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The Curriculum of the
D i s s e n t i n g A c a d e m i e s
with special reference to
Factors determining it: 1660-1800
(Part II)

by

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CHAPTER 4.TUTORS CONSTRUCTING THEIR OWN CURRICULA.Introductory.

This chapter deals with academies in which the tutors appear to have regarded the content of the curriculum as a matter to be considered and settled on rational grounds, rather than as a modified copy of a tradition. The reasons which were given for including certain items in the curriculum, and for excluding others, represented a considerable variety of outlooks. The causes which had led tutors to these outlooks were equally varied. It is therefore difficult to generalize over the whole field. It is possible, however, to distinguish certain large classes of academy and tutor. The chapter is accordingly arranged in five divisions. The first deals with Philip Doddridge and his successors; his influence was considerable and the position he occupied was not extreme in any direction. The remaining divisions deal with the Unitarian Academies, with (in contrast) the Orthodox Academies, with the Baptist Academies, and with Academies of the Methodist Revival. This division is not designed to be according to date; for example, Baptist attempts to formulate a curriculum for the training of ministers take the discussion back to the seventeenth century.

(II) DODDRIDGE AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

Philip Doddridge (1702-1751) of
Northampton (1729-1751).

The importance of Doddridge rests on at least three grounds. He, to a far greater extent than any of his predecessors, seems to have attempted to justify every item in his curriculum without admitting as justification either educational tradition or the example of the universities. Secondly, his friendship with Watts (4,3) made him at once a contributor to the final working out of Watts' ideas and a pioneer in putting them into practice. Thirdly, Doddridge trained several men who were to become tutors and use his methods in a surprisingly varied assortment of subsequent academies.

Owing his own higher education to John Jennings only (3,21), Doddridge naturally began his tutorial activities, when called upon by a committee of ministers to fill the gap left by Jennings' death, with the Kibworth pattern in the front of his mind. Nevertheless he seems from the beginning to have been willing to take a line of his own. He wavered for a time on the question of whether to confine his activities to ministerial pupils (1), eventually deciding against any restriction. On this and on other matters he asked and received the advice of all and sundry (2). His adoption of English as his sole teaching medium was apparently not fixed

(1)Humphreys III 115.

(2)Orton 54.

in his mind until after he had started operations - after five weeks of tutorship he explains that he has concentrated on Terence amongst Latin authors "as we purpose talking latin" (3).

Doddridge's early course is described by a former pupil, Job Orton, as follows:

...at Midsummer, 1729, he opened his Academy: His first Lecture to his pupils was of a religious Kind; shewing the Nature, Reasonableness and Advantages of acknowledging GOD in their Studies. The next contained Directions for their Behaviour to him, to one another, to the Family and all about them: Then he proceeded to common lectures (4).

The introductory meeting for freshers recently introduced in some English universities seems to be here anticipated.

[At family prayers] Some of the Students read a Chapter of the Old Testament from Hebrew into English, which he expounded continually, and drew practical Inferences from it. [In the evening New Testament Greek similarly, and] the Senior-students in Rotation prayed. ... He recommended it to them to take Hints of his Illustrations and Remarks, [writing them in interleaved copies of the Old Testament and of Wetstein's Greek New Testament] (5).

(3) Letter to S. Clark, 7/8/1729, in Humphreys II 489.

(4) Orton 54.

(5) Orton 88-89.

Rich's short-hand was learned, and the first year pupils continued school Greek and Latin and acquired "such Knowledge of Hebrew, if they had not learned it before, that they might be able to read the Old Testament in its original language". French was optional.

Systems of Logic, Rhetoric, Geography and Metaphysics were read during the first year of their Course, and they were referred to particular Passages in other Authors upon these Subjects ... To these were added lectures on the Principles of Geometry and Algebra. ... After these studies were finished, they were introduced to the Knowledge of Trigonometry, Conic-sections and celestial Mechanics (A Collection of important Propositions, taken chiefly from Sir Isaac Newton, and demonstrated, independent on the rest. They relate especially, tho' not only, to centripetal and centrifugal Forces). A System of natural and experimental Philosophy, comprehending Mechanics, Statics, Hydrostatics, Optics, Pneumatics, and Astronomy, was read to them; with references to the best Authors on these Subjects. This system was illustrated by neat and pretty large philosophical Apparatus ... Some other Articles were touched upon, especially History, natural and civil, as the Students proceeded in their Course...A distinct view of the

Anatomy of the human body was given them ...A large System of Jewish Antiquities (6) which their Tutor had drawn up, was read to them in the latter years of their Course, in order to illustrate numberless Passages in the Scriptures, which cannot be well understood without a Knowledge of them. In this Branch of Science likewise, they were referred to the best Writers upon this Subject. Lampe's Epitome of ecclesiastical History was the Ground-work of a Series of Lectures upon that Subject; as was Buddaei Compendium Historiae Philosophicae of Lectures on the Doctrines of the Ancient Philosophers in their various Sects.

But the chief Object of their Attention and Study, during three Years of their Course, was his System of Divinity, in the largest Extent of the Word; including what is most material in Pneumatology and Ethics. In this Compendium were contained, in as few Words as Perspicuity would admit, the most material Things which had occurred to the Author's Observation, relating to the Nature and Properties of the human Mind, the Proof of the Existence and Attributes of GOD, the Nature of moral Virtue, the various

Branches of it, the Means subservient to it, and the Sanctions by which its Precepts, considered as GOD's natural Law, are enforced; under which Head the natural Evidence of the Immortality of the Soul was largely examined. To this was added some Survey of what is, and generally has been, the State of Virtue in the World; from whence the Transition was easy to the Need of a Revelation the Genuineness, Credibility and Inspiration of [the Scriptures] were then cleared up at large ... the chief Doctrines of Scripture were drawn out into a large Detail; those relating to the Father, Son and Spirit, to the original and fallen State of Man, to the Scheme of our Redemption by Christ, and the Offices of the Spirit, as the great Agent in the Redeemer's Kingdom. The Nature of the Covenant of Grace was particularly stated, and the several Precepts and Institutions of the Gospel, with the Views which it gives us of the concluding Scenes of our World and of the eternal State beyond it ... all illustrated by a very large Collection of References, containing perhaps, one lecture with another, the Substance of forty or fifty Octavo-pages [consisting of extracts] ... Besides the Expositions in the Family above mentioned,

critical Lectures on the new Testament were weekly delivered. These contained his Remarks on the Language, Meaning and Design of the sacred Writers, and the Interpretations and Criticisms of the most considerable Commentators

Polite Literature he by no means neglected; ... In the last Year of the Course, a Set of Lectures on Preaching and the pastoral Care was given. ... While the Students were pursuing these important Studies, some Lectures were given them on civil Law, the Hieroglyphics and Mythology of the Ancients, the english History, particularly the History of Nonconformity, and the Principles, on which a Separation from the Church of England is founded [following Calamy] (7).

Doddridge also gave occasional lectures on his library, which included several thousand volumes (8). He had evidently wished at Kibworth for a better academy library (9).

Towards the end of his life Doddridge supplied at the request of John Wesley a list of divinity textbooks (Appendix A) which includes a prodigious number of authors of a variety of viewpoints and ranging from the classical seventeenth century writers (Owen, Goodwin (2,22), Baxter, How, Flavel (2,27)) to contemporaries, but nothing in Latin.

(7)Orton 89-97.

(8)Orton 98-99.

(9)Humphreys I 69.

It appears that it would be a mistake to suppose that Doddridge's curriculum was followed straight through by all his pupils. James Fergusson, for example, seems to have been put through a selection of courses strung together to suit his individual needs (10). He was excused the leading of prayers -

it is not absolutely insisted upon, yet where I can prevail upon young gentlemen to do it I think it may be on many accounts useful (11).

It is true that Fergusson was a special case, but elsewhere Doddridge expresses himself as in favour of suitable but slight specialization:

As I am a Minister, I could not answer it to GOD or my own Conscience, if I were to spend a great Deal of Time in studying the Depths of the Law, or in the more entertaining, tho' less useful, Pursuit of the nicest Criticisms of classical Writers. I would not be entirely a Stranger to these; but these or twenty others, which I would just look into, would each of them alone, or indeed any single Branch of them, be the Employment of a much longer Life, than I can imagine that Providence hath assigned to me. ... It is in the Capacity of a Tradesman, that you are to serve your Family and Country, and in that, Your GOD. therefore, tho' I would not have so fine a Genius entirely discouraged

(10) Fergusson 28,30,32,38,41,59,67,73.

(11) Fergusson 70.

from entertaining itself with the refined Pleasures of a Student; yet it would be Imprudence to yourself, and an Injury to the World, to spend so much Time in your Closet, as to neglect your Warehouse; and to be so much taken up with the Volumes of Philosophy or History, Poetry or even Divinity, as to forget to look into your Books of Accounts ... (12).

The total of human knowledge is now too great for Doddridge to hope that it might be within the compass of any single brain:

Let us remember that we are to place our Point of Life, not in an Attempt to know and to do every Thing, which will certainly be as unsuccessful, as it is extravagant: but in a Care to do that well, which Providence hath assigned us, as our peculiar Business (12).

Although Doddridge's own practice provided a course more unspecialized than anyone in the twentieth century would think of suggesting even as an ideal, yet he had admitted then thin end of the wedge in thus laying down the justification for that specialization which has since engulfed university and sixth-form studies.

Both in theory and in practice Doddridge put natural science in an important place in the curriculum. Orton says that natural and civil history were taught "in order to enlarge their

Understandings and give them venerable Ideas of the Works and Providence of God", and human Anatomy, as it tended to promote their Veneration and Love for the great Architect of this amazing Frame, whose Wonders of providential Influence are so apparent in its Support, Nourishment and Motion: and all concurred to render them agreeable and useful in Conversation, and to subserve their honourable Appearance in the Ministry (13).

His aim he made clear to his pupils:

In his Lectures of Philosophy, History, Anatomy, &c he took Occasion to graft some religious Instructions on what he had been illustrating, that he might raise the minds of his Pupils to GOD and Heaven (14).

According to Doddridge himself, his teaching method in science was modern in its emphasis.

"We do little more" he writes in 1745 "than make experiments, with a short account of the purposes they are intended to explain" (15). At the outset he was presented with a pair of globes and took steps to obtain a microscope (16). Ten years later he was advised by David Jennings (4,16) to mount his microscope over a mirror, and received in the same letter (17) instructions for observing the globular form assumed by particles struck from steel with a flint. Later, in 1744, Doddridge was involved in the foundation of a society in

(13)Orton 91-92; Some Account of .. Thomas Steffe, in Works IV 252.

(14)Orton 311.

(15)Humphreys IV 404.

(16)Letter of 10/5/1731 to E. Hawkins, in Humphreys III 79.

(17)dated 12/1/1741/2 in Stedman LXXVI, Hum. IV.70.

Northampton for scientific experiment and discussion, to which he read papers on the pendulum and on changes of motion due to inelastic and elastic collisions (18). Thus he kept himself abreast of scientific thought on the practical side, whilst at the same time he made opportunities to read scientific works. Already in 1727 Doddridge was expressing satisfaction at Keil's demolition of Burnet's Theory (2,29) and (less completely) of Whiston's similar work (19). In 1741 he was expressing appreciation of Mathe, particularly his proof of Kepler's Third Law and his work on lunar motion (20). And as late as 1749 he noted in his diary (21) his intention to read "Maclaurin of the Newtonian Philosophy". There seems sufficient evidence that Doddridge, even whilst regarding the rôle of natural science in higher education as definitely subsidiary, nevertheless saw to it that his students received adequately well-informed instruction.

Mathematics also Doddridge regarded as good in a definitely secondary position. He "laments .. pursuing too long some abstruse Mathematical Enquiries, the Advantages of which by no means an Equivalent for the Time employed in them" (22). Nevertheless he advised his ministerial pupils to keep up their algebra,

(18) Hum. IV 404 & letter from H. Baker FRS, 24/11/1747, in Stedman LXXVI, Hum. IV 70.

(19) letter to Clark 30/10/1722 in Hum. II 364-5.

(20) another, 14/3/1741 in Hum. II 546-7.

(21) Hum. V 482.

(22) Orton 165.

in order to "stengthen your Rational Faculties by that strenuous Exercise" (23), and referred to the use of mathematical exercise to "teach .. attention of thought, and strength, and perspicuity of reasoning" (24), "to teach us to distinguish our ideas with accuracy, and to dispose our arguments in a clear, concise and convincing manner" (25). Doddridge accordingly tried to teach Euclid in such a manner that logical principles would be emphasized (26). Although regarding himself as one "who knows but very little of the mathematics" (27), he yet managed to teach not only Euclid, algebra (for which Doddridge drew up his own course, on more straightforward lines than that of Jones (3,8) (28)), and trigonometry, but also conics (29). Apparently a very reasonable mathematics syllabus.

Modern languages for Doddridge meant French, of which he taught the grammar as a separate first instalment (30). There is no evidence of his having acquired the pronunciation which was lacking in his own instructor, Jennings (3,21). He is said to have believed in only a very general knowledge of languages except for pupils intending professions requiring more (31). His complaint about Jennings' course was, however,

(23) 15/10/1741 Sermon 19.

(24) Thoughts 37.

(26) Humphreys II 488.

(25) Some account..Thomas Steffe, in Works IV 252.

(27) Letter to Clark 30/10/1727 in Hum. II 364.

(28) another, 1/1/1737 in Hum. III 220.

(29) Diary for 1730, in Hum. V 291, 297.

(30) Humphreys V 281.

(31) Orton 90.

of the restricted range of authors read (32). No doubt when it is remarked that "others might exceed him in their Acquaintance with Antiquity or their Skill in the Languages" (33) the Languages intended are principally classical. Whatever may have been Doddridge's lack of natural ability, he was not deterred by it from learning Italian in 1732 (34). The commercial and Christian utility of modern languages was being noticed by others besides Doddridge - in 1737 the Friends' Yearly Meeting urged these two grounds for their inclusion in Quaker education (35) $\frac{3}{4}$ but they had not yet any right of inclusion in the curriculum on any but strictly utilitarian grounds. Hebrew, on the other hand, was considered by Doddridge a sine qua non for the minister; he implies that most dissenters agreed with him, but many anglicans did not (36).

History, on the other hand, Doddridge regarded as suitable for all his pupils, "in order to enlarge their Understandings and give them venerable Ideas of the Works and Providence of God" (37). He used "Tallint's Tables" (38) (2,29) and the English translation of Rapin's Acta Regia which had been published in 1727, and gave a course of lectures on civil government which included references to Pufendorf, Grotius and Locke (40). Thus he had the normal dissenter's

(32) Humphreys II 465.

(33) Orton 128-9.

(34) Humphreys V 320.

(35) Friends Extracts 77.

(36) Some Account of..Thomas Steffe, in Works IV 251-2.

(37) Orton 91.

(38) Hum. V 281.

(39) Fergusson 72.

(40) Lincoln 89-90.

interest in political theory (41).

Following the example of John Jennings, Doddridge gave lectures on pastoralia and Homiletics (42), and training in elocution and deportment (43). He had been amazed at the progress made in a few reading practices under Jennings (44) and wished "that not only tutors, but also school-masters, ... would make a very serious business of teaching lads, who are design'd for the ministry, to read well, and to pronounce properly and handsomely" (45). He did not regard graceful behaviour and diction as of primary importance in a preacher, but said that they must not be neglected; he did not comment on a suggestion (46) ^{(perhaps inspired by Quintilian (47))} that he should employ a dancing master for the purpose (48), ~~(perhaps inspired by Quintilian (47))~~. He was very much opposed to any unnatural tone or behaviour (49) or any undue ornament of speech (50), and believed that his course guarded against these.

In this connection should be mentioned also the preaching practice in surrounding villages, consisting apparently in some cases at any rate of a repetition of sermons by Doddridge or by other ministers (51); and also assistance rendered to Doddridge in his own congregation.

(41) Lincoln 86-87.

(42) Hum. II 471.

(43) Orton 105-6.

(44) Hum. II 466.

(45) Thoughts 37.

(46) Gough 43.

(47) Rollin III 381.

(48) Thoughts 21-2.

(50) 5/10/1741 sermon 21-2.

(51) Nightingale quoted by McLachlan 148; Gordon Addresses 216; Hum. III 241.

(49) Orton 106, Thoughts 37.

Probably an incidental advantage of the village visits was, in Doddridge's eyes, the opportunities afforded for meeting and coming to appreciate humble members of the churches; experience which he was keen that his ministerial pupils should have (52). Homilies and disputations, which were a large feature of the course (53), gave further practice in public speaking, as well as being, in Doddridge's experience, a useful adjunct to lectures on various subjects (54). The homilies were in effect sermons "on the natural and moral Perfections of GOD, and the several Branches of moral Virtue", and were replaced by sermons proper for the most senior students (55). Doddridge believed in sermon practice with criticism rather than formal rules of sermon construction (56).

Training in English expression was also given by essay writing (57). Doddridge was famous for his emphasis on this (58); he wrote:

As for being masters of our own language,
'tis a point which I think should be
thoroughly labour'd from the very beginning
of their education. They should be sure
to make themselves familiarly acquainted
with those writers, which are allowed

(52) Thoughts 35-6.

(53) Orton 97. (54) Hum. II 470.

(55) Orton 97.

(56) Some Account of..Thomas Steffe, in Works IV 255.

(57) Fergusson 63, 65-6.

(58) Fergusson 67.

to be standards of it, and should frequently be translating and composing ... (59).

Nevertheless Doddridge did not follow Jennings's example in teaching English drama (3,21). In fact, his long and detailed account (60) of the course under Jennings, drawn up after he had completed it, omits only this item from the timetable (3,21). Perhaps Doddridge had decided so definitely against it as suitable matter for academical study that he decided to regard it as an extra, and not part of Jennings' course. It is tempting to guess how much added stimulus the study of English literature might have received had the weight of Doddridge been with it in this respect.

Doddridge seems to have been specially proud of his course in Christian Evidences:

the Proof of Christianity .. I think I may venture to say is here more largely and accurately exhibited than in any other place of education I have ever heard of (61).

And again

the proofs of the faith of Christianity, his belief of which will not as I apprehend be easily shaken after the deep foundation I am endeavouring to lay for it (62).

(59) Thoughts 37.

(60) Humphreys II 462-475.

(61) Fergusson 32.

(62) Fergusson 73.

The course had the double object of satisfying the minds of the students regarding their own faith, and of enabling them to defend Christianity against attacks by deists and others. At the same time, Doddridge was careful to explain that the only satisfactory proof of Christianity to any individual is the experience of his own soul (63). The basis of Doddridge's method in this subject was - following Jennings in many details (64) - ethical and "pneumatological"; the reasonableness of Christianity was placed "in the suaveness of its perfect moral purity" (65). He said that his course contained

things relating to the nature and properties of the human mind, the proof of the existence and attributes of God, the nature of moral virtue, the various branches of it, the means subservient to it, and the sanctions by which its precepts, considered as God's natural law, are enforced; under which head the natural evidence of the immortality of the soul was largely examined. To this was added some survey of what is, and generally has been, the state of virtue in the world; from whence the transition was easy to the need of a revelation, the encouragement to hope it, and the nature of the evidence which might probably

(63) Evidences Sermons 3-4.

(64) Samuel Clark, editorial note to Doddridge's Lectures in Divinity, in Works IV 285;
Gordon Addresses 36.

(65) Orton 119.

attend it. From hence the work naturally proceeded to the evidence produced in proof of that revelation which the Scripture contains. The genuineness, credibility and inspiration of these sacred books were then cleared up at large, and vindicated from all the most considerable objections, which modern infidels have urged. When this foundation was laid, the chief doctrines of scripture were drawn out into a large detail. ... (66).

In this making ethics his starting point, Doddridge was in line with contemporary "coffeehouse" outlook, which was much concerned with questions of merit and demerit and of proper motives (67), and which, moreover, was becoming more and more sceptical of the purely spiritual or abstract approach to Christianity and more and more insistent that defenders of the faith must build upon external evidences (68). The course was taken by all pupils, whether or not intending the ministry. In fact, whilst Doddridge

often expressed his Wish, that different Places of Education could be provided for Persons intended for the Ministry and those for other Professions (65)

his reasons referred only to the greater seriousness and smaller indulgences desirable in a ministerial training, and had no reference to any desire to

(66) Some Account of ..Thomas Steffe, in Works IV 253-4.

(67) Elton 148.

(68) Carre 284.

specialize in the curriculum (68). He was also able to persuade some of his pupils, who had intended to be ministers but who seemed to him to lack the necessary 'piety', to turn to other occupations - apparently without any disturbance of their course (69).

That one of Doddridge's features which has excited most diversity of comment is the method of his lecturing on all controversial points, theological and other.

He never concealed the Difficulties, which affected any Question, but referred them to Writers on both Sides, without hiding any from their Inspection (70).

Doddridge is often credited with the invention of this method, which appears, however, to have been used already not only by his own tutor Jennings (3,21) but also by Grove (3,13) and, earlier still, Ker (3,3). Perhaps the thoroughness with which Doddridge followed this method justifies the judgment that he

he was the founder of what may be called, though not in quite the modern sense, a science of comparative theology. What was the old method of teaching any given doctrine of divinity? The lecturer began by defining the view of his church, or his school, making it his own. This, he would say, is the right doctrine. Then came some account of other opinions on the topic. These, he would say, are the

(69)Orton 113.

(70)Orton 101.

heresies and aberrations that prevail in outside circles ... His arguments would all be directed to prove this, to disprove those ... Doddridge ... began by laying before his pupils, with all the fairness of which he was master, the various views which had been entertained upon the point, and the arguments adduced in their favour. These he proceeded to compare, measuring them one against another, weighing their merits, trying them by Scripture, by reason, by each other, with the object, if possible, of eliciting the truth; which might at last be thought to coincide exactly with no one of the systems(71).

It was possible, however, to regard this method in a less favourable light:

the arguments by which every possible modification of error is attempted to be supported were carefully marshalled in hostile array against the principles generally embraced; while the Theological Professor prided himself on the steady impartiality with which he held the balance betwixt the contending systems, seldom or never interposing his own opinions, and still less betraying the slightest emotion of antipathy to error, or predilection to truth. Thus a spirit of indifference to all religious principles was generated in the first instance, which naturally paved the way for the prompt

reception of doctrines indulgent to the corruption, and flattering to the pride, of a depraved and fallen nature (72).

It was further said that "his lectures have a tendency to generate a controversial spirit" (73), that "He often attempts to include so many senses, that he virtually gives none" (74) and that

There was a vagueness and indecision of language in the discourses of the young ministers who had been trained in that Seminary, which made it a matter of uncertainty whether they really had any positive opinions at all, on some of the most momentous points that can occupy the attention of mankind (75).

Whether good or bad, how did the scheme come to be adopted by Doddridge? Insofar as his object was to indicate that a student should

take his system of divinity, not from the sentiments of any human teacher, but from the word of God (76),

he was merely standing in the central Reformed tradition (cp. 2, 24; 3, 5; 3, 7; 3, 8; 3, 11). He himself, however, explained his recommendation of books^{of} conflicting viewpoints by saying

I think that, in order to defend the truth, it is very proper that a young minister should know the chief strength of error (77).

(72) Turton 14-15 quoting R. Hall Works IV 307-8.

(73) Bogue & Bennett III 480.

(74) ib. 484.

(75) Turton 10.

(76) Some Account of... Thomas Steffe, in Works IV 254.

(77) Letter to Wesley 18/6/1746, in Humphreys IV 493.

To which must be added, the fact of his fondness for the liberal-minded Richard Baxter (78), for certain authors amongst the Dutch Arminians and for Cradock^(2,18) of the Cambridge Platonists (79), both groups noted for their tolerance, their eclecticism, and their openness of mind.

Doddridge's moderation extended also to his views on the content of the curriculum. He believed classical, literary and philosophical studies neither indispensable nor time-wasting.

I would not .. desire you should be confined from that high and elegant Entertainment But 'tis one Thing to taste of these poignant and luscious Fruits, and another to feed and live upon them. (80).

The "great originals" of the classics cannot be omitted without endangering the "solidity, strength, and correctness both of sentiments and stile" (81). They are also of value in showing the necessity for a divine revelation by exposing the paucity of even the highest purely human learning (82). But interest on earth and reward hereafter come far more from "exercise of benevolence towards our fellow creatures, and in the hope of promoting their everlasting felicity", than from studying Pliny, Virgil, Tully, "&c" (83). Such studies may of course be used to

((78) Wilson Dissenting II 133-4; Gordon Heads 61, 83, 98.

(79) Humphreys II 29, 57-58, 121-2; Toulmin 240.

(80) Sermon of 15/10/1741, 19.

(81) Some Account of .. Thomas Steffe, in Works IX 251.

(82) ibid. 253; Evidences Sermons 26.

(83) Letter 18/6/1726 to Hughes, in Humphreys II 135.

shew that /redemption/ has been the great end of the divine counsels, with regard to which, the harmony of nature in the lower world has been supported, and the various economies of providence disposed (84).

Attention has been drawn to the use which Doddridge made of ethics as introductory to Christian evidences - a use so exclusive as to have produced the complaint that the "doctrines of the Gospel" were pushed "into a corner" (85).

It will be seen that much of Doddridge's practice was derived from Jennings and Kibworth (3,21). The most notable exception to this is Doddridge's use of English as his teaching medium. It has been shown that this feature was not found at Kibworth, where Latin remained the official language. On the other hand, it is not quite true to claim (as is sometimes claimed (86)) that Doddridge was the first to use English as his main teaching language. Examples of such use had occurred in earlier academies, notably by Morton (2,31), Woodhouse (2,30) and Ridgley (3,12). Had Doddridge any connection with any of these? There is one place where a connection can be found; it is through the Hungerford Academy (Appendix C), which was run by Benjamin Robinson, himself educated at Sheriffhales, and therefore likely to use English, to some extent at any rate, at

(84) Thoughts 34.

(85) Bogue & Bennett III 480.

(86) McLachlan Unitarian Movement 81; cp. Sykes in Times Educational Supplement 24/7/1948.

Hungerford. His assistant was Edward Godwin, who was a friend of Doddridge (a sufficiently close one to be consulted before publication by the latter about the details of his Family Expositor (87).) There is, however, no evidence that Doddridge discussed the language question with Godwin or with anyone else, and it is possible that his decision for English was made on his own initiative, with perhaps Locke and Oldfield (3,23) - both of whom he read during 1730 (88) - in mind.

(87) Toulmin Historical View 253; Jeremy 139.

(88) Humphreys V 274, 282; Stedman II.

Isaac Watts.

Doddridge's influence on succeeding generations of tutors was exercised both through those tutors whom he trained and through the use of his Lectures on Divinity as the basis of courses in theology, psychology and ethics in many academies. But there was another channel by which a very similar influence was carried down. This was the published work of Isaac Watts (1674-1748). Watts was a pupil of Thomas Rowe (3,10). He was also a close friend of Doddridge, whom the latter consulted before beginning his tutorial work (89), and on a number of occasions during the course of it. Thus the educational ideas of Watts and of Doddridge exhibit close resemblances, and there is no doubt that together they standardized that educational outlook which was the norm for later academies. It therefore seems desirable at this point to give a summary of the educational ideas expressed by Watts in his educational publications. Perhaps the most influential of these was Logic: or the Right Use of Reason 1724. This was used at Oxford and Cambridge during the lifetime of Watts (90) and for a long period afterwards (91). But Watts' educational theories are more specifically set out in the two parts of his Improvement of the Mind, the first of which did not appear until 1741 when Doddridge's Academy had already run half its course. It is a work whose "radical

(89) Doddridge Humphreys II 477-482.

(90) Gibbons Watts 305, 353.

(91) McLachlan 288.

principles may indeed be found in Locke" and whose function it was to "make Locke practicable" (92). The resemblances to Oldfield's Improvement (4,23), also, are so close (93) that it is difficult to imagine that Watts was not familiar with the latter work, whilst a close resemblance has been remarked (94) between Watts' ideas and those of the Port Royal logic of the Jansenists, the French school so dear to Gale (2,19).

Watts defines the aims of education to include preparation for an occupation, for the use of leisure, for social duties ("to a Family, a Neighbourhood, or a Government") and for right religious faith (95). The last-named is fundamental (96). Universal knowledge is impossible for any one man, and suitable specialization is necessary (97).

When Watts turns to individual subjects his most striking characteristic is his habit of finding a variety of reasons for the inclusion of each in the curriculum. Thus he stands almost alone amongst dissenting educationists of his century in mentioning the utility of natural philosophy as well as its value as a pointer to the providence and other characteristics of God. He also added the remark (found occasionally elsewhere) (e.g. Reyner, 2,12) that a knowledge of the Laws

(92) Johnson Lives II 297; Davis Watts 101.

(93) e.g. Oldfield III ch. XXVII.

(94) Laird 65.

(95) Improvement I 2-3.

(96) ibid. 73.

(97) ibid. 1, 335 sqq.; Discourse s.VII.

of Nature conduces to an appreciation of the fundamentally miraculous character of the Biblical miracles. He would treat natural science experimentally, and recommended the Newtonian Nieuwenteit alongside the Platonists Ray and Derham (2,17) (98).

Mathematics, similarly, is recommended on several grounds. It is useful, it is amusing and yet innocuous, it sharpens the mind, and its language is often met in other subjects (99). Watts believed that the latter tendency was often carried to excess by his contemporaries (100). He also felt that the Calculus and Higher Geometry might well be omitted by students intending Divinity, Law or Medecine. As a Newtonian, however, he must include "Astronomy, Mechanics, Statics and Opticks" in the course for all pupils (101). Astronomy was commended, with Geography, for "pleasure" as well as "solid use". Whilst it is possible to waste too many hours on these subjects, some study of them should be made by all mankind. Their uses include the interpretation of the scriptures; the usual application to an appreciation of the Divine nature and providence; in the case of Astronomy, the banishment of astrological superstitions; and, in the case of Geography, the appreciation of current affairs - that at the mention of the Word Copenhagen they may not grossly blunder and expose

(98) Improvement I 208, 334; Discourse 158.

(99) Improvement I 209, 219, 329; Discourse 155.

(100) Improvement I 203; Doddridge (Humphreys) II 480.

(101) Improvement I 281, 326-7.

themselves, (as a certain Gentleman once did) by supposing it to be the Name of a Dutch Commander (102).

Watts, like Doddridge, emphasized English oratory and elocution, and valued criticized practice much above formal rules (103). According to Samuel Johnson

He was one of the first authors that taught the Dissenters to court attention by the graces of language. Whatever they had among them before, whether of learning or acuteness, was commonly obscured and blunted by coarseness and inelegance of style. He showed them that zeal and purity might be expressed and enforced by polished diction (104).

Formation of style, as well as moral uplift and sheer amusement, are derived from the reading of English poetry (105). The classics, on the other hand, may be over-rated, and are in ^{such} need of Bowdlerization that it is better to teach Latin by means of some other work such as Buchanan's Psalms (106). Latin is invaluable as "the living language of the learned world"; but Latin composition should be deferred to a late stage (107). Hebrew is necessary for a minister, but French is of use only for foreign travel (108). If in all these respects this account of Watts' outlook appears to duplicate that of Doddridge's (4,2), it is yet possible to find points on which they part company.

(102) Discourse 156-7; First Principles of Geography and Astronomy. Preface, in Works VI 396-7.

(103) Improvement I 281,351; Doddridge (Humphreys) II 479.

(104) Lives II 296. (105) Improvement I 74sq,354; Discourse 159.

Watts followed Locke (109) in advocating physical training and painting, and he added singing (110).

Finally, it must be remarked that Watts recommended the method of study which Doddridge systematized and which consisted of studying in an open-minded way both sides of each controverted point- a method which is also connected with the name of Rowe's other famous pupil, Henry Grove, tutor at Taunton (3,13) (111). Watts was anxious to support Biblical revelation by Rational argument (112) and modified Locke's tabula rasa so far as to postulate, with the Cambridge Platonists, (2,17), an innate sense of right and wrong (113).

This necessarily compressed sketch of the wide sweep of Watts' educational outlook depicts an important part of the background of all the later academies. Watts' works were often read by tutors and by students, and were a potent influence in establishing the Doddridge tradition. Perhaps the enthusiasm of dissenters generally for higher education may be illustrated by Watts' idea of a future life, which is to consist of membership of a celestial university in which seminars with Adam and Noah and lectures by Moses and Paul will alternate with excursions to distant parts of the universe to study at closer quarters

((106) Improvement I 90sqg., 115; II 36-7.

(107) Improvement I 108, 110, 345.

(108) Discourse s. VII.

(109) Thoughts s. 190, 203-4.

(110) Discourse 161-3.

(111) Improvement I 71.

(112) e.g. Improvement I 27-8; cp Discourse 115.

(113) Davis Watts 149.

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local evidences of Divine "wisdom or mercy, power or faithfulness, patience and forgiveness, or wrath and justice" (114).

(114)Death and Heaven, in Works II 179-203.

Doddridge's pupils.

Returning to Doddridge and his Academy, it is necessary to mention his assistant tutors. These from timetto time were John Aikin, Job Orton, James Robertson, Samuel Clark and Thomas Brabant. All had previously been pupils of Doddridge. Robertson had also been a student at Leyden, and Brabant at Glasgow. Aikin later became a tutor at Warrington (3,9), Clark at Daventry (4,5) and Robertson Professor of Oriental Languages at Edinburgh. (115). Others of Doddridge's pupils who became tutors were Kippis at Hoxton (4,16) and Hackney (4,11) and Clayton at Hackney (4,11); Merrivale, also heterodox, at Exeter (4,12); and, among the orthodox, Addington at Mile End (4,30) and Reader at Taunton (Congregational) (4,20). Pre-eminent in passing on the Doddridge influence - through strict adherence to his methods and use of his lecture notes (116) - was Ashworth, who was assisted by the above-mentioned Clark at Daventry, the Academy being the continuation of Doddridge's and the subject of the next section (4,5).

(115)McLachlan 149.

(116)McLachlan 276-7.

Ashworth and Clark, Daventry 1752-75.

Caleb Ashworth (1722 -75) followed Doddridge very closely in most respects. Languages were still the weak point; Priestley and Alexander made time to read ten pages of Greek together per day whilst they were students, Priestley commenting

These voluntary engagements were the more necessary in the course of our academical studies, as there was then no provision made for teaching the learned languages. We had even no composition or orations in Latin (117).

So far had the pendulum swung since the use of Latin for teaching in the ancestor academy at Kibworth only two generations back (3,21). Priestley also complains of the absence of lectures on the Scriptures and on ecclesiastical history (117). His remarks on the former matter and on the general contempt for commentators amongst the students need to be read, however, in conjunction with his record that during the first three months of 1755 his reading had included eight works which he groups under the heading "controversial", and which all deal with Scriptural topics (118). But Priestley also says

In my time the Academy was in a state peculiarly favourable to the serious

(117)Rutt I (I) 26.

(118)Rutt I (1) 27, Thorpe 18-20.

pursuit of truth, as the students were about equally divided upon every question of much importance, such as liberty and necessity, the sleep of the soul, and all the articles of theological orthodoxy and heresy; in consequence of which, all these topics were the subject of continual discussion. Our tutors also were of different opinions; Dr. Ashworth taking the orthodox side of every question and Mr. Clark, the sub-tutor, that of heresy, though always with the greatest modesty. Our lecturers had often the air of friendly conversations on the subjects to which they related. The general plan of our studies was exceedingly favourable to free enquiry, as we were referred to authors on both sides of every question, and even required to give an account of them (119).

"The genius of Daventry", it has been said, "inherited from Jennings and Doddridge, was inherently eclectic. Truth was sought by a method of comparative theology"(120). Ashworth himself seems to have been troubled by the excessive heterodoxy of some of his pupils (121). It has been said that he "tried to continue the conservative [theological] tradition with complete liberty of opinion, but the attempt failed" (122). Of the eight tutors trained under Ashworth, it appears

(119) Rutt I (I) 23.

(120) Gordon Addresses 289.

(121) Bull Memorials 19.

(122) Colligen 72.

that two remained strictly orthodox (Bull (4,31) and Davies (4,21)), ^{three} ~~four~~ were unitarians (Priestley (4,8), Worthington (4,11) and Corrie (4,11)), two occupied intermediate positions (Robins (4,6) and Gentleman (4,30)), whilst one - Belsham (4,6; 4,11) - began as Ashworth's orthodox successor but developed into a champion of unitarianism. Proportions statistically appropriate, perhaps, to arise from the methods used.

Daventry and Northampton: Tayler, Helliday, Hill,
Belsham, Hill, Carpenter, Robins, Kenrick,
Broadbent, Cogan, Horsey, Forsaith.

There remains to be sketched the subsequent history of the Academy, which had every reason to continue to be referred to as "Doddridge's". The following list of tutors and their places of education indicates the in-breeding which was one source of the conservatism in the Academy's curriculum and methods. The other primary source was the taking over in 1752 of the Academy by the Coward Trustees, whose duty it was (and is) to see that the students whose education they assist shall

be well instructed in the true Gospel
 doctrines, according as the same are
 explained in the Assembly's Catechism, (123).

It was the latter provision which caused the resignation of the only tutor who attempted to depart from the use of Doddridge's lectures as a textbook, and to use instead the latter's eclectic method, with his textbook as only one of the authorities cited. That tutor was Thomas Belsham, pupil of Ashworth and Clark, who

regarding it as a question of the highest importance, conceiving it to be his duty to state it fairly before the theological students, and observing that the question concerning the simple humanity of Christ, which was now become the great controversy

(123)Coward's Will, quoted in Turton 11 fn.

of the age, was scarcely glanced at in Dr. Doddridge's Lectures, which were the textbook of the Institution, he determined to draw up a new course of lectures upon that subject. (124).

He therefore collected and sifted New Testament texts and was horrified to find that he had converted himself to unitarianism (124). So long as the New Testament was regarded as a reservoir of texts which could be selected and strung together in logical array to arrive at the truth, Trinitarianism was inevitably in a shaky condition (125). In Belsham's case, his lapse from orthodoxy entailed his resignation from the tutorship in 1789. His subsequent tutorship at Hackney is referred to below (4,11).

