and universally Learned Man, but his Chiefest Excellency lay in *Mathematicks*' (Wesley, *Letter*, 6).

Morton was the vicar of Takeley in Essex in February 1653; and he was the rector of Blisland from 11 July 1655 (LPL, COMM. VIa/4, fo. 102; COMM. III/4, p. 150). He was a founder member with the future tutor James Forbes of the Cornish Association of ministers, which first met in September 1655; Morton was the scribe for the Association, writing its rules into the minute book ('Cornwall Association', 254–62). Morton was not, strictly speaking, a 1662 Bartholomean: he was removed from Blisland rectory following the 'Act for the Confirming and Restoreing of Ministers' in 1660, and his successor was instituted on 21 December (Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 356). He then settled at St Ives in 'a small Tenement of his own' and preached privately to a few people from a neighbouring village (Calamy, *Account*, 145).

Many of Morton's possessions were in London by the mid-1660s, where they were destroyed during the Great Fire. This event caused him to travel to London in an attempt to sort out his affairs. While there, 'he, by the Intreaty of several Friends, was prevail'd with to undertake the instructing of Youth in Academical Learning' (Calamy, *Account*, 145). According to Calamy, Morton's academy was situated in Newington Green; it is not clear when it opened, but Calamy's story indicates that it must have been after 1666. In 1672, Morton's house in Kennington was licensed for Presbyterian worship under Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence (TNA, SP29/320, fos. 42, 49, 54; SP29/321, fo. 248). This has led Wallace (*ODNB*) to speculate that Morton began teaching at Kennington, but proof that Morton taught there is lacking, and he could have had access to property in Newington Green at this early date. His academy was certainly operating by the late 1670s, when Defoe became one of his

students. Morton's other students included Timothy Crusoe, Christopher Battersby, James Hannot, William Jenkyn, and Nathaniel Taylor (Defoe, *Present State*, 319); he also taught John Beaumont, Joseph Bennet, Joseph Hill, William Hocker, Samuel Lawrence, Thomas Reynolds, John Shower, and Henry Wharton (Burden, 'Academical Learning', 273). Another probable student was a member of the politically powerful Harley family, although probably not, as is frequently claimed, the future Commons speaker Robert Harley (BL, Add. MS 70013, fos. 81, 85). Morton's academy has been labelled 'the principal Congregational Academy in London' (Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 356), but this is a misleading statement, since many of his students were Presbyterian.

Calamy writes that Morton had a talent of 'winning Youth to the Love of Virtue and Learning' by his conversation and through his ability to make difficult subjects easily intelligible (Calamy, *Account*, 145). Further comments on dissenting education by Defoe give some support to this assertion, although they must be read extremely carefully. The widespread view that Morton's academy provided the best available higher education to Defoe, and was crucial to his intellectual development, needs some qualification. Defoe's accounts of his learning, scattered throughout his journal *The Review*, cast no light on Morton's teaching. His well-known story of a tutor describing the orbits of the planets using his maid's mop (Defoe, *Tradesman*, 52–3) is often taken as a faithful account of one of Morton's lessons; however, this view is problematic because Defoe cited texts which were not widely available in the 1680s. His most famous description of a 'tutor of unquestion'd reputation for learning' who delivered all his classes in English appeared in *The Compleat English Gentleman*, written in the 1720s and first published in 1890. Defoe's 'tutor' was not unusual in his ability to read ancient and oriental languages, since this was frequently expected at the dissenters' academies as well as at the universities (Defoe, *Gentleman*, 218–20). Like Morton, Defoe's tutor encouraged the use of English in his lectures; however, this practice was not unique to Morton, since other dissenting tutors such as Thomas Rowe had also adopted English by the 1680s (Defoe, *Gentleman*, 218–20; BBCL, G95, Volumes I–II). As is clear from Samuel Wesley's account of Morton's academy, his students also read many texts in Latin, and would have needed Latin in order to be examined for the ministry (Wesley, *Defence*, 51; Palmer, *Defence*, 22). While Defoe's 'tutor' in *The Compleat English Gentleman* was probably based on Morton, Defoe exaggerated some parts of his story; his

description is best viewed as a polemical intervention into debates about the most appropriate means of educating dissenters in the early eighteenth century.

The most detailed, as well as the most notorious, description of Morton's academy was provided by Samuel Wesley, who later conformed, and became implacably opposed to the concept of private academies for dissenters. Wesley's *A Letter from a Country Divine to his Friends in London, Concerning the Education of the Dissenters in their Private Academies* (1702) was an intervention in the parliamentary debate over occasional conformity. The text may have been drafted as early as 1693, although Wesley's own account of its genesis is unreliable (Wesley, *Defence*, 4–5; Bod. Lib., Rawl. c.406, p. 109). Wesley began his academical study under Edward Veal, c.1679; when Veal was forced to quit teaching he moved to Morton's academy, c.1680. Wesley suggested that Morton's academy was the most considerable among the dissenters in England, having annexed 'a fine Garden, Bowling Green, Fish-pond, and within a Laboratory', in which were 'Air Pumps, Thermometers, and all sorts of Mathematical Instruments'. He wrote that the students lived in two houses at Newington Green, their number being at any one time about forty or fifty (Wesley, *Letter*, 8; *Defence*, 44). Wesley claimed to have seen a list of Morton's students, which amounted to 'some hundreds' distinguished into their employments; he later provided the names of several of the more eminent (Wesley, *Letter*, 7–8). Wesley argued that Morton's students tended to adopt disloyal political views. He found that they 'almost universally entertained a Mortal Aversion to the EPISCOPAL ORDER', while there were 'very few but Equally abhorred MONARCHY it self'. In a phrase which became notorious, Wesley insinuated that the 'KING-KILLING DOCTRINES' were received and defended in the students' private disputations; he also suggested that they had 'a sort of Democratical Government', any one being able to propose a law, and 'all Laws carried by the Balat' (Wesley, *Letter*, 8). However, Wesley conceded that Morton himself 'never fail'd to rebuke and admonish' his students when they 'talk'd disaffectedly or disloyally'. Morton also apparently dissuaded them from writing lampoons or scandalous libels, and was, said Wesley, a 'Good, tho mistaken man' (Wesley, *Letter*, 6). As proof of this, Wesley indicated that Morton made little profit from his teaching, subsidising the study of some students by the rates paid by others (Wesley, *Letter*, 9).

Wesley claimed that, as well as displaying considerable lack of respect for the local Church of England minister, Morton's students went to hear nonconformist preachers, including John Bunyan (Wesley, *Letter*, 6–7; *Defence*, 48). Among the books read by students at the academy, Wesley listed the work of Milton, Ames, Bellarmine, and Baxter, although Wesley's memory was deliberately selective in highlighting authors whom he believed to be politically dangerous (Wesley, *Letter*, 14–15; *Defence*, 52). On another occasion, Wesley admitted that the students also read standard academical books by Keckerman, Gassendi, Zabarella, Scheibler, Smiglecki, and others (Wesley, *Defence*, 51). Wesley himself confessed to writing comic verse both before and during his time at the academy (Wesley, *Defence*, 49–50; *Vindication*, 128); some of this material was published in one of his early poetry collections, *Maggots* (1685).

Wesley's polemical criticisms of the dissenters' academies were answered by Samuel Palmer in his *A Defence of the Dissenters' Education* (1703), in which Palmer described his own education at the Bethnal Green academy under John Ker. Palmer described Wesley's claim that Morton's students vindicated the execution of Charles I as 'scandalous and false'; the dangerous books mentioned by Wesley were simply those which 'some lewd Boys might keep unknown to their *Tutor*' (Palmer, *Defence*, 12, 16). Wesley then responded with *A Defence of a Letter* (1704), in which he referred to a manuscript written by Morton, now lost, called 'Eutaxia', in which Morton apparently argued that a commonwealth was preferable to a monarchy (Wesley, *Defence*, 19). Palmer's second contribution to the debate, *A Vindication of the Learning, Loyalty, Morals, and most Christian Endeavour of the Dissenters* (1705), gave a different interpretation of this text: 'Eutaxia', he explained, 'signifies Good Government; well that has been pretty difficult to find hitherto, either in *Monarchies* or *Republicks*'. According to Palmer, the manuscript preferred a republic to '*absolute Monarchy*', not to the English Monarchy, and was 'a *Scheme* of Government drawn only for Diversion and Amusement in Imitation of Sir *Tho. Mores Utopia*'. Palmer stated that it did not present Morton's settled judgment in politics, and was not read by students. Morton's system of politics, wrote Palmer, was 'exactly Correspondent with the *English Monarchy*' (Palmer, *Vindication*, 54–5). In response to Palmer, Wesley produced *A Reply to Mr. Palmer's Vindication* (1707); in this pamphlet, he claimed that he had not only seen the manuscript of 'Eutaxia', but had transcribed it; to demonstrate his claims, he provided short

quotations from the text, which he attempted to interpret as recommending the disestablishment of the Church of England (Wesley, *Reply*, 85).

Another manuscript by Morton that caused particular controversy contained his considerations on the so-called 'Stamford Oath', an oath sworn by university students that they would 'not solemnly perform [their] Readings as in an University *any where* within this Kingdom, but here in *Oxford*, or at *Cambridge*' (Wesley, *Reply*, 26). When it became clear that elements within the established church would use this oath to attempt to close several of the dissenters' academies, Morton wrote a paper in which he argued that it provided no legal impediment to private teaching. In his *Letter*, Wesley referred disparagingly to this paper as an example of the dissenters' disloyalty to the establishment. In his *Vindication* of dissenters and their education, Palmer used much of the substance of Morton's text to explain why dissenters believed that their academies were not illegal, but he did not cite Morton's manuscript (Palmer, *Vindication*, 17). Palmer's failure to provide a source for his views on the Stamford Oath prompted a jubilant Wesley to compare Palmer's views with Morton's text paragraph by paragraph in his final response (Wesley, *Reply*, 26–33).

The extent of Morton's opposition to the Restoration government in the 1680s remains unclear, despite the wealth of claim and counterclaim in these retrospective accounts. However, it is demonstrable that his academy caused controversy even in its own day. During 1681, Morton's students were accused of supporting the Whig campaign to elect Dubois and Papillion as the sheriffs of London; they were informed against by a Tory bookbinder, and moves were made to close Morton's academy (TNA, SP29/421, fo. 188). Eventually, Morton was 'so infested with Processes from the Bishop's Court, that he was forc'd to desist' from teaching (Calamy, *Account*, 145). According to Wesley, in the early 1680s Morton was excommunicated, and a *capias* (writ) issued against him; but while he was in custody, the officer in whose house he lay died accidentally, and he returned home, attributing his deliverance to a particular providence. He was then in danger of 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 (Wesley, *Letter*, 10). He eventually accepted an invitation to sail to America, on the promise of becoming the president of Harvard College. Morton offered to take some English students with him, and invited the fourteen-year-old Edmund Calamy, at

that point a student of Thomas Walton; in his autobiography, Calamy wrote: 'I was presently inclined to it, and undertook to acquaint my friends with the proposal. When my mother heard it, she presently told me, she would not part with me so far upon any terms' (Calamy, *Own Life*, I, 131).

Morton was ordained as the minister of a Congregational church at Charlestown, Massachusetts, on 5 November 1686. However, he was not ultimately offered the Presidency of Harvard; instead, a new role, that of vice-president, was probably instituted for him. Morton appears to have tutored students in his house, away from the main Harvard College buildings. According to John Dunton, publisher and nephew to Samuel Annesley, who visited him in Charlestown, Morton 'has sense Enough for a Privy Counsellour, and Soul Great Enough for a King He is all that is delightful in Conversation: His matter is not stale and studied, but always resent (*sic*) and occasional: for whatever Subject is at any time started, he has still some pleasant and pat story for it; nor is he stiff and morose, but ductile and plyable to the Company' (Dunton, *Letters*, 296). Morton's activities in Charlestown were also recorded appreciatively in over 30 entries in Samuel Sewall's diary. Government informers were less sanguine, and began compiling evidence on Morton's supposedly seditious sermons (TNA, CO1/58, no. 15; CO1/61, pp. 327–9; CO1/64, pp. 157–9). He was buried at Charlestown on 14 April 1698.

Morton's manuscript systems of learning were epitomes of philosophy, notable for their clarity, brevity, elegant methodology, and use of English rather than Latin. His high reputation in New England ensured that they were copied by students across several generations (Knoles *et al.*, *Notebooks*). In part, copying was a necessity arising from Morton's decision not to publish his philosophical systems; however, student copying had long been a vitally important aspect of early modern pedagogy across Europe and North America. The production of manuscript systems of learning was very common among dissenting tutors during the later Stuart period, and the success of Morton's systems should be attributed to their accessibility and perceived usefulness to students (Burden, 'Academical Learning', 144–203). More copies of Morton's systems have survived than for any other dissenting tutor, although most of them post-date the closure of his academy, and the majority were made after his death. In general, students copied the substance of his systems of philosophy with a high level of accuracy, abbreviating words but keeping close to the

sentence structure of their various copy–texts. On the other hand, subsequent tutors at Harvard College appear to have authorised a further redaction of Morton's already brief notes in logic, and produced two separate abridgements of Morton's lengthier treatise in physics. These, in turn, were copied faithfully by students for whom the detail of Morton's treatises seemed outdated, but for whom the structure and key headings remained of use.

The four systems of learning most frequently copied by students at Newington Green and Harvard were Morton's 'Logic', 'Physics', 'Ethics', and 'Pneumatology'. One copy of Morton's longer 'Logic' has been printed by Rick Kennedy, who placed it in an Aristotelian tradition, by contrast with later tutors at Harvard, who adopted Cartesian methods and principles (Kennedy, *Logic*, 1–138). It now appears that one of Morton's direct models was the brief *Logicae* of Robert Sanderson, a seventeenth–century Oxford tutor (Burden, 'Academical Learning', 178). Morton adopted a three–part Aristotelian structure, identifying the nature of terms, propositions and syllogisms, through definitions, divisions and canons. Morton also alerted his students to various uses and misuses of logic for theological purposes, using it to attack consubstantiation, transubstantiation, implicit faith, and Arminianism (CL, I.h.23). Morton's 'Physics' also follows a long–established structure for educational texts in natural philosophy. It begins with a series of definitions of physics 'in general' and then considers principles of motion, generation and corruption, essence and place. Morton then proceeds to the 'special [specific]' parts of physics, including astronomy, the elements, meteors, inanimate life forms, animals, senses, and rational processes. However, the work is peppered with critiques of ancient knowledge, references to seventeenth–century natural philosophers, accounts of experiments, and explanatory diagrams (WL, 3638). The text has been discussed in relation to Defoe's enthusiasm for trade, although these connections have frequently been overstated. Morton's ideas on the practical application of natural philosophy appear with greater force and lucidity in his notes to the Royal Society on 'The Improvement of Cornwall by Sea Sand' (*Philosophical Transactions*, X, 293–309). Surviving copies of Morton's 'Ethics' are so schematic as to provide few indications of Morton's own sentiments on the topic; he lays out a variety of virtues and equivalent vices, epitomised from Aristotelian and Stoic sources. The text bears little relation to Morton's printed treatise on *The Spirit of Man*, which was probably not used directly in his own teaching. Neither does it correlate directly with Morton's 'Pneumatology', which draws heavily on Cartesian sources and is appended with an interesting discussion of the souls of animals (HUC, Am 911).

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- American Antiquarian Society, Octavo Vols. M, copy 1: 'System of Logic' and 'System of Ethics', copied by Nicholas Morton, 1683–4.
- American Antiquarian Society, Octavo Vols. M, copy 2: 'Physics' c.1700–20?
- American Antiquarian Society, Octavo Vols. M, copy 3: 'Physics', copied by Nathaniel Rogers, 1715.
- Bodleian Library, Eng. Misc. f.4: 'A Synopsis of Naturall Philosophy', ex libris B. Beale, 6 December 1683.
- Boston Public Library, F. qto 3.4: 'Compendium Physicae', copied 1713.
- Congregational Library, I.h.23: 'Pneumatic's or The Doctrine of Spirits, 1684', transcribed by James Martyn.
- Congregational Library, I.h.34: 'The life and Death of Mr. Nicholas Leverton' and 'The Gameing Humour Considered and Reprooved', 1670–82.
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- Harvard University College, 8707.370: 'Philosophia naturalis ex authoribus extracta per dominum Carolum Mortonum', copied by Obadiah Ayer, 1707–8.
- Harvard University College, 8707.394: 'A system of ethicks' and 'Pneumatics', copied by Ebenezer Williams, 1708.
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- Harvard University College, 8722.325: 'Physicks', copied by James Varney, c.1721–5.
- Harvard University College, 8724.314: extracts from 'Compendium Physicae', made by Marston Cabot, c.1720–35.
- Harvard University College, 8724.337: 'Natural Philosophy', copied by Jonathan Trumble, 1724–5.
- Harvard University College, Am 121.2 Lobby V.3.5: sermons, copied by John Hancock, 1690.
- Harvard University College, Am 911: Copy of Morton's 'Pneumatics defined', 'Of ethicks and its ends'; 'Advise to young ministers', 168–.
- Harvard University College, Am 1258–1259: 'A synopsis of naturall philosophy', 1679, and 'Consideration of ye University Oath', 1677.
- Harvard University College, Am 1353: 'Compendium physicae', signed by Charles Frost in 1729.
- Harvard University College, Am 2523: 'Naturall phylosophy', 1706.
- Massachusetts Historical Society Library, MS N–2185: 'Compendium Physicae', copied by Jeremiah Gridley, 1721.
- Massachusetts Historical Society Library, MS S–786: 'Compendium physicae', copied by Richard Waldron, 1708–12.

- Massachusetts Historical Society Library, MS SBd–155: 'System of Logick', copied by Timothy Lindall, 1695.
- Massachusetts Historical Society Library, MS SBd–230: 'Compendium physicae', copied by George Curwin, 1699–1700.
- Massachusetts Historical Society Library, MS SBd–231: 'Compendium Physicae' and Jabez Fitch's short version of Morton's 'System of Logick', copied by Stephen Greenleaf, 1697–1720.
- Massachusetts Historical Society Library, MS SBd–232: 'Compendium Physicae', copied by Simeon Stoddard, 1724.
- Massachusetts Historical Society Library, MS SBd–233: 'Compendium physicae', copied by John Webb (previously thought to be William Partridge), 1707.
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- 'The Improvement of Cornwall by Sea Sand, Communicated by an Intelligent Gentleman well Acquainted in those Parts to Dr. Dan. Cox', *Philosophical Transactions*, 10 (1675), 293–309.
- The Way of Good Men for Wise Men to Walk in* (London, 1681).
- Debts Discharge* (London, 1684).
- The Gaming-Humor Considered and Reproved* (London, 1684).
- The Great Evil of Health-Drinking* (London, 1684): uncertain attribution (see *ESTC*).
- The Ark, its Loss and Recovery; or, Some Meditations on the History Recorded in the Beginning of I Sam. in Meeter* (London, n.d., before 1685).
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According to Calamy, Morton also wrote 'Season Birds. . . . An Enquiry into the Physical and Literal Sense of *Jerem.* viii. 7. *The Stork in the Heaven*, &c. Of Common Places, or Memorial Books. A Treatise which he call'd *Eutaxia* . . . also some Considerations of the *New River*; And a Letter to a Friend, to prove there is no such absolute Need of Money as Men generally think' (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 211).

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Oldfield, Joshua (1656–1729)

JOSHUA OLDFIELD, tutor in Coventry and Southwark, was born at Carsington in Derbyshire on 2 December 1656, the second son of the rector of Carsington John Oldfield (1626/7–1682) and Ann *née* Porter, daughter of a musician in Nottingham (*ODNB*). Oldfield was first educated at Alfreton by his father. He then 'studied philosophy under Mr. Rainer', probably the tutor John Reyner (1634–75) (Harris, *Oldfield*, 34). He entered Magdalene College, Cambridge as a sizar in February 1674, and later studied at Lincoln College, Oxford, and Christ's College, Cambridge (Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, III, 278). While at Christ's he came to know Henry More and Ralph Cudworth, 'of whom he always spoke with the greatest reverence' (Harris, *Oldfield*, 34–5). Oldfield did not take a degree; instead, he went to study at John Shuttlewood's private academy for dissenters in Sulby (Palmer, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, II, 126). He then embarked on a long and varied career as a minister and tutor. At first, Oldfield was the private chaplain to Sir John Gell of Hopton Hall, Derbyshire, whose family were also friends of the Shrewsbury minister Francis Tallents.

Oldfield declined a Church of England living which was in the gift of the Foley family, after a 'close and thorough enquiry into the terms of conformity' (Harris, *Oldfield*, 35). In the 1680s he was briefly a chaplain to Lady Susan Lort of Pembrokeshire and also ministered in Ireland, where 'he met with great regard, and was much importuned to continue'. He then preached briefly alongside Samuel Doolittle, the son of the tutor Thomas Doolittle. Oldfield was ministering at Tooting in 1687, when he preached before John Shorter, the Mayor of London (Harris, *Oldfield*, 36). He was ordained on 18 March 1687 at Mansfield in Nottinghamshire (*ODNB*). Oldfield was well known to the MPs Robert and Edward Harley, both of whom were initially sympathetic towards dissenters. On 31 May 1687, a member of the Harley family noted that 'Mr Joshua Olfeild now in Town is like to be settled as assistant to Mr How' (BL, Add. MS 70014, fo. 8), but Oldfield was probably disappointed in his hope. In July he stayed with the Harleys at Keynsham (BL, Add. MS 70014, fos. 20–1).

By 1689 the Harleys considered Oldfield to be a suitable tutor for young gentlemen. In a letter to Robert Harley, the ironmaster Thomas Foley suggested that Oldfield was a possible tutor for his son Paul Foley, another future parliamentarian. Foley Sr requested Harley 'to discourse with M Deveale . . . about my son & Mr olfield', although he also contemplated sending Paul to the tutor John Woodhouse in Sheriffhales, Shropshire. Foley Sr wrote that his present thoughts were to send his son 'to Mr woodhowse because he lives in the Country'; he was, by contrast, 'affraid to venture my son in London' (BL, Add. MS 70226). In the event, Thomas Foley attended Woodhouse's academy, although Oldfield's earliest biographer believed that Foley was also a student of Oldfield (Harris, *Oldfield*, 35); it is not clear whether Oldfield took on other students at this time. On 10 November 1690 Oldfield's name was included in a list of ministers from the London area in the minutes of the dissenters' Common Fund Board. On 13 October 1691 Robert Harley recorded in a letter to his father that 'Mr Oldfield was heer this day, he hath great success in his ministry in Southwark' (BL, Add. MS 70015, fo. 211). Nevertheless, by 9 November 1691 Oldfield was the minister to a congregation at Oxford, being granted £17 by the Common Fund on that date, and on 27 June and 19 December 1692 (DWL, OD67, fos. 53, 80, 101). While in Oxford he met Edmund Calamy, whom he had previously encountered in London. Calamy subsequently wrote that Oldfield was then 'in his prime'; the two of them conversed daily, and Calamy 'fell into the utmost freedom with him', later declaring that he had 'reason to be thankful' for their discussions. Oldfield's congregation in Oxford was small; he had 'little conversation with the

scholars', and yet several of them were among his auditors. Calamy recalled that Oldfield used to go to a coffee-house, where he would 'converse with such scholars as he met with by accident'; the scholars then reported that Oldfield had 'a great deal more in him than they imagined' (Calamy, *Own Life*, I, 223–4). While at Oxford he engaged in a public disputation about infant baptism, to the approbation of several scholars who were present; Harris later remarked that 'perhaps no man better understood the controversy' than Oldfield (Harris, *Oldfield*, 37).

In 1694 Oldfield became co-pastor with William Tong of the substantial Presbyterian congregation at Coventry. Here, Oldfield ran a small private academy with some assistance from his co-pastor, although the extent of Tong's involvement is not clear. The earliest evidence of Tong's teaching dates from April 1696, when he received a grant from the Presbyterian Fund to teach Vincent Carter (DWL, OD68, fo. 21). The academy did not pass unnoticed by the local authorities. In October 1697 Oldfield was arraigned before the ecclesiastical court for teaching young men without a licence, in contravention of the Act of Uniformity of 1662. Oldfield resisted the prosecution, which then 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. Calamy later claimed that this followed 'intimation from his Majesty (upon his having the state of the case laid before him) that he was not pleased with such Prosecutions' (Calamy, *Abridgement*, I, 553). In 1699 Oldfield moved to London, where he succeeded Thomas Kentish as the minister at Globe Alley, Maid Lane, Southwark, a post formerly held by his brother Nathaniel. Tong now took over the academy, writing to the antiquarian Ralph Thoresby that 'ye sollicitation of [his] freinds' had 'prevailed wth [him] to teach Academ[ical]. Learning to a few young Men yt were wth Mr Oldfield' (YAS, MS 12 (33)). This statement suggests that the academy was small, and that Tong had not been collaborating with Oldfield in the months immediately preceding his move to London. It is not known whether Tong took on any new students after Oldfield's departure. Calamy writes that following the Treaty of Ryswick in September 1697 and the end of Britain's involvement in the Nine Year's War, an 'ill Temper' began to appear against dissenters and their academies. Several dissenters, including Oldfield, then 'met with trouble for instructing Youth'. Oldfield was cited on 6 October to appear at Lichfield ecclesiastical court. On 14

October he was charged with teaching without licence, but was denied a copy of the articles against him until the court met again on 26 October. On this date he received a libel *ex officio* for teaching without licence and without subscribing either the Book of Common Prayer or the Thirty–nine Articles. He answered the charge on 9 November, on which date a member of his family was threatened with excommunication for supporting the defendant. The trial was then moved to London, where Oldfield obtained a prohibition from the King's Bench (Calamy, *Abridgement*, I, 551–3).

After moving to London Oldfield continued teaching, first in Southwark, and then in Hoxton Square. Oldfield now taught alongside William Lorimer, John Spademan, and Jacques Cappel. Their academy was opened following dissatisfaction with the academy of the Irish Presbyterian John Ker. On 12 December 1699, Edward Harley recorded that 'The dislike to Dr Cerr [i.e. Ker] increases among ye London Ministers' and 'is fomented by some that have particular prejudices to him;' the same ministers had 'agreed to set up Mr Spademan and Mr Ofeild to teach academick learning' (BL, Add. MS 70019, fo. 147). One of Oldfield's earliest students was George Smyth, who 'received his first Instructions in the nobler Sciences under Dr. *Kerr*, afterwards from those learned Divines, *Spademan*, *Lorimer*, and *Oldfield*'; Smyth then studied in Scotland and the Netherlands before becoming a dissenting minister (Chandler, *Smyth*, 25–6). The student John Ratcliffe studied at John Woodhouse's academy at Sherifhales, before 'he proceeded in his studies under the care of Mr. *Lorimer*, Mr. *Spademan*, and Mr. *Oldfield*' (Evans, *Ratcliffe*, 25). Another of Oldfield's students may have been Benjamin Grosvenor, who left Thomas Jollie's academy in Attercliffe in 1695 and then 'continued his studies under several masters, and particularly the *Hebrew* language under Monsieur *Capell*'; Barker writes that Grosvenor 'passed his tryals for the ministry' in 1699 before a panel of ministers including Oldfield, Spademan, and Thomas Rowe (Barker, *Grosvenor*, 29–30).

According to Oldfield's early biographer William Harris, he 'allowed his pupils the greatest freedom of access and conversation, and yet kept up a just authority and esteem among them' (Harris, *Oldfield*, 40). Harris also wrote that Oldfield 'always encouraged *free* enquiries, and was ready to satisfy others, or receive satisfaction'; furthermore, he taught his students 'by his daily *example* as well as instruction; and *reproved* what was amiss at any time, with calmness and wisdom' (Harris, *Oldfield*, 40). Oldfield gained a reputation as one who would

‘look thro’ a matter, and round about it, view it on all sides . . . with great exactness and caution’ (Harris, *Oldfield*, 40–1). Oldfield was also skilled in mathematics, and ‘projected several things for publick use, some of which had the approbation of Sir *Isaac Newton*’; however, he was never satisfied with his ideas, and was such a perfectionist that ‘those designs in which he had spent a great deal of labour and thought’ were ‘like to miscarry and be lost’ (Harris, *Oldfield*, 41). Oldfield’s most important work was *An Essay towards the Improvement of Reason* (London, 1707), which was used by John Jennings in his teaching, and was also purchased by the tutor John Moore of Tiverton. Harris wrote that it had ‘several parts which shew great fineness and extent of thought, in the abstract way of reasoning; as well as his prudence and knowledge of human nature’ (Harris, *Oldfield*, 41).

Further details of Oldfield’s teaching may be gleaned from the minutes of the Presbyterian Fund Board. On 3 March 1701 Board discussed Jeremy Burroughs, a student who was to have ‘8l p[er] Ann[um] commencing from next Lady day, if truly Qualified. He is to be with Mr. Oldfield’; similarly, a Mr Burtum, son of a minister, was provided with £6 for one year ‘with Mr. Oldfield’; he was ‘about 20 Years of age’ (DWL, OD68, fo. 44). On 6 October 1701 Oldfield, Robinson, and Spademan were asked by the Board to participate in the examination of Joseph Roe. Oldfield also taught a grandson of the nonconformist minister Thomas Jacomb, a Mr Basset, and Samuel Bates; they received grants of between £5 and £10. Other students of Oldfield are listed in the Fund Board minutes for subsequent years (DWL, OD68, p. 99). Some of them went on to study at Edinburgh University, which awarded Oldfield an honorary DD on 10 October 1710 (*Glasguensis*, III, 304). From 1708 he took a more active role in the funding of students and ministers. On 6 December of that year, Oldfield, Mr Wright, and Benjamin Smith were elected managers of the Presbyterian Fund Board (DWL, OD68, p. 183). On 2 July 1716 he successfully passed a motion at the Board’s meeting for an extraordinary supply of £10 for Mr Holland of Selston in Derbyshire (now in Nottinghamshire) (DWL, OD68, p. 289). The following January, he was one of five ministers (the others were Martin, Gunston, Robinson, and Tong) who were asked to enquire into the state of the allowances made by the Fund to Derbyshire (DWL, OD68, p. 502). At the end of 1717, he was one of the ministers who met to enquire into a controversy surrounding the minister of Barnet in Hertfordshire (now part of Greater London) (DWL, OD68, p. 319).