(124)Lindsey Belsham 190-191.

(125)Powicke 205-8.

Tutors of Daventry-Northampton Academy 1757-1798 (126).

TUTOR		where EDUCATED (when)	STATUS IN ACADEMY.
Thomas Tayler	1735-1831	Here(1752-7)	asst.tutor 1757
Thos.Halliday		here(-1765)	asst.Classical tutor 1765
Noah Hill			class:tutor -1770.
Thos.Belsham	1750-1829	here(1766-71)	tutor, maths, logic, metaphysics(1771-81), div.tutor 1781-9 (see 4,11).
Ben.Carpenter		here(1768-73)	lec'd classics 1773 only.
Thos.Robins		here(1750-5)	succeeded Ashworth on latter's death, 1775, to 1781.
Timothy Kenrick	-1805	here(1774-9)	tutor maths & sc. 1779-84 (see 4,13).
Wm.Broadbent	?1755-1827	here(1777-82)	classics tutor 1782-84, maths, logic & sc. tutor 1784-91.
Eliezer Cogan	1762-1855	here(1780-4)	classics tutor 1784-89(?)
John Horsey	1754-1827	Hemerton(1771-divinity (4,21) 75)	tutor 1789-98.
Robt.Forsaith	-1797	Hoxton(1765 (4,16) -70)	classics tutor 1788-97.

The subordinate position still occupied by classics - frequently dealt with by a tutor who had only just finished the course himself - is apparent.

The incursion of the outsider John Horsey as senior tutor when the academy returned to Northampton on Belsham's resignation in 1789 was intended to restore the waning orthodoxy of (126)McLachlan 154-170; DNB

the institution, and also had the effect of bringing back Doddridge's lectures as textbooks. The works of Locke and Hartley were, however, now standard for private reading, and there were specific lectures on Government and the British Constitution. Free enquiry remained the accepted method (127).

Under Belsham and Kenrick the course was as follows (128):

<u>BELSHAM</u>						<u>KENRICK</u>					
Years:.....	1	2	3	4	5	Years:.....	1	2	3	4	5
Shorthand	x					Geography	x				
Classics	x	x	x	x		Logic	x				
Hebrew	x	x	x	x		Euclid 1-6	x				
Psychology,)						Euclid 11-12		x			
Divine Exis-)		x				Algebra.		x			
tence, &c)						Trigonometry		x			
Gov't &)						Conics			x	x	
Constn.)						Nat.Phil.			x	x	
Ethics &)						(including					
Xtn Evids)			x			Hydrostatics,					
Divinity				x		Pneumatics,					
Eccles.History				x		Astronomy,					
N.T.Critical)					x	Electricity)					
Lectures)											
Jewish Anti-)											
quities &)				x							
Pastoralia)											

There is nothing here very remarkable, except the continued absence of modern languages and of civil history. The natural science is evidently

(127)McLachlan 166-8; Lincoln 91, 100.

(128)McLachlan 161-2, quoting Williams Belsham 224-6.

well developed. The Coward Trust had paid for an astronomical observatory in 1771 (129).

Under Horsey the Academy excluded non-ministerial pupils. It continued to combine a conservation of much of Doddridge's outlook and detail of curriculum, with both broadly orthodox theology and freedom of outlook; it has today developed - in amalgamation with some other academies - into New College, London (130).

(129) McLachlan 173.

(130) Cong. Q. XIX 16.

Introductory.

Doddridge and his successors occupied a more or less middle position between strict orthodoxy and unitarianism. This ^{division} (II) surveys academies in which the aim was to encourage the most radical freedom of spirit, whilst the next division (III) deals with those in which the intention was to remain well within the bounds of orthodoxy.

The principal unitarian institutions to be considered are Warrington, Hackney, Manchester and two at Exeter (4,9 - 4,13). First, however, it is expedient to give an account of an outstanding tutor at two of these places.

Joseph Priestley (of Warrington and Hackney).

Outstanding amongst academy tutors is Joseph Priestley (1733-1804), better known for his chemical discoveries than for his educational activities or his theological peculiarities. He had, however, original ideas on education, and was able to put them into practice at Warrington and at Hackney, where he was tutor from 1761 until 1767 and from 1791 until 1794, respectively. Before detailing the Warrington and Hackney courses, therefore, it seems desirable to outline the ideas of Priestley.

Priestley was himself educated at Daventry under Ashworth and Clark (4,5), having gone there instead of to the King's Head Academy (4,21), whither his calvinistic relations had originally intended him to go. At Daventry Priestley was led by a reference in Doddridge's lectures (which were the standard text) to look at Observations on Man (1749) by David Hartley, who is often regarded as the founder of modern association-psychology, and who combined a deterministic materialism with a belief in the perfectibility (by education) of human nature (131). Priestley adopted a great deal of Hartley's philosophy. He remained always a determinist, with a place for freewill of a kind (132), believed in the existence but not in the immateriality of the soul, and regarded

(131) Willey Eighteenth Century .. 143.

(132) Carre 303-4.

experience as the basis of all mental processes - which were all features of the outlook of the associationists (133). Priestley's high regard for experience is shown in several distinct directions. He emphasises the rôle of experiment in the teaching of natural science (134). He believed in teaching the practice of perspective drawing without necessarily troubling the pupil with the theory, adding that "Those who apply to any branch of the mathematics, may learn the theory afterwards" (135). He recommended the study of history by describing it as "anticipated experience" (136). He grounded the duty of obedience on moral laws in that "We see and experience their happy effects" (137) - neither in any divine fiat nor in any open or disguised theory of social contract. He appealed for support for the Hackney College by drawing his hearers' attention to the needs of the world which they themselves must have observed. He wanted English grammar studied from modern English examples, not from Latin or French parallels (139).

But Priestley's outstanding contribution to education was neither in the psychological philosophy which he was perhaps the first educationist to embrace, nor in the chemistry where his researches have given him a lasting name, nor in the theology

(133) Psychological Review XXIII 228-9.

(134) Works XXV 356, 377.

(135) Works XXV 359; Free address 116.

(136) Works XXIV 29.

(137) Works XXIV 438.

(138) Works XV 420.

(139) Works XXIII 6.

which he considered of unique importance (140), and to which he gave a great deal of his time and energy. It was rather in his part in introducing and systematising history as a leading subject of the curriculum. Priestley's first publication on the subject appeared in 1765, whilst he was practising his theories at Warrington (141). He explains the need for changes in the curriculum thus:

It seems to be a defect in our present system of public education, that a proper course of studies is not provided for gentlemen, who are designed to fill the principal stations of active life, as distinct from those which are adapted to the learned professions. We have hardly any medium between an education for the counting-house, consisting of writing, arithmetic, and merchants' accounts, and a method of instruction in the abstract sciences: so that we have nothing liberal that is worth the attention of gentlemen whose views neither of these two opposite plans may suit.

Formerly, none but the clergy were thought to have any occasion for learning. It was natural, therefore, that the whole

(140) Works I(2) 76,89; XXV 379.

(141) Essay on the course of Liberal Education for Civil and Active Life, in Works XXIV 7-22.

plan of education, from the grammar-school to the finishing at the university, should be calculated for their use (142).

Now, however, the increasing field of human knowledge and the increasing opportunities for competition between states mean that

a different and better furniture of mind is requisite to be brought into the business of life (143).

Priestley therefore proposes

some new articles of academical instruction, such as have a nearer and more evident connection with the business of active life, and which may therefore bid fairer to engage the attention, and rouse the thinking powers of young gentlemen of an active genius (144).

The "new articles" turn out to be various aspects of History, including the particular English History and Constitution (144). These subjects Priestley characterizes as

those subjects which are treated of in books that in fact engage the attention of all the world, the learned least of all excepted, and which enter into all conversations, where it is worth a man's while to bear a part, or make a figure,...(145)

All students should take this course, though

(142) Works XXIV 7.

(143) Works XXIV 8.

(144) Works XXIV 11-13.

(145) Works XXIV 19.

medical and divinity students may postpone it until a late stage (145). In the lectures themselves, not published in full until 1788 (146), Priestley sums up the uses of history under three heads: first, to "amuse the imagination and interest the passions"; second, to improve the understanding; and third, to "strengthen the sentiments of virtue" (147). These need to be explained by noticing Priestley's emphasis throughout on cause and effect (148), his constant recurrence to the relevance of his lectures to current topics (149), and his stress on the citizen's duty to understand public affairs (150). It is these emphases which constitute the novelty of Priestley's approach. From the time of Tallents (2,29) onwards at any rate, history had in fact been studied, from a general as well as an ecclesiastical standpoint, in some academies, and political interest had always been strong (151).. Priestley contributed, however, not only a novelty of approach, but also a detailed scheme, which "was perhaps the model for later teachers of history" (152). He avowedly followed an analytical method analogous to that of Gordon's Geographical Grammar (153). His course may be summarized thus:

(145) Works XXIV 19.

(146) Lectures on History in Works XXIV 26-438.

(147) Works XXIV 26.

(148) Works XXIV 29, 200-438.

(149) Works XXIV 441.

(150) Works XXIV 441, 448.

(151) Lincoln 86-87.

(152) Tuck in Education Papers VI(4)52.

(153) Works XXIV 444.

- (1) General Uses of History.
- (2) Sources of History: including monuments, coins, heraldry and etymology, as well as documents.
- (3) Necessary preliminary knowledge: philosophical method, geography, chronology, etc.; but begin to read history young.
- (4) Directions for acquiring and retaining a knowledge of History: charts, tables, models; orderliness; which authors to study in order.
- (5) Proper objects of attention to an historian: cause and effect, democracy, commerce, general policy.
- (6) A general View of Universal History, using Holberg's Introduction to Universal History, in English 1755. (154).

One point in Priestley's arguments in favour of the above course deserves special mention. It is his assumption that the duties of the individual include not merely the maintenance of himself and his dependants but also a contribution to the building up of national wealth. Thus increasing competition between states calls, as mentioned above, for an improved curriculum; and the same assumption that the individual is an essential factor in a community to whose commercial prosperity it is his duty, and indeed his interest, to contribute, occurs in other places in his educational discussions - for instance in connection with commercial geography, as noticed below. This new note in Priestley, not found in

earlier tutors, is a reflection of a similar change of emphasis which is noticeable in many quarters during the eighteenth century (155).

The remainder of Priestley's educational ideas might be those of any academy tutor of his time, with slight differences of emphasis and expression. He is specially interested in the moral results of education:

The great end of education .. is .. to inculcate such principles and lead to such habits as will enable men to pass with integrity and real honour through life, and to be inflexibly just, benevolent, and good .. (156).

Only inspire the minds of youth with the love of truth, and a sense of virtue and public spirit, and they will be ready for every good work (157).

I never experience greater satisfaction, than when I find young men of ability formed to virtue, and usefulness in life, under my instructions (158).

The use of all knowledge, especially such as I have endeavoured to communicate to you, is virtuous conduct (159).

This preoccupation with the morals of the pupil, agreeing well with a theology which regarded the sole aim of religion as the production of human

(155) Dobbs 5, 129.

(156) Observations on Education .. 1778 in Works XXV 6.

(157) The proper Objects of Education .. a Discourse to the supporters of the New College at Hackney 1791 in Works XV 423-4.

(158) Dedication to Lectures on History..1788 in Works XXIV 3.

(159) Letter to his Late Class 1790 in Works I(2) 59.

virtue (160), went with Priestley's belief that virtue is the automatic result of knowledge (161). He therefore recommended Hobbes, Locke and especially Hartley, as writers on moral philosophy, but did not give the latter subject as such any but a minor place in his curriculum (162).

In accordance with his utilitarian outlook, Priestley emphasizes the position in the curriculum of natural science and of French, but values Latin only for its usefulness in several respects. On the first of these subjects, natural science, Priestley has no doubt as to the value. He had himself received instruction, before going up to Daventry as a pupil, from a former pupil of McLaurin, who had set him on reading Gravesande's Natural Philosophy, 1723, a standard Newtonian physics text (163). Priestley's own interests led him more into the field, much less known in educational circles, of chemistry. He therefore combined a firm belief in the value of natural science teaching with a desire to see it include more chemistry. The latter subject he regarded of value especially as an essential prerequisite for the study of commercial geography, regarded in turn as a subsidiary of his favourite history, and as a necessary subject for citizens of a state engaged in competition

(160) Gordon Heads 118.

(161) Works I(1)13.

(162) Works XXV 19-20.

(163) Works I(1)13.

for world trade (164). Of natural science as a whole he wrote:

It is by increasing our knowledge of nature, and by this alone, that we acquire the great art of commanding it, of availing ourselves of its powers, and applying them to our own purposes; true science being the only foundation of all those arts of life, whether relating to peace or war, which distinguish civilized nations from those which we term barbarous .. (165).

But Priestley's utilitarianism was of a moral kind; so that he also wrote:

but the greatest and noblest use of philosophical speculation is the discipline of the heart, and the opportunity it affords of inculcating benevolent and pious sentiments upon the mind ... The more we see of the wonderful structure of the world, and of the laws of nature, the more clearly do we comprehend their admirable uses to make all percipient creation happy, a sentiment which cannot but fill the heart with unbounded love, gratitude and joy (166)..

As a final reason for the study of natural science, Priestley held the view - also that of Jollie (3,20)

(164)Works XXIV 440.

(165)Dedication to Experiments and Observations on Different Kinds of Air .. 1790 in Works XXV 368.

(166)Preface to The History and Present State of Electricity, 1767, in Works XXV 351..

and Wesley (4,28) in connection with the mathematical end of the subject - that it stirs up passions which may issue in rebellion against (usurped) authority:

the English hierarchy (if there be anything unsound in its constitution) has ... reason to tremble even at an air pump or an electrical machine (167).

Priestley did not explain the modus operandi of this connection.

The classics Priestley wished to retain as the basis of grammar school education (168). Nevertheless he had written in 1762:

Now that the English tongue is not only become the vehicle of science, but is also the language of the orator, it is certainly absurd that our youth should waste that time in learning to write or speak a dead language, which they might more usefully employ in studying their own. They should be able to read and understand the Classics, but their compositions should be English (169).

We might expect this in a pupil of Daventry. He valued some knowledge of Latin because of its influence on English and because the study of it necessitates precise consideration of the meanings of words (170). He had no use for the

(167) Preface to Experiments...on...Air .. 1790
in Works XXV 375.

(168) Works I(2) 75, 1790.

(169) Monthly Review XXVI 27-28 in Works I(2) 11.

(170) Works 25-28.

philosophy of the Greeks (171), and the study of the classics at academy level features in his schemes, however, only for ministerial candidates - who, interestingly, are not expected to study natural science (172).

It need hardly be added that Priestley believed wholeheartedly in the method of free enquiry encouraged at Daventry. He is credited with being the first to apply systematically the historical method of studying the Bible, in which the approach is by way of enquiry into the meaning which each part of the text bore for the contemporaries of its writer (173). This method accorded well with Priestley's intention to adhere to unprejudiced scientific attitudes, and led him, within a decade of his coming down from Daventry, to antitrinitarianism.

Turning to a minor feature of Priestley's outlook we find him expressing views on a matter noticeably absent from the interests of most tutors: he believed in a mediocre - it must be mediocre - acquaintance with music. He himself learned to play the flute in 1758 (174), and recommended "all studious persons" to acquire sufficient knowledge for enjoyment, but not so much that they would be unable to enjoy indifferent performances. It would be interesting to know what part Priestley took in any musical activities at Warrington and at Hackney.

(171) Gordon Heads 116.

(172) Free address (1770), 75-6.

(173) Gordon Heads 40, 120-1.

(174) DNB.

Priestley's influence in educational matters is difficult to estimate. The academies at Warrington and Hackney at which he taught (4,9; 4,11) were short-lived but well-known. Spencer was evidently indebted to Priestley for some things (175), and Priestley's general fame as a scientist and as the founder of the historical approach to biblical criticism make it certain that his educational ideas were taken seriously by people who would probably not have troubled about him had he written on education alone. On the other hand, Priestley is an outstanding figure educationally not so much in that he was in contrast to his contemporaries as in that he was a leader in the current of ideas of his age (176). It is therefore impossible to say, without direct evidence, whether any particular case of development of a Priestley idea by any later educationist does or does not owe anything to Priestley himself. One direction in which he made his immediate influence felt is investigated in following sections, dealing with the academies at Warrington (4,9) and Hackney (4,11), in which Priestley held tutorships.

(175) Knox in Studies in Education I(3) 85.

(176) ibid. 83.

Warrington 1757-1783; Priestley and others.

The Warrington Academy has achieved a considerable reputation. This has come about not so much because it appears to have had any specially notable lasting effects, nor because it contributed to the training of any large number of specially eminent people, as because it numbered amongst its tutors Joseph Priestley, and among the daughters of its tutors the erstwhile highly-regarded Mr. Barbauld (177). The general story of the Academy has been thoroughly told, and it is necessary here to investigate only its curriculum and the factors which determined that.

Warrington Academy was founded by a group of dissenters of unorthodox theological standpoint, chief amongst whom was John Seddon, former pupil of Rotherham (3,18) and of Hutcheson at Glasgow (3,2). Seddon followed Hutcheson in his ethical theory (178), which departed radically from the tabula rasa of Locke and his disciples (179). Amongst the latter was Taylor, the first Principal of the Academy, a follower of Wollaston who was perhaps better known for his theological publications on Original Sin 1740 and the Atonement 1751 than for his moral science, on which he published (for the use of his Warrington pupils) A Sketch of Moral Philosophy 1760

(177) Thorpe 46.

(178) Colligan 58.

(179) Carré 297.

and An examination of Dr. Hutcheson's Scheme of Morality 1760 (180). This difference of opinion, however, was an encouragement rather than an obstacle to men of liberal views, Taylor opened his lecture-course by exhorting his pupils:

That you keep your mind always open to evidence. That you labour to banish from your breasts all prejudice, prepossession and party zeal. That you study to live in peace and love with all your fellow Christians; and that you steadily assert for yourselves, and freely allow for others, the inalienable rights of judgement and conscience (181).

Similarly, the initial prospectus of the Academy stated that it was designed

[to train ministers on a basis of their being/ free to follow the dictates of their own judgments in their enquiries after truth, without any undue bias imposed on their understandings [and/ to give some knowledge to those who were to be engaged in commercial life, as well as the learned professions, in the more useful branches of literature, and to lead them to an early acquaintance, and just concern for, the true principles of liberty, of which principles they must, in future life, be the supporters (182).

(180) Gordon Heads 37; McLachlan Unitarian Movement 243.

(181) Hans 161.

(182) quoted in Mounfield 107.

The working out of these intentions led to a diverse curriculum of which the student might take whatever combination of subjects he liked. Thus in 1777 the prospectus was this: (183)

Five years' course in
THEOLOGY, ETHICS,
LOGIC, etc:

Rev. John Aikin DD £3. 3. --.

CLASSICS, Greek and
Roman:

Rev. John Aikin DD £3. 3. --.

Three years course:
the Principal branches
of MATHEMATICS, and on
NATURAL PHILOSOPHY,

theoretical & experimental Rev. Wm. Enfield LL D £3. 3. --.

Three years' course in
GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY,
COMMERCE, the theory of
LANGUAGE, ELOCUTION, the
principles and several
species of COMPOSITION:

Rev. Wm. Enfield LL D £3. 3. --.

Lectures in alternate
years on CHEMISTRY
and on ANATOMY

By Mr. Aikin, £2. 2. --.
surgeon £1. 1. --.

FRENCH

By Mr. Holme £3. 3. --.

ARITHMETIC, WRITING,
DRAWING

By Mr. Bright each £1. 1. --.

BOOKKEEPING and
SURVEYING

By Mr. Bright each £2. 2. --.

MEDICAL students have private
tuition, preparatory to physic, from Mr. Aikin.

There are features of interest here, firstly in
the subjects provided. The inclusion of the

(183) London Chronicle 1777, facsimile in
Turberville XXII.

practical subjects - French, Bookkeeping, Writing, Drawing, Surveying - shows the attempt being made to meet the needs of those not aiming at the three professions. There had been institutions teaching such subjects (184), but they had not been connected with dissenting academies. The minimum age of admission at Warrington was 13 (185) and it seems improbable that these practical subjects represent anything which could be regarded as falling within the field of the present discussion as being of university standard. The mention of Commerce in connection with Geography and History does, however, indicate a development in the teaching of those two subjects, no doubt under the influence of Priestley (4,8). But the most striking feature of the course is undoubtedly the view of the various subjects as separate entities which might or might not be taken together. Whilst some specialization had been found in many academies before this date, it had always been amongst the periphera of the curriculum. A solid core (of a religious character) had been provided for all students. Now, however, the matter was regarded from an entirely different viewpoint. The idea of specialization became the foundation of the system.

The process by which the whole educational world came to view the university curriculum in the

(184) Watson Beginnings 251; Hans 180, 181.

(185) London Chronicle, loc.cit.

Warrington way, as a collection of items any one or more of which might appropriately be studied without notice of the remainder, does not appear to be one of the spreading of the influence of Warrington itself, or of the ideas of its tutors. It appears rather that Warrington was an early example of a development inevitable under the forces of the time. The vast increase in the field of knowledge was making some such development urgent. That this development did not take the form suggested by the courses of such men as Doddridge, and retain a central cultural core, was perhaps the result of, as much as anything, the repidity with which the old core, the classical and religious curriculum of the seventeenth-century universities and academies, had become completely non-vocational, having no bearing on or obvious connection with the knowledge needed for the older professions or for the newer occupations. The industrial revolution finished the process of rendering a curriculum which had been in origin vocational merely cultural in the most barren sense (186).

Glasgow University - where Seddon, the leading founder of Warrington Academy, had graduated - allowed some choice of subjects in 1741 (187), and a fairly free choice was becoming the standard Scottish position (188). Even the English universities were already, in the latter

(186) Jacks, chapter V.

(187) Grant 335.

(188) Curtis 231.

half of the eighteenth century, beginning to follow the Warrington path. They had not yet heard of the upstart subjects which appear in the Warrington list, but it was becoming possible for a student to choose between the classical and the mathematical paths. From John's, Cambridge, in 1788, an undergraduate wrote:

I am much pleased with the academical life; in the University one is at liberty to cultivate whatever branch of learning is most congenial to one's disposition ... For my part, I chiefly cultivate the classics; to the other branch I was never much inclined (189).

Those in charge at Cambridge had already started on the road to the collection of discrete Triposes which may not seem too unsatisfactory a scheme for a residential university with non-specialized colleges (190), but which has been severely criticized by many twentieth-century writers. Ortega Y Gasset wants (191) a return to a general course such as would be obtained by a student at a normal one of the later academies (4,21; 4,10) or by a student who took, as no doubt many did take, the whole of the Warrington course except the occupational subjects taught by Mr. Bright. Some other recent educationists have preferred to

(189) Webb, letter to Godwin, 24/2/1788, in Paul Godwin I 34-5.

(190) Gasset 58.

(191) James Content 85-86.

follow the ideas propagated specially, perhaps, from a general point of view by Berdyaev, endeavouring to find in Christianity the only possible centre for the whole of modern culture, and emphasizing the spiritual significance of the creative element in all types of human activity (192). Thus Jeffreys (who is speaking at the time more of the school than of the university) says that education would find coherence of content in the interpretation of all experience in relation to the purpose of building a Christian community (193). None of these considerations seems, however, to have occurred to the Warrington tutors or to anyone else at the time; the fact that many of the pupils did take a reasonably complete and balanced course doubtless obscured the revolutionary character of the new way of thinking of the curriculum.

In addition to these general considerations there is at least one specific subject in the curriculum whose treatment at Warrington is worthy of notice. That is Oratory or Elocution, with a wide range of associated topics, which was taken in the early days of the Academy by Seddon, and for which in 1774 William Enfield, by then the Rector, published his Speaker, ... to which are prefixed to essays: 1. on Elocution. 2. on Reading Works of Taste.

Seddon's course is preserved in lecture notes at Manchester College, Oxford. He gave

(192) Lampert Berdyaev chap IV.

(193) Jeffreys III. 11.

a three year course which may be summarized thus:

Year 1: Origin of Language,

Grammar illustrated from Latin, Greek
and Hebrew,

Examination of grammatical slips made by
contemporary writers,

Punctuation,

The conditions affecting languages,

Commendation of Lowth and of Johnson.

Years 2 and 3:

Oratory "upon a Scientific Plan",

Poetry: the Principal Poets, ancient
and modern,

Other Polite Arts, including Music,
Painting, Sculpture and
Architecture,

Use and Study of History, especially
British (194).

Unfortunately the first year alone is covered in detail. One would like to know how Music and Art were treated, and it is interesting to observe that British History was studied at Warrington from the start, before it came under Priestley's care although not before he had had a hand in the arrangements for the Academy. Seddon's course can hardly have owed much to either of the places, Kendal Academy (3,19) and Glasgow University (3,2), in which he had received his higher education.

At Glasgow, for instance, there was no graduation in music until 1933 (195).

The Speaker of William Enfield ("whose guiding star was 'politeness' (196)) is a collection of one hundred and seventy-one passages as examples of English prose and verse. The first chapter consists of "Select Sentences", but the passages in the remaining seven chapters are of more substantial length. There is a preponderance of eighteenth-century material, nothing from the Bible except in Chapter I, five excerpts from Milton and thirty-eight from Shakespeare. In the two prefixed essays Enfield explains some of his aims. Latin and Greek are passports to

a fertile and well-cultivated plain,
every where adorned with the fairest
flowers, and enriched with the choicest
fruits. ...

But, without having recourse to the
ancients, it is possible to find in
modern languages valuable specimens of
every species of polite literature (197).

The English language is particularly rich, Enfield listing Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, Butler, Prior, Pope, Thomson, Addison, Sterne and Gray. The reading of these is an entertainment (197), but "can be considered as a mere amusement, only by the most vulgar, or the most frivolous parts of mankind" (198). Two serious uses are described

(195) Scholes 255.

(196) Lincoln 54.

(197) Speaker xxix-xxx.

(198) Speaker xxvii.

thus:

It is the natural tendency of an intimate acquaintance with images of grandeur, beauty, and excellence, as they are exhibited in works of taste, to produce a general habit of dignity and elegance, which will seldom fail to tincture a man's general character, and diffuse a graceful air over his whole conversation and manners ...

/he will/ learn to admire whatever is noble or becoming in conduct ...

/secondly/ it affords an agreeable and useful exercise of the judgment, in determining the degree of merit in literary productions; an exercise which tends to improve the taste, and to form a habit of correct and elegant expression, both in conversation and writing. ...

while science enriches the understanding, the study of polite literature cultivates the taste, and improves the heart; and both unite, to form the Accomplished and Happy Man (199).

Thus English Literature is established, side by side with Latin and Greek, as an indispensable part of the education of every man of culture. Despite this, however, there was one respect in which matters had moved in a contrary direction

(199) Speaker xxi, xxxii, xliii.

since the amateur theatricals of Doddridge's student days (3,21). A suggestion that something of the sort should be attempted at Warrington was firmly negatived (200). As to the narrower object of attention, elocution as such,

to be able to speak well is an ornamental and useful accomplishment ... what a man has hourly occasion to do, ... /in/ Every private company, and almost every public assembly ... should be done well ... (201).

Unhappily, Enfield's high hopes of the moral results of the study of good literature were not realized. He speaks of "a vulgar and coarse familiarity, a disposition towards riot and mischief, intemperance, and in some instances gaming, profaneness and licentious manners" (202). Far from becoming an institution

Where Science smiles, the Muses join
the train,

And gentlest arts and purest manners reign (203), Warrington Academy ended its days in 1786 under a cloud which arose almost exclusively from the bad behaviour and consequent failure to progress of its students. That the causes were not fundamentally financial is shown by the fact that within two years there were ample sums available from those interested in Unitarian Christianity and in education to found a Sunday School at Warrington (204).

(200) Mounfield 116.

(201) Enfield Speaker ix.

(202) Mounfield 134.

(203) Mrs. Barbauld, quoted in Enfield Speaker 230.

(204) Mounfield 166.

Before this, however, Warrington had provided for a variety of students a higher education which has given ground for the recent judgment that Warrington had "been a successful rival of the two old Universities for twenty-nine years" (205). This course could include not only the literary studies detailed above but also a sound scientific course, based on ^{the} Kendal Academy's apparatus with additions by Nicolas Clayton and other Warrington tutors. If Warrington had been able to restrict itself to pupils whose age and attainments fitted them for higher education, instead of trying to be so 'comprehensive' as to include both a university theological faculty and a secondary commercial stream, it might have avoided its difficulties. Its students included at one stage even a Cambridge undergraduate undergoing sentence of rustication*(206). Possibly not unconnected with this lack of practicability at the basis of the institution was its failure to retain its tutors for periods long enough to provide stability. The following list (which may not be accurate in detail) illustrates this feature of the Academy:

*a form of suspension.

(205)Hans 162.

(206)Hounfield 129.

Tutors of Warrington Academy:

TUTORS	SUBJECTS	DATES OF TUTORSHIPS
John Taylor DD (1694-1761)	divinity	1757-67.
Nicolas Clayton DD (1733?-97)	divinity	1780-83.
John Aikin DD (previously assistant to Doddridge) (4,2) (1713-80)	(classics (divinity	1757-61 1761-78?
J. Priestley LL D (4,8)	languages & belles-lettres	1761-67
J. R. Forster LL D	languages & natural history	1767-70?
La Tour	languages, drawing & bookkeeping	?1770-?
John Seddon (1725-70)	Rector & belles-lettres languages, history, etc.	1767-70 1770-86
Wm. Enfield LL D (1741-97)	{Rector & (theology (&belles-lettres (& mathematics	1770-83? 1772-83 1774-83
G. Wakefield AB (Cantab) editor of Lucretius (1756-1801)	classics	?1774-83
P. Houghton (1740-1822), former pupil	classics assistant	1778-79
Dyer of London	(languages, (polite liter. (& moral (philosophy	1757, did not commence.
Ralph Harrison (1748-1801) (4,10)	classics assistant	c.1773
John Holt	Natural phil. & mathematics	1757-72
George Walker FRS (1734-1807) (4,10)	mathematics	1772-74

4:9		303.
John Aikin (jnr) MD	anatomy, chemistry,&c	c 1777
Bright	commercial subjects	c 1777
Turner	chemistry	c 1762
Holme	French	c 1777
		(207).

The closure of Warrington inspired the founding of two other Unitarian Academies, Hackney and Manchester, which are the subjects of the next two sections.

(207) Parker Part II;
Mounfield 120-4;
London Chronicle 1777 quoted in Turberville XXII;
Harrison ii;
Jeremy 57;
McLachlan Unitarian Movement... 89-90;
DNB.

Manchester Unitarian Academy, 1786 on:

The decline of Warrington Academy stimulated the founding of an Academy at Manchester, which, absorbing some of the Warrington outlook as well as taking over the Warrington library (208), was successful in achieving the stability which Warrington lacked.

The two tutors at the opening, Thomas Barnes (1746/7-1810) and Ralph Harrison (1748-1801), who were also co-pastors (209) of Cross-street Church, offered between them the following enormous range of subjects:

<u>Barnes:</u>	<u>Harrison</u> (tutor in
Hebrew	classics & belles
Logic	lettres):
Ontology	History
Pneumatology	Mythology
Ethics	Manners & Philosophy of
Elements of Jurisprudence	the Ancients
Evidences	Theory of Language
Doctrines & Precepts of	(especially English)
Christianity	Oratory
Ecclesiastical History	Criticism
Jewish Antiquities	History & Geography
History & Principles of)	
Commerce)	
Commercial Laws &)	
Regulations of)	for
Various States)	commercial.
Commercial Ethics, includ-)	pupils
ing Oaths, Contracts)	
& Commutative Justice)	

To complete the curriculum it was intended to arrange with the College of Arts and Sciences (Owen's College) for lectures in anatomy and

(208) TUHS III 188.

(209) Harrison iv.

physiology and in chemistry, and with the hospital for suitable instruction for medical students.

Harrison resigned in 1789 (210), and Barnes shared the instruction with various other tutors. William Stevenson (1772-1829), trained at Daventry and Northampton, was classical tutor 1792-6, and was succeeded for the next four years by Charles Saunders, MA, Queens' College, Cambridge (211). Thomas Francis Davies, mathematical tutor 1787-9, educated at Carmarthen Academy, was a man of many talents, being doctor, chemist, mathematician as well as minister of religion. ... On the floor of a room in the old parsonage [at Walmsley, where he had been minister 1781-7] used to be marks made by him in the pursuit of his studies and experiments, and barometers of his construction were in existence until the early years of the twentieth century. He was the first to introduce vaccination by cowpox into the [Walmsley] district ... (212).

Other tutors included Lewis Loyd (died 1858), educated at Carmarthen Academy, and in later life a millionaire banker (213), and the famous Quaker physical chemist John Dalton, who was tutor at Manchester in mathematics and natural philosophy from 1793 to 1800. His lectures included conics

(210) Rutt Priestley I (2) 35.

(211) McLachlan 255-8.

(212) Kenworthy in TUHS IX 62-3.

(213) Jeremy 67.

and the calculus, bookkeeping, hydraulics and meteorology as well as more usual topics (214). George Walker, FRS (1734?-1807), former pupil of Rotherham (3,19) and at Edinburgh and Glasgow, and mathematical tutor at Warrington (3,9), and author of works (containing original matter) on the Sphere and on Conics, was theological tutor at Manchester 1798-1803 (215)

The Manchester course looks like a satisfactory and complete one, except for the striking omission of modern languages as such. Nor is there mention of music or the fine arts; Harrison came, however, of a musical family (216) and was the compiler of a book of hymntunes (217), some of his own (218) being in common use today.

It has been stated (219) that Barnes did not regard philosophical subjects as of great value to ministers; Harrison, on the other hand - although like Barnes a former pupil of Warrington - believed in an all-round education for everyone.

"How shall /the minister/", Harrison asks,

be thoroughly furnished for his arduous and important office, who is unacquainted with the works and laws of nature, with history, with geography, or with languages? (220).

Similar considerations apply to the medical and legal professions (221), and for the "merchant and the manufacturer", the "valuable accomplishments of science" - using the word, no doubt, in a wide

(214)McLachlan 258-261.

(215)Jeremy 71, Colligan 72, TCHS V 161.

(216)Nicholson & Axon 554.

(217)Harrison vi.

(218)e.g. "Warrington", Congregational Hymnary 220, English Hymnal 263.

sense - will

give dignity to the possession of wealth, lessen the snares and dangers with which it is surrounded, provide a constant source of rational and innocent enjoyments, and qualify for honourable and important services to their fellow-citizens (221).

Lastly, those who are "born to hereditary affluence and power" need knowledge, "without which, riches and titles will but expose their insignificance, and probably render them contemptible and wretched" (221).

Thus higher education of a general character is valuable for all classes (except perhaps the lowest). Knowledge constitutes "the instruments whereby are conveyed to us the blessings of time, and the happiness of eternity". It "improves not only the individual but the species" (222). Private advantage and public utility are generally closely connected (223) and virtues and vices are respectively the results of obedience to the dictates of sound reason, and of folly (224). So Harrison stands in the central traditions of rationalist belief in the excellence and omnipotence of knowledge in general, and is opposed to any specialization such as was envisaged in the Warrington arrangements (2,9) or practised in some of the contemporary ministerial academies (4,31).

(219) Monthly Repository V 410 quoted by McLachlan 259.

(220) Sermon (at Academy foundation), in Sermons 44.

(221) ibid. 12-13.

(222) ibid. 10.

(223) Sermon on Ephesians 5/15 in Sermons 109.

(224) Sermon (at Academy foundation), in Sermons 5.

Manchester Academy succeeded - perhaps in part because of its slightly more conservative flavour - where Warrington had failed, and developed eventually into the present Manchester College, Oxford, a training college for Unitarian ministers.

Hackney Unitarian College.

The second academy whose foundation was stimulated by the expiry of Warrington was the Hackney Unitarian College, which existed from 1786 to 1796. At the end of the first year, a Report attached to the Annual Sermon (225) describes the course thus:

The course of education will be comprehensive and liberal, and adapted to youth in general, whether they are intended for civil or commercial life, or for any of the learned professions. This course will include the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew Languages, Greek and Roman Antiquities, Ancient and Modern Geography, Universal Grammar, Rhetoric and Composition, Chronology, History, Civil and Ecclesiastical, the Principles of Law and Government, the several Branches of Mathematics, Astronomy, Natural and Experimental Physics and Chemistry, Logic, Metaphysics and Ethics, the Evidences of Religion, Natural and Revealed, Theology, Jewish Antiquities, and Critical Lectures on the Scriptures, ... and Elocution ..; French, other Modern Languages, Drawing, &c. at a separate expence (225).

The Warrington intention of providing for those not aiming at the three professions, is here;

(225)Price Sermon 25/4/1787, Report 1-3.

but a minimum age of fifteen (225) shows a resolve to prevent the degeneration of the course into one for grammar-school-age pupils. The initial six tutors seem to have managed to deal with the whole curriculum with the exception of elocution (which is listed in the 1788 Report as being taught by a person unspecified) and chemistry (which has slipped out of the list by 1788, to reappear (226) in 1790 (227)).

The six tutors at the beginning were Rees, Kippis, Price, Worthington, Morgan and Kiddel. Some of them expressed their educational ideas in the annual sermons to supporters of the College or elsewhere.

Abraham Rees DD, FRS (1743-1825) had been educated under the orthodox David Jennings, and had been tutor at Hoxton (4,16) from 1762 to 1785, becoming secretary of the (by now predominantly uncalvinistic) Presbyterian Board in 1778 (228). At Hackney he taught not only Hebrew, Ecclesiastical History, Evidences and Theology and cognate subjects, but also (with Morgan's assistance) Elementary Mathematics, ^{Globes,} Astronomy and Modern Geography (229). He believed in an "complete course of education" (230), and claimed that the lay student at Hackney attained to a galaxy of acquisitions -

(225) *ibid.*

(226) Belsham Sermon 28/4/1790, 54.

(227) Rees Sermon 30/4/1788, Report 2.