In 1719, Oldfield chaired the Salters' Hall debates, appearing at the head of a list of non-subscribers, whereas his fellow tutor William Lorimer headed the subscribers (Grosvenor, *Account*, 11, 16; *True Relation*, 6, 9, 17). This need not imply that Oldfield was unorthodox in doctrine, but probably intimates his belief in freedom of conscience. This position led many to accuse him of creating a serious split within dissent. Despite their differences, Lorimer served as Oldfield's co-pastor until his death; in 1721 he was replaced by Obadiah Hughes, who helped Oldfield to revive his dwindling congregation. Oldfield and Lorimer were also among the first trustees of the Doctor Williams's Trust, and in 1723 he became an original distributor of the government's *regium donum* to poor ministers and their widows. He died at his home in Red Cross Street, Southwark, on 8 November 1729 and was buried later in the month at Bunhill Fields (*ODNB*). Two funeral sermons were preached for him, one by William Harris and another by Obadiah Hughes; both were published in 1730.

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Owen, Charles (b. after 1655; d. 1746)

CHARLES OWEN, tutor at an early academy in Warrington, was a son of John Owen of Bryn, Abernant, Carmarthenshire. His parents were loyal to the Church of England, but both of his brothers also became nonconformist ministers, and Charles's brother James took

ministerial students at Oswestry and Shrewsbury (Owen, *James Owen*, 1–2). Charles Owen was educated at the academy of Thomas Brand and John Ker in Bethnal Green (DWL, OD161, pp. 3, 63). He was there in October 1690, when an address was sent by eleven students of the academy to Richard Baxter (DWL, Baxter Letters, V, fo. 46). The following year, he received a grant as a student from the Common Fund Board, but was also looking to settle as a minister in Denbighshire. Owen also assisted his brother James at Wrexham for part of the 1690s, receiving grants from the Presbyterian Fund Board of £6 per annum in 1695 and 1696 for that purpose (DWL, OD67, fos. 28, 44; DWL, OD68, fos. 9, 16, 25).

Following the death of the Warrington minister Peter Aspinwall in June 1696 Owen was chosen his successor by the congregation, first undergoing a trial period from August 1696. He began to attend meetings of the Cheshire classis from August 1697. Owen's house was licensed for worship in October 1697, and Cairo Street Chapel was registered on 10 October 1698 (Gordon, *Cheshire Classis*, 22, 24, 196). His ministry at Warrington lasted for nearly fifty years. During this period a new meeting-house was built (1703). By 1715 Owen had a large congregations in Lancashire, with 713 hearers and 82 county voters (DWL, 38.4, p. 59). Owen attended meetings of the Cheshire classis frequently, preaching to them in May 1702, August 1712, May 1730, and August 1737, moderating on 3 September 1728 and 4 May 1736, and serving on a committee to inquire into the conduct of Fletcher, the minister at Cross Street, in May 1728 (Gordon, *Cheshire Classis*, 32, 44, 71, 72, 75, 83, 84). Owen also participated in the ordination of John Whitaker, Peter Withington, and Thomas Holland on 3 August 1714, and the ordinations of William Vaudrey on 6 May 1718, Mr Thornton and Mr Valentine on 5 May 1719, Thomas Woodcock on 8 August 1721, John Partington on 4 September 1722, Mr Eaton on 2 September 1729, and Hartly and Herbert on 5 September 1732 (Gordon, *Cheshire Classis*, 50, 56, 58, 62, 65, 74; Clegg, *Diary*, 153).

During his time at Warrington Owen took a few students. These were not funded by either of the London Boards. Two of his earliest known students were Jonathan Woodworth and William Harding. Woodworth was placed under Owen's tuition before proceeding MA at Glasgow University in 1715 (*Glasguensis*, III, 49). He and Vaudrey were examined in languages, philosophy and divinity before the Cheshire classis in August 1717; they were then licensed to preach as ministerial candidates (C&CA, MS EUC 9/4458/1, p. 52). Harding was formally ordained by the classis in the same month (C&CA, MS EUC 9/4458/1, p. 51).

Owen appears to have ceased teaching temporarily following the passage of the Schism Act in 1714. However, according to Andrew Kippis, Charles Owen 'usually had two or three young men under his tuition' by the 1730s (Kippis, *Biographia Britannica*, V, 309). These students included the tutor Philip Doddridge's future assistant Job Orton, who studied with Owen for a year from May 1733, having previously attended the free school in Shrewsbury. Orton's only fellow student under Owen's tuition was John Ashworth, the eldest brother of the future Daventry tutor Caleb Ashworth. Kippis described Orton's situation at Warrington as 'an agreeable transition from his father's house to that of a large seminary', noting that Orton and Ashworth were 'treated by their tutor more like his own children, than with the discipline necessary in an academy'. Nevertheless, Kippis believed Owen to have been 'a gentleman of considerable learning, great piety, and one of the most amiable men ever known for a polite behaviour, sweetness of temper and manner, and a genteel address'. In June 1734 Orton spent some time in the family of Mr Colthurst, a minister at Whitchurch in Shropshire, before moving on Colthurst's advice to study at Doddridge's academy (Kippis, *Biographia Britannica*, V, 309). Another of Owen's students was Hugh Farmer, who studied with Owen prior to 1730, when he also moved to Doddridge's academy. According to Kippis, Farmer 'received the first part of his grammatical learning in a school' in Merionethshire, before 'he was sent to perfect his classical education under the tuition of Dr. Owen, of Warrington' (Kippis, *Biographia Britannica*, V, 664). Kippis's statement implies that Farmer studied grammar learning with Owen rather than academical subjects. Taken together, the evidence suggests that Owen took only a small number of students; some of them studied grammar learning, while others studied academical subjects prior to attending a larger academy. Owen's teaching, then, is in no way comparable to that of the later Warrington Academy at which Joseph Priestley was a tutor, and should not be viewed as its precursor.

Several of Owen's publications stoked controversy. Of these, the most widely discussed was his *Plain-Dealing, or, Separation without Schism* (1715), an intervention in the debates surrounding the imposition of the Schism Act in 1714. Several anonymous responses were penned by Church of England controversialists. Owen's *A Vindication of Plain Dealing* (1716) was presented to the grand jury as reflecting scandalously upon the Church of England and its clergy; although a bill was found against him, he obtained a *nolle prosequi*, but suffered heavy financial costs (ODNB). This may explain why the Presbyterian Fund Board awarded him a special grant in January 1716 (DWL, OD68, p. 211). Another important text

was his *Account of the Life and Writings of . . . James Owen* (1709), his brother. This text was the first printed account of a dissenting tutor of any length, and set out the texts and methods used by James Owen at Shrewsbury in considerable detail. Owen was a committed Hanoverian, publishing a thanksgiving sermon in the wake of the 1715 Jacobite rebellion entitled *The Jure Divino Woe: Exemplify'd in the Remarkable Punishment of Persecutors, False-Teachers, and Rebels* (1717). He produced a manuscript translation of his brother's Welsh work, 'The Infant's Ark' (CL, II.a.19). He also had a deep interest in natural philosophy, publishing by subscription *An Essay Towards a Natural History of Serpents: in Two Parts* (1742); the minister James Clegg recorded reading this work in May 1742, but found it 'very little to my advantage' (Clegg, *Diary*, 459–60). Owen received a DD from Edinburgh University in 1728, the same year as the London dissenters John Evans, William Harris, Isaac Watts and John Cumming (EUA, IN1/ADS/STA/1/1, p. 100). Owen's son John (d. 1775) became a dissenting minister at Wharton in Lancashire (ODNB). Owen died on 17 February 1746 at Warrington, and was buried at the meeting-house in Cairo Street. A funeral sermon was preached by his nephew, Josiah Owen, and was later published.

Works

Some Account of the Life and Writings of the Late Pious and Learned Mr. James Owen (London, 1709).

Hymns Sacred to the Lord's-Table, Collected and Methodiz'd (Liverpool, 1712).

The Scene of Delusions Open'd, in an Historical Account of Prophetick Impostures, in the Jewish, Christian, and Pagan World, wherein the Pretensions of the New Prophets, are Consider'd and Confuted (London, 1712).

Plain-Dealing: Or, Separation without Schism, and Schism without Separation (London, 1715).

Plain Reasons, I. For Dissenting from the Communion of the Church of England (London, 1715).

A Funeral-Sermon for the Reverend Mr. Tho. Risley, A.M. (London, 1716).

A Vindication of Plain-Dealing, from the Base and Malicious Aspersions of Country Curates, Contain'd in a Little Scurrilous Pamphlet, entitled, Plain-Dealing Proved to be Plain-Lying (London, 1716).

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Plain-Dealing, and its Vindication, Defended. Against a Certain Pamphlet, entitled, The Church of England Vindicated (London, 1716).

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The Danger of the Church and Kingdom from Foreigners Consider'd (London, 1721).
The Wonders of Redeeming Love: Being an Essay on the Reasons why God Redeem'd Fall'n Man, and not Fall'n Angels (London, 1723).
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An Essay towards a Natural History of Serpents: in Two Parts (London, 1742).
The Vanity of Human Life Illustrated under the Similitude of Nothing. A Discourse Occasion'd by the Death of Mrs. Mary Lythgoe (London, 1758).
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Dr Williams's Library, Baxter Letters, Volume V, fo. 46: Address from students at Bethnal Green.

Dr Williams's Library, OD67, fos. 28, 30, 44: Presbyterian Fund Board minutes, Volume I, 1 Jul. 1690 – 26 Jun. 1693 (Common Fund).

Dr Williams's Library, OD68, fos. 9, 16, 25, 35; pp. 211, 296, 324, 402: Presbyterian Fund Board minutes, Volume II, 5 Feb. 1694/5 – 4 Jun. 1722.

Dr Williams's Library, OD69, pp. 37, 43, 60, 73, 119, 142, 242, 327: References to Charles Owen in the Presbyterian Fund Board minutes, Volume III, 8 Oct. 1722 – 3 June 1751.

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Owen, James (1654–1706)

JAMES OWEN, tutor at Oswestry and Shrewsbury, was born on 1 November 1654 at a farmhouse, Bryn, in Abernant, Carmarthenshire; he was the second son of John Owen, an episcopalian royalist, whose nine children all became dissenters (Owen, *James Owen*, 1–2). James's brother Charles Owen was a minister and tutor at Warrington. James Owen is significant because he is the first tutor for whom a detailed printed biography exists. The publication in 1702 of Samuel Wesley's *Letter* concerning the dangers and deficiencies of dissenting learning had sparked a deeply divisive controversy between dissenters and high churchmen; James Owen's intervention had come in the form of a brief 'Defence' of dissenting learning attached to his text *Moderation Still a Virtue* (1704). Of greater historical significance was Charles Owen's shining account of his brother's achievements as a tutor, written after the latter's death in 1706 and published as *Some Account of the Life and Writings of the Late Pious and Learned Mr. James Owen* (1709).

According to his brother, James Owen's first strong religious emotions came from hearing a nonconformist minister preaching from Malachi 4:1, c.1668. After attending a local school, Owen received his grammar education at Carmarthen Castle from James Picton, a Quaker, and then at the grammar school in Carmarthen, where he was tutored by David Philips, who 'fitted him for University Learning' and considered Owen to be his 'peculiar Favourite' (Owen, *James Owen*, 2). Even at this time, according to his brother, it was common for him to 'sit up late at his Book; not only to prepare his Task for the ensuing Day, but to review and rivet more fixedly in his Mind the Performances of the Day past' (Owen, *James Owen*, 3). From c.1670 he was tutored by Samuel Jones of Brynllwarch, a tutor who became known for his proficiency in ancient languages including Hebrew. Charles Owen writes that James found his tutor 'an accurate Scholar, and a Person of very strict Piety. There he went thro' the whole Course of Philosophy. He was a very close Student, and improv'd his Time to that Degree, that from his Learned Tutor he merited the Character of an *Indefatigable Student*. He

often added, this Pupil was more ready to learn than he was to teach, and that he knew no insuperable Difficulties in the pursuit of Knowledge' (Owen, *James Owen*, 5–6). Owen then 'spent some Time in the Instruction of Youth', before staying with his godfather, the clergyman James Howell, who tried to persuade him that he should remain within the Church of England. However, Owen eventually opted for nonconformity, and became a ministerial assistant to Stephen Hughes, the ejected minister of Meidrim, Carmarthenshire and also a minister at Swansea. Hughes, who tutored several Welsh students for the ministry, was described by Charles Owen as 'a Gentleman of a true Apostolical Spirit, great Moderation, and pious Zeal to do Good to Souls' (Owen, *James Owen*, 9). There is, however, no evidence that Hughes taught academical subjects to Owen. Hughes wrote of Owen that 'he was a most precious godly Young Man, of good Repute and Report among Persons fearing God. Not only a Person of holy Conversation, but also a very good Scholar of his Age, and of good Gifts for Preaching' (Owen, *James Owen*, 9).

While at Swansea, Owen continued to preach, but was 'disturb'd by the Ecclesiastical Court for his Nonconformity' (Owen, *James Owen*, 9). On the invitation of the minister Henry Maurice (*d.* 1682), he moved to North Wales, settling at Bodfel near Pwllheli in Caernarfonshire. Here, when not practising his ministry, Owen reputedly studied 16 hours a day (Owen, *James Owen*, 13). Owen also met the preacher and philanthropist Thomas Gouge, who found him 'a valuable Pearl among craggy Mountains, and often spoke of his admirable accomplishments' (Owen, *James Owen*, 9). 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). From November 1676 he was chaplain to a Mrs Baker of Sweeny, and shortly took charge of the dissenting congregation at nearby Oswestry, replacing Rowland Nivet, who had ministered there for 30 years. He was set apart for the ministry in October 1677, and married Sarah George (*d.* 1692) on 17 November 1679. They had seven children, although only two survived him (*ODNB*). At around this time, he also became friendly with the Hunts of Boreatton and Philip Henry. He held a monthly lecture at Ruthin in Denbighshire, and opposed what he viewed as the growth of popery in England and Wales. 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 who acted as defence counsel (Owen, *James Owen*, 14–21). On 27 September 1681 William Lloyd, bishop of St Asaph, and Owen held a public debate on ordination which lasted six hours: the topic was ‘Whether Ordination by Such Diocesans as have uninterrupted Succession of Canonical Ordination down from the Apostles, be so necessary that Churches and Ministry are null without it?’ (Owen, *James Owen*, 31). Owen enlisted the support of Philip Henry and Jonathan Roberts; the bishop called upon Henry Dodwel. After 1689, Owen moved his monthly lecture to Denbigh, but the justices ‘refus’d to record the Place’ and then ‘prosecuted ’em for a Conventicle’ (Owen, *James Owen*, 36). He also preached at the house of John Griffiths of Llanfyllin in Montgomeryshire, and at Wrexham in Denbighshire (*ODNB*).

After his wife’s death in 1692, Owen married Jane (*d.* 1699), the widow of alderman Edwards of Oswestry. When Philip Henry died, the Cheshire classis asked Owen to preach in his place at their meeting on 11 August 1696. At the same meeting, the classis recommended Charles Owen, at that point ministering in Wrexham, to take up a vacancy at Warrington (Gordon, *Cheshire Classis*, 21–2). Charles Owen was released by the Wrexham congregation on the grounds that he was only viewed as James Owen’s assistant. James Owen also attended a meeting of the Lancashire Association at Warrington on 10 August 1697. Owen was sought after by the congregation at Cross Street Chapel in Manchester, which was ministered to by John Chorlton; they invited him to be Chorlton’s assistant in 1696 and 1699, but Owen turned both offers down. Instead, he became the minister at High Street Chapel in Shrewsbury early in 1700, alongside Francis Tallents.

In the 1690s Owen had established an academy at Oswestry, supported by the dissenters’ Common Fund, which had given him a grant of £8 in 1690. The Presbyterian Fund also granted him £5 from 1695 until 1699. Among his early students were two Welshmen who had previously been with John Woodhouse, John Lewis and Thomas Welsh, and Owen’s brother, Charles Owen (DWL, OD67, fo. 61). At Shrewsbury Owen continued to teach academical learning. His students included the future tutor John Hardy, Mr Walters (perhaps James Waters), Mr Meirs, two persons named Gyles, two persons named Jones, Mr Edwards, Mr Parratt (perhaps the future Carmarthen tutor Thomas Perrot), Mr Gardner, and Jeremiah Owen (OD68, fo. 43; pp. 99, 111, 122, 133, 149). Many of Owen’s students were Welsh,

encouraged no doubt by Owen's earlier work in translating works of practical piety into Welsh and then disseminating them.

In his account of Owen's character as a tutor, his brother Charles Owen stressed that he was open and accessible, and that his conversation was both pleasant and profitable. The students attended prayers at six o'clock in the summer and seven o'clock in the winter. Owen read and expounded to them several verses of Scripture, and encouraged them to read the Greek New Testament. His students sang from Tate and Brady's psalm collection. Owen directed students 'to shun all odd, cramp, Logical, Scholastick, or Philosophick Terms, or Distinctions' and to avoid lofty expressions and turns of wit in their preaching. He read lectures almost every day from nine o'clock to each class in turn, covering logic, metaphysics, physics, geometry, astronomy, chronology, ecclesiastical history, and theology (Owen, *James Owen*, 88–9). Lectures began with an examination of previous study, and an explanation of new material 'rendering it obvious to all Capacities'. Students continued to speak Latin at dinner, during which time they might ask him questions, or allow him to expound 'some pleasant innocent Story in *Latin*' (Owen, *James Owen*, 90). After dinner the students were expected to amuse themselves and then retire to their studies. Evening prayer was at six, using almost the same method as in the morning. One day every week, students had public disputations; in theological disputes the 'opponent' to the orthodox doctrine was encouraged 'to express himself with Caution, and Modesty' (Owen, *James Owen*, 92). Students also recited analytical discourses upon parts of Scripture and held special declamations on special occasions, including 5 November.

Part of the significance of this account of Owen lies in its demonstration of the similarities between much academy teaching and undergraduate arts courses at late-seventeenth-century universities: at both types of institution, students were taken through courses in philosophy, and warned against the high scholasticism of the middle ages, but nevertheless trained in speculative categories through a study of Burgersdijck, Heereboord, Ramus, Frommenius, Eustachius, and Baronius; at both institutions students also read widely in natural philosophy and the *studia humanitatis*, studying works by Gassendi, Pardie, Spanheim, and le Clerc. However by the time that the *Life of James Owen* was published (1709) the Shrewsbury academy had moved beyond Owen's schemes of learning: his successor, Samuel Benion, worked from a different plan which he had drawn up himself, before his untimely death in

1708; after that point the academy was left in the more uncertain hands of the local minister John Reynolds, under whom it probably declined in size and intellectual importance.

Owen's own printed pamphlets somewhat belie his brother's portrait of him as an ecumenical teacher and writer; he engaged in many of the controversies of his day, and frequently used his knowledge of sacred and secular history to polemical ends. Owen was a committed monarchist, arguing in a sermon of 1696 that '*There is a Particular Providence, that concerns its self in the Preservation of Kings and Princes, especially such as are Good*', and wrote of William III that he was 'raised by a singular Providence to be a *Deliver* of oppressed Nations' (*Salvation Improved*, 4, 12). Owen's *A Plea for Scripture Ordination* was published with a preface by Daniel Williams; its purpose was to affirm the scriptural validity of ordination by imposition of hands without church officers claiming a superior power over presbyters (i.e. bishops); the work also used arguments from earlier reformers, including Lightfoot, and arguments from analogy with other reformed churches abroad. When the conformist rector of Bury Thomas Gipps attacked his treatise in his *Tentamen novum*, Owen prepared a response, *Tutamen evangelicum*, arguing that the New Testament examples of Timothy and Titus did not detract from, but rather supported, the case for Presbyterian ordination, since they were not diocesan rulers; he added the further important argument that the rules of the Jewish priesthood were not always to be taken as an example for gospel ministers. Another trio of pamphlets presented Owen's objections to a public sermon delivered by Gipps, in which he had accused dissenters of corrupting the word of God. Owen's response, dedicated to the Earl of Derby, involved an account of various copies of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, both ancient and modern, and a defence of dissenters' interpretations of Acts 6:3. Another interesting detail in this pamphlet controversy is Owen's defence of the Jolly family of ministers and tutors (*An Answer to the Rector of Bury's Letter*, 8), who engaged in a dispute with a minister called Ellison at Duckenfield Hall (the Duckenfields were students of Frankland). Owen continued his reforming agenda in his *The History of the Consecration of Altars, Temples, and Churches* in 1706; these themes were developed in *The History of Images, and of Image-Worship*, posthumously published by Charles Owen in 1709.

However, Owen's most popular and most frequently reprinted work was his tract *Moderation a Virtue*, a defence of occasional conformity against Henry Sacheverell on the one hand and

Daniel Defoe on the other. Among his most provocative points was the argument that John the Baptist, the early apostles, St Paul, and even Jesus himself were occasional conformists (*Moderation a Virtue*, 7–8), that the Jewish church tolerated dissent, and that constant communion may be sinful in a uniform church (*Moderation a Virtue*, 9). Nevertheless, he defended the occasional conformist as ‘one of a *Catholick Spirit*, [who] Confines not his Communion to any one Sect or Party of Christians, but has an Universal and Comprehensive Charity’ (*Moderation a Virtue*, 12). Owen opposed the Occasional Conformity bill, and argued that the employment of dissenters in positions of public trust strengthened the church, rather than being prejudicial to it (*Moderation a Virtue*, 24); he bolstered his argument with examples from both ancient and modern nations of dissenters being placed in positions of power (*Moderation a Virtue*, 35–50). In a sequel, *Moderation Still a Virtue*, he added further examples, and defended dissenting congregations from the charge that they were schismatic societies (*Moderation Still*, 17). In an important postscript defending the dissenters’ private academies against attacks by Sacheverell and Wesley, he maintained that they were a reasonable consequence of the Toleration Act, that dissenters were unable to take degrees at universities, and that suppressing the academies would cause dissenters to move further from the church. Furthermore, he suggested that the academies were an advantage to the universities, encouraging students to study, and that religious differences had a favourable influence on the commonwealth of learning. Perhaps most pertinently, he argued that it was not in England’s economic interest to encourage dissenters to pay large sums to send their children to Scotland and the Netherlands. After accusing Sacheverell and his supporters of ignoring the growth in Roman Catholic colleges, he defended Charles Morton and other Protestant dissenters from the accusations of sedition and republicanism, and denied that ‘*Leud and Atheistical*’ books proceeded from the academies (*Moderation Still*, 102–3).

Late in his life, Owen assisted Edmund Calamy, drawing up an account of Welsh ejected ministers for Calamy’s *Abridgment of Mr. Baxter’s History* (1702). When the Anglican Charles Goodall advertised his intention to publish a response to Calamy, Owen wrote to Goodall’s intended publisher Robert Clavell, claiming that the sufferings of the royalist clergy in the 1640s and 1650s had been ‘in a great Measure owing to themselves’. His letter later found its way into the church historian John Walker’s manuscript collections; in a handwritten note, Walker dismissed Owen’s opinions as ill-founded and not worth inclusion in his *Account* of episcopalian ministers (Bod. Lib., Walker c.1, fo. 9). Owen suffered from

gallstones for thirty years, and died of the illness on 8 April 1706. Matthew Henry heard a report that 'he finish'd his course wth joy a little after midn[ight] . . . yt he die[d] very chearfully', but that his wife was 'sorely afflicted'. He was buried at St Chad's in Shrewsbury on 11 April with 'great Lamentation' (Bod. Lib., Eng. Misc. e.330, fo. 20). Owen was succeeded in the ministry by Samuel Benion, who also held an academy at Shrewsbury. Owen's funeral sermon was preached by Matthew Henry and later published. However, the most extensive account of his life is the biography written by his brother, which remains one of the most important, if somewhat unreliable, sources for studying the dissenters' early academies.

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Bedydd Plant o'r Nefoedd (London, 1693).

A Plea for Scripture Ordination (London, 1694).

Salvation Improved (London, 1696).

Tutamen evangelicum: Or, A Defence of Scripture–Ordination, against the Exceptions of T.G. (London, 1697).

Remarks on a Sermon, about Corrupting the World of God. Preach'd by Tho. Gipps, Rector of Bury (London, 1697).

An Answer to the Rector of Bury's Letter to his Friend (London, 1699).

A Further Vindication of the Dissenters from the Rector of Bury's Unjust Accusations (London, 1699).

Moderation a Virtue: Or, the Occasional Conformist Justify'd from the Imputation of Hypocrisy (London, 1703).

Moderation Still a Virtue (London, 1704).

Hymnau Scrythurol (1705)

The History of the Consecration of Altars, Temples and Churches (London, 1706).

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According to his brother Charles, Owen printed five books in Welsh: 'I. The first he calls *Mercy and Judgment* . . . II. The next was a *Translation* of the *Assemblies Catechism* into the *British Tongue* . . . III. The Third was a small Tract, wherein he shew'd the *Duties of Ministers and People* to one another. IV. The Fourth Book was a *Defence of Infant Baptism* . . . 'Tis translated into *English*, but not Printed. V. The last Book he writ in that Language is a *Vindication* of his Twelve Arguments for *Infant–Baptism*, against Mr. *Keach*' (Owen, *James Owen*, 100–1).

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Owen, John (1670?–1700)

JOHN OWEN, an assistant tutor to Richard Frankland, was the son of Hugh Owen, a Congregational minister at Bron-y-clydwr in the parish of Llanegryn, Merionethshire. On 23 November 1689 he entered Richard Frankland's academy, probably with financial assistance from Samuel Slater and Richard Stretton (BL, Add. MS 45974, fo. 13). In the survey made for the Common Fund Board in 1690, Owen is described as 'Best known to mr Stretton' and 'uery hopefull' (DWL, OD161, p. 89). In January 1691 a certificate of Owen's academic competence was given to the Common Fund Board by Stretton; Owen was still under Frankland's instruction. In July of that year, the Board provided him with a student grant of £7; he received further grants of £7 in July 1692 and in June 1693 (DWL, OD67, fos. 45, 76, 116).

A biographical notice by William Tong, drawing on Matthew Henry's diaries, states that Owen was 'grave and serious from his Childhood'; after several years studying with Frankland, Owen was 'chosen to be his Assistant; and whilst he was so, his Example and Endeavours were of very good use to several young Men in the Family'. Tong writes that Owen had made 'great Improvements in Religion and Learning before he left' Frankland's house, and entered the ministry 'with great Seriousness and good Acceptance' (Tong, *Henry*, 201). James Clegg, another of Frankland's students, writes that Owen 'had been assistant to Mr. Frankland some time before his death and was I think with him then'; Clegg describes him as 'a man of great piety a serious fervent preacher who was of great use to many, but his time was short, he did not long survive Mr. Frankland but died in Wales' (Clegg, *Diary*, 913).

Frankland's death is recorded in a letter to Thomas Whittaker dated 21 October 1698; a later hand assigns the letter to 'Mr. John Owen Assistant to Mr Frankland in his private Academy at Rathmel' (BL, Add. MS 4276, fo. 69). On the basis of this evidence, it is clear that Owen was Frankland's assistant at the academy; however there is no evidence that Owen achieved a status in any way comparable to his former tutor. Frankland died in 1698, and when Owen's father also died in 1699 he succeeded to the family estate at Bron-y-clydwr and ministered to the local congregation; Tong believed that he was the only dissenting minister in Merionethshire. He was a friend of the tutor James Owen, who visited him the night before he died; he also knew Matthew Henry, who preached his funeral sermon, and he also visited Job Orton's relatives in Shropshire (Tong, *Henry*, 202). Owen died in the summer of 1700, aged about 30; he was succeeded at Bron-y-clydwr by another of Frankland's students, Edward Kenrick, who was his brother-in-law (Nicholson and Axon, *Kendal*, 578, 590).

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Payne, William (c.1648–1726)

WILLIAM PAYNE was the tutor at an academy in Saffron Walden. Several of his students proceeded to Thomas Goodwin's academy in Pinner. His father was a dissenting minister at Linton, who received payments of 10 shillings from his congregation in return for preaching to them once a fortnight. The earliest known reference to Payne Jr dates from the early 1690s, when the dissenters' Common Fund survey described him as a minister at Saffron Walden (DWL, OD161, pp. 10, 26). From 1691 he received £12 per annum for preaching; the money was distributed from the Common Fund by George Cockayn and Isaac Chauncey in half-yearly instalments (DWL, OD67, fos. 52, 100, 117). From 1694 the congregation met in a newly-built chapel in an area of Saffron Walden known as 'Froggs Orchard' (ERO, D/NC 16/2/1). By 1696 Payne's father had joined him at Saffron Walden, receiving a £10 grant from the Congregational Fund (DWL, OD401, p. 19). The date of his father's death is unknown, but Payne Jr died in 1726, aged about 78 (ERO, D/ACW 26/5/15). His links with Cockayn, Chauncey, Goodwin and the Congregational Fund Board indicate that he was a Congregationalist.

Payne had starting taking students by 27 April 1696, when the Congregational Fund Board granted £10 to his student Mark Putt (DWL, OD401, p. 19). The Board provided considerable financial support to Payne's academy, helping him to provide satisfactory teaching conditions and enabling his students to buy books. On 5 October 1696 Payne was given '30s. for Erecting 3. Studdies for three Studients with him' (DWL, OD401, p. 33). On 15 June 1696 the Board ordered that two of Payne's students should be provided with 'what books he judgeth absolutely necessary'. In January 1697 it ordered that a Mr Nesbitt should have 30 shillings to buy a Hebrew Bible and a copy of 'Turrition' (Turretine) for Lewis, another student of Payne. The same book is described as 'Terringtons Workes' in the Fund minutes for 6 September 1697 (DWL, OD401, pp. 26, 40, 56). The Board members calculated the amount they would provide to Payne's students partly on the basis of individual need, and partly in relation to the cost of 'Board and Tuteridg (*sic*)'. In March 1697 the Board granted one student £8 for a year's tuition at Payne's academy; in 1698 Ward, another of his students, was granted £10, although Green, also a student, was given only £6 for the year. However, some grants to Payne's students were very generous, including £16 each for one year to Joshua Read and Thomas Lennit in March 1702 (DWL, OD401, pp. 46–7, 72, 78). Among

his other duties, Payne was required by the Board to recommend ministerial candidates to vacancies, and faced the problem of students not paying the full fees he required for attendance at his academy.