(228) DNB.

(229) Rees Sermon 30/4/1788 Report 2.

(230) Rees Sermon 30/4/1788, 15-16.

- (a) habits of diligence (230),
- (b) knowledge to enable him to establish his reputation in life (230),
- (c) a basis for innocent intellectual leisure activities (231),
- (d) a foundation for the best type of friendship (231),
- (e) an outlook likely to encourage temperance and refinement (232),
- (f) ability to be useful to others and to the community (232),
- (g) interests and hobbies for eventual old age (232),

and, above all

- (h) religious knowledge (233).

Rees accepted wholeheartedly the idea of the value of general mental exercise, believing that the "intellectual powers .. acquire strength and vigour" by being used;

To those who have become accustomed to think, and judge, and reason, these several operations of the mind will be familiar and easy (234).

Andrew Kippis DD, FRS (1725-95) had already spent twenty years as a colleague of Rees at Hoxton (4,16). He was a former pupil of Doddridge (4,2) and also owed a great deal to Samuel Merivale (4,66). He came to Hackney believing that Doddridge had not made his lay pupils work hard enough, and that the breadth of an academy course often led to superficiality (236).

(230) Rees Sermon 30/4/1788, 15-16.

(231) Rees Sermon 30/4/1788, 17-21.

(232) ibid 22-25.

(233) ibid 28.

(234) ibid 13.

(235) Jeremy 154; DNB.

(236) Sermon 26/4/1786, 39.

He edited Doddridge's Divinity Lectures (1794) with a prefatory remark indicating his belief in a thorough use of the Doddridge comparative method:

My sole aim is to mention, with freedom and impartiality, the writers on all sides of the different questions which are the objects of discussion, that thereby the mind of the student may be duly enlarged, and that he may be able, with the Greater advantage, to prosecute his searches after truth (237).

At Hackney Kippis taught Ancient Geography, Mythology, and Roman Antiquities, Universal Grammar, Rhetoric and Criticism, History and Chronology, General Principles of Law and Government and Constitution (238). He mentioned with approval Milton and Locke on Education (239), and named "ancient and classic literature" as the centre of his scheme (240). Kippis explained that his theological standpoint was not one which elevated the human reason but one which refused to accept whatever could not be found in the Scriptures (241). He felt it necessary to justify the study by ministerial candidates of "a large compass of science and literature" on the grounds that dissenting ministers often

(237) Doddridge Works IV 284.

(238) Rees Sermon 30/4/1788, Report 2.

(239) Sermon 26/4/1786, 3.

(240) ibid. 42.

(241) Life of Sir John Pringle quoted in Sermon 26/4/1786, 44-45 fn.

engaged in educational activities - very properly, since they thus not only augmented their stipends but also performed "eminent service to the world" (242). By using this argument, Kippis showed that he in effect admitted the principle of occupational specialization, at any rate to some extent.

Richard Price (1723-91) had been educated in three academies - that of Samuel Jones (not the tutor of that name at Brynllwarch nor the one at Tewkesbury (3,8)) at Pentwyn, that of Vavasor Griffiths at Talgarth (the Carmarthen Presbyterian Academy under one of its disguises) and that of Eames in London (3,12) (243). He had gone on to distinguish himself in two distinct fields, that of statistics, in which he was a pioneer in actuarial work (244), and that of moral science, where his Review of the Principal Questions of Morals 1757 came to be considered as the ablest defence of the system of Cudworth (2,17) and Clarke (245). Price expressed his debt to Butler, and saw moral law and the command to obey it as both given by Reason; right and wrong are objective, "necessary and immutable", and are intuitively known on a basis of innate ideas such as those of necessity, identity, causality; it is then the duty of the intellect to impose conformity to these ideas "as a law, upon the will" (246). This view differs markedly

(242) Sermon 26/4/1786, 39.

(243) Jeremy 150, Roberts 55.

(244) Priestley Discourse on occasion of the Death of Dr. Price ...1/5/1791, in Works XV 444.

(245) Bogue & Bennett IV 424; Elton 178.

(246) DNB; W.H. Hutton in CHEL X 345; Elton 177; McLachlan Unitarian Movement 244.

from that of Locke and from that of Hutcheson, and may be regarded either as a "remnant of an earlier form of thought" (247) or as a foreshadowing of Kent (248). At Hackney, Price lectured, appropriately, on Moral Science and (assisted by his nephew Morgan) on Higher Mathematics, Newton's Principia and the Doctrine of Chances and Life-Annuities (249). His definition of the aims of education seems worth quoting:

The best education is that which ..
impresses the heart most with the love
of virtue, and communicates the most
expanded and ardent benevolence; which
gives the deepest consciousness of the
fallibility of the human understanding,
and preserves from that vile dogmatism
so prevalent in the world; which makes
men diffident and modest, attentive to
evidence, capable of proportioning their
assent to the degree of it, quick in
discerning it, and determined to follow
it; which, in short, instead of producing
acute casuists, conceited pedants, or
furious polemics, produces fair enquirers ...
(250)

Hugh Worthington, a former pupil and
assistant tutor at Daventry^(4,6), continued in the

(247) Stephen I429.

(248) Elton 178.

(249) Rees Sermon 25/4/1787 Report 1.

(250) Price Sermon 25/4/1787, 41-2.

Doddridge tradition (4,2) in regarding Christian Evidences as the central pillar of the curriculum; all subjects provide additional means of examining Revelation; "and the more it is examined, the more it shines" (251). At Hackney, however, Worthington taught Logic and Classics (252).

G. C. Morgan and John Kiddel assisted with the mathematics and science, and with the classics, respectively (252).

There were various changes in the Hackney staff during the ten years of the College's existence. Natural Philosophy was taken by Jones, and Classics successively by G. Wakefield (1756-1801) (4,9), by John Poppe (1745-1802, pupil of Merivale (4,12)), and by John Corrie, FRS (1769-1839), educated at Daventry (4,4) and Hackney). (253). Joseph Priestley^(4,8) lectured (free) on History and General Policy, and on Natural Philosophy particularly Chemistry, using the courses he had compiled at Warrington (254). He was very optimistic concerning the College, hoping that it might outdo Oxford and Cambridge (255). Five years after the expression of this hope the College was closed, but it has been judged that Priestley's hopes were realized inside that period. "As things were in England

(251) Sermon 6/5/1789, 58-9.

(252) Rees Sermon 30/4/1788, Report 1-2.

(253) McLachlan 249-250.

(254) Priestley Works I (2) 120, 176.

(255) Letter to the Students at New College, 22/9/1791, in Works I(2) 159.

in 1793, Hackney College was a better Studium Generale than either Oxford or Cambridge at the same date" (256). The year mentioned here is that in which Dr. Milner, Vice-chancellor of the University and President of Queens' College, Cambridge, advised undergraduates not to meddle with religious speculations and controversies (257).

Whilst such judgments on the merits of Hackney are not indisputable, it continued to be true that the College attracted good tutors. Thomas Belsham, who had resigned from Daventry on doctrinal grounds in 1789 (4,6), became divinity professor at Hackney in the same year (258). He esteemed Locke and (especially) Hartley (259) and accepted the view that vice is always the result of lack of knowledge (260). He shared the feeling of Kippis that the average Academy course tended, because of its breadth, to superficiality (261).

Amongst the more famous of Hackney's alumni was William Hazlitt, whose letters to his father describe his course. In 1793 the latter was as follows:

Priestley on history	1 hour lecture per week.
Damien on maths (Simpson)	
<u>Geometry</u> and Bonny-) 6 hours lectures per week,
castle <u>Algebra</u>)) and about 6 hours preparation.
Belsham on shorthand,)	
Hebrew grammar and)	9 hours per week, incl.
Leviticus.)	preparation.

(256) Augustine Birrell quoted in TUHS III 194.

(257) Priestley Works I(2) 204 fn.

(258) DNB.

(259) Sermon 28/4/1790, 14.

(260) ibid. 10.

(261) McLachlan 40, 226, quoting Williams Memoirs of Belsham 395-8.

4:11

317.

Price on history*

4 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours lectures per week, & about the same time in preparation.

Corrie on classics
(Sophocles and
Quintilian)

3 hours lectures per week,
& about 11 hours preparation.

Corrie on Greek
Antiquities

4 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours lectures per week.

Corrie on Greek
grammar

1 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours lectures, increased
to 6 hours; + 3 hours
preparation..

Corrie on geography

1 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours lectures per week,
& about 3 hours preparation.

Preparation of Essay

9 hours per week; not part
of normal course..

Reading Hartley

4 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours per week.

Logic lectures (later)

2 hours per week (262)..

Later, in October, the lectures were as follows:

Rees on mathematics

3 hours per week.

Shorthand

6 hours per week.

Hebrew

6 hours per week.

Corrie on classics
(Greek & Latin)

3 hours per week.

Corrie on Greek
Antiquities

3 hours per week (263)..

Both these are quoted here in full because they would seem to show that Hackney had followed Warrington in permitting a combination of selected subjects. Worthington might claim a central position for Christian Evidences, but it is difficult to see how the subject could have such a position where there were students who did not study it at all.

*an error?

(262)Hazlitt 399-401..

(263)Hazlitt 405.

So far as Hazlitt himself was concerned, whatever benefits he may have received from the Hackney course - and it is difficult to believe that it was not a considerable factor in the foundations of his future eminence - did not prevent his comparing in 1824 "most members of colleges and seminaries of learning" with the animals in the Jardin des Plantes, to the detriment of the former (264).

Financial difficulties and lack of students - due in part at least to anti-radical reaction to the French Revolution - led to the closure of Hackney New College in 1796; a suggestion of Priestley's that a substitute might be found in the revival of the Exeter Academy (265) became a fact, as will be noticed in a later section (4,13).

(264)Hazlitt 68.

(265)Priestley Works I(2) 200-1.

Exeter Academy:1760-71; Merivale, Towgood.

Before considering the Exeter Academy which was regarded as a substitute for Hackney (266) it is necessary to detail an earlier Exeter Academy, of which the later one was in some sense a revival.

The earlier academy was founded in 1760 "for the purpose of educating young persons for the ministry and other learned professions as well as for commercial life". Its first tutors were Samuel Merivale (1715-71), former pupil and disciple of Doddridge, who used Doddridge's system with his own additional notes and references; Michajlah Towgood (1700-1792), former pupil of Grove (3,13); and John Turner (died 1769), former pupil of David Jennings (4,16), who took the mathematics and natural philosophy, leaving Merivale and Towgood, as joint theological tutors, to share the remainder of the curriculum (267). Towgood dealt with biblical criticism (268), but Turner taught Hebrew (268), (269). The Academy received the library of the extinct Taunton Academy (3,14) (270), enlarged by a bequest. Towgood is stated to have been specially well versed in historical fact - ecclesiastical, civil and commercial, ancient and modern (271). Turner, deceased, was replaced for a short time by Thomas Jervis (1748-1833), former pupil of

(266) Priestley Works I(2)200-1.

(267) McLachlan 230-1.

(268) Bogue & Bennett IV 272.

(269) Murch 445.

(270) Bogue & Bennett IV 271.

(271) Murch 435.

David Jennings and Savage (4,16) (272). The statement that John Hogg, pupil of David Jennings, became a tutor at Exeter as late as 1772 (273) refers perhaps to activities of school rather than a higher standard. Towgood continued as minister at Exeter for some years after this date (274) but the Academy seems to have expired with the death of Merivale in 1771 if not before. It is a much less well known parallel of Warrington in its expressed aim to give education suitable for others besides those aiming at the three professions, but it does not appear that there was any attempt at Exeter to include the commercially useful subjects taught at Warrington, or even modern languages. The latter study was the more likely to be neglected by tutors trained in academies in which it was a weak or absent feature, which was the case with the three Exeter tutors. Amongst the comparatively small number of ministers and other trained at Exeter was Joseph Breghland, a tutor of the later Exeter Academy (4,13) (275).

(272) Wilson Dissenting .. IV 317.

(273) Bogue & Bennett IV 273.

(274) DNB.

(275) Murch 445.

Exeter Academy, founded 1799.

A proposal by Towgood and Hogg to revive the Academy in 1785, with Joseph Brentland (1742-1819), former pupil here and now settled in the town as minister, and Timothy Kenrick (died 1805), educated at Daventry and some time assistant tutor there (4,⁶23), as the remainder of a team of four tutors, came to nothing (276). On the expiry of Hackney, however, the scheme was revived, and the Academy, still aiming at education for commercial and active life as well as for the ministry, came into renewed existence with Kenrick as theological tutor and Bretland specialising in mathematics and teaching also Geography, Globes, General Grammar, Oratory and History. Kenrick's speciality was New Testament criticism. His Exposition of the Historical Writings of the New Testament was published posthumously in 1807. Since leaving Daventry he had rejected the doctrine of the pre-existence of Christ (277). He threw overboard Doddridge's framework which had served so many tutors for so long, and made yet another attempt to return "to the unpolluted fountain of the Scriptures". Despite this contribution - revolutionary and yet on traditional lines - to the curriculum, the Academy closed in 1805 on the death of Kenrick (278).

(276) TUHS III 389.

(277) TUHS III 294.

(278) McLachlan 233-4.

The Unitarian Academies.

The credit which is to be given to the unitarian academies for their efforts to be universal in scope and to give education suitable for all classes, must be balanced by a consideration of the fact that, with the exception of Manchester, they failed to achieve stability. In a similar manner, their determination to leave no branch of useful knowledge untouched, which led Warrington to take French seriously and to the attempt to introduce commercial subjects, went with an acknowledgement of that principle of specialization, at Warrington in particular, which is frequently regarded as an outstanding defect of modern university and VI-form education.

(III) ORTHODOX FOUNDATIONS.

Introductory.

Having in the preceding division (II) considered those academies which took the path of extreme liberty, not to say novelty, of philosophy and theology, it is now necessary to show the other side of the picture by looking at those in which there were definite intentions of maintaining an orthodox position.

Under this head are one continuation of an earlier academy, Hoxton (4,16); and several new foundations, Ottery, Newington Green, Heckmondwike and Gosport (4,17 - 4,21).

Wellclose-Square and Hoxton: Jennings, Savage,
Kippis and Rees.

On the death of Eames in 1744 (3,12) Densham retired and the Congregational Fund Board, now assisted by the Coward Trust, was left to find a complete new staff.

Dr. David Jennings being chosen Divinity Professor, made it a condition of his filling that post, that Mr. Savage, who had not then finished his academical course, should be his colleague, to lecture on mathematics, natural philosophy, and other branches of literature and science (279).

As already observed (4,2), Jennings (1691-1762), former pupil of Chauncy, Ridgley and Eames (3,12), was a believer in the value of the mixed academy, that is to say in which the pupils included those designed for other professions besides the ministry (280). His interest in experimental science is shown by his letters to Doddridge (281) mentioned above (4,2); he exhibited a satisfactorily cautious attitude towards reported discoveries:

I remember I did hear some time ago, that somebody had seen a sixth Satellite of Saturn; perhaps it was a new ring; but indifferent telescopes, assisted by strong fancy, have so often created

(279) Wilson Dissenting I 321.

(280) Doddridge (Humphreys) III 115.

(281) Doddridge (Humphreys) IV 69-70.

Satellites and Comets, and other celestial phenomena, that I give little heed to such reports, unless I have them from very good authority (281).

Jennings was similarly sceptical regarding the possibility of perfect human knowledge of divine matters. He wrote that he could not be for

imposing an article of faith upon any man which he cannot believe (282) and added

I conceive, with Dr. Stebbing, that a person may be a heretic to one Church and not to another, and to both and yet not to God! (283)

Good congregationalism but perhaps not quite proper in one who was about to become a tutor for the orthodox Congregational Fund. He made amends by ejecting two students for heresy (284), and had written an anonymous Vindication of the Doctrine of Original Sin (1741) against the heterodox Taylor (4,9) (285).

The course under Jennings included translation from and exposition of the Greek New Testament every morning, lectures once a week for four years on Jewish Antiquities, using Godwin's Moses and Aaron, and twice a week for three years on divinity, using Marck's Medulla, the orthodox calvinist textbook. These books

(281) Doddridge (Humphreys) IV 69-70.

(282) ibid. IV 257, dated 27/6/1743.

(283) Doddridge (Humphreys) IV 69.

(284) Bogue & Bennett III 384.

(285) McLachlan Unitarian Movement 228.

were used in the old-fashioned way as the basis of the lectures. Jennings lectured on preaching to his senior students, on architecture, heraldry and numismatics, and to the juniors on the globes (using his own textbook) and on ecclesiastical history (using Lampe's Epitome). He also gave instruction in reading to the juniors. Savage was left to deal with classics, mathematics and logic (286).

Jenning's Introduction to the Use of the Globes, and the Orrery: with the Application of Astronomy to Chronology. Adapted to the Instruction and Entertainment of such Persons as are not previously versed in Mathematic Science. With an Appendix, Attempting to explain the Account of the First and Fourth Days Work of Creation in the First Chapter of Genesis, 1747,

throws a good deal of light upon the educational ideas of the author. Although he used the book as the basis of his academical lectures, he states in his Preface that it is written for those

who, tho' Providence has marked out their Track of Life thro' Scenes of worldly Business, yet have Souls large enough to extend themselves, now and then, beyond this little Planet, and to take a distant View of other remote Worlds... (287).

(286) Bogue & Bennett III 310-311.

(287) Globes iii.

He does not therefore trouble his readers with the computation of eclipses, supplying a reference to Gregory's or Keill's Astronomy and to the Tables in Dunthorne's Practical Astronomy of the Moon (288). He postpones spherical trigonometry until after he has dealt with the terrestrial globe, after which I would propose that the young Student should read some System of Geography, before he proceeds to the Celestial Globe (289).

The "System of Geography" is to lead to an "Acquaintance with Lands and Seas, and Kingdoms and Provinces" (289).

The Second Part of the work includes a more or less non-mathematical treatment of Eclipses, Tides, Equation of Time, Precession of the Equinoxes, and Parallax. Perhaps it is not too fanciful to connect Jennings' desire to exclude mathematics with his failure to get the right answer to one of two simple mensurational examples given:

For Example, an Eye placed at five Feet above the Surface of the Earth or Sea, sees two Miles and a Quarter every way: but if it be at twenty Feet high, it can see five Miles and three Quarters (290).

Jennings values rhyming mnemonics (291). He provides instructions for working numerical

(288) 78.

(289) iv, v.

(290) 3.

(291) ix.

examples but refers those readers who wish to practise, to Watts' Knowledge of the Heavens and Earth made easy (292).

At one point his enthusiasm for modern science leads Jennings to somewhat hyperbolic expressions: Copernicanism

has at length been established on such a solid Foundation of mathematical and physical Demonstration, by the great Sir Isaac Newton, as puts it out of all Danger of being ever overthrown by any new contrived System, so long as the Sun and Moon shall endure (293).

Having thus shown himself to be a man of his own time, Jennings returns to his more perspicacious self to show his understanding that the argument for Copernicus against Ptolemy is based merely on simplicity (294).

He is forthright in condemnation of astrology (295), but regards Whiston and Halley as equally worthy of quotation as theoreticians (296), though disagreeing on specific matters with the former (297).

Jennings' attitude to the question of biblical inspiration is exactly orthodox:

If it should be objected, that the true Motions of the Earth and Moon, which we suppose are referred to in this Account

- (292) v.
- (293) 45.
- (294) 120-1.
- (295) 97-8.
- (296) 151.
- (297) 155.

of the Creation, were not known so early as Moses's Time, nor till several Ages after, it may be sufficient to answer, That Moses wrote this Account by Inspiration of the Spirit of God the Prophets did not always understand the meaning of their own Prophecies ... 1 Pet 1.11 ... the Skill of the Divine Author is in this truly admirable, that the Account of the Creation here given, for the Use of the People, in such Words and Phrases as were suited to the vulgar Conceptions; and yet it is at the same Time perfectly consistent with true Philosophy (298).

What evidence there is would seem to suggest that David Jennings did not use Latin as a teaching language - he used and recommended English textbooks entirely. He gave a large place to science, and included, like his brother John at Kibworth, training in reading. There is no mention of disputations, either Latin or English. He is said to have been fond of music (299).

On Jennings' death in 1762 the Academy was removed to Hoxton, and the assistant tutor who had been with Jennings during his whole tutorship succeeded him in that office. This man was Samuel Morton Savage, who is the subject of the next section.

(298) Globes 167.

(299) DNE.

Samuel Morton Savage.

As a pupil under Eames and Densham (3,12), Savage had distinguished himself by being "very sober [&] studious" so that it was reported (300) that his mother was "affraid he hurts himself by studying too hard". As tutor at Hoxton in succession to Jennings, to whom he had throughout been sole assistant, Savage dealt with divinity himself, having as assistants Andrew Kippis for classics and belles lettres and Abraham Rees for mathematics and natural philosophy. These two men are mentioned further below (4,33), after an account has been given of Savage's educational outlook.

Four years after his succession to the tutorship in 1762 Savage took the opportunity presented by his delivering of the ordination charge to Mr. Samuel Wilton in 1766 to say a good deal about the value of secular learning to a minister. Thus he indicated his own educational valuation of various parts of the curriculum. He has utilitarian reasons for including in a ministerial education the Biblical languages, Greek and Hebrew "which require the knowledge of other learned languages", together with profane and ecclesiastical history, patristics, and, for "the internal evidences of christianity", the "principles of ethics, and of natural religion" (301).

A close study of nature, especially of human nature, will lead to nature's

(300) MS report by Densham now at New College, London; in TCHS III 68.

(301) Ordination charge, 18/6/1766, 85-86.

God; will enlarge and exalt the mind,
and prepare it for judging of the evidences,
and discovering the beauty, of the grand
scheme of the redemption and recovery
of this lost world, which God made (302).

Thus in addition to leading directly to theological
ends, natural and moral sciences have a disciplinary
value. The remainder of the curriculum is valued
largely for the latter:

The study of the mathematics, logic,
oratory, poetry, and the Latin and Greek
classics in general, is necessary to
improve the judgment and reasoning
powers, to enrich the imagination, to
form the taste, and help you to acquire
a good method of composition, and a
proper, yet animated and flowing style (302).

The care of style was a matter which received
systematic attention:

The word doctrine (διδασκαλία) ^(δ)
does not merely signify the matter
taught, but also the manner of teaching
... or, more properly, the act of
teaching ... (303).

Hence Kippis was entrusted with lectures on
oratory, using the recently published textbook
of Ward, the Gresham College Professor and
eminent Baptist; it gave sensible advice on
elocution with a strong classical flavour and
English quotations limited to the Bible and

(302)op.cit.87.

(303)op.cit.68-69.

Addison (304).

There were lectures on "preaching and the pastoral care", and Savage concludes (302):

And if there are some branches of learning not immediately necessary to the understanding of the Scriptures, yet even they may be profitably cultivated to a moderate degree, by way of amusement ... and also as an ornament to your character, and a means of procuring your esteem in the present age ... (305).

He recommends five books - Mason's Student and Pastor, Watts' Humble Attempt, Burnet's Pastoral Care, John Jennings' two sermons on preaching, and the abridgement of Baxter's Reformed Pastor (305). These of course are for the minister's reading, not as college textbooks. He refers once to Doddridge's Lectures.

Savage is careful to say that "Learning ... cannot of itself make a good minister", but he adds that "no man can be thoroughly furnished for the ministry without it" (306), and it would appear that he aimed at giving a comprehensive course consisting of constituents whose inclusion could be justified on grounds other than those of custom.

In the next section Savage's two assistants, Rees and Kippis, are further examined.

(304) System of Oratory 1759, described by W. Brook in TBHS IV 10, 31.

(305) 87, 90.

(306) 85.

Andrew Kippis and Abraham Rees. Hoxton 1762-1785.

Abraham Rees (1743-1825) was, like Savage, a product of this Academy under Jennings (307). Andrew Kippis (1725-95) had been (308) educated at Northampton by Doddridge (4,2). Both these assistants of Savage came, therefore, from orthodoxy; but both finished in Unitarianism. Their over twenty years at Hoxton was the period during which the change occurred. The students, in accordance with the free enquiry method, read "all authors of greatest repute, for and against the Trinity, original sin and the most disputed doctrines"(309), but did not keep completely up to date with such readings: William Godwin, whose residence lasted from 1773 until 1778, did not meet until after that date those works of "the French philosophers" and of Priestley which (310) converted him to the Socinianism which was his stepping stone to infidelity. Priestley's Course of Lectures on Oratory and Criticism, 1777, was, however, used at Hoxton by Kippis at one time (311). Presumably Rees, like Kippis, did lecture in English; he used, as textbook, however, Eames' notes in Latin, and they were transcribed, in Latin, by the pupils (312). So tenaciously did the Latin habit extend its expiring tentacles.

(307) DNE.(308) Wilson Dissenting IV 103.(309) Brown Godwin 10.(310) Paul Godwin I 17-20, 26.(311) Priestley (Rutt) XXIII 161.(312) McLachlan 293-5.

In 1785 the death of Savage occasioned the closing of the Academy, which had become much too unorthodox for the Congregational Fund. Kippis and Rees proceeded to chairs in the new Hackney College (4,11).

Scottish orthodoxy: Scott of Heckmondwike
and Bogue of Gosport.

That such closure for unorthodoxy was not the inevitable end of an orthodox Academy was shown, however, by a number of other tutors. In two cases these came from Scotland - a source which also contributed tutors to unitarian academies (4,9), but which was sufficiently voluminous to provide a considerable range of theological views. Two orthodox Scots tutors were Scott and Bogue (4,19).

James Scott, 1710-1783, non-graduating pupil at Edinburgh University 1728-9, was the initial tutor of an orthodox academy founded in 1756 at Heckmondwike by a body entitled the Northern Education Society (313). Scott's theology has been characterized as belonging to a previous age, but his evangelical fervour and its reflection in his students produced a minor revival of orthodox dissent in Lancashire and Yorkshire (314). Other tutors at Heckmondwike included Samuel Walker and Timothy Priestley (315), (Joseph's brother, who continually deplored the wanderings of the more famous Unitarian (4,8)), and the Academy is still in existence (in amalgamation with others (4,18)) as Yorkshire United College, whose pupils continue to go to Edinburgh for the not specifically ministerial part of their course.

(313) McLachlan 192.

(314) Colligan in TCHS III 228; Colligan 131.

(315) CHEL X chap XVI Appendix.

Rotherham, Northowram and Idle: Williams
and Vint.

The success of Scott's activities at Heckmondwike encouraged other orthodox foundations in the same neighbourhood and on much the same lines. These included Northowram and Idle, from 1785, and Rotherham from 1795. The tutor at Idle was William Vint and at Rotherham Edward Williams. Williams was a former pupil and erstwhile assistant tutor at the Welsh Congregational Academy at Abergavenny, and had been for several years the promising minister of Carr's Lane Meeting, Birmingham. His four or five year ministerial training course at Rotherham consisted of English, Latin, Greek and Hebrew, Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, Logic and Moral Philosophy, Church History and Divinity. Modern Languages were not mentioned, and the only History is Ecclesiastical. The Natural Philosophy was dealt with experimentally, a complaint in 1797 of shortage of apparatus being met in the following year by gifts which included globes, a telescope and a quadrant (316). Rotherham and Idle Academies are, like Heckmondwike, represented in the present Yorkshire United College.

(316) McLachlan 194-207; Roberts 35 ff.;
Parker Appendix I; TCHS I 333.

Gosport: Bogue.

David Bogue, 1750-1825, educated at Edinburgh University, settled as Independent minister at Gosport in 1777 (317), and shortly afterwards started an academy for the training of ministers. His three-year course included Latin, Greek and Hebrew, Geography and Astronomy, English, Jewish Antiquities, Ecclesiastical History and Pastoralia (318). Bogue's ideas are revealed in the four volumes of the History of Dissenters; but it is not stated which sections of the work are due to him and which to his collaborator in the authorship, J. Bennett, who was not a tutor. It may safely be assumed, however, that the educational views expressed would at any rate not be opposed to those of Bogue.

Bogue and Bennett dreamed of a central dissenters' University, in which ministerial education would include, in addition to biblical studies and theology, lectures on the humanities (i.e. the higher Greek and Latin classics), the activities of professors of oriental languages and of mathematics and natural philosophy, and lectures on logic, metaphysics, moral philosophy, rhetoric, elocution, and history (civil and ecclesiastical) (319).

Elsewhere in the History this course was considered in greater detail, and as the idealized

(317) Wilson Dissenting III 114-5.

(318) McLachlan 8.

(319) History IV 310.

course of a dissenting academy training ministers. Biblical studies were to be the centre and sine qua non of the course.

If a candidate for the ministry, with due attention apply his mind to the study of the principles in the Old and New Testament in their order, he has acquired the first and most important qualification for preaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Should the necessities of the world be such, that a student had leisure allotted but for one branch of education, it must be this; no other can be admitted to a competition. Classical learning, the belles lettres, mathematical science, and the whole encyclopaedia of human knowledge bear scarcely the proportion of the glow-worm to the sun (320).

The old cry of "the Scriptures alone" was deprecated, for

Will not the works of an Owen, a Howe, and an Edwards suggest to a theological student a multitude of valuable thoughts on every subject ... ? ... Systematic theology ... is Christianity itself, arranged methodically under different heads ...

and the most useful works were probably those in which an author confines his attention to one

theological topic (321). The study of controversies, as for instance under the Halletts (3,15) (322) and in the unitarian academies (4,7 - 4,14)(323) was deprecated for the immature student (324). Thus Matthew Warren (2,24) was cautiously approved as one who

while he wished them [the students] to form their own judgment, so that their system might be the result of conviction, he was careful to guard them against those errors which undermine the foundations of religion (325).

Of Doddridge's methods it was said that

they seem to proceed too much on the idea of the mind of the student as a tabula rasa, destitute of sentiments or prepossessions. Had this been the case, we could not approve of the tutors furnishing them with the wrong as well as the right in theology, error as well as truth, and then calling them to make their election. If such conduct be defended in the name of liberality, would it not be still more liberal to admit persons who were still speculating whether Christianity, deism, or atheism was most consistent with truth? (326)

"Free enquiry became an idol" and the intrinsic superior attractiveness of arianism above calvinism,

(321) III 266.

(322) III 233.

(323) IV 372.

(324) III 267.

(325) II 22.

(326) III 479.

with the latter's low view of human powers and achievements, made it inevitable that many of the young men brought up by Doddridge's methods should lapse from orthodoxy (327). ¶ The Bible and its study were the core of Bogue's curriculum.

Every other branch of knowledge should be valued and sought, in proportion as it bears upon theology, and illustrates the sacred Scriptures (328).

The grand advantage, indeed, of the dissenting academies lies in the direct tendency of all their studies to solid usefulness, (329)

in this matter of knowledge of and ability to expound the Bible.

First in importance amongst the auxiliary subjects stood Greek and Hebrew (at least enough to judge the accuracy of others' criticisms) (329), Biblical background (including Jewish antiquities) and the principles of Biblical criticism (331). Latin appeared to be valued only for its use in unlocking "the immense treasures of divine knowledge of which it is the only key" (331). How are the mighty fallen! And, as if to add insult to injury, it was remarked that too much classics is not only a waste of time (332), but liable to lead a man to study

(327) III 383.

(328) III 271.

(329) IV 307.

(330) III 271.

(331) III 267-8.

(332) IV 303.

to recommend himself to the great by his literature, rather than to the good by his usefulness (333).

Next in importance was "what relates to the preaching of the Gospel", that is to say, logic, metaphysics, rhetoric (studied in ancient and modern treatises) and specimens of eloquence, homiletics, and the analysis of sermons (English and French) (334). Then pastoralia, including a study of the lives of eminent divines (334). Next in order, morals, where Bogue and Bennett did not mind whether the basis be scriptural or natural - interesting in view of their careful orthodoxy in other matters. Last to be mentioned was ecclesiastical history, to be taught (if time permit) in order to show

the benign influence of divine truth, as well as the baleful effects of ignorance, error, and superstition, and biography as examples to follow or avoid. (335).

The history of nations, ancient and modern, was added to provide lessons regarding human nature, Scripture predictions, and providence (335).

For who but children read the historic page, for the mere knowledge of tales and dates? He whose mind is imbued with the true spirit of history, values it chiefly for the knowledge of men which it conveys, and the lessons of moral and political wisdom which it so forcibly inculcates (336).

(333) IV 300.

(334) III 268-270.

(335) III 270.

(336) I xxi.

The omission of mathematics and natural philosophy from the above curriculum was tempered by the admission that

As they tend to improve the mind, and peculiarly to exercise its powers, and call forth their energies, the general influence of both may be favourable to his [a minister's] future labours (335).

The use of natural science, so highly prized in earlier academies, to lead to the great Designer through appreciation of his Design, had been lost, save perhaps for a stray reference to Newton, in company with Milton and Locke, as demonstrating that the greatest minds of all do find the truth in the Christian Revelation (337). Nevertheless Bogue did himself include thirty lectures on geography and astronomy in his course for future missionaries, as against four times that number in theology (338). Probably, however, he was influenced by the potential value of these two mathematical-scientific subjects to those who were to follow untrodden paths to the ends of the earth.

Despite the general undercurrent of orthodoxy, their disapproval of Platonism (339), their desire to admit only converts as pupils (340), their failure to approve Tillotson even

(335) III 270.

(337) IV 46.

(338) London Missionary Society's Chronicle 1945, 131.
(R. K. Orchard).

(339) II 223.

(340) III 479.

whilst appreciating his defence of the faith against Winfidels and papists" (341), Bogue and Bennett yet approved the moderation towards his opponents of Oldfield (3,23) (342), and Bogue could welcome the incipient ecumenicalism of the London Missionary Society, which he helped to found in 1795, thus:

We have now before us a blessed spectacle - Christians of different denominations, although differing in points of Church government, united in forming a Society for Propagating the Gospel among the heathen. This is a new thing in the Christian Church Here are Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians and Independents all united in one Society ... Behold us here assembled with one accord to attend the funeral of bigotry (343).

The ideas of this tutor are interesting as an indication of the development of educational theory and practice in the orthodox stream of Dissent. The original centrality of the study of the Bible was retained. Now, however, commentaries were used. Greek and Hebrew kept their important place, but Latin was in only by the skin of the teeth. Study of English and French sermons was included, the latter being the only reference, still, to a modern language.

(341) II 356.

(342) II 32.

(343) Foundation Sermon, in History of the London Missionary Society, R. Lovett I 35, quoted by Chirgwin, 62.

Other subjects were in a more definitely subsidiary position; history had gained a definite place at the expense of mathematics and natural science. Orthodoxy did not now extend to ethical theory, nor did it preclude a wide ecumenicity. It is in the last matter, perhaps, that we see Bogue's great distance from the earliest tutors and his nearness to the twentieth century.

Congregational Fund Academy in South West England:Lavington, Rooker, Buncombe, Reader, Small.

Another orthodox academy for ministerial training was that founded at Ottery St. Mary in 1752 by the Congregational Fund Board, with John Lavington (died 1764), pupil of Eames and Ridgley at the Congregational Fund Academy in London (3,12), as first tutor. He was renowned for theology and for languages. From 1764 until 1780 the Academy was continued at Bridport under James Rooker, trained by John Kirkpatrick (Appendix C), who was assisted by Samuel Buncombe, a pupil of Lavington, as classics tutor. During this period the Academy received students sent by the King's Head Society (4,21). In 1780 the Academy removed to Taunton, where the sole tutor was Thomas Reader, one of those of Doddridge's pupils (4,2) who remained orthodox. It is not clear whether the tutorship of James Small at Exminster from 1796 represented a removal thither of the Academy, or whether Small and Reader maintained separate sections of it simultaneously for some years. It continues today as Western College, Bristol (344).

(344)McLachlan 12;

~~(344)~~Bogue & Bennett IV 273-4;

Surman MS List.

The King's Head Society and Academy:
Taylor, Parsons; Hubbard, Marryat; Conder, Walker,
Gibbons; Fisher, Davies.

A result of doubts as to the secure orthodoxy of even the Congregational Fund Board - occasioned perhaps by such matters as the slight but definite heresies noticeable in the Body of Divinity (1734) of Thomas Ridgley, tutor at the Board's London Academy (3,12) - led to the foundation of the King's Head Society, apparently in origin in 1730 and more publicly in 1753. Its picturesque name derives from its first meeting place. In its 1753 prospectus the promoters promise to

take none under their Care but such as give the most satisfying Evidence, in a Judgment of Charity, that they have received the Grace of God in Truth; whose Hearts God hath inclined to the Work of the Ministry; and who appear to have natural Abilities for that sacred Work (345).

The satisfactory progress - and, we may assume, continued orthodoxy - of the pupils was ensured by three-monthly examination by and conversation with a committee of ministers and others.

An interesting feature of the 1753 proposals is the provision for a preliminary course of grammar learning for those who have not acquired it at school (345). The need for some such provision had been felt by Doddridge (346) in 1750, and is a symptom of the increasing democratization of the

(345)MS'36'30 in DWL.

(346)Doddridge (Humphreys) V 181.

dissenting ministry, and consequent increasing heterogeneity of the field of recruitment for the academies. This problem was but one particular result of a general process of diffusion of social classes which had begun to precipitate a need for intellectual selection (347). In the case of the dissenting ministry a solution favoured in Wales has been the establishment of definitely preparatory institutions at which ministerial candidates without grammar school education are given a preliminary course before entry into theological colleges. Efforts to deal with the corresponding problem in the wider sphere have not yet produced a satisfactory answer to the case of the individual whose poor home background has prevented his inclusion in the grammar or technical school or university set to which his intellect belongs. The use of aptitude tests, divorced from attainments, does not meet the need in the majority of cases, where the absence of an appropriate intellectual environment in earlier years inhibits satisfactory progress at a later stage. The provision of higher educational opportunities in county colleges and by university scholarships offered to industrial employees of rather more than normal university age are current innovations which indicate that the problem, which the King's Head Society met by a preparatory course for those not up to the required standard for

entrance on a ministerial training course, is still troubling educationists.