Most of Payne's students were dead by 1756, when his grandson Ebenezer Cornell described him as 'a man whose praises are still in the churches, and who acquitted himself in the place of tutor with great fidelity and integrity'. Cornell believed that Payne had brought up 'many able ministers of the New Testament', although he could name only two former students who were still alive: 'Dr. *Guyse* and Mr. *Rawlin*'. These men can be identified as John Guyse (1680–1761), minister at Hertford and New Broad Street, London, and Richard Rawlin (c.1687–1757), minister at Bishops Stortford and Fetter Lane, London. A third student, William Notcutt (*d.* 1756), had arrived at Payne's academy in 1702, where he had 'made considerable improvements' in his studies, although 'he came to his studies later in life than ordinary'; three years later Notcutt commenced preaching and moved to Thaxted (Cornell, *Notcutt*, 37). Tracing the fortunes of Payne's academy subsequent to 1705 is difficult, since the minutes of the Congregational Fund Board are lost from this date until 1738. However, it is clear that his academy was valued highly by fellow Congregationalists in the early eighteenth century.

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Perrot, Thomas (d. 1733)

THOMAS PERROT was one of the earliest dissenting tutors at Carmarthen. He was born at Llan-y-bri, Carmarthenshire. According to a late eighteenth-century manuscript which is not always reliable, Perrot received his academical learning first from Roger Griffith, near Abergavenny, and then from James Owen at Shrewsbury, 1702–6, where the future Tewkesbury tutor Samuel Jones may have been a fellow student (DWL, 24.59, fos. 25–6). He was ordained at Knutsford in Cheshire on 6 August 1706; Matthew Henry participated in the service. Perrot was the minister at Newmarket in Flintshire, 1706–14, where he taught at a school. In June 1714 Philip Henry's daughter Sarah Savage heard that Perrot was 'in expectation of ye new [Schism] Act taking place, wch he sais will end his teaching school there by ye first of August'; she wrote in her diary of her hopes that God might 'provide some other place for him, & find out some expedient for training up young ones in good & useful learning' (Bod. Lib., Eng. Misc. e.331, p. 3). Perrot was a minister at Bromborough and Upton-in-Wirral, in Cheshire, 1714–19. From 1719 he was the minister at Priors Street in

Carmarthen, and here he took ministerial students. On 2 February 1719, the following entry appears in the Presbyterian Fund Board minutes: 'Upon the Motion of Mr Martin agreed that the Allowance formerly made to Mr Wm Evans of Carmarthen deceased be continued to Mr Thomas Perrot, if he shall succeed him: & that a farther Allowance of Four Pounds be made to the same Mr Perrot from the time of his coming thither; making in all Ten Pounds in Consideration of his teaching of Youth' (DWL, OD68, p. 340). The entry demonstrates that Perrot was seen as Evans's successor at the academy. On 14 March 1720, the Board, 'Upon the Motion of [a different] Mr Evans agreed that Five Pound a Year be allow'd to Mr Samuel Thomas, A Student, with Mr Perrot, who has lately begun an Academy at Carmarthen to Commence from Xmas last' (DWL, OD68, p. 360). Further grants of £4 to five of Perrot's students, 'viz. Mr Jenkin Jones Mr Abel Davies Mr Joshua Griffies Mr John Thomas Mr John Williams' were made on 6 March 1721, after they were recommended by Perrot, 'Bowen' (unidentified), Samuel Davies, and other unnamed Welsh ministers (DWL, OD68, p. 383). The Board provided grants to five of Perrot's students in 1722 and four in 1723 (DWL, OD68, p. 420; OD69, p. 19).

In November 1725, the Presbyterian Fund Board described the academies at Carmarthen, Taunton and Findern, as the three places to which 'all the Students who for the future shall be Encourag'd by this fund shall be plac'd'. The rules set by the Board included the continuance of a student for at least three years at an academy; for examination, it was required that the student could render any passage of Cicero's *De Officiis* into English, could read a psalm in Hebrew, translate a passage of the Greek Testament into Latin, give an account of the sciences studied, draw up a thesis on a Latin question, and compose a sermon on a practical subject suitable for a congregation (DWL, OD69, p. 50). Between 1725 and 1728 there were on average six students being funded by the Board at any one time; Perrot also received £7 per annum as the minister of Lammas Street. Roberts states that 'More than 150 Nonconformist students passed through the Academy, besides many who were preparing for Anglican orders', but it is unclear that this figure refers entirely to the time that Perrot was tutor. According to Rees, 'It is not known that Mr. Perrot . . . was an Arminian himself; but many, if not the majority, of his students became in course of time the open advocates of Arminian, or rather Pelagian, sentiments'; one such student was the important minister Jenkin Jones, who was admitted to the Carmarthen academy in 1721 (Rees, *Cymru*, 297). Shortly before his death Perrot delivered a glass vial to the Royal Society, containing the contents of

a partially formed chicken, whose belly 'seem'd to be the Egg cover'd with a soft skin'. Perrot's vial, and his description of its contents, came to the society via Evan Davies, who communicated his findings to the dissenting tutor and Royal Society fellow John Eames (RS, RBO/18, pp. 1–2). A late eighteenth-century account of the dissenters' academies described Perrot simply as 'of great learning' (DWL, 24.59, fos. 91–2). He died on 26 December 1733. Perrot's son Samuel Perrot became a dissenting minister in Somerset before moving to Ireland; his nephew and student Thomas Perrot continued his education at Ebenezer Latham's academy in Derbyshire before ministering at Blakeney and Kingswood.

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***Porter, Joseph (1659–1721)**

JOSEPH PORTER was born at Bromsgrove in 1659, the son of William Porter. He matriculated as a plebeian at Pembroke College, Oxford on 25 May 1677 (Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, II, 1183), but became a dissenting minister at Alcester. A survey for the dissenters' Common Fund, c.1690 described him as 'Mr John Porter *Alcester* Supplys 2 Lords days in a month att Stratford upon Avon.' However, 'the fewness of those that are capable of contributing [at Stratford] makes their provision small some additionall Supply may be requisite' (DWL, OD161, p. 77). According to a late eighteenth-century manuscript history, Porter conducted an academy for the training of ministers and laymen at Alcester; the manuscript claimed that 'Many Gentlemen Merchants & Ministers [were] brought up here', listing among the ministers John Perkins of Broomyard and Joseph Carpenter of Worcester (DWL, 24.59, fo. 80). Very little contemporary evidence of Porter's teaching has been discovered, making it difficult to establish whether Porter was running an academy, or a school, or providing private tuition to a small group of students. However, his student 'mr Drews son' was awarded £10 per annum to study 'at mr Porters at Alcester' on 3 April 1704 (DWL, OD402, p. 71).

Porter was living in Alcester in 1708 when he preached two sermons on 2 Timothy 2:22 at Bromsgrove; they were published at the request of the young auditors in Bromsgrove with the

title *A Caution against Youthful Lusts* (1708). In the preface to the text, he noted that '*It is no small Satisfaction to me, to find in my Native Place any, especially of the Rising Generation, pleas'd with Plain and Practick Divinity*' (*Caution*, A2). In the body of the work, which was occasioned by the death of Thomas Webb, Porter impresses upon his hearers 'I. *That poor Youth is lamentably corrupted and greatly exposed thro' Lust*' and 'II. *That Youth so corrupted and exposed, had need to be carefully inspected and well guarded*' (*Caution*, 3). He catalogues lusts of the flesh and lusts of the spirit, and uses them as a reminder of the power of original sin (*Caution*, 5–21). Another lesson Porter draws from his discourse is of 'the great need there is of serious education. All that possibly can be done, ought to be done for poor Youth . . . Those that are Enemies to a Religious Education are Enemies to Souls . . . Let us learn hence the great Work and Duty of Cathechizing' (*Caution*, 23–4). On the other hand, 'It is commonly observ'd that *Youth* is the *Modelling Age*; and seldom have I know any of Religious Education, when they have come to Years of Discretion, and have made a wrong Choice, but they have prov'd the worst of Men' (*Caution*, 33). Therefore, 'Let not Impertinent Histories, Prophane Romances and Plays, that only debauch Youth, be preferr'd to the holy Bible; study, read, and learn, and practice the Gospel' (*Caution*, 38). Porter died on 24 August 1721. The mural tablet memorialising his work as a tutor was removed in 1901 from the dismantled meeting-house at Alcester, and was taken to the Oat Street meeting-house in Evesham, Worcestershire.

Works

A Caution against Youthful Lusts, in Two Discourses. Occasion'd by the Death of Mr. Thomas Webb (London, 1708).

The Character and Dignity of an Old Disciple. Occasion'd by the Death of Mr. John Faukes, Of Henly in Warwick-shire (London, 1710).

The Holy Seed: Or a Funeral Discourse Occasion'd by the Death of Mr. Thomas Beard (London, 1711).

The Holy Seed: Or, the Life of Mr. Tho. Beard, wrote by Himself . . . With his Funeral Sermon. By Jos. Porter (London, 1715).

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Price, Rice (1673–1739)

RICE PRICE, tutor in South Wales, was a student of Samuel Jones at his academy in Brynlllywarch; it is sometimes assumed, on unknown evidence, that he taught for a brief time at this academy. He may also have attended Timothy Jollie's academy in Attercliffe (DWL, 24.59, fos. 33, 90). He was for many years a minister at Bridgend, although it has also been suggested that he also ministered to congregations at Brynlllywarch, Newcastle, and Betws (Morgan, *Memoirs*, 3; Thomas, 'Price, Richard', *ODNB*). On 28 February 1698, following the tutor Roger Griffith's decision to conform, the Congregational Fund Board ordered 'that the case of mr Price of Wales. be considered', perhaps suggesting that Rice Price was expected to be his successor (DWL, OD401, p. 67). He was taking students by July 1699, when Lewelin Howell 'at Mr Rice Prices' was given a grant by the Board of £6 per annum (DWL, OD401, p. 99). It is usually assumed that Price's academy was in Bridgend (McLachlan, *English Education*, 52). A few other details about Price's academy may be found in the minutes of the Congregational Fund Board. On 10 June 1700 Price's student David Rees was given a grant of £5 'towards his maintenance & education in Academical

Learning for this year'; the bursary was renewed in June 1701 (DWL, OD402, pp. 19, 40). In 1702 another of Price's students, Jonathan Jones, was given a grant of £10, while William John was allowed £5 on condition that the Board had a 'more satisfactory account of his ability' (DWL, OD402, p. 48). In March 1703 Jones moved from Price's academy to that of Timothy Jollie in Attercliffe (DWL, OD402, p. 58). There is no evidence that Price continued to teach after 1702, and it is probably significant that the Presbyterian and Congregational Fund Boards both gave grants to students under the instruction of William Evans of Carmarthen from this date.

Rice Price is better known for being the father of the philosopher Richard Price (1723–91). According to William Morgan, Richard was educated in part at home by a person 'retained in his father's house for that purpose', and by a Mr Peters, who afterwards became a country schoolmaster (Morgan, *Richard Price*, 4). There is no indication that Rice taught his son formally; indeed, Rice initially intended Richard for trade, and sent him to a range of local schools; he attended the 'Carmarthen' academy in the 1730s, at which time it was run by Vavator Griffiths, and was stationed at Talgarth (Morgan, *Richard Price*, 5). According to Morgan, Rice and Richard differed greatly in their religious principles. Those of Richard were 'candid, liberal, and benevolent', whereas those of Rice were 'narrow, selfish, and gloomy'; the effects of their opinions on their tempers were in 'direct opposition'. Rice Price was a Calvinist, 'bigoted . . . to his own creed', who once threw a copy of Samuel Clarke's sermons into the fire upon finding his son reading them, 'with the most bitter invectives against him for his want of faith and orthodoxy'. Morgan clearly wishes to create an association in his readers' minds between Rice Price's Calvinism and his mean-spiritedness. He also claims that Price singled out one of his children as his favourite, bequeathing him 'almost the whole of his property', and leaving his other six children, including Richard, to fend for themselves; Morgan also insinuates that the insecurity caused by Rice Price's death in 1739 (while Richard remained at the academy in Talgarth) contributed to the speedy demise of his widow of a 'nervous fever' a few months later (Morgan, *Richard Price*, 6–8).

Archival Sources

Dr Williams's Library, 24.59, fos. 33, 90: 'An Account of the Dissenting Academies from the Restoration of Charles II', c.1780.

Dr Williams's Library, OD401, pp. 67, 99: References to Rice Price in the Congregational Fund Board minutes, Volume I, 17 Dec. 1695 – 5 Feb. 1699/1700.

Dr Williams's Library, OD402, pp. 19, 40, 48, 58: References to Rice Price in the Congregational Fund Board minutes, Volume II, 5 Feb. 1699/1700 – 18 Dec. 1704.

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***Reyner, Edward (1600–c.1660) and John Reyner (1634–75)**

EDWARD REYNER, Puritan schoolmaster, was born in 1600 at Morley, near Leeds. As a child he attended the monthly exercises at Leeds, Pudsey and Halifax (Calamy, *Account*, 439). In 1621 he graduated BA from St John's College, Cambridge, proceeding MA in 1624 (Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, III, 430). In March 1625 he was ordained as a deacon and priest. Calamy writes that he was a schoolmaster at 'Aserby' (probably Asterby) in Lincolnshire, before becoming the master of St Paul's school in Market Rasen, with the patronage of the Countess of Warwick; four years later, he became a lecturer at Welton. Calamy's chronology may be suspect here, since he also states that Reyner had moved to Lincoln in 1626, where he was a lecturer at St Benedict's and, from March 1627, the rector of St Peter at Arches (Calamy, *Account*, 439). According to Calamy, Reyner was 'even then a Nonconformist to the Ceremonies, which created him Adversaries', who 'would frequently complain of him, and threaten him'; at about this time he was in correspondence with the Boston Puritan John Cotton about cases of conscience, including 'whether a man may be safely ignorant of the lawfulness of Unlawfulness of church-Ceremonies' (Bush, 'Cotton', 136). Nevertheless, he procured the favour of several members of the clergy of Lincoln Cathedral, and Sir Edward Lake, the Cathedral chancellor. Following a visitation of 1635, the

bishop of Lincoln, John Williams, offered Reyner a prebend at St Botolph's in the city; despite the importunities of friends, Reyner refused. In 1639 he received letters subscribed by Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye and Sir William Constable soliciting him to become the pastor of the English Church at Arnhem; however, he chose to remain in Lincoln, 'hoping that better Times were approaching (Calamy, *Account*, 439–41). At about this time, an attempt was made to bring him before the Court of High Commission for nonconformity, but the outbreak of civil war 'sav'd him and many others from those Rigours' (Calamy, *Account*, 441–2).

In the summer of 1643, Lincoln was occupied by royalists, and Reyner's goods (except his books) were plundered. He fled to Boston and then to King's Lynn; shortly after moving to Norfolk, he began preaching at Yarmouth on Sundays and Norwich during the week. However, the Mayor and Aldermen of Lincoln soon obtained an order from the Westminster Assembly for Reyner's return; he was also invited to preach at Leeds and York, but he returned to Lincoln in October 1645, preaching at St Peter's and holding a cathedral lectureship with a stipend of £150 per annum from 1654; his colleague was George Scortwreth (Calamy, *Account*, 442–3; *ODNB*; LPL, COMM. VIa/6, p. 429). On 27 March 1646 Reyner preached before the parliamentarian army at the siege of Newark. However, he was hunted down by royalist soldiers in June 1648 and seized in the cathedral library. Luckily, he was recognised by Captain Gibbon, a royalist who had formerly been one of his pupils at Market Rasen, who ordered his release. From this date, he continued to preach uninterrupted (Calamy, *Account*, 443; *ODNB*). According to Calamy, Reyner was requested to sign the New Model Army's *Agreement of the People* (1647) but refused (Calamy, *Account*, 444–5). Reyner's sympathies lay with the Congregationalists, and in 1658 he was sent a copy of the Savoy Confession, being informed 'that the publishing of it should be stay'd till his Answer was return'd'. Reyner's reponse was that 'he gave his free and full Consent to the Confession of Faith', but 'tho' he lik'd the Substance', there were 'some Particulars therein so express'd, as that he was not satisfied'. One of Reyner's works, *Precepts for Christian Practice* (1655), was subjected to a hostile review by Martin Mason, a Lincoln Quaker, in *The Proud Pharisee Reproved*; Mason also attacked Scortwreth's doctrines.

It used to be believed that Reyner was ejected at the Restoration and opened an academy at Lincoln. The origin of this myth lies in a misreading of Calamy, who indicates that his son

John Reyner taught '*Academical Learning*' (Calamy, *Account*, 84). However, Edward Reyner was not formally ejected from his living, since he had died by 30 July 1660 (TNA, SP29/8, fo. 124). In any case, Reyner's most important legacy to nonconformist education lay in a manuscript, which was published by his son John in 1663 as *A Treatise of the Necessity of Humane Learning*, and which provided a bridge between Puritan and nonconformist approaches to academical education. The treatise itself laid out the importance of various branches of learning, beginning with Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Chaldaic, and Syriac. Sections on the usefulness of rhetoric, logic, natural philosophy, moral philosophy, history and chronology followed. Then came other branches of mathematics, including arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and geography. The second half of the book provided general arguments for the usefulness of learning, including God's advocacy of learning in the Bible, Satan's opposition to true learning, and the learning of the church fathers, and the leaders of the Reformation. The work finished with a series of objections against learning argued at length.

JOHN REYNER, tutor and son of Edward Reyner, was born in 1634, attended a school in Lincoln, graduated BA at Cambridge in 1653, proceeded MA in 1656, and was a fellow at Emmanuel College from 1655 (Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, III, 430). He was ejected from his fellowship in 1662, 'turned from the Ministry', and practised as a physician. Calamy writes that he was 'well qualified for Educating Young Men in *Academical Learning*', and that, 'after much pressing, he was prevail'd with' to do so (Calamy, *Account*, 84). One of his students was the future tutor and minister Joshua Oldfield (1656–1729). After studying 'school learning' with his father, Oldfield 'studied philosophy under Mr. *Rainer*', probably in the early 1670s; Oldfield then 'resided some time in *Christ-college* in *Cambridge*', where he came to know Henry More and Ralph Cudworth; he also studied at John Shuttlewood's academy (Harris, *Oldfield*, 34–5; Palmer, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, II, 126). Reyner's other students are unknown. Reyner was also the author of a discourse about the nature of grace, prefaced to his father's posthumously-published collection, *The Being and Well-Being of Christian* (1669). He died of smallpox in 1675 (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 117). According to Calamy his 'untimely death' happened after he had 'not been long ingag'd' in his academical teaching; this evidence suggests that he might have opened his academy at around the time of Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence in 1672 (Calamy, *Account*, 84).

John Reyner wrote the prefatory epistle to his father's *Treatise of the Necessity of Humane Learning*, and a chapter within the treatise which explored the usefulness of learning Arabic in order to understand the Scriptures. In the preface, John Reyner writes of the destruction of knowledge by the Devil. In particular, 'if he cannot deprive the Scripture of that Authority which it carries with men, he will endeavour to hinder them of a great part of . . . it, by decrying all use of Reason and Learning in sacred matters' (Reyner, 'Preface', 6). John Reyner views human conscience as an 'intelligent and rational Principle' (Reyner, 'Preface', 10), and argues that 'Our Love must be intelligent, as well as affectionate; and not only active, but contemplative, discovering it self in frequent thoughts and meditations of him [God], and in diligent enquiries into his Nature and Will' (Reyner, 'Preface', 11). Learning, then, is 'the improvement and accomplishment of Reason; as that which advanceth and embellisheth our better faculties, which relieves the imperfections of our understandings, and helps to vindicate them from that darkness and confusion . . . of mans degenerate state' (Reyner, 'Preface', 27). Crucially, John Reyner frequently attacks those in the ministry with scant regard for learning: to be a minister, one must 'listen to the Tongues, be skill'd in the Arts, advise with the several Sciences, and be more then superficially conversant in all who would fully penetrate into the meaning of sacred Writ' (Reyner, 'Preface', 39). He laid particular emphasis on ancient versions of the Scriptures, including those in Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Greek, as 'the onely authentic Manifesto, and the sincerest Express of the pleasure of God' (Reyner, 'Preface', 40). This explains the use of 'Tongues about the Words, with Grammar and Rhetoric about the Sense, with Logic about the argument of Scripture, with History about Customs, and with the several Sciences about those things which are of Philosophical Consideration' (Reyner, 'Preface', 55).

Works of Edward Reyner

The Rule of the New Creature to bee Practised Every Day (London, 1644).

Precepts for Christian Practice (London, 1645).

Orders from the Lord of Hostes, for Regulating the Hostes of the Lord. Set down in a Sermon (London, 1646).

Rules for the Government of the Tongue (London, 1656).

Considerations Concerning Marriage, the Honour, Duties, Benefits, Troubles of it (London, 1657).

A Treatise of the Necessity of Humane Learning for a Gospel-Preacher (London, 1663).

The Properties of the Righteous Described (London, 1668).

The Being and Well-being of Christian. In Three Treatises (London, 1669).

Works of John Reyner

'Preface' to Edward Reyner, *A Treatise of the Necessity of Humane Learning for a Gospel-Preacher* (London, 1663).

'Preface' to Edward Reyner, *The Being and Well-Being of Christian. In Three Treatises* (London, 1669).

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Reynolds, John (1668–1727)

JOHN REYNOLDS was born at Wolverhampton on 19 February 1668, the eldest of the five children of the ejected minister John Reynolds (1632–83) and his wife Elizabeth Hanbury (*ODNB*). He was educated at Stourbridge free school, where the master was ‘a Man of moderate Principles, and of considerable Abilities’ (Reynolds, *Memoirs*, 10–11). He moved with his family to St Giles-in-the-Fields, London, in 1683, but his father and mother died in the same year, and Reynolds was left to take care of his four siblings (Reynolds, *Memoirs*, 13–14). Reynolds matriculated at Pembroke College, Oxford, on 9 July 1684 as a student of John Hall, a Divinity Professor and a future bishop of Bristol (Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, II, 1248). While at Oxford, Reynolds met Thomas Gilbert, from whom he ‘imbib’d many of his Notions in Metaphysicks, and Divinity’ (Reynolds, *Memoirs*, 15). Reynolds left Oxford in 1687 without taking a degree. In 1693 he preached his first sermon at Worcester. After spending time in Northamptonshire, he went to Bristol; an anonymous early biographer of Reynolds assumed that he moved to Bristol to assist Isaac Noble in his ministry and ‘to

undertake the Education of Youth design'd for the Ministry', which he did for 'three years', until bodily weakness 'constrain'd him to throw it up'. The same writer claimed that Reynolds was 'admirably well qualified' for this work, having 'a great stock of Knowledge' and 'a very easy, familiar, and clear Method of conveying his Sentiments to others' (Reynolds, *Memoirs*, 23). Reynolds was ordained at Oldbury chapel on 30 May 1699; he preserved his confession of faith, which was subsequently printed (Reynolds, *Memoirs*, 25–37). At about the same time he composed a manuscript vindication of the Christian ministry entitled 'The Young Preachers Reflections on his Work and himself' (Reynolds, *Memoirs*, 39–89). Reynolds maintained good relations with clergymen, including Daniel Waterland, and the bishop of Chichester, Edward Waddington; he also wrote a Latin 'Epitaph upon Bigotry' which was translated by Isaac Watts and published in Watts's *Reliquiae Juveniles* (Reynolds, *Memoirs*, 99–101). Between 1699 and 1706 Reynolds was chaplain to the family of Philip Foley, himself educated by dissenters, at Prestwood (*ODNB*). In June 1706 he moved to Gloucester, where he was co-pastor at Barton Street with James Forbes, who may still have been taking academical students (Reynolds, *Memoirs*, 108–19).

In 1708 Reynolds was made the co-pastor with John Gyles of the Presbyterian congregation at Shrewsbury; the congregation had previously been served by Francis Tallents and the tutor Samuel Benion. The dissenters' academy at Shrewsbury had been set up by the tutor James Owen and had been continued by Benion after Owen's death in 1706. Benion's own premature death in 1708 had left around 30 students without a tutor. Reynolds was called to Shrewsbury on account of his 'Learning, Piety, and Prudence' as a minister, and 'to assist in the Educating of Youth for ministerial Work'. According to Reynolds's biographer, the plan had been 'to keep up the Academy there under him and Dr. *Gyles*', although it had been 'some time' before Reynolds could be 'prevail'd upon to comply'. Reynolds himself wrote of his nervousness about the 'young Academy to be inspected and taught'. In his private papers he wrote of his desire 'that the little Academy may be blessed and taught of God' with 'humble, tractable, studious' young members, free from youthful lust, immorality, licentiousness and scandal: 'Let Religion, Seriousness, Vertue, and Learning grow and flourish' (Reynolds, *Memoirs*, 119, 123, 124). Reynolds's biographer noted that while the academy subsisted, Reynolds 'carefully and diligently instructed the Pupils in those Parts of Literature that fell to his share', being concerned thereby to 'maintain the Honour of Christian Ministry, and knowing that Learning is very requisite to this End'. His chief

concern was 'that they might be able Ministers of the New Testament'; to this end he 'studied to make them Vertuous and Holy as well as Learned, to have Christ formed in them, and to possess them with a Godlike Temper and Disposition' (Reynolds, *Memoirs*, 125). Further evidence of Reynolds's teaching may be found in William Harris's funeral sermon for Samuel Harvey. Harvey was 'educated for the ministry, some time under the care of the pious and ingenious Mr. *John Reynolds* of *Shrewsbury*; but chiefly under the learned Mr. *Hill* of *Derbyshire*, of whom he always spoke with particular respect; and Mr. *Jones* of *Tewxbury*'. Under these tutors, he made 'great improvement in all the usual parts of *rational* learning' and became 'critically skilful in the *Greek* tongue, in which both his tutors were eminent'. This final phrase suggests that Harris considered Hill and Jones to have been Harvey's most significant tutors. Harvey especially 'applied himself to the study of *Divinity*' (Harris, *Harvey*, 36).

Reynolds remained at Shrewsbury for around ten years. During this period a Jacobite crowd destroyed the meeting-house at Shrewsbury (1715), and Reynolds was threatened by the rioters, who called him 'the little Presbyterian parson' (Reynolds, *Memoirs*, 125). Reynolds was also a Whitsun lecturer at Dudley, and well known to Matthew Henry and Sarah Savage (Reynolds, *Memoirs*, 128). Late in life he composed a series of autobiographical 'Adversaria Miscellanea', charting his spiritual development (Reynolds, *Memoirs*, 132 – 49). By 1718 Reynolds's health was failing, and he left Shrewsbury. After staying with friends in Bethnal Green, he moved to Walsall, providing assistance to John Godley, the dissenting minister, and writing a series of meditations (Reynolds, *Memoirs*, 149–71). He died on 24 August 1727 (Reynolds, *Memoirs*, 172). Reynolds bequeathed his books to his nephew, Thomas Reynolds of Eversham, and also set aside 40 shillings a year for 10 years for his executor to buy 'Bibles and other Good Books' to be distributed to poor families (TNA, PRO, PROB 11/617/146). His substantial writings include a long meditative poem *Death's Vision* (1709), a funeral sermon for Matthew Henry, and a group of philosophical works opposing deism.

Works

An Essay towards a Confirming Catechism, Prepar'd for the Use of the More Adult Catechumens (London, 1708).

Death's Vision Represented in a Philosophical, Sacred Poem (London, 1709).

A Sermon upon the Mournful Occasion of the Funeral of the Reverend and Excellent Mr. Matthew Henry (London, 1714).

Zeal a Virtue: Or, A Discourse concerning Sacred Zeal (London, 1716).

The Mariner's Memorial. In a Sermon Preach'd at Bethnall-Green . . . to some Sea-Captains (London, 1721).

Inquiries concerning the State and Oeconomy of the Angelical Worlds (London, 1723).

Three Letters to the Deist (London, 1725).

The Religion of Jesus Delineated (London, 1726).

A Practical Discourse of Reconciliation between God and Man (London, 1729).

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Ridgley, Thomas (d. 1734)

THOMAS RIDGLEY was a tutor at the dissenters' academy in Moorfields, where he taught alongside John Eames. No reliable information is known about his early life. Walter Wilson's claims that Ridgley was born *c.*1667 in London and was educated by John Davisson at Trowbridge are not trustworthy (Wilson, *Dissenting Churches*, II, 72). A late eighteenth-century history of the dissenters' academies indicates that Ridgley was tutored by Thomas Doolittle, although there are no earlier records to substantiate this claim (DWL, 24.59, fo. 3). Wilson suggests that in 1695 Ridgley became assistant to the dissenting minister and teacher Thomas Gouge at the Independent church at Three Cranes, Fruiterers' Alley, Thames Street, London (Wilson, *Dissenting Churches*, II, 72). The manuscripts on which Wilson was basing his speculations are no longer extant, but Ridgley was certainly at Three Cranes by 1699, when a dispute broke out between him and Sarah Peirce, a member of the congregation. In her later account of the controversy, Peirce noted that in 1699 Ridgley 'preach'd in order to be our Pastor', confirming Wilson's later claim that Ridgley succeeded Gouge as minister at Three Cranes after Gouge's death in 1700 (Peirce, *Account*, 3; Wilson, *Dissenting Churches*, II, 68, 71–3). According to Wilson, Ridgley remained at Three Cranes until his death in 1734; he was assisted in later life by John Hurrion, afterwards a Congregational minister at Gosport, and by Samuel Parson, tutor at the King's Head academy (Wilson, *Dissenting Churches*, II, (77, 81–2).

The dissenters' academy at Moorfields probably originated with Isaac Chauncey, who took students in the area prior to his death in 1712; several of them received grants from the Congregational Fund Board. After Chauncey's death, Ridgley taught theology and Jewish antiquities, while Eames taught natural philosophy, mathematics, and (perhaps later) ethics.

Although Ridgley was one of the most significant dissenting theologians of his day, no student copies exist of the theology course which he provided at Moorfields, although part of his course on Jewish antiquities has survived. Ridgley himself studied the subscription controversies at Exeter and Salters' Hall in detail, composing a defence of the 'orthodox' subscribers which was printed as *The Unreasonableness of the Charge of Imposition* (1719). On account of this text, he may be viewed as one of the leaders of a powerful group within early eighteenth-century dissent, that of the orthodox Independents. Ridgley was one of several Congregational ministers to preach at the regular lecture at Pinners' Hall; two of his lectures were later published as *The Doctrine of Original Sin Considered* (1725). He was frequently called upon to deliver funeral sermons for dissenting worthies; these included the ministers Thomas Tingey, John Hurrion and John Sladen, and Gertrude Clarkson, the wife of the minister David Clarkson. Ridgley was awarded the degree of DD by King's College, Aberdeen on 29 August 1732 (Anderson, *Aberdeen*, 100). He died on 27 March 1734 at Moorfields, and was buried at Bunhill Fields (Wilson, *Dissenting Churches*, II, 77). In recording his death, the *Gentleman's Magazine* referred to him as 'Dr Ridgley, an eminent Dissenting Teacher' (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 6 (1736), 165).

Ridgley's most important work, an influential 2-volume folio with the title *A Body of Divinity*, was published in 1731. It appeared only a few months before a similarly large-scale work by the dissenting tutor Thomas Doolittle, entitled *A Complete Body of Practical Divinity* (1732). Unfortunately, the relation between Ridgley's printed text and his academy lectures is not as clear as McLachlan (*English Education*), Ashley Smith (*Modern Education*), and Ruston (*ODNB*) have suggested. On the one hand, the title page declares that the work explains and defends the doctrines of the Christian religion, 'being the Substance of several Lectures on the Assembly's Larger Catechism'. On the other hand, Ridgley explains at length the process by which he has prepared the work for publication. In the work's preface Ridgley admits that 'any attempt to explain or defend the most important doctrines of Christianity' is likely to meet with 'dislike and opposition by some, how much soever it may afford matter of conviction to others'; however, Ridgley has felt a sense of duty to prepare and publish his work 'in compliance with the call of providence'. He heartily wishes that there had been no occasion to vindicate gospel truths, such as election, particular redemption, efficacious grace, and the moral perfections of the divine nature, 'which were more generally recieved in the last age' (Ridgley, *Divinity*, I, p. iii). Ridgley suggests that he was surprised

by the number of people prepared to subscribe to such an expensive text. He writes that he has 'adapted [his] method of reasoning to the capacities of those who are unacquainted with several abstruse and uncommon words and phrases' frequently used by divines, 'which have a tendency rather to perplex, than improve the minds of men'; such 'Terms of art', or 'hard words', used by metaphysicians and schoolmen, have done 'little service to the cause of Christ' (Ridgley, *Divinity*, I, pp. iii–iv). Ridgley has illustrated his arguments by giving the sense of ancient writers for or against them in the margin, 'that it might not appear to be a digression, or break the thread'; he has also inserted the Scripture references in the margin. The title of each page includes its contents, a table has been included at the end of the volume, containing the heads of arguments, and there is also an index of Scriptures; the table and the index were drawn up by 'a kind Brother, which I thankfully acknowledge, as having afforded me more leisure to attend to the work it self' (Ridgley, *Divinity*, I, pp. v–vi). As Ridgley's preface indicates, the resultant text was a written form, greatly altered from his lectures, and prepared for publication over several years with intense effort. Several of the key organisational features, including the heads of arguments and the index, have been drawn up especially for the work's printed form. Furthermore, the printed form of the text is designed to please its subscribers and its chief advocates, not Ridgley's students.

The text itself is a line-by-line exposition of the Westminster Assembly's Larger Catechism. Ridgley uses each question and answer from the catechism to head a series of numbered points. Throughout, Ridgley follows his promise to maintain a plain style, avoiding scholastic language. Central to Ridgley's argument is the notion of federal, or covenant theology. In writing of the fall of all mankind, Ridgley writes that '*Adam* must be consider'd, as constituted their head, in a federal way, by an act of God's sovereign will, and so must be regarded as their representative, as well as their common parent' (Ridgley, *Divinity*, I, 329). Furthermore, 'Errors, in matters of religion, are sometimes invincible and unavoidable, for want of objective light, or scripture-revelation . . . But even this, in some respects, may be said to be judicial; for, [those without God's revelation] are guilty of other sins' (Ridgley, *Divinity*, I, 351). Ridgley held a fairly narrow view of salvation as 'an inestimable privilege', applied only to 'those who were ordained to eternal life'. In other places, Ridgley displayed his objection to the notion of the hypothetical universalism of Christ's atonement, and his commitment to the principle that redemption is applied to all of those for whom it was purchased, namely the elect (Ridgley, *Divinity*, I, 376–77, 533–54). The text was subscribed

to by dissenters across the country, and required a second edition in 1734, and a third (published in Glasgow) in 1770.

Between 13 August 1735 and 5 January 1736, the tutor John Conder transcribed a manuscript which Conder called 'The Antiquities of the Jews. being Notes, on ye 1st book of Godyns (*sic*) Moses and Aaron' (DWL, NCL/L6/16, title page). 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' (DWL, NCL/L6/16, p. 1). Ridgley had died in 1734 and Conder, who studied under John Eames, may have been one of his pupils (Briggs, 'Conder', *ODNB*). Ridgley's text is in English. It consists of a combination of long notes and 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 Thomas Godwin's *Moses and Aaron*, a work which also formed the basis of the course of Jewish antiquities offered by Samuel Jones at his academy at Gloucester and Tewkesbury and other versions by John Jennings (in manuscript) and his brother David Jennings (later printed). The lengths of the chapters vary very considerably from 107 pages (chapter five, on Kings) and 70 pages (chapter six, on prophets), to 4 pages (chapter 12, on the Essenes: DWL, NCL/L6/16, pp. 97–204, 204–74, 326–30). 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. The discovery of this manuscript demonstrates that dissenting interest in Jewish antiquities spread much wider than the academies of Jones, the Jennings brothers, and Philip Doddridge.

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Robinson, Benjamin (1666–1724)

BENJAMIN ROBINSON, tutor at Hungerford, was born at Derby; he was the brother of Isaac Robinson, a minister at Chesham in Buckinghamshire from 1711 (DWL, OD68, p. 227). His mother died shortly after his birth, and he was raised by his father, who 'took all proper Care to have his Mind rightly form'd, and impress'd with the best Principles' (Cummings, *Robinson*, 51). He was educated at a grammar school in Derby by Samuel Ogden, learning Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. He proceeded to John Woodhouse's academy at Sheriffhales in Shropshire, 'being then devoted to the *Ministry*' (Cummings, *Robinson*, 52).

Robinson then became chaplain and tutor to the family of Sir John Gell at Hopton Hall in Derbyshire; it was here that he became acquainted with Richard Baxter, for whom he later

wrote a manuscript treatise against Socinianism. The Gell family also exchanged letters with the Shropshire minister Francis Tallents and were patrons of the tutor Ebenezer Latham in the early eighteenth century. While resident at Hopton Hall, Robinson continued to apply himself to 'severe and close Study', developing an abstemiousness with regard to recreation and diet that damaged his health, and laying the foundation for lifelong stomach disorders and loss of appetite (Cummings, *Robinson*, 52). Later, he was chaplain to Samuel Saunders of Normanton, and began a public ministry which attracted hearers from nineteen parishes (Cummings, *Robinson*, 53); he shared these lectures with the prominent Nottinghamshire ministers John Whitlock and William Reynolds. After Saunders's death, he married Anne Saunders, with whom he had many children. At this point he moved to Findern in Derbyshire. He was ordained on 10 October 1688 alongside his friend Nathaniel Oldfield; Cummings prints his address at this occasion (Cummings, *Robinson*, 53–5). Oldfield and Robinson proceeded to establish and supply many lectures, some at considerable distances.

While at Findern, Robinson set up what Cummings describes as 'a private Grammar *School*' in 1693, for which he was cited in the court of William Lloyd, bishop of Lichfield (1692–9); however, his personal application to Lloyd led to the charges being dropped (Cummings, *Robinson*, 55–6). 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 (Cummings, *Robinson*, 56). At around this time, Robinson became a friend of the Presbyterian John Howe, who appears to have valued Robinson's intellect, and who persuaded him to move nearer to London (Cummings, *Robinson*, 56).

As a consequence, Robinson accepted a call to Hungerford in Berkshire, where he remained for seven years. In 1696, Robinson 'set up a private *Academy*, at the earnest Request of his Brethren in those Parts' (Cummings, *Robinson*, 57). This move resulted in him acquiring some enemies, who complained of him to Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Salisbury (1689–1715). 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' (Cummings, *Robinson*, 57). Little is known about Robinson's academy. Cummings states that he 'brought up many for the *Ministry*', some of whom were still active at Robinson's death,

although others 'either Death prevented, or a dubious State of Health' (Cummings, *Robinson*, 57). Robinson also took it upon himself to guide many young ministers settled in the surrounding area, who met in conferences, and on public occasions; for instance, during their quarterly meetings at Newbury, they discussed theological theses (Cummings, *Robinson*, 57–8).

Following John Woodhouse's death in 1700, Robinson succeeded him as pastor to his congregation in Little St Helen's, Bishopsgate, London. This situation was 'according to what Mr. *Woodhouse* himself wish'd, having, before his Death, recommended him . . . as most suitable to his People' (Cummings, *Robinson*, 52). In 1710 Robinson published *A Review of the Case of Liturgies*, arguing against the episcopalian Thomas Bennet that dissenters were not schismatics, and that liturgies had developed periodically since Roman times. Robinson's tract shares several arguments with other works by dissenting tutors of the period, including William Tong, Francis Tallents, and James Owen (Burden, 'Academical Learning', 206). Bennet, who had previously written a string of pamphlets about schism, provided two answers in the same year. Robinson succeeded George Hammond as a Merchants' lecturer at Salters' Hall; the surviving minutes record many of his activities (DWL, 38.13, fos. 2–7, 13–25). His first assistant in the ministry was his friend Harmon Hood; from 1721 this role was performed by Edward Godwin, a former student of Samuel Jones at the Tewkesbury academy. During the Salters' Hall controversy, Robinson was one of the key advocates of subscription, and set out some of the main Trinitarian arguments in *The Question Stated, and the Scripture Evidence of the Trinity Proposed* (1719). He was ill for many months before his death, but finally took to his bed on 3 March 1724 (Cummings, *Robinson*, 84–5). Here he remained for eight weeks, until his death on 30 April 1724. His funeral sermon was preached by John Cummings, who provided a detailed description of his ministerial and personal character, his final decline, and his last sayings (Cummings, *Robinson*, 58–93). He was buried in Bunhill Fields.

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Rothwell, Edward (c.1673–1731)

EDWARD ROTHWELL, tutor at Tunley, was born c.1673 at Holcombe in Bury, Lancashire, the son of Thomas Rothwell and his wife Elizabeth, who was the daughter of Edward Hanmer of Buckden (*ODNB*). Rothwell was a student of Richard Frankland from 23 August 1689, entering Frankland's academy on the same day as William Chapman/Clapham and within a week of James Mitchell and Henry Wilkinson; they were among the first students to join Frankland after he moved from Attercliffe back to Rathmell (BL, Add. MS 45974, fos. 13–14). Rothwell was ordained at Rathmell on 7 June 1693 by a group of ministers including Frankland, two former students of Frankland, and Oliver Heywood; he was described as a minister near Poulton-le-Fylde in Lancashire. Rothwell's early ministry is shrouded in subsequent myth and misinformation. Oliver Heywood considered the Poulton congregation to be 'a very ignorant but willing and numerous people' (Nottinghamshire Archives, M362, p. 29). However, Nightingale points out that there is no evidence of a chapel at Poulton at this time; he speculates that Rothwell was 'only resident' there, and actually served the chapel at Bispham (Nightingale, *Lancashire*, I, 115). In the same year as Rothwell's ordination, a pamphlet appeared by a 'J. R.' with the title *Paedo–Baptismus vindicatus* (1693); this text has

been erroneously attributed to Edward Rothwell, but was probably written by the Presbyterian John Rothwell (*d.* 1661) and published posthumously.

By 1697 Rothwell had moved to Tunley Chapel in Eccleston parish; from *c.* 1714 he was a minister in Holcombe, where he remained until his death on 8 February 1731 (DWL, 38.4, p. 60). It used to be thought that Rothwell combined his ministry at Tunley with regular preaching at Henry Pendlebury's congregation at Bass House in Walmersley, but this theory has been disproved by Wykes (*ODNB*). Nevertheless, Rothwell did preach occasionally at Walmersley, as demonstrated by a manuscript notebook of 98 sermons preached at Holcombe and the surrounding area from 1710–14, in which Rothwell's name appears in association with Holcombe and Walmersley as the deliverer of twelve sermons. The notebook was written by Richard Kay of Bury, who subscribed to the building of Dundee Chapel, and was 'often visited' by Rothwell (Dowsett, *Holcombe*, 114). The manuscript belonged to his son, the physician Samuel Kay of Chesham, from 31 November 1744; it was purchased by W. Fergusson Irvine at Liverpool in the nineteenth century (Dowsett, *Holcombe*, 111–18). The first trustees for Rothwell's chapel (1699) included some powerful figures within Lancashire dissent, such as Sir Charles Hoghton, and Thomas Asshurst of Asshurst. The chapel itself was under the patronage of Elizabeth Wilson; Rothwell was obliged to pay her the rent of one peppercorn at the Feast of the Nativity 'when and so often only as an actual demand shall be made thereof' (chapel deed of 1703, quoted in Mackay, *Tunley*, 14–15).

At Tunley, Rothwell trained several young men for the ministry, including John Pilkington of Preston and Walton, Benjamin Mather, Edward Thornton, and probably Thomas Braddock (*ODNB*). Little is known concerning his teaching, except that he used works of logic by Ramus and Le Clerc. Rothwell himself provided the land on which Holcombe Chapel, known as the 'Old Dundee Chapel', was built; he and Joseph Gellibrand of St Helens preached dedication sermons there when it opened on 5 August 1712. A copy of the baptismal register for the congregation survives for the period 1699–1730 (TNA, RG 4/1621, fos. 4–9). Henry Winder, a student of Thomas Dixon at Whitehaven, succeeded Rothwell at Tunley in 1714, later moving to Liverpool. By 1717, the congregation consisted of 570 hearers, of whom 23 had votes for the election of MPs; a list of the freeholders is provided by Elliot (*Cheeryble Brothers*, 205). From Christmas 1715 the Presbyterian Fund granted Rothwell £5 per annum for Holcombe, reduced to £4 in 1723. A meeting-house was built for him at Silver Street in

Bury in 1719. He was a minister at Bury and Holcombe until his death, being assisted by Thomas Braddock. He preached his final sermon at Bury on 31 January 1731. He died at Holcombe on 8 February and was buried in Holcombe chapel on 10 February. He was survived by his wife, Elizabeth *née* Hoole.

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Rowe, Thomas (c.1657–1705)

THOMAS ROWE, tutor at Newington Green and Little Britain, was the eldest son of John Rowe, a preacher at Westminster Abbey who was ejected in 1660 (Calamy, *Account*, 39–41). According to Edmund Calamy, Rowe was aged 48 at his death in 1705, suggesting that he was born c.1657 (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 59–60). He studied academical learning with Theophilus Gale at Newington Green (Wesley, *Letter*, 8). Gale was John Rowe's cousin, and assisted Rowe Sr in ministering to the Independent congregation in St Andrew's parish, Holborn (Calamy, *Account*, 64). According to Samuel Wesley, when Gale died in 1679 Thomas Rowe succeeded him; however it is not clear whether Wesley means that Rowe was Gale's successor as tutor, or as pastor of the Holborn congregation (Wesley, *Letter*, 8). It is usually stated that Rowe continued Gale's academy, but there is also evidence that students

hoping to benefit from Gale's tuition, such as Samuel Wesley, went to other academies, such as that of Edward Veal (Wesley, *Letter*, 5). Nevertheless, it is certain that Rowe ran an academy for ministerial students from the 1680s until his death. According to Samuel Wesley, 'Mr Roe lived, when I first knew his people, att Hackney', and then 'remov'd with his Pupils, to London & lodg'd in Bowses' House, who was executed in West's &c. Plott, for high Treason' in 1683; here his pupils came daily '& he read to them as well as afterwards in other parts of the Town'; at about the time of the 1688 Revolution he moved to Jewen Street, and then to Ropemaker's Alley in Moorfields (Bod. Lib., Rawl. c.406, p. 106). Under his will, Gale had left books and money for the use of ministerial students. It is likely that much, but perhaps not all, of this money went to students at Rowe's academy (Wesley, *Letter*, 8). Rowe himself died suddenly on 18 August 1705, falling from his horse by the Monument as the result of a stroke or heart attack. He was buried with his father in Bunhill Fields (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 59–60).

Rowe's academy was one of the most influential of the period. His students included the minister and writer Isaac Watts (1676–1743), the essayist Samuel Say (1676–1743), the poet John Hughes (1678–1720), the historians Daniel Neal (1678–1743) and John Evans (c.1680–1730), and the Archbishop of Tuam, Josiah Hort (c.1674–1751). He also taught the future academy tutors Henry Grove (1684–1738) and John Eames (1686–1744). From 1691 until 1693, several of Rowe's students were awarded grants by the dissenters' Common Fund. The earliest reference to Rowe's academy in the minutes of the Fund is a request by the minister Daniel Williams that Rowe provide 'an account of the State of those young Students under his Instruction that stand in need of assistance' (DWL, OD67, fo. 31). Following Rowe's report, the Fund awarded an £8 grant to Rowe's student Mr Seale, a grant of £5 to Rowe's student and namesake Thomas Rowe, and a grant of £8 to Thomas Lee (DWL, OD67, fos. 32, 36, 57). In 1692 the Fund awarded grants of £5 each to Rowe's students Robert Bagster and John Astie and in 1693 it awarded grants to a further five students, including Isaac Watts (DWL, OD67, fos. 75, 98, 106–7, 115, 120–1). Following the departure of the Congregationalists from the Common Fund, Rowe's students were given financial assistance by the rival Congregational Fund Board. The first of Rowe's students to be considered by the Board was Jeremiah Hunt, whose 'maintenance & education' were discussed on 4 May 1696; Rowe was desired to give an account of Hunt two weeks later, after which Hunt was awarded £6 (DWL, OD401, pp. 20–2). The following year Hunt was given £5 'Upon Condition he

follow his Studdies & attend mr Rowes Lectures (unless he goe to Utrick [i.e. Utrecht])' (DWL, OD401, p. 55). After leaving Rowe's academy Hunt became a minister at Norwich and at Pinners' Hall in London. Other students who were offered grants by the Congregational Fund Board included Benjamin Glandfield (1698, 1701–2), assistant minister to John Langston at Ipswich, and the London ministers James Naylor (1700) and John Eaton (1702–4). The grants awarded varied from £3 10s to £14 and included a £5 grant to John Evans 'for buying Bookes' (DWL, OD401, pp. 63–99; OD402, pp. 16–75).

Rowe's most famous student was Isaac Watts, who attended the academy from 1690 to 1694. Watts later published an ode in his collection *Horae lyricae* with the title 'Free Philosophy' and addressed 'To the much Honoured Mr. Thomas Rowe. The Director of my Youthful Studies' (Watts, *Horae lyricae*, 153–4). In this poem Watts writes that his genius storms the throne of custom, 'that Tyranness of Fools', who 'leads the Learned round the Schools | In Magick Chains of Forms and Rules'. He urges the 'slaves' of custom to desist from beating the 'dull Track' and dancing 'the Round', advising them to 'quit th'Inchanted ground', since knowledge 'invites us each alone'. Watts writes that he hates the shackles of the mind which the 'haughty Wise' have placed on others; rather, he loves Rowe's 'gentle Influence', since Rowe 'only dost Advise'. Rowe is like the sun which dissolves the frozen snow, so that the rivers of thoughts may flow through their own channels. Watts concludes that 'Thoughts should be free as Fire or Wind': a single mind may fly through the whole of nature, whereas fettered ranks of leaden souls can barely be dragged around. Watts's own soul roves with delight, surveying the entire globe, diving to its centre through solid ground, or travelling through the sky (Watts, *Horae lyricae*, 153–4).

Rowe's model of education, so far as it may be discerned, was more prosaic than Watts's rhetoric suggests, although there is no reason to doubt that he encouraged students to consider their lectures and their reading carefully and independently. This style of learning would have suited students of Watts's intellect particularly well. Nevertheless, Watts keenly valued his tutor's opinions, treating them with a degree of authority, as is clear from the notes he took on theological texts in his interleaved copy of John Wilkins's *Ecclesiastes*. In this book, Watts records many dozens of texts recommended by Rowe but not mentioned by Wilkins and his editors. He frequently records comments from Rowe and other dissenting ministers, which either give a short précis of the work, or explain its particular value or limitation.

These texts may be compared and contrasted with a copy of an introduction to theology probably drawn up by Rowe for his students, and which now exists in a student copy in Bristol Baptist College Library (BBCL, G95, Volume II). This work, called 'Analekta', outlines a course of student reading by subject, although the texts mentioned are very different from those in Watts's interleaved copy of Wilkins.

The most important of Rowe's systems to have survived is his logic. The extant text, which is incomplete, is described by its copyist as 'Logicall Lectures', and is written in English. Rowe's work is drawn from both Burgersdijck and Jansenist logics; by 'Jansenist' he means the *Port-Royal* logic of Arnauld and Nicole. Burgersdijck he values as a man of 'great Acumen' who fused the best portions of Aristotle and Ramus; the Jansenists represent the best of the 'new Philosophy', learning their trade from Descartes' *Principles*. 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. Chapter two presents what Rowe describes as a 'Jansenist' theory of ideas, contrasted to the Aristotelian account, and then explains 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, Rowe proceeds to defend the importance of clear and distinct ideas. 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. Rowe is less critical than might be expected of the Aristotelian praedicables, which are discussed in chapters 11–15. He then discusses Ramist topics, including whole and parts, cause and effect, matter, form and causation, which (following the Cartesians) he 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. As a whole, the text is rarely successful in its attempts to integrate Cartesian ideas and Aristotelian structure.

Only the third part of Rowe's manuscript treatise 'Concerning ye Soul' appears to have survived; it is given the title, 'de Animâ rationali seu Mentê Humanâ' ('On the Rational Soul or the Human Mind': BBCL, G95, Volume II). After the prolegomena, the text is divided into

eight chapters, describing the rational soul, its immateriality, cogitation, the understanding and will, human liberty, the soul's origin, immortality, and perfection. Rowe's 'Prolegomena' laid out principles for the study of the human soul, drawn from 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', which requires the definition, etymology, synonymy, and homonymy of terms. Rowe recommends 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 to Aristotle, sensual lusts, and a mistaken belief that thinking results exclusively from phantasms of the brain. 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. Having defined the soul in Chapter 1 as a substance, not a mode of body or spirit, he attempts to prove against Hobbists and Socinians that the soul is immaterial, and hence immortal. 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 and understanding may be derived from the soul's inextended nature. 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.

Rowe proceeds to discuss 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 were powers really distinct from the soul or from each other. Rowe concludes by considering the soul's origin, immortality, and perfection. He follows Gale by asserting that the immediate creation of the soul by God is an opinion held by Chaldaic, Egyptian, Hellenic, and Platonic philosophers; it is rationally demonstrable from

the absurdities consequent on believing it to have been traduced by parents. Furthermore, God has not created a sinful soul, but has imputed sin to the being created from the union of the soul and the materially corrupt body. He also denies Gale's concept of a corporeal soul (blood and animal spirits) which acts as a medium between the body and the spirit (the rational soul), preferring the theory of mutual reaction to explain the soul's unification to the body.

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Saunders, Julius (d. after 1730)

JULIUS SAUNDERS, tutor at Bedworth, was born in Warwickshire, the third son of Francis Saunders of Bedworth (Rylands, *Visitation*, 111). Opinions differ as to whether he studied at Oxford or Cambridge (Gordon, *Freedom*, 345; Nuttall, 'Bedworth', 255); he does not appear to have matriculated at either university, going instead to the academy of John Shuttlewood at Sulby (Palmer, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, II, 126). During Easter 1683 'Julius Saunders and Valentine Drake, both of Bedworth' were 'presented for not coming to church', and at Trinity, Saunders was 'committed to the gaol' in Warwick for a period of imprisonment of two or three years for preaching in Warwickshire (Johnson, *Warwick*, 31, 53; Gordon, *Freedom*, 345; Toulmin, *Historical View*, 588). Six months after his release, he helped to found the Congregational church at Bedworth (WRO, MS CR802; Sibree and Caston, *Warwickshire*, 152–3).

After turning down a call to Rothwell in Northamptonshire Saunders was ordained as the minister at Bedworth on 16 November 1687 in the house of John Bunn at Finham (Nuttall, 'Bedworth', 256–7). His congregation grew quite rapidly, and soon included five members from Welford, a distance of twenty miles, plus another member from Hazelbeach, a distance of seventeen miles (WRO, MS CR802). Following the tutor John Shuttlewood's death on 17 March 1689, members of his discontinued congregation may have attended Saunders's church. On the other hand, dissatisfaction with Saunders's occasional preaching at Welford, in particular from the malcontent Valentine Drake, meant that he ceased this duty in 1690. A

letter from Edward Pearse to Richard Baxter, dated 23 December 1687, describes Saunders in action: Pearse describes him as 'of the highest sort of separatists' and Pearse warned him 'not to make Breaches, and take heed he did not bring people to separation, by breaking moral precepts' (DWL, Baxter Letters, I, fo. 62; VI, fo. 210; Baxter Treatises, XXII, fo. 373; BL, Egerton MS 2570, fos. 128–9). The dissenters' Common Fund survey, c.1690, described him as 'Att Bedworth neere coventry, provided for by his people', with 'a Settled poor people in and about Bedworth their number about 40 or 50', and preaching 'Sometimes in other places for ye increase of his poor maintenance' (DWL, OD161, p. 77). Some time before 10 October 1693 he became friendly with the High Calvinist minister Richard Davis, to the disdain of his later biographers (Sibree and Caston, *Warwickshire*, 157–8).

According to Joshua Toulmin, the minister John Ward received his 'classical learning' under Saunders, who was 'a gentleman of great piety, but of the sternest cast, as he was a rigid independent' (Toulmin, 'Ward', 242). This information suggests that Saunders took ministerial students, and may have been running an academy. However, his only known pupils aside from Ward are two of his sons, John (1694–1798) and Julius (*d.* 1750), and his nephew Thomas (*d.* 1736). On 7 September 1696 he was allowed £10 by the Congregational Fund Board; this sum probably related to his duties as a minister rather than a tutor (DWL, OD401, p. 29). Between 1707 and 1720 he preached at Coventry. About a month after his ordination, Philip Doddridge supplied Saunders's congregation at Bedworth in mid February 1723, 'and, to my surprise, met with a very candid acceptance' (Humphreys, *Doddridge*, I, 194). In 1726 the Bedworth meeting-house was built for Saunders. His death date is not known; he was still living in 1730. Interesting passages from Saunders's church book are printed by Sibree and Caston (*Warwickshire*, 148–63), and Nuttall ('Bedworth', 255–64); it is now held by Warwickshire Record Office (MS CR802). John Kirkpatrick, minister at Kenilworth, probably assisted Saunders in his teaching from c.1710 and continued to teach at Bedworth after Saunders's death.

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Short, Ames (1617–97)

AMES SHORT, tutor at Lyme Regis, was the eldest son of John Short, a Church of England minister (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 416). Short Jr was baptized at Newton St Cyres in Devon on 15 April 1617; he matriculated at Oxford University in 1634, graduated BA in 1639, and proceeded MA in 1641 (Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, II, 1352). He was chaplain to Lady Clark of Suffolk before becoming the curate of Topsham in Devon in 1645 (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 417). On 27 June 1646 Short made a representation to the Committee for Compounding with Delinquents on behalf of his father, who was a royalist. He was ordained by the seventh London classis on 2 March 1647 and signed their *Testimony* in favour of the Solemn League and Covenant in 1648 (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 416–17). In 1653 he was granted the rectory of Lyme Regis in Dorset, following the death of John Geare (BL, Add. MS 36792, fo. 78); from August 1655 he was also for a brief period the rector of Ashwater, although it was also claimed by Benedict More (LPL, COMM. III/4, p. 185; BL, Egerton MS 2126, fo. 29; BL, Add. MS 29319, fo. 124). Short's sermon at Lyme Regis celebrating the King's return was delivered and published in 1660. The printed text was prefaced by a commendatory epistle to Short from the Mayor and Corporation of Lyme. In a second epistle John Hodder, the minister of Hawkchurch, declared that 'The Counsels of *Achitophels* are turned into foolishness' and that 'We are weary studying the meaning of Common-wealth, and although

we have had the name beaten into us, yet cannot possibly understand the thing' (Short, *Sermon*, sig. B1–2). Short himself remarked in his sermon that 'In an *Interregnum*, every man who can make a party to assist him, will be climbing up unto the Throne' (*Sermon*, 12–13). However, he also made it clear that he believed that good monarchs would seek 'The preservation and (if need be) the *Reformation* of Religion, with due countenance and encouragement in the practice and profession of it' (*Sermon*, 25). Short saw in Charles II's declarations of 1660 'hopes that we may see a th[orough] *reformation of things amisse in our religion*' (*Sermon*, 34).