The King's Head Society both sent pupils to existing academies (4;34) and, more noticeably, founded its own institution at Newington Green in about 1732 (348), which occupied various situations during succeeding years including Mile End (1744-1772) and Homerton (from 1772), and attracted support from the Congregational Fund Board. It is this Academy which is next noticed.

(348)CHEL vol X chap XVI Appendix.

London.

The Society appointed as their first sole tutor "a good classical scholar and an able divine" (349) in the person of Abraham Taylor, DD, who is said to have exercised more effective discipline over his pupils than over his financial affairs, which caused his resignation in 1740. He was assisted for a time and succeeded by Samuel Parsons, who boarded several of the pupils (350). He in turn was assisted by, and in 1743 succeeded by, John Hubbard, whose remarkable memory enabled him to disdain the use of Biblical concordances (349). Zephaniah Marryat, who was Hubbard's colleague until they both died in 1754, stated that

there were very few, if any of the books written by the ancient Greeks, and handed down to our time, but what he had read in their own language (351).

He was strongly anti-Arian.

The Academy had now migrated from its original site at Newington Green via Deptford and Stepney (Plaisterers' Hall) to Mile End, and the King's Head Society obtained the approval of the Congregational Fund Board of the appointment as tutors of John Conder, John Walker and Thomas Gibbons (352). Of these, Conder (1714-81), former pupil of Taylor (above) and James (3,12), was

(349) Bogue & Bennett III 285-6.

(350) Wilson Dissenting III 460-1.

(351) Bogue & Bennett III 288.

(352) TCHS I 328.

allocated to Divinity, carrying in effect the principalship. He used the traditional calvinistic textbook, Marck's Medulla (353). Later he made to his students the following observation on educational priorities:

What is counted a polite education now is very different from what was esteemed so a century ago. Then if a man was well versed in the learned and dead languages, and in Aristotle's logic and metaphysics, and Master of the Distinctions of the school Divinity, he passed for a considerable scholar and divine, Whereas now 'tis mathematical Learning carries the Bell (354).

John Walker had been assistant tutor to Hubbard (355), and now took charge of classics and philosophy. He was

a man of very superior acquirements, who, in the knowledge of the oriental languages, had few superiors in the kingdom (355).

The third member of the trio, Thomas Gibbons (1720-85), had been educated at this Academy under Taylor and at Moorfields under Eames (3,12) (356). He was a serious-minded man whose diary is extant (357). He took on in 1754 the remainder of the curriculum, namely, "Logick, Metaphysicks, Ethics, Rhetorick, Stile in general, and Pulpit Stile" (358). The last three were his forte;

(353) McLachlan 179.

(354) McLachlan 27, quoting MS lecture notes (in Memorial Hall) by a student, 1778.

(355) Bogue & Bennett III 259.

(356) Wilson Dissenting III 178.

(357) TCHS I 318ff, 380ff, II 23ff,

(358) TCHS I 328.

in 1767 he published a treatise on Rhetoric, in which he wrote

Eloquence is of so much importance in the Senate, in the Pulpit, and at the Bar, that every Attempt to facilitate and extend the Knowledge of its Principles and Powers, not only needs no Apology,

but may hope for some Degree of Commendation (359).

In his diary, however, he indicated that he was not entirely satisfied at the large amount of time spent on this peripheral activity:

3/9/1767. This day finished for the Press my Treatise ... Now let me turn myself to Divinity and my Ministerial Work. *Majora canamus* (360).

But he had, a fervent belief in the value of the classics:

... let me entreat all persons, who intend a learned profession, and especially that of divinity, to make themselves well acquainted with the Latin and Greek languages ... the works of numerous writers of the first character and benefit are composed in one or other of them, and a thorough acquaintance with these authors, which can only be attained by a mastery of the tongues in which they wrote, will wonderfully enlarge our stores of knowledge, and perhaps contribute not a little to infuse dignity and elegance into our compositions (361).

(359) Dedication.

(360) TCHS I 393.

(361) Gibbons Watts 19.

Gibbons' belief in the value of recent ecclesiastical history is shown by his undertaking the translation of Latin Nonconformist Epitaphs into English (362). Natural Science was part of the philosophy dealt with by his colleague Walker, but Gibbons took pains to keep himself up to date. He observed transits of Venus (363), attended a dissection of a corpse (364), went to hear a Harveian Oration at the College of Physicians (365), and helped in 1771 to arrange for the supply of "a Philosophical Apparatus for the College at New Jersey" (366).

Gibbons' breadth of view is also seen in occasional notes (367) of books he has read, which include not only the far from calvinist Tillotson but even Voltaire's Life of Louis XIV.

With all these interests, Gibbons nevertheless does not seem to have regarded his tutorial work very highly. In a testimonial to a prospective minister he says,

He was my Pupil. I have known him many Years; he is most irreproachable and exemplary in his Character, a Man of good Abilities, learned, prudent, good-natured, modest, and of Evangelical Sentiments, with a warm Heart, I doubt not, for vital and practical Godliness. I hardly know upon the Whole a young Minister who is his Equal (368).

(362) Gibbons English Version of the Latin Epitaphs in the Nonconformist's Memorial 1775.

(363) 6/6/1761, 3/6/1769, TCHS I 387, 394.

(364) 9/1/1777, TCHS II 29.

(365) 18/10/1780, TCHS II 33.

(366) TCHS II 23.

(367) TCHS I 326, 381.

(368) Gibbons An Account of ... Transactions ... at Northampton. 8.

No mention of any academical details which one would expect to find in a testimonial by a tutor.

We can quite believe Gibbons when he writes

My business as a Pastor is first to be taken care of. My business as a Tutor is only secondary. I design therefore ... to prepare my Sermons as the first Work in the Week, and then to spare what other Time remains in preparing my Lectures (369).

And another entry hardly indicates the progressive educationist:

26/5/1758. Lectured at Mile End.

Poorly in the afternoon with the Head-Ach. Blessed be God that poorly as I was, I finished the last Lecture of the four years' course of Lectures at the Academy, & hereby I have acquired a Sett of Lectures for my whole future life, or so long as I may continue in the Tutorship (370).

The Academy, however, continued to prosper (at Homerton from 1772), even despite the expulsion in 1780 of six students, "for their Bad Behaviour in Point of Insolence and Ingratitude" (371). No doubt the national reputation and publications of Gibbons - he had received an Aberdeen DD in 1764 (372) - as well as the solid orthodoxy of the establishment contributed to

(369) 1/3/1755, TCHS I 380.

(370) TCHS I 384.

(371) TCHS II 33.

(322) Wilson Dissenting III 179.

its permanence. In 1770 Walker died and was succeeded by Dr. Daniel Fisher (373), pupil of the Academy under Marryat (374), and who succeeded to the theological chair on the retirement of Conder in 1781 (375). Fisher's former department then passed to the Congregational Fund's champion of orthodoxy in Wales, Benjamin Davies. He had been educated at the Presbyterian Fund Academy at Carmarthen (376), but had been assistant tutor and then tutor at the rival orthodox academy at Abergavenny (377). Another notable tutor was Henry Mayo (1733-93), former pupil of and in 1785 successor to Gibbons, and a "literary anvil" from which Johnson drew sparks (378).

It was at this period that a pupil was sent on to Edinburgh because "a broader and more solid intellectual foundation was necessary" than had been obtained at Homerton. At Edinburgh he seems to have attended particularly the classes in logic and moral philosophy, and stated that he "became better acquainted with theology". The discovery of dancing clothes in his luggage prevented his being allowed to return to Edinburgh for a second term (379). The Homerton Academy continued to be a leading institution for the training of Congregational ministers, and merged with others to form the present New College, London (380).

(373) TCHS I 397.

(378) DNB.

(374) McLachlan 178.

(375) TCHS II 34.

(376) Wilson Dissenting III 463.

(377) Roberts 35.

(380) Cong Q X 6. (379) Aveling Clayton 173-6.

(IV) BAPTIST ACADEMIES.

Amongst the pupils of the King's Head Academy (2, 21) who became tutors the best known seem to be Baptists. Calvinistic orthodoxy has frequently become allied with antipaedobaptism, the latest example being Dr. Barth (381). Moreover, Baptist Academies formed an unduly small proportion of the total number. Hence many Baptists were to be found at certain Presbyterian or Independent Academies. So far as the Baptists themselves were concerned, they do not appear to have had any academy whatever of the type noticed in chapter 2, i.e., whose tutors were Oxford or Cambridge men who were endeavouring to reproduce the University training under difficulties. The only Baptist tutor mentioned in Chapter 3, John Davisson of Trowbridge (3, 11) was already a good way from the University tradition, so far as can be judged from his attitude to elocution, and from the tone of his writings on ordination. Was he trying at Trowbridge, in the spirit of Chapter 3, to continue the earlier task of giving a University education as far as possible, or was he endeavouring to give what seemed to him to be a good education for prospective ministers? It is difficult to say. But it seems reasonable to place his

(381) K. Barth, Kirchliche Lehre von der Taufe, 1943,
English translation by E. A. Payne, 1948.

successors, Llewellyn and Lucas, in the present chapter (4,24).

A more famous Baptist Academy than Trowbridge was, however, that at Bristol. Though founded by Edward Terrill in his will executed in 1679, this academy was most definitely not of the types considered in previous chapters. Terrill did not aim, and so far as can be seen those who, as tutors or trustees, had the carrying out of his intentions, did not aim, at establishing a Baptist Oxford or Cambridge, or Edinburgh or Leyden, at Bristol. Their outlook was both more limited and more radical. It was to give an appropriate training to Baptist ministers. What Terrill proposed, and what was done, will be detailed subsequently (4,26).

How did it come about that Baptists were so little disturbed at their exclusion from Oxford and Cambridge after 1662? To see something of the reasons for their attitude, it is necessary to look at some of the controversies of earlier times. In these, Baptists seem to have taken the lead amongst those who distrusted university education in general and especially for ministers. Thus Roger Williams, writing from America to persuade the Commonwealth authorities to abolish tithes, speaks of the "pretended Seed-plots and Seminaries for the Ministry, the Universities of Europe, and the Universities of this Nation" and proceeds

for although I heartily acknowledge that among all the outward Gifts of God, humane learning and the knowledge of Languages and of good Arts, are excellent and excell other outward gifts, as far as light excels darknesse, and therefore that Schools of humane Learning, ought to be maintained, in a due way and cherished; yet notwithstanding, In ordine ad ministerium, as to the ministry of Christ Jesus (any one of those ministeries, Ephes. 4. & 1 Cor. 12.) upon a due survey of their Institutions and continuall practices compared with the last will and Testament of Christ Jesus, they will be found to be none of Christs, and that in many respects (382).

As to their Monkish and idle course of life, partly so gentile and stately, partly so vain & superstitious, that to wet a finger in any pains or labor, it is a disgraceful and an unworthy Act: But the Church is built upon the Foundation of the Apostles & Prophets, who were Labourers, Fishermen, Tent-makers, Jesus Christ (although the Prince of Life yet) a poor carpenter, the chief corner stone ... (383).

(382) Roger Williams 16.

(383) ibid. 14-15.

Far be it from me to derogate from that honourable civility of training up of Youth in Languages, and other humane Learning, whether in the City of LONDON, or other Townes and Cities, &c. All that I bear witnesse against, is the counterfeiting and sacrilegious arrogating of the titles and rights of Gods Saints, and Churches (as before) which are the only Schools of the Prophets: (384).

Thus Williams, who had been up at Cambridge in 1624 but had not continued his studies as far as graduation (385), appreciated universities on condition that they were not used for ministerial training, which was to be provided, in ways unspecified, within the churches. There was, however, the more radical view, which condemned university learning as anti-Christian. It is expressed, for instance, by Spittlehouse, a much less famous man than Williams, but one who also held Baptist beliefs (386). He complains that at the Universities the students

are onely taught the writings of the Heathens, or such as have been extracted from them; as Logick, Philosophie, Rhetorick, &c. (387),

and exhorts his readers to

look about us seeing Antichrist hath yet so great a toleration in this Commonwealth as to uphold two Universities

(384) ibid. 17.

(385) Bapt. Q. V 101.

(386) Spittlehouse 6-7 & preface.

(387) Spittlehouse 2, 3.

meerly to study such like stuff (387). Such sentiments were found outside the Baptist ranks, but usually then amongst those whose general outlook of strict obedience to the scripture text and emphasis on the equal priesthood of all believers connected them in practice with Baptist thought. Thus one of the Congregationalist founders, writing long before the original Congregational movement had separated on the Baptist issue and so at a time when the spiritual predecessors of the Particular Baptists were denominationally indistinguishable from the Congregationalists, was Henry Barrow. He acknowledged the necessity for a minister of "inward graces as knowledg, learning and so forthe" (388), but complained of restrictions placed by Presbyterianism upon the people's election of their pastor by

injoyning them to choose some vniuersitie
clarke, one of these colledg birds of
their owne brood, or els comes a Synode
in the necke of them, and annihilates
the election whatsoeuer yt be (389).

The anonymous writer of the Commonwealth pamphlet Tyrannipocrit Discovered ... (c 1649), to quote a final exemple from a large field, complained that, in choosing ministers,

commonly we chuse humane Artists, good
Grammarians, curious Linguist, such as

(387) Spittlehouse 2, 3.

(388) Four Causes of Separation (c.1586-7) in
TCHS II 294.

(389) Brief Discouerie of a False Church (1590)
193, quoted by Dexter 239.

can orderly speake Hebrew, Greeke, and Latine, such as have beene brought up in humane Schooles, and have no experience in that honest simple life, of tilling the land, nor keeping of sheepe, but some of them are good Sophisters, that can tell us that hote is cold, and cold hote, that white is blacke, and blacke is white, &c. ... such are not fit to preach the gospel of Christ, because arts and languages are enemies to humility, which is the summe of Divinitie (390).

The belief that university learning may lead to pride which is incompatible with the gospel was still found in leading English Baptists in the middle of the following century (391), and it was not until the very end of the century that the "tendency to regard zeal and learning as incompatible" was overcome in the United States and a beginning made there with Baptist ministerial training (392).

On the other hand, it would be wrong to suggest that opposition to the above views was confined to non-Baptists like the R. Boreham who wrote in 1653 to show the universities as bulwarks of protestantism and orthodoxy (393). Prominent among Baptists who desired a learned ministry was John Smyth, regarded as the founder of the English General Baptists. Smyth sees

(390) in Orwell & Reynolds, 97-8.

(391) J. Stennett sermon 9/6/1752 Complaints..35.

(392) Bapt.Q. V 192.

(393) a short vindication of the use and necessity of universities, and other schools of learning, in The Triumph of Learning over Ignorance, repr. in Harleian Miscellany VI 298-307.

clearly the advantage to the minister of a knowledge of Greek and Hebrew:

No translation can possibly expresse all the matter of the holy originalls. ... the expositor, paraphrast commētator may expresse. asmuch as the translator, yea & in respect of some particulars, as Hebraismes, Grecismes & like considerations, much more (394).

He also expresses a Gale-like view (2,19) of the universality of truth to be derived from Scripture, and in doing so lists kinds of knowledge which he considered worthy of being found there, and therefore evidently worthy of attention:

The matter or substance of the scripture hath in it, Logick, History, Chronology, Cosmography, Genealogy, Philosophy, Theologie & other like matter. The principall parte of the matter is the Theologie (395).

The Baptist interest in higher education differs in one factor from that of all tutors previously mentioned in this thesis. The latter regarded their academies as places "where attempts are made to supply, in the best manner we can, the want of mere public advantages for education" (396); the Baptists, on the contrary, began in most cases with a distrust of universities and a corresponding independence of tradition in the matter of the curriculum.

(394) The Differences of the Churches of the Seperation 1608, in Works 280, 288.

(395) ibid. 280.

(396) Doddridge Some Account of..Thomas Steffe, in Works IV 250.

Early Baptist Schemes of Ministerial Education.

It was not long before Baptists were found paying attention to ministerial education, although it was to be surprisingly long before the question of whether any such education was desirable became a closed one.

Already in 1661 information was laid of a conventicle for training preachers in London (397). The preaching took place at Great Allhallows, a centre of Baptist heresy since at latest 1643 (398). The activities were in the hands of Jessey, Simpson and Knowles. Henry Jessey, BA (1601-63), was a Particular Baptist of broad views who knew well Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac and Chaldee, was one of Cromwell's Tryers together with his friend Thomas Goodwin (Appendix C) and published a New Testament Greek Lexicon and an English translation of a topographical work on Jerusalem; after ejection he began to practise medicine, but died in jail in 1663 (399). John Simpson (died 1662) was a fifth-monarchist; and Knowles (1616-1668) was probably a Baptist and has the distinction of being the earliest known preacher of antitrinitarian views in England (400).

In 1675 some London Baptist ministers suggested that arrangements be made for ministerial

(397) SPD xli 39 (11/9/1661).

(398) TBHS III 217.

(399) TCHS II 287, III 237, V 251; Richardson 159, 199; TBHS III 124-5; Whitley Bibliography 23.654, 83.654, 50.661, 78.661, index.

(400) Whitley Bibliography 50.661, index; TBHS III 124-5; Gordon Heads 18.

students (401). In 1689 there was Baptist interest in a London scheme for training ministers for Ireland (402). Edward Terrill had left his bequest in 1679, but this did not fructify for some time, and is the subject of a subsequent section (4,26).

But the question of higher education seems to have been the subject of official denominational notice first in 1689, when the Particular Baptist Assembly in London decided to found a fund with objects which included:

To assist those members that shall be found in any of the aforesaid churches that are disposed for study, have an inviting gift, and are sound in fundamentals in attaining to the knowledge and understanding of the languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew (403,404)

and answered thus a query submitted by a constituent church:

Q: Whether it be not advantageous for our brethren now in the ministry, or that may be in the ministry, to attain to a competent knowledge of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues, that they may be better capable of defending the truth against opposers?

A: Resolved in the affirmative (404).

The restricted range of the proposed curriculum is offset by the inclusion of Latin,

(401) Swaine 21.

(402) Ivimey III 384.

(403) Goadby 204.

(404) Bapt. Reg. I (1790) 50-51.

knowledge of which could hardly be desirable on any other ground than its use as a key to the learned literature, theological and other, available only in it. This Fund was duly established, but did not lead to any known attempt to found an Academy until many years later.

Growing expectation of such linguistic knowledge amongst Particular Baptist ministers is evinced by a dictum of the Bristol Assembly in 1693 that

the knowledge of the tongues, moreover,
is not essential, or absolutely necessary,
to constitute a minister of the Gospel (405).

Ideas had evidently moved a long way since the diatribes of the more extreme opponents of learning quoted above (4,22).

Amongst the General Baptists expression of a similar outlook was not long delayed. At the General Association (a temporary secession from the main body) in 1702,

It being now proposed as a Matter very convenient and nescisary from the propagation of the Gospell in generall, and ye generall faith more perticularly, that there be a Schooll of uniuersall Learning erected in or about this City in order to bring up persons (who by the grace of God shall be soberly inclined) to

the work of the ministry: It is now
unanimously resolved by this Association
yt we will to the utmost of our powers
endeuor to set up and maintain Such a
School as before mentioned ... (406).

Unfortunately this interesting and unanimous
intention to set up an academy of universal
learning did not bear fruit. It is possible that
the more modest advice of the Assembly of 1724
(the parent body):

we advise that all prudence be Used by
You the Severall Ministers not Only to
Encourage but to Instruct the Young &
best knowing in the Ministriall Work ... (407)

had more effect in practice, but unfortunately
in the nature of the case details of the instruction
were not gone into. It was not until 1792 that
the General Baptist Assembly managed to arrive
at the stage of appointing its first tutor (408).

(406) Whitley Gen. Bapt. Minutes I 75.

(407) ibid. I 142.

(408) ibid. II 209.

Trowbridge: Lucas and Llewellyn:

It is now time to turn from the educational outlook of Baptists to the actual academies of the Particular Baptists. One has already been noticed (3,11), that of John Davisson, at Trowbridge. He died in 1721 and was succeeded as pastor and tutor by Thomas Lucas. In 1737 the Barbican Church, London, sent appropriate books from their chapel library for the use of Lucas and his students. The library had previously, in 1709, been used by "the Society at the Norwich Coffee-house for encouraging the ministry" (409).

Lucas, whose fame had thus spread as far as London, was up-to-date in his emphasis. He wrote that

the practice of religion is nothing else but the living up to the dignity of reasonable creatures (410),

and he commended the same outlook in one of his pupils, saying:

the main drift of his sermons was to explain and recommend practical godliness. ... aiming more at making men good and virtuous, than at proselyting them to any particular opinions, which did not affect their salvation. I wish all who labour in the word and doctrine were like him in this particular, and then there would not be so much straggleness,

(409) TBHS III 17.

(410) Lucas Whinnell 13.

bitterness, and uncharitableness among Christians, of different opinions and persuasions, as there now is (411).

If so far he might be seen as another Doddridge, with the ethical emphasis even more pronounced, it must be added that he held to the usual pre-Doddridge distrust of books other than the Bible:

instead of conversing with books, which tend to corrupt and debauch the minds of young persons, he, upon his first setting out in religion, betook himself to the reading and study of the scripture ... (412).

He describes his pupil's faith as "built upon a rational, solid foundation" (413). To what extent he shared his predecessor's interest in elocution (3,11) does not appear; he does not seem to be at all in the same tradition as Davisson in the latter's other main interest, that of church order and ecclesiastical history.

Lucas died in 1743. At a later date an academy was again in being at Trowbridge under Thomas Llewellyn, MA, MD, LL D, 1720-1793, "who became one of the most distinguished classical scholars of his time" (414). He had been trained at Trosnant Baptist Academy, near Pontypool, at Bristol under Foskett (4,26), and in London under David Jennings (4,16) and at the King's

(411) ibid. 34-35.

(412) ibid. 32.

(413) ibid. 33.

(414) Bristol Bapt. Coll. 19.

Head Academy (4,21) (415). He is said never to have been a pastor, but was tutor also at an unsuccessful academy founded in London in 1752 by the London Baptist Education Society (416). Llewellyn certainly had remarkable accomplishments. He was capable of discussing in detail Hebrew, Greek, Welsh and English philology (417), of criticising on such grounds ~~as~~ the common belief (2,19) that Hebrew was the root language of all living languages (418), and of deciding that similarities between Welsh and Greek, and between Welsh and Latin, are in each case of a type attributable to a common source rather than to borrowings (419). But educationally Llewellyn's most interesting point is his strong argument in favour of study of the English language:

The English the living language of Great Britain &c, spoken daily by millions, has yet been less studied in Britain than the Greek tongue which is spoken by nobody: and the British [*i.e.* Welsh] another living language of thousands in this land has yet been as little or less cultivated here than Arabic. English writers of the first character have remonstrated against such a conduct in behalf of the English tongue, and have recommended to their countrymen the cultivation and thorough knowledge of their own language (420).

(415) Swaine 65-7; DNB.

(416) Underwood 181.

(417) Historical Account 59-61.

(418) Historical & Critical .. 17.

(419) ibid. 24, 28.

(420) ibid. 7-8.

It would presumably be fanciful to see any connection with Davisson's interest in elocution (3,11).

Evidently any pupil of Llewellyn would be unlikely to have to complain of excessive study of the classics at the expense of English. To give a balanced picture of Llewellyn it must be added that his main interest was the stimulation of the production and distribution of the Bible in Welsh (421). Two of his pupils, James Newton (4,26) and W. N. Clarke (4,25), became tutors.

(421)Llewellyn Historical Account, passim.

The Stennetts and W. N. Clarke.

The last named had, however, received instruction also from Samuel Stennett, son of Joseph Stennett.

Joseph Stennett (1692-1758) was a seventh-day Baptist who, after a grammar school education, learned French and Italian, Hebrew "and other oriental tongues, the liberal sciences, and philosophy, studied the ancient fathers and impartially examined modern schemes" (422). He thus fitted himself to become a leading figure in all circles of Dissenters, not least those concerned with education. Called upon in 1738 to deliver a sermon before the Congregational Fund Board (or perhaps the King's Head Society) he chose as his subject The Christian Strife for the faith of the Gospel. The "strife" was that against the "modern way" of "reducing the gospel of Jesus Christ only to a few lectures on morality" (423), and the sermon inveighed against

the weak and contradictory reasonings of philosophy oppos'd to dispensations, not only given forth by the ministry of angels, but preached by the Son of God himself, seal'd by his blood, and confirm'd by his resurrection from the dead (424).

He was, however, clear-sighted enough to avoid

(422) Wilson Dissenting II 595; DNB.

(423) Christian Strife, Preface vii.

(424) Christian Strife 13.

the parrot-cry of the self-interpreting scriptures without commentary, which looks so attractively orthodox but is liable to lead to startling departures from the calvinistic path. Stennett says that

those who began the popular cry against schemes in religion, intended to strike at the system of doctrine contained in the scriptures (425).

Thus his influence would be with those who rejected the scriptures-alone standpoint in favour of one in which a definite theological standpoint was to be inculcated, whilst steering clear on the other hand of a substitution of any human philosophical system for what he regarded as scripture-centred divine-given philosophy. There has been occasion above (4,23) to quote his view, expressed in 1752, that human learning is liable to lead to a pride inconsistent with proper occupancy of a ministerial position. From so learned a man such a view is particularly weighty. The high esteem in which Joseph Stennett was held in Dissenting educational circles is shown by his being one of the two Baptists originally appointed in 1754 trustees of the Ward trust for the education of Baptist and other dissenting ministerial students at Scottish Universities (426).

Joseph's son Samuel Stennett (1727-95) seems to have owed his higher education jointly

(425) Christian Strife, Preface viii.

(426) Whitley Bibliogr. 23.754 note.

to his father and to the King's Head Academy under Hubbard and Walker (4,21)(427). He succeeded his father as pastor in London in 1758 and found time to operate a one-man academy for a few years only after that date (428). Whatever may have been his father's reservations regarding the desirability of ministerial education, Samuel Stennett did not share them. In 1766, whilst admitting that of course "human science ... cannot be stiled the one thing needful" for a minister, he yet says

an acquaintance with human nature, with the history of the world, with the various interests of mankind, and with the connections and dependencies of all things around us, is a very desirable attainment. Nor is the utility of it inconsiderable, since it not only affords a rational pleasure to the mind, but is of great importance to direct our conduct in most of the affairs of life (429).

Many years later, in 1783, Stennett provided a general defence of ministerial education, demolishing one by one the arguments which Baptists especially (4,21) were still liable to use against it (430). Against his father's fear that learning tends to pride, he says that "The first lesson a scholar has to learn is that he

(427) S. Stennett Works, Prefatory Memoir by W. Jones, vi; Julian.

(428) ibid. xiii.

(429) 31/3/1766, 6.

(430) Utility of Learning, in Works III 249-253.

knows nothing" (431). At the same time he outlines a curriculum of the widest possible sweep and justifies each item in it (432). First are put English composition (written and oral) and elocution. Next are listed "how to arrange his ideas methodically" and "the art of reasoning", then "evidence of natural and revealed religion", "a comprehensive view of the great doctrines of Scripture" and of apologetics for them, then to "understand the connection between sacred and profane history", Jewish Antiquities, and Early Church History. This apparently constitutes the minimum course. There is as yet no mention of natural or moral science, and, surprising particularly in a Baptist, no mention of Hebrew, Greek and Latin. These all follow as

further branches of learning, which, though not necessary, are highly ornamental and useful to a Christian minister (433).

Under Natural Sciences are mentioned Astronomy, Zoology and Botany, the study consisting of diligent enquiry into the works of nature, in order to collect thence enlarged and exalted ideas of the perfections of deity (434).

Thus Stennett has come to a position, in both his minimum and his extended ministerial curriculum,

(431) ibid. 250.

(432) ibid. 242-246.

(433) ibid. 244-5.

(434) ibid. 245-6.

where occupational utility is the first consideration, but where the result is a curriculum of a very inclusive character. He does not appear, however, to have had any use for mathematics, nor does he indicate any belief in any mental training value of any subject. He does not mention music, but was himself a hymn writer whose compositions are no longer generally known (435), but continued in use amongst both Particular (436) and General (437) Baptists until the end of the nineteenth century.

Of Samuel Stennett's few pupils, one who himself became a tutor was William Nash Clarke (1732-95). He had previously been under Llewellyn (4,24). For a period between 1762 and 1785 he superintended an academy, sponsored by a Particular Baptist group, at Southwark. Clarke is stated to have been specially fond of metaphysics (438).

It is evident that the activities of the Baptist tutors of this and the previous section were on a very restricted scale. The only large scale and continuous Baptist Academy was that at Bristol, which is the subject of the next section.

(435) none in the Baptist Church Hymnal 1900 or the Baptist Church Hymnal (Revised) 1933.

(436) Psalms and Hymns, 1858 & 1882, nos. 269, 778, 876.

(437) Baptist Hymnal 1879, nos. 579, 726.

(438) Wilson Dissenting IV 239-240; Bogue & Bennett IV 292-3; Whitley Bibliography I index.

Bristol Baptist Academy: Terrill, Jope, Foskett,
Gifford, H. & C. Evans, Newton, Hall, Ryland.

The deed of Edward Terrill executed in 1679 provided, after life interest of his wife, an endowment for the maintenance of

a holy, learned man, well skilled in the tongues, viz Greek and Hebrew, and doth own and practise the truth of believer's baptism, as pastor, or teacher, to the /Broadmead/ congregation, to devote three half days in the week to the instruction of young men intended for the ministry, for not more than two years. The congregation must provide an assistant pastor (439). Terrill was a pillar of strength to the Bristol Baptists throughout the years of persecution. There seems to be little evidence of his educational theories. He recorded with approval a highly allegorical exposition of Exodus 13, which could hardly be regarded as the sense of the original even by a wild stretch of imagination (440). The interesting point about his bequest is its specifying of the two languages and nothing else as the topics in which the tutor must be competent. Given a knowledge of these the pastor was to be trusted to discern both the true meaning and also other messages in the Scriptures.

(439)Terrill 299.

(440)Terrill 167-8.

Terrill died in 1685, and at about the same date William Thomas, BA Oxon (died 1693) (441) was engaged in tutorial activities in connection with the Broadmead Church. It was not, however, until 1710 that the Terrill bequest became properly operative. The first tutor was Caleb Jope, who was sent at the expense of the congregation to complete his education under Jones at Tewkesbury before commencing at Bristol. At Tewkesbury Jope met with an ideal of education distant indeed from that apparently envisaged by Terrill, but he doubtless acquired the necessary proficiency in Greek and Hebrew (3,8). Jope seems, however, to have been unsuccessful as a tutor (442).

In 1720 Bernard Foskett began the thirty-eight years' tutorship which was terminated by his death in 1758, and which established the reputation of the Bristol Academy in the eyes of Baptists as far afield as London and Wales (442). Some account of the course under Foskett in 1744 is given by a pupil, John Collet Ryland, in his diary. Ryland's course, for one year (his first) may be summed up thus:

Languages: English Grammar /Is this perhaps a Grammar in English of the Latin Language?/

Latin Grammar. Clarke's Corderius.

N.T. in Latin. Synopsis Poetarum.

Pufendorf's Ethics. Grey's Proverbs.

Marks Medulla. Johnson's or

Buchanan's Psalms.

(441) Townsend 107.

(442) Cramp 375.

Hebrew Grammar. Ryland refers to "the five languages".

Sciences: Watts Logick. Watts Ontology. Gordon Geography. Martin Philosophical Grammar. Locke Essay.

Divinity: Vincent Catechism. Ridgley Body. Give an account every Monday of the Sermon, without notes (443).

It will be noticed that the Divinity and the Latin texts are soundly orthodox. There is no mention of natural science, nor of any moral science beyond the now rather ancient Puffendorf. Mathematics also appears to be missing, but Gordon's Geography in part repairs this omission, assuming as it does the use of Globes and setting such problems as

To know by the globe when the Great Mogul of India, and Czar of Moscovia, sit down to dinner - supposing withal that mid-day in the aforesaid cities is dining-time (444).

Ryland goes on to give an account of his private studies, without however indicating which, if any, of them were specified from above and which represented his own spontaneous contribution to his education. They include French, Rhetoric, Arithmetic, Geometry, Anatomy, Biography, History, Music, English Poets, Pneumatology, Shorthand, the English Bible, and Prayer (Henry (2,6), Watts, Wilkins) (445). It is in fact clear that at

(443) Bapt.Q. II 249.

(444) quoted by W.K.L. Clarke 91.

(445) Bapt.Q. II 250-1.

at about this time Foskett was giving lectures on Pneumatology (Psychology, Angelology, the Nature of God) and on Natural History and Physics. Lecture notes extant of the former course include a reference to the latter (446). Ryland reflected the continuance of Terrill's emphasis on Hebrew and Greek when, later in life, he singled these out as the only subjects for mention, together with a string of personal characteristics, as the essential qualifications of a minister (447).

Foskett had been assisted for a short time from 1727 by Andrew Gifford, DD, who, like Jope, had been under Jones at Tewkesbury (448). He made use of his Tewkesbury transcripts of Jones' lectures (449), so bringing the Leyden influence to Bristol. But Gifford's most important contribution to Bristol came later, when, at his death in 1784, he bequeathed his books to the Academy Library. The accession was a particularly valuable one, for Gifford had made good use of his position on the staff of the Library of the British Museum to acquire unwanted duplicates and other works. The most notable single item was, suitably in view of the great Bristol interest in the Biblical languages, the only extant complete first edition of Tyndale's English New Testament (450).

(446) McLachlan 276.

(447) Culross, 1757.

(448) Wilson Dissenting ... I 382.

(449) McLachlan 292.

(450) Bristol Baptist College 29-30.

From 1733 Foskett had been assisted by Hugh Evans. The latter had received his higher education at Llwynllwyd under Vavasor Griffiths, pupil of Jones of Tewkesbury and tutor to Richard Price, the unitarian (4,10) (451). On Foskett's death in 1758 Evans succeeded him as head of the Academy until his own death in 1779. In 1773 he defined his aim as

To instruct them ministerial pupils into the knowledge of the languages in which the scriptures were written, to give them a just view of language in general, and of their own in particular, to teach them to express themselves with propriety upon whatever subject they discourse of, and to lead them into an acquaintance with those several branches of literature in general, which may be serviceable to them, with the blessing of God, in the exercise of their ministry (452).

The prime position given by him as by his predecessors to Greek and Hebrew was further emphasized by Hugh Evans thus:

and if he is to read and study the holy scriptures, surely it must be very desirable to be able to read them in the languages in which they were wrote, without being obliged to view

(451) Roberts 19-20.

(452) Able Minister 43.

them through the medium of fallible and varying translations; and to be acquainted with those ancient customs and usages, with other branches of learning, whereby he may be the better able to understand, explain and defend them (453).

He quotes Luther's saying "although my knowledge of Hebrew be small, yet I would not exchange it for all the treasures of the whole world". But Hugh Evans balances this linguistic enthusiasm by adding

Nor is there, indeed, any branch of literature but may be highly serviceable to the minister, if truly sanctified, in one part or another of his sacred office (454).

The 1770 prospectus of the Bristol Education Society, supporting the Academy, goes into more detail as to the particular uses of various branches of the curriculum. "The rules of just reasoning" are mentioned, history (evidently of limited extent) is justified for its use in understanding the Bible, and the rudiments of natural philosophy as the means whereby the students'

ideas of the Divine perfections and the work of God may be enlarged and elevated (455).

Finally, the complete course is defined as consisting - as far as capacities and time allow - of

(453) Able Minister 12.

(454) Able Minister 20-21.

(455) Swaine 77-79.

- I English Grammar and the Learned Languages,
- II Logic,
- III Oratory,
- IV Elements of Geography, Astronomy and Natural Philosophy,
- V Moral Philosophy, Elements of Christianity, Jewish Antiquities, Chronology, Ecclesiastical History, a System of Divinity.

"The students are likewise required to write their thoughts on a passage of Scripture, and are frequently called upon to exercise their gifts, in prayer and other religious exercises" (455).

A further advantage of the breadth of the curriculum is stated to be that it fits a minister to add to his stipend by keeping a school (455).

In a list (Appendix A) of useful books issued by Evans in 1773 pride of place is given to Doddridge, but as if to balance his and Watts' not too strict Calvinism there are also recommended Gill and Brine, contemporary Baptist hyper-Calvinists (456). The authors recommended on Natural Philosophy are Rowning (Experimental Philosophy) and the by now rather ancient Derham and Ray. Under History are listed a majority of works on classical times, but also some on England including Hume (457). The following year (1774) saw the addition to the College

(455) Swaine 77-79.

(456) Memoir to Ryland Pastoral Memorials I or II, 14.

(457) Rippon Bapt. Reg. I 253.

Library of Rollin's volumes on the Belles-lettres, with their emphasis on the morals to be drawn from anything and everything (458).

Further light on the actual, as opposed to intended, course under Evans is thrown by the reports to the Bristol Education Society of a student, Thomas Dunscombe, whom they supported. On his first year's work (1770-1) he reported thus:

continued the History of the Gallic and Civil Wars in Caesar's Commentaries. The first six books of Virgil's 'Aeneid'. Two books of Grotius on the Truth of the Christian Religion. The first three orations of Cicero. The four Gospels in the Greek Testament.

Abridged: Great part of the first volume of Dr. Gill's 'Body of Divinity', and the first part of Watt's Logic. Repeated memoriter: Mr. Turner's 'Introduction to Rhetoric' and the Greek Grammar. Translated into English. Two Centuries of Turretinus, and into Latin, thirty chapters of Ecclesiastical History, Willimott's Particles. And wrote once a week from some passage of Scripture (459).

In his second year Dunscombe continued on the same lines, added Hebrew Grammar and most of the Hebrew Psalter, and abridged Gibbons' Rhetoric (4, 21)

(458) Method of Studying the Belles-Lettres, date in front cover of volume II in College Library.

(459) Bristol Baptist College 23.

and Watts' Logic (460). But it is evident that he was one of those to whom the proviso concerning capacity and time in the Society's prospectus was intended to refer. There may have been other pupils who achieved a course more like that intended.