As Calamy later observed, Short's loyalty 'could not afterwards secure him from suffering' (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 417). In 1662, he was ejected from the vicarage at Lyme, where his successor was instituted on 19 February 1663 (Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 440). From this date he preached privately as a Congregationalist. He was bound over to appear at the Dorset assizes in 1664 and there was a further order for his arrest from Whitehall, made on 17 January 1665 (TNA, SP44/16, p. 329). On 24 April of that year Seth Ward, the bishop of Exeter, wrote to Archbishop Sheldon about Short's nefarious 'excursions into severall parts' of the diocese (TNA, SP29/119, fo. 30). According to Sheldon's 1669 survey of dissenters, Short was still preaching at Lyme, at Colyton in Devon, and at Batcombe and Winsham in Somerset (LPL, Tenison 639, fos. 144, 149, 185, 247). Despite attempts by the authorities to prevent him from preaching, there may have been considerable local support for Short: on 9 July 1669 there was an order of the Privy 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' (TNA, PC 2/61, fos. 181, 182, 185). On 8 December a message was read before the Council that a messenger had been sent to arrest Short; having applied to Solomon Andrewes, a local justice, the messenger 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; it was ordered that a public meeting be held at Lyme to make it clear that Clifford did not warn Short (TNA, PC 2/62, fos. 37, 49). By 1672 Short had returned to Lyme, where he was licensed as a Presbyterian in his house on 13 April, following Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence. Also licensed at Lyme in 1672 was John Kerridge, who had been a schoolmaster there before his ejection, and who was

probably Short's associate. However, both licences were invalidated when the Indulgence was withdrawn the following year. In October 1682 Short was apprehended, examined, and sent to gaol for preaching to a conventicle; in a letter referring to the arrest, the bishop of Exeter characterised Short as 'an old notorious rebell, contemporary wth Dell, in Cromwells Army' and described Lyme Regis as 'a nest for such rebells' (Bod. Lib., Tanner 35, fo. 118). Short was arrested again in 1685 and sent to Dorchester gaol for five months (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 419). When Monmouth landed at Lyme, he and others were removed from the gaol and sent to a dungeon in Portsmouth, probably Southsea Castle. According to Edmund Calamy, Short was 'for a long Time summon'd to appear at every Assize, and at last out-law'd' (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 419).

By the early 1680s Short was also operating a small private academy. Information about his teaching is found in a paper probably dating from the early 1680s, relating to his arrest for preaching at a conventicle in John Starre's house in Exeter. The paper claims that Short 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: 'this Starre he hath so well instructed in his seditious ways, that he hath severall tymes preached att Lyme in his conventicle there'. The paper records that Short had also bred up the son of one Mr. Atkins, 'a nonconformist preacher in this city, who hath often preached here in his father's conventicle and is now in London' (Bod. Lib., Tanner 129, fo. 88). Nevertheless, Starr was ordained together with Christopher Taylor, Richard Towell, Isaac Gilling, Josiah Woodcock, Thomas Hoare, John Goswell and John Edwards, on 25 August 1687, at Lyme. The ordaining ministers were Short, Samuel Tapper, Thomas Crane, and the tutor Matthew Warren. Not all of those ordained were Short's students. Little else is known about Short's teaching, although he also signed the ordination certificate of the prominent Exeter minister George Trosse.

In the early 1690s, a survey for the dissenters' Common Fund described Short as 'Att Lime', an 'Ejected Minister' who had 'a Compet[ent] maintenance' (DWL, OD161, p. 22). From 1691 he attended several meetings of the Exeter Assembly of ministers, as one of the ministers 'Of other Counties'; he continued to live at Lyme Regis. It is likely that he was still

taking ministerial students, since a note in the Exeter Assembly minutes for 7 October 1691 orders that £4 be given 'To mr Ames Short for Pet: and Tho: Kellow'. The Kellow brothers had previously been students of John Flavell; in 1692 a subsequent payment for their education was delivered to Short's sympathisers, the Starr family; the Kellows applied to the Assembly for ordination on 5 May 1696 (DWL, 38.24, fos. 28, 31, 43, 45, 78). In 1693 a petition to the Exeter Assembly ministers from nine members of Short's church at Lyme asked them 'to consider the difference between them & their Revd. & Aged Pastor'. The Assembly advised that the disgruntled members remain under Short, 'But if they cannot be persuaded so to do, that they depart in Love & Peace'. Short was desired to give charitable licence to his dissatisfied members 'to hear & join else where for some time occasionally, thô not to fix as members of another Society' (DWL, 38.24, fo. 54). Short died on 15 July 1697 and was buried at All Hallows in Goldsmith Street in Exeter on 17 July. His will was proved on 7 October; his daughter Gertrude Short was the executrix. His sons included Ames Short, baptized on 24 January 1647, Edmund, baptized on 13 February 1648, John, baptized on 5 April 1649, and Samuel. A daughter, Mary, was baptized in Exeter on 9 April 1643 (Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 441). Although details of his teaching are lacking, it is clear that Short was one of the most controversial ministers and tutors in the south west of England during the later seventeenth century.

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Short, John (1649–1716 or 1717)

JOHN SHORT, tutor at Bethnal Green, was the son of Ames Short of Lyme Regis. He was educated by John Kerridge, who was a colleague of Ames Short at Lyme, and a schoolmaster (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 420). It is often assumed that John Short assisted Kerridge in his teaching, although Calamy implies that Kerridge taught grammar learning, whereas Short educated students for the ministry. Samuel Wesley noted 'One Mr. S. at *Lyme Regis Dorsetshire*: now at *Bishop's-Hall*, near *Bednalgreen*, 1693' (Wesley, *Letter*, 9), but he is probably failing to distinguish between Ames Short (tutor at Lyme Regis) and John Short (tutor at Bethnal Green). Other scholars have correctly argued that it is 'questionable whether the term "academy" is properly associated' with John Short's work in Lyme Regis, since little evidence survives regarding either Kerridge's or Short's students. John Ball, later a minister at Honiton, was a student of 'Short' at Lyme Regis, but this could have been either Ames or John Short ('Early Nonconformist Academies', 157–8). At some point, John Short may have moved to Colyton (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 420), although it is unclear when – or indeed if – this happened; later writers have assumed that he moved there with Kerridge ('Early Nonconformist Academies', 5, 158). Gordon conjectures that John Short may have gone on to study at Utrecht or Leiden, but concedes that his name does not appear in student lists for either university (Gordon, *Freedom*, 351).

In the early 1690s John Short became a tutor at the Bishop's Hall academy, probably as a replacement for John Ker, who undertook further study in Leiden. The most important extant records of Short's teaching come from the minutes of the dissenters' Common Fund, which

contain details about the funding of his students. In 1692 the Fund supported the students Peter and Thomas Kellow (formerly students of John Flavell), John Scandarett, Josiah Barnett, Samuel Bourne, William Hale and Josiah Gillings (DWL, OD67, fo. 98). In 1693 it also awarded grants to Samuel Clarke, Walter Lowe, Benjamin Copeman, Augustin Gregory and a Mr Wells (DWL, OD67, fo. 115). In April 1693 Matthew Henry received a letter from Daniel Williams, informing him of 'one Mr. Short an ingeious man yt. has a private Academy in London' (Bod. Lib., Eng. Lett. e.29, fo. 106). Short succeeded Matthew Barker as minister to one of the Congregational churches which occupied the meeting-house in Miles Lane, Canon Street, London. He had a speech impediment, which foiled his delivery in the pulpit. His declining congregation moved to Maidenhead Court, Great Eastcheap, and disbanded upon his death.

There has been some debate as to whether Samuel Short, John Short's brother and Ames Short's son, also taught academical learning. According to Jerom Murch, 'One of Mr. [Ames] Short's sons assisted Mr. Kerridge in his ministerial duties at Colyton, and educated young men for the ministry' (Murch, *West of England*, 333). This statement has given rise to the belief that Samuel Short was a tutor at Colyton, whereas his brother moved immediately from Lyme Regis to Bethnal Green (Ashley Smith, 'Short', 43). However, this is an over-interpretation of the limited evidence. Murch's statement has its origins in Calamy's *Continuation* (I, 420), where Ames Short's son is identified as John Short. There is no contemporary evidence that Samuel Short taught at Colyton, or elsewhere.

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Shuttlewood, John (1632–88)

JOHN SHUTTLEWOOD, tutor at Sulby, was born in Wymeswold in Leicestershire on 3 January 1632, the eldest son of William Shittlewodd (1598–1661), and grandson of John Shytlewodd (*d.* 1629), both churchwardens (*ODNB*). According to Samuel Palmer, writing a century later, Shuttlewood was 'sent for grammar-learning to a school at *Leicester*' (Palmer, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, II, 123). He entered Trinity College, Cambridge as a sizar on 28 May 1650, becoming a scholar in 1651, but there is no indication of his graduation (Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, IV, 72). Shuttlewood was ordained on 26 April 1654, and was rector to a congregation at Ravenstone, with a testimonial from the presbytery of Wirksworth

in Derbyshire; he also held the perpetual curacy of Hugglescote (Palmer, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, II, 123; *ODNB*). A translation of his Latin self-dedication to God was later printed (Palmer, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, II, 123). On 26 April 1652 he married Elizabeth, the daughter of Humphry Carter of Derbyshire; she died 3 July 1705, aged 'near 71', but her diary was still extant in 1785 (Palmer, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, II, 123).

Shuttlewood was ejected from both Ravenstone and Hugglescote at the Restoration; his replacement at Ravenstone was the previously sequestered minister, Samuel Hacksup (Matthews, *Walker Revised*, 105). In 1668 he was detained with many others for singing a psalm, by a certain 'M. B.', together with thirty or forty horsemen, with swords drawn and pistols cocked. He was examined, distrained, imprisoned, and 'treated most rudely' (Calamy, *Account*, 423). A transcript of a manuscript letter to his wife from Leicester gaol, 20 February 1669, was later printed (Palmer, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, II, 125–6). His great enemy was a Mr Gibbons, who prosecuted him, and 'made it his Business to give him and others in those Parts, Disturbance' (Calamy, *Account*, 424). After Gibbons got drunk at Lutterworth, late at night, his 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' (Calamy, *Account*, 424). In 1669 Shuttlewood was reported as living at Stoke Golding and preaching in ten places in Leicestershire (LPL, Tenison 639, fo. 206). On 29 May 1672 he was licensed as a Presbyterian teacher under the Declaration of Indulgence; his house at Lubbenham, Leicestershire was also licensed as a Presbyterian meeting place (TNA, SP29/321, fo. 80). Calamy described Shuttlewood as 'a very acceptable and useful Preacher', greatly valued across the region where he preached. However, the authorities would not leave him alone, and he was forced to migrate between Leicestershire and Northamptonshire.

Shuttlewood's academy may have been fairly shortlived; however it was definitely in existence in the late 1670s and early 1680s. Calamy states that although Shuttlewood 'met with a great many Troubles', he 'bred up some few for the Ministry, who proved valuable and useful Men', including William Sheffield (Calamy, *Continuation*, II, 587). Palmer states that Shuttlewood 'appears sometimes to have had a flourishing seminary', and quotes an almanac memorandum formerly in Shuttlewood's possession, writing 'that six students were added to his academy in one year'. Among the students studying under Shuttlewood, Palmer

lists Julius Saunders, John Sheffield, Matthew Clark, Joshua Oldfield, Thomas Emlyn, and a Mr Wilson, 'the father of the late Rev. Mr. *Samuel Wilson of London*' (Palmer, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, 126). Emlyn's biographer writes that the academy was stationed at Sulby, which was an extra-parochial district; another Mr Shuttlewood of 'Old Sulby' was buried at Welford, 20 September 1678 (Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, IV, 72). Emlyn first attended Shuttlewood's academy for four years from 1678; in 1679 he was admitted to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, but returned to Shuttlewood's academy. His biographer states that 'This private obscure Academy did not well suit with our Author's taste and inclination, for 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'; he moved to Thomas Doolittle's academy in August 1682 (Emlyn, *Works*, I, p. vi). Shuttlewood was described by Palmer as 'blest with a robust, athletic constitution', but 'of a very tender spirit'; the death of one of his children apparently brought on bodily complaints which he carried with him until death.

According to Edward Pearse, writing to Richard Baxter in 1687, Shuttlewood was still preaching at Sulby, where people attended meetings 'often in the night, till 1. or 2. in the morning'; Julius Saunders, one of Shuttlewood's former students, was by this point 'the hottest promoter of separation'. However, Pearse claims that he never discouraged his people from hearing nonconformist ministers, and that 'Mr. *Shuttlewood* & Mr. Oseland have preached here', presumably in his parish (DWL, Baxter Letters, I, fo. 62; VI, fo. 210; Baxter Treatises, XXII, fo. 373; BL, Egerton MS 2570, fos. 128–9). He died at Creaton in Northamptonshire on 17 March 1688; his tombstone read '*Multus dilectus, multum deflendus*' ('much beloved, much lamented'). His will, dated 28 December 1687 as of Little Creaton, was proved in 1690 (Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 442). Shuttlewood's son was also brought up for the ministry by his father, and became a dissenting minister in London, where he died on 17 May 1737, aged 71; Shuttlewood Jr had two sons and two daughters, the youngest of whom married Thomas Gibbons of Haberdashers' Hall, a tutor at Homerton, in 1744. Much of Palmer's information about Shuttlewood came directly from Gibbons, who also inherited Shuttlewood's manuscripts. These were in a mixture of Latin and English, including works of learning and divinity, and one of which may have been designed for the press. This text discussed Scripture, prophecy, sacraments, and church offices. Another manuscript treatise was entitled 'Certain propositions or conclusions concerning Christ's kingdom and his

church' and ended with a discourse on the false church (Palmer, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, 127–8). The current location of these manuscripts is not known.

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British Library, Egerton MS 2570, fos. 128–9: Portion of a Letter from Edward Pearse to Richard Baxter, 23 December 1687.

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Lambeth Palace Library, MS Tenison 639, fo. 206: Episcopal returns for 1669.

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Smith, Matthew (d. 1736)

MATTHEW SMITH was a dissenting tutor at Mixenden, Yorkshire. Gordon asserts on unknown evidence that he was born at York in 1650 (Gordon, *Freedom*, 354; DWL, OD161, p. 86). An eighteenth-century register of dissenters claims that he was about 95 at his death in 1736, which would place his birth *c.*1640 (CL, I.a.11, fos. 257, 282). Smith lauded MA at Edinburgh University on 22 March 1680 (EUA, IN1/ADS/STA/1/1, p. 52). He also received part of his education from Ralph Ward, the ejected minister of Hartburn, who lived in York *c.*1662–91 (DWL, OD161, p. 86; Calamy, *Account*, 505–10). Smith was ordained on 19 August 1687 (Hunter, *Heywood*, 353, 355). A survey for the dissenters' Common Fund, *c.*1690 described him as 'Mr Math: Smith Liveing in Hallifax parish, brought up under Mr Ward, of great use' (DWL, OD161, p. 86). In January 1690 Smith, Jonathan Hall, Joseph Lister, Jonas Deane, John Hanson and John Berry requested licenses for meeting-houses at Kipping House at Thornton in Bradford, and 'at Jonas Deans House in Mixenden'; the houses of Matthew Smith of Mixenden and Charles Gaukroger of Erringden were also licensed in July 1695 (*Nonconformist Register*, 148, 153). From 1706 until 1711 the Presbyterian Fund gave Smith grants of £6 per annum for Mixenden, plus a special grant of £5 in 1728 (DWL, OD68, pp. 122–314; OD69, p. 80).

In 1700 Smith published *The True Notion of Imputed Righteousness, and our Justification Thereby*, a work which earned a reputation for kick-starting the process by which Calvinism was dismantled among Presbyterians in the North of England. Among Smith's early detractors were the prominent minister Oliver Heywood, the tutor Timothy Jollie, and the tutor John Chorlton (BL, Add. MS 4275, fos. 152, 153; Add. MS 4276, fo. 6). According to the work's title page, Smith's purpose was to supply 'what is lacking in the late Book of . . . Bishop *Stillingfleet*' in an attempt to reconcile the dissenters in London, who had been wracked by a debate over antinomianism in the 1690s. The text by Stillingfleet referred to is his posthumously published response to Stephen Lobb, *Two Discourses concerning the Doctrine of Christ's Satisfaction* (1700). However, 'one who was desired to peruse the Manuscript, but unknown to the Author' declared in an epistle to the reader that 'It is like that the Author never saw nor heard of this late Book of the Bishop, seeing few that see it and read it but are displeas'd'. Smith's papers apparently arrived in London 'without any Title at all to them, and without any Partition, and the Title therefore and the Sections are put to them by another' (*True Notion*, A2–A3). Smith was more concerned about his own adversaries, who 'charge me with contradicting our *Reformers*, and being one with the *Papists*; they cannot make good the charge' (*True Notion*, A4). He argued that 'Faith in Christ is the *qualifying*, though not the *meriting* matter of our *Justification*', and that 'The only formal cause of our Justification is the Righteousness of God' (*True Notion*, A4–A5). Nevertheless, Smith described election as 'God's purpose of saving every sinner, through Christ, who repents, believes and obeys'. This combined emphasis upon the importance of faith, repentance, and gospel holiness enabled Smith to refer to himself as a disciple of Richard Baxter. The second half of the text presents a defence of his doctrine against the opposition of neighbours and ministers (*True Notion*, 131).

Smith also educated students for the ministry, two of whom were supported by the Presbyterian Fund. These were a Mr Holsworth (1703–4) and John Buck (1712–16) (DWL, OD68, pp. 122, 133, 249, 263, 280, 296, 314). The early Mixenden meeting-house was replaced at Smith's expense in 1717 by a new one at Moor End, on property which he owned (Gordon, *Freedom*, 354). The fact that there are no further records of the Presbyterian Fund supporting students might indicate that Smith stopped teaching at this time, although it is not possible to speculate further about his academy. Smith died on 29 April 1736; Thomas Dickenson's nonconformist register stated that he was 'buried May 4 aged 95 as it's said, or

thereabout', and that he 'Had bin very painfull & successfull in his Work'. He was succeeded at Mixenden by his son, John Smith (*d.* 1768), who later moved to Chapel Lane, Bradford, and gained a reputation for being an Arian (CL, I.a.11, fos. 257, 282).

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Southwell, John (dates unknown)

JOHN SOUTHWELL was a tutor at Dudley and Newbury. His early life is difficult to trace. He may have been the nephew of the ejected minister Richard Southwell. A late eighteenth-century tradition suggests that he might have been a student (or even assistant tutor) to John Ker at Bethnal Green (DWL, 24.59, fo. 3). More probably he was a student at John Woodhouse's academy in Sheriffhales; Southwell's son later recalled that his father had taken some of Woodhouse's students when the academy at Sheriffhales had broken up (DWL, NCL/L54/1/12). For a brief time he was chaplain to Philip Foley of Prestwood. Later, he was a minister at Dudley in Worcestershire, and then at Newbury in Berkshire. 'Mr Southall', a minister mentioned in the dissenters' Common Fund survey, c.1690 as 'Att Burton upon Trent, has 50 l pr ann[um] allowance' may be this man, although the entry probably refers to Richard Southwell, who was also active at Temple Hall, Bardon Park and Appleby. More plausibly, John Southwell is the man in the same survey described as 'Att Dudley where hee is pastour, preaches elsewhere' (DWL, OD161, pp. 67, 84).

By 1691 Southwell was teaching ministerial students. In May 1691 one of his students was Ebenezer Bradshaw, the son of the minister at Rainford Chapel, James Bradshaw. The Common Fund Board gave Bradshaw a grant of £6 to be paid in two instalments 'for his

incouragm[en]t in the Study of the Hebrew and French tongues' with Southwell at Dudley (DWL, OD67, fo. 33). Shortly afterwards, Southwell moved to Newbury. On 14 November 1692 Richard Stretton reported to the Fund managers that 'William Harris a Stud[en]t hath beene Examined and approved', having been 'under the Instruction of mr John Southwell att Newbury in ye County of Berkes since ye 24^o of June Last past' (DWL, OD67, fo. 93). The Fund's accounts for 1692 include payments to Jacob Ball and John Baron as well as William Harris'; the students had all been 'wth mr John Southwell at Newbury' (DWL, OD67, fo. 98). On 17 April 1693 another student Mr Girle was provided an annual grant of £6 to study under Southwell 'if upon Examination he be found deserving' (DWL, OD67, fo. 110). The accounts for 1693 included payments to Ball, Baron, Harris, and Girle 'wth. mr Jno Southwell' (DWL, OD67, fo. 115). On 26 June 1693 Mr Hardy, a 'Student with mr John Southwell at Newbury' was awarded £10 to commence from midsummer (DWL, OD67, fo. 120). The Common Fund collapsed shortly afterwards and was replaced by two separate Funds, the Presbyterian and Congregational Fund. The minutes of the Presbyterian Fund for 1695 record payments to Hardy, Ball, Baron, Harris, John Marsden, Nathaniel Wells, and Josiah Moltby, all students with Southwell at Newbury (DWL, OD68, fo. 9). This is the last entry in the minutes relating to Southwell's students, which suggests that he may have stopped tutoring then. Another of his students may been a Mr Leavesley (DWL, 24.59, fo. 2). Southwell clearly had several students by 1695, and there is no reason to assume that the seven students mentioned in the minutes represent the sum total of academy attendees. Southwell's son became a minister, and had a 'considerable boarding school' at Epsom (DWL, 24.59, fo. 2).

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Spademan, John (1648 or 1649?–1708)

JOHN SPADEMAN, tutor at Southwark and Hoxton, was the son of Thomas Spademan, the rector of Althorpe in Lincolnshire, who was ejected in 1662. Spademan attended a school in Sheffield before being admitted as a sizar to Magdalene College, Cambridge on 27 May 1665, aged 16. He graduated BA in 1669 and proceeded MA in 1674 (Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, IV, 129). He was ordained deacon and priest at Bristol on 24 November 1673 (BrRO, Ep/A/10/1/5). It used to be thought that Spademan was the rector at 'Llanddinam' (unidentified). However, Calamy is clear that Spademan was the rector of Swaton, Lincolnshire, 1673–81 (Calamy, *Account*, 460). Calamy writes that he then 'quitt[ed] the Establish'd Church and his Living' and 'went over into Holland' (Calamy, *Account*, 460). From 1681 he was co-pastor to the English Reformed Church at Rotterdam with his uncle,

the ejected fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge, Joseph Hill (Steven, *Rotterdam*, 333–5). It was here that Calamy met him in 1688 (Calamy, *Own Life*, I, 140). According to Calamy, Lorimer was ‘upon many Occasions, singularly serviceable to his Country–men, who pursu’d their Studies, either in *Utrecht* or *Leyden*’. While in Rotterdam he continued to study, increasing ‘his Fund of Learning, as well as his Library’ (Calamy, *Account*, 460–1). Lorimer’s earliest biographer, Samuel Rosewell, described him as ‘well read in *Philosophy*, *History*, *Polemical Divinity*’, with ‘not a great many Equals’ in the learned languages; he was ‘an excellent *Critick* in the *original Languages* of the Scriptures, the *Hebrew* and the *Greek*’ and was ‘well acquainted with the *French Dutch*, *Italian*’ and Spanish languages also (Rosewell, *Spademan*, 50–2). During this time he was an acquaintance of John Locke and an associate of Locke’s correspondents Benjamin Furley, Jean Le Clerc, and Paul D’Aranda (Locke, *Correspondence*, IV, 177–80, 710–11; V, 133–42, 456–8; VI, 115–20). Spademan returned to London c.1698 to become the co–pastor to John Howe in London; when Howe died in 1705 Spademan preached his funeral sermon, and then acted as sole minister to the congregation until his own death in 1708.

Following his return to London, Spademan assisted Joshua Oldfield and William Lorimer at an academy in Southwark and Hoxton, which was established due to dissatisfaction with the academy of John Ker. On 12 December 1699, Edward Harley recorded that ‘The dislike to Dr Cerr [i.e. Ker] increases among ye London Ministers’, having been ‘fomented by some that have particular prejudices to him’; Ker’s opponents had ‘agreed to set up Mr Spademan and Mr Ofeild to teach academick learning’ (BL, Add. MS 70019, fo. 147). In a posthumous account of Oldfield, William Harris wrote that Oldfield ‘kept his academy some time in *Southwark*, but chiefly at *Hoston* [i.e. Hoxton]; there were joined with him the late extraordinarily learned and pious Mr. *William Lorimore*, and Mr. *John Spademan*; and after Mr. *Spademan*’s death, Mr. [Jacques] *Capel*, who had been professor of *Hebrew* in the University of *Saumur*, before the persecution in *France*’ (Harris, *Oldfield*, 38). One of Spademan’s earliest students was George Smyth, who ‘received his first Instructions in the nobler Sciences under Dr. *Kerr*, afterwards from those learned Divines, *Spademan*, *Lorimer*, and *Oldfield*’; Smyth then studied in Scotland and the Netherlands before becoming a dissenting minister (Chandler, *Smyth*, 25–6). The student John Ratcliffe studied at John Woodhouse’s academy at Sheriffhales, before ‘he proceeded in his studies under the care of Mr. *Lorimer*, Mr. *Spademan*, and Mr. *Oldfield*’ (Evans, *Ratcliffe*, 25). Another of

Spademan's students may have been Benjamin Grosvenor, who left Thomas Jollie's academy in Attercliffe in 1695 and then 'continued his studies under several masters, and particularly the *Hebrew* language under Monsieur *Capell*'; Barker writes that Grosvenor 'passed his tryals for the ministry' in 1699 before a panel of ministers including Spademan, Oldfield, and Thomas Rowe (Barker, *Grosvenor*, 29–30). According to James Wood, the minister Daniel Wilcox was ordained in Essex by Spademan, Tong, Robinson and Sheffield on 27 October 1706 (Wood, *Wilcox*, 35). Several of Oldfield and Spademan's students received grants from the Presbyterian Fund. Rosewell wrote that Spademan was 'sometime engaged' in the work of tutor, 'till other Affairs growing upon him, he was obliged to desist' (Rosewell, *Spademan*, 52). Rosewell described Spademan as 'an utter Enemy to the Practice of illiterate and unqualified' ministers (Rosewell, *Spademan*, 52–3). In preaching, Rosewell recommended 'Seriousness and Plainness' of style, and 'inveigh'd against the Imitation of a less practical Way, because more pleasing to itching Ears' (Rosewell, *Spademan*, 63). Records of Spademan's death vary; Rosewell states that he died on 14 February 1708, but Thomas Dickenson's nonconformist register recorded his death as 3 September and his burial as 10 September (CL, I.a.11, fo. 119). Rosewell delivered his funeral sermon. Spademan's library was considerable; in 1709 its contents were listed in a catalogue by Jacob Hooke and were then sold at auction.

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Of Remembrance and Imitation of Deceased Holy Rulers. A Sermon Preach'd at Rotterdam (London, 1695).

A Sermon Preach'd Novemb. 14. 1698 (London, 1699).

A Sermon on the Occasion of the Justly Lamented Death of the Truly Reverend Mr. John Howe (London, 1705).

Deborah's Triumph over the Mighty. A Sermon (London, 1706).

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***Swift, Richard (1616–1701)**

RICHARD SWIFT, schoolmaster, was the son of Augustine Swift, an attorney; he was born in Norwich in 1616 (Calamy, *Continuation*, II, 612). His father died while he was young. Calamy believed that Swift 'had not the Advantage of much Academick Learning', but 'attain'd to considerable Skill in the Languages' (Calamy, *Continuation*, II, 612). When he entered the ministry, he became the chaplain to Sir Brockett Spencer of Offley in Hertfordshire (Calamy, *Continuation*, II, 612). From 1650 he was the vicar at Offley, with an annual income of £37 (BL, Lansdowne MS 459, fos. 103–4). He was admitted to the curacy of Edgware in Middlesex on 22 October 1656, but was ejected in 1660 when the sequestered rector, John Whiston, was restored. The justices for Middlesex ordered Whiston and Swift, who was described as a 'weaver' of Edgware, to appear before them on 7 December 1660. Whiston argued that he had been put out of the living by Sir William Roberts in 1644, and that Swift was now keeping him out (LPL, COMM. III/5, p. 134; *Middlesex County Records*, III, 308).

After ejection, Swift lived in Mill Hill near London, 'where at first, before he had Boarders, he was in Great Streights; and afterwards, when all his Boarders went away, because the

Small Pox was in his House. . . . Soon after, a considerable Citizen's Wife sent him two of her Sons, and stirr'd up others to help him, till he had a competent number' (Calamy, *Continuation*, II, 612). Later writers have frequently assumed on the basis of Calamy's account that Swift ran an academy at Mill Hill which taught university subjects to non-ministerial students. However, it is more likely that he was running a private grammar school. Swift was imprisoned several times in Newgate for keeping conventicles in his house, the last occasion being during a period of plague. According to Calamy, Swift was 'a pious Man, and daily employ'd in reading the Scriptures; and yet was led away with the Fifth Monarchy Notions, as well as some others that were very peculiar' (Calamy, *Account*, 470). Taken together, these comments suggest that Swift's teaching was not held in high regard by many of his contemporaries. He died in 1701, in his 86th year (Calamy, *Continuation*, II, 612).

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***Tallents, Francis (1619–1708)**

FRANCIS TALLENTS, university tutor and guardian on the Grand Tour, was one of the most prominent nonconformist ministers in England. Although the belief that he was a tutor at James Owen's academy at Shrewsbury rests on a misconception, he exerted an important intellectual influence over several of the dissenters' early academies. Tallents, who had Huguenot ancestry, was born at Pilsley near Chesterfield in Derbyshire in November 1619, the son of Philip and Ellen Tallents. After his father's death, he was placed under the guardianship of his uncle Francis Tallents, vicar of Tibshelf, Derbyshire. He attended the free school at Mansfield, and then the free school at Newark. One of his schoolmasters described him as '*not a Silver, but a golden Talent*' (Henry, *Tallents*, 45). Tallents matriculated at Peterhouse College, Cambridge, in 1635, aged 16, before moving to Magdalene College in 1636. Tallents was a sizar, then a Smith scholar; he graduated BA in 1641 and proceeded MA in 1646, having been made a fellow of Magdalene College in 1644 (Cox, *Shrewsbury*, 117; Henry, *Tallents*, 45). As well as teaching at Cambridge, Tallents worked as a guardian for young gentlemen on the Grand Tour. In 1642 he travelled to France as tutor to two sons of the earl of Suffolk (*Lords Journal*, V, 397). While in France he spent some time at Saumur, where there was an important Protestant academy. According to Calamy, upon his return he was again made a tutor at Magdalene, and then became 'President or Vice Master' of the college. Among his pupils were Sir Robert Sawyer, Hezekiah Burton, and a member of the Percevall family (Calamy, *Account*, 549; BL, Add. MS 46931C, fos. 55–7; Add. MS 46932, fos. 103–4).