From 1767 Hugh Evans was assisted by his relation (probably nephew) Caleb Evans (1738-91), who succeeded him in 1779. James Newton also was assistant from about 1770. Caleb Evans had been a pupil at Bristol and then at the King's Head Academy (4,21). Newton was a pupil of Llewellyn (4,24) and therefore appropriately took charge at Bristol of the classics (461).

Caleb Evans was, like Hugh, a disciple of Doddridge (462). He maintained the linguistic tradition, putting knowledge of the Bible languages first amongst the needs of a minister (463). Before these he ranked a "zealous love of Christ", but went on to say

There is scarcely any branch of knowledge, but may be useful to a Minister: whatever has a tendency to enlarge our ideas of the divine perfections, to give us a clearer view of the meaning of Scripture and the evidences of its authenticity, or to enable us to speak or write our thoughts with propriety, perspicuity,

(460) McLachlan 95.

(461) Swaine 171, 134; Wilson Dissenting .. IV 236.

(462) Monthly Rep. XIX 173 quoted by McLachlan 93.

(463) Kingdom of God 22.

and energy, is certainly well worth attention (464).

Robert Hall, pupil here and at Aberdeen, became classical assistant, in succession to Newton, in 1785, at the age of 21 (465). He disapproved strongly of the method of Doddridge's divinity lectures (466).

In 1791 Caleb Evans died and Robert Hall resigned. The direction of the Academy passed to John Ryland (1753-1825), who owed his education to his father, that John Collett Ryland whose diary is cited above. Ryland was an oriental scholar with a passion for natural history (467). In preaching a sermon Against the love of the World he said

By the love of the world, here prohibited, is not to be understood our taking pleasure in a survey of the creation around us; a love of the science of astronomy, or geography; or the study of natural history, in any of its branches - zoology, botany, mineralogy, &c. if these are rendered subservient to our contemplation of the power, wisdom, and goodness of the great Creator and if we do not rest in the simple admiration of his natural perfections; but are led to realize his moral attributes, his moral government, and our obligations to serve and glorify

(464) Advice 3-4.

(465) Swaine 101-3.

(466) Turton 15, quoting Hall Works IV 307-8.

(467) McLachlan 97.

him, and to value his favour as better than life (468).

Ryland gave a more general ground for the study of nature when he said that

the knowledge of the works of nature tends indeed to enlarge the mind, as we read of Solomon (469).

By about this time the Academy possessed a collection of scientific apparatus, catalogued in 1795 as follows:

air-pump, etc.	barometer.
prisms.	thermometer.
Ferguson's Optical Cards.	instrument to demonstrate
small box orrery.	the resistance of air.
magnet.	globes, 2 pairs.
electric machine etc.	reflecting telescope.
whirling table etc.	microscope.
instrument to show the	black board, for maths.
motion of a ship in	pair of wooden compasses.
a current.	round ruler.
square T in vessel for	pair of round marble slabs,
chemical experiments.	to show the nature of
	attraction maps, charts,
	&c. (470).

Ryland indicated that he valued ecclesiastical history in a passage in his sermon on the Use of Reason:

Reason is exercised soberly, when we make use of it in examining the evidences of a professed revelation, to determine whether it is really from God. They who have an opportunity for an extensive acquaintance with history and ancient writings, may take a wider range. They may study the evidences arising from the

(468) Pastoral Mem. II 235.

(469) Pastoral Mem. II 94.

(470) McLachlan 101.

prophecies, from miracles, or from the propagation and preservation of the gospel (471).

This quotation illustrates also Ryland's attitude in the matter of the relationship between reason and revelation. Reason has the definite functions of deciding that truth may be received through revelation no less than through the senses, and then discerning the true revelation when it is offered (472). Ryland elsewhere emphasizes the primacy of the Scriptures as a standard of truth against which reputed truths, however generally accepted or impressively sponsored or long accepted, must be tested (473). But the role he gives to Reason seems to put it, in fact, in as primary a position as the average eighteenth-century rationalist could desire.

Ryland did not give theological lectures to his students; but their hearing of his Sunday and other sermons in Broadmead Chapel no doubt compensated somewhat for this omission (474). The fact that we do not find Ryland urging the study of Hebrew and Greek probably does not indicate that these subjects had ceased to occupy their central position in the Bristol curriculum. Rather they were taken so much for granted as to make mention of them

(471) Pastoral Mem. II 22.

(472) Pastoral Mem. II 20-22.

(473) Pastoral Mem. I 141-2.

(474) Culross 85.

unnecessary. Under Ryland and his assistant Isaac James, and under their successors to the present day, the Bristol Baptist College has continued to bear witness to that

ideal of a trained ministry, with an emphasis on knowledge of the two biblical languages

which was actualized through the Terrill bequest (475).

Later Baptist Tutors: Fawcett, Sutcliff, Taylor,
Freeman.

The rest of the story of Baptist Academies to 1800 is a matter of brief reference to a few individual tutors. John Fawcett (1740-1817) was a self-educated Particular Baptist minister who trained ministers from 1773 at Hebden Bridge (476). His pupils included John Sutcliff and, probably, Dan Taylor.

John Sutcliff or Sutcliffe, born 1752, settled as minister at Olney, Bedfordshire, in 1775 after training under Fawcett and at Bristol. At Olney Sutcliff had at least thirty-three pupils over a period of years, all of them "men, not boys" (477). It is attractive to speculate on possible contacts of Sutcliff with John Newton and his associates (4, 31).

Dan Taylor (1738-1816) was a General Baptist of Methodist inclinations who engaged in ministerial education from some date after 1785. He had expressed some of his leading ideas in an address to young ministers in 1766 (478). He was at pains to explain the proper place of oratory in the preacher's equipment:

our first, our great inquiry shou'd
be, is the food substantial? If so,
there may be no harm in labouring to
dress it as well as possible (479).

He recommends the study of scriptural examples, particularly Isaiah and Acts, and Watts, Doddridge,

(476) Underwood 172; Bapt.Q V 130.

(477) Bapt. Quarterly IV 276-9.

(478) The Faithful and Wise Steward.

(479) ibid. 19.

Hervey and Smith, and the last-named's translation of Longinus (480). But the most important factor in effective preaching is "a careful reading of the scriptures - a due observation of the spirit in which they were written - a good understanding of the import, and a deep sense of the importance, of what we speak ... " (481). Taylor's outlook here reflects something of the caution of the earlier Baptists (4,22) and of contemporary Methodists((V),below) lest the voice of scripture be obscured by undue attention to human learning. Similarly, whilst believing that human reason is capable of comprehending "all the truths in God's word", Taylor issues a warning against accepting traditional preconceived views without comparing them with the Bible and against that exaltation of human Reason which supposes that "because we are unable to comprehend how such things can be, ... they really are not" (482). "Let not a fear of being counted a heretic" Taylor exclaimed "lead us perpetually to disguise our sentiments" (483). Taylor was a principal founder of the Baptist New Connexion (484). The parent body, the General Assembly of General Baptist Churches, after discussions in 1702, 1724, 1772, and 1790, eventually fixed in 1792 upon Revd. Mr. Freeman of Ponders End, Middlesex, to train their ministerial candidates (485).

(480)ibid.17.

(481)ibid.33.

(482)ibid.19, 50, 47, 49.

(483)ibid.55.

(484)Underwood 150.

(485)Whitley, Gen.Bapt.Minutes I 75,142; II 144,203,209.

None of the above educational efforts continued into the twentieth century, save that Fawcett was afterwards on the staff of Bristol Baptist College, which must be placed alongside the orthodox academies of the Congregationalists as a demonstration that higher education of the best quality need not necessarily lead to heterodox theology.

(V) ACADEMIES OF THE METHODIST REVIVAL.

Baptist diffidence (4,22) in the matter of higher education, particularly ministerial, was to some extent paralleled at a later date in some developments of the Methodist revival, with its emphasis on the emotions at the expense, very often, of the intellect. Nevertheless there were several directions in which the Methodist revival did lead to the foundation of academies of various kinds. It is with such academies that this section is concerned.

It has been said that the Methodist Revival

exercised through its conception of religious truth two effects upon thought, one restrictive, the other expansive. It strengthened the trend towards implicit and uninquiring faith, towards romanticism in philosophy; it also widened the spiritual vision of the time and prepared the way for a theory of experience in which religious perception should again find a place (486).

In the curricula of the academies now to be described these two effects are represented (more or less respectively) by the absence of anything in the nature of Christian Evidences, whether or not on the pattern popularized by Doddridge (4,2); and by a more general interest in Behmen and other mystical writers than has been noticeable in courses previously detailed.

John Wesley's own educational activities, although largely concerned with lower levels, will first be noticed. The other, calvinistic, branch of the movement had its ministerial training institution from an early date (4,29). In the third place, there were several reactions within the borders of the existing denominations (4,30; 4,31).

Kingswood: John Wesley.

The leader of the Arminian side of the Methodist movement would have been shocked beyond measure to find himself classed with dissenters, even with the founders of dissenting academies. Nevertheless, despite his attachment to the Church of England, he found himself willy-nilly compelled by circumstances to arrange for the higher education of those of his followers who were expelled from or denied admission to the University of Oxford. This occurred in 1768 (487). Wesley had already, in 1746, consulted Doddridge regarding a book-list for "some young preachers" and had received a lengthy reply (Appendix A) (488). In 1768, however, he was concerned with the problem of general, as opposed to ministerial education, and drew up a course of reading to be followed by the four Arminians of the six Methodists expelled from Oxford, and by their successors. The course was conducted at Kingswood, where Wesley had already a school for the whole pre-university age-range. This arrangement pleased Wesley in one respect - he was putting into practice the rarely practicable advice of Milton (489), with which he agreed, that the whole education of a pupil should be conducted in one institution (490).

The details of the 1768 course show it

(487) Godley 269-270.

(488) Doddridge (Humphreys) IV 484-493.

(489) Prose Works III 467.

(490) Body 65.

to be a conservative revision of the sort of course which Wesley himself had followed at Oxford forty years earlier. The Kingswood course may be tabulated thus(491):

Yr		History	Hebrew O.T.	Greek N.T.	Greek Class.	French	English Liter.
1	English, Latin, Greek, Heb. & French Grammars, Rhetoric (Vossius), Logic, Ethics	ecclesiastical & European	Pentateuch	Gospels & Acts	Xenophon & Homer	Penelon's <u>Telemaque</u>	none
2	Euclid & other elem. maths. Newton's <u>Principia</u> .	eccles. & chron. tables	Hist. books	rest of N.T.	Homer	Racine	Spenser
3	Ray's <u>Wisdom</u> .	ancient & English	Job to Cant.	N.T.	Plato	Pascal & Cornille	<u>Musae Anglicanae</u> , & Milton.
4	<u>Abridgement of Phil. Trans.</u> & Watts' <u>Astronomy</u> ; <u>Metaphys</u> ; Watts, Locke Malebranche	English & American	rest	N.T.	other	none	Shakespeare

The principal changes which Wesley had made from his own Oxford reading were in two directions. First, he had drastically reduced the proportion occupied by mathematics and natural science. He had none whatever in the first year, and only six items in the rest of his list (which totals ninety-three entries). At Oxford, on the other hand, Waterland's Student's Guide 1730 listed seventy-four items of which eleven were mathematical or physical (492). This move by Wesley agrees with his having turned from mathematics himself lest it should lead him to atheism and with his doubts about the compatibility of Newtonian cosmology with the Christian faith (493).

His second change is the introduction of History and Modern Literature, English and French. Doddridge had mentioned History, Civil and Ecclesiastical, in his letter of 1746, but of the three books which he recommended only one is amongst the twelve listed by Wesley (494), and that one (Puffendorf) he had met at Oxford (492). Perhaps Wesley's introduction of History may be put down to the influence of Locke (495), to whom Wesley is said to have owed a considerable proportion of his educational outlook (496). It has been suggested that Wesley disapproved of Locke in general, and that this accounts for his failure to acknowledge a large indebtedness to

(491)Body 162-3 quoting Wesley Works XIII 287-9.

(492)Wordsworth Scholae 333.

(493)Smith II 517.

(494)Body loc.cit.; Doddridge (Humphreys) IV 485.

(495)Thoughts par.184.

(496)Body 56-59.

him in the educational field (496). Against this theory must be set Wesley's failure to follow Locke in several important respects, notably in first the place accorded to mathematics, for which Locke has great use (497), and, second, Wesley's use of Shakespeare, Milton and Spenser, whom Locke disdains to mention (498). On the other hand, Wesley's general opinion of Locke was in fact sufficiently high to admit the latter's Essay on the Human Understanding to the fourth year of the Kingswood course (499) - whilst Locke was certainly not prescribed, even if no longer actively proscribed, in the Oxford of Wesley's student days (500). Perhaps it would be better to see in the resemblances of Wesley's to Locke's ideas a result of, first, their joint indebtedness to such predecessors as Comenius (2,21) and Milton (501) and, second, Wesley's susceptibility to the general climate of his age, of which Locke had been so notable a determinant.

The absence of elocution from the course, save for Vossius in the first year, agrees with Wesley's preference for a "plain and dull" style in his preachers (502). It might have been expected from his low opinion of the French language ("It is impossible to write a fine poem in French" (503)) that its literature would be omitted by Wesley. Two of the writers specified

(496)Body 56-59.

(497)Conduct par.7.

(498)Thoughts par.188-191, Adamson's Introduction 17.

(499)Body 162-3.

(500)Wordsworth Scholae 124,126.

(501)Body 49,65.

(502)Elton 221.

(503)ibid.

(Fenelon and Pascal.) are examples of the above-mentioned Methodist liking for mystics; the two dramatists were perhaps to be studied for the sake of their style and as providing an unusual viewpoint on their scriptural themes. The mention of American History, not studied in other academies, is doubtless connected with the fact that Wesley stood in opposition to Bogue and the orthodox as well as to Priestley and the heterodox and to Evans and the Baptists in siding with the Crown against the Colonists.

Under the head of Doctrine Wesley needed neither to include in his course the long string of sermon writers listed by Waterland for Oxford in 1730, nor to recall the galaxy of authors, ancient and modern, suggested by Doddridge in 1746 with the characteristic comment that they represent several sides of each question, because it is necessary to know the chief strength of error in order to defend the truth (504). Wesley, on the other hand, was able to deal with this part of the course merely by recommending the many volumes of the Christian Library, which could not be bettered for Methodist purposes. The inclusion of a large amount of such matter, and of Hebrew and New Testament Greek, was inevitable in a course drawn up by one with Wesley's homiletic and apologetic interests.

Wesley was very proud of his course, saying

(504)Doddridge (Humphreys) IV 493.

I have known a young man that feared
God acquire as much learning in one
year, as children usually do in seven (505).

The course, and similar ones in connection with
other Methodist schools, soon became, however,
restricted in practice to ministerial candidates,
and is represented today, if at all, by theological
training colleges attached to universities rather
than schools. Until the mid-nineteenth century
higher education for ministers of the Wesleyan
Methodist Church and its secessions was the -
often disapproved - exception rather than the
rule. Thus there are no other developments to
record in this section.

(505)Body 48, quoting Letter to James Alexander.

CALVINISTIC METHODIST ACADEMY: TREFECCA.

The followers of George Whitfield, however, gave at least lip service to the idea of ministerial education. The other two of the six Oxford expellees in 1768 proceeded to the College at Trefecca newly founded by the Countess of Huntingdon, George Whitfield's fairy godmother (506). The first president of the College was John William Fletcher (1729-85), Vicar of Madeley, a Swiss by birth who had studied at Geneva University (507). Wesley had the highest regard for Fletcher's personal qualities, piety and learning "both in languages, philosophy, philology, and divinity" (508). Unfortunately Fletcher's post at Trefecca was unpaid and non-resident, and the teaching appears to have been done by others. At one time classical instruction was given by an infant prodigy of the age of twelve (509), but from 1770 for a short time the classics and the principalship were in the hands of Benson, who distressed John Wesley by resigning the headmastership of Kingswood to take up the Trefecca post (510). Unfortunately Benson got on no better with Whitefield than with Wesley, and in 1771 he was dismissed for arminianism. Fletcher resigned the presidency in sympathy (511). A more serious difficulty even than staffing was

(506) Roberts 65.

(507) Fletcher Works I i, xxiv.

(508) Fletcher Works I xviii.

(509) Roberts 67.

(510) Body 121; Fletcher Works I xxi.

(511) Fletcher Works I xxi.

the urgent necessity, in the Countess's eyes, of getting her pupils into the field at the earliest opportunity.

As the calls were often urgent, her students were too often thrust forth into the harvest before they had made any considerable proficiency in the languages or sacred literature ...

Few of them knew much more than their native tongue (512).

The same cause led to interruptions of the academical course in the case of those who managed to continue it: John Clayton, pupil at Trefecca 1773-5,

was, he thought, sent forth on itinerating missions much too frequently, to the constant interruption of his academical studies; and herein he ventured to differ in opinion from her ladyship (513).

The excellent example of such tutors as John Jennings, Doddridge and Amory (3,21; 4,2; 3,14) in giving their pupils preaching practice was being followed much too enthusiastically. Nevertheless there were students who stayed the course. Anthony Crole, having been in business as a cabinet-maker,

diligently, and successfully applied himself to recover his knowledge of the Latin, and to gain an acquaintance with the Greek and Hebrew languages (514).

(512) Bogue & Bennett III 96.

(513) Aveling Clayton 17.

(514) Wilson Dissenting II 296.

Crole completed the three-year course, given free to calvinist candidates for the ministry of any protestant denomination (515). The interdenominational character of Trefecca would offer no obstacle to the teaching of Latin, Greek and Hebrew, such as Crole received. But "Christians do not face the world with any authoritative unanimity as to what the Church believes about itself", said a twentieth-century occupant of Fletcher's presidency (516). Interdenominationalism therefore precluded any studies such as ecclesiastical theory and recent church history. That this was so is confirmed by the case of John Clayton, who was trying after leaving Trefecca to obtain episcopal ordination but came into contact with dissenting ideas (in the form of Towgood's well-known Letters to White on Dissent) just in time to enable him to consider the question for the first time and to conclude that his calling was with the dissenters (517).

Despite these difficulties and deficiencies the Academy developed into a theological training college which, as Cheshunt College, Cambridge, retains something of its original interdenominational character whilst serving mainly the Congregational churches.

(515) Roberts 65.

(516) Whale Christian Doctrine 130.

(517) Aveling Clayton 34.

Evangelical Revival Academies inside Existing
Denominations: Hoxton Independent Academy (Brewer,
Barber, Addington, Simpson), and Shrewsbury (Gentleman):

An effect of the evangelical revival was an increased emphasis upon the immediate effectiveness of preaching, at the expense of its intellectual content. Several attempts were thus made to provide simplified training for congregationalists and others who felt called to become preachers but who lacked the time or the intellectual background, or at any rate the inclination, to follow the usual academical course of preparation for the ministry.

The Societas Evangelicas, founded in 1776, established such a course, to extend over two years of twelve hours per week, at Hoxton in about 1778. The tutors were Samuel Brewer, a self-educated popular preacher, who lectured on preaching; Joseph Barber, a former pupil of Saunders and Kirkpatrick (Appendix C), who dealt with Divinity; and John Kello, pupil at Mile End (4,21), from 1765^{to} 1770, who lectured on Grammar and Logic. Each of the three tutors took four hours per week.

In 1782 the Academy was reconstructed on a full-time basis, at Mile End, with Stephen Addington (1729-96) as tutor. He was a former pupil of Doddridge who had engaged in school-mastering for some years whilst a minister in

the provinces, and had now settled in a London pastorate. Already over fifty years of age and in ill health, he resigned the tutorship after a few years, and the Academy took the last step in its rapid development into a normal orthodox one by returning to Hoxton in 1791, with Robert Simpson, pupil of Heckmondwike (4,17), as tutor. Simpson was a Hebrew expert. From 1797 he was assisted by a former pupil here, George Collison (518). The academy developed along normal lines and was one of the constituents of an amalgamation which produced the present New College, London (519).

Another academy stimulated by the Methodist revival was that at Shrewsbury from about 1770 under Robert Gentleman. His aim was to provide a short course of studies, sufficient to qualify ... for serving such societies as did not require ministers of profound learning (520).

Gentleman (1746-1795) had been a pupil at Daventry under Ashworth (4,5), and later, in 1779, took charge of the Presbyterian Board's Academy at Caermarthen, (521), where, however, his tutorship was not successful (522).

These academies show a tendency to simplify the training for ministers (they did not aim at catering for others) and to reduce the curriculum

(518) Wilson Dissenting I 511, McLachlan 236-7.

(519) Cong.Q. XIX 16.

(520) Wilson Dissenting ... I 192.

(521) Evans Midland Churches 148, 156.

(522) Roberts 23.

to the occupational minimum, with no thought of general culture or of disciplinary values. A further and more broadly designed example of an academy inspired by the Revival was that at Newport Pagnell, which is the subject of the next section.

Newport Pagnell: Newton, Bull.

Whilst it is true that in general even today

in Britain there are very few instances of joint theological training and these are confined to denominations that are ecclesiastically close together (523), yet the Newport Pagnell Academy had the distinction of being founded by a clergyman of the Church of England and having as its first tutor a congregational minister.

The clergyman was the renowned John Newton, ex-slave-trader, hymn-writer, and incumbent successively at Olney (a few miles from Newport Pagnell) and at St. Mary Woolnorth, London. Newton's earlier writings abound with remarks on educational topics, and at about the time of the foundation of the Newport Pagnell Academy he wrote A Plan of Academical Preparation for the Ministry (524), in which he detailed his ideal academy. He had been hoping that William Bull would accept an invitation to take charge of the Hoxton Independent Academy (4,30) after the reconstruction which eventually led to Addington's appointment in 1782, but Bull refused (525). Now Newton was able to persuade Bull

(523) Chirgwin Coming Together 51.

(524) Works V 61-96.

(525) Bull Memorials 105.

to become the founder-tutor of his academy, continuing meanwhile in his Newport pastorate.

William Bull (1738-1814) had a striking experience in his young days, when attending one Sunday the Irthlingborough Congregational Church. The preacher was not a highly educated man.

The ... text ... was that striking passage in the Revelation: "Write, Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord" (526). And he gave the following very original division of the words:- "We shall consider", he said, "who are right blessed and who are wrong blessed." This very odd treatment of the passage amazingly tickled the fancy of the shrewd child who was listening to him, and, forgetting where he was, he broke out into a loud laugh; whereupon the preacher, all unconscious of the cause, bade them turn out the little curly-pated boy who was behaving so irreverently in the house of God" (527).

No wonder William Bull afterwards evinced enthusiasm for ministerial education.

Newton's Plan shows the usual Methodist Revival features of a narrowed curriculum and emphasis on occupational usefulness of its constituents. The course is to include:

- (1) A body of divinity of which "the holy Scripture is the sole fountain, treasury, and standard".

(526) Rev. xiv.13.

(527) Bull Memorials 6-7.

- (2) Sacred literature necessary to interpret Scripture.
- (3) Philosophy, history and other polite literature, to provide relevant illustrations for discourses.
- (4) Ability to methodize, distinguish, distribute etc, the above.
- (5) Extempore speaking (528).

On this outline the following comments and amplifications may be extracted from the remainder of the Plan and elsewhere. (1) Newton says "the Bible is my body of divinity ... I should prefer the Epistles of St. Paul, to any human systems I have seen" (529), and states that he himself makes little use of books, except the Bible and Concordance, in sermon preparation (530). The tutor must not be "seduced by the specious sounds of candour and free enquiry" but is to act as a teacher, and not an enquirer (531). Thus Bull was forbidden to follow the kind of divinity course which he himself had received as a student at Daventry under Ashworth (4,5) (532). Not that Bull would have wanted to do anything which might imperil the orthodoxy of his charges: only one of more than a hundred trained under him and his immediate successors at Newport, deviated from the orthodox path (533). When Bull did depart from the strict letter of Newton's ideas it was

(528) Newton Works V 83.

(529) Newton Works V 85.

(530) Letter to a Student in Divinity, in Works I 123.

(531) Newton Works V 88.

(532) Bull Memorials 18.

(533) ibid. 349.

to introduce in 1786 thrice-weekly readings of a series of sermons entitled The Messiah; and as these were by none other than Newton himself, the departure was at any rate tactfully managed (534).

(2) "A competent acquaintance with the learned languages, history, natural philosophy, &c. is very desirable. If these things are held in a proper subserviency, if they do not engross too much of our time, nor add fuel to the fire of self-importance which is our great snare" (535).

So wrote Newton, who had concentrated upon the Greek of the New Testament and the Septuagint and then the Old Testament Hebrew, when he set out to prepare himself for the ministry (536). In Bull he had a tutor who was also self-taught as to Hebrew, having learned it practically unaided at an early age (537). Newton considered Latin worthwhile because of its usefulness for reading books "not yet translated" (538). His suggested textbooks were

Lowth Praelectiones de Poësi Hebraea

Blackwall Sacred Classics

Godwin Moses and Aaron

Jennings on Godwin

Poole Synopsis Criticorum

Something on ecclesiastical history, on
which there is nothing entirely satisfactory,
but the following are suggested:

Magdeburg Centuriators

Mosheim Ecclesiastical History "perhaps
the best"

(534) ibid. 157.

(535) Letter to a Student. in Works I 120.

(536) Letter no. 14 of 2/2/1763 in Works I 103.

(537) Bull. Memorials 10.

(538) Plan ... in Works V 91-2.

Bingham	Antiquities
Dupin	Compendium
Cave	Historia Literaria Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum (538).

Bull valued ecclesiastical biographies:

The lives of learned and holy men are
the most profitable of all books to a
minister (539).

The most striking characteristic of the above
book-list is its out-of-dateness. These were
the standard texts fifty or more years before.
Several of them are in Latin, and Bull's pupils
did, in fact, read church history to him in
Latin (540) - a remarkable method so late (1783)
in the century.

(3) Newton wrote of Belles Lettres:

Their intrinsic value is not great.

Yet in such an age as ours, it is some dis-
advantage to a man in public life, if he
is quite a stranger to them (541).

He therefore restricted his suggestions to

Rollin on the Belles Lettres

Bossuet Universal History

and "a few of our best poets" (542).

(538) Plan ... in Works V 91-2.

(539) Bull Memorials 343.

(540) Bull Memorials 121.

(541) Works V 68-69.

(542) Plan ... in Works V 92-92.

He considered that the cultivation of the imagination by poetry, art, and especially the Belles Lettres, is liable to lead to a decrease in desire for accurate truth (543). Bull, on the other hand, is said to have been "very diligent in the ancient classiss" (544).

For natural science Newton had the usual teleological use, though with reservations:

Natural philosophy is not only a noble science, but one which offers the most interesting and profitable relaxations from the weight of severer studies ... the signatures of wisdom, power and goodness, which the wonder-working God has impressed upon every part of the visible creation. ... [But ministers] are sent into the world, and into the academy, not to collect shells and fossils and butterflies, or to surprise each other with feats of electricity, but to win souls for Christ (541).

Thus the textbooks are limited to Ray and Derham (542) - by now very much behind the times.

Mathematics was a subject for which Newton had found no use himself (545), and which does not feature in his course. Bull, however, had contributed at an early age to Martin's Mathematical Magazine (546), and may perhaps have passed on

(541) Works V 68-69.

(542) Plan ... in Works V 92-93.

(543) Letter 21 of 7/11/1775 in Works I 485.

(544) Bull Memorials 358.

(545) Letter 14 of 2/2/1763 in Works I 103.

(546) Bull Memorials 10.

his enthusiasm to some of his pupils. Newton omitted also moral science and philosophy, saying

I have no great opinion of metaphysical studies. For pneumatology and ethics

I would confine my pupils to the Bible (547).

Neither Newton nor Bull had any use for the kind of Evidences course which had been Doddridge's pièce de résistance (4,2), and which Bull had undergone at Daventry (4,5). Newton refers disparagingly to "the needless and hurtful attempt of proving first principles", and believes with Gale (2,19) that the truths found in Greek and other pagan philosophies have arrived there by some route from a Hebrew source, and ipso facto can add nothing to the Bible (548). Bull is caustic:

But the truths of the gospel seem to be a bugbear even to those that know the Lord. What has Jesus done, that His truths are looked at with so questionable a countenance in the house of his friends? I expect the time will come when they will not dare to say anything but what may be proved by 'Cicero de Officiis' or 'Wollaston's Religion of Nature' (549).

(4) Newton recommended close study of Watts' Logic and Improvement of the Mind, and mentioned Fénelon (550), of whom Bull was specially fond (551).

(547) Plan ... in Works V 98.

(548) ibid. 87-89.

(549) Letter to Newton of /12/1786 in Memorials 162.

(550) Plan ... in Works V 93-95.

(551) Bull Memorials 176.

(5) English style Newton thought could be acquired by reading Addison, Johnson, Watts and Witherspoon, but not Hervey ("too ornate"), and by practice in writing and speaking (but not formal disputations) at first on less important (i.e. non-theological) topics (552).

The course thus indicated is much more complete than those outlined in the previous section (4,30). Newton's fear of the wrong effects, such as increase of pride and self-reliance and censorious dogmatism, was coupled with a realization that these often result from the short half-baked course rather than the one of proper length and balance (553). Despite their orthodoxy, he and Bull were both ready to read any author whom they found valuable, whatever his school. Thus they shared the normal Methodist liking for the mystics, in particular Fénelon, Boehme (554) and Madame Guyon (whose poems Bull introduced to the poet Cowper, Newton's colleague - afterwards writing a preface to Cowper's translation of them (555)). On the other hand, Bull recommended the sermons of the orthodox Bradbury and the hyper-calvinistic Crisp (with a remark about "important parts of the truth which he seems to have too much overlooked"), and was a welcome preacher in Calvinistic Methodist chapels (556).

(552)Plan ... In Works V 88-90, 96.

(553)Letter to a Student ... in Works I 117.

(554)Bull Memorials 52.

(555)Bull Memorials 106-9.

(556)Bull Memorials 187, 228-9, 257.

Following the now established custom, Bull arranged for some practical activities by his students, principally the conduct of cottage meetings and help in the Sunday School (557). He seems to have kept on the whole to Newton's preference of an entirely ministerial academy (558), but is stated to have had lay pupils (559) and certainly was saddled with one, a deaf mute, in 1790-2 (560).

The importance, from the point of view of the curriculum, of this Academy, lies in its position as an institution of the Methodist Revival, originally receiving support from Orthodox Dissent and the Established Church as well as from some of the Methodists outside these bodies (561), and which pointed the way to a full-length and properly conducted course of ministerial training with an emphasis as strongly occupational as that of the academies of the slighter kind mentioned in the previous section. Now there appeared the normal ministerial training course without mathematics or experimental science and with the minimum of classical literature. This, rather than the general cultural training of the old academies, was to become the basis of nineteenth-century ministerial training, and,

(557) Bull Memorials 245.

(558) Plan ... in Works V 61.

(559) Whitley in TBHS IV 226.

(560) Bull Memorials 195.

(561) Newton Plan ... in Works V 71-5.

indeed, in its specialization in those studies which could be occupationally justified, the pattern for the greater part of higher education of the next century and a half. Newport Pagnell Academy itself continued for some time as a separate institution, gradually losing the support of most of those outside the congregational denomination, and was eventually merged in Cheshunt College (4,29).

Conclusion.

Amidst the considerable diversity of the academies and curricula of this chapter several general lines of development are visible by the end of the eighteenth century.

Specialization was now well established on a basis of occupational usefulness of subjects. In the case of theological academies it was still a peripheral specialization which left untouched some central subject - Christian Evidences under Doddridge (4,2) and his disciples (4,5; 4,6; 4,11); the Bible for Bogue (4,19) and other orthodox tutors as well as for Newton and Bull and the evangelicals (4,31); or the Biblical languages at Bristol (4,26). In the unitarian academies, particularly Warrington, the specialization was of a more radical character: certain subjects were offered, and a student might take any of them (4,9).

A factor preventing complete occupational specialization for ministerial candidates was still the desire to be fitted for more than the pastoral office itself, the usual additional work towards the end of the eighteenth century being schoolmastering (4,26; 4,11).

A gradual broadening had occurred in the occupational aims of the academies. Doddridge (4,2) recognized that higher education was

appropriate for persons going into commerce as well as for those entering the three professions. The unitarian academies (II) were proud to include references to such persons in their prospectuses.

New subjects had gained a foothold in the curriculum and the positions of old ones had changed. French remained on the whole an additional option not always available (4,20; 4,9), and sometimes only for some immediate purpose such as the reading of French sermons (4,19) - a purpose for which the language was already studied under John Jennings (3,21). Natural science continued to occupy the attention of tutors, on the whole from an increasingly experimental standpoint (4,2; 4,6; 4,8; 4,26), and not only for the old reasons that it points to God or that it sharpens the mind but also because of its utility in the world (4,3; 3,8). Chemistry was taking its place alongside physics (4,8), and biology or natural history was sometimes mentioned (4,25; 4,26). Doubts continued about mathematics, views ranging from a grudging or an enthusiastic belief (4,2; 4,16; 4,19) in its use as mental exercise, to its complete omission without mention (4,25; 4,26), to a condemnation of it as tending to atheism (4,28; 4,31), or a recognition of the impossibility of dealing with natural science without it. Elocution (4,25; 4,16) (and preaching practice (4,2; 4,29)) had a firmly established place in

the curriculum and appears to have been a major reason for the study of English literature, which was valued mainly as a collection of examples of style (4,2; 4,9). Amateur dramatics were now rejected as an aid to learning (4,3; 4,9). Latin had lost its preëminence, though still valued as the language in which useful things were written (4,8; 4,16; 4,19; 4,21; 4,31) and, sometimes, as a wit-sharpener or as a help in understanding grammar, English or general. Greek and Hebrew retained their place as Biblical languages, but there was increasing doubt as to the usefulness of much study of the classics (4,24; 4,31; 4,2). The position of ethics or moral science was surprisingly varied. For Doddridge and his followers (4,2;) it was the basis of Christian Evidences, the central subject of the course. Priestley, on the other hand, omitted it altogether, believing that virtue is the result of sufficiently clear thinking based on sufficient knowledge of the world (4,8). Music was rarely mentioned and then we have no suggestion of its being taken very seriously (4,8; 4,9; 4,10; 4,26). Short-hand continued to be taught in a number of academies.

But the most notable development in the field of individual subjects was probably the development of history - a development already begun with Tallents (2,29) whose Tables Doddridge

used (4,2) - into a subject brought down to contemporary events and, linked with the usual dissenting interest in matters political (562), developed by Priestley into the crown (rather perhaps than the foundation stone) of the curriculum (4,8).

The contribution of Doddridge and others to method in formulating lecture courses with references to all sides of each controversial point (4,2) was imitated by some tutors, but more were content (4,4; 4,6) merely to use Doddridge's lectures as a textbook on which to lecture in the old-fashioned way. There were also several who did not consider Doddridge's method the best to induce a desired orthodox standpoint in their pupils and who preferred to lecture from a more well-defined standpoint; only rarely, however, did these tutors use one particular textbook (4,14), mostly following the modern method of lectures of their own construction with references to various works (4,19; 4,25; 4,26; 4,34).

The diverse results achieved by the curriculum-makers of this chapter have at bottom at least two connecting factors. First, they all made utility their criterion; they interpreted it in various ways, but it is probably safe to suppose that any tutor of Chapter 4 asked by a pupil "Why, Sir, do you teach me this?"

would have had no need to think hard to arrive at his answer. The second basic factor is the prevailing rationalism of the eighteenth century. This Chapter has mentioned some tutors of earlier dates who had not come completely under its spell, but even the most orthodox of the later ones (e.g. Ryland (4,26)) put Human Reason in a very exalted position in their cosmic picture. It is probably these similarities of fundamental outlook which account for the surprisingly large number of points in which academies, with so diverse origins as the earlier academies of Chapters 2 and 3, the early Baptist ministerial education, and the ferment of the Methodist revival, are in fact found to have arrived at similarities of curriculum.

CHAPTER V.
CONCLUSIONS.

This Chapter is an attempt to view the matter of the preceding Chapters in a more general manner, and to show some of the trends which are discernible in the history of the curriculum of the academies. In the first part of the Chapter (5,2-5,12) various subjects will be considered separately; the remainder will be devoted to certain special topics. Under the former, there will be considered first those subjects which it was a rôle of the academies to introduce into the curriculum at higher levels; following which, notes will be made of some subjects which were already established in the university curriculum of 1660, but whose treatment and content underwent modifications in the academies.

It cannot be assumed that the reader will find himself in agreement with every one of the various judgments expressed in this chapter. The remainder of the thesis having been restricted, with only occasional exceptions, to a review of facts, this concluding chapter is largely an attempt to point out some of the principal ways in which those facts seem to the author to be significant.

Subjects new to the curriculum.

Under this first heading there fall the study of English Language, inextricably bound up with English Elocution; of English Literature; of Modern Languages; and of Modern History, with its allied topic, Political Theory.

Study of English Language and Elocution.

To anyone in the twentieth century it must seem inevitable that Protestantism, with its emphasis on preaching and on the use of the vernacular, should very early produce a demand for training of ministers in vernacular oratory. In some Protestant countries this demand seems to have been surprisingly long in coming to a head. But it is not to be wondered at that one of the earliest departures from tradition to be made by dissenting tutors was in this matter. Already in 1663 the Reyners (2,12) were stressing the importance to the minister of English elocution, and John Woodhouse (2,30) and Charles Morton (2,31) were amongst tutors who, well before 1700, were putting such ideas into effect, by including some form or forms of English written or oral composition in their courses. Tutors of the early eighteenth century were fortified by Locke's emphasis on the desirability of training in self-expression in the vernacular (1). Those who are known to have given such matters prominence include Benion (3,5), Davisson (3,11), Oldfield (Reyner's pupil) (3,23), and John Jennings (3,21). Doddridge continued in the ways of the last-named in this and in other respects (4,2), and English composition, oral and written, had an established position in all later academies.

(1) Thoughts par.167, 172, 189.

An account has been given of the well-known textbook, the Speaker, produced by Enfield of Warrington (4,9).

One particular disguise under which Elocution appeared in several academies was Preaching Practice. It was systematized as part of his course for ministerial candidates by Doddridge (4,2). In various other academies it was a regular feature (3,14; 4,31), and in at least one of them it came to occupy an unduly large proportion of academical life (4,29).

There is no doubt that the Academies were pioneers in England of the serious study of English Composition and English Oratory; the lead given by Calvin in the sixteenth century (2) was followed in the seventeenth not by the English universities (3) but by the academies, who were in closer touch with the everyday needs of Protestant preachers. The subject hardly advanced beyond the corresponding purely utilitarian status in the curriculum; it did not succeed to the position vacated by the old Rhetoric, whether the latter were one constituent of the trivium or whether it occupied, as in the Platonic scheme, an outstanding position at a higher stage. So today the foothold in the universities of corresponding subjects is slight; Chairs of Elocution and Chairs of English Composition are not leading features of the modern academical scene.

(2) Dakin 133-4.

(3) Richardson 3.

English Literature.

If it is true, then, that the interest of the academies in elocution and composition has not led to the establishment of those subjects as important university departments, it is nevertheless by no means true that those interests have had no lasting effect on the curriculum. The indispensability (mentioned by Locke (4)) of examples of good English style in the teaching of English Composition was the principal factor in turning the attention of the academies to English Literature (5). It was then inevitable, in that age (6), that such tutors as Grove should find their own near-contemporary literature superior to anything in the classics (3,13). Half a century later Enfield(4,9) was sure that inability to read the classics was no bar to acquaintance with all the best kinds of literature, of which he provided specimens in English. To the value of a study of literature for the formation of the student's own style Enfield added an expression of a belief in the moral influence of good literature - a point of view which had been popularized by Rapin, whose book was read in some of the academies (Appendix A) (7).

(4) Thoughts s.188.

(5) The reason for the appearance in the seventeenth-century grammar schools of a parallel interest in English poetry (and versification) seems, however, to have been only the use of the latter as an introduction to corresponding topics in Latin and Greek (Watson, Schools 441-2, 448ff., 481-2).

(6) op. D. N. Smith; E. D. Jones.

(7) Willey Eighteenth Century 22.

The average dissenter's objection to drama, confirmed if not caused by the nature of the Restoration theatre, had no doubt some effect upon the content of the English literature syllabus in some Academies. Milton himself, author of *Comus* and of *Samson*, had yet condemned (before the Restoration) the participation of theological students in certain university dramatics (8). Nevertheless the earliest tutors - such as Henry (2,6) and Newcome (2,8) - had no objection at all to dramatics, and in John Jennings' Academy (3,21) Marlowe was performed by the pupils. This was one respect in which Doddridge did not follow Jennings (4,2), and later in the century even the unorthodox Warrington tutors could not stomach amateur dramatics (4,9). This did not prevent the study of Shakespeare from the point of view of style. Is it unduly fanciful to suggest that, as the academies may be credited with making the practical work of the laboratory the central feature of science teaching which it is today (5,7), so they must bear a share of the blame that the practical work of the stage is not a normal part of twentieth-century university schools of English Literature?

Modern Languages.

Another subject which, like English Literature, was valued by some tutors as an aid in the formation of English style, was the study of Modern Languages. In this case, however, English style was not the primary reason for the introduction of the new subject. The reason was much more purely utilitarian, being the desire to read French works. An early tutor who deplored his own inability in this matter was Henry (2,8). Amongst his contemporaries the tutor who is noted for the place given to Modern Languages - not French alone - is Morton (2,31). A further stimulus came from Holland, in whose universities French early obtained a firm foothold (3,2). In many academies, however, the principal interest remained the reading of French sermons, whether for the ideas they contained, for their mode of construction, or for their style. This was still the principal interest of Bogue, at the end of the eighteenth century (4,19). At least one tutor found that this end could be met by teaching French without reference to its pronunciation (3,21).

French was one of the earlier subjects to be regarded as an optional addition to the curriculum, and in some academies after the middle of the eighteenth century no provision

whatever was made for Modern Language study (4,5; 4,6; 4,12). One academy on the other hand - Warrington - included a native teacher of French on its staff (4,9). Connections of the academies with France were few (9) - necessarily so after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.

It can hardly be said that the academies, although pioneers in this field, gave so clear a lead here as in some other matters. They did no more than open the gate through which progress, under the impetus of improved communications and increased trade, was subsequently made to the present position in which (from 1951) no pupil may even enter an English university without having first achieved a definite standard in a language which is usually a modern one. The academies were far from any such conception of the cultural status of Modern Languages.

Modern History and Political Theory.

The last major addition to the curriculum by the academies was in a somewhat different class from those considered above. The subject of Modern History attracted seventeenth-century dissenters for at least three reasons. First, the record of the sufferings and ultimate successes of the Reformation Fathers was encouraging reading for their co-religionists who were living under a (continually decreasing) intensity of persecution. This point of view was early expressed by Henry (2,6). Secondly, the doctrinal and ecclesiological disputes of the previous generations were inextricably entangled with the general history of the times; and not only were those disputes, in one way or another, the sources of the beliefs which caused the dissenters to dissent, but also it happened to be the case that reverence for the church order and beliefs of the past (though primarily in the very distant past of the New Testament) was a feature of Presbyterian thought as against Anglican expediency (10). Third, the desire to be free from the at best vexatious restrictions imposed upon dissent from 1662 until after the middle of the nineteenth century - the "ambition of English Dissent to secularize its relations with the community" (11) - led inevitably to a desire to understand the background of those restrictions and to know

- (10) cp. Hooker: "Are we bound, while the world standeth, to put nothing into practice but only that which was at the very first?" Griffiths 14-15.
 (11) Lincoln 182.

of the nature and outcome of parallel situations overseas; this interest vied with theology for the primary place in dissenting thought (12), and the academies became "pioneers of religious and political freedom" (13). None of these three reasons for historical studies bore with as much weight upon conformists. Recent history was not, in fact, much valued in learned circles. Erasmus was probably typical in regarding it as an unnecessary contribution to the undesirable growth of nationalism (14), and in preferring to go to more ancient sources for the useful illustrations and oratorical embellishments which he believed history could provide (15). Nevertheless Perizonius (1651-1715) was lecturing on "Universal History" at Leyden at the end of the seventeenth century. His influence was felt in the academies, in particular through the use of his lectures by Jones of Tweekesbury (3,8). But it is clear that the introduction of modern history into the curriculum in some academies predated any external influence such as that of Perizonius (16). Tallents issued his Tables in 1681 (2,29), and they were immediately welcomed by Henry (2,6). The specific study of political theory appeared amongst the earlier tutors particularly (17)

(12) Gordon Heads 35.

(13) Hans 163.

(14) Woodward 64.

(15) Woodward 144.

(16) op. Griffiths 35.

(17) op. 2,16 (Payne); 2,29 (Tallents).

in Charles Morton's textbook (2,31); whilst want of loyalty was a customary charge against the academies, from Samuel Wesley (18) onwards, and was doubtless frequently justified to the extent of a naturally critical attitude towards a not entirely friendly regime.

While the gaze of the academies was thus attracted to, and then fixed on, recent secular history, two factors contributed to the growth of a comparative neglect of ecclesiastical history. This subject is bound to be largely concerned with doctrinal differences, the history of which accorded well neither with the extreme individualism of much of eighteenth-century dissent nor with the widespread intention to use the Scriptures alone as a source of doctrine (19).

The interest of the academies in Modern History, however, gathered strength with the passage of time. Locke added his influence by writing that "as nothing teaches, so nothing delights, more than history" (20). Doddridge found in the subject illustrations of the providence of God (4,2). But the second great contribution of the academies to the place of Modern History in the curriculum - second, that is, to its actual introduction as a subject - was the work of Priestley in evolving and putting into practice a detailed syllabus in which the function of history as a possible central subject in a wide

(18) Defense (1704) passim.

(19) Colligan 68-9; McLachlan Unitarian Movement 90, 232.

(20) Thoughts 184.

curriculum was exhibited. Priestley's course has been considered above (4,8; 4,32). To it was linked, in the true tradition of the academies, a course on the English Constitution. Throughout Priestley's work on these topics runs a continuous effort to build up an integrated picture. It was the age of Gibbon and Hume, and it would be wrong to ascribe to the academies the main share of credit for producing the subject which is today known as History; Hume in 1770 said "I believe this is the historical age" (21). Nevertheless it would be equally wrong not to notice two things. First, that the view of Modern History as a subject with a wholeness and with a purpose was one which had developed very largely inside the academies and the dissenting denominations when there was no sign of any realization of it in the universities. And, second, that to Priestley belongs the credit of first actualizing the modern approach to history in the educational field.

It is somewhat surprising to find Tawney writing

The distinctive note of Puritan Teaching was ... individual responsibility, not social obligation. Training its pupils to the mastery of others through the mastery of self, it prized as a crown of glory the qualities which arm the spiritual athlete for his solitary contest with a hostile world and dismissed concern

(21) Elton II 270 ff.

with the social order as the prop of weaklings and the Capua of the soul (22). In so far as this remark is intended to refer to the academies it would seem to need some qualification. "Concern with the social order" nowadays includes such questions as factory legislation, health insurance and popular education. This, certainly, was noticeably absent from Puritan and Dissenting thought. But where was it found in contemporary Anglicanism or Romanism? As a matter of fact, a surprisingly large proportion of the small list of exceptions to the general apathy is attributable to Puritanism and dissent in general, and to the academies in particular. It was inevitable that this should be so. Speaking of works such as Flevel's Navigation Spiritualized and Husbandry Spiritualized (2,27), Tawney says "If one may judge by their titles ... there must have been a considerable demand for books conducive to professional edification" (23). It is easy to overlook that the "professional edification" consisted in giving "every detail of life ... a potential religious significance", a process which extended far enough to produce a "real concern for and care of society" (24). Thus Calvin interested himself in sanitation (25); English dissenters were active in founding and supporting charity schools; Doddridge was amongst the original

(22) Tawney Religion and the Rise 243.

(23) ibid. 219.

(24) Dakin 222, 238.

(25) ibid. 149.

supporters of ^{the} Northampton General Hospital, and the initiation of prison reform movements was due to Howard, a pupil of an academy. And, in the broader field of political interests, dissenters were by no means backward in their academical studies, and were, in consequence, at times liable to become surprisingly vocal and active on particular issues. Thus Doddridge acted as recruiting agent in the suppression of the '45; Dissenters led in movements for parliamentary reform (26); and the orthodox Bogue (4,19) (27), as well as Priestley and the Hackney College community (4,10) expressed far too freely their enthusiasm for the French Revolution. So long as men like Morton, Doddridge and Priestley (whose colleague Wakefield complained of the general absorption in "political disquisitions" and scientific research (28)) had a hand in the higher education of the dissenters, there was no danger that the latter would fall behind the man-in-the-street in awareness of the current problems and concerns of the community, whatever might be their and the community's blindness to the specific social evils whose unchecked continuance is presumably the origin of Tawney's comment.

A major misfortune may be connected with a fact mentioned above. The misfortune is that

(26) Lincoln 47.

(27) London Missionary Society Chronicle 1945, 130.

(28) in 1781, quoted in Stephen I 379.

the combination of Modern History with Political Theory which had so long persisted in the academies has not, even now, found its way into much of the History teaching in universities and sixth-forms. How great a misfortune this is, has only recently become apparent. A democracy whose most highly educated citizens are systematically not permitted to study history in combination with current politics is of necessity somewhat insecurely based. The justification for this state of affairs, this deliberate truncation of historical studies, is to be found in a very reasonable desire to avoid just those results which were seen most blatantly when Priestley, on whom rested the responsibility for the development and transmission of the Historical traditions of the academies, achieved notoriety as the tutor and leader of the Hackney College enthusiasts for the French Revolution. Thus the academies' combination of History and Political Studies, already suspect since the championship of American freedom by Evans of Bristol (4,26), was judged to be an undesirable thing, unsuitable for imitation in either the new or the old universities. Bogue might still believe at the beginning of the nineteenth century that history is studied for "knowledge of man" and "lessons of moral and political wisdom" (4,19). Priestley's work had ensured, first, that history would be studied on these lines, but, second that the word "political" would for long be in very small type.

At the same time, Priestley's concentration on the political aspects of history is perhaps partly to blame for the virtual exclusion from subsequent school and university syllabuses, until recent years, of scientific and literary matters, the former of which had, for instance, featured in Tallent's Tables (2,29). Thus the scale of values implied in history teaching has been one in which the activities of politicians and military experts have eclipsed those of authors, painters and inventors. Under the unfortunate influence of a revulsion from only the contemporaneity of Priestley's political bias, History teaching has inculcated a reverence for political power without any reference to the student's current duties and opportunities in relation to it.

(II) The Impact of the Academies on Traditional

Subjects:

It was not only by the introduction of new studies that the academies departed from the traditional curriculum. Every constituent of the latter underwent considerable changes of content and of viewpoint between the Restoration and the end of the eighteenth century, and in the inception of these changes the academies took a prominent part. The next few sections deal with this aspect of the work of the academies, the subjects considered being Natural Science, Mathematics, Ethics, Biblical Study and Theology, the Classical Languages and Hebrew, Shorthand, and Music (5,7-5,12).

Natural Science.

The academies made, broadly speaking, three contributions to the subject or group of subjects distinguished as Natural Philosophy or Natural Science. The first was in the method of treating the subject in the classroom, where the academies were pioneers in England in the use of that experimental approach which has remained a central feature of science teaching. The second contribution of the academies was in their approach to the subject - the reasons for including it in the curriculum, and the resultant manner of constructing and orienting the syllabus. Here the lead given by the academies has not been followed, as will be noticed below. The third feature of Natural Science teaching in the academies was its uptodateness; the identical intention to include references to the most recent researches is almost universal amongst present-day science teachers. Here the outlook of the academies has triumphed. Each of these three matters will now be mentioned in rather more detail.

The earliest academies came into existence after the work of Bacon, of Gassendi and of Descartes had, in various ways, laid the foundation for the experimental approach to natural philosophy (29), and shortly before Newton displayed the outlines of the manner in which Natural Science was to be built on those foundations. The time was therefore ripe for a supersession of the Aristotelian approach, in which on the whole

(29) Whetham 137 ff.

truth was sought more in human conceptions of what ought to be rather than in human experience of what is. Presbyterian caution and respect for tradition caused the beginnings of English scientific experimentalism to lie in the hands of non-Calvinists (30), but emphasis on individual experience as fundamental in the religious sphere (31) combined with the frequent identification of Aristotelianism with Romanism to reverse this situation, so that Dissenters took more than their proportionate share in the development of the experimental approach to natural science. Amongst the earliest tutors were at least two who included practical scientific work in their course. They were Woodhouse and Morton (2,30; 2,31). Neither of these two men had any experience of any university in which similar work was being done; their activities must therefore be regarded as an original contribution. In the next generation of tutors were a number of men with experience of the experimental outlook of the universities of the Netherlands (3,2). This was undoubtedly a factor in ensuring the continuance of the methods of Woodhouse and Morton in the academies. It has been remarked above that the corresponding influence from Scottish universities impinged on the academies at a later date, and is of correspondingly less importance (3,2). An influential tutor whose approach was radically experimental ("we do little

(30) Griffiths 13-14.

(31) ibid. 53.

more than make the experiments, with a short account of the purposes they are intended to explain" (32)) was Doddridge of Northampton (4,2). Thus both through the originality of some tutors and through the influence of foreign universities, the academies were the principal agents in establishing the modern teaching-method of Natural Science.

Turning now to the general attitude to the subject, there can, naturally, be found amongst the tutors representatives of almost every shade of contemporary opinion. There were those who had little or no use for Natural Science (4,19), but they were exceptional, at any rate after the earliest days. Those who gave reasons for studying the subject included in several cases its utility as a sharpener of the mental faculties (3,23; 4,16; 4,19; 4,26) - an argument which has been used at some time in the defence of every subject's place in the curriculum. Another secondary reason mentioned by a few tutors was that a knowledge of Natural Science was an essential part of the equipment of a cultured person (4,2). But the striking feature of the arguments used by tutors in favour of the study of Natural Science is the rarity with which the utility of the subject was mentioned, and the constancy with which its use as leading to an appreciation of the presence of order and design in the universe was emphasized.

For convenience the latter has been referred to as the "teleological" use of the subject (e.g. 3,4; 4,2; 4,26; 4,31). Calvin did not regard the natural world as intended primarily for man's use (33); rather, all things were created with the one object of teaching men to know the Creator (34). The education of the academies correspondingly had - however diverse the fields it entered - "but one centre, one single essence: the knowledge of God as manifested in the world" (35). This outlook was close to that of such writers as Bentley and Clark (36), but the emphasis was preëminently that of the Cambridge Platonists (2,17). Their most outstanding modern disciple has written of "a purposiveness running through all nature, sleeping in the stone, dreaming in the flower, and partially awake and conscious in man, a single purpose which points to a God who is both immanent and transcendent" (37). The persistence of this view in the academies is perhaps a tribute to the influence of the Platonists, which thus triumphed over the utilitarian outlook of the Royal Society (38), despite the close connections of several tutors - including one, Eames (3,12) whose influence on the academies' science teaching was considerable (3,13; 3,14) - with the latter body. The Platonist outlook found expression, as already remarked, (2,17), in Ray's

(33) Scholes Puritans and Music 335.

(34) Dakin 220.

(35) Lincoln 77.

(36) Whetham 188-9.

(37) W.R. Inge, in Science ... (ed. Needham), 367.

(38) Carre 270, 274.

book, which became a standard textbook in many academies (Appendix A) including some in the late eighteenth century (4,31). Priestley foreshadowed the present-day outlook when he departed from the view of his fellow tutors and mentioned the practical applications of science in justification of its study (4,8). This is the universal viewpoint today, when students are frequently asked for industrial applications of scientific facts, but rarely for an account of the value of such facts in demonstrating cosmic order and design. The latter is a matter of tacit assumption, frequently unconscious, by the majority of present-day Science students. There is, however, a growing demand that Science shall be taught in such ways "that its social results and its relationship to the development of human thought are made clear" (39). This would necessarily involve a somewhat deeper approach than is now common, approximating more to that of the academies. How did it come about that the viewpoint of the academies was here so completely lost? Two factors may be suggested. First, the general current of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was strongly set in the direction of practical utility, particularly the utilization of natural science (40). But the tradition of the academies might have been able to stand against this had it not been so strongly allied with the

(39) James Content 46.

(40) Dobbs 4.

specific dissenting theology. It is possible to see evidence of order and design in the natural world without necessarily accepting any of the variants of calvinistically necessarian theology which the academies taught; but it was not possible to make this distinction on a basis of Ray's textbook or of the kind of treatment which Science received in any of the academies.

In another direction, however, the academies gave an emphasis to the study of Natural Science which it has not lost. They insisted on being up to date. The latest publications of the Royal Society were used by tutors who were often only too willing to be interested in anything apparently scientific. The dangers of such willingness have been mentioned in one or two specific instances, notably those of the Fluddism of More the Platonist (2,17) and the credulity of Charles Owen (3,4). To these may be added the study of astrology in some academies, and perhaps the addiction of Priestley to the phlogiston theory of combustion which his own researches were about to be the means of disproving. Such a concern to be abreast of contemporary developments was, however, in striking contrast to the obliviousness of the ancient universities to most of the great changes which were occurring under their noses, and is today an intended feature of most teaching of Natural Science in English universities and sixth-forms.

Mathematics.

Mathematics was a traditional subject of the university curriculum and continued to receive at least lip-service at Oxford, and more at Cambridge, throughout even the most lethargic periods of the eighteenth century. But several academy tutors had considerable doubts as to its suitability for study, or at least felt that it was liable to occupy a far larger place in the curriculum than its value justified. An early tutor to express such views was Flavell (2,27). At the end of the seventeenth century Jollie banished mathematics from his curriculum (3,20). His pupil's pupil, Doddridge, included it, but warned against wasting time on a subject of such small value (4,2). The Baptist Stennett omitted it from his otherwise broad curriculum (4,25). John Wesley, outside the line of typical tutors, had himself given up the study of mathematics to devote himself to matters more worth while (4,28). John Newton thought the subject tended to atheism (4,31). At the end of the eighteenth century, Bogue had only very half-hearted things to say in favour of the study of mathematics by his ministerial candidates (4,19). This varied evidence makes it a remarkable fact that mathematics was, in fact, taught in practically all academies. Its omission from the curricula of the theological training colleges of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries which represent continuations

of the academies, can occasion no surprise. The more surprising fact that mathematics did continue as a subject of the academies' curriculum in most cases is perhaps to be traced partly to the influence of Milton and Locke. The former condemned mathematics as a part of the professional training for the minister (41) but included it as part of the general education outlined in the Tractate (42). Locke strongly recommended some mathematics for all students:

I have mentioned mathematics as a way to settle in the mind a habit of reasoning closely and in train; not that I think it necessary that all men should be deep mathematicians, but that, having got the way of reasoning, which that study necessarily brings the mind to, they might be able to transfer it to other parts of knowledge as they shall have occasion I think the study of them /mathematics/ is of infinite use, even to grown men; first, by experimentally convincing them that to make any one reason well it is not enough to have parts wherewith he is satisfied and that serve him well enough in his ordinary course. A man in those studies will see, that however good he may think his understanding, yet in many things, and those very visible,

(41) Considerations touching the Likeliest Means ..
in Prose Works III 38.

(42) Tractate in Prose Works III 470.

it may fail him ... There is a no less useful habit to be got by an application to mathematical demonstrations, and that is, of using the mind to a long train of consequences ... (43).

Of these two writers it may be said that Milton was certainly held in high esteem by many tutors for his poetry, but there is little evidence of the extent to which his prose works were read. On the other hand, Locke's writings were frequently studied in the academies, and this fact no doubt accounts for the unanimity of tutors on the justification for the inclusion of mathematics in the curriculum, which is always its value as mental exercise, coupled occasionally with its usefulness in Natural Science (4,32). Whilst the former of these two considerations is now sometimes challenged, the latter ensures the continuance of a place for mathematics in higher education.

The mathematics attempted by the academies was usually of a restricted character, although considerably broader than the Oxford course in parts of the eighteenth century. A number of academies did, however, include the study of conics (which do not form part of the 1951 ordinary syllabuses for the General Certificate of Education), and occasionally there is mention of fluxions (i.e. the calculus). Insurance mathematics was on the list for study at Hackney, but

the tutor, Price, seems to have been too old to get the course going (4,8). The algebraic methods of Descartes, which corresponded to the mathematical formulations of other subjects beloved of some tutors (3,21; 4,2), were taught in some academies. Thus the whole picture of the mathematics syllabus of the later academies consists of a restricted standard in most places but very few higher branches which were not attempted in at least one academy.

Ethics.

An excellent example of the impossibility of generalizing about the academies is provided by the position and treatment of moral science or ethics in the curriculum. At least three of the four types of ethical theory current in the latter part of the seventeenth century (1,4) are found amongst the tutors of that period. The calvinistic belief in a moral law which takes its origin in an arbitrary divine decree and can be neither known nor obeyed except by supernatural grace, is found for example in Doolittle (2,10) and Chauncy (3,12). The second point of view was that of the Cambridge Platonists, who were able to find, in man's conscience and his rational understanding of his membership of a community, a sufficient guide to a divinely decreed Natural Law; they were followed - often with some modification - by Cradock (2,18), Oldfield (3,23) and (at the end of the eighteenth century) Price (4,11). It is - perhaps not altogether surprisingly - difficult to find a dissenting tutor whose views are near those of Hobbes and Spinoza. But the fourth position, that of Cumberland and Puffendorf, who deduced moral principles from a rational consideration of nature (including the necessities of community life), but believed that their enforcement was a matter for artificial pressures (internal by the will or external by political means), accorded well with Locke (44) and was

at least as popular in the academies as outside. Under Warren students had the books of this school put into their hands (2,24); Warren's pupil, Grove, developed the theory into a published system in which he substitutes for the political sanctions those of a future life(3,13); whilst his pupil, Amory, by emphasizing the rôle of Reason in producing right conduct, came a little nearer to the Platonist position (3,14). Others of the Cumberland-Puffendorf school tended in the same way to move to a similar intermediate position; amongst tutors this group included Latham (3,7) and John Jennings (3,21).

It would be true to say for most of these tutors that Ethics was one subject of a curriculum whose root was Theology. Now, however, with John Jennings, a new complication appeared. For him, and more significantly, for his influential pupil Doddridge (4,2), Ethics changed its status and became the principal item in a course of Christian Evidences which formed the basis of Theology and the centre-piece of the curriculum. The existence even amongst the heathen of an innate sense of Natural Law (and, following the Platonists rather than Cumberland and Puffendorf, an innate sense of obligation to obey that Law) became, for Jennings and Doddridge and their many followers, a stronger argument for the existence of a benevolent deity than anything discoverable from Natural Science. At the same

time, the inadequacy of pagan standards showed the truly Divine character of the Christian revelation. This double use of Ethics as a theological base became the standard framework of the curriculum in most academies - many tutors, as has been noted, using Doddridge's published lectures (45), as textbook for their own courses, and departing very little from it. These followers of Doddridge included not only those in succession to him in his own academy, occupying a position between orthodoxy and unitarianism (4,5; 4,6), but also Kippis (4,11; 4,16) and other unitarians, and the Baptists Evans at Bristol (4,26). Where these tutors were dealing with non-ministerial candidates the latter were, in most cases, also taking the earlier part of the theological course, including the Ethics. Thus the bid of Ethics to become the central subject of the curriculum was both widespread and sustained.

But it did not succeed. Ethics retired to the periphery of the curriculum under the combined onslaught of two very different forces - Priestley and Methodism. Priestley's indebtedness to Hartley has been mentioned (4,8). The association psychology of the latter leads to an account of ethics in which the appreciation of Natural Law observed in the hearts of all men, heathen or other, is accounted for on grounds

(45) Works IV & V.

which do not necessarily lead to any particular picture of a Creator. Moreover, right moral standards are a product of well-informed quick-wittedness, and are therefore produced by general education. Thus for Priestley the study of ethics was an unnecessary encumbrance of a curriculum in which various "useful" subjects had a much greater right to the limited available space. For the Methodists, on the other hand, arguments of so complicated a character leading to an at best vague picture of the Deity were anathema. God's existence was to be accepted by faith; to attempt to prove it, or to investigate too closely his nature, was near sacrilege. The right conduct of the individual was achieved by close study of the Bible and mystical union with God. Thus moral sciences found no place in the curriculum at Newport Pagnell (4,31). The consequence of this double rejection was a disappearance of moral science from all except very specialized curricula. Any attempt at re-instatement of some kind of ethics as, say, a part of an arts degree or higher certificate course, or "to ask what teaching about the nature of man and his duty ought to be imparted in schools" (46) would meet today with the difficulties raised by the continued existence of modern variants of the very diverse viewpoints found in the academies.

Biblical study and Theology.

The theological standpoints of tutors and methods of study of the Bible seem at first glance to display as wide a variety as has been shown in the field of ethics. But this is, in one respect at least, a superficial judgment. The early tutors were all Calvinists, at any rate in the sense that they were not Papists, they were not Anglicans, and they were not Lutherans. Despite the controversies which sprang up at the end of the seventeenth century as a result of fears of the Scylla of Pelagianism on the one hand and the Charybdis of Antinomianism on the other, there is no early tutor whose view of human nature was at all far removed from that of Calvinistic total depravity. This had a profound effect upon the educational activities of the tutors, as well as upon their more strictly ecclesiastical concerns. A remark such as that "The most powerful and valuable contribution of Calvin to democracy was not his theology, but the organisation of his Church" (47) overlooks the inescapable dependence of the latter upon the former. The origin of ecclesiastical democracy is to be found in the belief of Calvin and his followers in a human depravity so general that no man, however well qualified, however carefully selected, however completely set apart from worldly snares and brought into contact with every conceivable channel of

(47)Hans 151-2.

divine influence, is fit to wield absolute power. Hence on the one hand the presbyterian organization, with a carefully organized machinery of church courts checking each other and preventing any concentration of power; and, on the other hand, the alternative congregationalist solution by the abolition of all ecclesiastical power superior to that of the single congregation. A realization of the nature of the connection between Calvinistic theology and Church organization makes clear the importance of the theology as a factor in the life of the academies. Presbyterian and Congregationalist (including Particular Baptist) shared with each other, but with no other major group, a view of human nature incompatible, ultimately, with dogmatism. The failures of some major groups of Calvinists to recognize it do not alter the fact that

the central principle of Calvinism encourages freedom of thought; if it humbles man under the mighty hand of God, it at the same time lifts him up, sets him on his feet, liberates him from all fear of human judgment, quickens and sharpens to the uttermost his sense of responsibility to God alone, emboldens him to acknowledge and renounce whatever draws him off from his supreme allegiance ... Let any young Calvinist, ... for example come to realise the presuppositions of his creed ... and

would he not see that they not merely
furnished him with a warrant for free
inquiry within the limits of Scripture,

but even demanded it of him as a duty? (48).

This anti-dogmatic principle shows itself throughout the history of the academies both in the changing theologies of the tutors and in the methods of studying the scriptures.

Despite the controversy associated particularly with the names of Crisp and Williams during the final decade of the seventeenth century, there were few tutors or other dissenters who strayed far from the Calvinistic path until many years later. The Halletts of Exeter (3,15), John Moore the younger of Bridgwater (2,25), Smith of Mixenden (Appendix C) and Amory of Taunton (3,14) were amongst those tutors who departed from Calvinism during the first half of the eighteenth century. But the restricted nature of these and other departures is seen in the outlook of Priestley (4,8) and other unitarian tutors (4,9-4,13) who, towards the end of the century, had moved very far from Calvin in many things, but still preserved his beliefs in the impossibility of finality in human knowledge and (usually) in a considerable measure of determinism. Thus the extremely different emphases of orthodox and unorthodox dissenters at this time concealed certain similarities of outlook of a potent character in the educational field.

This fact is nowhere better illustrated than in the methods of studying the Scriptures adopted by various tutors. Allegorical rather than literal interpretation was exceptional (2,17; 4,26). In early days there was a tendency to study one "system" such as that of Ames or that of Marck. But the idea that Scripture must be allowed to speak for itself, rather than be tied down by the commentaries of fallible men, was the Calvinist norm, and the "self-interpreting scripture" approach is found in academies of all types and of all dates (2,10; 2,18; 2,24; 3,5; 3,8; 4,24). At the end of the eighteenth century, for instance, it reappears simultaneously at Newport Pagnell in an atmosphere blended of orthodoxy and methodism (4,31), and at Exeter amongst unitarians (4,13). By this time, however, the influence of Doddridge (4,2) had born fruit. Many tutors were using his textbook or his method, giving students both sides of every question. Although usually credited to Doddridge, this method actually goes back to Grove (3,14) and to Kerr (3,3). And those tutors who did not intend to follow the Doddridge method were in fact not so far removed from it as they supposed, when they put (4,19; 4,25) into the hands of their pupils a selection of commentaries by eminent men whose differences from each other did not, perhaps, seem likely to lead to unorthodoxy, but which yet could not fail to induce in the readers that critical and comparative attitude which was typical of the academies.

It would be claiming too much for the academies to suggest that the critical and comparative outlook which is established in such matters in English higher education today is to be traced entirely to dissenting influence. The academies here, as elsewhere, were merely representing the more advanced thought of their age. But it must be noticed that as late as 1793 the students of Cambridge University were advised by the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Milner, to steer clear of religious speculations or controversies (49). In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the broader outlook which was that of the academies became universal.

A separate matter which falls to be mentioned under the heading of Theology and Biblical Studies is the provision which was, not unnaturally, made for their study in the academies by non-theological students. The latter were often expected to omit some parts of the course designed for their ministerial fellow pupils, but those parts did not usually include the basic theology of the course. Locke had said that theology is "every man's duty" (50), and its inclusion was not unreasonable where the theology - in the case of the Doddridge school resting upon its foundation of ethics and evidences - was regarded as the central item of the curriculum, whose content

(49) Priestley Works I(2) 204.

(50) Conduct s.23.

formed the presuppositions and *raison-d'être* of every other subject. It followed that the educated dissenter was invariably well up in theology - a fact which contributed not a little to the continuance of the dissenting interest in the difficult climate of the eighteenth century. Nineteenth century higher education modelled itself, however, upon Oxford and Cambridge, where the omission of theological elements from the normal course was noticed by Priestley in 1790 (51). In the twentieth century it has been found desirable to institute theology as a possible school in general arts courses at certain English universities, thus restoring the possibility of a layman's course more like that provided in the academies.

The Classics and the Classical Languages.

Consideration of Biblical Studies in the academies leads naturally to the matter of the position of the Biblical Languages, Hebrew and Greek. These were almost universally studied, and were often the first subjects to be mentioned by any tutor discussing the curriculum for ministerial students. This was particularly the case amongst the Baptists (4,22-4,27). The omission of Hebrew from the specific requirements of the United Brethren of Devon and Cornwall did not, apparently, occasion any general neglect by tutors. The extent to which Hebrew was studied by non-ministerial pupils is difficult to gauge (2,30). The Renaissance had occasioned a general revival of interest in Hebrew, and those who - as many dissenters did - felt that Gale's hypothesis of the Hebrew source of all wisdom (2,19) might have something in it, naturally regarded Hebrew as a subject fundamental to all linguistic studies. Several tutors were (as mentioned in loc.) reputed experts in oriental languages, of which Syriac, Chaldee and Arabic, at least, were claimed as useful acquirements for the minister (52). Some of the earlier academies were centres of enthusiasm for such studies at a time when the latter were generally at a low ebb.

Greek was even more necessary for the minister than Hebrew, being the language of the New Testament and of a valuable instrument of Old Testament

criticism, the Septuagint.

Classical literature as such maintained a place in the academies which must seem, to one brought up to regard any move against it as of very modern origin, surprisingly precarious. Its value was stated to reside in at least four considerations - first, as material for mental exercise; second, as an influence for good on English style; third, as providing examples of the feebleness of human reason as evinced in the poor efforts after truth of the best pagan minds; and fourth (to the contrary) as showing the existence of God's providence and the existence of his inspiration even amongst the heathen (2,29; 4,2; 4,8; 4,16; 4,21). Thus tutors wishing to have a reason for including the classics in their course could take their choice. There was also the strong influence of the Platonists (2,17), under whose guidance "Divinity ... no longer disdained to replenish her oil and revive her flame from the lamp of Athenian philosophy" (53); their followers agreed with Locke (54) in finding more than enough truth in classical writers to justify their study for the sake of that truth alone. On the other hand, there was widespread distrust of the classics as an instrument of education (55). Not only were the morals of the classical authors frequently unsatisfactory, but also they inculcated human

(53) Martineau 16.

(54) Thoughts s.94.

(55) Adamson Pioneers; Whitley Contribution 11.

perfectionist ideas totally opposed to Protestant theology (56). Plato had himself suggested that the former objection should be met by Bowdlerization, and his advice was followed by some tutors statedly, and probably by others who did not record their care in this respect (57). By such methods the classics were retained in the curriculum.

Bound up with the study of the classics is the question of the place given to Latin. In the earlier academies it was the teaching medium, with one or two striking exceptions (2,32). At the end of the eighteenth century it was still possible to find a tutor with whom his pupils read their ecclesiastical history in Latin (4,31). But long before that time the increasing recognition of the importance of spoken English to the educated man, together with the increasing availability of important matter in English textbooks, had led to the adoption of English as the common language of most academies. It has been shown (4,2) that Doddridge's importance in this respect lies not in the early date of his innovation, since he was forestalled by several other tutors (2,32), but in the great weight of his influence on subsequent practice. The suggestion (58) that the Schism Act of 1714, which forbade dissenters to keep schools in which Latin was taught, had any marked influence on the decrease in the use of Latin by the academies, seems to have little foundation.

(56)Watts Improvement II 37; Woodward Erasmus 41.

(57)Body 62-65; Brubacher 321.

(58)James Content 24.

Tutors did continue to teach Latin, but in some cases were very explicit that they did so solely because of the importance of works as yet not available in translation (4,16; 4,21). This broad hint that Latin might be dropped from the curriculum as translation proceeded was not followed up in the nineteenth century. It has recently been suggested that the very fact that the academies seemed to undervalue Latin and the Classics generally may have served to "associate the classics ever more firmly with preparation for the life of a gentleman" (59).

It has been remarked that it would seem that the displacement of Latin as teaching medium is a matter in which the lead given by the academies was absolute, owing little to any example from foreign universities (3,2; 3,24). A concomitant of the disuse of Latin was the disappearance of the Latin disputation whose preparation and performance occupied so large a place in university life for several centuries. Efforts to retain the exercise but carry it through in English did not have any lasting effect (3,7). Adoption of some modern variant of the practice which served the universities and earlier academies well, might go some way to counteract the present-day tendency to make the granting of a degree dependent upon nothing more than the possession of a certain quantity of not necessarily digested factual information.

Other subjects.

Remarks on other subjects which crop up in a small way in the curriculum have been made at the appropriate points in the preceding chapters. Here may be mentioned Shorthand and Music.

Shorthand attained during the seventeenth century to a universality unprecedented and probably unsurpassed. The necessity for notes on important sermons heard by laymen whose spiritual vocation included a large slice of apologetical work amongst their acquaintance of opposite ecclesiastical persuasions led to the invention, learning and use of various systems of shorthand (60). One or other of these would be found in the curriculum of a grammar school in the latter part of the century (61), and the pupils of the earlier academies used shorthand extensively. Rich's system, invented in 1659, was used (with improvements) by Doddridge, and was therefore popular in the later academies (62).

The presence of Shorthand in curricula of a utilitarian age occasions no surprise. A subject at the other end of the scale of utility value is Music. Nowhere does the latter appear as a serious study, either from a practical or from a theoretical point of view. Calvin's educational system had given a large place to psalm-singing (63), but in neglecting Music the

(60) Hart Sharp 319.

(61) ibid. 46.

(62) Gordon Addresses 216.

(63) Dakin 143.

academies were continuing the practice of the English universities from medieval times, and following the advice of Locke (64). Nevertheless there are several references in the preceding chapters which show that music was not entirely neglected by tutors, and that it did find a place in several academies - including, no doubt, some where there is no record of it - either as an activity connected with divine worship, or as a relaxation (2,8; 2,30; 3,7; 3,21; 4,8; 4,9; 4,10).