Tallents was ordained by the third London classis at St Mary Woolnoth, London, on 29 November 1648 (Henry, *Tallents*, 47); the following year, he was licensed to preach in all parts of England, and by 1649 he was preaching at Lichfield (SA, MS 665/3/69; Shaw, *Commonwealth Church*, II, 543). In 1652, Tallents left Magdalene to become minister at St Mary's in Shrewsbury; he accepted the living on 4 January 1653 (Henry, *Tallents*, 48; Beaumont, 'Mayors' Accounts', 106). In 1654 Tallents became an assistant to the Shropshire Commission for the ejection of scandalous ministers; from this date until the Restoration he played a very active role in Shrewsbury society (Cox, *Shrewsbury*, 116–20). According to Matthew Henry, in 1660 Tallents 'shew'd an intire Satisfaction in that Re-settlement of the Government . . . and a sincere Affection to the King, as the *Presbyterians* throughout the

Kingdom did, but intimated likewise his readiness to conform as far as he could with a good Conscience' (Henry, *Tallents*, 50). However, he was ejected from St Mary's in August 1662 after a brief imprisonment (SA, MS 3365/2250; Phillips and Auden, 'Ottley', 310). Matthew Henry later commented that Tallents 'attended the Publick Ministry, and the *Liturgy* both Morning and Afternoon, and Preach'd only in the Evening, and on the Week-days, as he had opportunity, and fell not into any constant stated Work for some Years (as I think) after he was Silenc'd' (Henry, *Tallents*, 52). On 24 October 1663 Tallents's name appeared in a list of local 'plotters', drawn up by Francis, Lord Newport, who ordered his arrest for questioning (Phillips and Auden, 'Ottley', 308). These events may have prompted his brief sojourn in London in 1664, where he collected money for ejected ministers, and undertook some preaching (TNA, SP29/110, fo. 152). Tallents refused to take the Oxford Oath in March 1666 following the Five Mile Act, but he probably moved briefly to Derbyshire to stay with John Gell at Hopton (DWL, Baxter Letters, II, fo. 317); here he was reported as preaching in 1669 (LPL, Tenison 639, fo. 192).

Tallents's frequent changes of address during this period make it extremely unlikely that he ran a regular academy in Shrewsbury, as is sometimes stated (Parker, *Dissenting Academies*, 139; McLachlan, *English Education*, 80–1). The mistake has its origins in comments by the nineteenth-century tutors David Bogue and James Bennett that Tallents was 'a man of superior learning . . . well qualified to assist in academical instruction', who 'cheerfully communicated help' to young men 'prosecuting their theological studies'. For Bogue and Bennett, the assistance Tallents provided to young men provided the context within which the tutor James Owen could bring the academy at Shrewsbury 'into full effect and form' (Bogue and Bennett, *Dissenters*, II, 24). Unfortunately, it is not known that Tallents took any students in theology after the Restoration. Part of the confusion may have arisen from Tallents's role as guardian to two young gentlemen between February 1671 and July 1673, one of whom was John Hampden (1653–96). Tallents travelled with his charges across France and Switzerland, recording his movements and observations in a surviving journal. During this period Tallents visited the universities of Caen, Saumur, Berne, Basle, Strasbourg and Paris, as well as the Academy at Geneva (Cox, *Tallents*, 26–9, 56–7, 106–9, 127–8, 130–3, 144–5, 171–4). Following Tallents's death, the journal probably passed with Tallents's other papers to John Dutton, and was later given to Job Orton, a former student of Philip Doddridge (SA, MS P257/E/3/1).

Tallents's most important contributions to the history of the dissenters' academies are his writings. Upon his return to Shrewsbury in July 1673, Tallents joined with John Bryan to minister to the Presbyterians in the town. At about this time he began to write a series of chronological tables. The word 'table' was a fairly general term used in the period to describe a brief account of a subject, such as logic, history or theology; in this instance it refers to a chart which shows the dates of various ancient kingdoms and religious events. The text was printed at some point during the 1680s as *A View of Universal History, from the Creation to the Destruction of Jerusalem by Adrian, in the Year of the World 4084 and of Christ 135*. Calamy, who believed that the text was first printed in 1684, described it as 'the Fruit of many Years Labour and Pains', the 'Exactest of the Kindt (*sic*)', and 'one of the greatest Performances of the Age', which 'will make his name famous to Posterity' (Calamy, *Account*, 550). The text contains a series of columns, describing (from left to right) the 'State of the Church and of the Jews', the history of the Middle East, and events in Athens, Rome and Europe. Tallents indicated in the text that his main source was 'The Chronology of Helvicus, who agrees with Scaliger and Calvisius'. Tallents himself wrote that he had 'finished my tedious work & got it into books as well as Tables' by 18 September 1684; the price for the whole in sheets was 16 shillings (12d a sheet), bound 20 shillings; in tables 'single, or both joind together' it cost 25 shillings; Tallents was also offering a deal of 7 for the price of 6 (Bod. Lib., Eng. Lett. e.29, fo. 189). One of the earliest recipients of a copy (3 October 1681) was Philip Henry, who noted that it was engraved using 16 copper plates in Tallents's own house (Henry, *Diaries*, ed. Lee, 306, 317). Notes on Tallents's text may also be found in an early notebook from Thomas Doolittle's academy, alongside a handwritten copy of Doolittle's 'Speculum', a treatise on church history (DWL, 28.5, fo. 181b). It may be compared to other near contemporaneous works of universal history and chronology, including a table of ancient monarchs and churches compiled by Thomas Dixon's student Henry Winder (HMC, Winder 1). However, it is not known whether Tallents's tables were studied at James Owen's academy in Shrewsbury: here the chief text in chronology was by Strauchius and the chief text in ecclesiastical history was by Spanheim (Owen, *James Owen*, 89).

Tallents's preaching, teaching and writing often led to a belief that he was politically dangerous. Following the Popish Plot, he was repeatedly accused of being a Roman Catholic. As he later explained to Baxter, he had become aware of a 'notorious lye that goes through

the court and towne that I am a papist priest and Jesuit'; Tallents wrote that it was customary for many who were 'enraged at our preaching to accuse us that we are Jesuits and me especially, one reason being because I have 2 or 3 times been in France' (DWL, Baxter Letters, V, fo. 124). These rumours persisted until 1693, when Tallents prosecuted a poor man at the assizes for claiming that he had read mass at St Omer; the man was fined 50 shillings (Henry, *Tallents*, 60; BL, Stowe MS 747, fo. 16). Doubts about Tallents's religious opinions continued even after his death; in 1719 Thomas Hearne, the Oxford nonjuror, wrote: 'I am told Mr Francis Tallents, who writ the Chronological tables (which are good ones) and a short history of schism, was a Jesuit, whereas, I thought he had been a sort of Presbyterian' (Buchanan–Brown, *Hearne*, 213). Ironically, Tallents also suffered from the government's crackdown on dissenters following the Exclusion Crisis (1679–81). In 1683 the Presbyterian meetings in Shrewsbury were suppressed; Tallents was 'forc'd again into obscurity; and durst not be seen there for fear of the Five–Mile Act, which Mr. *Bryan* was brought into Trouble upon' (Henry, *Tallents*, 56). Two years later his wife died suddenly in Shrewsbury; while travelling to pay his last respects, Tallents was arrested on pretence of involvement in the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, and was imprisoned in Chester Castle. Upon his release, he removed again to London, before returning to Shrewsbury (Henry, *Tallents*, 56–7). On 25 August 1687 he signed the loyal address to James II presented by Shrewsbury dissenters (Cox, *Shrewsbury*, 119). Following the Revolution of 1688, Tallents was called to London to give advice on the re–ordination of ministers ordained by Presbyters; he refused to permit the practice, favouring occasional conformity instead (Calamy, *Account*, 552–5). In 1691 the Presbyterian meeting in Shrewsbury convened at his house while a new meeting–house was constructed (SA, MS 49/136–7). The Presbyterian chapel in High Street opened on 25 October 1691; two weeks later, Tallents took the required oath for nonconformist ministers before the Shrewsbury Borough Quarter Sessions (SA, MS 3365/2430). Tallents preached a funeral sermon for Philip Henry in 1696 (Henry, *Diaries*, ed. Lee, 379); he provided much of the information about ejected Shropshire ministers for Edmund Calamy's *Abridgment* of Baxter's life, and his *Account* of nonconforming ministers (Calamy, *Account*, p. xxiv).

The extent of Tallents's intellectual influence on the Shrewsbury academy tutor James Owen is difficult to judge; Owen barely features in Matthew Henry's funeral sermon for Tallents, and Tallents is not mentioned in Charles Owen's *Life* of his brother. However, in a letter to a member of the Henry family dated 16 March 1688, Owen sent a copy of Tallents's latest

book, and quoted his views on other ministers (Bod. Lib., Eng. Lett. e.29, fo. 210). Tallents's most important publication during the early eighteenth century was *A Short History of Schism* (1705), which was printed in defence of Henry, rather than in support of Owen's academy. However, it does provide a clear example of the historical method of controversial writing which Charles Owen credited his brother with developing, and which was evident in James Owen's recently-published tract *Moderation a Virtue* (1703). In responding to Tallents's *Short History*, Samuel Grascombe ironically titled his own pamphlet *Moderation in Fashion* (1705), thereby drawing attention to the similarities between the arguments of Tallents and Owen. Tallents responded with further historical arguments in *Some Few Considerations* (1706). Tallents's connections to the tutor Samuel Benion are easier to demonstrate. When Owen died in 1706 it was Tallents who persuaded Benion to succeed Owen at the Shrewsbury academy. According to Henry, Benion was already 'very much under the Influence' of Tallents, who had 'always been as a Father to him; and whose Years and Wisdom he had a great Veneration for' (Henry, *Benion*, 50). Henry wrote that Benion was 'every way agreeable both to Mr. Tallents and to the People' at Shrewsbury; he served in the ministry with Tallents 'as a Son with the Father' (Henry, *Tallents*, 69). According to Henry, Benion's early death in March 1708 went 'very near' Tallents, so that 'he scarce look'd up with any chearfulness after' (Henry, *Tallents*, 69). There is, however, no evidence to suggest that they collaborated at the academy. Tallents himself died on 11 April 1708, leaving a legacy of £60 to the Presbyterian meeting-house. Thomas Dickenson's nonconformist register recorded that he was 'aged 89. The Author of Chronological Tables' (CL, I.a.11, fo. 116). He was buried on 15 April (Cox, *Shrewsbury*, 116). The most detailed bibliographical and biographical sketch of Tallents's life is provided by Janice Cox, in *The People of God: Shrewsbury Dissenters 1660–1699*, 2 vols. (Keele, 2006–7), II, 116–20.

Works

A View of Universal History, From the Creation, to the Destruction of Jerusalem by Adrian, in the Year of the World 4084, and of Christ 135 (London, c.1681?).

Large and Sure Foundations (London, 1693).

A Short History of Schism; for the Promoting of Christian Moderation, and the Communion of Saints (London, 1705).

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Tong, William (1662–1726)

WILLIAM TONG, tutor at Coventry, was born on 24 June 1662. He was the son of William Tong of Worsley, Eccles, although his father died while he was young. He and his two siblings were brought up by his mother, an 'excellent zealous Christian, of the old puritan stamp, who took great care of their education'; Tong's early biographer, John Newman, claimed that it was 'much owing to her' that Tong was bred up as a minister and a dissenter

(Newman, *Tong*, 32–3). From 2 March 1681, Tong studied under Richard Frankland at his private academy in Natland (BL, Add. MS 45974, fo. 13). Newman writes that Tong also made 'some entrance' into studying law (Newman, *Tong*, 33). Soon after beginning his ministry, Tong became a tutor or chaplain to the family of Thomas Corbet of Stanwardine Hall and preached in Cockshutt chapel, near Corbet's house, sometimes using portions of the Book of Common Prayer; he was forced to desist following complaints from the parson of Ellesmere. Tong then preached at Stanwardine, and occasionally at Boreatton, the seat of Rowland Hunt (Newman, *Tong*, 35). At Boreatton Tong would probably have met Philip Henry; he was later a close friend of Henry's son, Matthew Henry. In early 1687 Tong preached at Chester for three months while the congregation waited for Matthew Henry to take up his post as their new minister (Newman, *Tong*, 36). The services were held in Anthony Henthorn's house, and then in a former friary which had been converted to a meeting-house. Tong later wrote of himself, 'Mr. *Henthorne* received Mr. *T.* into his House, gave him a most Kind Entertainment, in everything treating him as if he had been his nearest Relation. To his House the People resorted beyond all Expectation; they only met at first between the Hours of Publick Worship; most of them went to hear Dr. *Fog* and Dr. *Hancock*, whose ministry they blessed God for; but at Noon and again in the Evening they flocked to Mr. *Henthorne's*' (Roberts, *Henry*, 194; Urwick, *Chester*, 443–5). At about this time, Tong was urged to conform by James Ardene, the Dean of Chester, but refused. Newman comments that 'if he could have satisfied himself in the terms of conformity, he would soon have been qualified to fill and adorn any of their *Episcopal sees*'; but he preferred 'liberty and purity, to the greatest secular honour and grandeur'; nevertheless, he 'had a great latitude in things relating to church discipline and government' (Newman, *Tong*, 34–5, 40). While at Chester, Tong became seriously ill, and was suspected of having consumption, but recovered after having only one day off work. He then went to Wrexham, as a supply preacher. Late in 1687 he settled at Knutsford, being ordained as its pastor on 4 November (*ODNB*).

Tong's work as a tutor dates from his time as a minister at Coventry. In 1690 Tong succeeded Obadiah Grew as a minister in the town, where he remained until 1702; he was co-pastor in Coventry with the schoolmaster Thomas Shewell and (after Shewell's death) with Joshua Oldfield (Sibree and Caston, *Warwickshire*, 32–6; Newman, *Tong*, 32–4). Both Tong and Oldfield took students; they probably collaborated to run a small academy in the town, although the evidence is not conclusive. Joshua Wilson believed that the Coventry 'seminary'

was 'instituted by desire of Lord King, soon after the Revolution', but the source for this assertion is not known ('Early Nonconformist Academies', 253). Another widely-held but erroneous view is that that Oldfield and Tong continued an academy begun by John Bryan, Obadiah Grew and Thomas Shewell; however, there is no evidence that Bryan and Grew ran an academy, whereas Shewell taught grammar learning, not academical subjects. Evidence of the nature of Tong's teaching is patchy. According to Newman, writing in 1727, Tong 'had the care and education of several young gentlemen, who have made a considerable figure in their country, and was also instrumental in training up others for the sacred ministry, who have been, and still are great blessings in the church of Christ' (Newman, *Tong*, 37). In 1696, the Presbyterian Fund gave a grant of £10 to Vincent Carter, 'under the instruction of Mr Tonge of Coventry' (DWL, OD68, fo. 21). According to Calamy, Oldfield was arraigned before the ecclesiastical court in October 1697 for teaching young men without a licence. When Oldfield resisted the prosecution, it was moved to Lichfield, where it was listed as teaching without licence, not subscribing to the Prayer Book, and acting in contravention of the 77th canon. The action eventually reached the King's Bench in London, but was dropped, 'Not without intimation from his Majesty . . . that he was not pleased with such Prosecutions' (Calamy, *Abridgement*, I, 553). There is no indication in Calamy's version of the tale that Tong was in any way involved during the prosecution of Oldfield. However, when Oldfield moved to London in 1699, Tong started teaching once again. In a letter to Ralph Thoresby, dated 18 January 1699, Tong writes: 'ye sollicitation of my freinds' had 'prevailed wth me to teach Academ[ical]. Learning to a few young Men yt were wth Mr Oldfield' (YAS, MS 12 (33)). Little else is known about the teaching of Oldfield or Tong during this period, although Oldfield continued to teach in London. There is no indication that Tong took any further students.

During his brief period as a tutor, Tong was highly regarded. When Richard Frankland died in 1698 Tong was considered as a possible successor, together with William Lorimer and John Chorlton, although 'none was fully agreed on' (Clegg, *Diary*, 913); most of Frankland's remaining students eventually studied with Chorlton in Manchester. As well as teaching students, Tong helped to oversee their ordination and employment through his work with the Cheshire classis from 1692; Tong's links with the classis continued long after he moved to London in 1702 (Gordon, *Cheshire Classis*, 9, 47). Tong's work as a tutor was part of his wider ambition to spread the influence of dissent in the west midlands. Newman noted that

Tong 'frequently preached in the villages and market towns' around Coventry, and 'laid the foundation of several *societies of protestant dissenters*' in the region (Newman, *Tong*, 37). Tong was also the author of a short historical account of nonconformity in Coventry, prefixed to Warren's sermon on the death of Joshua Merrel (1716). Throughout his life, Tong was a champion of the life and works of Matthew Henry. In 1691 he intervened in a debate caused by Henry's *Brief Enquiry* (1691); Tong defended Henry in two tracts, *A Vindication of Mr. H's Brief Enquiry* (1691) and *A Defence of Mr. M. H's Brief Enquiry* (1693). The topic of schism proved to be a popular one among dissenting tutors and their supporters; later contributions included James Owen's *Moderation a Virtue* (1703), Francis Tallents's *A Short History of Schism* (1705), and Benjamin Robinson's *A Review of the Case of Liturgies* (1710). Tong was a signatory to a recommendatory letter prefixed to Henry's *Exposition of the Old Testament*. Following Henry's death Tong preached his funeral sermon, and wrote a much reprinted *Account* of Henry's life (1716). Tong was an important spokesman for dissenting learning. He delivered funeral sermons for the former schoolmaster Thomas Shewell and the London lecturer Francis Glascock; his *Memoirs* of John Shower (1716) provided a brief account of the Taunton tutor Matthew Warren.

From 1700, Tong's ministerial assistant at Coventry was John Warren, perhaps the son of an ejected minister of the same name (Sibree and Caston, *Warwickshire*, 35). Following the death of Nathaniel Taylor in April 1702, Tong was a minister at Salters' Hall in London, a post which he held until his death on 21 March 1726 (Barker, *Newman*, 25). From 1705, he was John Howe's successor as a Tuesday morning Merchants' lecturer, also at Salters' Hall (DWL, 38.13, fos. 2–9, 13–37, 39). He was a member of the Presbyterian Fund Board from 1703 (DWL, OD68, p. 113). His duties included the ordination of ministerial candidates (Wood, *Wilcox*, 35). During the Salters' Hall controversy of 1719, Tong sided with the 'subscribers' (Calamy, *Own Life*, II, 413). He was a representative of the Presbyterians on the Committee of the Three Denominations during the reign of George I, an original trustee of Dr Williams's Charity, and a distributor of the *regium donum* for poor ministers in 1723 (Calamy, *Own Life*, II, 465; *ODNB*). He wrote letters and testimonials for several dissenting students seeking admission to the University of Edinburgh (GUL, Gen 206/35, 206/109, 206/112, 207/99). Tong was also an associate of the antiquarian Ralph Thoresby, and several letters between them survive. The first of these, dated 28 June 1697, reveals Tong's interest in the 'Antiquities of Staffords[hi]r[e]', and that he was a friend of Humfrey Wanley, scholar

and assistant at the Bodleian Library (YAS, MS 12 (14)); further letters reveal a similar interest in the history of Lancashire, but suggest that Tong did not archive materials given to him systematically (Thoresby, *Letters*, I, 403; YAS, MS 12 (33)). On 4 February 1709 Thoresby visited Tong to peruse the papers of a Dr Sampson, including three sermons and several autograph manuscripts; Thoresby wrote that he was 'troubled to find them in such confusion, and so incomplete' (Thoresby, *Diary*, II, 36). The following year Tong wrote to Thoresby of 'God's anger' at the 'spirit of malice and outrage' observable in town and country at that time, probably a reference to the contemporaneous riots against meeting-houses (Thoresby, *Letters*, II, 239).

Tong died in 1726; his funeral sermon was preached by Newman, and was later published. Although it provides little information about Tong's teaching, it does include evidence of Tong's view on a range of religious subjects. Newman wrote that Tong was 'an utter enemy to all real persecution, and thought that every man who did not hold principles destructive of the civil peace, ought to enjoy full liberty of conscience in all matters of religion'. Although he was a Presbyterian, he had many friends among the Independents. Tong had a considerable knowledge of civil law, 'which he often made great use of in explaining several passages of holy writ', and he was knowledgeable about history, both ancient and modern (Newman, *Tong*, 39). In theology, he was a Trinitarian, and 'in the main of the same judgment with the *reformed Churches* at home and abroad', but felt that '[a]mong those who are not real *Antinomians* . . . , nor *Pelagians* or *Arminians* . . . the remaining difference was more verbal than real' (Newman, *Tong*, 40).

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A Defence of Mr. M. H's Brief Enquiry into the Nature of Schism and the Vindication of it (London, 1693).

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A Sermon Preach'd at Little St. Helen's . . . Being the Birth-day of Our Most Gracious Sovereign King George (London, 1722).

Tong's printed works also include a portion of Matthew Henry's *Exposition*. According to Calamy, he was the joint author of a pamphlet titled *The Doctrine of the Ever Blessed Trinity, Stated and Defended* (Calamy, *Own Life*, II, 426). Part of his correspondence may be found in Thoresby's *Letters*.

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Towgood, Matthew (c.1690–1757)

MATTHEW TOWGOOD was a tutor at Shepton Mallett. He was probably a relative of the tutor Stephen Towgood, but was not, as is sometimes stated, a grandson of the ejected minister Matthew Towgood (*ODNB*; Manning, *Towgood*, 4). He was, however, a relative of Thomas Amory's friend, the dissenting minister and religious controversialist Micajah Towgood (*ODNB*). Matthew Towgood has traditionally been viewed as the successor to John Short at an academy in Colyton (McLachlan, *English Education*, 11). Unfortunately, there is no conclusive evidence that Short ran an academy at Colyton, or that Towgood was Short's successor. By 1715 Towgood was a minister at Wilton in Wiltshire (DWL, 38.4, pp. 99, 123). A late eighteenth-century manuscript account of the dissenters' academies, which was known to Josiah Thompson, states that there was 'An Academy kept for some time by Matthew Towgood about 1720' at Shepton Mallet, and lists among his students 'Pearse of Meer' and '[William] West that succeeded Pierce of Exeter' at the Mint Meeting (DWL, 24.59, fo. 36).

In the late 1710s a controversy broke out among the Exeter Assembly of dissenting ministers as to whether it was necessary to make a formal subscription to the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity. The controversy had its origins in the private reading and discussions of students at Joseph Hallett's academy in Exeter. One of the leading members of the non-subscribers was Hallett's student Hubert Stogdon. In August 1718 Towgood publicly declared his support for the non-subscribers by permitting Stogdon's ordination in his meeting-house (Billingsley, *Stogdon*, 22). However, when James Peirce collected signatures in support of the non-subscribers in 1719 Towgood's name did not appear among them (Peirce, *Remarks*, 38). Nevertheless, the fact that one of Towgood's students succeeded Peirce in his Exeter ministry suggests that Towgood tolerated a diversity of theological opinions at his academy.

In 1729 Towgood moved to Poole to assist the minister William Madgwick. During this period Towgood became involved in controversy once again. In 1731 a sermon by William

Nation, initially delivered to the Exeter Assembly, was published with the title *Practical Christianity the True Orthodoxy: Or, A Wicked Life the Worst Heresy*. The sermon was attacked by another minister, 'P. C.', as the work of a 'disguised Arian'. Towgood responded by accusing P. C. of arguing for the imposition of non-scriptural expressions, rather than seeking unity among Christians (Towgood, *Vindication*, 6, 10). When P. C. accused Towgood himself of encouraging Arianism in *A Letter to the Author of the Vindication of Mr. Nation's Sermon* (1732), Towgood wrote another pamphlet, *Charity and Sincerity Defended*, denying that he held heterodox views. Through this debate, Nation, P. C. and Towgood rehearsed many of the arguments of the subscription controversy in which Towgood had intervened during 1718; once again, Towgood intervened on the side of non-subscription. When Madgwick died in 1734 Towgood became the sole minister at Poole. In the same year he published *A Letter to the Reverend Dr. Waterland*, who had criticised Towgood in *The Importance of the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity* (1734). Following a disagreement with occasional conformists who also attended his congregation he was locked out of his meeting-house. Towgood then opened a new meeting-house which was registered in March 1739; he received grants from the Presbyterian Fund Board from 1741 to 1743. After spending a brief period as a brewer, in 1757 Towgood became a minister in Swanage. He was buried at Poole in 1757.

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Towgood, Stephen (d. 1722)

Stephen Towgood was a tutor at Axminster from the 1690s; he was probably a relative of the tutor Matthew Towgood, but he was not, as is sometimes stated, the cousin of the religious controversialist Micaiah Towgood (Wykes, 'Towgood, Matthew (c.1690–1757)', *ODNB*; Manning, *Towgood*, 4, 42). Stephen Towgood was the Independent minister at Axminster; his activities as a minister feature in the *Axminster Ecclesiastica* (Howard, *Axminster*, 72, 169, 217–19). His work as a tutor became controversial on account of his decision to teach Baptists. This position made him unpopular among many members of the governing ministerial association, the Exeter Assembly. In April 1695 the Exeter Assembly considered

'The use which some Anabaptists educated in Learning under mr Toogood & mr [Matthew] Warren make of what Learning the[y] have gained'. A letter was sent to Warren, who was the tutor at an academy in Taunton; the letter referred to 'several complaints' received by the Association that 'the reputat[io]n of Learning' among some Baptists had been 'improvd by them to stumble some & seduce others of our hearers'; as a consequence the Association had ruled that it was 'inconvenient' for any Brethren concerned for educating young men for the ministry in languages or sciences to 'assist those who are fixed in that opinion', or who 'professedly oppose the Heads of Agreem[en]t assented to by us' (DWL, 38.24, fos. 72–3). The minutes are unclear about whether Towgood was operating in association with Warren, or separately. However, there is little doubt that they refer to Stephen Towgood, since on 10 June 1696 the church at Bridport wrote to John Pinney of Samuel Baker, a member of the Axminster congregation 'who had Mr. Toogood for his tutor' (Nuttall, *Pinney*, 96).

A second controversial aspect to Towgood's teaching was his opinion that candidates for the ministry could be ordained without the authority of the local ministerial assembly. His views on ordination reveal the tensions between Presbyterian and Independent ministers in the south west following the establishment of the Exeter Assembly in the early 1690s. In September 1696, Towgood and a Mr Ashwood (probably a relative of the Independent Axminster pastor Bartholomew Ashwood) were accused by Warren, now acting in his capacity as moderator of the Sherborne ministerial assembly, of ordaining persons for the ministry who had not addressed themselves to the Exeter Assembly. Warren, who was a Presbyterian, reminded the Assembly of the 'mischiefs that may in process of time follow such irregular ordinations' and requested that they be forborne in future. At a meeting of the Assembly in September 1696, Ashwood was sent for, and gave an account of his actions in ordaining Samuel Baker at Bridport, who had been 'some time with Mr Toogood, & besides his proficiency in the Tongues, had read some part of Burgersdicius's Logick' (DWL, 38.24, fos. 86–7, 89). In September 1697 the actions of Towgood and Ashwood were again brought before the Assembly, which recorded that they showed 'much unwillingness to bring Ordinations to the assembly'. Towgood asked the Assembly to agree to the statement that it was 'utterly unlawfull for any minister of the Gospel or Assembly of Ministers to deny Ordination' to any person who 'will not submit unto any Power or Jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters'; after considerable debate, the Assembly refused to endorse this statement. In response, it was proposed to discuss the question whether ministerial candidates should be examined before

the Assembly 'to prevent Ignorant & unlearned Intruders', although this issue was not fully debated (DWL, 38.24, fos. 92–3).

Towgood's theology was probably Calvinist, and he clearly believed in the importance of preaching. When in May 1699 Towgood was invited to preach before the Exeter Assembly, his sermon was so long (over two hours) that a motion was passed to ensure that future preachers kept within one hour (DWL, 38.24, fo. 103). In 1705 he was selected to examine Richard Glanvill, whose ordination thesis was to be 'An satisfactio Christi sit necessaria? Aff.' ('Whether Christ's satisfaction be necessary': DWL, 38.24, fos. 141–2). He appears to have stopped attending the Exeter Assembly after 1707, although he was still a minister at Axminster c.1715. In 1721 he moved to Newport on the Isle of Wight, where he died the following year (DWL, 38.4, pp. 27, 103, 104).

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Troughton, John (c.1637–81)

JOHN TROUGHTON, nonconformist university fellow and private academy tutor, was the son of Nathaniel Troughton, a clothier from Coventry. When he was four years old he suffered from smallpox, which caused him to go blind. He attended the Merchant Taylors' school from 1642 before becoming a student of Samuel Frankland at Coventry grammar school (Hart, *Merchant Taylors'*, I, 152; Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, II, 511–12). Troughton matriculated at St John's College, Oxford on 28 March 1655 as a scholar; he graduated BA on 12 February 1659 and became a fellow (Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, II, 1513). On 16 May 1662 the university visitors deprived him of his fellowship for 'personal incapacity', refusing to wear the surplice, not attending college chapel until the end of prayers, and under suspicion of seducing some of his scholars to his opinions. After leaving the university he preached privately at various locations in Oxfordshire. In 1669, he was recorded as delivering sermons at Bicester and Cogges. The Privy Council, 31 December 1669, registered thanks to the bishop of Oxford, Peter Mews, for his vigilance in suppressing an assembly of nonconformists in Oxford, and required that the assize judges be informed concerning Troughton and a 'Captain Davys' (TNA, PC 2/62, fo. 49). At the assizes in Oxford for 4 March 1670, Troughton and others were indicted for unlawful assembly; he pleaded not guilty and was bailed, but was required to appear at the following assizes. After the 1672 Indulgence, Troughton was licensed to preach as a Presbyterian at Caversfield and in Bicester (TNA, SP44/38A, p. 19). He also served alongside Thomas Gilbert, Henry Cornish, and the tutor Henry Langley as minister to a conventicle in Thame Street, Oxford (Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, II, 512).