(64) Thoughts s.197.

Teaching methods.

In addition to taking a leading part in changes affecting the positions of various subjects in the curriculum, the academies were the scene of marked developments of teaching method. It is a common trait of educational innovators to suppose that their improvements in technique will make possible a considerable enlargement of the curriculum without any increase of time or effort (65). Comenius, Milton and Locke all display this characteristic (66). Perhaps they had more than usual justification for their confidence. Certainly their high hopes are echoed by men conversant with the work of the academies and speaking in terms of practical possibilities. Defoe's enthusiasm for instruction in the vernacular of the type given by Morton has been mentioned (2,30), as also John Wesley's belief that his Kingswood course would achieve more in less time than the methods of Oxford (4,28). Another indication that the academies did in fact appear to have discovered ways of covering a great deal of ground rapidly is afforded by the Baptist William Carey, who wrote in 1792:

It is well known to require no very extraordinary talents to learn, in the space of a year, or two at most, the language of any people upon earth, so

(65)e.g. Gasset (1946) 69; Rollin (1726) II 133.

(66)Locke Conduct s.19; Milton Tractate in Works III 465.

much of it at least, as to be able to convey any sentiments we wish to their understandings (67).

At the same time, there were those who expressed dissatisfaction with the superficiality produced by the cramming methods of the academies, and this criticism has been upheld by some modern writers. (68). Later academy tutors who expressed similar dissatisfaction included Wakefield (4,9; 4,11), Belsham (4,6; 4,11), Enfield (4,9) and Kippis (4,11; 4,16) (69), with experience of four different academies. No doubt their criticisms were to some extent of general applicability, but the information which has been given in Chapter 4 has made clear that the evils of too wide a curriculum and consequently too superficial a treatment must have been at their worst in the unitarian academies, where the principal experience of all four men lay.

Turning now to the method itself which was to make, and did make, a broader curriculum possible, it would seem to have consisted mainly of three principal constituents, to which must be added a fourth consideration which is hardly a question of method. The three ways in which the academies departed from standard university methods were sufficiently radical. First, some tutors of the earliest academies gave up the traditional lecture course consisting of comment

(67) Enquiry 74-75.

(68) Cong. Q. XXVI 299; Drysdale 494.

(69) McLachlan 40; Lincoln 84.

on one standard text, and instead constructed their own courses to suit the special needs of themselves and their students (2,32); this became the normal academy practice, although here and there is found a throw-back to the older way (4,16), and the use of Doddridge's course by some of the later tutors was hardly imaginative. Secondly, the tradition of free discussion in the academies contrasted with university practice - even, as remarked above (5,10), at the end of the eighteenth century. The right - and, moreover, the duty - of the student to go deeper where he is not convinced would today be regarded as a fundamental necessity of higher educational method. In the third place, the academies led the way in the introduction of the use of the vernacular for teaching purposes. It is doubtful whether these three innovations by themselves would have achieved results comparable with those claimed for the academies had they not been reinforced by an intense seriousness of outlook. Evidence of this is seen in the general tone of numerous quotations from tutors in the previous chapters, and in incidents such as the night vigils and the fervent prayings of Frankland's pupils (2,5). Such an attitude could not but be normal in days of persecution. Its subsequent evaporation and its complete absence from Warrington and Hackney had as much as anything else to do with the failure of those institutions to achieve stability (4,9; 4,10).

In most academies the tutors shared with the majority of their pupils a conviction that "Spiritual truth ... was not unallied with knowledge" (70), and therefore that their activities were of the utmost importance. The pleasure many of them evidently derived from the studies of the academies was not the product of exceptional efforts to employ such methods as would make education an entertaining activity, but was the by-product of a determination to go all out for the acquisition and assimilation of certain blocks of knowledge. There may be a lesson here for some modern educationists.

Perhaps there should be added to the above remark as to the decline of seriousness observable in some of the later academies, particularly Warrington and Hackney, a reference to the place of examinations as determinants of the spirit as well as of the actual curriculum of the academies. The earlier academies all included a substantial proportion of students intending to enter the ministry, the objects of whose academy courses included the passing of ordination examinations of the type prescribed by the Westminster Assembly or (later) the United Brethren (2,23), and on the lines of those conducted by Frankland, of which some account has been given (2,5). The presence of such a fixed hurdle helped to standardize the content and level of courses in earlier times. Doddridge lamented the increasing formalization of

ordination examinations in his day, but seems to have had in mind principally the strictly theological portions of them (71). The Presbyterian Board found it necessary to reenact its examination rule (3,7) in 1746 (72), but the Exeter Assembly in 1753 resolved to discontinue its ordination examinations (73). By the end of the eighteenth century the anti-intellectual emphasis of the Methodist revival had completed the work of reducing the ordination examination to at most a necessary part of ordination formalities, whilst the increasing proportion of non-ministerial candidates in the Unitarian academies produced a further reduction in the waning importance of the standards which the ordination examinations supplied. It was not until the nineteenth century that the theological colleges into which the academies had developed discovered a method of restoring the stimulus of an external standard by instituting amongst themselves a joint qualification (the A.T.S.), and, following the example of Manchester Academy, which early (1840) affiliated to London University (74), in taking advantage of the facilities now offered by the Universities. The failings of the later eighteenth century academies are, from this point of view, an excellent example of the deleterious effect on higher educational institutions of the absence of a system - even so loose a system as that of the earlier ordination examinations - of external examinations.

(71)Humphreys IV 83.

(72)Jeremy 48-9.

(73)Murch 522-3.

(74)McLachlan Unitarian Movement 97.

Influence of the Academies.

On a basis of the actual record of the academies it is possible, on the one hand, to point to the number of directions in which they anticipated modern university and VI-form practice, and to claim for them the principal rôle in creating modern English higher education. Or, on the other hand, it may be pointed out that the academies were merely a little earlier in the field with developments which were bound to come, and would have come had there been no dissenting tutor whatever. No doubt the truth lies between these extremes, but at precisely what distance from each is difficult to estimate. In favour of a belief in the determining influence of the academies, there can be listed academy tutors and pupils who were influential in the initial stages of every one of the Redbrick universities (75); it is possible to point to specific instances of earlier influence, as in the advice sought and taken from Doddridge by Richard Newton in the drawing up of the statutes of Hertford College, Oxford (76), by Ayscough in his tutorship of the royal children (77), and by Warburton, who mentioned the high regard for Doddridge of two Cambridge dons of his acquaintance (78); a little less definitely, to the large output of periodical and other literature by those closely associated with the later academies, especially

(75) Roberts 8-9, 92; McLachlan Unitarian Movement 141-161.

(76) Doddridge (Humphreys) IV 304, 305, 308; (Stedman) LXXXVI (1744); Newton's course included English declamations (Wordsworth Scholae 89).

(77) Doddridge (Stedman) Letter CV; (Humphreys)

(78) Doddridge (Stedman) letters L, LVII (1740, 1741).

the unitarians (79), and to the details of the anglican Directions for Young Students in Divinity, with regard to those attainments, which are necessary to qualify them for Holy Orders, by Henry Owen, second edition 1773 (80), whose ideas look, mutatis mutandis, much like a description of an academy course; and, earlier, to the proposals (apparently not adopted) of Humphrey Bralesford in 1702 for postgraduate training of anglican clergy in small one-man academies (81). It has been suggested that the example of the academies was also important in connection with American higher education (82) and with the Scottish "Academies". For the contrary thesis it is possible to point to the several respects in which the fundamental ideas of the academies have failed to carry over into modern education; one example has been given above in the matter of the attitude to science (5,7). A more general view of the profound difference of outlook between the academies and most modern educationists may be observed by considering the remark of a modern writer:

... possible justification for including the study of a subject in our education ... we may seek ... under one of three broad heads. A study may convey information which is essential to the business of living; it may inculcate valuable skills; and thirdly, it may contribute to the spiritual development of the individual,

(79)McLachlan Unitarian Movement Part III.

(80)W. K. L. Clarke 23-4.

(81)Hart 34.

(82)Butts 377.

using the word 'spiritual' to include the satisfaction of the highest intellectual, moral, and aesthetic capacities (83).

The twentieth century may express interest in the third of these heads, but conducts all its discussions of the curriculum under the inspiration of the first. The academy tutors varied their primary concern with the second and third heads by references to the first. In so far as this analysis of the situation is accurate - and clearly the distinction is not so absolute as here suggested - the position is that we may appear to be doing things which the academies showed us how to do, but we are not doing them for the same reasons. Either we have our own reasons, or else we are unthinkingly following educational tradition. In either case - or if the above analysis is wrong in suggesting so large a distance between the academies and ourselves - it is essential to understand those facts concerning the curriculum in the academies and the factors determining it which are the subject of the preceding pages.

ORIGINAL ACCOUNTS OF ACADEMIES AND TEXTBOOK LISTS.

Below is given factual material concerning some of the Academies which illustrates statements made in the body of the Thesis. In the case of some Academies it is possible to give lists of textbooks used; in others there are available contemporary descriptions, in which, usually, references to textbooks play an important part. A complete study of books used in Academies would require a further thesis of considerable size; the descriptive notes below on books and authors are intended to help to relate to the discussion of the preceding pages, the information given here.

(2,4) Books listed by R. Tetlaw, pupil of Frankland,
as "books which we made use of at the University" (1):

Logic: Heereboorde,
Smiglecius (Aristotelian) 1658,
Govean,
Burgersdyck with Heereboord's Commentary
Windelius, (Cartesian),
Milton (presumably his textbook on Ramus (a)),
Ramus (a) with Downname's Commentary 1649.
Stalius,
Le Clerc Ars Cogitanda,
Burgersdyck in English.

Metaphysics: Frommenius,
Schebleier,
Barrow's Exercitationes,
Baronius, Ethica Christiana 1666,
Burgersdyck.

Physics: Rohault (Cartesian),
Clarke (b),
Suicer.

Ethics: Heereboorde (Cartesian),
More, probably Enchiridion Ethicum 1669 (c).

Theology: Windelius,
Ames Medulla & Christianae Catechesis (d),
Wollebius.

Philosophy: Colbert,
Eustache, c.1670.
Descartes.

Jurisprudence: Zouche, 1590-1661, of Oxford.

Hebrew: Bythner's Lyra Prophetica 1650.

(1) McLachlan 68, quoting Earwaker Lenes & Ches. Wills
180-191.

(a) the originator of anti-Aristotelian logic.

(b) presumably Clarke's translation⁽¹⁶⁹⁷⁾ of the Cartesian 1697-
Rohault; his English version of some of Newton did
not appear until later.

(c) Cambridge Platonist, now no longer Cartesian (2,17).

(d) English extreme calvinist who found Leyden from
1610 and Franeker (where he was Rector of the
University) from 1622 more congenial than
Cambridge (Mullinger II 410-1.).

(2.4) continued.

Astronomy: Cassendi (e).

Greek: Septuagint and New Testament.

Miscellaneous: Ames De Conscientia (d),

Tecnometry,

Legrand De Carentia sensus in brutis
1675.

Heereboorde Meletomata 1659,

Pneumatics,

Selectarum Disputationum.

(d) see previous page.

(e) Experimentalist 1592-1655, reintroduced the concept of absolute space, followed by Newton (Whittaker 75-77).

(2,30) List of textbooks used under Woodhouse at Sheriffhales (2):

Mathematics: Galtruchius,
Gassendi (a),
Gunter,
Leybourne,
Moxon, Mathematicks made easie 1679,
Euclid.

Natural Science: Descartes Principia,
De Stair,
Heerebord (Cartesian),
Magirus,
Rhegius Fundamenta Physices 1646
(Cartesian),
Rohault Traité de Physique 1671
(Cartesian).

Logic: Burgersdicius (b), with
Commentary thereon by Heerebord (Cartesian).
Sanderson Logicae Artis Compendium 1618.
Wallis,
Ramus (the original anti-Aristotelian, 1543).
Downem (Cambridge Ramist) 1649.

Rhetoric: Quintilian.
Radeau,
Vossius (c).

Metaphysics: Baronius,
Bacchaeus,
Frommenius,
Blank, Theses.
Ward, Determinationes, Davenant's edition.

Ethics: Eustachius,
Heerebord (traditional standpoint).
More (1632-94) Enchiridion Ethicum, 1667/9 (d),
Whitby.

Geography: Eachard, Compendium of Geography 1691.

History: Puffendorf (1632-94); Introduction to History.

Anatomy: Gibson: Anatomy of Human Bodies 1682,
Blancard: Anatomia Reformata,
Bartholine.

Hebrew: Bythner Grammar and Lyra Prophetica 1650.

(2) Toulmin 227-230.

(a) 1592-1655, experimentalist astronomer.

(b) Leyden 1590-1635.

(d) see next page.

(c) Rhetorices Contractae sive Partitionum Orationiarum

Libri V 1621, standard school textbook (Watson Schools 444-5).

(2,30) continued.

Law: Littleton Tenures, or Coke on Littleton,
Doctor & Student. (e),

Natural Theology: Grotius De Veritate Christianae
Religionis (f),
Wilkins Principles of Natural
Religion 1675 (g).
Fleming Confirming Work.
Baxter, Reasons of the Christian
Religion; 1615-1691,
Bates, On the Existence of God.
Stillingfleet, Origines Sacrae.
Part of Bochart.

Doctrine: Westminster Assembly's Confession of Faith
and Larger Catechism,

Corbet Humble Endeavours,
Russenius Compendium of Turretin (h),
Calvin Institutes,
Baxter End of Controversy,
Pareus on Ursin,
Baxter Methodus Theologiae,
Williams Gospel Truth 1692,
Dixon Therapeutica Sacra,
Wollebius Compendium Theologiae 1626,
Ames Medulla Theologiae (j),
Vincent Exposition of the Assembly's
Shorter Catechism.

- (d) Cambridge Platonist, now no longer Cartesian (2,17).
- (e) Doctor and Student or Dialogues between a Doctor
of Divinity and a Student in the Laws of England,
 by Christopher St. Germain, barrister, 1518,
 frequently reprinted (a seventeenth edition
 appeared as late as 1787); cf. Wordsworth Scholae 143.
- (f) an attempt by the international jurist to reconcile
 Arminians and Calvinists (vide Wilson Holland 41-9).
- (g) Restoration Bishop, rationalistic.
- (h) Turretin (Prof. of Theology, Geneva) Institutiones
theologiae elencticae 1679-85.
- (j) see footnote (d) under (2,4) above.

(2,31) Morton's Academy: Incomplete lists of books probably used:

Natural Philosophy (3): Newton,
Keill Introductio ad veram
Physicam.

For ministers (4): Bowles De Pastore Evangelica,
Westminster Assembly's Advice in
their Directory,
Wilkins Ecclesiastes,
Keckerman De Oratoriâ Concionatorum
at the end of his Logick (a).
Baxter Gildas Salvianus (b),
Fenner Alarm to Drowsy Saints,
Reynolds Passions.

Miscellaneous (5): Luccius Junius Brutus,
Milton Apology,
Ames Medulla (c),
Ames Bellarminus Enervatus (c),
Albare Damascenum,
Baxter Book of Controversies &
Devotion (b),
Charnock ("held in great esteem").

(3) Defoe Compleat 218-9.

(4) Morton Advice to Candidates for the Ministry, in
Calamy Continuation 198-210.

(5) Wesley Letter 11; he had also been under Veal
(Appendix C) and it is possible that this list
includes some books used at the latter's Academy
and not under Morton.

(a) Keckermann "fut de tendence peripateticienne"
(d'Irsay 44).

(b) a moderate presbyterian, of views similar to those
of Henry (2,6).

(c) see note (d) under (2,4) above.

(3,3) Ker's course (c.1700) described by a pupil (6);
'Twas our Custom to have Lectures appointed to certain Times, and we began the Morning with Logick; the System we read was Hereboord, which is the same that is generally read at Cambridge. But our Tutor always gave us Memoriter the Harmony or Opposition made to him by other Logicians. Of this the most Diligent took Notes, and all were advised to read Smiglecius, Derodon, Colbert, Ars Cogitanda, and Le Clerk, or whatever Books of that nature we occasionally met with. Being initiated in Philosophical Studies by this Art;, we made another Step by reading Goveani Elenctica;; which being done,

The next superior Class read Metaphysicks of which Promenius's Synopsis was our Manual;; and by Direction of our Tutor, we were assisted in our Chambers by Baronius, Suarez, and Colbert. Ethicks was our next Study, and our System Hereboord (a); in reading which, our Tutor recommended to our Meditation Dr. Ken. More (b), Tull. de Off Marc. Antonin. Epictet. with the Comments of Arrian and Simplicius, and the Proverbs of Solomon; and under this Head the Moral Works of the great Puffendorf (c).

The highest Class were ingag'd in Natural Philosophy, of which Le Clerk was our System.

(6)Palmer Defence 4 ff.

(a)Cartesian.

(b)Cambridge Platonist (2,17)..

(c)Utilitarian (1,4).

(3.3) continued.

whom we compar'd with the Antients and other Moderns, as Aristotle, Cartes, Colbert, Staire, &c. We disputed every other Day in Latin upon the several Philosophical Controversies; and as these Lectures were read off, some time was set apart to introduce Rhetorick, in which the short Piece of Joh. Ger. Vossius was used in the School; but in our Chambers we were assisted by his large Volume, Aristotle, and Tull. de Orat. These Exercises were all perform'd every Morning, except that on Mondays we added as a Divinity Lecture some of Buchanan's Psalms, the finest of the kind, both for Purity of Language and exact Sense of the Original; and on Saturdays all the superior Classes declaim'd by Turns, Four and Four, on some noble and useful Subject, such as

De Pace,

Logicanè magis inserviat coeteris Disciplinis
an Rhetorica?

De Connubio Virtutis cum Doctrina, &c.

and I can say that these Orations were for the most part of uncommon Elegance, Purity of Stile, and Manly and Judicious Composures.

After Dinner our Work began in order, by reading some one of the Greek or Latin Historians, Orators or Poets. Of the first, I remember Sallust, Curtius, Justin and Paterculus; of the second, Demosthenes, Tully and Isocrates Select Orations; and of the last, Homer, Virgil, Juvenal,

(3,3) continued.

Persius, and Horace. This Reading was the finest and most delightful to young Gentlemen of all others; because it was not in the pedantick Method of common Schools; But the Delicacy of our Tutor's Criticism, his exact Description of Persons, Times, and Places, illustrated by referring to Rosin, and other Antiquaries, and his just Application of the Morals, made such a lasting Impression as render'd all our other Studies more facile. In Geography we read Dyonysii Periaegesis compar'd with Cluverius Ed. Bunonis, which at this Lecture always lay upon the Table.

Mondays and Fridays we read Divinity, of which the first Lecture was always in the Greek Testament; and it being our Custom to go through it once a Year, we seldom read less than six or seven Chapters, and this was done with the greatest Accuracy. We were oblig'd to give the most curious Etimons, and were assisted with the Synopsis Criticorum, Martinus, Favorinus and Hesychius Lexicons; and 'twas expected that the Sacred Geography and Chronology should be peculiarly observ'd and answer'd too at Demand, of which I never knew my Tutor sparing. The other Divinity Lecture was the Synopsis Purioris Theologiae, as very accurate and short; and we were advis'd to read by our selves the more large Pieces, as Turretine, Theses Salmur,

(3,3) continued.

Baxteri Methodus, and Archbishop Usher - and on particular Controversies, many Excellent Authors; as on Original Sin, Placcæus, and Barlow de Natūri mali; on Grace and Free-will, Rutherford, Strangius, and Amyraldus; on the Popish Controversie, Anesii Bellarminus enervatus, and The Modern Disputes during the Reign of King James; on Epscopacy, Altare Damascenum, Bp Hall, and Mr. Baxter; on Church-Government, Bp Stillingfleet's Irenicum, Dr. Owen, and Ruther ford; and for Practical Divinity, Baxter, Tillotson, Charnock &c. In the word, the best Books both of the Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Independent Divines, were in their order recommended, and constantly us'd by those of us who were able to procure 'em; and all or most of these I can affirm were the Study of all the Pupils with whom I was intimate.

(3,5) "The Authors Mr. James Owen Read" c.1700 (7).

Logic: Burgersdicius,
Heereboord,
Ramus.

Metaphysics: Frommenius,
Eustachius,
Baronius.

Philosophy: Le Clerc,
Du Hamel.

Geometry: Pardie Euclid.

Astronomy: Gassendus.

Chronology: Strauchius.

Ecclesiastical History: Spanheim.

Theology: Wollebius,
Russenius Compendium of Turretin.

(3,7) Books used at Findern c.1720 (i) under Hill,
(ii) under Latham.

(i) Books used under Hill (8):

Theology: Baxter End to Doctrinal Controversies.

Logic: Le Clerc Ars Cogitanda.

Natural Philosophy: Le Clerc,
Rohault.

Metaphysics: Frommenius.

(ii) Books used under Latham (9):

Logic: Carmichael,
Locke On the Understanding.

Mathematics: Whiston Euclid,
Ward Mathematical Guide ("some small
part").

Natural Philosophy: Le Clerc Physics (some chapters)
(Cartesian),
Gravesande Natural Philosophy
(Newtonian).

Chronology: Strauchius.

Anatomy: Keill.

Hebrew: Strickland(?) Grammar.

Theology: Pictet (of Geneva, orthodox Calvinist).

Hebrew Antiquities: Reland.
Spavan on Puffendorf.

(8) DWL MS 55; McLachlan 131.

(9) McLachlan 132.

(3,8) Jones' course (1711) described by a pupil (10):
Mr. Jones ... is very strict in keeping good order, and will effectually preserve his pupils from negligence and immorality, and accordingly I believe there are not many academies freer in general from those vices than we are ...

Our Logic, which we have read once over, is so contrived as to comprehend all Heereboord, and the far greater part of Mr. Locke's Essay, and the Art of Thinking (a). What Mr. Jones dictated to us was but short, containing a clear and brief account of the matter, references to places where it was more fully treated of, and remarks on, or explications of the authors cited, when need required. At our next lecture we gave an account both of what the author quoted and our tutor said, who commonly gave us the larger explication of it, and so proceeded to the next thing in order. He took care, as far as possible, that we understood the sense as well as remembered the words of what we had read, and that we should not suffer ourselves to be cheated with obscure terms which had no meaning. Though he be no great admirer of the old Logic, yet he has taken a great deal of pains both in explaining and correcting Heereboord, and has for the most part made him intelligible, or shewn that he is not so.

The two Mr. Jones's, Mr. Francis, Mr. Watkins, Mr. Sheldon, and two more gentlemen are to begin Jewish Antiquities in a short time.

(10) Thomas Secker (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury),
letter to Watts, in Gibbons Watts 347-352.

(a) Le Clerc.

(3.8) continued.

I was designed for one of their number, but rather chose to read Logic once more; both because I was utterly unacquainted with it when I came to this place, and because the others having all, except Mr. Francis, been at other academies will be obliged to make more haste than those in a lower class, and consequently cannot have so good or large accounts of any thing, nor so much time to study every head. We shall have gone through our course in about four years time, which I believe nobody that once knows Mr. Jones will think too long.

I began to learn Hebrew as soon as I came hither, and find myself able now to construe, and give some grammatical account of about twenty verses in the easier parts of the Bible after less than an hour's preparation. We read every day two verses a-piece in the Hebrew Bible which we turn into Greek (no one knowing which his verse shall be, though at first it was otherwise) and this with Logic is our morning's work.

Mr. Jones also began about three months ago some critical lectures in order to the exposition you advised him to. The principal things contained in them are about the Antiquity of the Hebrew Language, Letters, Vowels, and the Incorruption of the Scriptures, ancient Divisions of the Bible, an account of the Talmud, Masora, and Cabala. We are at present on the Septuagint,

(3.3) continued.

and shall proceed after that to the Targumim, and other versions, etc.. Every part is managed with abundance of perspicuity, and seldom any material thing is omitted that other authors have said upon the point, though very frequently we have useful additions of things not found in them. We have scarce been upon any thing yet but Mr. Jones has had those writers which are most valued on that head, to which he always refers us. This is what we first set about in the afternoon; which being finished we read a chapter in the Greek Testament, and after that Mathematics. We have gone through all that is commonly taught of Algebra and Proportion, with the six first books of Euclid, which is all Mr. Jones designs for the gentlemen I mentioned above, but he intends to read something more to the class that come after them.

This is our daily employment, which in the morning takes up about two hours, and something more in the afternoon. Only on Wednesdays in the morning we read Dionysius's Periegesis, on which we have notes mostly geographical, but with some criticisms intermixed; and in the afternoon we have no lecture at all. So on Saturday in the afternoon we have only a thesis, which none but they who have done with Logic have any concern in. We are also just beginning to read Isocrates and Terence each twice a week. On the latter our tutor will give us some notes which he received in a college from Perizonius.

(4,2), (4,28) Doddridge's list of books "chiefly .. of practical divinity" recommended to Wesley for "some young preachers", 1746 (11):

Logic: Watts (4,3),
Carmichael Breviscula Introductio.

Metaphysics: De Vries Compendium,
Watts Ontology,
Le Clerc (perhaps).

Ethics: Whitby,
Puffendorf De Officiis Hominis et Civis,
edited by Carmichael,
Hutcheson (perhaps, although a Necessitarian).

Jewish Antiquities: Lewis,
Reland,
Calmet,
Prideaux Connection (where
relevant).

History: "For a general view of CIVIL HISTORY,
Puffendorf's Introduction and Terselme's
Compendium; and for a judicious, and,
in a few words, comprehensive, as well
as faithful sketh of ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY,
beyond all compare, Lampe".

Natural Philosophy: Rowning,
Neiuwentyt Religious Philosophy,
Ray Wisdom of God in the Creation
(2,17),
Cotton Mather Religious
Philosopher,
Derham on Boyle's Lectures,
"above all".

Astronomy: Derham loc.cit.,
Watts,
Jennings (4,16),
Wells Young Gentlemen's Mathematical
Recreation.

Natural &
Revealed Religion: Carmichael Synopsis Theologicae
Naturalis,
Synge Gentlemen's Religion,
Clarke on Boyle's Lectures (especially
latter part),

(4.2). (4.28) continued.

Natural &

Revealed Religion: Abernethy on the Attributes,
(cont'd): Bishop of London Pastoral Letters,
Doddridge Power of Grace of Christ,
final three.

Anti-Deism: "If it be judged necessary to examine the late controversy with Collins, Tindal, and Morgan, of which I think a divine should not be entirely ignorant, I consider Jefferies and Bullock among the best writers in answer to the first; and Conybeare and Leland to the second, and Leland and Chandler to the third" (a).

Practical

Divinity: Anglicans: Tillotson, Sherlock,
 Barrow, Horneck,
 Wilkins, Hopkins,
 Beveridge, Scougal,
 Scott, Law,
 Norris, Fleetwood,
 Lucas,
 Archbishop Leighton ("omni
laude major").

Puritans and Dissenters:

Bolton,	Sibbs,
Hall,	Ward,
Reynolds,	Jackson.

ditto, pre 1700:

Owen on Apostacy; on Hebrews; Means of Understanding the Mind of God in Scripture; Communion with the Father, Son and Spirit; on Indwelling Sin; Spiritual Mindedness and Mortification; on Ps. 130.

Goodwin (2,22) Child of Light; Return of Mercies; and Prayers.

Baxter Saint's Rest; Treatise on Conversion; Call to the Unconverted; Divine Life; Counsels to Young Men; Crucifixion to the World by the Cross of Christ; Poor Man's Family Book; Converse with God in Solitude.

(a) the ideas of these writers are examined in
e.g. Stephen I 137-217.

(4,2), (4,28) continued.

Divinity: Puritans & Dissenters pre 1700 (cont'd):

Bates Harmony of the Divine Attributes in Redemption; Spiritual Perfection; Four Last Things; Submission to the Will of God; Funeral Sermons.

Flavel (2,27) Fountain of Life; Token for Mariners; Sacramental Meditation; England's Alarm; (perhaps) Husbandry and Navigation Spiritualized.

Nathaniel Taylor Faith; Discourses against Deism; the Covenant.

How Living Temple (especially); Blessedness of the Righteous; Delighting in God; Enmity and Reconciliation between God and Man; Carnality of Religious Contention; Thoughtfulness for the Morrow; Redeemer's Tears wept over Lost Souls; Redeemer's Dominion over the Invisible World; two post-humous volumes on the Spirit, especially recommended.

Present-day dissenters:

Evans Christian Temper; Sermons to Young People.

Wright Regeneration; Deceitfulness of Sin; Concern of Man.

Watts Sermons; Death and Heaven (4,3); World to Come; Humble Attempt.

Grove (3,13) Select Sermons; the Sacrament; Secret Prayer.

M. Henry on the Bible; on the Sacrament.

Earl on the Sacrament.

Boyce two volumes of Sermons; Miscellaneous Sermons; on the Four Last Things.

Bennet Christian Oratory.

Jennings (4,16) Sermons to Young Persons.

Grosvenor, several Miscellanies; Mourner; Treatise on Death.

Bury-street Sermons: on the principal Heads of Christianity, by Watts (4,3), Guyse, Price, Jennings (3,21), Neal and Hubbard (4,21).

Doddridge (perhaps): Rise and Progress of the Soul; Sermons on Education; on Regeneration; to Young People.

(4,2). (4,28) continued.

Commentaries etc: Beza (unequalled), Erasmus, Castellio, Hernsius, Patrick, Lowth, Locke, Pierce, Benson; Ainsworth, Grotius, Brenius, Wells, Calvin, Pool, Le Clerc; Cradock (2,18) highly recommended.

(the following are not directly commentators, but useful) Whitsius, Saurin, Glassius, Gattaker, Frankius, Knatchbull, Blackwall, Lightfoot, Calmet, Mede, Hallet (3,15), Edwards, Le Crene, Wolsius, Raphelius, Virtinga, Boss, and above all, Elsner, and Lardner
Credibility I & II.

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

(4,26) "A Catalogue of a Few Useful Books" for ministers, by Hugh Evans 1773 (12).

Hebrew Bible.

Septuagint.

Greek New Testament.

Lexicons: Latin (Ainsworth); Greek (Hedericus);
 (Common Place Book for the Scripture (Clark);
 New Testament (Dawson's); Phrases (Robertson);
 Hebrew Concordance (Taylor); Scripture
 Dictionary (Wilson); Concordance (Cruden).

Expositions: Gill (rabinnical, orthodox);
 Henry and Burkitt (spiritual);
 "Doddridge is to be valued for sublimity,
 perspicuity, penetration, and
 unbounded love";
 Guyse (serious);
 Poole Synopsis Criticorum ("most
 especially");
 Poole English Annotations (especially
 volume I).

On Revelation
 and against
 Deism:

Halyburton;
 Baxter Reasons of the Christian Religion;
 Lyttleton Conversion of ... Paul;
 Sherlock Trial of the Witnesses;
 Jennings (4,16) Truth & Divinity of
 the Holy Scriptures;
 Doddridge (4,2) Evidences of the
 Christian Religion;
 Leland, three volumes;
 Lardner Credibility of the Gospel
 History (but expensive);
 Chandler Life of David;
 Boyle Lectures on Natural & Revealed
 Religion abridged to four
 volumes by Burnet.

(12) in Baptist Register I 253 ff.

(4,26) continued.

Divinity: Dr. Owen's works in general;
 Edwards (a) Freedom of the Will; Original Sin; Religious Affections; the Nature of True Virtue;
 Maclaurin Sermons and Essays;
 Witherspoon Works and Sermons;
 Gill Prophecies respecting the Messiah; Cause of God and Truth;
 Brine;
Time-Street Lectures;
Berry-street Sermons (b);
 Cooper (of Boston, N.E.) on Predestination;
 Jennings (4,16) Jewish Antiquities;
 Shuckforth Connection of Sacred and Profane History (3 vols.);
 Prideaux Connection of the Old and New Testaments;
 Blackwall Sacred Classicks.

Practical

Writers: Doddridge (4,2) Rise and Progress of the Soul;
 Watts (4,3) Love of God; Passions; Humility ... Paul;
 Orton Religious Exercises; Sermons for Old People;
 S. Stennett (4,25) Sermons - "the best, on the whole, in my opinion, in the English language";
 Davis (of America, published by Gibbons); Hill.

Lives: Clark on P. Henry, M. Henry, Halyburton, Doddridge, Mrs. Bury, etc..

History: Turretine Compendium "which you translated";
 Mosheim in English (Maclaine);
 Neal History of the Puritans;
 Crosby History of the English Baptists;
 Rapin History of England "for impartiality and Revolution principles".
 Kimber for conciseness;
 Hume for style, toryism and sneering loquacity;
 Mrs. Macaulay for the true spirit of Republicanism;
 Rollin Roman History, "or a short one by question & answer";

(a) Calvinist.

(b) see remark in previous quotation from Doddridge.

(4,26) continued.

History

(cont'd): Stanyan History of Greece;
Smith Thucydides;
Kennet Antiquities of Rome;
Potter Antiquities of Greece;
Lyttleton History of Henry II "is esteemed
one of the finest pieces of history
in our language".

Miscellaneous: Preceptor two volumes;
Rowning Experimental Philosophy;
Jennings (4,16) on the Globes;
Watts (4,3) on the Globes;
Derham Astro- and Physico- Theology;
Spectator;
Nature Displayed;
Mason on Elocution;
Ray Wisdom of God in the Creation (2,17 $\frac{1}{2}$);
Locke on the Understanding;
Watts Improvement (4,3).

The Short and Towgood families.

Michaijah Towgood (1700-92) tutor of the second of the three academies at Exeter (4,12) and author of a standard dissenting apologetic, The Dissenting Gentleman's Answer to the Reverend Mr. White's Letter 1746, was cousin to Matthew Towgood, tutor at Colyton and Shepton Mallet (Appendix C). Both were grandsons of an older Matthew Towgood (1), an ejected minister who is stated (2) to have engaged in tutorial activities before his death in 1669 (1). The Colyton Matthew Towgood eventually left the ministry, and engaged in a brewery at Poole after 1730 (3).

A question which remains to be solved is that of the Short family. Ames Short, an ejected minister with several sons, educated the latter and perhaps some other prospective ministers at Lyme Regis or Colyton, or both (Appendix C). His son John was a tutor, and took charge of Ker's Academy at Bethnal Green while Ker was in Holland, from 1692 to 1697 (3,3). He is also stated to have remained at Colyton until 1698 and to have been succeeded by Towgood (4), who did not arrive there until 1707 (5). Murch says that the latter was assistant to Samuel Short, minister at Colyton 1707-1714, and adds

(1)DNB.

(2)CHEL X chap.XVI Appendix.

(3)Murch 171.

(4)Parker Appendix I; McLachlan 11;
Bogue & Bennett II 37.

(5)Murch 335.

Mr. Towgood kept an academy here, and
left for Shepton Mallet, in 1716. (6)

He also mentions that

one of Mr. Ames Short's sons assisted Mr.
Kerridge (Appendix C) in his ministerial
duties at Colyton and educated young men
for the ministry (7),

and gives Kerridge's Colyton dates as approximately
1688-1714.

This suggests to the author the following
solutions: the Short who assisted Kerridge was
not John Short - or at any rate the latter was
not the only son of Ames Short to do so - and
John's brother, Samuel, was also a tutor, and
(as often happened) stepped up from assistant
pastor to pastor in succession to Kerridge at
some date between 1707 and 1714. Possibly John
Short was (despite Calamy's statement (8)) never
at Colyton: Samuel Wesley (whose information is,
however, given with an air of vagueness) makes
"Mr S" go from Lyme-Regis to "Bishops-Hall near
Bechnal-Green" in 1693 (9). Whether Wesley is
correct or not in mentioning Lyme rather than
Colyton, it seems that the introduction of Samuel
solves the difficulty of John Short's apparent
double location from 1693 onwards.

(6) ibid.

(7) Murch 333.

(8) Continuation 420.

(9) Letter 7.

Tutors not considered in the foregoing chapters.

The following lists give, for the sake of completeness, brief notes of those tutors who have not appeared in the body of the thesis. In some cases they were ministers who took into their homes one or two young men who required preparation for the ministry; but others of these tutors kept regular academies dealing with numbers of pupils at a time. These lists are thus not homogeneous; the only classification attempted is into (a) those tutors who qualify for Chapter 2 by virtue of having been up at Oxford or Cambridge, and (b) others.

(a) TUTORS BELONGING TO CHAPTER 2. (1).

	Name of Tutor	Where active	Where educated	Remarks.
1.	ALSOP, Vincent, died 1703.	London, 1690-2.	MA, John's, Cambridge.	Presbyterian Fund pupil.
2.	BAIOCK, James.	South Cave, near Hull: c. 1691.	John's, Cambridge, non-matric., and/or Edinburgh.	
3.	BASSNET, Samuel.	Coventry, assisted Bryan, below.	Oxford & Cambridge.	

(1) Calamy Continuation 417, 420, 587, 958;
S. Wesley Letter 4; Jeremy 12, 27, 29, 32, 33;
Ward Professors 153-5; Richardson 198;
Toulmin 239, 245, 247-9; TBHS IV 220-1;
Bogue & Bennett II 41-2, 47-8; Bapt. Q. IV 293.
Wilson Dissenting I 283, 466; III 137, 436-7; IV 334-6;
Murch 9, 13, 170, 333; TCHS I 399; II 45; III 282; V 20, 139-46, 231;
Gordon Freedom 204-5, 243, 248, 325, 367, 383;
Parker Appendix I;
CHEL X chap. XVI Appendix;
DNB;
McLachlan 10, 11, 14, 43, 84;

4. BRYAN, John, Senior, died 1675	Coventry	DD, Emmanuel, Cambridge.	Father of John Bryan of Shrewsbury, (2,29).
5. BUTTON, Ralph, c1612-1680	Islington	MA, (BD?), Exeter & Merton, Oxf. (fellow)	Prof. Geometry, Gresham's Coll., 1643-7; Oxf. Univ. orator & canon of Christ Church 1648.
6. CUMMING, John, died 1710.	Shepton Mallet fr. 1698; perhaps previously at Bridgwater.	MA, perhaps Scottish.	
7. FERGUSON, Robert.	Islington, soon after 1662.	-	"taught university learning".
8. GLASSCOCK, Francis, died 1706.	helped to continue Morton's Academy (2,31)	Oxford or a Scottish University	Enthusiastic student of prophecy, esp. <u>Dan.</u> & <u>Rev.</u>
9. GREW, Obadiah, 1607-1689.	Coventry, assisted & succeeded Bryan, above.	MA, DD, Balliol, Oxford.	
10. KERRIDGE, John.	Colyton, between 1688 & 1714; with Ames Short (bel.) or one of his sons ((b) below)	MA, Oxford.	John Short ((b) below) was pupil; see Appendix B.
11. LANGSTONE, John, 1640- 1703/4	Ipswich, from betw. 1686 & 1690, until after 1696.	Pembroke College, Oxford.	Presbyterian & Congregational. And pupils. "conciliatory to those of different perswasions".