According to Anthony Wood, Troughton 'read Academical learning to young men, and sometimes preached in private, whereby he got a comfortable subsistence' (Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, II, 511). The statement was later repeated by Edmund Calamy, who wrote that Troughton 'privately taught Academical Learning' while living at Bicester (Calamy, *Account*, 68). It is not clear how many students Troughton took, or whether they were all the sons of nonconformists. Only one of them is identifiable: c.1674 Troughton was teaching a 'Mr Beane', who also studied at Henry Hickman's academy and later became a curate at Buckland (Bod. Lib., Rawl. Lrs. 104, fo. 98). It is conceivable that Troughton and Langley collaborated in their teaching, since both had been ejected from fellowships at Oxford, and

both ministered to the same conventicle; in the absence of evidence, however, this can only be speculation. Wood, who might be expected to balk at Troughton's activities, writes that 'he was a good School–Divine and Metaphysician, and was much commended while in the University for his Disputations' (Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, II, 512). Evidence from other early academies indicates that Troughton may have continued teaching metaphysics in his private academy. Wood writes that Troughton 'did not make it his business' to employ 'all the little tricks and artifices, too frequently practiced by other hot–headed zealots of his fraternity' in order to draw them from the established church (Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, II, 512). This statement suggests that Troughton's teaching was not widely perceived as a threat to the established church.

Troughton was opposed to what he perceived to be theological innovation. His two–volume defence of the doctrine of justification by faith, published as *Lutherus redivivus* (1677–8), included a polemical attack on Richard Baxter and other moderate Presbyterians for encouraging Arminian, Popish, and Socinian doctrines. He also published an account of *Gods Providence about Sinful Actions* in response to *The Reconcilableness of Gods Prescience*, an open letter to Robert Boyle by the dissenting minister John Howe; Troughton accused Howe of being 'more like an Heathen *Platonist*, then a Christian Divine' and encouraging 'the ill Weeds of *Pelagianisme*' (*Gods Providence*, 1–2). Towards the end of his life, Troughton was in correspondence with Philip Wharton, a major benefactor of nonconformist ministers (Bod. Lib., Rawl. Lrs. 104, fo. 98). He died at Oxford on 20 August 1681, aged 44; his will, dated 27 July 1681, was proved on 22 November (Calamy, *Account*, 69; TNA, PRO, PROB 11/368/329). Troughton's funeral sermon was preached by Abraham James, the blind master of Woodstock free school, who 'did take occasion not only to be lavish in the commendations of the Defunct', but was also threatened with ejection from the school after making 'several glances on the government established by law' (Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, II, 512). Troughton's son John Troughton (1666–1739), to whom his 'Studie of Bookes' was bequeathed, was also a minister; Gordon speculates that he could have been taught by his father (Gordon, *Freedom*, 370). In 1690 Baxter, who had met Troughton Sr in Coventry, wrote scathingly of his abilities in the preface to his *Scripture Gospel Defended*. Baxter's remarks, which were motivated by pique at Troughton's criticisms, provoked a response from Troughton Jr, who wrote to Baxter from Clapham on 12 March 1691 in protest (DWL, Baxter Letters, V, fo. 57).

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Veal, Edward (c.1632–1708)

EDWARD VEAL was a tutor in Dublin and Wapping. According to Calamy, he was aged 76 at his death in 1708, which implies that he was born c.1632 (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 85). He may have been the son of Edward Veal of Laughton, an elder of the seventh Lancashire classis in 1646 (Shaw, *Commonwealth*, II, 397; *ODNB*). Veal matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, on 27 February 1651, graduating BA on 13 February 1652 and proceeding MA on 21 February 1654 (Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, II, 1540). The dean of Christ Church for most of this period was John Owen, who was required by the Irish Commissioners to review the statutes of Trinity College, Dublin (Dunlop, *Ireland*, I, 10–11). By 1656 Veal was a senior fellow at Trinity, where he was created BD on 3 July 1661; his degree was certified by the provost and fellows on 17 January 1662 (*ODNB*; Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 84). On 14 August 1657 Veal was ordained by the fourth Lancashire classis at Winwick, as the minister at Dunboyne, Ireland; Calamy later printed his ordination certificate, together with a testimonial to his character and ability from seven ministers at Dublin on 31 December 1661 (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 81–4). While living in Ireland he met the Puritan minister Stephen Charnock, who later appointed Veal as one of his literary executors.

Although not formally ejected following the Act of Uniformity, both Veal and Charnock left Ireland for England shortly afterwards; Charnock moved to London, and Veal served as William Waller's chaplain until Waller's death in 1668 (Calamy, *Account*, 57). He then

moved to London. In Archbishop Sheldon's survey of 1669 he was noted to be preaching at Stepney: 'One Mr Veale an Independt. hath lately set up a Meeting in this parish And first solicited for Subscriptions, before he would come' (LPL, Tenison 639, fo. 221). In 1670, his meeting near Globe Alley in Wapping was 'disturb'd and orders given to be lockt up' (TNA, SP29/277, no. 3). Nevertheless, he helped to gain licences for several nonconformist ministers under Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence in 1672 (TNA, SP29/320, fos. 61–3, 100). Veal himself was licensed on 13 April 1672 as a Presbyterian, to preach 'in ye howse known by all in Globe Alley, Wapping'. The Indulgence was withdrawn the following year. At about this time, Veal contributed sermons to the morning exercise delivered by nonconformists at Cripplegate; these were published in 1674, 1675, 1683 and 1690. He also assisted in the completion of Matthew Poole's *Annotations upon the Holy Bible* (1683–5) and co-edited Charnock's writings following his death in 1680. Veal was a member of the dissenters' Common Fund which operated in London 1690–3, and was also an associate of the Presbyterian Fund Board which replaced it (DWL, OD67; OD68). During this period he prepared two sets of *Practical Discourses*, on Leviticus 25:10 and Hebrews 2:10, which were published in 1705. He died on 6 June 1708. In his will, dated 24 November 1705 and proved on 25 June 1708, Veal divided his estate between his sister Martha Veal, his sister-in-law Mary Maple, and his daughter Katherine Veal, who was executrix (TNA, PRO, PROB 11/502/234). Veal's funeral sermon was preached by Thomas Simmons, his successor as minister to the Wapping dissenters, and was later published.

During the late 1670s, Veal conducted an academy for ministerial students at Wapping. Simmons writes that he was 'extensively useful in the Educating Young Persons for the *Sacred Office of the Ministry*, at a Time when the *Harvest was great*, and *Faithful Labourers but few*' (Simmons, *Veal*, 44). Veal's most famous student was Samuel Wesley, who attended Veal's private academy c.1679–81. Wesley had 'the sum of Thirty pounds p[er] annu[m]' settled upon him while he was there 'by way of an Exhibition', together with funds raised from lay collections and subscriptions from a London congregation. He remained at Veal's academy for two years, during which time Veal read to him 'a course of Logic and Ethics'. However, Wesley indicates that Veal was prosecuted by neighbouring justices, so that he 'broke up his House & quitted that Employ'. Wesley then attended Charles Morton's academy in Newington Green (Bod. Lib., Rawl. c.406, p. 104). This evidence suggests that Veal's academy collapsed c.1681, partly as a consequence of renewed political pressure on

dissenters following the Exclusion Crisis. In October 1682 the Roger Morrice included Veal among a list of dissenters who had 'left their habitations if not their employment' (DWL, Morrice P, p. 341). Another of Veal's students was the future minister Joseph Boyse, who had previously spent three years at Richard Frankland's academy, c.1675–8 (BL, Add. MS 45974, fo. 13). Boyse also spent two years at Veal's academy; his biographer Richard Choppin explained that Boyse 'enjoy'd not only valuable advantages for the prosecuting of his studies but the opportunity of attending the ministry of many *able divines* both *Conformists* and *non-Conformists*' (Choppin, *Boyse*, 38–9). After leaving Veal's academy Boyse preached in London, Amsterdam and Yorkshire prior to being invited to Ireland in 1683 (YAS, MS 12 (12)). According to the minister John Shower, the student Nathaniel Taylor had similar opportunities to network while under Veal's instruction. During this period, Shower and Taylor 'met often to assist one another in preparing for Publick Service, some Years before we began to preach'. At this time both Shower and Taylor also received 'the Countenance, and Counsel of that Great and Excellent Man, Mr. *Stephen Charnock*, on whose Ministry we both attended'. Shower considered Veal himself to have been 'a Worthy, and Learned Tutor' (Shower, *Taylor*, 27). Another minister who benefited from Veal's instruction was Timothy Rogers 'who tho' he was not formally a *Pupil* to Mr. *Veal*, yet liv'd in the House with him', probably during the late 1670s (Palmer, *Vindication*, 98). The surviving evidence suggests that while Veal's academy may have been shortlived, his teaching varied from formal lectures in logic and ethics to the more generalised preparation of students for the ministry.

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***Vincent, Thomas (1634–78)**

THOMAS VINCENT, often assumed to be assistant tutor to Thomas Doolittle, was born in May 1634, and baptized on 18 October in Hertford, the son of John Vincent (1590 or 1591–1646). His father, a Puritan clergyman, was 'so harrassed, and forc'd upon so many Removes for his Nonconformity' that his children were each born in different counties. Another son, Nathaniel, also became a Presbyterian minister (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 30; *ODNB*).

Vincent studied at Westminster School, then at a school in Felsted, Essex (Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, II, 463). He was admitted to Christ Church, Oxford in 1648, matriculating in February 1651, graduating BA in March 1652, and proceeding MA in May 1654 (Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, II, 1546). According to Anthony Wood, 'the Governour of his house had so great opinion of him, that he chose him Catechist, which usually belong to a senior Master' (Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, II, 463). Soon afterwards, Vincent left Oxford, becoming the chaplain to Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester. On 14 July 1657 Vincent was made the rector of St Mary Magdalen in Milk Street, London, following the sequestration of the previous minister (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 30–1; LPL, COMM. III/6, p. 74). It was probably at this point that he first met Thomas Doolittle, with whom he held a partnership for the next twenty years. Wood writes that Vincent was 'held in great esteem for his piety by those of his perswasion' (Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, II, 463).

The paucity and contradictory nature of the surviving evidence means that few firm statements can be made about the nature or dates of Vincent's teaching. After his ejection in 1662 Vincent assisted Doolittle in his ministry, and Calamy asserts that he 'was for some time employ'd in assisting Mr. *Doolittle* at *Islington* in giving some Young Persons an

Academical Education' (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 31). Unfortunately, there is little evidence to clarify Calamy's statement. Following Calamy, Parker and McLachlan assume that Vincent worked alongside Doolittle in his academy. At most, Vincent may have been an assistant tutor. Calamy's statement that Vincent was 'thought well qualify'd' for this 'Sort of Service' reads rather like conventional praise than a studied assessment. Calamy's comments are particularly hard to assess given that the nature of Doolittle's teaching prior to the late 1670s is unknown. Until this date, Doolittle may have been teaching grammar learning rather than university subjects; if this is the case, then Vincent's role may have been closer to that of an usher in a small private school than to an assistant tutor in a private academy. Doolittle's school opened prior to the plague of 1665. When Doolittle left his pastorate during the plague, Vincent remained to minister to its victims (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 31–4). It is not clear what happened to their students during this period.

It was Vincent's ability as a preacher and writer, not his competence to teach, which earned him his considerable reputation, and altered the attitude of many episcopalians towards the nonconformist ministers of the time. Richard Baxter later praised his 'Zeal and Diligence' (*Reliquiae Baxterianae*, III, 95). Vincent's frequently republished work *Gods Terrible Voice in the City of London* (1667) contained narratives of the effects of the recent plague and the great fire, and later provided a source for Daniel Defoe's *A Journal of the Plague Year* (1722). Building on the immediate success of the work, Vincent swiftly published another treatise, *Christ's Certain and Sudden Appearance* (1667), exploring the consequences of Christ's second coming and the nature of the last judgment. The third of his 'Trumpets of Judgement', *The Wells of Salvation Opened* (1668), sought to examine the role of ministers in explaining to people how they might be saved. Another early pamphlet, *The Foundation of God* (1668), was a defence of orthodox trinitarianism against the doctrines of William Penn. Vincent's educational writings included three sermons delivered to young men, published as *Words of Advice* (1668) and *The Best Gift* (1672), and a sermon to young women, published as *Christ the Best Husband* (1672). Vincent continued to preach without licence throughout the 1660s, and attempts by the authorities to disrupt him intensified. Nevertheless, he retained a large following; in 1669 a meeting-house seating 500 people was built in Hand Alley, by Bishopsgate Street, although it was temporarily seized by local conformists, whose churches had been destroyed by the Fire of 1666, and in 1670 Vincent was fined £20 for preaching (Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 503). His fortunes temporarily changed following Charles II's

Declaration of Indulgence of 1672; at this point he was licensed as a Presbyterian to preach in his house at Hand Alley until the Indulgence was withdrawn in 1673 (TNA, SP44/38A, p. 2). At around this time he prepared *The Good Work Begun in the Day of Grace* (1673); appended to this text were a 'Cautionary Letter sent by an unknown Author . . . To the Youths belonging to Mr. *Thomas Vincent*', a reply by Vincent, and a series of 'Cautionary Motives and Directions unto Youths' to prevent apostacy and backsliding (*Good Work*, 69–91). He also published several funeral sermons and *An Explicatory Catechism* (1677) modelled on the Westminster Assembly's short catechism, which was probably later used at John Woodhouse's academy in Sheriffhales. Vincent died on 15 October 1678 in Hoxton, and was buried on 27 October at St Giles, Cripplegate (Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, II, 464); his will included a bequest of £5 to the minister and tutor Edward Veal (TNA, PRO, PROB 11/361/458). A funeral sermon was preached by Samuel Slater and later published.

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The Wells of Salvation Opened: Or, Words whereby we may be Saved (London, 1668).
Godliness, in Principle and Conversation. A Necessary Preparative to the Worlds Dissolution, and the Escaping of Future Burnings (London, 1670).
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Wadsworth, John (1678–1745)

JOHN WADSWORTH, tutor at Rotherham and Sheffield, was born at Attercliffe on 30 March 1678. From 1694 he attended Timothy Jollie's Attercliffe academy. He was Jollie's assistant minister at the Congregational chapel in Sheffield until 1701, when he became an assistant minister at Rotherham (1701–14). His position as assistant minister at Sheffield was then taken by John de la Rose. From this date Wadsworth started teaching academical

subjects, probably to a small number of students, some of whom were funded by the Presbyterian Fund Board. On 7 November 1715 the Board agreed to allow £10 to James Bradshaw, son of the minister Ebenezer Bradshaw, 'provided Mr Wadsworth . . . give an agreeable account of his Behaviour' and 'his fitness for pursuing his Studies'. On 5 March 1716 a Mr Bellamy was awarded £10 on similar conditions. Both students continued to be funded by the Board until 1718 (DWL, OD68, pp. 274, 284, 333, 340).

Following Jollie's death in 1714, one section of his Sheffield congregation wished to appoint de la Rose as the senior minister, but the chapel trustees appointed Wadsworth. About 200 members then withdrew from Wadsworth's congregation, initially using two houses for worship, and then building a chapel for de la Rose, which was completed in 1715. Following protests from Wadsworth's supporters, de la Rose's ordination was deferred, and the following month (November 1715) a number of ministers met and investigated the case. Their judgment was 'that the first breach arose from the precipitant acts of those who now adhere to Mr Wadsworth, and that those brethren that now adhere to Mr. John De la Rose have a just and righteous cause'. De la Rose was then ordained. Meanwhile, Wadsworth continued to minister to his own congregation. He was severely ill of a recurring fever in 1729 but had recovered sufficiently to preach in 1731 (Clegg, *Diary*, 56, 66, 126).

Wadsworth was a friend of the minister James Clegg, with whom he discussed the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts in 1732 (Clegg, *Diary*, 159). Ill health forced him to resign from his ministry in 1744. Despite Wadsworth's controversial life, after his death in 1745 a memorial stone was placed in the chapel, describing him as 'a minister among ye Protestant Dissenters in this Town, with singular wisdom, and candor', and as 'a Tutor with reputation and success.' He had four assistants: Timothy Jollie Jr (1715–20), Daniel Clark (1720–4), Benjamin Roberts (1724–40) and his son Field Sylvester Wadsworth (1740–4). Field Sylvester later acquired a reputation for being an Arian.

Wadsworth may not have been a particularly effective tutor. According to Peter Goodwin, the minister Samuel Bruce 'entered upon Academical Studies in the Country . . . At *Sheffield*, under the Rev. Mr. *John Wadsworth*', but shortly afterwards moved to Thomas Ridgley's academy in Moorfields (Goodwin, *Bruce*, 23). Bruce was not alone in leaving Wadsworth's tuition before completing the course. Wadsworth's best-known student was Timothy Jollie Jr, son of the Attercliffe tutor. In a diary entry for 7 October 1707, Jollie Jr stated 'I began to

learn school learning with Mr. John Wadsworth, I hope not to my disadvantages tho I confess I might have made a better improvement'. By this time Jollie was 16, and by 'school learning' he meant university subjects. While studying with Wadsworth, Jollie found himself to be 'a little out of order', 'indisposed', 'ill', 'vain and indolent', 'averse to ye work my Father designed for me' and 'upon low considerations'. He left Wadsworth's academy after a year, and began to study with his father (Manning, *Upper Chapel*, 62–3). On the other hand, Jollie's insecurities may have been owing to his temperament rather than to Wadsworth's tuition, since they continued while he was under his father's care: 'at first I was not a little discouraged but afterwards I grew a little more Couragious, but then I grew vain and so apt to Droll upon ye Scriptures, also ye Devil set upon me with filthy thoughts, and I was very idle too' (quoted in Manning, *Upper Chapel*, 62–3). A late eighteenth-century account speculates that Wadsworth's students were 'not many, for at this time Dr. Latham's Academy was in the zenith of fame & reputation' (DWL, 24.59, fo. 34).

The nature of Wadsworth's theological opinions has been the subject of much critical speculation. According to Joseph Hunter, Wadsworth and Jollie Jr were 'orthodox' by the standards of the nineteenth century, but 'it would *not* be found that they held Calvinistic sentiments in the sense in which they are exhibited in the Assembly's Catechism'. J. E. Manning believed that Wadsworth was only 'moderately orthodox' and that most of his pupils were Arians. Wadsworth's theology has been contrasted to that of de la Rose. Hunter wrote that de la Rose was 'a preacher of showy eloquence, his style being formed on the model of the French preachers'. Hunter believed that de la Rose 'went to an extreme in orthodoxy, beyond what was sanctioned by the opinions of almost all his brethren in the dissenting ministry' (Hunter, 'Gens Sylvestrina', 147, quoted in Manning, *Upper Chapel*, 54–5). Manning concluded that de la Rose was 'ultra-orthodox'. In Manning's view, the divergent opinions of Wadsworth and de la Rose marked the 'parting of the ways' between two branches of the dissenters in Sheffield: de la Rose's congregation maintained the Calvinist tradition, whereas Wadsworth's supporters gradually moved towards Unitarianism (Manning, *Upper Chapel*, 54–60). However, both Hunter and Manning agree that Wadsworth himself was not an Arian. In a letter of 1736, Wadsworth requested that his son – then preparing for study at Doddridge's academy – should be fixed with a 'Chamberfellow . . . of a good degree of fixedness in ye Calvinistical scheme' (DWL, NCL/L1/9/74). While a number of Jollie Jr's sermons survive in manuscript (CL, H.c.9), an absence of evidence

makes the effect of the theological disagreement between Wadsworth and de la Rose difficult to assess.

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Warren, Matthew (1642–1706)

MATTHEW WARREN, tutor at Taunton, was baptized on 4 December 1642 at Otterford in Somerset. He was the younger son of John Warren, a gentleman (Sprint, *Warren*, 43; *ODNB*). Warren studied at a grammar school in Crewkerne before matriculating at St John’s College, Oxford, on 2 July 1658 (Foster, Joseph, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, II, 1576). There is very little reliable information about his early life. According to an anonymous biography appended to a funeral sermon delivered by John Sprint, Warren left Oxford after nearly four years, and went to Reading, where he stayed with his tutor for a year before moving to Otterford, presumably *c.*1663 (Sprint, *Warren*, 44). The historian Edmund Calamy’s chronology was probably slightly different, since he considered Warren to have been silenced by the Act of Uniformity in 1662 (Calamy, *Continuation*, II, 747). Warren’s anonymous biographer indicated that he first began to teach while he was living in Otterford, but the nature and extent of Warren’s teaching at this date is unknown. According to the anonymous biographical sketch, ‘Divine Providence . . . through the Importunity of Ministers and Friends, dispos’d him to a Work, in which he was deservedly acceptable, and Eminently useful to the Honour of God, and the Church of Christ’, that of ‘Educating Youth for . . . the Ministry’ (Sprint, *Warren*, 44).

However, it is highly unlikely that Warren was taking students with the express purpose of training them for the dissenting ministry in the 1660s.

In 1672, following Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence, Warren was licensed as a Presbyterian to preach in the house of John Hill in Withypool on Exmoor, although the Indulgence was withdrawn the following year (TNA, SP29/321, fos. 117, 118). By this date he was probably living in Taunton, since he married Martha Rossiter in St Mary Magdalene church on 14 April 1673 (*ODNB*). While he was resident in Taunton, Warren's teaching developed from what were probably quite small-scale beginnings into an important private academy for dissenters, teaching university subjects to ministerial students. Tracing this development is extremely difficult, although a few clues are provided by a biography of the future dissenting minister John Shower, written by William Tong, tutor at Coventry and Southwark. Shower, having been educated in grammar learning in his native city, was sent to Warren at about the age of fourteen, *c.*1671, and remained under his tuition for about four years; he then moved to London with his mother, where he attended Charles Morton's academy in Newington Green. While under Warren's care, Shower apparently made a great progress in 'Rational Learning', but Tong gives no indication as to what he means by this. Warren is described by Tong as a learned man, who 'for many Years, and with great Success, kept up a private Academy, as the Reverend Mr. Franckland did in the North of England'. Tong believed that Warren and Frankland were 'the first that run the Risque 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' (Tong, *Shower*, 6–9). Another biographer wrote that Warren's 'Sufferings in King *Charles* and *James*'s Reign were very great', and related an occasion upon which he escaped imprisonment following a 'Strange Providential Impulse' of his wife (Sprint, *Warren*, 47–8).

Following James II's Indulgence of 1687, Warren and Emmanuel Harford, a relation of his through marriage, became the ministers at a Presbyterian meeting in Paul Street, Taunton (Calamy, *Continuation*, II, 748). From this date, Warren's academy was on a firmer footing. On 25 August of that year Warren and Ames Short, a neighbouring tutor, took part in the ordination of Christopher Taylor at Lyme Regis, one of the first dissenting ordinations to occur in the south west of England (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 418–19). After the passage of the Toleration Act (1689) Warren and Harford joined the dissenters' Western Division of

Somerset. From the same date Warren established a strong working relationship with the United Brethren of Devon and Somerset, better known as the 'Exeter Assembly'. Warren was present at the early Taunton meeting of the Assembly on 2 and 3 September 1691; at this time he may have been involved in the aborted plans by five unnamed members of the Western Division to print a short tract on the subject and manner of baptism. He was also present at another early meeting of the Exeter Assembly, 18–20 April 1693. From this date the Assembly required him to provide ministers for congregations with a vacancy across the south west. Warren probably did not attend meetings of the Exeter Assembly over the next decade, but his academy was monitored closely. On 2 or 3 April 1695, the Assembly considered '[t]he use which some Anabaptists educated in learning under Mr [Stephen] Toogood & Mr Warren make of what learning they have gained', citing the inappropriate conduct of Murch of Plymouth and Knotwood of Bovey. Another Baptist taught by Warren, but not mentioned in the minutes of the Exeter Assembly, was Nathaniel Hodges, whose views were a great disappointment to his episcopalian uncle. As a consequence of the controversy, the Assembly resolved that 'private tutors among us be caution'd against educating for the Ministry those who professedly oppose the Heads of Agreement' agreed in 1691. A letter of complaint was sent to Warren from the Assembly, and copied into their minute book (DWL, 38.24, fos. 72–3). By September 1696 Warren was the moderator of a ministerial association meeting at Sherborne; on this date he wrote to the Exeter Assembly on behalf of the Sherborne association to complain that the ministers Towgood and Ashwood were ordaining ministers who had not addressed themselves to the United Brethren. By this point, Towgood was running a rival academy, in which he taught students languages and encouraged them to read Burgersdijck's *Logic*. The Exeter Assembly implored Ashwood not to ordain persons without an order from them. Warren intervened in the Assembly's business once again in 1699; alongside his co-pastor Emmanuel Harford and two ministers, he signed a letter defending the competence of the minister Thomas Edgley against his detractors. He also signed (with Harford) certificates of approbation of ministerial candidates, one of which was recorded by the Exeter Assembly (DWL, 38.24, fos. 86–7).

Following the Toleration Act of 1689 it became easier for dissenters to raise money for academy students. Several of Warren's charges received financial support from the Exeter Assembly, sometimes through bursaries provided by local dissenting worthies. There is some evidence that these sums were temporarily curtailed as consequence of the controversy over

the academy in 1695. Other students at Warren's academy were awarded grants by the London-based Common Fund, which later became the Presbyterian Fund Board. These students included the future theology tutor at Taunton, Stephen James, Michael Martin, a Mr Billingsley, and James Rutter (DWL, OD67, fos. 72, 91, 99, 116; OD68, p. 133). On 24 August 1697 (St Bartholomew's Day), Arthur Parsons, a clothier of Taunton, made a deed of gift of lands to assist young men in their education and training for the ministry. He made over to trustees 'one acre of Overland called Madbrooks and four acres of Overland called Ayland', the rents from which were to be applied 'towards the educating & bringing up' for three years of youths 'for the ministry in the Presbyterian or Congregational Way'. The original trustees included Warren, Harford, Baruch Nowell (minister at Dorchester, 1689–1739), and Malachi Blake of Wellington (1651–1705). After Warren's death, his successor as tutor at the Taunton academy Robert Darch acted as trustee; in 1720 Darch handed the accounts over to Edmund Batson, another Taunton minister (SARS, DD\SP/319/6; W. H. B., 'Early Gift', 278–9; the Trust survived into the twentieth century, being administered by the Revd A. Cunliffe Fox of Bath in 1938).

After his first wife's death, Warren married Elizabeth Baker at St Mary Magdalene on 14 April 1692; their son Matthew was baptized at Pauls Meeting on 9 July 1704. Warren died on 14 June 1706 at Taunton, and was buried in St Mary Magdalene (Sprint, *Warren*, 53; ODNB). In his will he bequeathed £400 for the education and maintenance of his son, and left the rest to his widow. His funeral sermon was preached by John Sprint; it was printed and sold by Thomas Parkhurst and Sprint himself. In August 1706 Harford also died; Sprint also preached at his funeral, and his sermon was again printed and sold by Parkhurst and Sprint, with a character by another hand. By this point, the Taunton congregation had reached almost 2,000 people. Warren's academy then passed into the hands of Stephen James, Robert Darch, and Warren's former student, Henry Grove.

Estimates of Warren's academy vary. His anonymous early biographer writes that he was 'wonderfully successful, in sending Abroad a Considerable Number, to wait on God at his Altar', and indicates that his students were 'Sound in their Doctrine, Exemplary in their Conversation, Lovers of God and Man, true to the Interest of Christ, and the Nation'. Warren, according to this writer, 'always inculcated Principles of Loyal[ty] in his Pupils', notwithstanding 'whatever may be suggested by some, acted more by Malice than Judgment

or Experience'. The author asserts that Warren was particularly known for his humility, modesty, and good humour; he developed an ability to adapt himself to the 'various temper' of youth, such that his students made 'a greater Progress in the several Arts and Sciences', and had a capacity of explaining things 'even to the Capacity of his Weakest Pupil' (Sprint, *Warren*, 44–6; Calamy, *Continuation*, II, 747).

Warren's supporters emphasised his reputation for ethics instruction, through which he inculcated 'Principles of Morality', and encouraged the 'Improvement of the Understanding in that part of Learning'. His early biographer insists that he was not 'Rigid' to his opinion, but yielded to reason, 'Preferring the Judgment of Others to his own'. Warren, it was later reported, allowed his pupils 'Freedom of Thought', and never denied them the use of any writers, but was 'Careful to establish his Pupils against those Erroneous Principles, that undermine the Fundamentals of our Religion'. In other words, some things he felt to be 'above our Understandings', and counselled the avoidance of the 'Licentious Wit of those, who endeavour to Confound and Distract the Minds of Men with . . . Subtle Objections' (Sprint, *Warren*, 46–7). A manuscript copy of Charles Morton's *Compendium Physicae* by a student of Taunton academy suggests that this manuscript work may have formed the basis of natural philosophy teaching from the early eighteenth century, if not before (WL, 3636).

The earliest printed reference to Warren's academy was by Samuel Wesley in 1703, who noted that it was at 'Taunton–Dean in Sommerset–shire' and that the pupils had been 'numerous', but could not recall the tutor's name (Wesley, *Letter*, 9). When Grove's pupil and successor at the Academy, Thomas Amory, wrote memoirs of Grove in the 1740s, he included a well-known description of Warren as 'bred himself in the *old logic* and *philosophy*, and little acquainted with the improvements of the *new*'. However, Amory went on to claim that Grove often commended his former tutor for encouraging freedom of inquiry, and reading books that differed from Warren's sentiments. At Warren's academy, Grove read 'Locke and *Le Clerc*, and thus improv'd a judgment naturally penetrating and exact, while *Burgersdicius* or *De–rodon* were the lecturers in form'; Grove also 'acquainted himself with the strong reasonings, and excellent morality of *Cumberland*, while *Eustachius* was the public guide in *ethics*'. These comments do not imply, as is often stated, that Warren read lectures based on Locke, Le Clerc, and Cumberland; it seems more likely that his lectures were based on Burgersdijck, Derodon, and Eustachius, whereas the other authors

were read by students privately. Warren's reputation for using no system of theology is also traceable to Amory's comments; Amory writes that Warren was among the '*moderate divines*', encouraging the '*free and critical study of the scriptures, as the best system of theology*'; in defence of Warren, Amory pointed out that the Scriptures were, indeed, 'the standard' by which all other theological systems were to be tried. Another book which Grove read while at Warren's academy was Lucas's *Practical Christianity*, although it is unknown whether this book was recommended by Warren (Grove, *Sermons*, I, pp. xiv–xxii).

The manuscript memoirs of John Fox, a student of Joseph Hallett (1656–1722), said of Warren that his 'school' was 'at that time the most celebrated in all the West' and that it 'sent out men of the best sense and figure among the Ministers of this County in the dissenting way' (JRL, UCC/2/9/3/3, 2nd pagination, pp. 30–1; Fox, 'Memoirs', 151). A late eighteenth-century manuscript history of the academies, summarising the information from Sprint's funeral sermon and Grove's posthumous works, states of Warren that 'he was for many years at the head of a flourishing Academy', educating 'many gentlemen that behaved worthily in civil stations, & others usefull in the Ministry', having 'a good share of usefull learning, joined with humility, modesty and good humour'. This writer believed that Warren was 'bred in the old Logic and Philosophy & little acquainted with the new', an almost word-for-word quotation from Amory's memoirs of Grove (DWL, 24.59, fos. 73–4).

Daniel Defoe, who visited Taunton before Warren's death, described the town as a whole as a 'Seminary' for dissenters, noting that it had suffered much following the Duke of Monmouth's Rebellion in 1685. In the first edition of his *A Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain*, he wrote: 'There was, and I suppose, is still, a Private College, or Academy, for the Dissenters in this Town; the Tutor, who then managed it, was named *Warren*, who told me, that there were Threescore and Twelve Ministers then preaching, whereof Six had conformed to the Church, the rest were among the Dissenters, who had been his Scholars, whereupon, One of his own Sort had, it seems, stiled him the Father of the Faithful: The Academy, since his Death, is continued, but not kept up to the Degree it was, in the Days of the said Mr. *Warren*' (Defoe, *Tour* (1724), II, 21–2).

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Waters, James (1661–1725)

JAMES WATERS, tutor at Uxbridge, was born at Bath on 26 March 1661. According to Daniel Mayo, his parents were 'reputable and religious', and designing their son for the ministry, provided him with a 'liberal and learned education'. He studied the grammar of 'the learned Languages' at a local school, and was then 'instructed for some time in academical Learning' by Henry Langley, who was at that date teaching students at Tubney (Mayo, *Waters*, 30). Waters completed his studies as a ministerial student at Thomas Doolittle's academy, where he was a contemporary of Edmund Calamy (Calamy, *Own Life*, I, 107). While there, he met the nineteen-year-old Samuel Doolittle, whose funeral sermon he later delivered; Waters described the younger Doolittle as 'a diligent Reader and Studier of GOD's Word; not only for his own Improvement in Grace, but that he might also from thence be enabled to instruct and edify others' (*The Christian's Life*, 30). Over a friendship lasting for more than thirty-five years, the two had frequent conversations on matters of doctrine, which led Waters to declare that Doolittle was not an Arminian, but was 'of the same Mind with Bishop *Davenant*, Dr. *Twisse*, *Aymraldus*, Mr. *Claude*, and many other Learned Divines' (*The Christian's Life*, 31–2).

Of Waters's own early years, Mayo wrote that he '*feared the Lord from his Youth*' and gave 'such remarkable Evidences of Modesty, Ingenuity and Regard to serious Piety, together with unusual Diligence in his Studies, that he was in a peculiar Manner esteemed by his Tutors, and a good Example to his Fellow Students, . . . [who] have often spoken of him with great Respect'. It was probably during his education under Doolittle that he drew up a covenant between himself and God, which he signed on 1 January 1680, aged 18. The paper is notable for its emotional outpouring, its mention of Christ's passion, and its focus upon Waters as a self-confessed 'Child of Hell'. Waters wrote, 'my own Righteousness is but monstrous

Rags', but promised to guard against sin and temptation in order to come to Jesus 'hungry, and poor, and wretched, and blind, and naked' (Mayo, *Waters*, 38–42). Shortly afterwards he began to keep a diary, which later passed into Mayo's hands, setting down an account of his experiences of providence, his own behaviour, and the books he read in the course of his studies. Mayo commented that he had 'often heard, that he was a very hard Student, especially in his younger Years'; Mayo published an extract from Waters's diary in order to 'excite others to imitate his good Example, though with this Caution, not to spend whole nights in reading, as he sometimes did, manifestly to the impairing his Health' (Mayo, *Waters*, 32–3). In the extract, Waters records the books which he had read in the last three months of 1684. These included the books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations in French and English, eleven New Testament letters in French, Greek, and English, the whole of the New Testament in English, and from Genesis to Job 'In Musaeolo'. He read Morden and Heylin on geography, various works by Barrow, Tillotson, and Hopkins, the life of John Janeway, and other works of practical divinity by Kidder, Burton, Jurieu, Bradshaw, Strong, Davenport, Corbet, Hale, Brevint, Gillespie, and Newcombe. During the same period he browsed several other texts and 'wrote not nothing', presumably drafting sermons (Mayo, *Waters*, 43–4).

It is tempting to associate Waters's reading with his education at Doolittle's academy, but by the middle of 1682 he was employed as tutor to the son of Lord Denzil Holles at Aldenham in Hertfordshire, 'in which Employment he discharged himself so much to his Lordship's Satisfaction, as to have several Tokens of his Love and Esteem' (Mayo, *Waters*, 31). During that year, he preached the funeral sermon of Baroness Anne Holles, which was then published. He was then recommended by Sir John Thompson (later Lord Haversham) to be the domestic chaplain and tutor to the children of George Evelyn of Nutfield in Surrey, a post which he occupied during the reign of James II, at first preaching privately, but then more publicly, at Reigate. In May 1693 Waters accepted a call to be the minister at Uxbridge, although he had probably already been preaching there for several months. Almost immediately after his arrival in late 1692, he found himself attacked for his nonconformity, with the validity of his ministry denied by John Jacques, the Church of England minister at Uxbridge. Waters felt provoked into beginning a sharp exchange of letters with Jacques, in vindication of the ordination of dissenters. Unsurprisingly, the debate centred upon their varying interpretations of Paul's epistles to Timothy and Titus. The final letter in the

controversy was sent by Jacques on 13 March 1693. Waters had the entire correspondence published in 1703. In response, Benjamin Gatton caused to be published an even larger series of *Letters Concerning the Terms of Conformity Required by Law* between Waters and himself in 1705.

In 1695 Mayo inherited three of the students of John Southwell, a tutor at Newbury, who were supported by the Presbyterian Fund Board. On 3 November 1695, the Board made payments of £5 to Mr Hardy's son and Jacob Ball, and £4 to John Baron, and William Harris, who were 'wth: mr Walters att Uxbridge'. On 5 April 1696 £8 per annum was granted to John Duke, 'Intended for Scotland to Commence from ye 24th of June next, in ye Roome of William Harris lately a Studt. wth. mr Waters att Uxbridge'. On 6 July 1696 grants of £5 were made to Waters's students Jacob Ball and Josiah Moltby, £4 for John Baron and William Harris, and £2 10s for Samuel Willson, and £6 for Nathaniel Wells 'for Books' (OD68, fos. 16, 19, 22, 25; p. 152). Of these students, only Willson does not appear to have been formerly a student of Southwell. Waters may have continued to take ministerial students, although the meagre Fund Board notes for the subsequent three years give no indication of this. Mayo noted that Waters's knowledge and learning made him 'well furnished for the Instruction of Youth, in which he was employed with great Acceptance and Usefulness all his Days . . . I never knew any that came from under his Care, who did not speak of him with the utmost respect' (Mayo, *Waters*, 33). Mayo argued that '*Theology* was his chief Study, and the Ministry of the Gospel his main Business' and that his sermons focused on the 'principal Doctrines of revealed Religion, and the great and necessary Duties of the Christian Life'. According to Mayo, one of the principles keeping Waters within the fold of the dissenters was his inability to accept 'the divine Right of Bishops, as a superior *Order* to that of Presbyters'; neither could he accept 'the Imposition, or Use of human Inventions, or needless Ceremonies'. Politically, he was a moderate, being 'zealously affected to the civil Constitution . . . upon the Principles of the happy *Revolution*, in 1688' and deploring '*POPERY* and *ARBITRARY POWER*' (Mayo, *Waters*, 33–5).

Despite his learning, Waters published little. His funeral sermon for the minister Samuel Doolittle, his tutor's son, was printed in 1717, only after Waters had painstakingly corrected a set of shorthand notes from one of his hearers (*The Christian's Life*, pp. iii–iv). In 1724 he subscribed to Gilbert Burnet's *History of his Own Time*. Waters struggled for several years

with a weakness brought about by excessive study and his ministerial work, although he did not take an assistant until the final half year before he died. During his final decline he spoke to Mayo of his concern that his congregation should not become divided over their choice of a successor. He died 'suddenly, and silently,' as if 'very gently unclothed' on 5 May 1725, and was buried in St Margaret's chapel, Uxbridge. The congregation unanimously agreed that his assistant Thomas Mole should become his successor (Mayo, *Waters*, 36–7). His funeral sermon was preached by Daniel Mayo and later published. His daughter married John Mason (d. 1763), an author and dissenting minister at Cheshunt.

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***Weaver, John (d. 1712)**

JOHN WEAVER, schoolmaster, was born in the vicinity of Ludlow in Shropshire and matriculated at St John's College, Oxford in 1652 (Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, II, 1587). He was the rector of New Radnor from 18 July 1654 (LPL, COMM. III/3, part ii, p. 82), and the vicar of Old Radnor from 12 January 1657 (LPL, COMM. III/5, p. 192). Weaver was ejected from his living at the Restoration; his successor was installed at Old Radnor on 21 July 1660. He was then briefly the rector of Knill in Herefordshire, for which he paid the clerical subsidy in 1661. Following the Act of Uniformity in 1662, Weaver was ejected once again; his successor took up the post on 21 July 1663 (Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 515–16). Weaver then moved to Bettws, Monmouthshire, where he opened a school in contravention of the Act of Uniformity, for which he was excommunicated in 1665 (Richards, *Penal Code*, 39). Very little information exists about the nature of Weaver's school. There has been considerable speculation that he was teaching academical subjects as well as grammar learning, but no firm evidence exists to support this claim. Parker and McLachlan may have been misled by

Alexander Gordon, who claims that Weaver was 'useful at Abergavenny on the defection [i.e. conformity] of Roger Griffith' (Gordon, *Freedom*, 378). Prior to conforming, Griffith had conducted a small academy at Abergavenny, but Gordon does not mean to imply that Weaver was his successor as a tutor. Gordon's source is Calamy, who simply states that Weaver 'extended his Care to the Dissenting Congregation in *Abergavenny*, and that engag'd him much in the Affair of Mr. *Roger Griffyth*, who . . . deserted them' (Calamy, *Account*, 734). Previous commentators have asserted that one of Weaver's students was Samuel Jones, later the tutor at an academy in Tewkesbury. Jones certainly married Weaver's daughter, but there is no reason to assume that Weaver was his tutor (Calamy, *Account*, 734). By the time of this marriage, according to Calamy, Weaver had 'for Thirty Three Years together, wanted his Salary of 100*l. per Annum*; and therefore he in this time lost 3300*l.* And that very Sum God restor'd to the Family by this Son in Law' (Calamy, *Account*, 734).

By 1690, Weaver had succeeded George Primrose as the pastor to a dissenting congregation at Hereford; he had been recommended for the role by Edward Harley, a prominent patron of dissenters. Weaver also petitioned Harley to contribute towards the financial support of a widow teaching school at the behest of the ejected minister and educationalist Thomas Gouge (BL, Add. MS 70125). When Harley died in 1700, there were 'great Feuds' between Weaver and his congregation, but he continued to preach to a small handful of people there until his death in 1712 (Calamy, *Account*, 734). His name appears in the baptismal register for Eignbrook meeting-house in Hereford from 10 November 1690 until 12 April 1711 (TNA, RG 4/3572, fo. 3). According to Edmund Calamy, Weaver was 'a considerable Man, but by many reckon'd too severe' (Calamy, *Account*, 734). His will, dated 28 June 1711, was proved at Llandaff. He left 21 shillings to his son Samuel, 'with a sorrowful heart that hee deserves no better'; one of his daughters was called Margery (Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 516).

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*Wickens, William (1614 or 1615–99)

WILLIAM WICKENS, lecturer, was born in London. He matriculated at St Catharine's College, Cambridge in 1631, graduating BA in 1635 and proceeding MA in 1638 (Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, IV, 399). From 25 March 1643 he was the chaplain to Sir Edward Scott, of Scott's Hall, Kent. On 25 May 1643 he became a lecturer at Dartford in Kent, and he was the rector of St Andrew Hubbard in 1646 (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 37). Wickens was the scribe of the fourth London classis from 18 November 1646 until it ceased operating; he was also one of the scribes of the provincial assembly, signing the *Testimony to the Trueth of Jesus Christ* (1648) and the *Vindication of the Ministers of the Gospel* (1649). He was formally admitted to the fourth London classis on 29 November 1652, having been presented by Algernon, Earl of Northumberland on the death of Richard Chambers. On 18 February 1659 he was admitted to the rectory of St George's in Southwark, but the sequestered rector was restored the following year, and Wickens was ejected (LPL, COMM. III/7, p. 200). He

then preached for two years at the prison of Poultry Compter (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 38). Having been offered £5 at some point after his ejection, Wickens apparently replied, 'I believe my Friend Mr. Edward Lawrence stands more in need of it', and requested that it should be given to Lawrence; the auditors obeyed. Later, Wickens became the chaplain to London alderman John Forth (Calamy, *Continuation*, I, 38). Under the terms of Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence, Wickens was licensed to preach at the house of a Mr Forth in Hackney as a Presbyterian on 16 May 1672 (TNA, SP44/38A, p. 115). Although the Indulgence was withdrawn the following year, he continued to preach, being fined £60 for doing so by the Middlesex sessions on 1 October 1682. He was fined a further £20 in November, for preaching at a meeting-house in Clapton on 15 October.

Wickens's work educating students may not have been very extensive. When Charles Morton departed for New England in 1685, Wickens lectured to his students, together with Francis Glascock and Stephen Lobb; Matthew Henry attended some of the meetings (DWL, 90.5.10). According to Abraham Taylor, the minister John Beaumont was tutored by Glascock after after the break-up of Morton's academy. Beaumont 'privately heard lectures, from that very judicious divine Mr. Francis Glascock, and from Mr. Stephen Lobb, and Mr, Wickens'; these men 'privately, in this way, endeavour'd to assist such young students, as were deprived of more stated helps for instruction, thro' the severity of the times' (Taylor, *Beaumont*, 45–6). On 29 December 1685 Matthew Henry noted that 'Some of Mr. Morton's yong men now yei are scatter'd from him meet (about 6 or 8 of ym.) weekly & have a Divin[ity] Disputa[tion], in wch. Mr. Glascock a very worthy ingenious yong min[iste]r presides'. Henry was permitted to attend the meeting by 'Mr. S. L.', although this man was probably not Stephen Lobb. Henry found the disputations to be 'well manag'd'; on the day that he attended, the disputation question was 'An fide sola~ justificemur' ('Whether we are justified by faith alone'). The students resolved the question in the affirmative, 'much ag[ains]t ye. Baxterian way – yt faith justifies not as a condi[tion] but an instrum[en]t' (DWL, 90.5.10).

Wickens was certified as a preacher at Newington Green in 1689, as the colleague of the ejected minister John Starkey, and later as the colleague of Joseph Bennet. In 1690, a survey for dissenters' Common Fund referred to him as a preacher at Newington Green, and one of several London ministers who '*Want Some Assistance*' (DWL, OD161, p. 3). He was buried at Bunhill on 21 September 1699, aged 84. In his will of 24 July 1697, he described himself

as of Newington Green; the will was proved on 12 July 1700. The names of his three sons were William (who was ordained as a deacon at Ely in 1666), Stephen, and Nathaniel (Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 528).

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Woodhouse, John (c.1627–1700)

JOHN WOODHOUSE, tutor at Sheriffhales, was born c.1627, perhaps as a younger son of John Woodhouse of Wombourne, Staffordshire (Burke, *History*, III, 613–14). According to his early biographer, the dissenting minister Daniel Williams, Woodhouse was intensely pious from his youngest days, and was considered 'so notably Serious' at university 'as to be

admitted into the Intimate Society of some of the Gravest Divines in that Place' (Williams, *Woodhouse*, 100). Williams indicates that he studied at Cambridge University; Wykes (*ODNB*) suggests that he is the man of this name who entered Trinity College, Cambridge in 1655 as a fellow–commoner (Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, IV, 458). At around this time, he took employment as a private chaplain, using the opportunity to study and reflect. Edmund Calamy later believed that Woodhouse was a ministerial candidate in Nottinghamshire in 1662; holding no benefice and not having been ordained, Woodhouse was silenced rather than ejected when the Act of Uniformity came into operation. He then became the chaplain to Lady Grantham (*d.* 1667) at Ratcliffe upon Soar (Calamy, *Account*, 539).

Woodhouse married Mary Hubbard, the daughter of a major from Rearsby in Leicestershire, on 26 November 1667 (Calamy, *Account*, 539; *ODNB*). When her brother George Hubbert died in 1684, he acquired a large estate, which caused a substantial change in his condition: 'he applied himself to Educate Young Men; and to preach more publicly and constantly' in north–east Leicestershire (Williams, *Woodhouse*, 103). He earned a reputation for converting large numbers of people, particularly in the Vale of Belvoir (Williams, *Woodhouse*, 107). In Archbishop Sheldon's survey of 1669 he was noted as preaching on Sundays to about 50 hearers at Saxelby, and to about 20 at Rearsby, alongside the former vicar, William Grace (LPL, Tenison 639, fo. 210). Woodhouse was not licensed to preach following Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence in 1672; however in October 1675 he was licensed by Sheldon to teach grammar learning within the dioceses of Lincoln, Lichfield, and Hereford (*ODNB*).

At some point in the 1670s, Woodhouse moved to a manor house at Sheriffhales in Shropshire, where he opened an academy. Although it is likely that some of his students did indeed study grammar learning – later he employed his son, John Woodhouse, to teach these younger charges – Woodhouse earned his reputation as a tutor in academical subjects. For information about Woodhouse's teaching, we are almost entirely reliant upon an account of Woodhouse's manuscripts by the early nineteenth–century historian Joshua Toulmin (*Historical View*, 225–30). This is a deeply unsatisfactory state of affairs, since Toulmin's aims in his *Historical View* of dissenters and their academies were highly polemical. Toulmin gives no account of the nature of the manuscripts from which he draws his account of Woodhouse's academy, and we cannot even be entirely sure that his classification of the texts he mentions into different subjects reflects Woodhouse's own predilections.

According to Toulmin, Woodhouse educated youths from the most considerable families in the region, and at one time had between forty and fifty students. He educated eminent gentlemen and magistrates, as well as excellent dissenting ministers. Toulmin surmised that the students went through a course of lectures on logic, anatomy, and mathematics, usually beginning with logic; lectures in physics, ethics, and rhetoric followed, and readings were heard in Greek and Hebrew. He claims that a law lecture was read once a week to students designed for the Inns of Court, and that ministerial students went through a course of theological reading. However, Toulmin's claim that Woodhouse divided his students between those aiming for the ministry and those aiming for the law is questionable: no other such division is known in early academies, and at other academies texts on natural law were studied as part of ethics courses. Toulmin states that all students read, in natural theology, Grotius' *De veritate Christianae religionis*, and then John Wilkins's *Of the Principles and Duties of Natural Religion*, Robert Fleming's *The Confirming Work of Religion*, Richard Baxter's *Reasons of the Christian Religion*, William Bates on the existence of God, immortality of the soul, and divinity of the Christian religion, and Stillingfleet's *Origines sacrae*, with parts of Bochart.

Although its reliability cannot be tested, Toulmin's discussion of Woodhouse's teaching provides one of the fullest surviving examinations of reading at a seventeenth-century academy. In logic, Toulmin writes, Woodhouse's students read Burgersdijck, with Heereboord's commentary; Sanderson, Wallis, Ramus, and Downam were recommended for private reading. In mathematics, the writers were Galtruchius, Leybourn, Moxon, Gunter, Gassendi, and Euclid. The students read Eachard on geography and Pufendorf in history. The natural philosophy books were by Heereboord, Magirus, Descartes' *Principia*, Rhegius, Rohault, and De Stair, with Gibson, Blanchard, and Bartholine on anatomy. In ethics, students read Eustachius, Whitby, More, and Heereboord; in metaphysics, Frommenius, 'Facchaeus' (unidentified: Eustachius?), Baronius, Le Blanc, Davenant, and Ward. Rhetoric was studied using 'Radau' (unidentified), Quintilian, and Vossius; in law, Coke's *Doctor and Student*, Littleton's *Tenures*, or Coke on Littleton. In theology, students encountered the Westminster *Confession* and *Larger Catechism*, Corbet's *Humble Endeavour*, and a compendium of Turretin; these texts were followed by Calvin's *Institutes*, Pareus' account of Ursin, 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. That Toulmin himself was unfamiliar with many of these authors and texts is clear: a brief glance at the above list alongside Toulmin's own account will reveal numerous errors in transcription from his manuscript source text. On the other hand, the fact that several of these texts were published in the 1690s suggests two things: firstly, Toulmin had copies of some of Woodhouse's late papers, which do not necessarily shed light on the early history of the academy; secondly, Woodhouse (if not his students) were reading a number of texts shortly after their first publication.

In Woodhouse's lectures, according to Toulmin, he explained texts and then asked students to commit the sense of them to memory. The following day, students were required to give an account of the previous lecture, and on Saturdays a review of the whole week's lectures was delivered. When students were half way through a text, they went over it again, so that every author was read three times. This process was followed by student exercises involving questions and problems on difficult points. Lectures were accompanied by practical exercises, including surveying land, composing almanacs, making sundials, and dissecting animals. Once a week, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew nouns and verbs were declined in the lecture room. On Friday afternoons, logical disputations took place. Students wrote letters and speeches in English, and ministerial students practised analysing biblical verses, drawing up heads of sermons, and short schemes of prayer and devotion as recommended by John Wilkins; they prayed in Woodhouse's family on Sunday evenings, and set psalms to tunes. On Saturday evenings, polemical lectures based on Wollebius' *Compendium theologiae* or William Ames's *Medulla theologiae* were read to the most senior class; the junior class was expected to give an account of a portion of Thomas Vincent's *Exposition of the Assembly's Shorter Catechism* on Sunday mornings. Once a year, all the students' grammar learning was repeated, often with the assistance of a Latin grammar; Hebrew was also taught.

A late eighteenth-century manuscript history of the early academies (DWL, 24.59, fos. 1–2) lists many of Woodhouse's students, some of whom were also described by Toulmin; further sources for his students include the minutes of the dissenters' Common Fund and Presbyterian Fund Board (DWL, OD67–8; OD161). It is often claimed that the future Speaker of the Commons Robert Harley attended Sheriffhales, but there is no evidence to support this assertion; Harley attended a school in Shilton, Oxfordshire, run by the ejected minister Samuel Birch, and then attend a London academy run by a Mr Foubert. His friend

Philip Foley, however, was a student of Woodhouse, and a couple of his letters from his time at Sheriffhales have survived (BL, Add. MSS 70226–7). In these letters, Foley wrote that he had read logic, natural philosophy, and the portion of mathematics suitable for a gentleman, but felt that there were better mathematicians in the area than Woodhouse. He did not wish to read ethics or metaphysics, and believed that he would get better advantages for studying anatomy in London, where there would be better books and physicians. He also noted that Woodhouse's son was 'set up for to teach the little boys', and was 'next door to a natural, though I think they had not the way of teaching school learning here' (BL, Add. MS 70227: Foley to Harley, 23 February 1689). The texts mentioned by Foley differ from those mentioned by Toulmin; he was reading Helvecius, Raleigh, Sleiden, Degory Wheare, Vossius, Xenophon, Stanley, Rufinus, Grotius, Cluver, Aristotle, Tacitus, and Livy (BL, Add. MS 70227: Foley to Harley, 1 May 1689).

In the years immediately after the Exclusion Crisis, Woodhouse's activities were monitored closely by local and national officials. Following government panic over the Rye House Plot, Woodhouse was examined before two Shropshire JPs on 3 July 1683. He confessed to knowing the Duke of Monmouth, Thomas Armstrong and Robert Ferguson, and admitted to being at Lord Shaftesbury's London residence at about the time of Shaftesbury's trial (TNA, SP29/427, fo. 104). In November 1683 he moved in the King's Bench for a prohibition upon a *capias* excommunication (DWL, Morrice P, p. 392). In 1684 he was arrested upon another *capias* and sent to Shrewsbury gaol (DWL, Morrice P, p. 443). He was gaoled again in June 1685 at Chester Castle, following Monmouth's rebellion (DWL, Morrice P, p. 472). After the Toleration Act (1689) Woodhouse was recorded in a survey for the dissenters' Common Fund, c.1690 as a minister 'Att Sheriff Hales'; Woodhouse, states the survey, 'preaches to his pupils and Some few neighbours but neuer was a publick minister' (DWL, OD161, p. 62). It seems that Samuel Beresford may have been engaged by Woodhouse to preach 'very rarely' for him at this date (DWL, OD161, p. 63). Accusations against Woodhouse did not end with the passage of the Toleration Act. In a letter from the Church of England minister George Plaxton to Sir John Leveson-Gower, dated December 1695, Plaxton vented considerable frustration at Woodhouse's use of the Sheriffhales manor house. Plaxton asserted that Woodhouse had destroyed 'many hundreds of young Oakes', had not paid his rates and taxes, had 'Mangled' the house, and had 'spoyld the rooms', having 'strangely defaced & alterd

them'; Woodhouse, wrote Plaxton, had been keeping a 'Schismatical nest' of scholars, who had caused 'Spoyle and Havock' (StRO, D593/P/16/2/2/1).

The most reliable lists of Frankland's students appear in the minute books of the dissenters' Common Fund and Presbyterian Fund Boards, c.1690–6. The Common Fund survey records that among his students c.1690 was 'Stubs', formerly from a school in Ashbourne; his previous students had included a Mr Southall, son of Mr Southall of Leicester (DWL, OD161, pp. 12, 19, 45). Following the survey, the Common Fund and the Presbyterian Fund gave grants to several of Woodhouse's students, and he personally assisted several of them financially. Among the students supported by the Common Fund were Richard Edge (1691–2), James Thomson (1690–3), Mr Stubbs (1690–3), Richard Peach (1691), Samuel Evans (1691–2), Mr Lawrence (1691–2), Charles Clemenson (1692–3), Mr Bennett (1692–3), Thomas Cullen (1692), Stephen Hughes (1692), Mr Barnett (1692), Theodore Westmacote (1692), Thomas Hill (1692), Stephen Worth (1692), Isaac Owen (1693), Thomas Lee (1693), Mr Hinckley (1693) and Abraham Chambers (1693) (DWL, OD67, fos. 16–111). The Presbyterian Fund Board supported Thomas Cullen (1695), John Bennett (1695–6), Mr Stubbs (1695–6), Mr Barnett (1695–6), William Worth (1695–6), Jonathan Hand (1695–6), Thomas Boardman (1695–6), Job Jones (1695–6), Samuel Clarke (1695–6) and Nathaniel Taylor (1696) (DWL, OD68, fos. 9, 16, 26). By 1697 Woodhouse's health was failing, and he moved to London, succeeding Samuel Annesley as the minister at Little St Helen's (DWL, OD68, fo. 30). It is unlikely that Woodhouse took many students in London, although the Presbyterian Fund Board awarded grants to Richard Salt and Paul Russell, both 'wth. Mr. Woodhouse', in the years 1697–1700. Woodhouse was also elected as a member of the Board during this period and regularly attended its meetings (DWL, OD68, fos. 26, 44; p. 99). He died in 1700, and was buried at Rearsby parish church on 17 October. Woodhouse had at least three sons: the eldest, William, was a minister at Rearsby; the second, George, was excluded from his will on account of his behaviour; the third, John, having assisted his father at the academy, studied medicine at the University of Leiden in 1700, graduating MD and practising physick in London (Peacock, *Leyden*, 106). Woodhouse also had three daughters (*ODNB*).

For at least part of the academy's existence, Woodhouse was assisted by a Mr Doughty, perhaps a relative of Samuel Doughty, the ejected minister of Sibson in Leicestershire, who

died in 1679 (TNA, PRO, PROB 11/360/301). The earliest evidence of Doughty's association with the Sheriffhales academy can be dated to the late 1670s. In a letter from John Swynfen to Lord Paget, 16 July 1679, Swynfen writes that he has seen both of Paget's sons 'att Sheriff Hales, & both mr Woodhouse & mr Doughty commend them'. The Paget children were 'much grown' in stature, and kept healthy, 'only mr William bleeds often . . . att his nose' (StRO, D603/K/3/2). Doughty may have fallen ill shortly after Swynfen's letter. The following year, on 23 November 1680, John Baldwin wrote to Lord Paget that he was 'yesterday at Drayton', where 'Mr Doughty has a relapse' (StRO, D603/K/3/3). Another Mr Doughty was a student of Woodhouse c.1690, when his name appeared in the dissenters' Common Fund survey (DWL, OD161, pp. 12, 62); it is sometimes asserted that he was Samuel Doughty's son. Doughty Jr also appeared as the subject of a testimonial to the Cheshire classis at about the same time (C&CA, EUC 9/4458/1, p. 12). There is evidence that friendship between the Doughty and the Woodhouse families continued after this date. On 21 August 1702 Doughty Jr was present at the ordination of Woodhouse's son William Woodhouse in Leicestershire (Toulmin, *Historical View*, 230). Between 1704 and 1708 he was one of the ministers in charge of distributing Presbyterian Fund grants to ministers in Shropshire (DWL, OD68, pp. 130, 188).

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A Funeral Sermon, Occasioned by the Death of Mrs. Jane Papillon, Late Wife of the Very Worthy Thomas Papillon, Esq; (London, 1698).

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