12.	LONG, George, "of Durham".	Newcastle- upon-Tyne, 1690-1.	Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. MD Leyden.	Presbyterian Fund pupil(s?).
13.	NOBLE, Isaac.	Bristol, 1695-8.		Assisted by J. Reynolds (below).
14.	REYNOLDS, Edward or William, died 1698.	Nottingham, with Whitlock, below.	MA, Emmanuel, Cambridge.	
15.	REYNOLDS, John, 1666/7- 1727.	Bristol (assistant pastor to I. Noble (above)) 1695-1698; Gloucester, assisting Forbes (3,8) 1706-1708; Shrewsbury, with Gyles, from 1708 ((b) below).	Pembroke, Oxford, non-grad.	Apparently no connection with Thomas (below) or with the Bristol Baptists (4,26); medical practitioner.
16.	RISLEY, Thomas, 1630-1716.	Leigh; Lancs, 1693-6.	MA, Fellow of Pembroke, Oxford.	Presbyterian Fund pupil(s?).
17.	SHEWELL, Thomas, died 1693.	Coventry, assisted Bryan and Grew (above).	MA.	
18.	SHORT, Ames, born 1616.	Colyton, etc., with Kerridge, above.	MA, Exeter Coll. Oxford.	educated his sons, and perhaps other ministers.

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19.	SHUTTLEWOOD, John, 1631/2 - 1688/9.	Northants: Sulby (Welford) & Creaton.	Christ's, Cambridge, non-grad.	
20.	SPRINT, John.	Andover, 1686.		took one of Morton's (-2,31) former pupils.
21.	STRETTON, Richard.	London, 1686.		took one of Morton's (2,31) former pupils.
22.	THOMAS, William, died 1693.	Bristol, 4,26 <u>q.v.</u>	BA, Gloucester Hall, Oxford.	
23.	TOMLINS, John.	Alton, South- ampton, fr.1690.	Cambridge.	Presbyterian Fund pupil(s?)..
24.	TOWGOOD, Matthew.	Semly (Wilts.), soon after 1662.		see Appendix B.
25.	VEAL, Edward, 1632-1708.	Wapping, <u>c.</u> 1680.	MA, Christ Church, Oxford; Fellow, Trin.Coll. Dublin.	"read Logic and Ethics".
26.	WHITAKER, William, 1629-1672.	Bermondsey, from soon after 1662. Pupils in- cluded foreign divinity students.	BA, Emmanuel, Cambridge.	"great skill in the learned languages, 11? well versed in philosophy, philology," Specially noted for oriental languages.
27.	WHITLOCK, John, 1625-1709.	Nottingham, with Reynolds, above.	MA, Emmanuel, Cambridge.	

28. WICKINS, William, 1614-1699.	continued Morton's academy, with Lobb (below) and Blasscock (above).	MA, Cat.'s Hall or Emmanuel, Cambridge.	noted for Jewish and oriental learning.
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(b) TUTORS BELONGING TO CHAPTERS 3 and 4.

	Name of Tutor	Where active	Antecedents	Remarks
1.	BALL, Jacob (1).	Kingsclere, near Newbury; 1706-7.	Pupil of Southwell (3,22) and of Waters (below).	had Presbyterian Fund pupil.
2.	BENSON, George, 1699-1762. (1;2;3;4; 5;6)	London, c.1750.	Pupil of Dixon (3,18) & at Glasgow DD Aberdeen. Friend of Rotheram (3,19).	Arian;Lockean biblical critic.
3.	CLARK, Samuel (1;8)	St. Albans, 1718-20.	Pupil of Ker (3,3); (father of Doddridge's assistant, 4,2).	His only Presbyterian Fund pupil was Doddridge (4,2), before the latter went to Kibworth.
4.	COOKE, William (1)	Clare, Suffolk; 1710-6.	-	had Presbyterian Fund pupil.
5.	GODWIN, Edward; c.1695- 1764. (1;8;9;10).	Hungerford, Berkshire; with Robinson (below).	Pupil of Jones (3,8), refused invitation to succeed him. Friend of Doddridge (4,2).	
6.	GOODWIN, Thomas (junior) ?1650- ?1716. (1;2;8;9; 12).	London (ass't) to Lobb, (below) 1684-96? then at Pinner.	Educated in England & Holland;son of Goodwin (2,22).	had Congregational Fund pupils; anti-Williams in Crispian controversy.

all footnotes are at the end of the Appendix.

7.	GRIFITH, Roger. (13;14).	Abergavenny, 1697-1702.	Pupil of Ker (3,3) & at Utrecht.	Pupils included Jones (3,8). Conformed 1702.
8.	GYLES, John; died c. 1730. (8;15).	Shrewsbury, with Reynolds ((a) above).	MD.	
9.	HAWKINS, Isaac; died 1724. (1).	Wakefield, 1717-9.		Presbyterian Fund pupils.
10.	HORSLEY (1).	Morpeth, 1721-5.		Presbyterian Fund pupils.
11.	HUNT, William. (1).	Little Baddow, Essex; or Cambridge- shire; 1691-3.		Presbyterian Fundpupil(s?).
12.	KIRKPATRICK, John, died c. 1750 (8;11;16).	Bedworth, with Saunders (below), c1710-1750.	MA, a Scots University, probably Glasgow.	Pupils included Rooker and Reader (4,20) & Barber (4,30), all orthodox.
13.	LOBB? Stephen, died 1699. (2;9;10; 17;18).	London, 1685 on, with Glasscock & Wickins (above (a)); assisted by Goodwin (above).	Educated at an Academy and in Holland. Friend of King James II.	Anti-arminian congregationalist, but hoped for comprehension of dissenters in modified establishment.
14.	LOWTHION, Samuel, died 1780 (8).	Newcastle- upon-Tyne, 1752-1780.	Pupil of Rotheram (3,19).	Trained ministers.

all footnotes are at the end of the Appendix.

15.	MOORE, Thomas (1;8).	Abingdon, Berkshire; 1720-1.	Pupil of Latham(3,7); son & sometime assistant to John Moore sen. (2,25).	Presbyterian Fund pupil(s?).
16.	ODDY (11).	Pinner, senior pupil & assistant to Goodwin (above), 1697.	Pupil of Goodwin (above).	
17.	PIKE, Samuel, 1712-73.. (2;9;11; 15;19).	Hoxton Square, London, c.1760.	Pupil of Hubbard (4,21) and of Eames (3,12).	"a less literary seminary". Hutchesonian (scripture basis for all knowledge), became Sendemanian 1785.
18.	PORTER, Joseph, 1659-1721. (11;19;20).	Alcester, until 1721.		"gentlemen & merchants" as well as ministers.
19.	ROBINSON, Benjamin, 1666-1724. (9;10).	Hungerford, with Godwin (above).	Pupil of Sheriffhales (2,30).	
20.	SAUNDERS, Julius, died c17300 (8;11).	Bedworth, with Kirkpatrick (above), c1710-1750.	Pupil of Shuttlewood ((a) above), after some time at Oxford.	Calvinist.

all footnotes are at the end of the Appendix.

21.	SHORT, John. (9;21).	Lyme Regis &c., until 1692, then <u>vice</u> Ker (3,3) while latter was in Holland.	Educated by his father & Kerridge ((a) above) & probably in Holland.	See Appendix B.
22.	SHORT, Samuel (28).	Colyton, 1707-1714.	Son of Ames Short ((a) above).	See Appendix B.
23.	SMITH, Matthew, 1650- 1736 or 46. (11;14).	Mixenden (Yorks.W.R.)	MA Edin.	Anti- calvinist.
24.	TOWGOOD, Matthew, died 1746? (19,22).	Colyton & Shepton Mallet, c.1707-29.		See Appendix B.
25.	WATERS, James, 1661-1725. (1).	Uxbridge, 1692-6.	Pupil of Doolittle (2,10).	had Presbyterian Fund pupil.
26.	WINTER, Cornelius (19,23).	Marlborough Wiltshire & Painswick Gloucs., late 18th century.	Friend of George Whitfield.	trained ministers.

(1) Jeremy 13, 28, 30, 37, 39, 42, 44, 45, 113, 139, 146.

(2) DNB.

(3) ibid. s.v. Alexander.

(4) Nicholson & Axon 315, 325, 336.

(5) McLachlan Unitarian Movement 27.

(6) Colligan 57.

(7) CHEL X chap. XVI Appendix.

(8) TCHS III 96; V 20, 68-70, 78, 139-146, 155.

(9) Wilson Dissenting I 371, 382, 466; III 436-7, 447-9.

(10) Toulmin 248-9, 251-3.

(11) McLachlan 6, 11-13.

(12) S. Wesley Letter 71.

(13) Roberts 14-15.

(14) Gordon Freedom 275, 354.

footnotes continued on next sheet

- (15) Parker Appendix I.
- (16) Evans Midland 137.
- (17) Whiting 80.
- (18) "N.B." /i.e. John Humphrey and S. Lobb/ A Modest and Peaceable Inquiry into the Design and Nature of Some of those Historical Mistakes that are found in Dr. Stillingfleet's Preface to his Unreasonableness of Separation ... 1681.
- (19) Bogue & Bennett II 37; III 291, 297; IV 280.
- (20) Evans Midland 9.
- (21) Calamy Continuation 420.
- (22) Murch 171, 335.
- (23) Hooper.

BOOKS TO WHICH REFERENCE HAS BEEN MADE.

NOTE: In a number of cases, particularly in Section III below, the choice of one work rather than another has been dictated merely by relative accessibility to a part-time investigator in a provincial town.

The Library owning the copy of each work used is indicated by a letter, thus:

B Baptist Historical Society's Library and Bristol Baptist College Library.

C Cambridge University Library.

D Durham University Library.

L London University Library.

M British Museum.

N Library of King's College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

P privately owned.

W Dr. Williams's Library.

(I) PRIMARY SOURCES FOR ACADEMIES AND TUTORS:

AMORY Thomas	<u>Preface to Grove Works.</u>	
BARBAULD Mrs. A.L.	<u>/Verses/</u> on Warrington Academy, quoted in <u>Enfield Speaker.</u>	
BELSHAM Thomas	The importance of Truth .. a discourse ... to the supporters of the New College at Hackney 28/4/1790.	W
BOGUE David and)	History of Dissenters,	
BENNETT J.)	four volumes 1812.	D
BULL William	Memorials of the Rev.W.B., edited by Josiah BULL, 1864-5.	W
CALAMY Edmund	An Historical Account of My Own Life, Volume I, edited by J.T.RUTT, second edition 1830.	W
CHAUNCEY Isaac	The Doctrine which is according to Godliness Grounded upon the Holy Scriptures of Truth ... Church Order n.d.	W
CLEGG James	Diary of J.C., edited by KIRKE	W
COLE Thomas	A discourse of Faith, 1689.	W
" "	A discourse of Repentance, 1689.	W

CONINGHAM James	The Everlasting High Priest; funeral sermon for John CHORLTON, 1705.	M
CRADOCK Samuel	Harmony of the Four Evangelists, ..., 1668	W
" "	The Apostolical History ... to the Destruction of <u>Jerusalem</u> by <u>Titus</u> , 1672.	W
" "	Knowledge and Practice, fourth edition, with Supplement, 1702.	W
DAVISSON John	A Vindication of the Protestant Minister's Mission: Wherein is proved, Both from Scripture and Reason and the Practice of Primitive Churches, that the Christian People have sufficient Authority from Christ to Chuse their own Ministers ... sermon ... at Taunton, to an Assembly of Protestant Divines, 1720.	M
" "	A Defence of the Protestant Minister's Mission [above], 1721.	M
DEFOE Daniel	Compleat English Gentleman (1890).	L
" "	Earlier Life and Chief Earlier Writings of D.D., edited by H. MORLEY, 1889.	N
DODDRIDGE Philip	Correspondence and Diary of P.D., edited by J.D. HUMPHREYS, five volumes 1829.	W
" "	Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. P.D., by Job ORTON, 1766.	N
" "	Letters to and from the Rev. P.D., edited by Thomas STEDMAN, 1790	W
" "	Evidences of Christianity, three sermons (1850)	P
" "	Free Thoughts on the Most Probable Means of Reviving the Dissenting Interest, occasion'd by the late Enquiry ... 1730.	W
" "	The Evil and Danger of Neglecting the Souls of Men ... a sermon ... at Kettering (Prov. 24/11-12) 15/10/1741.	W
" "	Works, ten volumes, c. 1803.	D

DOOLITTEL Thomas	The Young Man's Instructor and the Old Man's Remembrancer ... fitted to the capacity of children, and the more Ignorant sort of People ... /on/ Assembly's Catechism, 1673.	W
" "	Letter to James CONINGHAM	
" "	<u>MS</u> Sloane 4275.193.	M
	Complete body of practical divinity, 1723.	W
ENFIELD William	Speaker, or, Miscellaneous Pieces ... to which are prefixed two essays: 1. on elocution. 2. on reading works of taste (1827).	W
EVANS Caleb	Advice to students having in view the Christian ministry, 1770.	M
" "	Sermons 1775 etc.	B
" Hugh	Sermon: the Able Minister; at the annual meeting of the Bristol Education Society, 1773.	B
FLAVEL John	Works, six volumes 1820.	W
FLETCHER John	Works, edited, with a Life, by A. SCOTT, 1834.	W.
GALE Theophilus	Philosophia Generalis, 1676.	W
GIBBONS Thomas	Memoirs of Dr. Isaac WATTS, 1780	C
" "	Diary, in <u>TCHS</u> I and II.	
" "	Rhetoric, 1767.	D
" "	English Version of the Latin Epitaphs in the Nonconformist's Memorial, 1775.	W
" "	Account of What Concern Dr. G. has had in the late Transactions among the Protestant Dissenters at Northampton, 1775.	W
GROVE Henry	Some Thoughts concerning the Proofs of a <u>Future State</u> from Reason, 1730.	D
" "	<u>Wisdom</u> is the Spring of Action in the Deity, 1722.	D
" "	Miscellanies, published posthumously 1739.	D
" "	Posthumous Works, four volumes, 1745, with prefatory memoir by Thomas AMORY.	W

HARRISON Ralph	Sermons on Various Important Subjects..., 1813.	W
HENRY Philip	Diaries and Letters of P.H., edited by M.H. LEE, 1882.	W
HICKMAN Henry	A Review of the Certamen Epistolare betwixt Pet. Heylin D D and Hen. Hickman B D Wherein ... our first Reformers proved not to hold with the Arminians, 1659.	D
HUMPHREYS J.D.	see DODDRIDGE.	
JENNINGS David	Introduction to the Use of the Globes, and the Orrery..., 1747	W
KING'S HEAD) SOCIETY)	Advertisement 1753: "MS" 36.30.	W
KIPPIS Andrew	Sermon on the occasion of a new academical institution 26/4/1786.	W
LATHAM Ebenezer	Sermons, edited (with Memoir) by W.WILLETS, volume I.	W
LLEWELYN Thomas	Historical Account of the British or Welsh Versions of the Bible, 1768.	M
" "	Historical and Critical Remarks on the British [<u>So</u> . Welsh/ tongue..., 1769.	M
LOBB Stephen	see N.B.	
LOBB Theophilus	Discourse on Ministerial Instruction, 1712.	D
LONDON CHRONICLE	reproduction in TURBERVILLE.	
LUCAS Thomas	The pleasures of a religious life.../Funeral/ sermon at Taunton ... /re/ Mr. Thomas Whinnel, 1720.	B
MORTON Charles	The Spirit of Man, or, some meditations on 1 Th. 5/23, 1693.	M
" "	Little Peacemaker; Discovering Foolish Pride the Make-bate, ... on Prov. 13/10... in a Dialogue, 1674.	M
" "	The Gaming-Humor Considered, and Reproved ... By a Well-wisher to Mankind, 1684.	M

N.B.	i.e. John HUMPHREY and Stephen LOBB, Modest and peaceable Inquiry into ... Dr. Stillingfleet's Preface, 1681.	D
NEWCOME Henry	Autobiography of H.N. edited by R.PARKINSON, Chetham Society, two volumes, 1852.	D
NEWTON John	Works, six volumes 1816 (2nd edition).	W
OLDFIELD Joshua	An Essay towards the Improvement of Reason, 1707.	W
ORTON Job	see DODDRIDGE.	
OWEN Charles	Natural History of Serpents, 1747.	L
" "	Validity of the Dissenting Ministry, 1716.	W
OWEN James	Moderation Still a Virtue..., 1704.	W
PALMER Samuel	A Defense of the Dissenters Education in their private Academies ..., 1703.	W
" "	A Vindication of the Learning, Loyalty, Morals and Most Christian Behaviour of the Dissenters towards the Church of England, 1705.	W
PRICE Richard	The Evidence for a future period of improvement in the state of mankind ... a discourse ... to the supporters of a new academical institution, 25/4/1787.	W
PRIESTLEY Joseph	A Free Address ... on church discipline, 1770.	W
" "	Theological and Miscellaneous Works, edited by J.T.RUTT, twenty-five volumes, 1832.	L
REES Abraham	The Advantages of Knowledge ... a Sermon ... to the supporters of a new academical institution, 30/4/1788.	W
REYNER Edward	Discourse of the Necessity of Humane Learning for a Gospel Preacher, posthumously edited by John REYNER, 1663.	W

RIDGLEY Thomas	Body of Divinity, two volumes, 1734.	W
RUTT John T.	see PRIESTLEY.	
RYLAND John	Pastoral Memorials, two volumes, 1828.	B
SAVAGE Samuel) Morton)	A Sermon preached at the ordination of Mr. Samuel Wilton, 18/6/1766, by PHILIP FURNEAUX, with ... a charge delivered by S.M.S., 1766.	B
STENNETT Joseph	The Christian Strife for the Faith of the Gospel; a sermon ... at ... Thames-street, 9/2/1738, before Cong. Fund Board?	M
" "	Complaints of an unsuccessful ministry, a sermon, 9/6/1752, ... to the Western Association.	B
STENNETT Samuel	The indispensable Importance of real Religion, a sermon ... 31/3/1766...for the... Charity-school.	B
" "	Works, three volumes, 1824.	B
STRONG James	Funeral sermon on Henry GROVE, 3/3/1737/8.	D
TALLENTS Francis	A View of Universal History, 1681.	W
TAYLOR Dan	The faithful and wise steward,... to young ministers..., 1766.	M
TERRILL Edward	Records of a Church of Christ meeting in Broadmead Bristol; published as Bunyan Library XIV, 1865.	B
TRAILL Robert	Works, four volumes, 1775.	W
WATTS Isaac	Improvement of the Mind or a Supplement to the Art of Logick, two volumes; the second having appended: On Education; fourth edition, 1761.	N
" "	Works, seven volumes, edited by Edward PARSONS (Leeds) 1800.	N

WESLEY Samuel

Letter from a Country Divine
... on the Education of the
Dissenters in their private
academies in several parts of
this nation (1703?) 1704.

W

" "

Defense of a Letter concerning
the Education of the Dissenters
in their Private Academies, 1704.

W

" "

Reply to Mr. PALMER's Vindica-
tion, 1707.

W

WHITLEY W.T.

editor, Minutes of the General
Assembly of General Baptist
Churches in England ..., two
volumes, published 1910.

B

WORTHINGTON Hugh

Sermon ... to the supporters of
a new academical institution,
6/5/1789.

W

(II) OTHER BOOKS RELATING TO ACADEMIES OR TUTORS.

AVELING T.W.	Memorials of the CLAYTON Family, 1867.	W
BAPTIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY,)	TRANSACTIONS OF ("TBHS").	B
BAPTIST QUARTERLY,	New Series.	P, B
BAPTIST REGISTER,	edited by John RIPPON, 1790-1802	B
BODY A.H.	John WESLEY and Education, 1936.	P
BRISTOL BAPTIST)	250 years, 1679-1929, anonymous	P
COLLEGE)	brochure, 1929.	P
BRUBACHER, J.S.	History of the problems of education (N.Y.), 1947.	P
BUTTS R.F.	Cultural History of Education (N.Y.), 1947.	L
CALAMY Edmund	Continuation of an account, 1727.	W
CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE, volumes IX, X ("CHEL").		P
CHIRGWIN A.M.	Decisive Decade, 1949.	P
CHRONICLE of the London Missionary Society, monthly.		P
COLLIGAN J.H.	Eighteenth-century nonconformity, 1915.	W
CONGREGATIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY, TRANSACTIONS OF ("TCHS").		P, B, W
CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY.		P
CRAMP J.M.	Baptist History, 1871.	P
CULROSS James	The Three RYLANDS.	B
CURTIS S.J.	History of Education in Great Britain, 1948.	L
"DWL MS"	MS in Dr. Williams's Library, No. 24.59.	W
DAVIS W.P.	Isaac Watts, 1948.	P
DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY edited by L. STEPHEN and S. LEE, 1885-1903.		P
DRYSDALE	History of the Presbyterians in England, 1889.	P
ELTON Oliver	Survey of English Literature, two volumes, 1928.	P
EVANS G.E.	Midland Churches, 1899.	W
FERGUSON James	John Ferguson, 1948.	C
GOADBY J.J.	Byepaths in Baptist History, 1871	P
GODWIN William,	Life of, by Ford K. BROWN (N.Y.) 1926.	N

GORDON Alexander	Addresses, Biographical and Historical, 1922.	L
" "	Freedom after Ejection, 1917	L
" "	Heads of English Unitarian History, 1895.	P
GOUGH Strickland	An Enquiry into the Causes of the Decay of the Dissenting Interest (anonymous) 1730.	W
GRIFFITHS Olive M.	Religion and Learning, 1935.	W
HANS N.	Comparative Education, 1949.	L
HART A.T.	Life and Times of John Sharp, Archbishop of York, 1948.	W
HAZLITT W.Carew	The Hazlitts, an account of their origin., 1911.	L
HENRY Philip and) Matthew,)	by Rev. M.H.Lee (paper before Chester Archeological ... Society), 1883.	P
HENRY Matthew	Life of Philip HENRY, 1699, reprinted in WORDSWORTH Ecclesiastical Biographies VI.	N
HESTER Giles	Attercliffe as a seat of Learning, 1893.	W
HEYWOOD Oliver	Autobiography and Diaries, edited by J.H.TURNER, three volumes, 1883.	W
HOOPER T.	Story of English Congregationalism, 1907.	P
HULL, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF	Studies in Education, the Journal of the Institute of Education, 1949.	P
IVIMEY Joseph	History of the English Baptists, four volumes, 1830.	B
JEREMY W.D.	Presbyterian Fund and Dr. Daniel Williams's Trust, ..., 1885.	W
JOHNSON, Samuel	Lives of the English Poets, Everyman edition, two volumes.	P
JULIAN John	Dictionary of Hymns and Hymnology (1892) 1907.	P
KING'S COLLEGE EDUCATION SOCIETY,	Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Education Papers.	P
LAIRD J.	Philosophical Incursions into English Literature, 1946.	P

LINCOLN A.	Some Political and Social Ideas of English Dissent, 1763-1800; 1938.	L
LINDSEY T.	Memoirs of Thomas BELSHAM, edition of 1873.	L
LOVETT R.	History of the London Missionary Society, <u>quoted by</u> Chirgwin.	
McLACHLAN Herbert	English Education under the Test Acts 1931.	N
" "	The Unitarian Movement, I: Its contribution to thought and learning, 1934.	W
MATTHEWS A.G.	Calamy Revised, 1934.	D
MOUNFIELD A.	Early Warrington Nonconformity, 1923.	W
MULLINGER	The University of Cambridge, volumes II, III.	L
MURCH Jerome	History of the Presbyterian and General Baptist Churches in the West of England, 1835.	B
NICHOLSON F. and) AXON)	The Older Nonconformity in Kendal, 1915.	W
PARKER Irene	Dissenting Academies in England, 1914.	L
PAUL C. Kegan	William Godwin, volume I, 1876.	W
PAYNE Ernest A.	Free Church Tradition in the Life of England, 1944.	N
POWICKE F.J.	The Cambridge Platonists, 1926.	L
PRESBYTERIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY,	Journal of ("JPHS")	P
RICHARDSON C.F.	English Preachers and Preaching 1640-1670; 1928.	L
ROBERTS H.P.	Nonconformist Academies in Wales 1662-1882, reprinted from Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1930.	W
ROSCOE J.E.	Short History of Theological Education, c. 1949.	L
SMITH Preserved	History of Modern Culture, volume II, 1934 (U.S.A.)	L
SURMAN Charles E.	<u>MS</u> list of places of education of congregational ministers, 1944.	P
SWAINE S.A.	Faithful Men: Memorials of Bristol Baptist College ..., 1884.	B

THOMAS Joshua	Welsh Baptists, <u>in</u> Baptist Register, 1791.	
THORPE T.E.	Joseph PRIESTLEY, 1906.	P
TOULMIN Joshua	Historical View of the State of the Protestant Dissenters in England, 1814.	W
TOWNSEND Henry	The Claims of the Free Churches, 1949.	P
TUCK J.P.	The Teaching of History before Thomas Arnold, <u>art.</u> in King's College Education Papers, 1948.	P
TURBERVILLE	editor, Johnson's England (symposium), two volumes, 1933.	L
TURNBULL	Hartlib, Dury and Comenius, 1947	L
TURTON T.	Thoughts on the admission of persons without regard to their religious opinions to certain degrees, 1834.	L
UNDERWOOD A.C.	History of the English Baptists, 1947.	N
UNITARIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY,	Transactions ("TUHS").	P, W
WARD John	Lives of the Professors of Gresham College, 1740.	L
WATSON Foster	Religious Refugees and English Education, reprinted from the Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London, 1911.	L
WHITING C.E.	Studies in English Puritanism 1660-1688; 1931.	N
WHITLEY W.T.	Baptist Bibliography, two volumes, 1916 & 1922.	W
" " "	Contribution of Nonconformity to Education, reprinted from the Educational Record, 1915.	W
WILLEY Basil	Eighteenth Century Background, 1934.	P
WILSON	History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches....London...., four volumes, 1808.	W, L
WORDSWORTH	Ecclesiastical Biography VI.	N
Christopher		

(III) OTHER BOOKS TO WHICH REFERENCE HAS BEEN MADE.

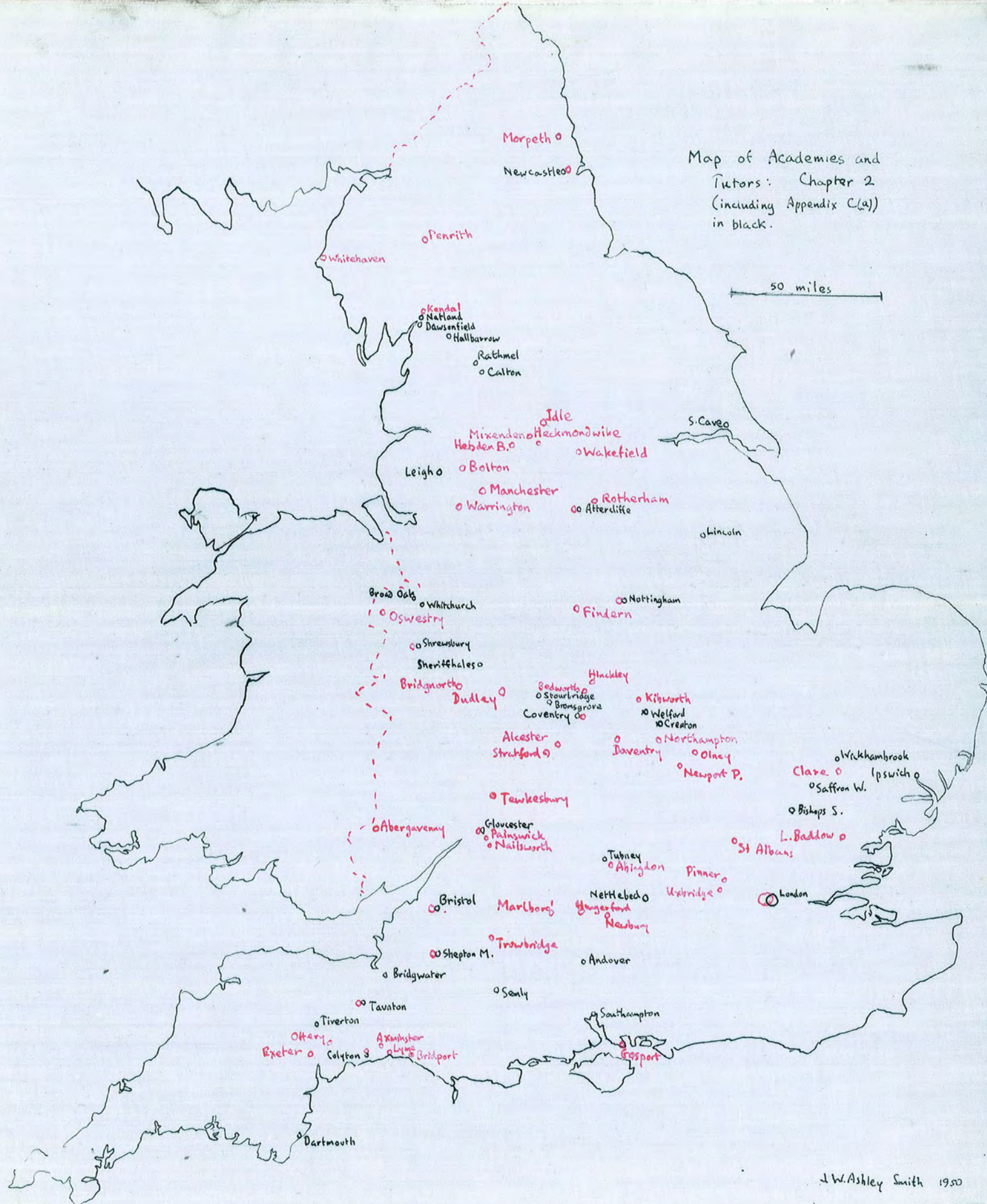
ADAMSON J.W.	Pioneers of Modern Education 1600-1700; 1905.	L
ALLAN George	Pamphlets relating to Durham County	D
ANON.	The triumph of learning ... Whether there be any need of universities ... 1653, reprinted in Harleian Miscellany VI, 1808.	N
BROWN John	The English Puritans, 1912.	P
BRUNET P.	Physiciens Hollandais..., 1926.	N
BUSH Douglas	English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century, 1600-1660; 1945.	P
CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS,	Domestic Series ("SPD")	N
CAREY William	An Enquiry ..., 1992, repr. 1948.	P
CARRÉ M.H.	Phases of Thought in England, 1949.	L
CHIRGWIN A.M.	Coming Together, 1944.	P
CLARKE W.K.L.	Eighteenth Century Piety, 1944.	N
CROMWELL'S COLLEGE AT DURHAM,	cuttings in the University Library at Durham, LH.1.F.1.	D
DAKIN A.	Calvinism, 1940.	D
DEXTER	Congregationalism of the last three hundred years as seen in its Literature, 1879.	W
DOBBS A.E.	Education and Social Movements 1700-1850; 1919.	L
DURANT William	Story of Philosophy (N.Y.), 1926/1938.	P
EVELYN John	Diary and correspondence, edited by W. Bray and H. Wheatley, four volumes, 1906.	W
FIENNES Celia	Journeys of, edited by C.MORRIS, 1949.	P
FRIENDS:	Extracts from the Minutes and Advices of the Yearly Meetings of Friends held in London, 1783.	N
" Historical Society,	Journal of ("JHHS").	P
GASSET José		
Ortega y	Mission of the University; trans- lated with introduction, by L.NOSTRAND.	P

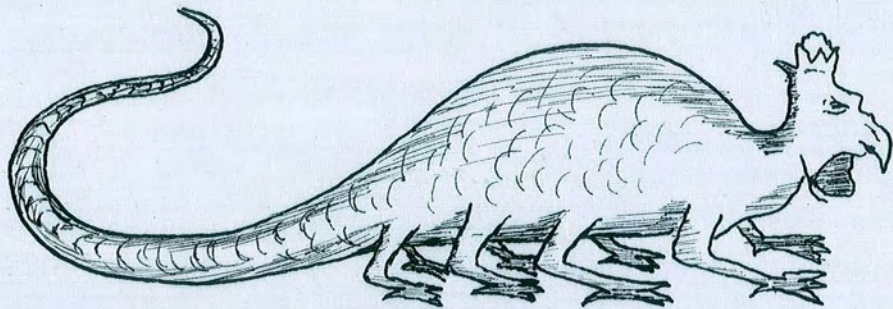
GERMAIN		
Christopher St.	Doctor and Student (1518)1787.	N
GODLEY A.D.	Oxford in the Eighteenth Century, 1908.	L
GRANT A.	Story of Edinburgh University, volume I, 1884.	L
GREY Zachary	Impartial Examination of the fourth volume of Mr. Daniel Neal's History of the Puritans.	D
HALLAM Henry	Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries, volume III, 1854.	L
HORNE C.Silvester	Popular History of the Free Churches (1903) 1926.	P
HUTCHINSON William	History of the County Palatine of Durham, volume I, 1785.	N
IRSAY Stephen d'	Histoire des universités..., volume II 1933/5.	N
JACKS M.L.	Total Education, 1946.	P
JAMES Eric	Essay on the content of education, 1949.	P
JEFFREYS M.V.C.	Education, Christian or Pagan? 1946.	P
JONES E.D.	editor, English Critical Essays, 1922/47	P
JONES RUFUS M.	Spiritual Reformers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, 1914.	P
KERR J.	Scottish Education, School and University, 1913.	L
LAMPERT E.	Berdyaev, 1945.	P
LAURIE S.S.	Studies in the history of educational opinion from the Renaissance, 1905.	D
LOCKE John	Conduct of the Human Understanding, and Some Thoughts concerning Education, both in: Educational Writings of J.L., edited by J.W. ADAMSON, 1912.	L
MAGRATH J.R.	Flemings in Oxford, volume I, 1903.	W
MARTINEAU J.	Studies of Christianity, 1858.	P

MATHEMATICAL GAZETTE.		P
MILTON John	Prose Works, edited by J.A. St. JOHN, 1890; volume III.	P
MORISON S.E.	Three Centuries of Harvard, 1936 (U.S.A.).	D
MOSHEIM John L. von	Ecclesiastical History, six volumes, translated by A. MACLAIN, 1825.	D
NEAL Daniel	History of the Puritans, four volumes, 1732-8.	W
NEEDHAM Joseph	editor, Science Religion and Reality, 1926.	D
ORWELL George and	Reginald REYNOLDS British Pamphleteers, volume I, 1948.	L
PATTISON Mark	Essays, two volumes, 1889.	L
PEABODY F.G.	Sunday Evenings in the College Chapel, 1911/22.	P
PEERS E.A.	Fool of Love: the Life of Ramon Lull, 1946.	P
PRICE E.J.	Baptists, Congregationalists and Presbyterians, 1933/45.	P
PSYCHOLOGICAL REVIEW,	1916.	
RANSON C.D.R.	Oliver Cromwell's College, 1912.	D
REID H.M.B.	Divinity Principals in the University of Glasgow, 1545-1654; 1917.	N
" " " "	Divinity Professors in the University of Glasgow, 1640-1903; 1923.	N
ROLLIN Charles	Method of Teaching and Studying the Belles Lettres..., three volumes (French c.1730) 1769.	B
SCHOLES Percy	Puritans and Music, 1934.	L
" "	Oxford Companion to Music, 1938/44.	P
SMITH D.N.	editor, Shakespeare Criticism, 1916/46.	P
SMYTH John	Works, edited W.T. WHITLEY, two volumes, 1915.	B
SPITTLEHOUSE John	An explanation of the commission of Jesus Christ; in relation to the gifts ... qualifications ... of his Ministers..., 1653.	M
SPURGEON Charles H.	Commenting and Commentaries, 1876.	P

STEPHEN Leslie	History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century, volume I, 1902.	L
TAWNEY R.H.	Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, 1926/38.	P
TREVELYAN	English Social History, 1946.	P
TYRANIPOCRIT,	anonymous, c.1649, in ORWELL AND REYNOLDS.	
VIDLER A. and)	editors, Natural Law: a	
WHITEHOUSE W.A.)	Christian Reconsideration, 1946.	P
WATSON Foster	Beginnings of the Teaching of modern subjects, 1909.	L
" "	English Grammar Schools to 1660; 1908.	D
WHALE John S.	Christian Doctrine, 1942.	P
WHETHAM William		
C.D.Dampier-	History of Science..., 1930.	L
WHITTAKER Edmund	Space and Spirit, 1946.	P
WILLEY Basil	Seventeenth Century Background, 1934.	P
WILLIAMS Roger	The Hireling Ministry None of Christs, 1652.	W
WILSON Charles	Holland and Britain, c.1946.	P
WOODWARD W.H.	Desiderius ERASMUS, concerning the Aim and Method of Education, 1904.	N
WORDSWORTH		
Christopher	Scholae Academicae: some account of the studies at the English universities in the eighteenth century, 1877.	N

Map of Academies and
Tutors: Chapter 2
(including Appendix C(a))
in black.





The Basilisk or Cockatrice
Living in the Deserts of Africa
from Plate 3, Owen's "Natural History
of Serpents" 1742 (see 3,4).

